

Tourist Studies

<http://tou.sagepub.com>

Ecological Rationalization and Performative Resistance in Natural Area Destinations

Tazim Jamal, Jeffery Everett and Graham M. S. Dann
Tourist Studies 2003; 3; 143
DOI: 10.1177/1468797603041630

The online version of this article can be found at:
<http://tou.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/3/2/143>

Published by:

 SAGE Publications

<http://www.sagepublications.com>

Additional services and information for *Tourist Studies* can be found at:

Email Alerts: <http://tou.sagepub.com/cgi/alerts>

Subscriptions: <http://tou.sagepub.com/subscriptions>

Reprints: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsReprints.nav>

Permissions: <http://www.sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav>

Citations (this article cites 11 articles hosted on the SAGE Journals Online and HighWire Press platforms):
<http://tou.sagepub.com/cgi/content/refs/3/2/143>



Ecological rationalization and performative resistance in natural area destinations

Tazim Jamal

Texas A&M University, College Station

Jeffery Everett

University of Calgary

Graham M. S. Dann

University of Luton

abstract A discursive analysis of natural area destinations is presented in this article, where it is argued that the management and use of natural areas for (eco) tourism is influenced by economic and institutional practices that contribute to rationalizing 'Nature' and the visitor experience. A brief look at some historical influences on nature-based tourism development in (post)-modernity sets the context for illustrating paradoxical discourses (e.g. neo-liberalism, ecological modernization and globalization) that structure and instrumentalize human relationships with the natural world. Viewing these natural areas as performance spaces helps to show how the multiplicity of discourses plays out and how nature and tourists are *performatively* engaged in these spaces. A conceptual analysis of performativity in relation to touristic spaces is presented and its potential to enable resistance to the rationalizations outlined in the article is examined. The possibility of a performative tourist ethic is discussed, based on a notion of reflexive praxis. Implications for (eco)-tourism research and practice are offered.

keywords *eco-tourism ecological modernization nature tourism neo-liberalism performative ethic performativity (post)-modernity resistance rationalization*

Tourism and natural areas: critical performances

Most 'green' theories and practices, however, increasingly centre on 'grey' outcomes – who will 'denature' Nature for whom, in what ways, for how long, to serve what ends? – although they often raise this very ineffectively with few original insights into what is really unfolding here. (Luke, 1997: 197)

Ecology, says Eder (1996), is the new belief system for reorganizing self and identity in the contemporary world. New forms of tourism like eco-tourism and heritage tourism are closely interwoven with the quest for contemporary identity in a mobile world where the technologically driven products of the new culture industries continually defer (and differ) relationships with the land and 'Nature.' Although scholars have touched on the sustainability-related challenges of international tourism (Britton, 1991), mainstream tourism journals in general are woefully lacking in 'critical' insights on the historical and discursive influences that have shaped the economic, social and political ecologies of tourism, particularly with respect to various forms of 'sustainable tourism', nature tourism and ecotourism. Mowforth and Munt (1998), for instance, argue that sustainability is socially constructed and reflective of dominant interests, such as the ironic desire to maximize tourism industry profits. As these authors point out, deconstructing the political rhetoric of sustainable tourism (and its related form, eco-tourism) requires asking what is being sustained, by whom and for whom. Who decides what sustainability means and entails, and who dictates how it should be achieved and evaluated? Their analysis reflects the importance of studying both the micro-level (individual) and the macro-level (institutional, social and global) motivators that drive tourism in natural areas. By adopting such a micro-macro approach, this article aims to investigate the complex discursive and societal influences that shape the use and management of, and experience in, natural area destinations.

Urry (1995: 174) summarizes four ways in which societies relate to their physical environment: stewardship (of the land for future generations), exploitation (of the land or other resources), scientization (of the land as an object of scientific investigation, intervention and regulation), and visual consumption (of the landscape/townscape and aesthetic appropriation). While Urry (1990) provides a comprehensive analysis of the 'romantic tourist gaze' and the cultural production of natural destinations like the English Lake District, we focus here on the various practices and discourses by which natural domains are mediated and managed, precisely because of the lack of such discussion in the (eco)-tourism literature. In contrast to the primarily functionalist and normative approaches that focus on managing eco-tourists and eco-tourism's contributions to economic, social and natural goods, a critical examination traces the discursive roles and practices of various stakeholders that impact biophysical life-support systems as well as human cultural systems. The position adopted here is that, rather than take sustainability and global eco-tourism as necessary 'goods' managed by policy makers, businesses and environmental organizations, it is important to understand how the globality of tourism is constructed, negotiated and hence open to creative re-working at the level of both self and society – in other words, to critically examine the discourse and sociology of globalization (Yearley, 1996) in the context of tourism, modernity and post-modernity. This exercise raises crucial questions about the structure and space of nature-based tourist experiences, and how best to identify and address such dis-

cursive influences.¹ Specifically, what is the nature of (touristic) nature spaces and what practices shape the use and management of these areas? How does viewing these areas as performance spaces show how nature and tourists are *performatively* engaged and to what end? Are tourists active participants engaged in sense-making, or are they passive receptors of the myths woven by tourist managers and tour operators through symbolic media and the globalized culture industries?

We build on Adler's (1989) argument which locates tourists by their *performance* rather than by their gaze or presence, and reflects the noticeable shift in tourism research towards the socially constructed aspects of touristic experience and the situated practices by which toured spaces are engaged and 'performed'. This move is further developed here by offering conceptual clarification of the notion of performativity and how it situates the space of performance, thereby highlighting its potential to inform a theory of tourist resistance to rationalization in natural area destinations. This approach opens avenues for introducing perspectives on power and the 'subject of power' (Foucault, 1980) and thus to the study of touristic spaces as *performative* spaces where the visitor and 'the Other' (e.g. the destination's inhabitant, 'Nature' and the natural landscape) interact within a complex matrix of rational-disciplinary relations. In this regard, the following three questions are addressed:

- What influences and discourses contribute to the cultural production and consumption of 'nature' in contemporary society?
- How do tourism-related mechanisms and activities mediate this relationship in natural areas and protected regions like national parks?
- Can sustainability be rescued in nature destinations by a performative tourist ethic that resists the rationalization of public and natural spheres?

In the next section, discourses of globalization, neo-liberalism and ecological modernization are introduced alongside the evolution of leisure and tourism in the (post-) modern world. The subsequent section addresses a concern that weaves through the second section: the rationalization of public, social and natural spaces. Most of this latter section examines the concept of performativity, the practices by which touristic areas are 'critically' performed, and how the rationalizing discourses presented in the previous section may be resisted through a performative touristic engagement and ethic. Examples are provided throughout the article to illustrate the subjectivation of people and places in natural area destinations. A summary and implications for research and practice are offered in the final section.

Global rationalization and ecological modernization

The historical and global discourses and trends summarized in this section direct the tourism researcher towards what might be termed the 'global rationalization' of human relations and natural spaces. This rationalization is evident in

three dominant regimes, each of which is illustrated later. The first is *economic rationalism*, a process aided by the spread of neo-liberal ideology and practices that reduce objects, places and even experiences to commodities. The second is *scientific rationalism*, a regime facilitated through the prioritization of the expert, the discourse of ecological modernization, and related strategies of prediction and control in natural areas world-wide. Finally, there is *institutional rationalism*, a process marked by the increasing influence of supranational organizations such as the World Bank, the Global Environment Facility, and the World Trade Organization, as well as increasing deference to international free trade arrangements like NAFTA and the EU. The structural dismantling of public sector agencies, including those concerned with the management of protected areas and national parks, is taken to be another indicator of such rationalization.

