

From Farm to Table Measuring Host Communities' Relationship with the Plant World in Instagram Tourism Reels

Elena Mattei

Università degli Studi di Bergamo, Italy

Abstract Regenerative tourism claims to move beyond sustainability by restoring ecosystems and communities, but whether its communication enacts that claim has not been measured. The article annotates ten Instagram reels and captions from five regenerative, sustainable and neoliberal accounts, across 34 nodes and 261 values, yielding 1,737 multimodal and 565 linguistic annotations. Regenerative reels foreground producers, production settings and food as living matter; neoliberal reels foreground tourists, dining and prepared food and show no producers, a pattern the sustainable account shares. Where the corpora do not differ is in grammatical agency.

Keywords Regenerative Tourism. Multimodal Fine-Grained Annotation. Instagram Reels. Ecolinguistics. Food Discourse. Systemic Functional Linguistics.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Framing Regenerative Food and Tourism Discourse. – 3 Data and Method. – 4 Results. – 5 Discussion: Food as *Living Matter* and *Finished Product*. – 6 Conclusions: Limitations and Future Work.



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1 Introduction

Tourism is one of the largest organized transfers of people, money and appetite on the planet, and almost all of it passes through food. Where food comes from, who grows it and who is shown eating it are the terms on which a destination proposes a relationship between its visitors, its residents and the land that feeds both. Food-systems research has argued for a decade that those terms must change: sustaining a food system is no longer enough, and what is needed are systems that actively rebuild the soils, communities and ecosystems they depend on (Duncan, Carolan, Wiskerke 2021, 4).

Regenerative tourism now names a post-sustainability, post-industrialized position within the industry, but whether it reaches the industry's communication is a separate question: in the food-systems literature, tourism appears first as a threat, among the pressures eroding Indigenous food systems through cultural commodification (Dwiartama 2021, 34), in light of Cole's (2007) finding that communities present themselves as representatives of an ethnic, exotic way of life in order to remain an attraction. The question is therefore whether a practice (the food practice) that current literature identifies as a mechanism of commodification can communicate post-industrial principles instead of simply commodifying them.

Two recent changes make that question answerable: Instagram's shift to video content, and advances in fine-grained multimodal annotation. This article applies that combination to food, by analyzing ten Instagram reels and their captions. Specifically, two reels from each of five accounts paradigmatic of four tourism orientations (Mattei, forthcoming b) were annotated in full: 105 shots, 1,737 multimodal annotations from a template of 34 categories and 261 values, and 565 linguistic annotations over the matched captions. The design is deliberately contrastive and small, a pilot illustrating the types rather than estimating the populations behind them.

Three contributions follow: countable differences between regenerative and neoliberal food discourse; an annotation instrument specified in full and available on request, so that it can be reapplied, contested or extended; and a caution, in that two of five pre-specified hypotheses failed.

Section 2 defines the framework, the six regenerative food-system principles and what each would look like in communication, and states the criteria on which the regenerative, sustainable and neoliberal orientations are attributed to accounts; Section 3 the corpus, instrument and protocol; Sections 4 and 5 report and discuss the results; Section 6 states the limitations and conclusions.

2 Framing Regenerative Food and Tourism Discourse

2.1 From Sustaining to Regenerating

Sustainability entered the public and policy domain through the Brundtland formulation, which defined sustainable development as development meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own (WCED 1987), and was subsequently consolidated in the 2030 Agenda and its seventeen Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs; Duncan, Carolan, Wiskerke 2021). In both, the underlying logic remained broadly one of maintenance: the aim is to hold a system at a level at which it can continue, not to restore what it has lost (Bellato et al. 2022). Regeneration, by contrast, tends to reposition humans as integral components of ecological processes, calling for concepts and narratives that situate us “not as sustainers of nature, but as active participants in an integrated cycle of regeneration” (Duncan, Carolan, Wiskerke 2021, 4), so that the distinction would seem to be rather more than terminological. Some support for that reading can be drawn from the trajectory of the past decade: since the SDGs were adopted, hunger has returned to the levels of a decade earlier, with undernourishment rising to 815 million by 2016, while negative externalities have continued largely unchecked and corporate consolidation and financial speculation in the food chain have, if anything, intensified (Ferrando 2021). On this evidence, doing the same thing more efficiently or more ‘sustainably’ would appear to be less a transition than “more of the same but with a nicer face” (Ferrando 2021, 262).

Six principles have accordingly been proposed for food systems to be considered truly regenerative: 1) acknowledging and including diverse forms of knowing and being; 2) taking care of people, animals, and the planet; 3) moving beyond capitalist approaches; 4) commoning the food system; 5) promoting accountable innovations; and 6) long-term planning of rural-urban relations (Boyd, Prudham, Schurman 2001; Duncan, Carolan, Wiskerke 2021, 5). Each of these draws on a substantial and partly independent body of work. Political economy, for its part, supplies the analytic questions of who owns what, who does what and who gets what, although it has been criticized for insufficient engagement with feminist, postcolonial and critical race theory and for largely omitting non-human actors (Galt 2013; Levkoe, Moragues-Faus, Duncan 2021, 14). Work on Indigenous food systems, meanwhile, documents dietary and ecological diversity that appears to exceed by some margin that of industrial diets (Kuhnlein, Receveur 1996). Care ethics, finally, contributes much of the relational vocabulary that the more technical literature tends to lack, defining care as everything we do to maintain, continue and repair our world (Tronto 1993, 103),

a formulation subsequently extended by Hassink and colleagues into caring for places and caring with people in places (2021, 128-9).

At least two of these strands bear on tourism in ways that are not especially favorable to it. The first is Chesnais's argument, after Polanyi (2001), that the imposition of capitalist relations to land tends to displace relational ontologies in which land and water are kin rather than stock, and that recovering them would require something like the pluriverse Escobar (2018) describes (Chesnais 2021, 52, 59). The second is the commodification argument already introduced in § 1, since tourism appears in this literature among the threats to Indigenous food systems, alongside state regulation and the introduction of cash values (Dwiartama 2021, 34).

