

to tell the truth of a particular kind of nature where spectacle and education is repackaged as fun. Disney's Animal Kingdom stands as a materialization of the effort to exercise power over life in order to produce profit, pleasure, and particular people. In doing so, the Animal Kingdom serves as dramatic evidence of the amazing capacity of capitalism to innovate and colonize, to expand in this case into nature, which is perhaps something of a biopolitical frontier.

As Susan Willis has noted, "At Disney, conservation is more than narrative; it's a spectacle" (2005, 56). Animals on display and performing for crowds, an enormous fake tree and simulated safaris, yetis and dinosaurs, observing veterinarians at work and watching mole rats behind glass at "research stations": all these elements act in service of this notion of conservation as spectacle. But Disney's work at the Animal Kingdom goes beyond spectacle to govern those who consume it. The larger point is that Disney commodifies our vision and understanding, and through that commodification, governs what we come to know as nature. As Hermanson (2005), Price (1995), Cronon (1996), Davis (1997), and others have reflected in different contexts, this works in large part because nature has already become a theme park, or perhaps a mausoleum. Nature is where people are not. It is the journey to find nature at a zoo, a theme park, an ecotour, or a museum that has allowed for it to be consumed in normalized ways by certain people. In her work on Sea World, Susan Davis (1997) has insightfully remarked that what needs to be queried about places like Disney's Animal Kingdom is what stories are occluded in this theming of nature and how this erases possibilities for it to be otherwise. The next chapter picks up on these leitmotifs.

Wolves, Bison, and Bears, Oh My! Defining Nature at Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks

Thousands of tired, nerve-shaken, over-civilized people are beginning to find out that going to the mountain is going home; that wildness is a necessity; that mountain parks and reservations are useful not only as fountains of timber and irrigating rivers, but as fountains of life.

—John Muir, 1898

IN OCTOBER 2006, I embarked on an ecotour to Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks in Wyoming: a seven-day excursion into "yesterday's frontier." On the last day, I sat in the van that had transported our ecotour all over the two national parks, pondering our trip. I gazed out the window, half listening to our guide explain the impact of brucellosis, an infectious disease that induces spontaneous abortion in both livestock and "wild" creatures like bison. It has been a remarkable trip, I thought, filled with spectacular mountain vistas, quaint towns, and a picnic in the snow, as well as sightings of bears, wolves, bison, elk, eagles, and moose. Postcard perfect. All the other tour members seemed thrilled with their experience, with some "best trip ever" comments; no small praise given that most had gone on ecotours throughout the globe. Why not? It had lived up to the claims in the brochure. But I wondered, just what was "wild" and "natural" about this trip? Is a national park natural? How natural is it for a herd of bison to cause a traffic jam or a herd of "wild" ecotourists to take pictures of it? Is the wildlife any less incarcerated than the ones seen at Disney's version of a zoo? How do pleasure, play, and adventure function in this space? How does tourist entitlement work here? Does this experience limit what can be understood as nature? And if it does, through what technologies and practices is a particular kind of green governmentality made? And more practically, just how many toxins was the van that we toured

around in spewing out so that we could have this opportunity to gaze upon nature?

This chapter addresses the above questions to explore how ecotourism is not only about environmentalism but also about power; or, more properly, that it is sometimes difficult to separate the two. I argue that ecotours can work to structure vision, separate nature and culture, and proffer discourses of science and romanticism that have the effect of “truth.” In this way, ecotourism, like the other case studies of this book, seeks to govern what we understand and experience as nature, leaving little room for nature to be elsewhere or otherwise. And it appears that ecotourism, although once touted as the solution to the negative impacts of mass tourism, can be as much about capitalism and consuming the “other” as is a resort or a cruise holiday.

But I also want to say something a little more specific about how green governmentality is manifested and circulates through the practice of touring the wild. Unlike the other cases in this book, I suggest that this case study offers up an opportunity to think with the notion that green governmentality can work on an aesthetic register, not only governing the production of knowledge but also how we come to see the wilderness as beautiful and rejuvenating, and because of these characteristics, in need of human protection. As such, I contend that this ecotour offers a kind of visual grammar for natural beauty, backed up by a long history of romantic encounters with wilderness and narratives of a national nature. Working through an assemblage of lens/eye/animal, the ecotour is a veritable school for producing subjects to learn the appropriate way to see nature and reproduce it, ensuring that such vision travels beyond the boundaries of the national parks.

But how does this seeing work? Here I draw on studies critical of the tourist endeavor to bring ecotourism in conversation with green governmentality. John Urry’s (2002) “tourist gaze” is a central concept in my analysis, not only because some of its insights are generated from Foucault, but also because it emphasizes visual consumption as central to the tourist experience. Foucault argued in *The Birth of the Clinic* (2003b) that an objective, observing, professionalized, and improving medical gaze emerged in the eighteenth century, which brought the body into relations of power and discourse in new ways. Although Urry notes that one would imagine sightseeing to be far removed from the sterile environs of a clinic, he suggests that the gaze of the tourist “is as socially organized and systematized

as is the gaze of the medic” (2002, 1). While there can only be a wide diversity in the ways that people act as tourists, Urry (2002) contends that the tourist gaze can be understood within a framework of attributes that define modern leisure travel. First, Urry asserts that tourism is that which “presupposes its opposite, namely regulated and organized work” (2). It is a leisure activity that is removed from the ordinary, everyday life of labor. This separation involves movement for Urry, to places and spaces that are different from the ones we call home. But this movement is by definition temporary and necessitates a return to the ordinary. Thus, the break from everyday life is key to tourism. It is leisure rather than toil. And it is because of this time of respite that the tourist gaze is a lingering one, examining each element of the touristscape that has been deemed worthy of a visit. This prolonged gaze is searching for the “it-ness” of a place; the characteristics that can be distilled to a particular set of signs. So, tourists seek essences that define places in their imagination: romantic, rustic, wild, sophisticated, bucolic, urban, and so on. People then collect and memorialize these sites through visual media like photography that “enable the gaze to be endlessly reproduced and recaptured” (3). And all of this is undergirded by the tourist industry that makes and remakes places to develop new tastes, trends, and above all, to direct the tourist gaze. A visit to sites deemed important by the tourist industry—of spectacular nature, high culture, ancient history, or even extreme poverty—works as a trophy, an iconic place to check off on a list of must see places. We might situate ecotourism as part of this project of remaking, both as a new trend in tourism and a different way to gaze upon places. This way of seeing and reading particular places can be a fruitful way to talk about the governance of nature as well as its commodification because the acceleration of consumable signs may actually lead to a more limited number of meanings.

However, my use of Urry’s tourist gaze should not be understood as an acceptance of a monolithic understanding of the tourist, or his or her activities. Indeed, the signs consumed are never stable and are often jettisoned for new meanings altogether. So, where once Las Vegas was seen as a seedy home to forlorn gamblers, it now has been recuperated as a sophisticated while still risqué destination, playing on its former reputation. Further, tourists themselves do not passively encounter the sights they seek out, but rather are often playful, ironic, and fully aware of the unreality of what they consume. If not, places like Disney’s Animal Kingdom would receive very few visitors. Tourism is an encounter rather than a vehicle of transmission,

and both site and subject are changed in the process. Nonetheless, amid these contingent meanings and wry readings, there is an objectifying gaze through which tourist sites are *meant* to be understood. This gaze can operate to fix dominant meanings of a place, indeed works to produce the “reality” through which a space can be encountered.

Tourism has also been described as a thoroughly modern activity (Desmond 1999; MacCannell 1989; Sandilands 2003; Urry 2002). The modern nature of tourism is predicated by a sense of nostalgia, mourning, or loss, which scholars like Braun (2002) have shown is central to the experience of the ecotourist. Braun argues that the modern subject, having transcended the past and always seeing the present as an eclipse of the past, experiences modernity through loss. In this articulation, pleasure is found when the ecotraveler searches for pristine beginnings—for nature untouched by modernity—which, in fact, can never be found. Thus, Braun argues, “adventure travel and ecotourism are best viewed as practices through which subjects perform and reaffirm the present—and their own identity—as modern” (2002, 112). This kind of travel does not step outside of modernity, as seems to be the purpose in attempting to encounter an “authentic” and primeval nature, but rather is an expression of it. Along with the sense of loss, modernity comes with a whole host of other elements that inform the tourist endeavor: the co-emergence of photography as a way of experiencing tourist sites; the sense of entitlement to come upon the “other” that mass tourism has produced; the emergence of striking boundaries between what is considered work and play, labor and leisure, everyday life and spectacular experience; and, of course, tourism’s insertion into global capitalist economies.

X Scholars have done an admirable job in focusing on nature’s commodification through tourism (Duffy 2002; Fennell 1999; Honey 1999; West and Carrier 2004), naming and exploring how ecotourism has inserted nature into global capitalism in novel forms. These studies are extremely useful because they have questioned the supposed innocence of the ecotourist endeavor, questioning their claims of environmental stewardship and sustainability. My goal is to push this interrogation further. I seek to not only discuss ecotourist nature as a commodity but also as a discursive site, which can construct “truth,” name risk, and proscribe behavior. So, my point here is not to say that ecotourism isn’t about capitalism, but it is also about more than money: it is about the way we encounter and understand nature because of the narrative work of these enterprises. Thus ecotours,

like other vehicles of recreational culture, are more than what they appear at first blush. The selling of nature as commodity, combined with a moralizing environmentalism that seeks to obscure its commodification, shapes ways of seeing nature.

And so, I am interested in using these insights to think about how tourism and ecotravel operate in the American context. However, I also want to complicate these notions by considering how these dynamics work in a site of national nature. The pilgrimage to visit national parks is a particular one, awash with notions of nationalism, wilderness, and its mastering through colonialism. Moreover, western parks like Yellowstone and Grand Teton are host to notions of manifest destiny, the frontier, “cowboys and Indians,” and the discursive as well as political struggles over charismatic megafauna like bison, wolves, elk, and bears. An examination of ecotourism in a national park, then, allows for the considerations of how these “sacred” sites in the United States are defined by the complex entanglements of nature, history, politics, commerce, and power.

Ecotourism

Mass tourism has expanded to proportions that were likely unimaginable at the beginning of the twentieth century. Estimates indicate that approximately 880 million people traveled internationally in 2009 (UNWTO 2010). Tourism has been named the world’s largest employer, involving 10 percent or 200 million jobs worldwide (International Ecotourism Society 2000). The tourist industry has grown to such a degree that theorists like Urry suggest that “[t]o be a tourist, to look on landscapes with interest and curiosity (and then to be provided with many other related services), has become a right of citizenship from which few in the ‘west’ are formally excluded” (1992, 4).

Ecotourism is, of course, a subset of the larger tourist industry, and as a concept and practice it has generated much rancorous debate in recent years, both in terms of how it can be defined and what it purports to do. Probably the most widely accepted definition of the term comes from The International Ecotourism Society (TIES). According to this network of tour operators, conservation organizations, nongovernmental organization staff, government workers, academics, and travel agents, ecotourism is “responsible travel to natural areas which conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people” (International Ecotourism Society

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2000)—a broad definition that in the end says very little about actual practice. Perhaps because this definition is so fluid—it can include all manner of outdoor recreation, adventure and extreme travel, visits to national parks, eco-volunteering, and wildlife watching—the statistics around ecotourism's growth seem so variable and high. So, for example, the World Resources Institute pegged tourism's growth at 7 percent in 1990, and ecotravel was said to be expanding somewhere in the order of 10 to 30 percent. In the United States, the market for ecotourism is estimated at \$77 billion per year, some 5 percent of the total U.S. tourism market (International Ecotourism Society 2000). Within this segment, national parks figure large. In 2004 national parks received 277 million visitors, and are said to have "generated *direct* and *indirect* economic impact for local communities of US \$14.2 billion and supported almost 300,000 tourist-related jobs during 1996" (*ibid.*, emphasis added). While the amounts garnered from ecotourists, or what is meant by direct and indirect, are unclear, sites deemed natural appear to be drawing more and more visitors per year.

More broadly, despite the differences in definitions and their attendant impacts on how the scale of ecotourism can be measured, what cannot be disputed is that the ecotourism industry has seen massive gains and generated much interest, especially among those who see themselves as socially and/or environmentally minded. In a discussion of the rise of luxury eco-hotels, Heidi Mitchell (2006) argues in the *New York Times Magazine* that being green is becoming the "new normal" in an attempt to capture the "metrospiritual" market share, quite clearly a play on Mark Simpson's 1990s neologism "metrosexual": a "feminized" male subject (gay, straight, bisexual, or otherwise) who rather than performing the strict division between gender roles around normative conduct, instead embraces self-care, style, and emotion. According to Simpson, metrosexuality emerged in the 1980s and 1990s, when "old-fashioned (re)productive, repressed, unmoisturized heterosexuality [was] . . . given the pink slip by consumer capitalism" (2002). Instead, a whole range of consumer products emerged to help men to achieve aesthetic perfection, from personal training to "manscaping." Indeed, Flocker's book, *The Metrosexual Guide to Style* (2003), contains chapters on etiquette, fine food and wine, art and culture, grooming, fitness, and romance, all categories in which the metrosexual must excel. Naming it the beginning of a new consumer category, Simpson remarks that "Metrosexual man is a commodity fetishist: a collector of fantasies about the male sold to him by advertising" (2006). Thus, the metrosexual is a complex

figure, both disrupting gender and sexuality boundaries, all the while becoming more deeply intertwined with capitalist markets. If these characteristics are ascribed to the metrosexual, who, then, are these so-called "metrospirituals"? According to Mitchell they are "hybrid-driving, yoga-practicing baby- and echo-boomers for whom social responsibility and seeking out new adventures are a way of life" (2006, 14). Metrospirituals eat local foods, support green organizations, and consume responsibly. Similar to their namesakes, metrospirituals have a sensitive side, seeking both communion with nature and its preservation. And like metrosexuals, they too are a consumer category that is targeted by very particular marketing strategies, specifically around style, sensory experience, and adventure, and they use their purchasing power to express their vision of the world.