It is useful to note how these institutional influences translate through globalization into sustainability-based discourses whose interventions open paradoxical opportunities for radical action (e.g. the environmental justice and new social movements that have evolved over the last decade), as well as further constraints to environmental and social justice. Commenting on Ulrich Beck's (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, Ritzer (1996) points out that advanced (late) modernity has created both unprecedented risks and hitherto unknown capabilities to deal with such perils. Nation-states find it increasingly difficult to take action on large-scale environmental issues without relying on other countries for support or joint action. They also find themselves more and more reliant on science, including the ecological sciences, to help them deal with the global 'crisis' of nature. 'Sustainable development' and 'ecological modernization' have consequently emerged as global discourses of the environment, ones which translate to sustainable tourism (development) and 'eco-tourism' in the tourism system. Overlapping characteristics of being a public and private good, a high degree of industry fragmentation due to the diverse stakeholders and sectors serving tourism, variability in ability to exercise market control (over 70 percent of upper to mid-level US hotels are large chains, many with international presence), as well as divergent needs and interests in the local-global nexus of tourism make global sustainability a major challenge (Williams and Shaw, 1998; Milne and Ateljevic, 2001). The institutional setting for tourism policy is consequently weak, and the role of the nation-state continues to be challenged while international environmental and tourism-related institutions attempt to coordinate 'sustainable tourism' and apply Local Agenda 21 principles to natural and built destinations (see World Tourism Organization, 1997, 1998; UNESCO-ICOMOS, 2002; UNEP-ICLEI, 2003).

This section addresses several forms of rationalization that hold significant consequences for tourism in natural areas. Drawing upon a critique of modernism and ecological modernization, it is argued that protected areas and other natural recreational settings are being increasingly influenced by a *global* rationality and an ecology constructed by modern nation-states, corporate capital and scientific organizations. Such rationality reduces nature 'to a system of systems

that can be dismantled, redesigned, and assembled anew to produce its many “resources” efficiently and in adequate amounts when and where needed . . .’ (Luke, 1997: 79). In fact, it reduces nature to the role of a ‘global performative’, an ‘input/output efficiency measure’ in Lyotard’s (1993: 88) words. Also implicated in this instrumentalizing process are those who live and re-create in these spaces. How this global performativity is played out in natural areas destinations is revealed by tracing historical and discursive influences pertaining to: (a) the historical construction of ‘nature tourism’ through (post)modernity, and (b) discourses of neo-liberalism and ecological modernization.

The evolution of nature tourism through the (post)modern

The character of tourism in natural areas today is influenced strongly by historical antecedents in modernity. These may be understood by delineating two structured and interdependent periods, as provided by Rojek (1995). The first period, ‘Modernity 1’ in Rojek’s terms, stems from the time of the Industrial Revolution, where control and organization of the work and leisure space enabled social order and ‘progress’ via a rational, productionist work ethic. Science’s explanatory mechanisms contributed towards the causal ordering of the natural world, while social stability was derived through technological progress and structured work-leisure activities. This situation was predominantly driven by the organizing mechanisms of capitalism in Western industrialized nations. Leisure became a necessary, legitimate, democratic feature of civilized modern social life, while the mass production and circulation of leisure commodities were seen as widening the choice of escape experiences at home and away. Nature became an ‘authentic’ place of refuge, since so little of it was to be found in the urban-industrial landscape. A romantic taste and passion for landscape and Nature began to blossom in the late eighteenth century, as cultural critiques of industrialization assumed literary forms through various sources (consider Wordsworth’s poetry). Organized package trips evolved eventually into en masse travel to beach resorts and other ‘nature’ based destinations where nature was typically consumed visually (Urry, 1995). However, like other aspects of travel and leisure, nature-based tourism also had to contribute to the standardized stability of modern social life. Rational recreational opportunities in commercialized natural and cultural spaces ensured that ‘self-discipline’ and control continued to be exercised in the leisure/touristic space, just as they were in the workplace, for this requirement was crucial to maintaining social order in the modern world.

Manifestations of a rationally ordered, *modernized nature* are abundant today. Ritzer (1996) draws upon Max Weber (1958) in order to demonstrate how systematized processes, job-role structuring and technology were applied to create rational (and bureaucratic) control and efficiency in the organization of commercial leisure and other businesses, including outdoor recreational areas. The organization of mass tourism via packaged tours and a global travel industry network is similarly based on such an institutional rationality, where efficiency

TABLE I. *Nature and tourism through modernity and post-modernity*

	<i>Modernity</i>	<i>Late capitalism/ late modernity*</i>	<i>Post-modern/post-structural critiques, changes, concepts</i>
<i>Economics</i>	Industrialization; commodification of labour; capitalism (in the West); Fordism and mass production of goods; Taylorism and scientific method; production-orientation.	Neo-liberalism; sustainable development; ecological economics, and full-cost accounting; post-industrial society; post-Fordism, flexible production and service-orientation.	Commodification of culture and the natural environment; privileging of numbers/quantification and instrumental reason; growth of new social movements (Jameson, 1991); consumer-orientation.
<i>Globalization</i>	Colonialism, imperialism; global expansion of capitalism.	Neo- and post-colonialism; globalization as key feature of late modernity; globalization of risks (Beck, 1992) and the culture industries (Lash and Urry, 1994).	Critique and recontextualization of global discourses; time-space compression (Harvey, 1990).
<i>Leisure</i>	<i>Modernity 1</i> (Rojek, 1995): Separation of work-leisure, focus on goods production; allow leisure forms that enable social order/control.	<i>Modernity 2</i> (Rojek, 1995): Leisure interwoven into everyday life; focus on cultural consumption and aestheticization of everyday life.	Discontinuity, fragmentation, fantasy world of signs, images and impressions, aesthetic consciousness and contingent ethics (particular to context and situation) (Rojek, 1995).
<i>Tourism</i>	Mass tourism's/tourists' search for 'authenticity' (MacCannell, 1989); ambivalence of modernity reflected in tourism, e.g. balancing freedom and control in tourist experience (Wang, 2000).	Community-based sustainable tourism (development); new tourism forms (e.g. cultural and heritage tourism, dark tourism, nature tourism, eco-tourism) (Mowforth and Munt, 1998).	Discipline and surveillance by tourism industry/government; the 'tourist gaze' on the 'other' (Urry, 1990); 'post-tourist' (Feifer, 1985) seeks distraction, play, recognizing nothing is 'authentic'; 'pseudo-images' (Boorstin, 1961).

TABLE I. Continued

	Modernity	Late capitalism/late modernity*	Post-modern/post-structural critiques, changes, concepts
Nature	Socially constructed Nature as (1) ideological (2) romanticized (3) scientific (4) commodified and marketed for resource exploitation and aesthetic consumption (Dann, 1996b).	Discourses of global environmental crisis and risk (to earth and self); ecological modernization; sustainable development; ecology and capital closely interrelated (Escobar, 1996; MacNaghten and Urry, 1998).	Socio-political construction of nature; control of body and nature (environmental health risk, genetic modification, 'bio-politics'); resistance via eco-feminism, and performative struggle (Darier, 1999a).
Nature Tourism	Increasing package tours and park visitation for leisure, restorative and cultural meanings – nature 'enclosed' for mass tourism.	Eco-tourism; responsible tourism; nature tourism confers capital through appreciation of actor's sense of 'distinction' (Mowforth and Munt, 1998); sustainability concerns (Holden, 2000).	Aestheticised nature – nature sites as 'spectacles' for tourist gaze (privileging visual) and consumption ethic. Natural park and frontier myths (Jasen, 1995; Magoc, 1999).

* Due to differing views on the name of the current social era, here Rojek's (1995) advice is followed, and the focus is on what is seen as the most important influences and changes. This table also highlights some concepts not discussed in the article due to space constraints. These ideas are included in the table with references that offer additional insights into the (post)-modern eco-politics of travel and tourism.

and control of the destination space and the tourist are paramount to the construction of 'successful' experiences and industry profitability. An interesting example of this form of rationalization is provided by Gregory (2001), showing how late twentieth century tours to Egypt articulate the Nile into a contemporary colonialism not much different from Thomas Cook's first tours on that iconic river. 'Traditional Egypt' continues to be constructed geo-politically and economically as an obstacle to, and object of, modernization, as well as a rationalized space for present day tourism. As Gregory (2001) points out, the modern tourist's desire to visit Egypt is a nostalgia for colonialism itself, a desire to recreate and recover the world of late Victorian and Edwardian colonialism in all its majestic glory. This 'distinctively colonial nostalgia' was catered for by tour packagers such as Thomas Cook, whose parties to this increasingly fashionable

destination were shown a visually and spatially ordered modern nation where, the Nile was 'performed' as a modern Nature accessible to the romantic gaze (p. 140). For this performance, the 'culture-nature' of the Nile is appropriated, domesticized and enframed as docile, romantic and safe, with little evidence of its interdependent and sometime catastrophic effects on the local inhabitants.

