

From Fisheries Decline to Tourism Destination: Mass Media, Tourism Mobility, and the Newfoundland Coastal Environment

MARK C.J. STODDART & STEPHANIE SODERO

Department of Sociology, Memorial University, St. John's, Canada

ABSTRACT *In this paper, we examine narratives of tourism mobility circulated through print news media coverage of Newfoundland published in Canada, the UK, and the USA between 1992 and 2010. Initially articles were situated within a larger narrative of fisheries collapse, rural decline, and out-migration. In recent years, however, the discourse shifted to emphasize how non-human nature, including whales, icebergs, and national parks, serves as a tourism attractor, yielding benefits for rural communities. We draw on Latour's work on political ecology, as well as on Urry's work on tourism, mobility, and climate change, to analyze the eco-political implications of media accounts of tourism and the Newfoundland coastal environment.*

KEY WORDS: Mobility, Mass Media, Fisheries, Tourism, Coastal Environment, Discourse Analysis, Political Ecology

Introduction

Since the 1992 cod moratorium, two prominent strategies have been pursued to diversify the economy of Canada's eastern most province, Newfoundland and Labrador: 'extractive' development in the form of the oil and gas sector and 'attractive' development in the form of tourism, specifically nature-oriented tourism (Luke 2002). Regarding the latter, television, newspaper, and online advertisements have been produced in recent years that depict Newfoundland and Labrador as a nature-based tourism destination. These advertisements circulate idealized images of spectacular coastlines, national parks, historic sites, and rural outpost fishing communities. Traditionally, narratives of mobility in Newfoundland and Labrador centered on in-migration related to the region's fisheries resource base and on out-migration for non-fisheries work (Bavington 2010; Cadigan 2009; MacDonald,

Correspondence Address: Mark C.J. Stoddart, St. John's, NL, A1C 5S7, Canada. Email: mstoddart@mun.ca

Sinclair, and Walsh 2013; Palmer and Sinclair 1997). Contemporary tourism advertisements rebrand the province, reimagining it as a place that is integrated within global networks of tourism mobility. Critically, however, this rebranding curbs climate change concerns, omitting reference to risks associated with both the oil industry and the greenhouse gas intensity of tourism-related mobilities.

Media images of the coastal Newfoundland environment circulate through advertisements, travel journalism, and news coverage of the province. As Kember and Zylinska (2012) argue, media not only create representations of the world, but are involved in ‘enacting’ or ‘performing’ the social-ecological world. This approach to the relationality of mediation, social practice, and the environment echoes recent moves towards more-than-representational theories that draw attention to the interplay of discourse, affect, and the embodied performances of humans and non-human nature (Lorimer 2007, 2008; Nash 2000). The mass media are a key social force that shapes cultural understandings of the environment and structures society–environment interaction (Brockington 2009; Castells 2004, 2009; Cottle 2004; Elliot 2004; Hannigan 2006; Hansen 2010; Lester 2010; Mazur 1998; Podeschi 2007; Shanahan and McComas 1999; Wall 1999). For example, some media discourse about the environment reinforces understandings of nature as a resource for human use, while other discourses enact nature as a tourism attractor by defining specific environments as nodal points within tourism networks.

Work within the mobilities paradigm confers limited attention to the ways that tourism and tourist environments enter the mass media (cf. Conley 2009; Szerszynski and Urry 2006). Elsewhere, a significant body of literature oriented primarily around tourism management makes use of the notion of ‘tourism destination image’ (i.e. Andrades-Caldito, Sánchez-Rivero, and Pulido-Fernández 2013; Gotham 2007; Govers, Go, and Kumar 2007; Pena, Jamilena, and Molina 2012; Tasci, Gartner, and Cavusgil 2007). This research typically uses quantitative measures to examine how the cognitive and emotive qualities of tourist places are defined and taken up by tourists, with a subset of work focusing on the ways in which tourism destination images circulate through media such as film, travel brochures, television advertisements, and newspapers (Diekmann and Hannam 2012; Francesconi 2011; Pan 2011; Stepchenkova and Eales 2011). We build on this work by examining narratives of tourism mobility that circulate through news media coverage of tourism in Newfoundland and Labrador from Canada, the USA, and the UK between 1992 and 2010, exploring prominent narratives as well as silences.

For the purposes of this paper, the term tourism mobility refers to the movement, or lack thereof, of tourists traveling to and from their destination and traveling within their destination, of tourism sector workers, of the transport technologies enrolled in mobility, such as planes and ferries, and of the non-human entities, such as cod, whales, icebergs, and greenhouse gases insofar as these are implicated in the creation of destinations or linked to the impact of tourist movements (Sheller and Urry 2004). Our definition also includes the movement of ideas via tourism imaginaries. Given the place-based nature of these mobilities, narratives of identity, and image are integral to the analysis. Three research questions structure our textual analysis of media representations of Newfoundland tourism. First, what narratives of mobility are articulated by news media coverage of Newfoundland tourism? Second, how have media discourses of mobility changed between 1992, the year of the cod fishery collapse and fishing moratorium, and 2010? Third, what eco-political implications of mobility are obscured by dominant media narratives? By focusing on media

coverage over an 18-year time frame, we are able to chart changes in how Newfoundland is integrated into mobility networks of people and resources. Also, a focus on media representations of tourism mobility and the coastal environment allows us to draw connections between the growing field of mobilities research and research on media discourses of nature. By drawing on both bodies of research, we gain a deeper understanding of how tourism mobilities are enacted through mediation and how they change over time. We also gain insight into the eco-political implications of tourism mobility that are often obscured or silenced in media representations of nature-oriented tourism.