Besides the characteristics named above, typical ecotourists tend to be between thirty-five and fifty-four, college educated (82 percent),¹ split evenly between men and women (depending upon the activity in which they are engaged), and more likely to be willing to spend up to \$1,500 more on such excursions (International Ecotourism Society 2006). The desire for social and environmental responsibility underpins the marketing of these adventures, and the people who go on them often seem genuinely interested in traveling ethically.

But this kind of ethics—the sense that power relations can be shifted, ameliorated, or overcome through "political consumerism"—is the core of ecotourism that receives the most criticism. The practice has been assailed in recent years for producing exactly the opposite of what it purports; rather than improving conditions for local people and safeguarding the environment, ecotourism can lead to an increase in contingent, low-paid labor and environmental destruction (Honey 1999). More theoretically, ecotourism is said to espouse a kind of "weak sustainability," which, in fact, reinforces the commodification of nature (Duffy 2002, 155; West and Carrier 2004). Indeed, what I find most useful to my analysis of ecotourism in the United States is the connection made between neoliberal capitalism and the remaking of nature for consumption. It seems in some ways that ecotourism is an almost inevitable function of the colonizing spirit of capital. Environmentalism and marketing, nature and profit, together at last—as if they were ever apart.

Catriona Sandilands's (2003) work on the reimagining of Clayoquot Sound's landscape and economy has been particularly instructive, situating ecotourism squarely within global capitalism. In her examination of

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the shift from extractive to attractive, tourist economies, Sandilands charts how preservation can operate through the same logic as clear-cutting: both serve to weave this piece of temperate rainforest into capitalist relations, albeit with dramatically different outcomes. But the trick here is that it seems not to be so. As Sandilands contends, the maintenance of a landscape ripe for the tourist gaze is made innocent of these economic considerations: "The problem is rather that this representation comes disguised as a liberation: one set of capitalist-embedded (consumer) constructions of nature gets to pass as a freeing of the landscape where another, less romantic (productive) aesthetic is demonized as if it were the only representative of multinational capitalism around" (2003, 141). Through this movement from productive to preserved, places like Clayoquot Sound become remarkable, remade in the image of the global commodity of nature: pristine, primeval, wild. In doing so, this site defined as nature must first be emptied of cultural or economic traces. Sandilands advances the notion that what makes such wilderness spaces a tourist destination is the fact that they are divorced from everyday life, removed from work, home, and livelihood. What Sandilands describes is a place that, in some sense, has been made into a museum.

Nature's Nation: U.S. National Parks

Perhaps one of the most memorialized spaces in America is the national park. So-called "white settler" nations like the United States expanded and flourished through the imperial project of conquering and taming a supposed wilderness. But wilderness has not always carried the same freight in American imaginations. William Cronon (1996), in his now famous essay "The Trouble with Wilderness," charts the discursive shift about notions of nature that was fully realized in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century. Previously, wild places were seen as a wasteland. Ideas about wilderness were drawn from the Bible, filled with temptation, dread, and "where it was all too easy to lose oneself in moral confusion and despair" (70). However, Cronon argues that wilderness was recuperated through the interrelated social constructs of the sublime and the frontier. Drawing on the same biblical imagery but inverting its meaning, wilderness became not only a space of encounter with evil but also with the divine. Put more succinctly, "If Satan was there, then so was Christ" (73). Thus, the wilds of nature became a place where one could encounter God.

But these were more than just religious landscapes; they were also national ones, and part of the making of the nation in the United States involved the myth of the frontier, and the lament for its loss. As Cronon shows, the frontier has special resonance in the iconography of the United States, linked as it was to nation building, masculinity, and rugged individualism. However, eventually modernity infected the West and the frontier "way of life" faded. The attempt to recapture an echo of the frontier, a highly productive discursive and material space that had been so central to the emergence of an American identity (or at least so Frederick Jackson Turner [1986] argued) was something that could only take place through wilderness. This different vision of nature—pristine and rejuvenating rather than wicked and villainous—is what in large part served as the impetus to establish the first national parks, beginning with Yellowstone in 1872. They acted as preserved pieces of a lost frontier, incarcerated in space and time as symbols of U.S. identity.

The opportunity to visit the canyons, trees, mountains, and waterfalls of the first national parks was initially limited to a select few: those of the leisure class who could afford transcontinental travel. However, Marguerite Schaffer, in her book *See America First* (2001), charts the ways that national parks were opened up to a broad audience. Beginning in the 1880s, national parks were linked to the burgeoning westward rail system, offering a means to travel to these natural wonders. With the founding of the National Park Service (NPS) in 1916, a new player joined the game of making these natures iconic. In the 1920s the NPS began a campaign to encourage Americans to see their country first, to visit and understand its natural features as a ritual of citizenship that attested to the greatness of the nation. Both the railway barons and the NPS employed massive advertising efforts to lure people west to good effect. Schaffer asserts that the infrastructure of the modern nation-state—railways, roads, telephones—made these natural wonders accessible to middle-class white Americans, and generated the notion of a national tourism that centered on the parks. This connection between nationalism, nature, and citizenship cemented in places like Yellowstone is reflected in the oft-quoted remark by western novelist Wallace Stegner, who opined, "National parks are the best idea we ever had. Absolutely American, absolutely democratic, they reflect us at our best rather than our worst" (1983, 4–5). Putting aside the many ways one might take apart this statement, Stegner accesses one main function of national parks:

to define a sense of “Americanness” and the West through the consumption of this simulacral frontier.

If national parks have been host to notions of nature and nation, they have also been witness to how these concepts have been worked through performances of whiteness, masculinity, sexuality, and class. Here, the perfect figure for such assertions is Theodore Roosevelt. From a prominent New York family, Roosevelt was raised within a bubble of privilege and power, and from him great things were expected. However, Roosevelt suffered terribly from asthma beginning in his early childhood into his adult years. This ailment marked him as an invalid who accompanied his mother, Mittie, on her jaunts to resort spas to recover rather than engaging in the manly pursuits his father so venerated (Dalton 2003). But rather than understanding the physical basis for his affliction, his doctor diagnosed Roosevelt with “the handicap of riches” brought on by “excessive upper-class refinement” (37). Named a sissy, sickly, and weak, Roosevelt could not claim the masculinity that he so craved. The notion that disease was related to the “dandyfication” of the upper classes was in turn linked to other problems with the social body—panic about racial decline in the face of waves of immigration, anxiety around the effeminacy and over-civilization and decadence of the city, and fear about the education of women, which might subvert their reproductive functions—all which led to a kind of “national emasculation” (39; see also Haraway 1989). According to Dalton as well as other biographers, this assessment sharply marked Roosevelt’s perception of both his illness and the state of the nation. But there was an antidote to the anxieties of the nation: masculine pursuit of nature’s mastery, particularly in frontier-like wilderness of the West. A “strenuous life” was the balm needed in this quest to recover manliness, class power, whiteness, and sexual potency. And so, Roosevelt set out to encounter wilderness, first in the Dakotas for ranching and hunting, but later in places like Yellowstone, Yosemite, and East Africa.

However, these practices of self- and nation-building could only happen if these sites of nature were preserved. And so, Roosevelt was a main proponent of the national parks system and expanded their scope greatly while president. Yet for Roosevelt, and many others at the time, hunting and preservation weren’t incompatible as they are often seen by urban people today. Indeed, preservation was linked to the maintenance of game, so that it could be shot (both with guns and cameras) through performances of aggressive masculinity that he then narrated for captive magazine

audiences. National parks for Roosevelt served as sites for the reinvigoration of the individual and collective body, sacred spaces to be visited to confirm a white, male, heterosexual class privilege.

Perhaps because national parks act as containers for all kinds of ideas about the nation, its character, and its nature, they are also highly regulated and disciplined spaces. Animals are supervised to maintain their health and prevent disease. Fire is suppressed, set, or monitored. People are regulated through backcountry camping permits, lists of prohibited activities, and rules about interactions with the wildlife. Vision is directed to particular sights and not others. For example, Alice Wondrak Biel’s (2006) book on bears in Yellowstone charts different NPS policies with respect to the regulation of nature. First, there was “aesthetic conservation” under the tenure of the first NPS superintendent, Horace Albright, between 1919 and 1929, where visitors were encouraged to feed bears and stages were built so that bears could be fed by NPS staff to the delight of onlookers. In the 1930s the number of attacks on humans had rendered bears a problem population, and the era of the “dangerous bear” emerged (Wondrak Biel 2006, 28). Yet, there was a reluctance to prohibit visitors from feeding the bears, as for many it had become one of the main attractions of Yellowstone National Park. Instead, the NPS issued warnings that bears were “wild animals,” and feeding them was done at the risk of the visitor. But bear injuries continued. At the same time, the Wildlife Division of the NPS was established in 1933, which represented a more scientific than aesthetic approach to the animals of Yellowstone. This made for a reimagining of bears in the park as wild and in need of management. Indeed, in the 1950s many hundreds of bears were shipped to zoos or exterminated if they displayed aggressive behavior (28). The 1960s ushered in a return to “primitivism,” in which NPS staff attempted to remake the park to look as it might have existed precontact, allowing once “tame” bears, then “dangerous bears” to become “wilderness bears” (28). Wondrak Biel asserts that from the 1970s to the present day, with its inclusion as a threatened species under the Endangered Species Act, the bear of Yellowstone has now become “imperiled” (113), as a symbol of environmental threat within a scientized view of the Greater Yellowstone ecosystem. Over the course of these many shifts in thought and policy, what remains constant is that the NPS maintained a strong hand in guiding the way the park and its nature are perceived. These kinds of regulatory endeavors—monitoring, shaping, and organizing how nature can exist and how it is perceived—have become part of the fabric of U.S. national parks.

Yellowstone National Park

Of the parks, perhaps none is as famous as Yellowstone. Its symbolism as a site of national pilgrimage is akin to the connection between Disney and childhood. Situated on a dormant super-volcano in western Wyoming, Yellowstone has achieved this degree of fame for a number of reasons. As the first national park in the United States, it was celebrated as the preeminent example of the nation's natural beauty and majesty, as well as a physical manifestation of the United States' commitment to preservation. Yellowstone is home to some of the region's most distinct natural features, like Old Faithful, Mammoth Hot Springs, the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone, and Tower Falls, as well as the Hayden and Lamar Valleys. It also signifies a frontier landscape that once settled became much mourned in the popular consciousness and national imagination of the United States. Although the frontier myth may hold less sway now, Yellowstone has continued to remain an important element of national nature. It was made a UNESCO world heritage site in 1978. In 1988, it reentered the headlines again as wildfires decimated 793,000 acres, or 36 percent of the park (Yellowstone National Park, n.d.). This event led to a debate about whether the fires should be extinguished, pitting recreationalists and the tourist industry against scientists and park staff, but also igniting, if you will, a conversation about the primacy of science, aesthetics, private property, profit, or government policy (Delaney 1988; Schabecoff 1988). Yellowstone was again in the center of controversy in 1995 when it was the first to abide by the regulations of the Endangered Species Act and reintroduced gray wolves to the national park. Despite these controversies, or perhaps because of them, Yellowstone remains one of the most widely visited parks in the whole system, with 3,295,187 visitors in 2009 (NPS 2009b).

The story of Yellowstone is a complicated one, but not unlike other histories of imperialism, nature, and power. The Washburn Expedition of 1870 has been credited with the discursive if not the actual founding of Yellowstone. However, the prospectors, explorers, scientists, and railway owners who pushed for the founding of the first national park were not the first people there; indeed, the Shoshone, Salish, Nez Perce, Bannock, and Crow utilized the Greater Yellowstone area as a hunting range for many hundreds of years, and there is evidence that the members of the Washburn Expedition were told by Indigenous people about Yellowstone in the first place (Spence 1999). However, a story began to circulate that Aboriginal

people did not, in fact, use this land. Instead, they avoided it for fear of the thermal features that dot the landscape. Although there was no corroboration for this in Native practice—which clearly demonstrated otherwise—this narrative operated as a powerful reimagining of the space that was to become Yellowstone National Park. Yellowstone was emptied of a human presence so it could be remade as a national park. Because, of course, how could this natural paradise be natural if there were people already there, living with and on the land? How could it become a sportsman's wonderland if hunters were required to compete with Aboriginal people for wolves, bison, and elk? How could it be spatially white and Indigenous at the same time? As Magoc notes, stories like Native superstitions about geysers served two aims: “first, to buttress the cultural superiority of Euro-Americans, later to support the archetypal image of unblemished wilderness we prefer in places like Yellowstone” (1999, 140). And so, this facilitated the neat (though contested) erasure of the area's first inhabitants, legitimizing Indigenous dispossession while simultaneously remaking Yellowstone as a magnet for national tourism. More precisely, the creation of the first national park guided “the transformation of the West from a space characterized by imperialist violence to a space of consumption (tourism) and production (wealth)” (Germic 2001, 96).