Egypt is therefore a 'space of constructed visibility' where landscapes are codified and made 'timeless', 'authentic' and 'real' through imaginative tourism geographies (Gregory, 2001). It is also a performative space involving the disciplining of bodies that participate in enacting the myth of colonialism – a myth in which both the tourist and the 'Other' (e.g., the local resident), participate. The predominantly white, male bourgeois institutions of modernity and Western philosophy articulated a rational, autonomous and universal subject against which groups, cultures and ethnicities (and 'Natures', like the Nile) that did not conform to this generalizable subject of the Enlightenment became an 'Other'. Feminist, constructivist and post-structural discourses have, of course, attempted to de-centre and de-colonize this Cartesian subject, but such emancipatory politics only began to take hold in the 1970s and 1980s, during a period described variously as late modernity, post-modernity, or late capitalism.

Rojek (1995) describes this later period as 'Modernity 2'. The shift from the mass production of goods and the rigid structuring of labour (characteristic of Fordism) to flexible production (post-Fordism) in post-industrial society enables a new emphasis on consumption, in particular cultural consumption based on the aestheticization of material objects. As Lash and Urry (1994) observe, increasingly being produced are signs, post-industrial information and 'infotainment' (Barber, 1995), post-modern goods with a primarily aesthetic component (as in pop music, cinema, leisure), and sign-value or image components embodied in material objects. Here, aided by innovations in technology and communication, the distinctions between 'high' and 'low' (mass) culture, between the original and the reproduction, between truth and fiction, are reduced to a blurred state of equivalence mediated by images, signs and symbols that de-differentiate and defer 'reality' in all spheres. Leisure consists of a quest for activities of distraction. Nature is aestheticized for consumption (by Feifer's, 1985 post-tourism, among others) and pleasure seeking is 'a duty since the consumption of goods and services becomes *the* structural basis of Western societies' (Lash and Urry, 1994: 296). (Table I)

Emerging, cosmopolitan middle classes serve as agents of the significant cultural change in Modernity 2, and new forms of tourism offer a growing diversity of specialized travel to these new middle classes, a consequence of their post-Fordist lifestyles and attendant need for flexible and innovative forms of recreation and leisure. Eco-tourism, responsible tourism, heritage tourism and even dark tourism – all these constitute alternatives for these late moderns and the development of the new leisure classes (Figure I). Indeed, they become a dialectical antithesis to the mass tourism of modernity.

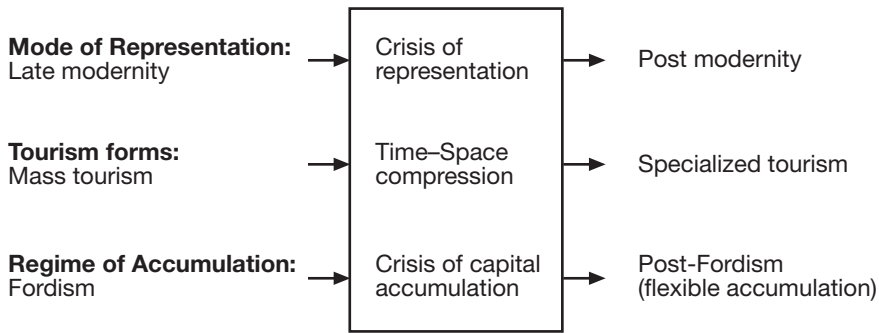


FIGURE 1. *Tourism and (post)-modernity*

Adapted from Gregory (1994) and Mowforth and Munt (1998: 30)

Mowforth and Munt (1998) draw upon the empirical/theoretical works of Bourdieu (1984) to demonstrate how natural areas and eco-tourism serve the needs of the new leisure classes. Eco-tourist motivations, they argue, relate to status and distinction in two emerging social classes – the new bourgeoisie and the *nouvelle petite bourgeoisie*. Both of these groups can accumulate cultural capital by demonstrating that they share the view that the environment has value. However, they differ in that members of the new bourgeoisie use this sense of ‘distinction’ to belie their *distance* from economic necessity (‘our hearts lie with nature, not money’), while the members of the *nouvelle petite bourgeoisie* use it to belie their *proximity* to economic necessity (a pattern that can also be observed in Las Vegas casinos, where the real spenders, it turns out, are the ones least able to afford it). This situation renders members of both these groups more ‘ego’ than ‘eco’-tourists (see Wheeler, 1997). It is not so much understanding environmental problems in the Amazon that is of interest, as it is being able to relate an aesthetically consumed experience back home or to construct travellers’ tales from that experience.

Nature-based forms of tourism, as evolved through the Modernity 1 and 2 periods noted earlier, exemplify a modernized nature that is also ‘performed’ as a pastoral nature. Wilderness retreats offer moral to spiritual solace and ‘eco-tourism’ trips cater to the tastes of the new leisure classes, offering highly aesthetic to escapist experiences of wildness and wildlife. Embedded in the nature/eco-tourism discourse is the possibility of a new form of eco-colonialism, since 80 percent of international travellers (and their travel intermediaries) originate from only 20 percent of the world’s nations, mostly from North America and Europe (Hall, 1994; Weaver, 1998). The complex mechanisms and ways by which colonization of the natural world might occur become more evident by examining the multiple influences contributing to the global rationality of natural areas, such as the overlapping discourses of neo-liberalism and ecological modernization.

Neo-liberalism and ecological modernization

More and more, international tourism markets are driven by global media, technology and the free flow of capital, finance, labour and goods in transnational space. This globalization is also facilitated by a new variant of market ideology – neo-liberalism. Closely tied to the phenomenon of global free trade, neo-liberalism has become the dominant economic paradigm of the (post)-modern world. Neo-liberal policies and initiatives are presented as encouraging free enterprise, consumer and personal choice, and a free market unobstructed by government and labour unions. Markets are promoted as being rational, fair and representative of the immediate interests of the public, permitting democratic allocation of goods and services, and a sharing of wealth (Chomsky, 1999). Hence, any opposition to neo-liberalism, or support for (environmental) regulation is argued to be anti-democratic. As Fraser (1996) points out, a neo-liberal approach aligns government and capital more directly, yielding new intermediate strains of goods that are neither pure public goods nor pure commodities, but rather hybrids with characteristics of both. For instance, the growing involvement of private corporations in public nature-based programming, such as Anheuser-Busch's participation in the 'Seaworld' school educational programme (Davis, 1996), further accelerates the neo-liberalization of nature while also eroding public education spaces. This outcome is also noticeable in protected areas like national parks, where administrators struggling with declining funding turn to partnering with the tourism industry in order to provide services, including aspects of nature interpretation (Searle, 2000).

Under this scenario, it can be argued that sustainable development 'is about sustaining development as an economically rationalized environment rather than the development of a sustaining ecology' (Luke, 1997: 85). Under the guise of serving the common economic and environmental good, sustainable (tourism) development and eco-tourism also risk becoming ideological tools that (inadvertently) transport neo-liberal developmental policies into local and global domains. Techniques such as carrying capacity, cost-benefit analyses and indicators for measuring change apply rational-instrumental means to control and manage nature in order to ensure 'sustainable development' and reduce economic uncertainty (Rutherford, 1999).² At risk in this instrumental focus are the voices and needs of those who are impacted by these measuring devices (in particular, the residents of the areas concerned). Even public-private sector partnerships and community-based tourism risk becoming rhetorical when used instrumentally, rather than with a sustainability approach that is aimed towards social-environmental justice and the well-being of natural and human communities. A few examples here illustrate some of the less tangible but potentially serious consequences of such rationalization.

Stem et al.'s (2003) study of eco-tourism impacts on national park buffer zone communities in Southern Costa Rica raises concerns about eco-tourism's minimal impact on conservation perspectives, and about the possible commodifica-

tion of local people's relationships with the forests in the buffer zone, the wildlife and the neighbouring park. Communities that benefit most from the park in terms of eco-tourism identify primarily economic benefits of the park. Several participants fear that the economic profits of the forests have led fellow Costa Ricans to lose sight of less tangible benefits of the forests. Brown's (1998) study of biodiversity conservation and tourism in the Royal Bardia National Park (RBNP) in the western Terai of Nepal raises related concerns that reveal the complex political ecology of newly evolving buffer zone economies. She argues that policies in line with the 'new conservation paradigm' (which sees conservation and development as synergistic) are being formulated and implemented by large scale influences, such as global collaboration between the World Wildlife Fund and the UN Development Programme. Meanwhile, local resource users have negligible input into the policies being developed which, like the buffer zone 'solution' proposed, have direct impacts on their livelihoods. Most of the tourism revenues from the actively promoted RBNP, which is perceived as overcrowded by the park authorities, leak out of the local economies and the ecological impacts of tourism are significant but downplayed (Brown, 1998).