Theoretical Framework

Tourism mobilities research is notably wide ranging, examining the diverse ways in which tourists become mobile, such as through driving, flying, cycling, kayaking, or hiking. Two broad areas of inquiry include investigations of the ways tourism is performed and experienced within specific environments (Baerenholdt et al. 2004; Duffy 2004; Fariás 2010; Pesses 2010; Sheller and Urry 2004; Stephenson 2006; Thorpe 2012; Urry and Larsen 2011), and the ways that tourism performances are shaped by sociotechnical networks of humans, landscape, and objects (Benediktsson, Lund, and Huijbens 2011; Ek and Hultman 2008; Huijbens and Benediktsson 2007). Tourism is conceptualized as a global network of travelers and technologies, including airplanes, cars, and ferries. This network of flows is structured by nodal points, such as airports, hotels, national parks, and historic sites (Baerenholdt et al. 2004; Ek and Hultman 2008; Sheller and Urry 2004; Urry and Larsen 2011). As Sheller and Urry note, ‘mobilities of people and objects ... plants and animals, images and brands, data systems and satellites, all go into ‘doing’ tourism’ (Sheller and Urry 2004, 1).

The tourism mobilities paradigm emphasizes that tourism is created through connections between people, technologies, environments, and discourses. As such, this literature echoes recent moves towards ‘more-than-representational’ ways of conceptualizing the social world. More-than-representational theory stresses the importance of embodied performances and practices, emotions and affects that are irreducible to textual representations (Lorimer 2007, 2008; Nash 2000). From this perspective, media representations of particular tourism places, such as slums in India or hiking trails in New Zealand, are examined in relationship to tourists’ performances, expectations, and affective responses to these places (Diekmann and Hannam 2012; Reis 2012).

The most recent iteration of the notion of the tourist gaze, as defined by Urry and Larsen (2011), follows the turn to more-than-representational thinking by emphasizing the variety of bodily engagement with tourist places, while maintaining that tourism requires the development of a unique imagery to draw visitors. Urry and Larsen also distinguish between bodily tourism, where visitors travel to and interact with physical environments, and the imagined tourism of engaging with travel through advertisements, travel guides, brochures, websites, and other media. Through tourism imaginaries, images of particular places are put into circulation in global communication networks via websites, television, magazines, and other media. As Kember and Zylinska (2012) argue, media not only offer representations of physical environments, but mediation works to enact and perform social-environmental interaction. In this sense, it is not only tourists who are mobile, but

tourism environments also become mobile as they are enacted through mediation (Baerenholdt et al. 2004; Torkington 2012; Wulff 2007).

Media are integral to defining particular environments as sites of leisure, recreation, and tourism. From the outset, *National Geographic* circulated idealized pastoral images of nature and promoted nature tourism. Editors routinely juxtaposed articles about recreational nature and advertisements for cars, simultaneously highlighting nature as a retreat from urban modernity and the need for modern automobility systems to access rural, recreational nature (Elliot 2004; also see Conley 2009). Such tensions were also communicated by the Newfoundland Tourist Development Board. One pre-World War II advertisement reads, ‘cool, unspoiled and picturesque Lovers of the unusual are delighted with its vast forest, fjords and quaint fishing villages ... easily reached from Boston and New York’ (Newfoundland Tourist Development Board circa WWII).

Over the past few decades, there has been increasing interest in alternatives to mass tourism that bring tourists into ostensibly more ‘authentic’ encounters with distinct local environments and cultures (Franklin 2003; Gurung and Seeland 2008; Urry 2002). Often framed through the flexible discourses of eco-tourism or nature-oriented tourism, this travel appeals to a pro-environmental tourist gaze by drawing on images of nature (Duffy 2004; Laudati 2010; Sandilands 2002). Such tourism promises bodily encounters with the environment through outdoor recreation, as well as interactions with wildlife (Michael 2000; Waitt and Cook 2007). To this end, animals are used as images in tourism imaginaries, and also leveraged as physical beings that can be viewed, photographed, and interacted with through bodily tourism (Bulbeck 2005; Cronin 2011; Goedeke 2004; Neves-Graça 2004). In her analysis of social–environmental resilience in Newfoundland and British Columbia, Ommer (2007) introduces the idea of ‘cultural keystone species.’ Rather than an umbrella species in an ecological sense, these species are emblematic of a specific ecosystem and culture. This concept is also useful for thinking about the ways in which particular animals are brought into media performances of tourist landscapes as iconic symbols of these places.

Our analysis of media discourses of tourism mobility and the Newfoundland coastal environment is informed by Latour’s (2004) version of political ecology, which emphasizes interconnections between the environment, politics, and culture. Several key concepts from Latour’s work are useful in undertaking an analysis that simultaneously recognizes the materiality of natural, social, and technological systems, and the images and symbols of media discourse. First, Latour (1999, 2005) distinguishes between human actors and non-human ‘actants.’ The term ‘actants’ is used to bracket out questions about the agency or intentionality of non-humans. At the same time, the concept attunes us to the ways in which non-human nature is more active in co-creating our world than is given credit for in narratives of nature as a passive object for human manipulation and exploitation. Second, Latour pays particular attention to technologies and machines as particular classes of non-human actants of which humans make continuous use in social interactions. Our dependence upon technological actants leads Latour (1988, 1993) to write of ‘sociotechnical imbroglions’ of humans and machines that provide solidity to social life. Finally, Latour (2004, 2005) questions the use of the term ‘society,’ with its implications that social action is reducible to social facts. Instead, he suggests ‘collectives’ as a broader term that encompasses relations among humans, nature, and technologies.