Consumption, then as now, was the primary vehicle to understand Yellowstone. Rather than the primeval nature of myth, settlers, most often white and male, have most often interacted with this site as a place of commerce, rather than sublime communion with nature. Created by railways, sold by hoteliers and concessionaires, refashioned again and again by NPS staff, and now a site of ecotourist adventure, Yellowstone has, throughout its long history, always been thoroughly inserted into the global tourism market.

Grand Teton National Park

Whereas volumes have been written about the history and significance of Yellowstone, very little has been said about Grand Teton. This may have something to do with its inauspicious and drawn out establishment, taking twenty years to become a unified national park. Unlike Yellowstone, Grand Teton was occupied by settlers by the time it was proposed as a national park: colonists came to the area in the 1890s, and ranchers used the grasslands below the Teton Range to graze their livestock. So, although

rivaling Yellowstone in beauty, the making of a national park here proved more complicated, and the erasure of human presence would prove a far more difficult undertaking. In 1916 and 1917 the NPS moved to incorporate the Teton Range into Yellowstone, a measure that was later scuttled. The issue was put aside until 1929 when the national park was created, but was limited to only the Teton Range and the glacial lakes, a compromise that did not please those who felt the area to be unique and in need of conservation, like John D. Rockefeller Jr. (Skaggs 2000). Debates about the expansion of Grand Teton National Park raged throughout the next twenty years, characterized by concerns about loss of livelihood, control, and “authenticity”: “Ranchers worried that park extension would reduce grazing allotments; Forest Service employees feared the loss of jurisdiction on previously managed forest areas; and local dude ranchers were against improved roads, hotel construction and concessioner monopolies” (1). The arguments of these interested parties effectively blocked the expansion for the next two decades.

However, the emergence of mass consumer culture after World War II generated more of an interest in tourism. The expansion of this national park to include the Jackson Hole National Monument was finally effected on September 14, 1950, making the total area 310,000 acres. However, this expansion involved accommodations that are still in effect today, like the maintenance of existing grazing rights, the continuation of access rights, and the agreement that there would be no more national forests, parks, or monuments in Wyoming (Skaggs 2000). These arrangements make Grand Teton National Park an interesting place. At one level, it seems to be a regular national park, with 2,580,081 visitors in 2009 (NPS 2009a). At another, it is a space of labor, where ranchers still maintain grazing rights. At still another level, it was a hunting ground for the area’s Indigenous inhabitants who were removed from the land by force. But it is important to note that in none of these iterations is it a primeval wilderness, even though it is often consumed as such.

In reference to Yellowstone, Magoc has acerbically commented, “What does it mean to call a place that receives three million people a year ‘virgin?’” (1999, 170). A good question, and one that speaks to the large degree of psychological work that must take place to imagine national parks as pristine wilderness. But I prefer to ask about the consequences of imagining Yellowstone and perhaps even Grand Teton as virgin rather than an assemblage nature–culture space. The consequences, I suggest, are romantic

nostalgia and selective remembering and forgetting. Renato Rosaldo (1989) has coined the term “imperialist nostalgia” to describe the phenomenon of longing for that which has been destroyed that simultaneously obscures the process of its destruction. In the case of nature tourism to national parks, for example, the modern anxiety about the environmental crisis has produced this kind of mourning, where there is an attempt made to recapture a lost (but of course never actually existing) wilderness. By harkening back to the supposed halcyon days of the wild United States, ecotourism reinforces the idea that nature exists in places that are separate from culture. This means that people can visit and consume national parks but never be understood as part of their nature. This concept of nature insists on the careful policing of human activity to allow only certain kinds of relationships to exist.

These kinds of relationships and practices were what the participants on my ecotour to Yellowstone and Grand Teton were hoping to experience. I now turn to the ecotour operator and the tour itself, describing the company, the participants, and the itinerary in an effort to understand how this mode of consumption works to discipline and regulate what we come to know as nature.

Natural Habitat Adventures

Natural Habitat Adventures (Natural Habitat) was founded in 1985 in Boulder, Colorado, by Ben Bressler. Beginning as a small-scale nature tour operator, Natural Habitat has expanded to offer trips to every continent, from polar bear watching in Churchill, Manitoba (their most popular trip), to “a natural and cultural odyssey” to Bhutan (Natural Habitat Adventures, n.d.1). In their trip catalogue, Natural Habitat boasts that they are the “largest privately supported international conservation organization in the world, with more than 1 million members in the United States alone” (2007, 6).² While the veracity of this claim is difficult to determine, and the sleight of hand in calling a for-profit nature travel company a conservation organization is difficult to swallow, there is no doubt that Natural Habitat has been noticed. Indeed, Natural Habitat recently sold the majority interest in their company to GAIAM, a self-proclaimed “lifestyle media company” specializing in an array of items linked to green living and likely to appeal to Mitchell’s “metrospiritual”: yoga and fitness DVDs, eco-apparel, green housewares, renewable energy products, and now ecotravel. In their

acquisition of Natural Habitat, GAIAM seeks to “provide individual and group eco-travel services, allowing people to experience firsthand our planet’s wildlife, wild places and natural wonders—and imparting an understanding of the critical work needed to preserve them” (GAIAM 2005, 27). And so, GAIAM did not just become the majority shareholder in a company, but adopted a vision for guiding people to save the natural world.

The Natural Habitat Adventures’ Philosophy

Natural Habitat espouses a travel philosophy that necessitates that each of its “nature expeditions” must meet three conditions. First, the groups must be small to encourage interaction among travelers and with the guide. Second, the “expedition leaders” must be extremely knowledgeable about the area visited, its natural history, its wildlife, and its local culture to cater to the well-educated clientele. They must also be fit to carry people’s luggage, as they did time and time again on our ecotour. Finally, the accommodations that guests find themselves in must be remote and situated within close proximity to the nature they have come to see. Natural Habitat seeks to provide a unique, personal journey connected to very particular ideas of “wild” nature.

Of course, according to Natural Habitat, their travelers are not the boilerplate “fun in the sun” tourists; rather, they seek difference because they are also unique. “We focus on providing rare opportunities for natural discovery that are out of the reach of the typical tourist” (Natural Habitat Adventures 2007, 18). While this notion of “out of the reach” may speak to the knowledge of the tour guides—or, perhaps, the wallets of the travelers—what Natural Habitat seeks to offer is *an experience* rather than just a trip. Part of this experience is linked to Natural Habitat’s definition of luxury:

To us, the word applies to the overall experience we offer our guests. To us, “luxury” means taking a helicopter flight to an ice floe to come face-to-face with a newly born seal pup, getting on a small charter plane to go deeper into the Alaskan bush, or being handed a pair of night-vision goggles so you can view wildlife after sunset. “Luxury” is venturing off-the-beaten path in the company of the most knowledgeable and experienced Expedition Leaders in the world. So, while you don’t have to sacrifice comfort when you

join us on an adventure, we know that you’ll appreciate our far more encompassing definition of the term. (10)

This passage speaks to an elite kind of traveler: adventurous, hardy, uncommon, sophisticated, inquisitive, discerning, discriminating, and possibly restless, one who knows that refinement is sought in the unknown, the unusual, and the exotic rather than in sumptuousness. In this way, the ecotraveler is promised a different kind of opulence, a wider abundance of sights and senses to experience. It is because of these qualities that the Natural Habitat tourist knows the value of saving the special places on earth and this supports the company/organization’s “commitment to conservation.”

Commitment to Conservation: Natural Habitat Adventures and the World Wildlife Fund

In many ways, Natural Habitat Adventures is an ecotour operator much like any other, featuring visually stunning catalogues awash with romantic views of nature, attractive Web sites replete with appealing animals, trips that seem to conflate nature and culture: in short, a corporate enterprise with a sophisticated marketing team that works to bring customers in. But it is also more than this. Natural Habitat has been named as the World Wildlife Fund’s (WWF) Official Conservation Travel Provider.³ What this means practically is a few things. First, when WWF members choose a Natural Habitat trip, a portion of the proceeds is donated back to the WWF; second, that Natural Habitat will sponsor a one-year membership for those who are not WWF members but would like to be; and, third, that the tour guides are aware of WWF efforts in conservation, and will cross-market their work. According to one of the guides I interviewed, Natural Habitat is one of the WWF’s main financial supporters, presumably contributing to the \$7 million in funds the organization received from corporations last year, though no specific number is provided (WWF 2007). But this is also a reciprocal relationship. WWF shares their mailing lists with Natural Habitat and advertises their trips on their Web site, providing a ready-made clientele of nature lovers for this ecotourism operation. X

The naming of Natural Habitat as the sole Conservation Travel Provider for WWF, an organization of some 1.2 million members in the United States and over 5 million worldwide, means more than simple practicalities. It also signifies that the service Natural Habitat provides is somewhere

outside the stain of mass tourism and capitalism, much like the Environmental Program attempts to do for Disney. And so, Natural Habitat can claim to be more than a moneymaking company. Instead it might be read as a hybrid, neither completely capitalist nor fully nonprofit but somewhere in between, a conservation organization that can make money by doing so, a sustainable development strategy at its finest. Thus, Natural Habitat can purport that by traveling the tourist has participated in wildlife conservation. As one former Natural Habitat traveler asserts in the company's catalogue, simply visiting a place is not only personally transformative, it actually works to stave off possible environmental threats: "The gifts of beauty and grace I received from my trip to Mexico to witness the butterflies will be a part of me forever and I will be changed in some way by being present to this miracle. The entire experience and my participation from start to finish, makes me feel that I have—in some small way—contributed to the survival of these magical creatures and the local areas we visited. WWF has chosen their partner wisely" (N. Shelby, *Four Time NHA Traveler*, qtd. in *Natural Habitat Adventures 2007*, 7). So not only is Natural Habitat relieved of the problems that a more complicated analysis of green capitalism might compel, but the ecotourist is safe in the knowledge that their expenditure has served and saved nature.

In recent years, however, Natural Habitat has been forced to recognize the environmental damage that tourism, even ecotourism, inflicts on the natures they purport to save, even quoting estimates that travel-related activities account for almost a third of "greenhouse gas emissions that affect global warming" (Natural Habitat Adventures, n.d. 4). In concert with WWF, Natural Habitat has instituted a carbon pollution reduction program where all travelers can simply enter their destination information into an online carbon calculator and they will be given a particular figure of "how much money it will cost to prevent the same amount of gases from being emitted elsewhere through investments in alternative energy projects in the developing world" (Natural Habitat Adventures 2007, 9). The client can then donate the appropriate sum to Natural Habitat, which it then assigns to a particular project. In any case, the Natural Habitat customer is not dissuaded from traveling but rather is encouraged to participate in an easy program to offset the greenhouse gases associated with the trip, "allowing you to participate in nature expeditions that are 100 percent positive" (9)! Ecotravelers are offered the opportunity to use their wealth to buy a way out of responsibility for environmental problems.

Hidden Yellowstone and Grand Teton

Natural Habitat's exposition of its travel philosophy in the United States is so romantic, so nationalistic, and so emblematic of the kinds of language used to describe nature in ecotour operations that it is worth quoting at length:

It can be easy for a world traveler to overlook the *natural splendors* that exist here at home. Because we believe that America's *unspoiled expanses of wilderness* and its magnificent wildlife rival those found anywhere else on Earth, we *pursue* domestic travel experiences that are *remote and secluded*, and close to the wildlife, just as we do on an African safari. Our professional *Expedition Leaders* escort *small groups* of travelers to the most remote parts of America's famed wildlife refuges. We leave the crowds behind at the typical tourist hotspots and *venture deep* into the heart of these protected lands, finding ourselves within feet of grizzlies catching spawning salmon in a clear Alaska river, watching a pack of wolves hunt for food on an early winter's morning in Yellowstone, or quietly witnessing the sunset over the colorful ridgeline of the Grand Canyon. Join us in America for a *true safari experience*. (Natural Habitat Adventures 2007, 46, emphasis in original)

Of course, one might suggest that this is simply marketing, meant to sell exotic vacations to urbanites hungry for a bit of respite, or perhaps to Americans who, in the context of the so-called "War on Terror," are now afraid to leave their own countries. But the fact that it is marketing is exactly the point. Its reliance on the rhetoric of romantic and exotic nature, its invocation of explorer/traveler who is willing to risk getting off the beaten track, its use of evocative language to construct a scene one might watch in a nature film, and its appeal to a nationalistic sense of nature make this passage one that is freighted with signifiers that white Americans can understand and relate to with little conscious thought. This passage can draw would-be ecotourists in because it makes manifest culturally significant metaphors and signs of power: nation, purity, and wild(er)ness all find their home in this brief excerpt. Indeed, one is reminded of the Disney claim that the Kilimanjaro Safari ride is Africa without the mosquitoes; for Natural Habitat's part, it is the safari experience (close contact with desirable

animals, small groups, unspoiled wilderness) that they bring to the United States. Domestic nature is recast as exotic, and Americans can perform the nationalist impulse of seeing “their” nature.