Brown's (1998) political ecology study also raises the concern that international values, including values of rare species like the Bengal tiger and the Asian rhino, may take precedence over local values, while disagreements over terms such as 'sustainability' and lack of sensitivity to historical-social contexts result in complex contestations over use and preservation in that area of Nepal. By contrast, wildlife-based tourism programmes like CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources) in Zimbabwe appear to be successful examples of local village involvement in sustainable resource use and conservation. Aided by international conservation organizations, government and scientific interests, participating villages learn to employ wildlife population censuses, village mapping, monitoring, and other management techniques to ensure a healthy wildlife population for recreational hunting and non-consumptive safaris. Income from these tourism-related activities is applied to community development projects; women are also seen to benefit from CAMPFIRE. Tourism has grown in importance since the programme's inception in 1989, to the extent that rural communities are 'increasingly dependent on income from wildlife tourism and trophy hunting', and one of the challenges that must be faced is that 'trophy hunting must be supported by the international community as a form of ecotourism, which plays a vital role in rural development' (CAMPFIRE, 2003). Even putting aside debates on trophy hunting being viewed as eco-tourism, case discussions like Heath (2001) provide little information on how this successful programme affects local people's perceptions, identification and relationship with commercially valued wildlife. The concern here is not that economic valuation is inappropriate for managing public or 'free' goods, but that by valuing or defining wildlife purely in economic terms (e.g. via economic modelling), it becomes primarily an

economic resource, and other values such as social, cultural or spiritual values risk being omitted in decision-making (Peterson and Peterson, 1993; Hughes, 1995).

These other less tangible impacts may be difficult to detect, particularly when overlain by the legitimate, 'proper' activities and discourse of ecological modernization. Associated with neo-liberalism, this discourse brings natural areas into the network of global capital markets through scientific management, resource use and conservation. Beck (1992) argues that late modernity is a period where there has been a systematic shift from problems of wealth distribution to those of risk distribution (hence, the risk society), where scientific and economic development become sub-politics that produce and shape ecological risks as objects of public discourse. In such a society, nature is linked to a set of global/technical issues (e.g. global warming, ozone depletion) identified through modern scientific inquiry and a set of sophisticated programmes that are able to determine impacts and define the limits of natural process. Eder (1996) similarly states that while modernity's theorizing once emphasized the political or economic reproduction of society, this situation is now shifting to the ecological reproduction of society, with a focus on cultural and technical problems that implicate individuals with their natural environment (e.g. genetically modified foods that can pose potential risks to both ecological and human societies). Such theorizing can be understood as part of the discourse of ecological modernization, an ideology based on a paradoxical claim that environmental conservation is good for business profitability and long-term economic development (Dryzek, 1997; Harvey, 1998).

Arising out of recent attempts to analyse changes in Western European and North American environmental policies (Murphy, 1994), ecological modernization is embedded in instrumental and/or utilitarian discourses such as the Brundtland Commission's seminal report *Our Common Future* (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Framed in an economic and developmental discourse of inter- and intra-generational equity via the 'equitable' distribution of costs and benefits, environmental conservation and limits to growth, this discourse favours public-private co-operation and the use of science and technology to deal with issues such as energy conservation. In this form it is a modernist discourse, for ecological modernization underpins a faith in expert systems (including science) and a belief in 'economic development' and growth-oriented 'progress' (within 'limits'). Ecological modernization also underpins public policies and management strategies that privilege global, scientific understanding but tend to exclude local knowledge and involvement.

The darker side of ecological modernization emerges when this discourse is considered as a form of 'governmentality', as 'a conduct of conduct', to use Foucault's (1980 and 1983) words. Ecological modernization is about biopolitics and the microphysics of power, which, through mundane everyday procedures (*petits récits*) (e.g. ecological analysis and environmental regulation), embed themselves in organizations and individuals (Everett, 2001; Jamal and

Eyre, 2003). The 'global governmentality' that is part and parcel of ecological modernization is aided by the emergence of modern scientific ecology, a disciplinary practice that certifies what counts as scientifically acceptable knowledge of the world. Its mechanisms include such strategies as Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), a self-regulating tool that 'does not so much describe the environment as both actively constitute it as an object of knowledge and, through various modes of positive intervention, manage and police it' (Rutherford, 1999: 56). It is in this constitutive, silent and colonizing role that ecological modernization's darker effects reside and that certain questions need to be asked in the context of tourism. For example, what is the effect of ecological measurement and management tools when employed in conjunction with the discourse of sustainable (tourism) development or eco-tourism (see Table I), particularly in lesser industrialized countries? What are the consequences of merging (eco)-tourism with sustainability indicators, visitor management techniques, eco-labelling, environmental management systems and other tools aimed at enhancing 'environmental performance'? A brief look at national parks offers some preliminary insights into these questions.

The (inadvertent) rationalization of natural spaces through economic and scientific discourses and structures is observable in the US and Canadian national park systems, where the park mandate in each is in conflict between economic/utilitarian (parks for public enjoyment) and scientific concerns (e.g. protecting ecological integrity through ecosystem management). Ironically, symbolic bridges between economic and scientific domains have been easily constructed, by offering visitors mythical experiences of the conquest of civilization and science over nature and 'wilderness' – linked metaphorically to the very conquest of life over death. As MacCannell (1989) observes, sightseeing helps modern individuals and societies define who they are and what matters in life. Places like the Grand Canyon National Park (which is also a World Heritage Site) offer illustrative examples of how these needs are being addressed. At the Grand Canyon, a long history of science, aesthetics, cartography, painting, photography and other illustrative accounts combine to mould sublime Nature into a triangular unity of westward American exploration, science, and the cultural fusion of science and art (Pine, 1998). Here, visitor experiences of its natural wonders are mediated by 'experts', including park managers and the myth-making of the tourism industry (Dann, 1996a and b). A contemporary tourist brochure features the following lure piece of the Grand Canyon National Park:

Explore one of the world's most unforgettable landscapes – the Grand Canyon. This spectacular natural wonder is a forbidding panorama of layer upon layer of rock, sheer cliffs and sandstone pinnacles. More than a mile deep and four to eighteen miles in width, the Grand Canyon is an unmissable attraction, never failing to amaze its visitors with its dramatic beauty. (Saga, 2002: 113)

Scientism is evident in the supplied dimensions and the geological references to 'layer upon layer' and 'sandstone'. Since the brochure is explicitly trying to persuade potential tourists to visit this site, the rhetoric is far more prone to hyperbole – 'most unforgettable landscapes', 'unmissable attraction', 'never failing to amaze'. But within the park, other discourses come into play to socially construct the visitor's experience of this dramatic landscape. Like the myths of early explorers, scientific classifications and park interpreters transform a park's natural features into iconic landscapes that constitute ideological symbolizations of the nation-state's identity, image and unity (Runte, 1987). Neuman (1991) argues that the scientific vision lies at the centre of the Park Service interpretive programme in the Grand Canyon. The rangers' interpretive (guided) walks combine statistics and geological narrative to explain the text (the natural features and ecology) of the Grand Canyon as a rational, scientific story that is the 'official' account, thereby maintaining the authority of the experts who produced it. Other ways of comprehending the Canyon are rejected (e.g. a creationist account of nature) not because of a conspiracy among dominant interests, but because of the salience of a particular public language and information system that privileges a modernist reliance on rationality and science as the only legitimate purveyor of knowledge (Neuman, 1991).