Drawing on the mobilities literature and Latour's work is useful for structuring an analysis of media discourse that accounts for the materiality of tourism networks and their ecological impacts, as well as the materiality of the Newfoundland coastal environment. Our theoretical framework bridges work in the mobilities paradigm, which often focuses on the sociotechnical imbroglions involved in travel, with work on media discourses of the environment. Such a perspective leads us to question the eco-political implications of tourism mobility in coastal Newfoundland. This perspective shifts the analysis towards the environmental impacts associated with tourism mobility that are omitted from media discourse, such as pollutants generated through travel, namely greenhouse gas emissions, and wildlife stress. Our analysis of mass-mediated performances of Newfoundland coastal tourism complements tourist experience research and builds on a sociotechnical/landscape network approach. It also expands upon work that suggests tourism will play an increasingly important role in the economic diversification of the province (Ommer 2007), as well as work that examines the cultural meanings generated by Newfoundland tourism promotion (Overton 1996).

Methodology

Our findings are based on a textual analysis of newspaper articles that discuss Newfoundland tourism. Using the Factiva database, we conducted a search of all major publications from Canada, the UK, and the USA – key tourism origin areas for Newfoundland and Labrador. In May 2011, we searched articles published between 1 January 1992 and 31 December 2010 for the keywords: 'coast*,' 'tourism*,' 'recreation,' 'leisure,' 'geography,' and 'Newfoundland and Labrador' (where * denotes a wild card character). The resulting sample includes 130 articles drawn from 18 major news outlets (Table 1).

We imported the sample into NVivo software for qualitative analysis, manually coding articles according to a semi-structured scheme, which was developed prior to data collection and revised periodically (Silverman 2005). Thirteen broad top-level thematic categories were used to structure the coding: *Animals, Climate Change, Representations of the Coastal Environment, Culture and Identity, Environmental Problems, Images of the Tourism Market, Mobility Networks, Modes of Interaction with the Coastal Environment, Offshore Oil, Parks and Protected Areas, Social Movements, Sustainability Discourse, and Tourism and Economic Development*. Each of these broad thematic areas was subdivided into more precise second-level categories, for example: whales, seabirds, outports as sites of authenticity, outports as communities in decline, fisheries collapse, offshore oil, the spectacular coastal environment, Gros Morne National Park, automobility, aeromobility, out-migration, hiking, kayaking, the positive impacts of tourism, and travel promotion (see Appendix). These second-level coding categories were examined, summarized, and compared in order to produce our analysis. These categories structure our presentation of results and include the key discursive themes that are visualized in Figure 1.

In addition to an in-depth analysis of media themes, we also draw upon network analysis techniques by treating qualitative themes as elements within 'discourse networks' (Mische 2008; Mohr 1998; Prior 2008; Reiter et al. 2007). This follows an 'embedded mixed-methods' approach, wherein network analysis complements a primarily qualitative research design (Hesse-Biber 2010). A discourse network was constructed by generating a coding matrix in NVivo that quantifies the thematic

Table 1. News outlets and number of hits identified by Factiva search.

News outlet	Number of articles
Canada	
Globe and Mail	52
Toronto Star	33
Toronto Sun	9
Canada total	94
UK	
Daily Mail	4
The Independent	4
The Observer	4
The Daily Telegraph	3
The Guardian	3
The Evening Standard	1
The Mirror	1
UK total	20
USA	
Washington Post	4
New York Times	3
St. Petersburg Times (Tampa Bay)	3
Dallas Morning News	2
Christian Science Monitor	1
Philadelphia Inquirer	1
USA Today	1
Washington Times	1
USA total	16
Article total	130

coding and provides counts for how frequently themes co-occur in the same newspaper articles. This coding matrix was then exported to Visone software for network analysis and visualization. We used the indexing and mapping functions of Visone to depict the data, creating a snapshot of discourse network relationships (Figure 1). Node size reflects the network centrality of themes within media discourse (i.e. how well connected a theme is to other themes), ties between nodes indicate the co-occurrence of themes in the same article, and tie thickness reflects the frequency with which themes co-occur. As the number of themes would make a comprehensive network diagram illegible, we selected a limited subset of particularly salient themes for inclusion in the network diagram.

Results

Figure 1 depicts the connections among key discursive themes related to mobility and the environment in media coverage of Newfoundland tourism between 1992 and 2010. Thematic categories that are central to the network include tourism attractors such as whales, icebergs, and Gros Morne National Park, as well as the positive impacts of tourism, the collapse of the cod fishery, and rural outposts as sites of authenticity and historicity. Other key nodes in the network include: outposts as communities in decline and sites of provincial out-migration, outdoor recreation (e.g. hiking and skiing), and automobility and aeromobility. These themes will be explored in greater depth in the following sections, with attention to discursive shifts