2.2 Regenerative Tourism, and What It Claims

Regenerative tourism has nonetheless emerged as a post-sustainability, post-capitalist position within the industry, holding that all sectors bear responsibility for their effects on the capacity to thrive on a finite planet, and that tourism should reinvest in people, communities and environments so as to support the long-term vitality of social-ecological systems (Dredge 2022).

Because such change is seen to require a reorientation of mindset rather than procedural adjustment, attention consistently turns to partnerships between Western scientific and Indigenous/local epistemologies and to the foundational notion of interdependence across living systems (Bellato et al. 2022; 2023) – a non-dualistic view increasingly reflected in Indigenous and spiritual tourism (Butler, Carr 2024; Walia, Jasrotia 2021).

Food is arguably where the two perspectives meet most directly: local culinary practice anchors regional identity, shortening supply chains and sustaining the farming landscapes tourists come to look at (Brulotte, Di Giovine 2014; Falter et al. 2025), while circular gastronomy imports waste minimization and resource recovery into culinary practice, with food sovereignty as its political counterpart (Amo 2023; McGregor 2018). The principles are therefore not foreign to tourism scholarship, and what appears to be missing is rather the evidence that they reach its communication.

2.3 What the Principles Would Look Like in Communication, and What is Known Instead

Nowadays, tourism is encountered as promotional discourse long before it is encountered as an operation, and here the ecolinguistic literature returns something close to the opposite of what the principles

would require. Stibbe's account of erasure describes the progressive removal of the more-than-human world from the discourses that shape action toward it (2015), and tourism discourse has been documented as one site of that removal: promotional language tends to render landscapes as objects of anticipatory consumption (Dann 1996; Mocini 2013), metaphor casts nature as pristine resource or idyllic retreat (Jaworska 2017), and Appraisal analysis suggests that quantification and upscaling normalize the idea that natural worth can be conveyed through abundance (Martin, White 2005; Isti'anah, Suhandano, Winarti 2024). Since the 1970s, Kosatica and Smith argue, resources signifying pristine or endangered nature have diverted attention from structural unsustainability and relocated responsibility to the consumer, in what they describe as "a marketing ploy that remains widely in use today" (2025, 11).

The platform-specific literature is by now substantial, encompassing Instagram's capitalization of landscape and the semiotics of pristine nature (Smith 2021; 2025), the discourse circuit that portrays wildlife as spectacular commodities in ecotourism and the framing of wildlife encounters as hospitality (Lamb 2021; 2024), normative sustainability in chefs' Instagram discourse (Mapes, Ross 2022), and Environmental, Social and Governance (ESG) claims in luxury brands' posts within the same social-semiotic framework used here (Nervino, Choi, Wang 2025). Three findings from previous studies extend this work in the direction the present corpus requires, and together they suggest that the pattern is neither uniform nor inevitable. The first establishes the baseline: Instagram tourism promotion has been found to depict nature as consumable spectacle in contexts where an environmental reference corpus shows stewardship instead (Mattei 2026; Mattei, forthcoming a). The second narrows that finding to food, where economic discourse tends to construe the object through cost, shelf life and profit rather than through nourishment, so that waste registers as an efficiency failure rather than as a nutrient returning to a cycle (Mattei, Capoani 2025). The third, however, indicates that a community-oriented framing can foster stewardship in place of commodification (Mattei, Maci 2025), which is what makes it worth asking whether accounts that describe themselves as regenerative do so consistently, and in which modes.

Kosatica and Smith supply the term that arguably holds these findings together, in that 'sustainability' now circulates so widely, and is appropriated by such divergent interests, that it operates as a floating signifier whose banality can reinforce the status quo (2025). The methodological consequence would seem to follow fairly directly, since if the label floats free of the practice, self-description cannot safely be trusted as a classifier, and what an account calls itself must instead be tested against what it shows.

Set against the six principles, the ecolinguistic findings can then be restated as expectations that are countable rather than impressionistic. If diverse knowledges are acknowledged, producers should appear and should appear as agents rather than as scenery or as the object of a visit. If care is enacted, the relation between hosts, guests and the more-than-human should be reciprocal rather than one-directional. If, in addition, capitalist approaches are moved beyond, food should be construable as living process, grown, harvested and transformed, and not solely as finished dish. And if food is treated as a commons, the settings shown should extend to the places of production and sharing rather than being confined to those of consumption and lodging.

The comparison pole needs specifying with the same care, since ‘neoliberal’ is otherwise a residual label for whatever is not regenerative. The political-economy strand of the food-systems literature supplies the criteria, asking of any food system who owns what, who does what and who gets what (Galt 2013; Levkoe, Moragues-Faus, Duncan 2021, 14), and neoliberal food discourse is here defined by its answers to those questions in communication: food is produced for exchange and shown as a finished commodity; provenance, where it appears, functions as brand value rather than as a relation to a place; the visitor is addressed as a consumer and the host as a service provider; and responsibility for sustainability, where it is mentioned at all, is relocated to that consumer (Kosatica, Smith 2025). Set against the six principles, this yields the mirror image of the regenerative expectations: producers absent or present as scenery, food as dish rather than as process, settings confined to consumption and lodging, and the relation between hosts and guests one-directional. The sustainable orientation occupies the position Kosatica and Smith describe, in that the label is claimed but the practice is not specified, and it is retained here as an intermediate case rather than as a third pole.