Using a very different methodology from Neuman's interpretive approach, Peterson (1988) comes up with similarly familiar themes. Her detailed dramaturgical analysis of the public relations material of the Grand Teton National Park (GTNP) reveals that even in programmes emphasizing visitor participation, the available services limit participation to passive, controlled activities such as looking, reading, listening, and walking on trails at an established pace. 'Direct interaction with the resource is kept to a minimum' and through the GTNP interpreters, the 'interpretive program legitimizes and rationalizes, explains, and buffers complexity' (p. 131). In these specially protected places of Nature like the Grand Canyon NP and Grand Teton NP, the storytelling of the park interpreters (supported by scientific accounts and 'facts') offers seamless narratives that balance the sublime with the picturesque and romantic to construct a harmonious and historically familiar vision of nature and human existence. Unless those who are subjected to such official accounts participate in enacting alternative meanings, a strong form of visitor surveillance and control complemented by ecological modernization becomes a hegemonic discourse of these protected areas (Darier, 1999a). The possibility for resistance and for construction of alternative meanings is taken up in the next section, where hope resides in performative engagements.

Performative resistance to ecological rationalization?

The foregoing discourses inform the first of the two main concerns of this article: (1) The rationalization of natural spaces and protected areas, and (2) resistance to the rationalization of the tourist self in natural area destinations. In order

to tackle the second issue, it is perhaps useful to make explicit what has been presented so far as an implicit argument on the rationalization of the tourist experience and self in tourism. Natural area destinations constitute spaces in which globalized discourses of sustainability, nature-based tourism and ecological modernization work in complex, contradictory ways to rationalize the ecological-economic domain, while other benefits may be realized. These global performative spaces are subject to instrumental (means-ends) policies and interventions that treat the natural environment as an object system, and visitor experience as a product of control and surveillance. But aesthetically satisfied and re-created workers are also produced in the process, assisted by the globalized tourism and culture industries. All this is not to say that a shift to such global performativity is a *fait accompli* or that it cannot be met with resistance, such as through local action and forms of *reflexive modernization* (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1994). After all, contemporary problems and possible solutions lie both in the global sphere and in the local, as in the everyday lives of families facing toxic neighbourhood playgrounds, and in the contested natures (MacNaghten and Urry, 1998) of recreational areas where polluted streams and depleting water flows manifest industrial and urban pressures upstream.

Yet, if the disciplining potential of ecological modernization is to be tempered by a local-level performative ethic, how does such engagement occur at the destination level and what are the characteristics of a performative touristic space? The notion of *performativity* is displayed tantalizingly from time to time in the tourism literature, but discussion is fragmentary and a lack of clarity seems to hinder recognition of its richness for informing a theory of touristic resistance and practice. A conceptual integration is offered here and discussed in relation to tourism in natural and cultural settings.

Performativity and performance theory: interdisciplinary ambiguities

Performativity has assumed a much greater complexity since its postulation in speech-act theory by British philosopher, J. L. Austin, in *How to Do Things with Words* (1962). It suffers from inter-disciplinary ambiguity, for instance, being shared by both philosophy and theatre studies. The two areas do not use the term in the same way, and 'performativity' spans a range of meanings from dramaturgical to de-constructive and critical (Parker and Sedgwick, 1995). This problem spills over to tourism studies as well, where authors tend to use 'performativity' or 'performative', either as descriptive terms for talking about 'performance', or without clarifying the meanings they ascribe to them. Perkins and Thorns (2001), for example, argue that in contrast to Urry's portrayal of the passive tourist gaze of the nineteenth century industrial, working class vacationer in England, international tourists to New Zealand are located by their dynamic, active performance in outdoor recreational pursuits. Rather than solely by gaze, this market is best characterized by tourist performance which 'incorporates ideas of active bodily involvement: physical, intellectual and cognitive

activity *and* gazing' (p. 193). These authors use the term 'performative' in the sense of a dynamic 'doing' oriented tourist activity, as when they refer to Veijola and Jokinen's (1994) touristic body united in physical rituals such as dancing and participatory pursuits such as sing-alongs in coach-tour parties. Here, they state that Veijola and Jokinen 'draw attention to the active performative side of tourism and its liberating capacity to let people be different' (Perkins and Thorns, 2001: 191).

Similarly, an insightful examination of tourists at the Taj by Edensor (1998) shows how touristic narratives and performances articulate distinct dispositions, identities and praxis in heterogeneous, variegated spaces. The mechanisms through which this situation occurs are described in stage-related terms, but the meaning of the 'performative codes and en-framing conventions brought by backpackers . . .' (p. 203) is not explained. Bruner, along with Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994), discusses performative acts by the Maasai in the cultural performance staged for tourists on the lawn of the Mayers ranch in Kenya. In this post-colonial setting, the Maasai subvert governmental policies that prevent certain customs and traditions from being continued by enacting them on stage, hence preserving them through their performance (see also, Bruner, 2001). This performative move is part of a performance; it calls into effect power relationships based on a struggle for cultural preservation and brings about a consequence (preservation) from the enactment of the act(ing) itself. The 'subjection' of the Maasai with respect to the micro-mechanisms of power operating in that post-colonial space, however, lacks theoretical explication. Performativity remains a missed opportunity, for a historical and disciplinary exploration reveals that this concept has a great deal to offer in theorizing discursive resistance and power in touristic space.

The linguistic turn in the twentieth century heralded new insights on the limits and possibilities of language and performativity. Focusing on the ontological nature of being, Heidegger (1996) pointed out that humans are linguistic beings, i.e. '[l]anguage is the house of Being'. Althusser (1971) drew attention to the performative and ideological nature of language in his discussion of how subjects are 'interpellated' by language. His famous example of a policeman hailing a passer-by illustrates how the latter is discursively produced as a subject through the performative speech-act of the officer. The subordination of the subject takes place through the effect of the authoritative voice of the law, i.e. through discourse and language. Feminist theorists, in particular, have continued Austin's (1962) work on performative speech acts in order to show how power relations operate through language. Their research helps to unravel some of the confusion in the tourism literature on the use and potential of performativity in the tourist experience. Writers such as Williamson (1983) have additionally highlighted the 'hey you', interpellative power of advertising, an analysis which Dann (1996b) has applied to certain forms of tourism promotion.

We follow the usage of performativity as described by gender theorists such as Judith Butler and Eva Sedgwick, where performativity involves an apprecia-

tion of the ways in which identities are constructed via complex citational processes. Here, performativity also refers to the power to construct speech acts. For example, gay performativity might refer to the gay community's empowerment to speak of itself and for itself – it is a claiming of social authority to participate in the shaping of institutional facts (Sedgwick, 1990). Hence, the space of performance may be linguistic or non-linguistic, as in a performance punctuated by speech-acts of silence, or in action-oriented performances such as participating in a cultural ritual or dance. The performance space is contingent, heterogeneous, and often agonistic and contested. It is a space in which word, body and world come together in dynamic interrelationships that open up possibilities for forming new subjectivities and new selves. Judith Butler (1995, 1997a, b), demonstrates how the interpellation of the subject does not involve a simple one-way relationship where the subject requires and acquires recognition through subordination. Rather, it is a dependency on power for self-formation, one that the subject both denies and re-enacts. The 'subject' is enacted through language (hence should be thought of as a linguistic category), but its agency is paradoxical, since it appears to be an effect of subordination. This situation results in displays of ambivalence for, as Butler states, neither is resistance a recuperation of power nor is there a recuperation that is actually resistance: 'When conditions of subordination make possible the assumption of power, the power assumed remains tied to these conditions, but in an ambivalent way; in fact, the power assumed may at once retain and resist that subordination' (Butler, 1997b: 13).

As Parker and Sedgwick (1995) point out, this usage of performativity differs from that of critical theorists who seem to have generalized the term to refer to just about any kind of action that influences the social construction of a situation of person. Following Butler's generalization of Austin's performative speech-acts, it can thus be argued that subjects in natural area destinations can engage in performative resistance to rationalizing and instrumental practices, using the very power that is both external to them and the means by which they become subjects. After all, as Butler points out in *Excitable Speech* (1997a), verbal utterances are not always efficacious, and to act linguistically does not necessarily mean that a human speech act has the power to bring about a particular effect (as demonstrated by speech-acts that may be classed as failed performatives).³ Examples of such resistance in tourism may be illustrated through both speech and action related performances as when, for instance, 'travellers' performatively avoid those markers that show them to be 'mass tourists', or, for example, when indigenous guides in wilderness trips performatively resist stereotyping. C. C. Farr (1901), a late nineteenth century writer of narratives for the *Rod and Gun* magazine, describes some of the behaviour of native Ojibway guides in the increasingly popular wilderness tourism of Ontario (Canada). Guides, he says, like to play jokes and the inexperienced sportsman knows little how he is being criticized by a guide: 'He is not the grinning imbecile that he is often given credit for being, and when the inexperienced white man is

thinking that the Indian is laughing with him he is often really laughing at him and thinking what a fool he is' (cited in Jasen, 1995: 182). Here, the performative action of the guide is enacted in a setting where power relations both subjectivize and empower the guide, in a performance space where power relationships are enabling and constraining at the same time (Foucault, 1983; Hollinshead, 1999).