One part of this story of pristine nature in the heart of the postindustrial West is the idea that something has been lost or obscured and can be found. Due to the expertise of the “expedition leaders” and the resilience of the guests, Natural Habitat can find secluded locations even in Yellowstone National Park (Natural Habitat Adventures 2007). In what are marked as “journal entries” in the Natural Habitat catalogue, a former guest of this trip notes:

When I was a child, I got lost in a park. I didn't like it much. But now, 40 years later, I search out these types of experiences. In Yellowstone, getting lost isn't as easy as you might think. It's a popular place, and I think lots of people have the same idea. That's where my guide helped. He led me and a co-traveler onto a vacant trail north of Old Faithful. We ambled and talked about the geysers. We ambled some more and talked about the bears, moose, and eagles. After a while, I lost my bearings. Our guide knew the way, but what's important is I could get lost in a park again. (54)

The desire to get lost, to feel secluded and possibly at risk (all within the safe and protected confines of an ecotour), seems puzzling, at least at first glance, particularly in a national park that receives some 3 million visitors each year. Indeed, this feeling is completely disconnected from the actual experience of the ecotour and the park more generally. Our guide (2006) asserted, “90% of people who visit Yellowstone don't go a mile from their camp. Most people who go to Yellowstone get the road experience, rarely straying from the boardwalks and roads.” He indicated that this was compounded by the age of the typical Natural Habitat ecotourist, who unlike the eco-adventurers described by Braun (2002), Farley (2005), or Waitt and Cook (2007), seek less strenuous kinetic experiences. Indeed, as Gilbert (2004) has pointed out in other contexts, this kind of trip straddles the fence between rustic and luxurious, where the travelers take short jaunts into the wild with their guides and then return to the safety and comfort of their hotel rooms. So, how can we make sense of this desire to be lost that so clearly seems to be virtually impossible on trips such as these? I think it must be read as a performance of mourning as similarly described

into
the wild
fish

by Braun (2002)—an attempt to shed modernity by grasping at the pre-modern, while at the same time dragging the trappings of the modern along with them to the experience. Remoteness, seclusion, the possibility of being swallowed by nature, but, of course, pressing ever onward: these are the things that both threatened and titillated the early explorers. In the present, this can be read through the lens of a neo-imperial desire to consume the unknown: to experience that which is rare and undiscovered. These, then, are the psychological tools that allow the ecotour to “Hidden Yellowstone and Grand Teton” to function.

The Itinerary

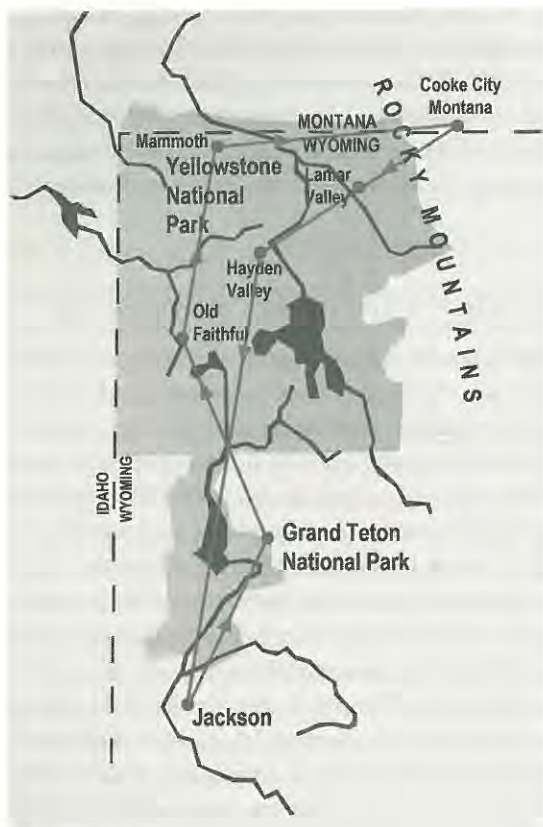
Our itinerary for this trip is detailed on the map below. We began and ended this seven-day tour in Jackson, Wyoming. From there, we spent some time in Grand Teton National Park, then journeyed up to Yellowstone National Park to see Old Faithful, Mammoth Hot Springs, and the Lamar Valley, staying overnight both in the park and in Cooke City, Montana. Each day of this trip is explored below, drawing together the theoretical insights of governmentality as well as approaches to tourism to understand how this ecotour governs the senses—*aesthetic, intellectual, physical, and affective.*

Day 1: Jackson—The Gear Fetish and the Wealthy Environmentalist

Jackson, Wyoming is, without doubt, a rich town. Set amid the glacial lakes and peaks of the Tetons, this picturesque village is something of a resort town, offering wildlife viewing, rafting, mountaineering, hiking, and dude ranches in the summer as well as skiing and snowboarding in the winter. Former vice-president Dick Cheney, as well as celebrities like Harrison Ford and Sandra Bullock make their second homes in Jackson (Banay 2006), and the main street is littered with quaint boutiques and ski shops. Nature and profit coincide in the spectacular setting of Jackson, which acts as a bubble insulating residents from the more complicated picture of land politics in the West. So, the drive through Wyoming reveals a primarily ranching landscape, dotted liberally with trailer parks and, in locales like those outside of Cheyenne, the new exurban “ranch-lets” with subdivision homes set on one or two acres of land. Moreover, it seems that those who service the tourist economy in Jackson can scarcely afford to

live there; our two guides on the ecotour lived in Kelly, a small town some twenty kilometers away, indicating that housing in the resort town has become too expensive. The wealth of Jackson makes it a suitable starting point for this ecotour, where nature meets comfort, privilege, and luxury to produce a commodified wilderness experience.

The ecotour participants arrived at the well-appointed yet appropriately rustic-looking hotel, replete with elk antlers, large wood furniture, and paintings of local wildlife to make one feel that we had now entered the mythical West of which some of us had dreamed. This was the hotel where we would begin and end our journey. We convened in the lobby to go for dinner and to have the first briefing by our guide. This briefing supplemented the information that we had received from Natural Habitat before departing, which included books to read, clothes to purchase, and what to expect



Hidden Yellowstone and Grand Teton. A map of the itinerary taken by the ecotour through the national parks. The ecotour began and concluded in Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

as part of the trip. The briefing provided more specific information and involved a discussion of the itinerary. We received maps of the parks as well as a checklist to mark off the animals we saw on the trip.

Eager with anticipation, we chatted about the reasons for embarking on this trip. What appeared to drive U.S. travelers to embark on such a trip was a nationalist impulse to “see our own country.” Of course, the motive was hardly new to travel in the United States; Schaffer (2001, 103) has asserted that “scenic patriotism” was a main impetus behind the birth of the U.S. national park system. The feeling endures, then, combined with the desire participants expressed to see the majestic nature of the West, encounter its animals, and come away with new experiences.

From the hotel, we moved on to dinner and the opportunity to get to know one another better. As we introduced ourselves, it became clear that the participants on this *Natural Habitat* trip bore more than a passing resemblance to the typical ecotourist described earlier in this chapter, but also were different in important respects. There were eight participants on the ecotour, with one guide and one logistical organizer whose role was to arrange accommodation and meals. Seven were women, two of whom were traveling alone. There was one married couple and two friends who had met on a previous *Natural Habitat* trip. All were white. They were largely an urban crowd, living in or in close proximity to New York City, Toronto, Miami, and San Diego, with one traveler from Iowa. Each of the participants had some form of postsecondary education and held a range of positions: office administrator, urban planner, volunteer fundraiser, and landscaper. We had three retirees on the trip as well—a human resources manager, a teacher, and a secretary. Almost all of the participants had gone on an ecotour with *Natural Habitat Adventures* in the past, and for one participant this was her tenth trip with the company. Given the price range of these trips—with sea turtle watching in Mexico at the lowest end for U.S.\$2,195 to \$21,833 for a private cabin to recreate Ernest Shackleton’s voyage to Antarctica (*Natural Habitat Adventures*, n.d.1)—there is obviously a particular class dynamic at work here. The travelers were also generally speaking much older than the average ecotourist cited above (between thirty-five and fifty-four), with one participant in her seventies and most in their sixties. According to the guide, the participants on this trip were typical to *Natural Habitat*: “Older folks with disposable income and time. They are mostly between 50 and 65. More women than men go on these trips and often widows.” When I asked him the degree of ethnic diversity,

he indicated, "Oh it's all white people. We have to fill out these forms . . . on participants. I get so used to filling out Caucasian that I often miss the occasional Asian who signs up." And so, we have a profile of who goes on Natural Habitat trips: white, female, urban, older than the typical ecotourist, looking for the comfort and security of a guided trip, equipped with disposable income, and interested in wildlife watching.

The gendered composition of our tour group stands in opposition both to the average tourist described above as well as the history and contemporary readings of adventure-based ecotravel that have focused on the masculine performance inherent in the practice. Indeed, harkening back once again to Roosevelt, travel into the wild was predicated on the recapture of a white masculinity lost through both the feminization of the city and its racial decline. While modern adventure travel may have lost some of this explicit reference to race, gender, and sexuality, some tours, particularly those that are physically taxing, associated with risk, and competitive, continue to carry this freight (see, for example, Braun 2003; Erickson 2003). However, while the Natural Habitat excursion may be contaminated by the trace of its origins (for example, the emphasis on getting lost in the wild or exploring the unknown), there is also something a little more complicated at work. The gendered composition of the ecotour speaks to a practice that subverts its beginnings, in which, at least to some degree, the emphasis on masculinity has leaked out. This ecotour is about *looking at* animals rather than climbing mountains, for example. Unlike some of its other manifestations, this trip is risk averse: it doesn't involve tests of physical ability, potentially dangerous contact with animals, or competition. And unlike big game hunting, which shares a similar focus on animals, the primary technology of power is the camera rather than the gun (see more on this below). The fact that the majority of people on this kind of trip are women speaks to this alternate construction of ecotourism. Thus, there is a microphysics of power at work here, but one that cannot be clearly sorted into the categories of either masculinity or femininity. More precisely, the practices on this ecotour and the people who participate in them resist easy classification. As we will see, from a fixation on gear to the watching of wolves, race, gender, and class infuse this ecotour in complicated and sometimes contradictory ways.

Given that so many of my fellow travelers had been on these trips before, what became immediately apparent was that there were experts among us: ecotourists who knew their way around a safari or Arctic expedition.

This expertise was evident through the acquisition of, and discussion about, the gear required to be a real ecotourist. Now, this is not the gear of extreme or adventure-based travel—there are no avalanche beacons or climbing axes here. But gear is also no longer solely the purview of mountain climbers in Nepal or trekkers in the Atacama. As John Tierney indicates in his *New York Times Magazine* article,⁴ the celebration of gear had grown to include a once-foreign client base:

In America, the epicenter of the boom, the number of adventure-travel outfitters has tripled in the past decade, to more than 8,000. Their clientele is increasingly older (the average age is about 50) and more heavily female. Sales of outdoor equipment have quintupled since the mid-1980s, to \$5 billion a year, partly because more Americans just want to dress like explorers (sneaker companies are hurting because fashionable urban youths have switched to hiking boots), but also because so many are going into the wilderness. (1998, 21)

Tierney, an ambivalent and often grudging actor in adventure tourism, simultaneously laments and revels in his desire to buy the newest, trendiest, and most expensive items to reenact the imperial contest. Indeed, no one seems immune to the "gearhead" disease, and the participants on my ecotour were no exception. This first night and throughout the trip there were long and expert discussions of the merits of merino wool versus silk long underwear, the importance of Gore-Tex outerwear, and how to select the right hiking boots (keep in mind that we spent the majority of our time riding around in a van equipped with hatches in the roof you popped open to see and photograph animals). While style, utility, and "authenticity" mattered with respect to gear, price was rarely mentioned. Beyond the clothes, my fellow travelers carried a small fortune in cameras, often rivaling the cost of the trip. Gear was clearly an important, if not central facet, to the identification as ecotraveler.

Patagonia, The North Face, Columbia: each of these brand names served as markers not only of wealth but also of the ethical impulse to do right with said wealth. Jackets, fleece, backpacks, hiking boots, long johns, and cameras were fetishized—made into more than themselves and imbued with all manner of meanings other than their use. The fetishistic character of gear in nature travel works to alleviate anxiety and dread about

what is seen as the loss of the wellspring of modern life: nature. This consternation is mediated through the act of purchasing a trip to a supposed remote wilderness and is crystallized through the complementary yet predetermined act of outfitting oneself for this trip. All manner of commodities—tours, clothes, cameras—are invested with values that are separate from the labor and materials that brought them into being. Gear works as a totem, its purchase cleansing the product of its capitalist manufacture (although it is essentially shopping for a brand) while simultaneously reassuring the purchaser of the ability to go into the wild.

The gear fetish performs another, yet related, role: it ascribes a particular identity. It is a form of self-fashioning. The act of outfitting—of considering all the options, of selecting the right items, and of purchasing them—offers some of the materialities of subject formation. In my estimation, the subjectivity claimed has two dimensions. First, like those produced in the museum and at Disney, the subject-position asserted is that of environmental citizen: in the act of outfitting, one quite literally dons the markers of environmental awareness, experience, and action. Hiking boots and Gore-Tex jackets signify a person who likes to be out in nature, is knowledgeable about it, and who is interested in saving it. Like eating organic or driving a hybrid car, ecotravel and its attendant rituals stand as evidence of a particular sensibility: a commitment to environmental responsibility and green citizenship.