2.4 The Gap

Two conditions make such expectations testable now. The first concerns the object: Instagram has shifted to a video-driven platform whose reels are multimodally complex artifacts not covered by existing descriptions, and which therefore call for a correspondingly fine-grained analytical framework (Bateman, Wildfeuer, Hiippala 2026, 115, 119). A recent scoping review of video analysis within hospitality research would seem to confirm that the field has not yet caught up with this shift, since, of the 37 studies it surveys, 25 draw on YouTube, 20 rely on qualitative content analysis conducted, as the authors observe, “without establishing standardized protocols

specifically designed for video data analysis”, and only four examine textual, visual, auditory and metadata components together, while Instagram does not figure among the platforms sampled at all (Xu et al. 2026, 71, 73). The second concerns method: multimodality research has arguably reached the limits of what observation and case studies can establish, and annotation is what allows small-scale qualitative description to be carried over into procedures capable of supporting more robust generalization (Bateman, Wildfeuer, Hiippala 2026, 126). A multi-level, stand-off annotation scheme for short video, continuing the tradition of multimodal transcription (Baldry, Thibault 2006), is by now available (Grzenkiewicz, Wildfeuer 2025; 2026), and comparable corpus-based work across channels has established the design (Mattei, Wildfeuer 2026). Regenerative tourism has itself been approached multimodally on Instagram (Mattei, Maci 2025), though without moving image and without a comparison set.

Taken together, the literature would seem to stop one step short of the question pursued here. It specifies what regenerative food systems require, records that regenerative tourism claims those requirements as its own, establishes that tourism promotion has historically worked against them, and warns that the label may float free of the practice; what it has not yet done is to measure whether the communication of regenerative tourism enacts the principles it invokes, across modes and against a comparison set drawn from the sustainable and neoliberal tourism against which it defines itself. That is what this article sets out to do, asking who acts, who is acted upon, where and what food is allowed to be.

3 Data and Method

3.1 Theoretical Positioning

This study operationalizes a multi-level multimodal annotation framework to model how food, plants and host communities are construed in regenerative reels as against those of the neoliberal and sustainable orientations. In doing so it draws on three research strands, each contributing a distinct component. Systemic Functional Linguistics supplies the modeling of meaning as systemic choice with a motivated function in context (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014; Martin, White 2005); empirical multimodality supplies the stand-off, multi-level architecture through which that choice can be recorded across simultaneous modes (Bateman, Wildfeuer, Hiippala 2017; Pflaeging, Wildfeuer, Bateman 2021); and corpus-assisted ecolinguistics supplies the guiding critical interest in the erasure or restoration of the more-than-human world (Stibbe 2014; 2015; Mattei, forthcoming a).

A stand-off architecture (Bateman, Wildfeuer, Hiippala 2017, 11) is one in which annotation, rather than partitioning the data along a single dominant structure, is distributed across independent parallel layers, each anchored to its own time-span in the reel. Such an arrangement appears necessary given the asynchronous character of short-video communication, where a voice-over may run across several shots, on-screen text may persist independently of the depicted action, and music may continue uninterrupted while the visual material changes. No single segmentation could accommodate all three at once, and the parallel layers are what allow each to be recorded on its own terms.

Following Grzenkowicz and Wildfeuer (2025), the framework distinguishes two analytic levels. The first is the shot, understood as the formal unit: the continuous segment of footage running between two cuts, at which the camera-level categories are anchored. The second is the eventuality, understood as the functional unit: a state of affairs represented on screen, comprising participants engaged in a process within a setting. The term is adapted from Discourse Representation Theory (Kamp, Reyle 1993) and was operationalized for multimodal artifacts by Wildfeuer (2014); it is at this level that represented participants, their semiotic resources, processes, Transitivity roles, setting and modality are annotated.

In the framework as originally stated the two levels are independently segmented, so that one eventuality may run across several cuts and one shot may contain several eventualities. In the present corpus, however, that independence was not always exercised, as the shot was taken as the domain within which the eventuality-level categories are applied. This is reported as an empirical property of these particular reels rather than as a design decision. In this corpus, shots are short, at a median of 1.67 seconds, and every annotated shot carries exactly one Setting value and one configuration of human participants, so that the represented situation does not change within it. Setting is a circumstance of the eventuality, and two eventualities within one shot would in time produce two setting values, which never occurs. What varies within a shot is therefore not the segmentation itself but the number of tags of a given type and the sub-interval each of them covers, and this multiplicity is internal to a single situation, rarely evidence of several. The point holds even in the very few shots (nine) where an action process and a reaction process co-occur between different participants. Figure 4 illustrates the two levels on the first six shots of Playa Viva reel 1, and Table 1 sets this out node by node, giving the level at which each node is applied, the unit over which it repeats, the largest number of tags observed in any single shot, and the median proportion of the host shot that is covered.

Table 1 The scheme by unit of application: the analytic level at which each node is applied, the unit over which it repeats, the maximum number of tags observed in one shot and the median proportion of the host shot covered

Node or group	Applied at	Unit of repetition	Max per shot	Median coverage
Angle · Framing · Movement · Dynamicity · Transition · Provenance · Activity	shot	one per shot	1	0.989
Setting	eventuality	one per shot, with combined umbrella values in parallel	1	0.956
Human beings	eventuality	one per participant type, with combined co-presence values in parallel	1	0.990
Food · Plant/Natural world · Objects/Tools · Animals · Body parts · Drinks	eventuality	one per shot	1	0.98-0.99
Gaze · Facial expression · Reaction processes	eventuality	one per shot	1	0.95-0.99
Posture · Gesture · Action processes	eventuality	repeats where two participants are present	2	0.93-0.96
Demographics: age · biological sex	eventuality	one per human participant	4	0.90-0.93
Modality	eventuality	one per modality instance	3	0.493
Function	eventuality	one per participant role, over the sub-interval in which that participant is engaged in the process	8	0.440
Music · Sound · Spoken language · Written language	independent layers, each diegetic / non-diegetic	one per instance	–	–

Source: Author's table, © the Author

The category system applied in this study extends Grzenkowicz and Wildfeuer's scheme developed for TikTok (2025; 2026), with three substantive adaptations grounded in prior work on still imagery (Mattei 2024; Mattei, Wildfeuer 2026). First, eventuality-level participant categories are tourism-specific, with Human

beings sub-categories foregrounding host-guest reciprocity and Plant/Natural world bundling botanical participants with natural materials under an ecosystemic umbrella. Second, Action and Reaction processes are extended with a three-way transactional typology (Human-Nature, Human-Animal, Human-Human) plus Non-transactional. Third, the diegetic/non-diegetic distinction, applied by Grzenkiewicz and Wildfeuer (2025) to distinguish live from post-edited sound, is extended to spoken and written language, which is what supports the comparison between on-screen voice, text *and* post-edited storytelling or text overlays.