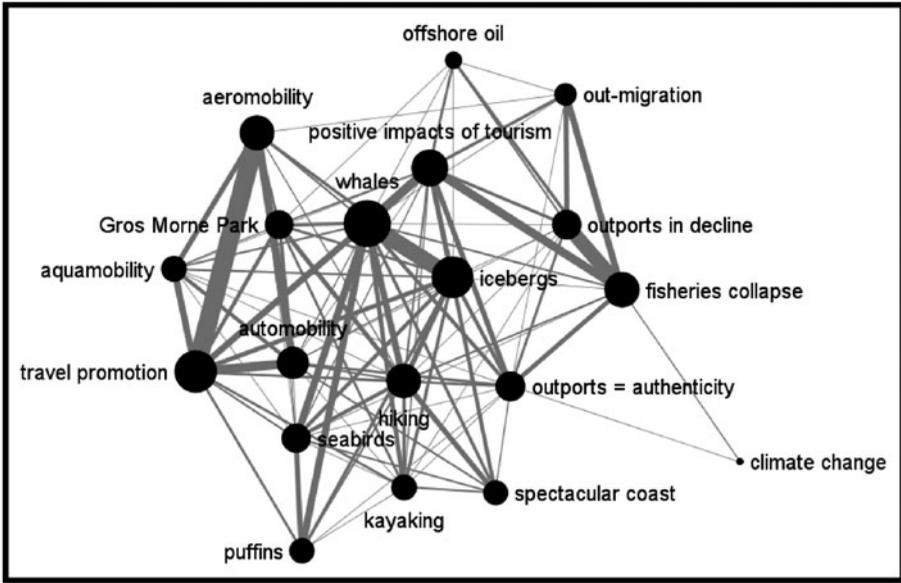


Figure 1. Relationships amongst key discursive themes, 1992–2010.

that occurred during this time span. Figure 2 displays the number of coding references by year for sets of key themes related to rural decline, rural authenticity as a tourism attractor, nature as a tourism attractor, and tourism mobilities.

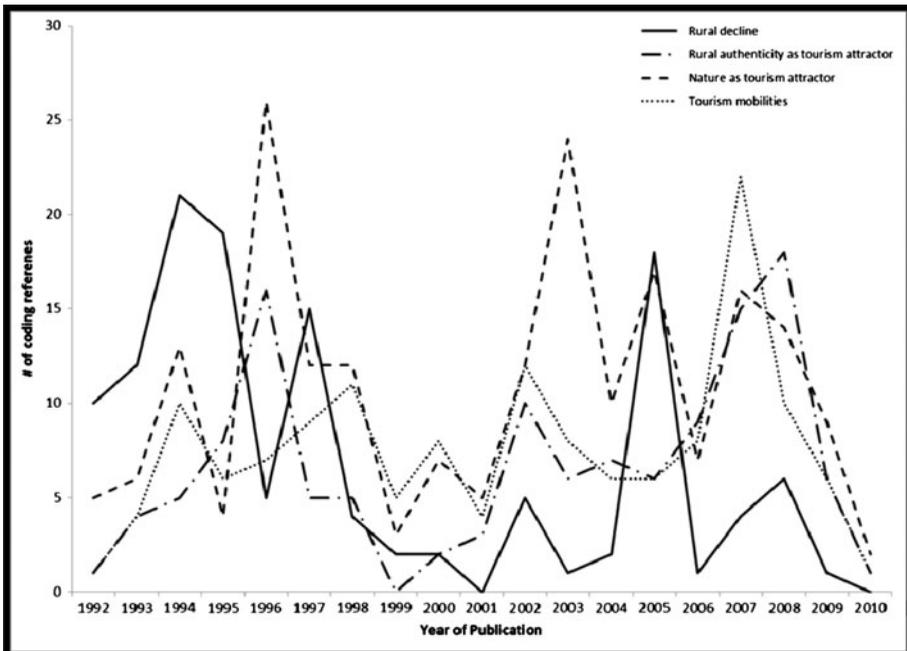


Figure 2. Coverage of key thematic areas, by year of publication.

Rural Decline and Out-Migration

A key theme within media coverage is the collapse of the cod fishery and the resulting fishing moratorium of the early 1990s, which provides a context for much of the media discourse that enacts rural Newfoundland as a tourism environment (on the fisheries decline and moratorium see Bavington 2010; Palmer and Sinclair 1997). Mobility narratives are central to this theme as the economic collapse caused Newfoundlanders to question whether to endure at home or to migrate to another region, such as Alberta, with better economic prospects. For example, a 1993 article about travel in Newfoundland from the *London Independent* describes the fisheries collapse as follows:

Gone too are 25,000 fishery jobs – the equal in this sparsely populated province of 2.5 million layoffs in Britain. The federal government provides the equivalent of 200 lb a week under a retraining package for each of those affected, but next year the welfare bonanza runs out. (Fox 1993, 20)

Much of the media attention on this issue occurs between 1993 and 1996. Media attention wanes with the exception of 2005, when the fisheries collapse is once again referenced in several articles. However, based on a close reading of these articles, no new developments in the ecology or politics of the fishery drive this upswing in coverage.

Material on the fisheries collapse, which appears in 43 articles, is often linked to a media discourse that defines outports as communities in decline. According to the *Dictionary of Newfoundland English*, outports include any ‘coastal settlement other than the chief port of St John’s,’ which is the provincial capital and urban center of the province (Story 1990). In these articles, outport communities are depicted as places of out-migration, decay, despair, and a vanishing way of life. This theme is closely related to themes of chronic unemployment, provincial dependency, and barriers to economic development in Newfoundland. For example, a 1994 article from the *Globe and Mail*, Canada’s highest-circulation national daily newspaper, states:

Eighteen months after a moratorium was placed on cod fishing, the fury is pretty much spent. The rather artificial hope for the return of the fish has also worn thin. The brutal truth is simple: The cod are gone. As a result, Newfoundland’s approximately 400 outport communities are on the edge of extinction, as is the dignity of the fishing life. (Makin 1994, A6)

Most news stories that incorporate such discourses appear between 1993 and 1998, in the years immediately following the cod collapse and fishing moratorium (Figure 2). However, there is also an increase in coverage of these themes in 2005, coinciding with a similar increase in articles that invoke the cod fishery collapse and moratorium. This suggests that these themes work as a relatively coherent discourse package, wherein the fisheries collapse appears to be the master frame that links them all together.