But while these technologies of the self can be read as markers of environmentalism, they are not necessarily indications of the choice to live a life less complicated by capitalism. In fact, quite the opposite is true as the green impulse becomes more deeply intertwined with commodification. Gear is a growth business as more and more people seek to sport the accoutrements of outdoor activity. The gear fetish, and the ecotourism that accompanies it, not only signify environmentalism, but also wealth, or at least disposable income. Perhaps the message here is that one needs money to care for the environment. And these items have a built-in obsolescence, making the quest to keep up to date with the latest designs an even more expensive proposition. As Tierney has indicated, none of these items come cheap, and because of this, there is pleasure and play in the ritual:

Even I, who dreaded the prospect of an Arctic trek, loved shopping for it. . . . I happily spent hours in . . . gearhead bazaars fondling smooth layers of Capilene and Polartec, agonizing

between Gore-Tex and Supplex, picking out gloves and gauntlets, glacier sunglasses and a chronometer with a built in thermometer, barometer and altimeter that I absolutely had to have. As I walked across Central Park in April to train on a cross-country ski machine at my gym, I exulted in my monstrous new leather-and-rubber LaCrosse pack boots guaranteed to 100 degrees below zero. How manly! Take that, Nature! Just to be safe, I also bought a pair of Steger Mukluks [boots] for \$135. (1998, 22)

In the wearing or use of gear, there is not only the performance of an environmental subjectivity but a moneyed one as well; these people have not only the inclination but also the means to be better environmental citizens. And they choose to perform their environmentalism outwardly through the expenditure of money. As our guide indicated, sometimes it is not even so much the wildlife that ecotourists are interested in, but the display of wealth: "These trips become cocktail conversations. Some participants have no interest in looking at the wildlife but rather spend their time in the van talking about their previous trips." Certainly, this is not the case for all or even most of the participants, nor does it preclude other means of environmentalist action—perhaps they are involved in animal rights organizations or green activism at home, though none of the ecotourists mentioned this kind of activity—but it does demonstrate one of the ways that nature, profit, status, and power come together in the practice of ecotourism.

At the same time, as Tierney's pithy quote above indicates, more than just environmentalism or the expression of class, this is also the garb of adventure: the ecotourists don the apparel of an explorer to render palpable the trial to come. The focus on exploration seems to be a complex one, given that I have argued that the trip itself was risk averse. Why, then, was there a need for gear that could take one into the Arctic Circle instead of a rather cozy van? Here again, I think, we find the trace of the masculine impulse on this ecotour. Of course, shopping and its attendant rituals have long been cast as a feminine endeavor. However, the articles purchased speak to something else: a buy-in to the fantasy of vigorous engagement with the wild. That it is women that engage in the practice makes it both more complicated and interesting. It seems to me that the gear fetish performed as part of this journey is certainly more subtle; as mentioned above, its focus was on warm clothes or the ability to take stunning pictures. But the display of this gear was also competitive—assessing the quality of long

underwear or the capacity of cameras had a definite undercurrent around who had the best gear, which is linked to how much it cost. And so, the gear fetish on this tour offers a window into an environmentalism made manifest through consumption as well as the complex character of self-fashioning that works through both class and gender.

Day 2: Grand Teton—Animals Eating / Eating Animals

The next day the trip began in earnest as we entered Grand Teton National Park to begin viewing wildlife. We spent the day mostly driving, stopping to get out to look at wildlife when the guide deemed it appropriate, and taking pictures of elk, bison, and rutting moose. This was typical of the rhythm of the tour, where the guide would tell us what time to get up; when to exit the van; direct us to interesting sites; arrange breakfast, lunch, and dinner for us; and, as we drove, provide detailed information on the animals of the Greater Yellowstone ecosystem.

There was a feeling of anticipation in the van, excitement about the possibilities of seeing wildlife that for most of us had not been seen outside of a zoo. As we came upon a large herd of bison, one of our bus-mates exclaimed, "Where are the Indians?" Calling up imaginings of the frontier, this ecotourist seemed to make this throwaway remark in both jest and lament. The guide explained that there were not many Native Americans in the area, and historically the Grand Teton area was used only for summer or winter hunting. In one swift move, both the participant and guide seemed to relegate Indigenous people both to the past and as part of nature. Of course, this taken-for-granted story is a contested one. The history of this area, as explored above, indicates that Indigenous people made good use of what is now a national park. While the U.S. Census Bureau indicates that in the year 2000 only sixty-seven Native Americans lived in Jackson (U.S. Census Bureau 2006), the Wind River Reservation is actually in close proximity, with some twenty thousand Eastern Shoshone and Northern Arapahoe living on 2.2 million acres of land; clearly present-day peoples who did not die out with the last bison herds chasing across the Great Plains. Moreover, the discursive association between Indigenous people and buffalo means that the two can be conflated and simultaneously made into a thing of the past. This, of course, is a prevailing theme in much of the ecotourism, particularly in, but not limited to, the Global South, where Indigenous peoples are as much on display as is wildlife or

scenery. The move to make present-day Indigenous peoples both anachronistic and part of nature makes a certain kind of awful sense in this place. Here, in these sites of national nature, there can be no recognition that this land isn't "American," that there are other claims and histories. Instead, ecotourists accept their presence as part of an evolution of the nation, where progress dictated the extermination of both animals and Native Americans. And so my fellow ecotourist's remark, as well as the guide's response, firmly position Indigenous people in a regrettable, but necessary, past.

The quest for difference is an important element of any ecotour. As Jane Desmond has reminded us in her discussion of the connections between cultural and natural tourism, "both continue to constitute a contemporaneous sense of what their viewers are by showing them what they are (supposedly) not" (1999, 144). *Unlikeness*, then, is part of what ecotourists seek when they gaze upon animals: the self is constituted through contemplation of the other. But this quest does not end with the visual and metaphorical capture of the "last great species of the American West." The encounter with radical otherness also presumes that the modern subject can move back and forth in time. So, as Desmond argues, ecotourists engage in an imaginative as well as physical journey, "Crossing from our world into theirs provides a fantasy of returning to our origins, or becoming part of the natural world ourselves, at least for the duration of the visit" (190). Once the ecotour is over, the modern life of the ecotourist is reinstated. So the encounter with unlikeness assists the ecotraveler in negotiating their own sense of self, positioning them in the world as both part of and opposite to nature, depending on the context.

We spent the remainder of the day chasing after this radical otherness in our vehicle (in fact, we almost hit a deer), as well as taking a small hike to see a moose with her calves. In the evening, we met for a meal. What was striking here were the easy and unspoken distinctions that people had drawn in their minds between rare and familiar, wild and tame, real and unreal. After having gazed upon bison on the range, two of our number ordered bison burgers at dinner. Confusion must have shown on my face. Were these not, in fact, the same animals? One of the burger-eaters said sheepishly, "Well, these bison are raised for this purpose on a farm." And so, the reason for this differentiation came into view. One carried the majesty and cachet of being "wild," the other burdened with the banality and incarceration of industrial agriculture. Of course, an examination of

the history of animals at national parks like Yellowstone reveals that the hard lines drawn around wild versus domesticated need to be blurred. The intense management of wildlife for display, the slaughter of predators so that animals like the bison could be seen in large numbers (and their overflow hunted), the reintroduction of wolves to reestablish a whole ecosystem: all of these actions belie the moniker of “natural” when discussing animals at national parks and speak to the biopolitical enterprise of park management. Even the flora has been stage-managed differently at different points in the history of the park.⁵ While the regulation experienced by animals at a national park is quite different from, for example, the disciplinary and often torturous circumstances endured by animals at factory farms, there is also little freedom here. The rationality of making distinctions between animals of the same species because some are “wild” while others are “tame” seems silly in the face of such intense management—free and captive are never as separate as they seem.

However, these kinds of distinctions do have political effects. The division between wild and tame allows us to venerate one while erasing the importance of the other. In only counting the animals we encounter through



“Wild” Bison, Yellowstone National Park.

a wilderness experience *as animals* rather than *as food*, we separate this experience from our everyday lives. It becomes unique, special, and uncommon. Thus, the ecotourist can mourn the loss of habitat for wildlife while simultaneously not making the connection that intensive livestock production consumes both the land and resources of their wild cousins. Livestock is made part of culture, while wildlife remains resolutely part of nature. This disconnect prevents a more radical critique from emerging; instead, this understanding produces a particular kind of political engagement: supporting organizations like the Nature Conservancy or the World Wildlife Fund, engaging in outdoor recreation, and, of course, going on ecotours.

Day 3: Yellowstone—The Truth of Science

The third day of our trip began by our leaving Grand Teton to make the journey to Yellowstone. We stopped at lunchtime for a picnic in the snow. Over lunch, our guide began to explain the fire ecology of Yellowstone, for as we entered the park many of my fellow travelers expressed an interest in the lodgepole pines that still bore evidence of the 1988 blaze. He explained that the NPS practiced fire suppression for most of the park’s history. By the 1970s, however, the NPS had come to understand fire in a different way, adopting a natural fire policy in 1972. Drawing on historical and sedimentary records, the NPS heeded the arguments of ecologists about fire as a natural process and began to recognize its ecosystem benefits. Now fires are allowed to burn in a controlled manner and sometimes the NPS sets fires themselves.

However, the history of fire ecology in the national parks, although interesting, is not my main concern. Rather, what I am keen to explore is the way this example and others work to establish science as an important element in the making of environmental subjects. The discussion on the merits of fire ignition is just one example of how on almost every occasion possible our guide, who was also identified as a biologist, described the zoological characteristics and natural behaviors of the animals we watched. He spent long periods talking about ecosystem health and the necessity of understanding the interconnectedness of life. A discussion of Old Faithful led to a scientific explanation of geysers and fumaroles. In fact, the entire trip was suffused with an attention to the scientific basis of nature, much like at the American Museum of Natural History.

When I queried the guide about this tendency that seemed to undergird the ecotour, he suggested that understanding the science of ecosystems is key to building better environmentalists:

You have to get across the importance of science and ecology, and that interconnectedness is what makes an ecosystem sound. If people don't know this then they don't know what to save. . . . But if you can't understand how ecology works, you can't understand the larger issues. For example, Yellowstone is a small park, although most people think it is big. Without understanding the science, you don't have a sense of how unsustainable Yellowstone is, especially in the winter when animals almost starve and then leave the park and enter our screwed up political environments. Usually what happens is these animals that are protected in Yellowstone get killed or captured when they go outside the park. Bison are killed when they leave the park for no reason other than wanting to eat grass. What we want is people making connections between what happens now and what happens three months from now.

For our guide, then, becoming a true environmentalist necessitates not only love for nature but also an understanding of its dynamics. And so, in large part, this ecotour was meant to operate as a kind of project in environmental education, one that is in service of profit. As our logistical coordinator noted, "We want people to understand what's going on rather than just seeing the animals. Really, the entire tour is based on teachable moments in terms of responding to what people are curious about." Emphasizing the import of science—attempting to teach people to become better environmental citizens—was what the guides felt made the tour significant.

It seemed that what this ecotour was attempting to do was walk a line between the affective and intellectual dimensions of the desire to encounter pristine nature. On one level, people are driven by the emotional response, or perhaps affective desire, to be in the presence of radical otherness—a nature that they can neither understand fully nor conceptualize. However, it seems that this remains insufficient. What these travelers also need is an education to be dispassionate, objective observers of natural processes. Perhaps this, when coupled with the right gear, makes one the kind of environmental subject that can save the last of a remaining nature.

Day 4: Yellowstone to Cooke City, Montana—Photography and the Visual Grammar of Nature

Day 4 of our trip began with a walk around the Old Faithful area to see the thermal features that make Yellowstone so famous. Along the way, we ran into a bison and two grizzly bears picking their way through the geysers to reach the forest beyond. Our guide chatted about the ecology of the paintpots, fumaroles, and springs, as well as the microbacteria that can flourish in such conditions as we wandered back to the hotel to pack up and move on again. From there, we journeyed to Mammoth Hot Springs, the aptly named terraced limestone spring. Across from the springs are the remnants of the old Fort Yellowstone (now the park headquarters) and a museum/visitor center/gift shop. It is here that visitors come upon the elk of Mammoth. Always in residence, these elk seem to present themselves to the gaze of the viewer, or perhaps have become so used to humans in their habitat that they seem supremely unconcerned. Except, of course, when they are rutting, which they were. Hence, we were strongly warned not to exit the vehicle. After watching the elk fight for quite some time we got back on the road, headed for Cooke City, Montana, our destination for the evening. On the way, we stopped at the Lamar Valley to see if we could spot some of the wolves of Yellowstone. Through high-powered spotting scopes, we were able to catch a glimpse of the elusive animals, which we encountered again on day 6. We moved on to Cooke City, to dinner, then to bed.

What these moments had in common was that each landscape, each attraction, and each animal was thoroughly photographed. Like a horde of nature paparazzi, we moved from sight to sight, snapping photos of charismatic megafauna to commemorate the occasion and to share with friends and family back home. Indeed, I began to wonder how different these animals might look if viewed with the naked eye rather than the lens. Of course, this is a phenomenon not limited to this trip, or even to ecotourism, but instead has been a defining feature in the way mass tourism has developed in the twentieth century. Urry (2002) has suggested that much tourism has become organized around the collection of photographs of places deemed beautiful, unique, or significant, and this in turn has accelerated an already present commodification of memory. However, I contend that this does more than turn landscapes into commodities. It provides us with a compelling technology of vision with which to apprehend nature.⁶ If we

turn to theorists like Sontag (1978), we can see that photographs not only commodify, but also govern through their transformation into product.