For women travellers participating in these turn of the century wilderness and camping trips in Ontario, wilderness tourism created special opportunities to obtain greater freedom and equality as well as disidentify from standards of Victorian decorum. Performative acts such as those enacted by women advising each other about what to wear in camping, what duties they should perform and how to behave under various situations, were all part of 'the attempt to redefine identity in this new middle-class role of "playing" at the primitive life' (Jasen, 1995: 152). In these examples, performativity shows up as 'a way of doing, which is a way of knowing, in a performance' (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 196). Herein lie possibilities for touristic or local resistance to metanarratives, where action-oriented, different, or even counter-interpretations are formulated by the subject. In part, this resistance can occur because, as Foucault (1976, 1980) has argued, relations of power are not possible unless the subjects are free and therefore able to challenge and transgress the boundaries of their identities. Hence, an ethical subject is built on an 'aesthetic of existence' (Foucault prefers this term to 'ethics') involving a critical, reflexive resistance that enables the constructing of new kinds of subjectivities and selves (Darier, 1999b, c).

This resistance is not easy in natural area destinations governed by the paradoxical discursive relations and local-global interests discussed earlier, because authoritative speech-acts take on performative force, and tend to succeed because the speech-act is part of a ritualized practice, i.e., 'it *draws on and covers* over the constitutive conventions by which it is mobilized' (Butler, 1995). Resistance is possible because the subject is itself the site of ambivalence, emerging both as 'the *effect* of a prior power and as the *condition of possibility* for a radically conditioned form of agency' (Butler, 1997b: 14–15). From this position, it can be argued that the subject of eco-tourism is interpellated into performative relationships within the natural area that both enable and constrain action and resistance – an in-between, post-modern ethic of resistance.

A performative ethic of resistance?

'Managed' spaces of recreation like the ones described above may be viewed as systems of Lyotardian performativity in which 'Nature' is appropriated by those vested with scientific, institutional and economic authority. Also situated within the performative matrix of the natural area destination is the 'Other' (the resident, the tourist, 'Nature'), an immersion which presents an opportunity to resist hagemonizing discourses. In other words, these social spaces where diverse interest groups and recreational users compete over use and preservation are

heterotopic sites of agonistic struggles and resistance to the rationalizing performativity of ecological modernization and visitor management systems.⁴ The touristic quest (if indeed there is such a search) may be one for knowledge about the world, or may be an escape from the 'soft evils' of the home world (Wang, 2000); it may be a nostalgic search for authenticity or an existential journey of discovering the self by an experience of 'otherness' (alterity). In these globally performative sites, leisure, restorative and cultural meanings are negotiated through a collision between Self and Nature, using contemplative, mechanized or instrumental means (Sax, 1980).

A performativity-based analysis suggests that authenticity in the new forms of tourism, or what constitutes an 'authentic' nature-based experience, necessitates a socio-political analysis. Authenticity is not simply a property to be sought within artefacts or tourism constructions, models and sites. In that objectivist perspective, authenticity may be taken to be an *intrinsic* property of an object or event which arises from that object or event holding certain essential qualities. Conversely, a post-modern or social constructionist view describes authenticity as an *extrinsic* attribute of things – a shifting locus in a political field of historically embedded discourses and methods through which the nature experience is produced and consumed (Foucault, 1983; Richter, 1999). From this perspective, the natural spaces described earlier are mythical structures and sites of cultural performance by which national-political and social identities are constructed (Hall and Page, 1999). Rather than being a static or singular concept, the culture of nature is performatively engaged between various interests operating at different scales in the global business of nature tourism. Local-global networks mediate economic-ecological interests and facilitate the circulation of nature-based myths and destination images. Implicated in these networks are the media, news, advertising and entertainment industries, the culture, arts and education industries, leisure activities like spectator sports, shopping, and sites of natural or built heritage and historic preservation (e.g. museums, monuments, cultural sites). Nonetheless, tourists and locals in the destination domain do not necessarily interpret the accounts of intermediaries such as the park guides, marketers and scientists in the same way. Some resist these official discourses and 'substantive staging' (Cohen, 1989), preferring instead to bring their own versions and experiences to construct new meanings, and maybe new identities. It is in this *performative* and experiential encounter that a situated ethic of place and performance may be possible – in 'a way of experiencing and moving through the world' (Neuman, 1991: 7).

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998: 194) observes as well that learning occurs via 'a performance epistemology that places a premium on experience'. It is argued here that in ecologically modernizing natural area destinations, this *experiential capital* involves an interactive, polyvocal and possibly agonistic process of meaning-making between the touristic world (constructed with the help of advertising, brochures, souvenirs, gift shops and other technologies/techniques) and the

natural world (or artefacts/things in the natural world). The struggle lies in the tourist (or local resident or ethnic group that is being 'constructed' by the myth-makers) to negotiate and resist the hegemonic meanings being impressed by the industry or destination/attraction manager's represented offerings. Natural area destinations are therefore characterized as heterotopic sites of resistance, where the tourist, resident and cultural performers can exercise performative freedom against normalization. A focus on performative learning, experience and narration shifts the nature tourist experience away from modernist preoccupations with performativity in the national park system (i.e. away from both the instrumentality of order, control, efficiency, measurement, vision and industry 'surveillance' and the researcher's empirical 'gaze') to the situated tourist body in dynamic relation with the sensual, sensate natural world.

Conclusion

This article puts forward the thesis that discourses of nature, nature tourism and sustainable development are interwoven with discourses of neo-liberalism and ecological modernization, through which a global rationality develops on the use and management of public ecological goods in natural area destinations. These are paradoxical hegemonic discourses and practices, for useful outcomes are created in the sustainability-oriented approaches which disguise the accompanying risk of rationalization (Gramsci, 1971). A closer look reveals how taken-for-granted ideologies evolved historically and continue to influence the use and management of natural areas destinations today. Put simply, major events in the modern period, i.e. the scientific, technological and industrial revolutions, in conjunction with the development of capital accumulation and market-based capitalism, have resulted in a rational-instrumental perspective of the natural environment. From a scientific and technical perspective, Nature was (is) a set of natural laws whose prescriptions guided natural processes, and whose resources could be used to enable human progress. Economically (dis)located Nature became the commercialized good of nature tourism, which (post-)industrial society's hard-working individuals pursued in order to relax and re-create self or existence. In the newer 'eco' forms of nature tourism, modernized nature is also a pastoral nature where 'care of self' is implicated in 'care for the environment' (Foucault, 1976). Supporting these activities and perspective are a number of modern and global discourses related to sustainable development and ecological modernization.

Impact management and sustainability planning tools and processes are now being carried world-wide into once 'pristine' (un-visited) ecosystems through local-global processes, institutions and organizations, including professional and non-profit organizations, academic areas such as conservation biology, natural resources management and tourism studies. Critical and post-structuralist analyses reveal how the discourses of ecological modernization and neo-liberalism can reduce the natural and social world to a performativity governed by lin-

guistic efficiency, instrumentality and the denial of difference (Lyotard, 1993). 'Nature' in national parks, for instance, is performatively reduced for the tourist gaze by science (via park interpreters and park biologists), business (via marketers and promoters) and public policy (managing/controlling 'nature' for future generations). Succumbing to the subordination of these discursive relations, the tourist's life-journey also risks being reduced to consuming a slice of 'Nature', becoming a voyeuristic sightseer and instrumental subject of the same rationalizations subjecting the natural world.