Historically, Newfoundland was a node in European fisheries networks (Cadigan 2009). However, the main media narrative of mobility in the early 1990s focuses on migration away from the island for work. The media focus on out-migration

corresponds with discourses of chronic unemployment, economic dependence, and the decline of outport communities. For example, a 1995 *Globe and Mail* article describes one outport community: 'Currently, the population of Change Islands is about 500 – half of what it was in its heyday. As in so many communities in Atlantic Canada, people left for New York, Boston or Toronto year after year; if they didn't want to work in the fishing industry, they had little choice' (Fitzpatrick 1995, F9). Such interpretations of Newfoundland as a site of fisheries collapse and out-migration persist. In 2005, more than a decade after the moratorium, a travel and tourism article from Florida's *St. Petersburg Times* states that: 'Other fishermen have taken mining or petroleum jobs thousands of miles away, in the western provinces. And many of the island's teenagers also consider their futures may be found by leaving the island their elders call the Rock' (Jenkins 2005, T1). Media discourses that focus on the fisheries collapse, outports in decline, and out-migration appear within articles that also focus on tourism. This cluster of discourses, which is particularly prevalent from 1993 to 1998, provides an image of rural underdevelopment and ecological decline that sets the context for imagining tourism as a form of social, economic, and environmental rehabilitation for the region. The profound shift in the province's political ecology created the foundation for an emergent tourism sector. Many of those Newfoundlanders who chose to be immobile, that is, to stay in their communities, focused efforts on fostering the mobility of others, namely tourists.

Rural Authenticity as a Tourism Attractor

While much of the media discourse, particularly during the 1990s, focuses on rural decline, another recurrent theme within the media archive is that tourism mobilities results in positive cultural and economic impacts for host communities. The collapse of the cod fishery is often raised simultaneously in order to frame the transition to a tourism economy; if the cod collapse brought the decline of fisheries communities, tourism promises a renaissance premised on mobility. Concerns about environmental impacts are marginalized, and parallels between the exploitation and breakdown of two common ecological resources, cod via overfishing and the atmosphere via greenhouse gas emissions, are not drawn.

This fishing-to-tourism narrative is often made explicit and is an important media frame for interpreting Newfoundland tourism. While some articles frame tourism as a means of witnessing the 'vanishing way of life' of fishing communities, others portray tourism as a potential lifeline for coastal communities in a post-fishing economy, linking floundering communities to a global tourism mobility complex (Urry 2003). Images of remote coastal outports are circulated to a global market of potential tourists. A 1997 *Globe and Mail* travel article about sailing the Newfoundland coast describes the fishing community of Ramea as follows: 'Since the closing down of the fish processing plant, the town has lost 20% of its families. Mayor Lloyd Rossiter has had to play the tourism card to keep from losing any more citizens' (Kemp 1997, F1). A more recent 2005 *Globe and Mail* article draws a direct connection between fishing and the new economic imperative for communities to lure the 'open-mouthed tourists who are now the only life form rolling onto the isolated shores of Twillingate' and other coastal communities (Ovenell-Carter 2005, T2). The writer describes her encounter with a former fisherman as follows:

Still, when a man has set bait for so many years, when he has waited so long and watched so carefully for favourable tides and weather, he cannot easily unhook himself from his habits. And so Melvin J. Horwood did not stop fishing; he simply changed his bait. (Ovenell-Carter 2005, T2)

In short, tourism was viewed by some as a substitute for the fishery; the mobilities of tourism replace the (im)mobilities of cod fishing.

Another prevalent theme focuses on outport fishing villages as sites of authenticity. Outports appear as places that maintain traditional ways of life, which are themselves the products of the earlier mobilities of British and Irish migrant fishers and merchants, attracted by the region's fisheries (Cadigan 2009). Writing about slum tours in India, Diekmann and Hannam (2012) note that films like *Slumdog Millionaire* structure tourist expectations and performances. Similarly, a 2002 *Toronto Star* article references the Newfoundland-set film, *The Shipping News*, as a hook for a Newfoundland travel narrative. The author describes outport communities as follows:

Stroll through town and you begin to sense something else, a kind of stark beauty that blows right through you. Laundry hangs over backyards filled with snow. There are root cellars and a sheep paddock and a ring of net-mending shacks built on stilts over the water. The edge of the wharf is cluttered with squid jigs and cod trap anchors.... It is pure Newfoundland. (Loek 2002, X21)

Outports are quaint sites to experience the 'real Newfoundland,' in implicit, and sometimes explicit, contrast to the urban and suburban areas where most Newfoundlanders live.

When the two media discourses of rural outports – as communities in decline that trigger the out-migration of residents and as sites of authenticity that attract tourists – are examined over time, the results are somewhat counterintuitive. We expected the 'communities in decline' framing to be more prevalent in the 1990s, when the fisheries collapse was more prominent in the news, with the 'authenticity and history' frame becoming more prevalent later. However, while most of the coding for 'outports in decline' occurs between 1994 and 1997, with the exception of a spike in 2005, the coding for outports as sites of authenticity fluctuates, rather than displaying a steady increase (Figure 2). The notion of outport authenticity does not seem to drive media coverage of Newfoundland tourism, but appears to be part of the routine vocabulary used to depict this place for the 'media-mediated' tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen 2011).