Sontag (1978) argues that the modern practice of photography works to structure our ways of seeing, teaching not only the individual photographer but the population at large the centrality of vision and the ability to judge what has meaning as an artifact worth collecting and, consequently, what does not. Moreover, she contends that photography shrinks the world, making it fit within a repertoire of images that can be knowable, catalogued, and assessed: “the most grandiose result of the photographic enterprise is to give us the sense that we can hold the whole world in our heads—as an anthology of images” (Sontag 1978, 3). By dividing the world into that which is worth seeing and hence known and reproduced, and conversely that which is not worth seeing and hence unknown and obscure in its prosaism, the photographic representation of tourist landscapes offers a regime of regulation where the images we see circulated again and again become the truth of a place, its nature, and its people. In this way, as Sontag suggests, “[t]he photographer both loots and preserves, denounces and consecrates” (64). Ansel Adams’s government-funded project of photographing spectacular nature in Yellowstone and Grand Teton provides an excellent example of this effect. His images of Grand Teton, the Snake River, Yellowstone Falls, Old Faithful, and the Fountain Geyser Pool have become the iconography that amateur tourists seek to replicate on their visits to these sites. Places become destinations, sights, scenic drives, highway turn-outs: in short, an amalgamation of images that can be taken home and unproblematically shared. In short, these places become memories, and photos act as mementos of the ecotour experience. This allows people to travel imaginatively, to know the essence of a place without ever having been there. In this way, photography invents and reinvents our world, stabilizing parts of it, or at least their representations, for easy consumption.

The need to record—to fix in space and time—has a particular resonance in ecotours as they are heavily inflected with mourning, nostalgia, and romanticism. Generated in part through anxiety over the perceived loss of nature, ecotours have become spaces where, at least temporarily, travelers can perform a return to a previous time, where nature was not under threat. Of course this return is impossible, but the viewing and capturing of landscapes and animals through the lens allows for this anxiety to be relieved and control over an ever-changing nature to be reasserted; the photograph fixes in time a fleeting nature under threat. As Urry suggests,

photographic practice involves the inscription of mastery: “The photographer, and then the viewer, is seen to be above, and dominating, a static and subordinate landscape lying out inert and inviting inspection. Such photographic practices demonstrate how the environment is to be viewed, dominated by humans and subject to their possessive mastery” (2002, 129). What Urry does not go so far to say, however, is that in this act both subject and object are regulated—governed—and nature becomes one more sight to be captured, circulated, consumed, and reified when one shows the pictures to family and friends.

Moreover, nature photography has been linked to the safari or expedition. Because the camera functions through a “penetrating” gaze, it has been likened to a gun. In the case of the American Museum of Natural History, as explored by Haraway (1989), Carl Akeley used both camera and gun to capture and represent the animals of Africa in the pursuit of science: to document a disappearing nature and to represent it for a metropolitan audience. However, as both Brower (2005) and Dunaway (2000) assert, the historically omnipresent rifle gradually vanished in such endeavors, replaced by the camera as the tool for collecting specimens. Teddy Roosevelt, for example, argued that conservation dictated such a supplanting; photography offered some of the same pleasures as shooting in terms of a vital encounter with the wild, and could be equally as important in building a white, masculine “virile citizenry” (Brower 2005). Sontag contends that this replacement is the sign of a psychic sea change: “Guns have metamorphosed into cameras in this earnest comedy, the ecology safari, because nature has ceased to be what it always has been—what people needed protection from. Now nature—tamed, endangered, mortal—needs to be protected from people. When we are afraid, we shoot. But when we are nostalgic, we take pictures” (1978, 15). When we photograph instead of shoot, then, nature has been brought under the (perceived) dominion of humans, and its passing is to be lamented and documented in equal measure. Paradoxically, the desire to chronicle this fast disappearing nature works to hasten its demise: the more people who trample through the bush to get the perfect picture of bison on the range, for example, the more their habitat is degraded. The urge to encounter “wild nature” perversely makes it less and less likely that such nature can ever be found.

Turning back to the travels of the ecotour group, these dynamics can be seen at work, although the phallic and masculinist references are complicated once again by gender. Snapping rolls of film with high-powered

lenses or freezing scenes with digital cameras, the main preoccupation of this trip was taking pictures. The ecotour was structured to provide the best opportunities to have this visual experience of nature: a short side-trip to the most photographed barn in the United States, stopping at almost every scenic outlook in the Tetons and Yellowstone, lingering at Old Faithful, using the telemetric information of NPS researchers to help us find animals. What is included is what is deemed majestic and noble, aesthetically pleasing, unique, exceptional but familiar—icons that sum up “the West” and the “frontier,” while signifying the United States as a nation with enough foresight to cherish and protect its natural treasures. What is excluded are the more mundane elements of any trip to a national park: the more common kinds of animals like raccoons, squirrels, and shrews; the traffic jams that occur as a result of an animal sighting, a symbol of the technology it took to get there; or the other people who visit or work in the park, whose presence might challenge the notion that it is primarily a natural place. These aspects of national parks do not merit a record. And so, ecotourists see what their imaginations and anticipations of the trip



Moulton Barn near Grand Teton National Park, named the most photographed barn in the United States.

told them they would see, because it has been visually represented by so many images; the photographic representations of these places make the trip a quest to reproduce what has already been consumed. In this sense, the eye is already governed through an aesthetics of power.

I think a comment by our guide is worth quoting at length because it illustrates the “point-and-click” nature of this vacation:

But some participants, all they care about is getting the picture. But what they don't realize is that none of the close-up pictures of wolves, for example, are wild. They are all taken in captivity. *If they don't see it in their eyepiece it doesn't exist.* A big percentage of the people we get are photographers. But if you look at the polar bears in Churchill, they get too close to the van. This is for two reasons. First, they are not fearful creatures; they are inquisitive and pretty bored so they will come up to the van. But also, they are habituated to humans. Either way, people like these trips because they can get close ups of the animals. But it is not especially natural. If you went up to the high Arctic, the polar bears often run from humans. The animals in Yellowstone are habituated to humans as well. The ravens, the elk in Mammoth, they are getting something from humans that they don't normally get. That's why you can get so close. (emphasis added)

There were few concerns about the ecological impacts of this quest for the perfect picture, and little questioning about the fact that some of the animals photographed, like the raven and elk, seemed as used to humans as the house pets they had left at home to make this journey. Remarkably, there was no consternation about wildness, or its seeming lack. Rather, the ability to get close, to get a good shot, to see an animal through a lens, provided the real thrill. Like hunting expeditions of the past, the number and quality of animals captured seemed in some cases to count more than the experience of seeing the animals themselves.

This is further illustrated by a moment that spoke volumes about the visual nature of this trip, and the collecting of animals like curios. Although it did not happen on day 4, I think it merits mention here, given the tenor of my discussion. On our ride back to Jackson on the last day of our trip, we stopped at a general store (as was our usual practice, in order to use the facilities and purchase all manner of gift items and keepsakes).⁷ While a

few of us waited around the van for the others to return, one of my co-travelers showed us some postcards she bought that depicted wolves. We had just watched wolves that morning, but it was almost impossible to photograph them because they were too far away. By way of parlor trick, our guide showed us how to get a close-up shot. Taking one of the cameras, he pressed it against the postcard and took a picture. He then showed us the result: the display window on the camera showed what appeared to be an extraordinary shot of a wild wolf striding across the snow and headed for the tree line. The effect was very nearly orgasmic. There were hoots of surprise, cries of “do it again” and a flurry of people running to the store to buy postcards to replicate the procedure.

The embrace of the hyperreal here is, of course, hard to ignore. The fact that photographs taken for the postcards were likely shot in other captive facilities did not seem to be in any way problematic. Instead, they were celebrated as something to show the folks left at home—a novelty. Neither wild nor free, these wolves could be collected, another indelible image to add to the catalogue of the trip. Their image, not seen but captured nonetheless through the lens of the camera, seems to bolster the guide’s previous comment: “If they don’t see it in their eyepiece it doesn’t exist.” The converse also seems to be true: if they see it in their eyepiece it must, in fact, exist. So, the best pictures from this jaunt through Grand Teton and Yellowstone, the ones that will receive the most attention and praise when travelers return home, are not those that capture (or likely fail to) the real lives of wolves or bison or bears, but rather pictures of postcards. And this, I think, describes one of the key paradoxes of this tour.

Day 5: Lamar Valley—Global Vision, Local Impacts

For the next two days, we stayed overnight in a town called Cooke City, Montana, population 140. Cooke City is located just three miles from the gate to Yellowstone and is part of the spectacular Beartooth Range, making it both a remarkable setting and a useful base to make forays into Yellowstone. This hamlet seems to function almost wholly at the behest of the tourist industry. Home to a disproportionate number of restaurants and hotels for its size, Cooke City is one of the gate communities whose existence is supported through the mass migration of tourists to Yellowstone in the summer months.

But, of course, this was not always Cooke City’s economic base. For

one hundred years, the fortunes of this town were tied to the copper, gold, and silver ore that lurked below the surface of the surrounding mountains. In the late 1800s, Cooke City, like many parts of the West, was born through the gold rush. This was doubly unfortunate for the area’s original inhabitants—the Crow—who, having already been forced onto a reservation, now found the area that had been allotted to them squarely in the middle of the latest land grab. The Cooke City Chamber of Commerce’s version of these events in their online history is both vague and sanitized. In reference to the second removal of Native Americans to make way for resource extraction, the Web site notes only that “In April of 1882 the reservation boundaries were released and the mountains were opened up to the awaiting prospectors” (Cooke City Chamber of Commerce n.d.). With the annexation of this territory, the “New World Mining District” was formed, which would later become Cooke City. Mining became and remained the *raison d’être* of the town until very recently. In the 1990s the economic base of this tiny town became unfixed, with debate between mining or tourism, “extractive” or “attractive” capital to use Timothy Luke’s (2003) words, featuring as the central divide. This debate seemed settled when Noranda Inc., a Canadian mining company, bought the rights to mine this area as part of the modern gold rush. However, in 1996, after public outcry and presidential action in the name of national nature, Noranda agreed to a federal land transfer that amounted to approximately \$65 million, although they had only paid \$135 for the land under the federal 1872 Mining Act, which stipulated that lands could be sold for \$5 per acre (Brooke 1996). This decision marked the transformation to a service rather than resource economy, and recreational tourism has now become the village’s primary (pre)occupation. Indeed, of the ninety people in the Cooke City/Silver Gate census area eligible for employment in 2006, sixty worked in the “arts, entertainment, recreation, accommodation and food services” industries, while only two people were employed in “agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, and mining” sectors (U.S. Census Bureau). This move to the service sector is tied to what some locals have termed the “yuppi-fication” or “Californication” of Cooke City (Fishman 2010). Nature remains central to Cooke City’s existence, but its role has shifted from productive to consumptive (*ibid.*).

Cooke City’s main street provides a visual representation of the town’s economic reconstruction. A simulacrum of the “Wild West,” it sports a saloon, a trading post, kitschy storefronts, rustic motels, and wooden

verandahs. While presumably bustling during Yellowstone's high season between June and August, in October it appears haunted, a ghostly and unpeopled reminder of a past that never was. One expects to catch sight of the clichéd tumbleweed making its way down a dusty street. But there are people here. While many have left for the season, some remain, and the tour is able to find a French restaurant and a gift shop to purchase yet more souvenirs to mark the journey. In this vein, the guide took us to visit a local wildlife photographer who sells his work to Yellowstone tourists. Indeed, the gallery seems to be an attraction on many trips of this ilk, and the photographer plays his part admirably, oscillating between sophisticated nature expert and down-home rugged individualist. I do not mean to suggest this is phony. But he does engage in a performance, and one that plays well with a sympathetic crowd. After a slide show of his remarkable images, we were invited to purchase prints, which many did. So not only do participants take photographs, but they have access to professional images to define their trip.

This act of consumption represents not only the penultimate expression of the visual grammar of nature explored above—by which I mean nature captured and rendered forever observable by the lens of an expert photographer—but also points to one of ecotourism's promised virtues: the opportunity to contribute economically to communities that chose to "save" their nature rather than "exploit" it. Through the purchase of wildlife photography, staying at the local inn, or eating in the French restaurant, ecotourists can feel as though they have not contributed to the tourist machine of, say, the cruise industry, but have instead had an experience of the wild while simultaneously ensuring its continued existence. Consumption saves the day.