The analysis of the discursive matrix of natural area destinations conducted earlier indicates that greater research attention needs to be directed to the global discursive matrix within which natural recreation and tourism areas and practices are embedded. It calls for a critical research agenda on the growing interdependence between science, business and public agencies as well as international institutions, in the 'sustainable development' of ecological areas for joint purposes of conservation, tourism and recreation. It also calls for care and reflexive practice, to ensure that such tools and techniques of ecological modernization do not become vehicles for the post-colonization of people, places and spaces. The latter part of the paper therefore moved towards addressing questions related to agency and structure. How is the tourist being inscribed as a subject in the rationalization process and how is resistance possible? Whose heritage, history and knowledge are being privileged and whose voices are not being heard in the instrumental narrative of natural areas? Can they even speak or resist the dominant discourses at play in these natural recreational areas?

Some argue that the Foucauldian subject lacks agency. Others respond that in the Foucauldian field of relational power and ambivalent subjectivities (Butler, 1997a, b), modernist hegemonies can be displaced by a corresponding performative move: a linguistic, performance-based form of struggle and resistance to the dominant discourses that interpellate natural and human participants. The above study and examples of tourists, locals and natural landscapes suggest that grand unifying stories are not so easily maintained within the rich cultural matrix of the social and natural world. Slippage in the interstices of enforced rationality enables alternative or counter-discourses to be expressed through gendered, ethnically specific and dialogical resistance. Located in the interactive and situated natural space, the performative tourist can do more than extend her 'gaze' as the addressee of a park interpreter's discourse. A performative engagement with the natural destination is an experiential relationship that resists univocality and metanarrative (e.g. the park management's idea of 'nature'). A reflexive interaction with multiple narratives of nature, including those of ethnic groups in that area and their spiritual relationships with the land, enables exploring and constructing different meanings about the natural cathedrals of the world.

Fruitful avenues for future research thus lie in the new evolving theorization of performance and performativity in various disciplines as discussed above. This

re-thinking enables new configurations and conceptualizations of the subject of power in tourism. The analysis suggests that emancipatory potential lies in a locally configured performative resistance to the multiplicity of rationalizations in the natural area destination. It calls for an eco-practice that is dynamic, interactive and situated, one that permits the tourist to experience the natural world through a bodily and embodied performative encounter with the places and spaces of nature. This experience allows for a recovery of the de-centred body in tourism and for the possibility of participatory politics and praxis at the local level (Veijola and Jokinen, 1994). As Benhabib (1990) puts it:

The paradigm shift in contemporary philosophy from consciousness to language, from the denotative to the performative, from the proposition to the speech-act, need not lead to a self-contradictory polytheism and to a vision of politics incapable of justifying its own commitment to justice. This paradigm can also lead to an epistemology and politics which recognize the lack of meta-narratives and foundational guarantees but which nonetheless insist on formulating minimal criteria of validity for our discursive political practices. (p. 125)

NOTES

1. While there is insufficient space to pursue this argument here, Habermas (1978, 1989), with respect to his discussion of knowledge-constitutive interests and the rationalization of the public sphere, offers possibly useful insights for the natural sphere.
2. In sustainable development, 'the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are all in harmony and enhance both current and future potential to meet human needs and aspirations' (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987).
3. On a similar note, Butler (1997a) takes up Austin's point that verbal injury may occur through the specific consequences that a speech act incites, rather than inhering in the conventions invoked by the speech act.
4. Applying Foucault's notion of heterotopia, Quigley (1999) explains that nature, wilderness or resistance must be conceived of as a provisional linguistic space (structuring action and physical sites), one where sites of opposition are also created. These sites occur 'as a result of the particular structuring of particular cultural moments: They are not eternal' (p. 201). Heterotopias are places of tension and cultural dialogue, offering opportunities for resistance and change.

REFERENCES

- Adler, J. (1989) 'Travel as Performed Art', *American Journal of Sociology* 94(6): 1366–91.
- Althusser, L. (1971) 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses', pp. 170–86 in L. Althusser *Lenin and Philosophy*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Austin, J. L. (1962) *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Barber, B. (1995) *Jihad vs. Mcworld: How Globalization and Tribalism are Shaping the World*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Beck, U. (1992) *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: Sage.

- Beck, U., A. Giddens and S. Lash (1994) *Reflexive Modernization: Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Benhabib, S. (1990) 'Epistemologies of Postmodernism: A Rejoinder to Jean-François Lyotard', pp. 107–32 in L. Nicholson (ed.) *Feminism/Postmodernism*. New York: Routledge.
- Boorstin, D. (1961) *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo Events in America*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Britton, S. (1991) 'Tourism, Capital and Place: Towards a Critical Geography of Tourism', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9(4): 451–78.
- Brown, K. (1998) 'The Political Ecology of Biodiversity, Conservation and Development in Nepal's Terai: Confused Meanings, Means and Ends', *Ecological Economics* 24: 73–87.
- Bruner, E. (2001) 'The Maasai and the Lion King: Authenticity, Nationalism and Globalization in African Tourism', *American Ethnologist* 28(4): 881–908.
- Bruner, E. M. and B. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994) 'Maasai on the Lawn: Tourism Realism in East Africa', *Cultural Anthropology* 9(2): 435–70.
- Butler, J. (1995) 'Burning Acts – Injurious Speech', pp. 197–227 in A. Parker and E. Kosofsky Sedgwick (eds) *Performativity and Performance*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1997a) *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, J. (1997b) *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- CAMPFIRE (2003) 'Community-based Tourism: A New Direction for CAMPFIRE'. Fact Sheet No. 8, produced by the CAMPFIRE Association and the Africa Resources Trust.
- Chomsky, N. (1999) *Profit over People: Neo-liberalism and the Global Order*. New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Cohen, E. (1988) 'Authenticity and Commodification in Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research* 15(3): 371–86.
- Cohen, E. (1989) 'Primitive and Remote: Hill Tribe Trekking in Thailand', *Annals of Tourism Research* 16(1): 30–61.
- Dann, G. (1996a) 'Greenspeak: An Analysis of the Language of Eco-tourism', *Progress in Tourism and Hospitality Research* 2(3/4): 247–59.
- Dann, G. (1996b) *The Language of Tourism: A Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Wallingford, UK: CAB International.
- Darier, E. (ed.) (1999a) *Discourses of the Environment*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Darier, E. (1999b) 'Foucault against Environmental Ethics', pp. 217–40 in E. Darier (ed.) *Discourses of the Environment*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Darier, E. (1999c) 'Foucault and the Environment: An Introduction', pp. 1–34 in E. Darier (ed.) *Discourses of the Environment*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Davis, S. (1996) 'Touch the Magic', pp. 205–17 in W. Cronon (ed.) *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*. New York: Norton.
- Dryzek, J. S. (1997) *The Politics of the Earth: Environmental Discourses*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Edensor, T. (1998) *Tourists at the Taj: Performance and Meaning at a Symbolic Site*. London: Routledge.
- Eder, K. (1996) *The Social Construction of Nature: A Sociology of Ecological Enlightenment*. London: Sage.