3.2 Annotation Environments

The reels annotation system is described in full in a codebook, available from the author on request, and was built as well as applied on GRAPEMARS (Multimodal Analysis Research Software).¹ GRAPEMARS is a web-based environment in which the analyst defines a library of the modes to be analyzed and their typologies, and annotates them on time-aligned layers, which supports the detection of co-occurrence between modes and the export of the resulting counts for quantitative analysis. Annotations are organized as father nodes (categories) and child nodes (values); multiple annotations may share or overlap a time-span, which is what realizes the parallel-layer architecture. Linguistic annotation of post captions was conducted in CATMA (Computer-Assisted Textual MarkUp and Analysis).²

The reels coding scheme comprises 34 father nodes distributed across ten color-coded label families and subsuming 261 child nodes, of which 142 carry at least one annotation in this corpus. Since the remaining values were available to the analyst but were never assigned, structural absence can itself be treated as a finding, and is reported as such throughout. Figure 1 shows the tagging system as it appears on the software, while Table 2 gives the instrument by label family.

The scheme is organized along two hierarchies that are orthogonal to one another, and the distinction governs how the counts should be read. The first is the label hierarchy of the annotation environment: ten label families (e.g. *Visual_Camera_Shot_perspective*, *Visual_Eventuality*, *Music*, *Sound*, *Spoken Language* and *Written Language*) subsume the father nodes (i.e. *angle*, *movement* and *framing* for *Visual_Camera_Shot_perspective*), which subsume the child values

¹ GRAPEMARS software, GRAPE research group, Universitat Jaume I: www.mars.grape.uji.es.

² CATMA software: <https://catma.de/>.

(i.e. *Bird's eye*, *Eye-level*, *Frog's eye* for the father node *angle*; *very long*, *long*, *medium*, *close*, *very close* for *framing*), and every annotation is one child value. The second is the analytic hierarchy of the artifact: a reel segments into shots, eventualities are annotated within them, and within an eventuality individual participants and modality instances carry their own tags over sub-intervals. The two do not correspond one-to-one. The four camera families anchor at shot level by definition, the Visual Eventuality family at eventuality level, and the audio and language families run on independent layers that may cross both. Table 1 gives the correspondence node by node.

The scheme is inherited in part and new in part, and the codebook records which for every node. Eleven of the 34 father nodes are taken from Grzenkiewicz and Wildfeuer (2025), some without modification and some simplified or extended, and they cover camera perspective, non-perspectival properties (i.e. shots devoid of perspective, e.g. charts, screen captures, infographics), dynamicity/staticity (moving image such as footage versus static, i.e. photographs), cut (the techniques with which footage is divided into shots, i.e. through hard cuts or fading), visual form (extradiegetic, i.e. external graphics that are superimposed on the footage, e.g. stickers, comment quotes, emojis) and sound layers. The remaining cluster mostly in the Eventuality layer, and they are where the tourism- and food-specific commitments of the study sit: the participant (human, animal, plant, object), process (material, mental, etc.), setting (natural, cultural-historical, commercial accommodation, urban and agricultural), modality (visual, audial, verbal and combination of these), process and participant function.

The Function node applies the participant roles of Halliday's Transitivity system to visible participants rather than to clause constituents, assigning one tag per participant per role over the sub-interval in which that participant is engaged in the process. Ten values are defined, distributed across the four process types that are recoverable from the image. Material processes, those of doing, supply Actor for the participant from whom a vector of action departs (53 annotations), Goal for the one that vector reaches (50), and Scope for a domain over which the process ranges without affecting it (8). Mental processes, those of sensing, supply Sensor (16) and Phenomenon (13), the latter assigned only where what is perceived is itself visible in the shot. Relational processes, those of being, are covered by the single merged value Carrier/Attribute (28), which does not separate the entity from the quality ascribed to it. Verbal processes, those of saying, supply Sayer and Target, together with Receiver/Recipient. Behavioral and existential processes, and the identifying subtype of the relational, are not represented, since distinguishing them would require grammatical rather than visual evidence.

Additionally, this study expands categories at the father (adding to *entity type, function, gesture* elements like *facial expression or gaze*) and child level (adding sub-categories detailing the variety of entities and relationships between them, e.g. the type of human roles such as tourists or Indigenous people; animal and plant species; cuisine). The final column of Table 2 gives the provenance by family.