But how true is ecotourism's claim? To be sure, tourist dollars remained in Cooke City. In our interview, the guide stressed this facet of the tour, arguing that this influx of money allows wildlife to thrive. Citing the example of the reintroduction of wolves to Yellowstone, he indicated that the money brought in by wolf-watchers has provided the economic justification to preserve nature rather than turning once again to resource. However, one wonders how much the bulk of the trip's proceeds, the over U.S. \$2,000 spent on the ecotour, remained not in the local communities but with the ecotour operator's head office, several hundred miles away. In exchange for a turn to the aesthetic, the people of Cooke City, with a median household income of just \$25,000 in 2000, are rewarded with contingent,

seasonal, and often low-paid work of the tourist industry rather than the considerably more lucrative though possibly dangerous work of mining (1999 dollars, U.S. Census Bureau 2006). For example, the mean annual income for someone working in food preparation or service in Montana is \$19,190, and in retail sales one can expect to earn an income of \$28,470; for farming, fishing, and forestry the annual income is \$30,340; for service unit operators in oil, gas, and mining, one can expect to make \$54,860; and mining engineers come in at \$71,390 (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics 2009). Indeed, in the Cooke City/Silver Gate census area, 14 of its 140 working inhabitants earned less than \$10,000 per annum, with the bulk of the working population—30 people—earning between \$10,000 and \$49,000 annually (U.S. Census Bureau 2006). Interestingly, although some have noted that these jobs also tend to be racialized and gendered as well as classed, Cooke City appears to be something of an exception. In terms of race, this could be because, of the 140 residents of the census area, 137 are white (*ibid.*). However, gender is also equally split here, with 21 men and 16 women in service occupations like food preparation. In any case, it seems that ecotourism in Cooke City represents, no doubt, to some degree a mutually beneficial relationship among the tourists, outfits like the ecotour operator, and those employed in the industry. However, like most relationships of profit and power, not all players in this game are equal.

As explored above, Catronia Sandilands (2003) has suggested in a different context that the move from a resource-based economy to one that is preserved for recreation is not as unproblematic as it might appear. She asserts that by positioning places like Cooke City as natural, they are all the more inserted into the fray of global capitalism. Put another way, the move from extractive to aesthetic capital remains firmly within the constellation of capitalist enterprise, all the while maintaining its distance from the distasteful business of business. Much like Disney's Environmental Program, what such gestures do is sidestep any kind of real critique of the structures and processes that have generated environmental devastation and imagine that solutions can be found within the very systems that privilege efficiency, economic rationality, and profit.

Day 6: Wolf Watching in the Lamar Valley

After five days of searching, standing in the cold, looking through scopes, and waiting, the final day of this trip provided the reward that all the ecotourists

were waiting for: a prolonged opportunity to watch the behavior of wolves in the “wild.” While the bison had been initially captivating, their ubiquity quickly bred familiarity, and not even the most diehard among us continued to take photos of them after the fifth day. We had seen various other animals—elk, prong-horned sheep, deer, moose, ravens, eagles, and bears—but none really compared to the experience of watching wolves on the last day of the trip. We woke early that morning and headed out to the Lamar Valley before dawn. There we encountered a wolf kill. There were two wolf packs at the scene: the Druid Peak pack, which our guide speculated were the authors of the elk slaughter, and the Slough Creek pack, whose stronger numbers allowed them to take the carcass for themselves. But these packs were also not alone. Coyotes began to patrol a boundary around the kill, seeking to avail themselves of the bounty that had been provided. A grizzly bear also arrived, feasting on the elk corpse for one hour before, either sated or driven off by the constant nipping of the wolves, it wandered into the trees. We remained for approximately two and a half hours, taking turns looking through the scope using hushed and reverent voices to express our awe at the scene that seemed orchestrated as the apex of our trip to see the wildlife of Yellowstone and Grand Teton National Parks.

Of course, wolves were not always so venerated, at least not by the European colonizers of North America. The settlers brought with them biblical images of wolves in sheep’s clothing, Brothers’ Grimm and Aesop with their tales of big bad wolves, and horrific stories of marauding werewolves (Pluskowski 2006), all of which informed the mass extermination of wolves on the East Coast of the United States. As the colonial machine pressed further west, wolves were routinely cast as voracious beasts that slaughtered livestock at whim, making their so-called depredations legendary in the constantly shifting frontiers of an emerging nation. Equally legendary was the manner in which settlers dispatched their foe, with an efficiency and bloodthirstiness that some have named a “pogrom” (Lopez 1978). Wolves, much like Indigenous people, were cast in the role of anachronism and hopelessly out of place: “Civilization has the animals in its teeth. Cruel or humane, the manner of death mattered little, for wolves were already dead. Hopelessly out of place in rangelands dedicated to the growing of livestock, their extinction was unavoidable” (Coleman 2004, 207). “Progress” dictated the extermination of the wolf, and thus bounties were enacted to enable the opening up of the West, to protect valuable livestock and to consolidate land and territory to further the colonial agenda.

This view of wolves persisted through the formation of the national parks and into the middle of the twentieth century. The wolf had been resolutely judged an undesirable animal in need of management (read: extirpation). To ranchers, the wolf represented a threat to their property and livelihoods. To hunters, the animal’s predatory skill provided too much competition. Even for those whose express wish was to see wildlife, the wolf’s reputation as a bloodthirsty killer made it an unwelcome actor in western parks. Of course, this reputation could more easily be ascribed to those who dispatched *Canis lupus* with remarkable callousness and barbarity. However, this kind of critique was unsayable, particularly in the first national park, where animals could only be “useful, aesthetically pleasing or amusing” to find their place “in the ‘outdoor zoo’ of Yellowstone” (Jones 2002, 28). This meant that wolves were almost completely gone from the Yellowstone ecosystem by 1926.

Even still, wolves survived. Their persistence in spite of trappers, hunters, ranchers, bounties, strychnine traps, and predator control units has meant that wolves have lasted to encounter a new time, where they are viewed as the essence of wildness almost obliterated by the thoughtless actions of humans. Here we are reminded of Rosaldo’s (1989) imperial nostalgia: we mourn that which we have destroyed. And so, wolves, along with bears, bison, and mountain lions have emerged as charismatic megafauna: to save them might mean we can save ourselves.

This romanticization was combined with a more secular impulse in the effort to recuperate the wolf. The birth of scientific notions of ecosystems, along with the naming of the gray wolf as critically threatened under the 1973 Endangered Species Act, have also worked to change the animal’s fortunes. Ecologists began to reframe their absence as a story of imbalance—wolves were seen as the “missing link” in Greater Yellowstone ecosystem (Jones 2002). Indeed, in a short film run on a loop at the Albright Visitor’s Center and Museum in Mammoth (screened before our observation of the wolves), the narrator indicated, “You can’t have wilderness without them.” At the same time, the Endangered Species Act mandated the reintroduction of experimental populations of species where their numbers had been decimated. Wolves found themselves on this list, and their reintroduction was scheduled for 1987. Of course, this move was actively contested: many ranchers, farmers, and townspeople still felt the threat of *Canis lupus*. Much like the 1988 fires, scientists were pitted against locals in the battle to restore/restory the Yellowstone ecosystem. However, the

weight of scientific consensus, federal will, and the intensification of Yellowstone's insertion into the global market for nature images and experiences worked to mute the voices of those rooted in a different understanding of nature. The coming together of the romantic and the scientific sensibilities worked to justify governmental regulation to re-engineer ecosystem balance.

So began "Operation Wolfstock," the project to restore Canadian gray wolves into Yellowstone. In 1995 fourteen wolves were transplanted from Alberta to pens in Yellowstone to "acclimatize" for ten weeks in their new home. The NPS was concerned that their quick release might cause the wolves to attempt to cross the Rockies and find their way back to their original packs. They need not have worried. The new wolf population, finding itself in an ecosystem with few top predators, grew rapidly. Released from their small enclosure to a much larger, though no less real one, the wolves of Yellowstone have fared well, gaining celebrity status. The park now hosts 96–98 wolves in 14 packs and attracts approximately 20,000 people each year who engage in a variety of wolf-watching activities (Smith et al. 2007; Yellowstone National Park 2009). By all accounts bringing the wolf back to Yellowstone represents a successful species reintroduction.

And yet, something worries this neat picture, gnawing at its precise margins. Coleman (2004, 227) contends that the reintroduction of wolves to Yellowstone is as much about culture as it is about nature, and perhaps more about ideology than biology. Indeed, he asserts that restoring this ecosystem's keystone predator is a way to "safeguard . . . wilderness fantasies" rather than save a species from extinction. I actually think it is a bit of both. More precisely, I think that this act of reintroduction is a biopolitical project, not only for the animal it purports to manage but also for the humans who come to gaze upon it. The return of wolves to Yellowstone works on a number of biopolitical registers. First, on a meta-level, this reintroduction speaks to the possibility of remaking nature; a pristine wilderness, much mourned though necessarily sacrificed for the sake of progress, could be recreated. Reminiscent of the *Jurassic Park* (1993, 1997, 2001) film series, humans can actually engineer ecosystems and render them back to their supposed original state. Of course, there is no tinkering with DNA trapped in fossils in Yellowstone; instead, Canadian wolves were substituted for American (of course, the wolves themselves make no such nationalist distinctions). However, the psychic impact is quite similar. If we can enliven habitats that were once decimated, or at least imbalanced,

this affords the possibility of an intellectual leap. It allows not only for the imagining of premodern "virgin" wilderness but also that this wilderness can be returned to a previous form through the judicious application of knowledge around the health and well-being of ecosystems. In Yellowstone, there was a perceived lack, which was remedied through the scientific and technological mastery over nature. The management of nature in this respect can authorize its destruction of nature, knowing that it can, once again, be restored.

If ecosystems are regulated here, so too are the animals and humans who sometimes inhabit them. The wolves of Yellowstone have been thoroughly monitored, tracked, and collared. Their kills are documented, their conflicts observed, their reproduction assessed, their dens visited, and their DNA sampled (Smith et al. 2007). Some are equipped with satellite collars that e-mail the precise location of wolf packs to staff at the Yellowstone Wolf Project. In fact, we only spotted the wolves because our guide was in contact with staff from the NPS and the Yellowstone Wolf Project who track the wolves via radio telemetry. These wolves straddle the boundary between wild and tame, captive and free. In some ways, they are subject to management strategies similar to those one finds in zoos. In others, scientists and NPS staff take a more hands-off approach, allowing the ecosystem to regulate itself, all the while taking assiduous notes. However, each approach is part of the same system of regulation, and each produces biopolitical information. In the first sense, staff managed the wolf populations to diagnose illness, assess eating habits, chart conflict, map DNA, and, generally speaking, ensure well-being. But even as scientists allow the ecosystem to "manage itself," they still study the wolves so that the population can be known and recorded—all of its facets documented for scientific pursuit, scholarly interest, or perhaps posterity.

Simultaneously, human visitors are brought into this regime, as their affective desires to experience these now mythic animals are mobilized and managed and a wolf industry is born. The people who go and see wolves, bison, and bears are drawn into this fictive endeavor where nature remade and regulated is imagined as pristine, wild, and free. Jane Desmond (1999) has cogently noted that what makes an ecotour different from other sorts of tourism is its chimerical "authenticity": it carries the appellation "natural," which necessarily means it lacks contrivance. Whereas the exhibits of the American Museum of Natural History and the simulations of Disney deploy artifice to speak truth, ecotours operate in and through the

notion that what is seen is the genuine behavior of animals in the wild. In doing so, the ecotour denies the whole range of nature—cultures that make up these places of wilderness consumption. If history, culture, and power are erased from places such as Yellowstone or Grand Teton (or the Galapagos Islands and African safaris, for that matter) through violent acts of discursive and material purification, then these spaces become not lived realities—either by human or nonhuman nature—but rather museum pieces, to be visited, gazed upon, remarked about, photographed, and left eventually behind.

Conclusion: Leaving Wonderland

After watching the wolves, coyotes, and a grizzly battle on the floor of the Lamar Valley for two hours, it was time to return to Jackson for the denouement of our trip. The van ride proved long, because we were near the border between Wyoming and Montana, providing the ecotourists with time to digest what we had experienced throughout the week. It seemed as though my fellow travelers, imbued with both a feeling of exhilaration and a sense of responsibility, needed to find ways to make sense of this trip. How can we bring these experiences back home? How can others learn, as we have, about the importance of nature? How can what we have seen be shared with everyone? These are the questions that informed the discussion on the van ride back to Jackson. There was a general feeling that the problem was numbers: the critical mass necessary to support preservation is missing. By way of emphasis, one participant indicated, “Everyone, especially school children, should come on these excursions.” Sage and somewhat melancholy nods accompanied this exhortation. No disagreement here. Just lament that our journey was over and that others have not experienced nature as we did.

The above declaration points to the ways that ecotours can govern experiences of nature. Most obviously, the assertion that all people should go on ecotours is blind to the class dynamics at the core of this kind of nature consumption. There was no discussion that this sort of experience is not available to everyone when, at the low end, it costs three thousand dollars a shot. Moreover, that differently situated people might understand this ecotour—and its selective preservation, rupture between nature and culture, and fetishization of vision—differently does not appear to hold any sway. Rather, there is a normal way of encountering nature: away from home,

singular in its grandeur, aesthetic in composition, and devoid of humans. There is no sense that what is seen is transformed by our gaze, or that we operate as an assemblage of lens/eye/animal in the scene that is imagined as nature unfolding as it would without our presence. Rather, there is the view that the nature we have come to see is just that: natural. It is this kind of nature that all people should experience and understand in the same way.

The statement that all people should experience nature through largely watching it from within or near to a van is lent coherence by the discourses that circulate about how to save global nature, as discussed in chapters 1, 2, and 4. There can be no discussion of what it might really take to rehabilitate ecosystems like Yellowstone, all the while accepting that it is neither pristine nor wilderness. Moreover, like parts of the Hall of Biodiversity and more expressly Disney’s Animal Kingdom, the environmentalism on offer here provides no critique of the consumer culture, corporate practice, global environmental injustice, the violence of preservation, or animal incarceration. To do so would be to critique the very idea of ecotourism and the entitlement of travelers who believe they have a right to see, know, and collect distant natures in locales other than their own.