- Escobar, A. (1996) 'Constructing Nature: Elements for Post-structural Political Ecology', pp. 46–68 in Richard Peet and Michael Watts (eds) *Liberation Ecologies: Environment, Development, Social Movements*. London: Routledge.
- Everett, J. (2001) 'Accounting, Auditing and Accountability in Canada's National Parks', unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Calgary, Canada.
- Farr, C. C. (1901) 'Ducks and Duck Shooting on Lake Temiscamingue', *Rod and Gun* (March): 475.
- Feifer, M. (1985) *Going Places*. London: Macmillan.
- Foucault, M. (1976) *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1980) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*. New York: Pantheon.
- Foucault, M. (1983) 'The Subject and Power', pp. 208–52 in H. L. Dreyfus and P. Rainbow (eds) *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fraser, N. (1996) 'Clintonism, Welfare, and the Antisocial Wage: The Emergence of a Neo-liberal Political Imaginary', pp. 493–505 in A. Callari, S. Cullenberg and C. Biewener (eds) *Marxism in the Postmodern Age: Confronting the New World Order*. New York and London: The Guildford Press.
- Gramsci, A. (1971) *Selection from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Gregory, D. (1994) *Geographical Imaginations*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gregory, D. (2001) 'Colonial Nostalgia and Cultures of Travel: Spaces of Constructed Visibility in Egypt', pp. 111–51 in N. Al Sayyad (ed.) *Consuming Tradition, Manufacturing Heritage: Global Norms and Urban Forms in the Age of Tourism*. London: Routledge.
- Habermas, J. (1978) *Knowledge and Human Interests*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1989) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Hall, C. M. (1994) 'Ecotourism in Australia, New Zealand and the South Pacific: Appropriate Tourism or a New Form of Ecological Imperialism?', pp. 137–58 in E. Cater and G. Lowman (eds) *Ecotourism: A Sustainable Option?*. Chichester: Wiley.
- Hall, C. M. and S. J. Page (1999) *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation: Environment, Space and Place*. London: Routledge.
- Harvey, D. (1990) *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Harvey, D. (1998) 'What's Green and Makes the Environment Go Round?', pp. 327–55 in F. Jameson and M. Miyoshi (eds) *The Cultures of Globalization*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Heath, R. (2001) 'Wilderness Tourism in Zimbabwe', pp. 153–60 in V. L. Smith and M. Brent (eds) *Hosts and Guests Revisited: Tourism Issues of the 21st Century*. New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation.
- Heidegger, M. (1996) *Being and Time*. Albany: State University of New York.
- Holden, A. (2000) *Environment and Tourism*. London: Routledge.
- Hollinshead, K. (1999) 'Surveillance of the Worlds of Tourism: Foucault and the Eye-of-power', *Tourism Management* 20(1): 7–23.
- Hughes, G. (1995) 'The Cultural Construction of Sustainable Tourism', *Tourism Management* 16(1): 49–59.
- Jamal, T. and M. Eyre (2003) 'Addressing Multi-Stakeholder Conflicts in National Park Spaces: The Banff Bow Valley Round Table', *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 46(3): 417–41.
- Jameson, F. (1991) *Postmodernism or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. London: Verso.

- Jasen, P. (1995) *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario 1790–1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998) *Destination Cultures: Tourism, Museums and Heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lash, S. and J. Urry (1994) *Economies of Science and Space*. London: Sage.
- Luke, T. W. (1997) *Ecocritique: Contesting the Politics of Nature, Economy and Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lyotard, J-F (1993) *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- MacCannell, D. (1989) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books.
- MacNaghten, P. and J. Urry (1998) *Contested Natures*. London: Sage.
- Magoc, C. J. (1999) *Yellowstone: The Creation and Selling of an American Landscape*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Milne, S., and J. Ateljevic (2001) 'Tourism, Economic Development and the Global-Local Nexus: Theory Embracing Complexity', *Tourism Geographies*: 369–93.
- Mowforth, M. and I. Munt (1998) *Tourism and Sustainability in the Third World*. London: Routledge.
- Murphy, R. (1994) *Rationality and Nature: A Sociological Inquiry into a Changing Relationship*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Neuman, M. (1991) 'Tourism and American Culture: A Study of the Meanings of Leisure Travel at Grand Canyon National Park', unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Utah, United States.
- Parker, A. and E. K. Sedgwick (1995) 'Introduction: Performativity and Performance', pp. 1–18 in A. Parker and E. K. Sedgwick (eds) *Performativity and Performance*. New York: Routledge.
- Perkins, H. C. and D. C. Thorns (2001) 'Gazing or Performing? Reflections on Urry's Tourist Gaze in the Context of Contemporary Experience in the Antipodes', *International Sociology* 16(2): 185–204.
- Peterson, T. (1988) 'The Meek Shall Inherit the Mountains: Dramatistic Criticism of Grand Teton National Park's Interpretive Program', *Central State Speech Journal*, 39(2): 121–33.
- Peterson, M. J. and T. Peterson (1993) 'A Rhetorical Critique of 'Nonmarket' Economic Valuations for Natural Resources', *Environmental Values* 2: 47–65.
- Pine, S. J. (1998) *How the Canyon Became Grand: A Short History*. New York: Penguin Books.
- Quigley, P. (1999) 'Nature as Dangerous Space', pp. 181–202 in E. Darier (ed.) *Discourses of the Environment*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Richter, L. (1999) 'The Politics of Heritage Tourism Development: Emerging Issues for the New Millennium', pp. 108–26 in D. Pearce and R. Butler (eds) *Contemporary Issues in Tourism Development*. London: Routledge.
- Ritzer, G. (1996) *The McDonaldisation of Society: An Investigation into the Changing Character of Contemporary Life*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Rojek, C. (1995) *Decentring Leisure: Rethinking Leisure Theory*. London: Sage.
- Runte, A. (1987) *National Parks: The American Experience*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Rutherford, P. (1999) 'Ecological Modernization and Environmental Risk', pp. 95–118 in E. Darier (ed.) *Discourses of the Environment*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Saga (2002) *Travellers World, April 2002–June 2003*. Folkestone: Saga Holidays Ltd.

- Sax, J. (1980) *Mountains without Handrails: Reflections on the National Parks*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Searle, M. (2000) *Phantom Parks: The Struggle to Save Canada's National Parks*. Toronto: Key Porter Books.
- Sedgwick, E. K. (1990) *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Stem, C. J., J. P. Lassoie, D. R. Lee, D. D. Deshler and J. W. Schelhas (2003) 'Community Participation in Ecotourism Benefits: The Link to Conservation Practices and Perspectives', *Society and Natural Resources* 16: 387–413.
- UNEP-ICLEI (2003) *Tourism and Local Agenda 21: The Role of Local Authorities in Sustainable Tourism. United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives (ICLEI)*. Paris: United Nations Publications (UNEP).
- UNESCO-ICOMOS (2002) Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972–2002, 30th Anniversary. World Heritage Committee, 26th session, Budapest, Hungary 24–9 June 2002 (No. WHC-02/CONF.202INF.11). Paris: UNESCO-ICOMOS.
- Urry, J. (1990) *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Society*. London: Sage.
- Urry, J. (1995) *Consuming Places*. London: Routledge.
- Veijola, S. and E. Jokinen (1994) 'The Body in Tourism', *Theory, Culture and Society* 11: 125–51.
- Wang, N. (2000) *Tourism and Modernity: A Sociological Analysis*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Weaver, D. B. (1998) *Ecotourism in the Less Developed World*. Wallingford: CAB International.
- Weber, M. (1958) *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. New York: Scribner.
- Wheeller, B. (1997) 'Here We Go, Here We Go, Here We Go Eco', pp. 39–49 in M. J. Stabler (ed.) *Tourism and Sustainability: Principles to Practice*. Wallingford: CAB International.
- Williams, A. and G. Shaw (1998). 'Tourism and the Environment: Sustainability and Economic Restructuring', pp. 49–59 in C. Michael Hall and Alan E. Lew (eds) *Sustainable Tourism: A Geographical Perspective*. Harrow: Addison Wesley Longman.
- Williamson, J. (1983) *Decoding Advertisements: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*. London: Marion Boyars.
- World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) *Our Common Future*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- World Tourism Organization (1997) *Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry: Towards Environmentally Sustainable Development*. London: World Tourism Organization, World Travel and Tourism Council, and the Earth Council.
- World Tourism Organization (1998) *Guide for Local Authorities on Developing Sustainable Tourism*. Egraf: WTO.
- Yearley, S. (1996) *Sociology, Environmentalism, Globalization*. London: Sage.

TAZIM JAMAL, PhD, is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Recreation, Park and Tourism Sciences at Texas A&M University. Her main research areas are community-based tourism planning and multi-stakeholder processes for addressing tourism related environmental and cultural conflicts. Address: TAMU 2261, Dept of Recreation, Park and Tourism Sciences, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX, 77843-2261, USA. [email: tjamal@tamu.edu]

JEFF EVERETT, PhD, is an Assistant Professor in the Haskayne School of Business, The University of Calgary, Canada. His main focus is on environmental accounting and management, as well as the application of sociological and cultural theories to the study of protected areas. *Address:* Haskayne School of Business, The University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, T2N-1N4. [email: jeff.everett@haskayne.ucalgary.ca]

GRAHAM M. S. DANN, PhD, is Emeritus Professor of Tourism at the University of Luton, UK. As a founder member of the International Academy for the Study of Tourism and of the research committee on international tourism of the International Sociological Association, his principal interests in the sociology of tourism are in the areas of motivation and the semiotics of promotion. *Address:* International Tourism Research Centre, University of Luton, Putteridge Bury, Hitchin Rd., Luton, Bedfordshire LU2 8LE, England. [email: graham.dann@luton.ac.uk]