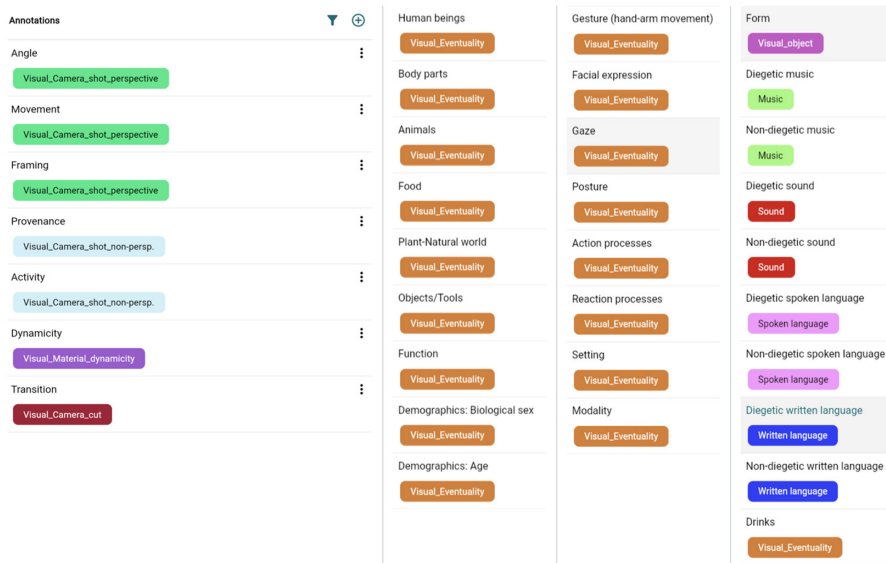


Figure 1 Author, The reels tagging system on GRAPEMARS, showing the ten color-coded label families and their father nodes. 2026. Screenshot of the GRAPEMARS annotation environment; interface © GRAPE research group, Universitat Jaume I

Table 2 The annotation system by label family: father nodes, child nodes defined, child nodes carrying at least one annotation, and annotation load in this corpus

Label family	Father nodes	Nodes	Children	Active	Annotations	Source
Visual_Camera_shot_perspective	Angle, Movement, Framing	3	21	19	313	Grzenkowicz, Wildfeuer 2025
Visual_Camera_shot_non-persp.	Provenance, Activity	2	6	1	1	Grzenkowicz, Wildfeuer 2025
Visual_Material_dynamicity	Dynamicity	1	2	2	105	Grzenkowicz, Wildfeuer 2025

Label family	Father nodes	Nodes	Children	Active	Annotations	Source
Visual_Camera_cut	Transition	1	6	3	105	Grzenkowicz, Wildfeuer 2025
Visual_Eventuality	Human beings, Body parts, Animals, Food, Plant-Natural world, Objects/ Tools, Function, Demographics: Biological sex, Demographics: Age, Gesture, Facial expression, Gaze, Posture, Action processes, Reaction processes, Setting, Modality, Drinks	18	145	94	1,115	new
Visual_object	Form	1	8	5	39	Grzenkowicz, Wildfeuer 2025
Music	Diegetic music, Non-diegetic music	2	19	6	10	mixed
Sound	Diegetic sound, Non-diegetic sound	2	12	1	1	Grzenkowicz, Wildfeuer 2025
Spoken language	Diegetic, Non-diegetic	2	12	5	15	new
Written language	Diegetic, Non-diegetic	2	30	6	33	new
Total		34	261	142	1,737	
Source: Author's table, © the Author						

3.3 Corpus and Sampling

The pilot corpus comprises reels from five Instagram accounts selected as paradigmatic of four tourism orientations: Playa Viva (@playaviva, Mexico; regenerative),³ The Farm at Byron Bay (@thefarmatbyronbay, New South Wales, Australia; regenerative

³ Playa Viva, Instagram account: <https://www.instagram.com/playaviva/>.

agrifood; hereafter Regenerative Farm),⁴ Gaia Retreat & Spa (@gaiaretreat, New South Wales, Australia; sustainable; hereafter Gaia Retreat),⁵ Elements of Byron (@elementsofbyron, New South Wales, Australia; neoliberal)⁶ and Destination New South Wales (@visitnsw, state destination-marketing organization (DMO); neoliberal).⁷ Data span 2023 to 2025.

Orientation was attributed on three criteria applied to the account as a whole, and not to any reel: how the operator describes its own offer in the listing from which it was drawn and on its own channels; whether that description is tied to a named practice, such as permaculture, regenerative agriculture or a certified environmental standard, or remains at the level of a label; and the operator's position in the food system, as producer, hospitality provider or destination-marketing body. Playa Viva and The Farm describe themselves as regenerative and tie the description to named agricultural practice, the second as a working farm. Gaia Retreat & Spa describes itself as sustainable and as an 'eco-conscious retreat lodge', without naming a practice. Elements of Byron is a luxury resort whose food communication is organized around dining, and Destination New South Wales is the state marketing organization, whose brief is competitive promotion; neither claims an environmental orientation and both meet the neoliberal criteria set out in § 2.3. These last two are treated as one comparison arm, called the neoliberal corpus throughout, and are distinguished by name where a difference between a hospitality operator and a destination-marketing body is itself of interest.

Account selection proceeded in three stages, and the screening is reported in full because its difficulty is itself informative. Playa Viva was fixed first, as the only account identified in the regenerative tourism literature with sustained regenerative storytelling across video, image and caption together with an active posting record. A comparison set was then sought that would hold as much constant as possible apart from the tourism orientation itself: an English-speaking context, marketed through a comparable exoticized repertoire, and already documented, so that the discursive baseline against which any difference would be read was known rather than assumed. Instagram accounts were mapped across the English-speaking

4 The Farm at Byron Bay, Instagram account: <https://www.instagram.com/thefarmatbyronbay/>.

5 Gaia Retreat & Spa, Instagram account: <https://www.instagram.com/gaiaretreat/>.

6 Elements of Byron, Instagram account: <https://www.instagram.com/ElementsOfByron/>.

7 Destination New South Wales, Instagram account: <https://www.instagram.com/visitnsw/>.

destinations for this purpose, and Australia emerged as the closest match on both counts. It is marketed through the same repertoire of pristine nature, wildlife and encounter on which Playa Viva's Mexican positioning draws, and its tourism discourse is documented in a prior monograph (Mattei 2026).

Australia is also where the object of this study is most likely to be found. Agriculture is one of the country's major export sectors and agrifood an expanding one, and agritourism, the deliberate combination of visitor experience with food production, has been identified by national research and industry bodies as a growth area.⁸ If regenerative food discourse were reaching tourism communication anywhere in the English-speaking world, it would be reaching it here.