But I want to suggest a little bit more than this. What I want to say is that there is a particular technology of vision that operates through the ecotour, which works to govern how the nonhuman is consumed. Of course, scholars of both tourism and ecotourism have picked up on Foucault’s notion of the gaze and panoptics, as most fully elaborated in *The Birth of the Clinic*, *The Order of Things*, and *Discipline and Punish*. As outlined earlier in this chapter, such theorists have paid important attention to the ways that the tourist gaze circumscribes space, delineates view, and seeks to know and represent the essence of a place. The notion of the gaze is a central facet of this ecotour, where vision (and its attendant affective dimensions) becomes the primary vehicle for nature’s apprehension. Foucault articulates in “The Eye of Power,” that the gaze works through the panoptic vision of Bentham’s prison, where surveillance is exercised such that individuals become their own “overseers” (1980, 155), limiting their vision to that which is beautiful, majestic, and wild.

But what if the eye isn’t always so masterful or disciplined? And what if we reconfigure the gaze as more of an encounter? In the first chapter of *The Order of Things*, Foucault uses Diego Velazquez’s 1656 painting *Las Meninas* as a heuristic, working with it to think about how vision, subject, and object are organized. *Las Meninas* is a painting of a painting, where the

distinction between spectator and those looked upon seems to fall away: "No gaze is stable, or rather, in the neutral furrow of the gaze piercing at a right angle through the canvas, subject and object, the spectator and the model, reverse their roles to infinity" (Foucault 2004, 5). It seems, in some sense, that this painting looks back. Here Foucault speaks to the complex character of the gaze; the hard boundaries between those that look and those that are looked upon is more slippery than they might first appear. But there is privilege in this looking, and it raises the questions about beauty, subjectivity, and power in interesting ways.

So, I want to complicate this notion of the gaze somewhat. In the final analysis, the ecotour acted as a particular kind of school, a vehicle, like the others in this book, for the production of a particular way of understanding the biophysical world. It did not generate scientific knowledge, like the museum or even the Animal Kingdom. Rather it worked to dispense the truths of science, and to demonstrate how these might be applied to understanding nature and living properly through an encounter with the putative wild. But the exploration of the biotic features of ecosystems, while important to the guides, was not what the tour ended up trafficking in. Instead, what the tourists take away is an affective understanding of the importance of natural beauty. So, the ecotour was like a school, or perhaps a kind of vision machine. Indeed, it served as a kind of intellectual factory for the production of a green governmentality focused on aesthetics.

The entire tour was framed through the eye of the ecotourist. Indeed, each aspect of the ecotour supported this focus on aesthetic beauty. Visits to Old Faithful, the most photographed barn in the United States, and Cooke City offered opportunities to experience nostalgic landscapes, freighted with notions of nature and nation. But more important were the opportunities to view animals, the hidden treasures of this parcel of the United States. Wolves, most particularly, but also bison, bears, elk, and moose were the charismatic megafauna that made the trip possible. Because, of course, one could quite easily visit either Yellowstone or Grand Teton on one's own and see the majestic landscapes that have been so often reproduced. It was the access to these animals that the travelers paid for and which the guide provided in spades, largely because species like the wolves are so regulated in national parks. Landscape, animals, and guide expertise worked in tandem to produce a visual grammar of "pristine" national natures. Each day of the ecotour highlights the majesty of this region, endangered animals that must be seen, and how it all may be represented in the assemblage

of lens/eye/animal. As such, there is a normal way of knowing the wild as largely unpeopled, awe-inducing, exceptional, and always aesthetic in composition.

And all these landscapes and animals were captured through the technology of photography. Through photography, the tourist gaze worked to fix places like Old Faithful or the Teton Range, as well as animals like bison, wolves, and bears. This fixing generates meanings that are removed from their historical, economic, cultural, biophysical, and political surround. Through this ecotour, nature was both incarcerated and made legible through display, a move that regulates that which can be seen and known. In the selection of what was important to see, experience, and understand, this ecotour delimits that which counts as nature and hence, that which does not; vision and experience were organized so nature can be understood in particular ways (as romantic wilderness, scientized ecosystems, or aesthetic experience) by particular kinds of people (environmental subjects who are often white, moneyed, and seeking the animal "other"). In doing so, ecotourism works to provide a simpler kind of environmentalism, one in which consumption equals action, and traveling to sites of "wild" nature makes one greener. And so, this brand of green governmentality cannot operate without commodification. Ecotourism provides yet another space where nature is transformed into commodity. In this move, nature, and how it is understood, can only be changed by the encounter. By selling the experience of nature, marketing it as a genuine encounter with pristine wilderness, this ecotour worked to not only produce profit, but also power.

The impacts of this way of understanding nature have weight. Of course, the ecotour stands alone neither in its construction of both vision as the primary sense to understand the wild, nor in its emphasis on particular kinds of splendor in nature. Indeed, it connects to a long history of wilderness as sublime. But it does offer an encounter with this production of legibility that, for example, the photographs of *National Geographic* or the stunning cinematography of *Planet Earth* does not. And the particular legibility offered through the ecotour forecloses the very possibility that non-human nature is not just beautiful, wild, and photographic, standing in radical alterity to humans, but rather is an assemblage of unruly combinations of both human and nonhuman, nature and culture. Indeed, what such distinctions do is reify such categories, which may not be the most useful and certainly are not the most interesting ones to think about our

world. As seen on the trip, this aesthetic green governmentality allowed for a host of divisions to be made; for example, that some animals are wild (and thus imbued with markers of freedom, nobility, and beauty) while others are tame and banal, or at least unthought of as part of the same biophysical world. Moreover, the animals that are deemed wild are increasingly brought under a kind of regulation, so that, ironically, they can continue to be viewed as such. And other landscapes become, if not illegible, then irrelevant as sites of nature.

This focus on aesthetics presumes a distance, but also an invisibility of the presence of those that look. And yet, if we return to *Las Meninas*, I think there is something interesting to be said about seeing and how it can work as a technology of green governmentality. Because, like *Las Meninas*, the animals and landscapes gazed upon on this ecotour are not passive objects; they *look back*. Instead of a one-sided relationship, what is on offer through the ecotour is an encounter, after which neither human nor non-human are the same. Rather, there is a complex web of vision that governs, but can never be completely managed. Of course, this relationship is asymmetrical. The wolves, for example, that inhabit the Lamar Valley are in some sense subject to the gaze of the ecotourists and the NPS staff who seek to access and understand their lives. So too are the elk, bison, and bears. But the nonhumans in this regulated space also *e/affect* those who look upon them. And they go about their lives in ways that, although interesting to their human watchers, also work for themselves. So, while I want to assert that there is a kind of aesthetic green governmentality here, I contend that it is more complicated than it might appear, chock full of agency, slippage, and relationships of power, where subject and object can often be confused. In some sense, while demonstrating the power of vision, I think the ecotour offers an opening to think about the relationship between the human and nonhuman in different ways—potentially a way out of governmentality.

Science and Storytelling: Al Gore and the Climate Debate

IN THE LAST FEW YEARS, it seemed there was the potential for consensus, or at least uneasy quiet, in the climate change debate. After decades of vacillation, obfuscation, and the production of uncertainty around this issue, particularly in the United States, the mounting scientific evidence appeared to have opened a political window of sorts, bending the weight of public and political opinion toward the understanding that climate change was an issue that required action. Even staunch “deniers” like George W. Bush were required to recognize anthropogenic global warming as fact. Indeed, both U.S. presidential candidates in 2008 recognized climate change as a reality. Clean energy, the green economy, and the risks associated with oil dependence peppered the stump speeches of Barack Obama and John McCain alike. To be sure, there were still those who maintained that climate change was a fiction, but they seemed, to some degree, bound within the confines of right-leaning media and quack science. It appeared as though some kind of action was imminent, and the debate would focus on the appropriate methods to both mitigate and adapt to the climate crisis.

However, the recent events of what was dubbed “Climategate” has shattered this rather tenuous calm and opened a space for continued dissent. In a sensational spectacle worked through the world’s media outlets, Climategate was the publication of hacked e-mails among various scientists at the University of East Anglia’s Hadley Climatic Research Unit (CRU). That correspondence was, for some, evidence of scientific malfeasance. At the forefront of the ensuing maelstrom was Dr. Phil Jones, Director of the CRU, who, along with his colleagues was accused of suppressing and manipulating data that contradicted global warming “orthodoxy,” as well as tainting the peer-review process to keep out those views that did not correspond to the view that anthropogenic climate change was a proven fact. Conveniently, these e-mails and related documents were leaked to the press just before the Copenhagen Conference of Parties on climate change in November 2009. In the flurry of media excitement following the release of these

fig of
speech

relationship between them, were likely fabricated (Powhatan Renape Nation, n.d.). In reality, Pocahontas was captured in 1612 and was held hostage for one year by the English in Jamestown. She agreed to marry a man named John Rolfe as a condition of her release, was taken to England, and died in 1617.

6. Interestingly, toward the end of this show there was a moment of U.S. nationalism. The host, who spent most of the show talking about threatened species and habitats, used the American bald eagle as an example of an animal that has resurged, particularly in captivity. The audience clapped and ahhed, respectfully marking their national symbol. The host noted, "This is Hope. Hope is a living symbol of one of the greatest conservation success stories of all time." The notion of national nature is revisited in chapter 3, on ecotourism in American national parks, but it is interesting to note that a piece of American nature has been saved through what might be read as environmental foresight and conservation action.

7. Jane Goodall has connections to the Animal Kingdom in addition to her identification as an eco-hero. Her foundation has received funds from the Disney Wildlife Conservation Fund, and she attended the opening of the Animal Kingdom. *Amusement Business* magazine reported, "Dr. Jane Goodall thinks there is nothing better than the 'entire experience' Disney Animal Kingdom offers" (O'Brien 1998, 1). High praise indeed from one of the best-known scientists in the world. These kinds of endorsements lend legitimacy to Disney's efforts to remake itself as a scientific agent.

8. In an interesting contradiction, and one that runs throughout the Animal Kingdom, while we can all save the world, some of us, like the veterinarian, the research scientist, and Disney, can do it better. Here we have the privileging of particular experts.

3. Wolves, Bison, and Bears, Oh My!

1. The International Ecotourism Society indicates that the proportion of ecotourists with postsecondary education is falling. They surmise that this means that ecotourism is going more "mainstream."

2. I suspect the use of the term "members" here does not denote membership in a conservation organization (although intentionally or unintentionally, that is how it appears) but rather membership in the "Habitat Club," a customer loyalty program that offers discounts on trips, gear, and a range of "conservation benefits" that emerge from multiple trips. For example, if you embark on two trips, Natural Habitat "will plant a tree in your honor through the Conservation Fund's Go Zero program." Your fifth trip generates a "symbolic animal adoption" through the World Wildlife Fund. On your tenth trip and beyond, Natural Habitat will "pay to offset the emissions from your flight so together we can help strike a blow against global warming" (Natural Habitat, n.d.2). Like Disney's conservation hero

pin, your purchase of other items renders you the status of environmentalist through consumption.

3. In addition, Natural Habitat was listed as the top tour provider on the *Condé Nast Traveler* magazine's 2006 Green List.

4. This article recounts Tierney's preparation for, and experience of, his trip to Ellesmere Island in the Canadian Arctic to rehearse the miseries of Starvation Camp, which, in 1883–84, was the site of a U.S. Army polar expedition that became stranded for eight months, forcing them to engage in cannibalism.

5. Along these lines, Alice Wondrak Biel (2006) in her book *Do (Not) Feed the Bears: The Fitful History of Wildlife and Tourists in Yellowstone*, charts how the National Parks Service's "Leopold Report" of 1963 moved the management of national parks from one focusing on the aesthetic pleasure of tourists to an attempt to recapture precontact nature. "Restoring the primitive scene, according to the report, would require planting and removing trees along roadsides, obscuring all 'observable artificiality,' creating simulated buffalo wallows in order to spur native plant growth, and reintroducing certain wildlife species in order to 'enhance the mood of wild America.' Above all, the NPS should accomplish these transformations 'invisibly,' meaning that the signs and traces of management efforts should be concealed from the public" (88). As Adolph Murie (qtd. in Wondrak Biel 2006) opined at the time, this is hardly a return to natural wilderness but rather represents more intensified attempts at regulation.

6. This is made even more apparent with the use of digital cameras, where the photographer can preview their image and delete those that do not meet the standard of natural beauty defined both by the photographer and the stockpile of other images of the same place.

7. Indeed, almost every day of the ecotour provided an opportunity to buy things. A trip to the National Museum of Wildlife Art in Jackson ended, predictably, in the gift shop. Our trip to see the nature photographer in Cooke City was designed so that we could purchase his photographs. We stopped at the myriad gift stores in Mammoth Springs, Old Faithful, and the Grant Village Visitor Centers. For the most part, the ecotourists' purchases were small: key chains, T-shirts, postcards, and books.

4. Science and Storytelling

1. Cockburn and St. Clair offer a cynical and in my view unfair depiction of this event in Gore's life, arguing that he bears some responsibility for letting go of his son's hand, was absent in the recovery process because he was writing *Earth in the Balance*, and subsequently he used his son's accident, along with his sister's death, to make political hay (2000, 135–40).

2. To put this in some degree of perspective, on July 5, 2010 (the number of