Nature as a Tourism Attractor

Media narratives of tourism mobility are structured by notions of rural authenticity. A set of non-human actants, to use Latour's (2005) terminology, are also routinely drawn upon to 'order' media accounts of Newfoundland tourism (Franklin 2004). Icebergs are a primary tourism attractor for Newfoundland, and are often linked to media descriptions of the coast as rugged and rocky, as well as descriptions of the ocean and the unpredictable, and often intrusive, weather. For example, a 2000 *Globe and Mail* article about hiking Newfoundland's 'wild side' opens as follows:

The hikers came by the hundreds, lured to this fishing village south of St. John's by the cathedral-sized iceberg grounded in the harbour. Its spires towered above the treetops and its bright bulk illuminated the sea, less than a kilometre from the trail. For four weeks this spring the colossal berg provided a stunning [view]. (McElrone 2000, T2)

Rugged coasts with views of transient icebergs are key non-human attractors incorporated into media performances of the tourist environment.

Animals are also key tourism attractors, with whales serving as a primary symbol of Newfoundland nature. Seabirds (i.e. puffins, kittiwakes, gannets, and gulls) and eagles also appear frequently as signifiers of Newfoundland nature, often in conjunction with whales. For example, a 2007 travel article from the *Toronto Sun* states,

From a cliff, mere metres from a headland which is home to hundreds of puffins, we are entertained by the so-called 'parrots of the north' as they swoop by at eye level, before diving for fish. Meanwhile, two minke whales frolic just off shore. (Taylor 2007, T6)

A 2008 article from the British *Observer* similarly draws on icebergs, whales, and puffins as natural tourism attractors as it promotes summer travel to the island:

The whales are arriving from their winter breeding grounds in the Caribbean, coming so close to the shore you can hear them sighing.... puffins skim across the water flapping their feeble wings like some demented wind-up bathtub toy and the last icebergs of the season drift south to meet their slushy end. (O'Connor 2008, 2)

Articles typically focus on the thrill of encountering, and experiencing a connection with, whales, birds, and icebergs that are on the move, guided by seasonal mobility patterns. However, despite the centrality of animal-based discourses, the impacts of climate change on the seasons and the migration and feeding patterns of marine animals are unacknowledged (for a description of projected climate change impacts in Newfoundland, see Finnis 2013).

The media archive describes a wide range of valued modes of interaction with the non-human environment. Hiking, skiing, and kayaking are forms of mobility that allow users to directly experience and interact with nature. A 2004 *Globe and Mail* article describes sea kayaking the Newfoundland coast as follows: 'With an undulating coastline that stretches for more than 17,000 km, Newfoundland and Labrador is a sea kayaker's paradise' (Nicol and Nicol 2004, R7). While a couple of stories per year focused on hiking, skiing, fishing, and kayaking throughout the 1990s, stories focusing on nature-based recreation are prevalent from 2003 to 2008 (Figure 2).

Tourism, Mobility, and Eco-politics

A central theme within the media archive is travel promotion. Material that encourages readers to visit Newfoundland, provides first-person narratives of traveling to Newfoundland, and offers 'how to' information (e.g. accommodation, transport, and attractions) appears in 59 articles. Strong links appear between travel promotion and automobility, aeromobility and, to a lesser extent, aquamobility (i.e. ferry and cruise

ship). Media attention to these themes is roughly consistent throughout the period from 1994 through 2006, peaks in 2007 and 2008, then declines in 2009 and 2010 (Figure 2). The themes of aeromobility and automobility are closely related to material on skiing, history as a tourism attractor, parks, and icebergs. This cluster of discourses illustrates the connections between outdoor sport, nature tourism, and mobility networks.

A secondary theme within material on tourism, mobilities, and ecopolitics is the interaction of human and non-human mobilities. Such interaction can take the form of humans seeking out whales, puffins, and icebergs via kayak and motorized boat tours. Seven articles address and celebrate the potential for close proximity between humans and non-humans. A 2003 *Independent* article describes the opportunity to view seabirds: ‘a cliff-top walk leads to a viewing-point just 15 metres from one of the world’s largest, most accessible seabird rookeries; among other species you’ll see thousands of Northern Gannets’ (Orkin and Furniss 2003, 6–7). While a 2003 *Toronto Sun* article describes an encounter as follows:

‘Whales!’ [the guide] says in a strained whisper so as not to scare away the humpbacks.... I look up just in time to watch all three glide through the water, their pectoral fins displayed, before they slap their huge tails on the surface, heading deep down into the drink to feed. (Levy 2003, T10)

The possibility that these close encounters may stress wildlife populations is generally disregarded.

Travel promotion, mobility, and icebergs are central themes in the media archive. However, there are patterned silences in the representation and discussion of these themes. Notably, links are not made with climate change and the offshore oil industry. For example, there is a purification of connections between icebergs, a key tourism attractor, the offshore oil industry, a form of extractive development, and climate change, to which offshore oil development contributes and which, in turn, may affect the formation of icebergs. Though two articles link the oil sector with icebergs, it is regarding the structural threat that icebergs pose to oil platforms. In addition, connections are not made between travel by plane, car, and boat to Newfoundland and the emission of greenhouse gases that cause climate change. However, the transport sector is a significant contributor to provincial greenhouse gas emissions, accounting for 30% of emissions (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2011).