Candidate accounts were assembled by cross-mapping published listings of four kinds: eco-lodge and eco-resort directories,⁹ luxury-lodge and gourmet-travel rankings,¹⁰ agritourism guides issued through the national tourism board, and Instagram-influence rankings for Australian accommodation.¹¹ Twelve accounts were screened against three criteria: an active posting record within the collection window; food content amounting to at least ten reels; and caption-based storytelling rather than dish photography with a hashtag string. Three were retained: Elements of Byron, The Farm at Byron Bay and Gaia Retreat & Spa, all in New South Wales state. No eco-lodge among the candidates satisfied all three criteria at once, so that the sustainable position is held by a wellness retreat rather than by an eco-lodge proper; and the three retained accounts turned out, by coincidence rather than by design, to lie not only in the same state but in the same district, the Byron Bay area of the North Coast.¹²

Destination New South Wales was added as the state destination-marketing account because the New South Wales board promotes conventional, ecological and pioneering regenerative operators alongside one another, which makes it the appropriate site for the question of what the mainstream, institutionally sanctioned discourse is.

⁸ CSIRO, agritourism as a growth area: <https://research.csiro.au/foodag/premium-interactions/experiences-and-tourism/>.

⁹ Eco-resort directory consulted for candidate accounts: <https://www.greengetaways.com.au/eco-resorts-in-australia/>.

¹⁰ Luxury-lodge and resort rankings consulted for candidate accounts: <https://www.gourmettraveller.com.au/travel/accommodation/best-resorts-australia/>; <https://www.australia.com/en-us/things-to-do/luxury/best-all-inclusive-resorts.html>; <https://www.timeout.com/australia/hotels/australias-most-incredible-resorts-and-lodges-for-your-next-getaway>.

¹¹ Instagram-influence ranking for Australian accommodation: <https://www.hermesthemes.com/instagram-leaders/australia/>.

¹² Destination NSW, Byron Bay area page: <https://www.visitnsw.com/destinations/north-coast/byron-bay-area/byron-bay>.

Three features of that screening are themselves findings. First, food content is rare in Australian resort and eco-lodge accounts: of the twelve accounts screened only three carried food storytelling at all, and the ten-reel threshold excluded most candidates before any question of orientation arose. Second, destination-marketing accounts do promote food businesses, but the businesses they promote are wineries, and when they promote resorts it is not for their food. Food appears not to be treated as culture at the institutional level, which is itself a finding about the mainstream discourse this study set out to characterize. Third, the exception is agricultural rather than hospitality-based: working farms with a visitor offer are both growing in number and markedly more likely to narrate food, and it is from that segment, not from the accommodation segment, that the regenerative agrifood account in this corpus was found.

One consequence of that scarcity has to be stated plainly. No Australian account met the criteria for the regenerative pole, which is why the regenerative exemplar is Mexican and the comparison set Australian. National context is therefore not held constant across the two arms, and any difference between them is confounded with it to a degree this design cannot resolve. What limits the damage is the regenerative agrifood account, which is Australian: where it and Playa Viva agree against the Australian neoliberal accounts, the difference cannot be a national one.

Hashtag-based sampling was excluded, since a hashtag records only what a post claims about itself and offers no control over greenwashing. Orientation was instead assigned at account level, on the basis of how each operator positions its own offer in the directories and guides from which it was drawn, so that the claim to be regenerative, sustainable or conventional is the criterion of entry and its enactment in the reels is the outcome under test; none of the features counted in § 4 played any part in selection. Reels were downloaded with a third-party downloader (Apify Scraper) within the 2023-25 collection window. Fifty reels make up the corpus assembled so far, of which the two most recent food-related reels per account were annotated in full. Recency was chosen over random draw because it fixes each account at its current editorial practice, which is what the comparison is about; the cost is that the sample records that practice at one moment and cannot show whether it has changed, a limitation returned to in § 6. No duration threshold was applied, reel length being a property of the genre rather than of the sample: videos produced for Instagram are usually no longer than ninety seconds (Bateman, Wildfeuer, Hiippala 2026, 119), and a minimum would have removed the shortest and most heavily edited material, which is precisely where pacing differences between the orientations become visible. The longest reel here runs to 50.3 seconds and the shortest to 8.9.

All reels were publicly accessible at the time of collection and were produced and published by the account holders as promotional content. No contact was made with the people represented, no personal data were collected beyond what the accounts themselves publish, and the downloaded material is held in the annotation environments under a private research account and is not redistributed. The figures reproduce single frames at the resolution needed to illustrate the annotation and do not include frames in which individuals are identifiable beyond what the public post already shows.

Ten reels, two per account, were fully annotated, running to 216.3 seconds (3 min 36 s) and 105 shots and carrying 1,737 annotations; Table 5 gives the distribution by account. Annotating a single reel required approximately one hour.

The ten post captions accompanying these reels form the linguistic sub-corpus. Caption and reel are matched by source filename, which Instagram builds from the opening of the caption; all ten match at complete string overlap, giving a one-to-one correspondence between the two layers, and three further captions collected from the same accounts have no annotated reel and are excluded, so that the visual and linguistic analyses address the same ten objects. The sub-corpus comprises 100 finite ranking clauses (64 regenerative, 29 neoliberal, 7 sustainable), carrying the 565 annotations reported here. The annotation file holds 625 annotations in all; the remaining 60 fall in a single excluded caption and are counted nowhere in this article.