Climate change material appears in only three articles. Of these articles, two suggest that climate change is a possible factor in the decline of North Atlantic cod populations, while the third suggests that a warming climate will benefit Newfoundland tourism as it will make the region’s climate more appealing to American and European visitors. By contrast, the offshore oil industry appears in 11 articles and coverage generally highlights its positive economic impact.

One *Globe and Mail* article describes anticipation surrounding the Hibernia oil platform, which began production in 1997 and is located southeast of the city of St. John’s: ‘Newfoundlanders are brimming with renewed confidence, with the dream of Hibernia crude now a reality, gushing out at the rate of 45,000 barrels a day’ (Cernetig, Little, and Laghi 1997, A1). Similarly, a 1997 *Philadelphia Inquirer* article observes: ‘But it is oil, and lots of it, that is stirring imagination and priming hopes for a revitalized economy right now. Not a day goes by without news of the drilling in the papers or on television. It’s the subject of radio talk shows, and conversation in

streets and houses' (Goldman 1997, A1). The most prominent concern regarding the oil sector is not its environmental impact in terms of climate change or oil spills, but that it generates fewer jobs than did the fishing industry at its peak.

Material on the oil industry is closely related to material on the fisheries collapse, outports as communities in decline, and chronic unemployment. Again, this cluster of discourses provides an image of rural underdevelopment and ecological decline that sets the context for imagining the oil industry as an avenue for regional social and economic rehabilitation. This theme is linked to the positive economic and social impacts of tourism. The oil and gas sector contributes significantly to the provincial gross domestic product, 27%, a level on par with the contribution of the energy sector to Alberta's economy (Government of Alberta 2012; Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2012). By comparison, the tourism sector contributes less than 5% of the provincial gross domestic product. However, the tourism industry is an employment engine, directly employing approximately 13,000 citizens, compared to about 3,000 in the oil and gas sector (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2009, 2012; Higgins 2009). Both sectors therefore are important to the provincial economy. Similarly, both sectors are embedded in a petrocapiatist network: the oil and gas sector through the extraction of fossil fuels, and the ecotourism sector as part of an attractive, fossil fuel-dependent global mobility network. However, despite such interconnections, questions are largely not raised about how each sector influences the other, particularly regarding the potential impacts of climate change and oil spills on nature tourism and outdoor recreation.

Conclusion

The tourism imaginaries that are performed through newspapers, magazines, websites, television programs, and travel guides help enact tourist environments through ascribing meaning to them and structuring the practices of bodily tourism. Visual images and stories about specific tourism destinations circulate globally, establishing expectations and working to attract visitors (Urry and Larsen 2011). As such, the newspaper tourism stories analysed here provide a useful entry point for understanding how coastal Newfoundland, as a local environment, is performed and linked (or not) to flows of people, machines (e.g. airplanes, cars, and ferries), the oil sector, and greenhouse gases emissions. This analysis bridges work in mobilities, media and society, and environmental sociology.

Our analysis demonstrates that the meanings ascribed by media to the coastal Newfoundland environment have shifted between 1992 and 2010. The first key mobility narrative that is articulated by media coverage of Newfoundland tourism is that the collapse of the cod fishery and the 1992 fishing moratorium led to the decline of rural outport communities. This resulted in high unemployment, dependence on federal government support, and out-migration as many people left the province to seek work elsewhere in Canada, particularly Ontario and Alberta. While this narrative is especially prevalent in the early nineties to mid-nineties, the fisheries collapse and rural decline continue to contextualize media representations of tourism and mobility well into the 2000s.

The second narrative emphasizes the authenticity and historical value of rural outport communities. This image of rural Newfoundland is coupled with a media discourse that describes coastal Newfoundland as a spectacular environment rich

with icebergs, whales, and seabirds. In this narrative, nature and culture work as tourism attractors, and tourism is valued for its positive impact on local communities. The emphasis on nature as a tourism attractor, and mobile forms of interaction with the environment, such as hiking and sea kayaking, is particularly prevalent during the 2000s.

These two narratives might convey the impression that the tourism economy is emerging as an antidote to social and ecological decline in rural communities. While there is truth to this interpretation, this media discourse obscures the eco-political implications of efforts to reimagine coastal Newfoundland for a tourist gaze. Media representations of Newfoundland tourism draw on a set of cultural and natural tourism attractors, including outports as sites of authenticity, icebergs, whales and other wildlife, and national parks. Media coverage works to construct a particular version of Newfoundland for a tourist gaze, creating a version of Newfoundland culture that is intertwined with relatively static geography (e.g. rocky rugged mountains and seascapes) and mobile nature (e.g. whales, puffins, and icebergs). Through its mass-mediated 'imaginative geography,' Newfoundland is enacted as a place of both natural wonder and cultural authenticity (Urry and Larsen 2011). However, media discourse glosses over the eco-political implications of tourism mobility.

For example, the emphasis on whales and puffins as tourism attractors distracts from ongoing difficulties with fisheries recovery. Underlying media narratives of Newfoundland tourism is an implicit assumption that tourism is a replacement for fisheries, rather than allowing for the possibility that tourism might be part of a diversified economy incorporated alongside a restructured fishing industry (as suggested by Ommer 2007).

Similarly, much of the media discourse promotes travel, embedding local environments within sociotechnical networks of automobility, aeromobility, and what we might term the 'aquamobility' of the Marine Atlantic ferry system and cruise ships (Lassen 2006; Urry 2004). These mobility systems require significant environmental 'withdrawals' of oil and raw materials for infrastructure and fuel, while they create significant environmental 'additions' in the form of air and water pollution (Schnaiberg and Gould 2000; also see Baldacchino 2010). Tourism mobilities also produce greenhouse gas emissions that contribute to climate change, which creates environmental risks for coastal environments (e.g. sea-level rise, storm events, and erosion) and impacts the Arctic ice-sheets that produce Newfoundland's iconic icebergs (Urry 2011; Urry and Larsen 2011). The media narrative that frames tourism in terms of positive impacts rarely links the tourism industry to discussion of Newfoundland's offshore oil industry, which has emerged as a major economic force in the province over the past two decades. The offshore oil industry poses direct (i.e. oil spills) and indirect (i.e. climate change) environmental risks to the coastal environment upon which the tourism industry relies (Cadigan 2009; Ommer 2007; Sinclair 2011).

Latour and Urry each provide theoretical frameworks that help highlight the eco-political implications of media accounts of tourism and the Newfoundland coastal environment. Latour's work on political ecology points to the materiality of tourism networks and related environmental impacts, while Urry's work foregrounds climate change in the context of tourism and mobility research. In combination, these perspectives underscore the ways in which media coverage of mobility, nature, and tourism purifies connections to environmental issues, such as climate change, oil spills, and wildlife stress, setting the context for imagining tourism as both

unthreatened and unthreatening. Such isolated framing of tourism and oil parallels Norgaard's (2011) ethnographic research on the cultural organization of climate denial in a Norwegian community that prides itself on a strong skiing culture and its environmental ethic, while simultaneously economically benefiting from an active oil and gas sector. In future, it would be valuable to explore whether a similar cultural process functions in the Newfoundland context.

The analysis presented here focuses on the ways in which media enacts tourism mobility. Coastal Newfoundland is translated by media from outside the region and put into circulation among the global flow of tourism imaginaries. This analysis is part of a broader project, involving other lines of inquiry. For example, this analysis of media representations of tourism mobility directed at an 'outsider' audience will be linked to analyses of self-representations of Newfoundland tourism, namely through an analysis of online and print materials produced by tourism operators and the provincial government. Also, our analysis of the mediations of tourism mobility will be connected to interviews focusing on how tourism operators and other key actors with a stake in tourism and the coastal environment interpret tourism's relationship to the coastal environment.

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Appendix. List of top-level and second-level coding categories

Top-level coding categories	Second-level coding categories
Animals	Black bear Caribou Coyotes Dolphin Eagles Foxes Heron Lynx Marine life Moose Osprey Owl Piping plover Polar bear Porpoises Ptarmigan Puffins Sea turtle Seabirds Seals Snowshoe hare Walrus Whales
Climate change	Benefits & opportunities Oil development & climate change Risks & impacts Tourism contributions Tourism role in responding to climate change
Coastal environment	Adventure As far from Disney as you can get Coast as a place of camaraderie Cold water environment Ecological value of coastal areas Forest Gap between expectations & reality Harbour front as a destination is like a ridiculous missed opportunity Harsh & frightening environment Icebergs Isolation Newfoundland = the coastal environment Off the beaten track Rocky, cliffs & mountains Rugged environment Spectacular coast, ocean Tundra Unique geology Vast and lonely province Weather as actant Wilderness

(Continued)

Appendix. *(Continued)*

Top-level coding categories	Second-level coding categories
Culture & identity	Arts & culture 'Come from away' First Nations Unique food & drink History as tourism attractor Interaction with locals as authenticity Lighthouse Mindful that we don't lose our identity New Hollywood image Newfoundland dialect Newfoundland vs. Canada Newfoundland is behind the times Outports are sites of authenticity & history Outports are communities in decline Social resilience St. John's
Environmental issues	Anti-whaling Aquaculture Creating new protected areas Deforestation Development in parks Eco-consumerism Energy use Fisheries collapse, overfishing Food security Garbage from the eastern United States Habitat management Hydro-electric development Invasive species Marine protected areas No captivity for marine mammals Offshore oil = environmental risk Overpopulation Pollution prevention Puffin rescue Real estate development Transportation Waste on beaches, in water Waste production Water resources management
Image of tourism market	Age Class Disability Gender Racialization Sexuality
Mobility networks	Source region Aeromobility Aquamobility Automobility In-migration Out-migration

(Continued)

Appendix. (Continued).

Top-level coding categories	Second-level coding categories
Modes of interaction	Bird watching Boat tours Camping Cruise ships Cycling Diving Fishing Golf Hiking Hunting Kayaking, canoeing Mountain-biking Off-highway vehicles Skiing Snowmobiling Snowshoeing Swimming
Offshore oil industry	Offshore oil governance Oil as tourism attractor Oil drives economic development Oil economy doesn't benefit NL Oil-tourism interface
Parks and protected areas	Cape St. Mary's Gros Morne Mistaken Point Terra Nova National Park Torngat Mountains National Park Witless Bay
Social movements	ENGO campaigns are cultural barrier to NL environmentalism Fisheries protest Geotourism Tourism-environmentalism links
Sustainability discourse	Environmental drawbacks of tourism Scientific research Sustainability discourse
Tourism & economic development	Collaboration between govt & key actors Creating tourism anchors as regional development strategy Fisheries seeing economic growth HERE we are so St. John's focused Island a bargain for U.S. visitors It's not going to replace the fishery or the oil Media travel promotion Positive impacts of tourism Barriers to tourism Drawbacks to tourism Historical change in tourism Unequal benefits of tourism Unemployment & dependency Vacation homes We don't need to be this well-oiled, polished tourism machine

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