3.4 Annotation Procedure

Annotation¹³ followed a multi-pass protocol over each reel, and began with shot segmentation and labeling of features such as angle, framing, movement, dynamicity, followed by modality, audio

13 Four rules govern what is and is not tagged, and are stated here because they determine how the resulting counts should be read. A strategy that is present and listed in the scheme is tagged; a strategy that is not present is not tagged, so that a zero represents a real absence rather than a missing value; a strategy that is present but not listed, which occurs very rarely, is tagged Other; and two strategies used synergetically are tagged More/Combined, where that combination is not itself frequent enough to warrant a node of its own. More than one tag per segment is permitted only for Function, Demographics: Biological sex, Demographics: Age and Modality, and this restriction is verifiable in the exports. Function carries up to eight tags in a single shot and Demographics up to four, while Modality reaches three, the co-occurrences being exclusively Visual with Written-verbal and Spoken-verbal with Visual; Setting, Human beings, Food, Plant/Natural world, Objects/Tools, Animals, Body parts, Gaze, Facial expression, Reaction processes and Drinks never exceed one tag per shot. In the residual cases, where Posture, Gesture and Action processes reach two tags in between 2% and 6% of shots, the shot in question contains two human participants, so that these nodes follow the same one-per-participant logic.

and language annotation that distinguishes between diegetic and extradiegetic materials. The Eventuality layer annotation – the most complex – was the final step of each video annotation, in which each participant was labeled according to nature and function; actions and reactions were distinguished, and setting was coded. Figure 2 shows a reel under annotation.

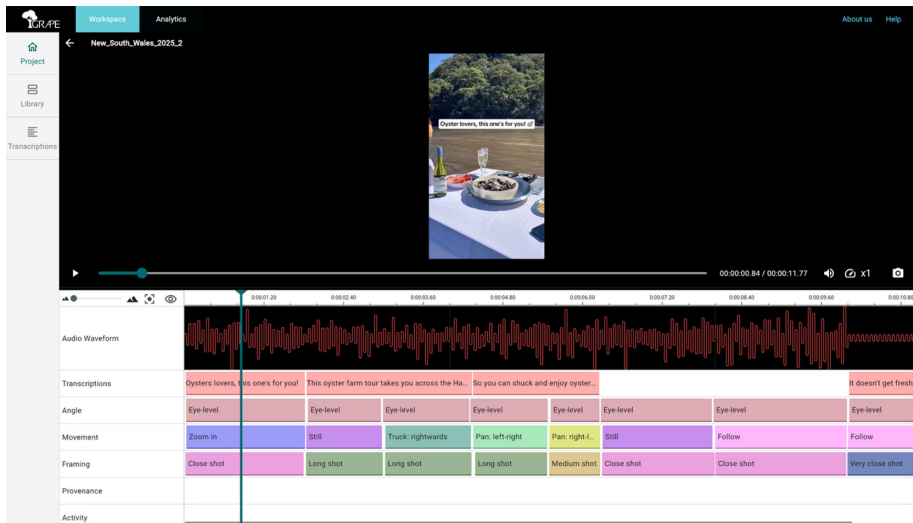


Figure 2 Author, A reel under annotation in GRAPEMARS, showing the time-aligned parallel layers. 2026. Screenshot of the GRAPEMARS annotation environment; annotation content by the Author, interface © GRAPE research group, Universitat Jaume I. Video still © [atvisitnsnw]; reproduced for the purpose of scholarly analysis

Specifically, category assignment for Human beings and Objects/Tools proceeded by triangulation of multiple cues: clothing or dress, behavior, activity or role in the reel, and contextual anchoring in the caption, hashtag or account identity. A singular category is assigned only where at least three cues converge; where they do not, the tag is left unassigned rather than guessed. Three of the producer categories are separated not by cue convergence but by a joint output-and-setting criterion: a farmer yields raw material in a field, an artisan a transformed ingredient in a workshop or outdoor specialized space, a cook a prepared dish in a kitchen. Human beings and Setting both carry combined values (Tourists & locals and Tourists & service providers at the first, three natural-with-cultural, natural-with-historical and natural-with-facility umbrellas at the second), annotated on a parallel layer in addition to the singular tags rather than instead of them: the singular value records what is there, the combined value that a convergence obtains. Counts at

these two nodes therefore exceed the number of entities on screen and are read accordingly. Table 3 gives the nine Human beings values and their disambiguating criteria.

Table 3 The Human beings node: the nine values, the role each records, the criterion that disambiguates it from its neighbors, and its frequency in this corpus

Value	Role recorded	Disambiguating criterion	no.
Local/Indigenous farmers	producer of food and raw materials	labor cue, farm or field setting, work or traditional dress, contextual anchoring; ≥ 3 converge	22
Chefs/traditional cooks	preparer of meals	output is a prepared dish AND setting is a kitchen; both required	1
Community leaders/elders	cultural keeper, host, narrator	age, authority, community belonging, transmission; ≥ 3 converge	4
Indigenous/local food artisans	transformer of ingredients	output is a transformed ingredient AND setting is a workshop or outdoor specialized space, not a kitchen	2
Indigenous/local artisans	–	duplicates the preceding node; deprecated, no annotation anywhere in the corpus	0
Service providers	paid mediator of the experience	commercial cue (uniform, badge, branded dress), mediation behavior, hospitality setting, provider identity; ≥ 3 converge	7
Tourist/traveller	receiver of the experience	dress distinct from local norms, observing/tasting/learning, receiver role, caption framing; ≥ 3 converge	22
Tourists & locals	co-presence pattern	≥ 1 Tourist and ≥ 1 of the first four values in the same eventuality; added in parallel to the singular tags	9
Tourists & service providers	co-presence pattern	≥ 1 Tourist and ≥ 1 Service provider in the same eventuality; added in parallel	0
Total			67

Source: condensed from the codebook (§ 3.2); Author's table, © the Author

Concurrently, caption annotation was carried out in CATMA. Annotation in CATMA is span-level: a tag is anchored to a stretch of caption text identified by character offsets, rather than to a time interval as in the visual instrument, and spans carrying tags from different tagsets may overlap freely. That capacity is used extensively here, since 81 of the 421 annotated spans carry tags from more than one tagset, so that a stretch such as the farm is recorded simultaneously as a Circumstance of place and as an item of the experiential food-and-nature taxonomy. CATMA also encodes hierarchical tagsets, and attaches Properties to tags, so that the

Appraisal tags carry Attitude or Graduation and the Transitivity tags carry Experiential.

In the caption analysis, five tagsets were applied, each answering a distinct question of the caption. Transitivity, the largest at 280 annotations, records the ideational configuration of the clause through four branches: Process for the type of process realized by the main lexical verb; Participant for the roles its participants occupy; Circumstance for augmentations of place, time, manner, cause and accompaniment; and Animation for the semiotic class of the entity that fills a participant slot, which is what makes it countable whether a plant or an animal is ever construed as a participant at all. Appraisal (74) records the interpersonal resources of evaluation, distinguishing Attitude, as Affect, Judgement and Appreciation, from Graduation, as Force and Focus. Experiential meaning, Food and Nature (68) is a domain taxonomy of what the caption names, covering foods, drinks, plants, people, food-related activities and settings, and answers the question of presence rather than of grammatical role. Tourism tropes and strategies (90) records the promotional move a stretch of text performs, which is not the same question as how it evaluates, so that a single span may carry both a trope and an Appraisal tag. Digital affordances (53) records the platform-specific resources of the caption as a post, namely hashtags, location tags and the register markers of platform writing.

Seven rules govern the count. One finite ranking clause counts as one process, assigned by its main lexical verb; coordinated finite clauses are counted separately; embedded and non-finite clauses are not counted; and projection counts both the projecting and the projected clause. Hashtag-internal lexemes are counted as Appraisal only where inscribed-evaluative, and emoji are not counted. Affect is tallied separately and excluded from the positive and negative Attitude totals. The ten matched captions comprise 100 finite ranking clauses and carry 565 annotations in all. Figure 3 shows the five tagsets applied to one caption, and Table 4 gives the tagsets with their attested values.

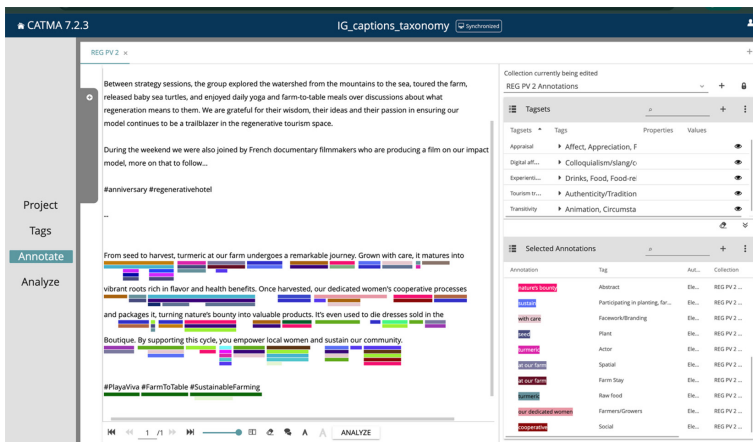
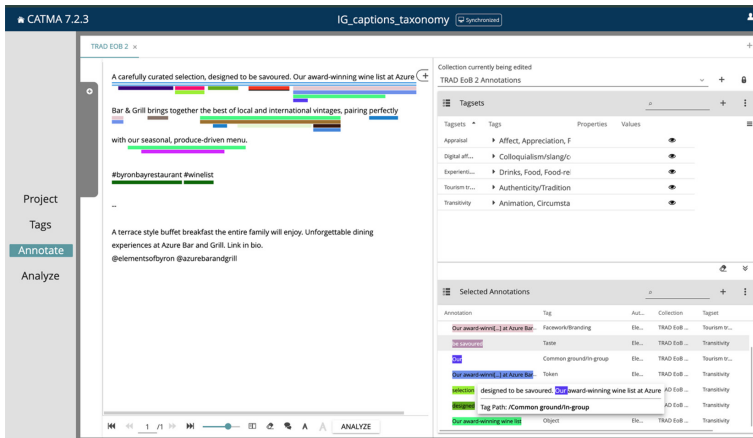


Figure 3 Author, The five caption tagsets applied in CATMA, project IG_captions_taxonomy. 2026. Screenshot of the CATMA annotation environment; annotation content by the Author. Author's screenshot

Table 4 The caption annotation scheme: the five CATMA tagsets of project IG_captions_taxonomy, the values attested in the ten matched captions with their frequencies, and the values defined but not used

Tagset	Second level	Values attested in the ten captions (no.)	Defined, not used
Transitivity	Animation	Human (16) · Abstract (7) · Food (4) · Object (4) · Plant (3) · Metaphor (2) · Animal (1) · Non-human, living (1)	–
	Circumstance	Extent/temporal (10) · Accompaniment (8) · Extent/spatial, natural (5) · Manner (4) · Extent/spatial, artificial (3) · Cause (2) · Contingency (2)	–
	Participant	Goal (31) · Attribute (27) · Carrier (17) · Actor (15) · Phenomenon (11) · Scope (4) · Sensor (4) · Token (3) · Value (3) · Receiver (1) · Sayer (1) · Verbiage (1)	–
	Process	Material (40) · Relational/attributive (18) · Behavioral (6) · Material/transformation (5) · Mental/affection (5) · Mental/cognition (5) · Mental/perception (5) · Relational/identifying (3) · Material/creation (2) · Verbal (1)	Existential
Appraisal	Affect (Attitude)	Satisfaction (4) · Inclination (2) · Happiness (1)	Disinclination · Dissatisfaction · Insecurity · Security · Unhappiness
	Appreciation (Attitude)	Valuation (22) · Reaction (10) · Composition (2)	Evoked valuation
	Judgement (Attitude)	Social esteem (11)	Social sanction
	Force (Graduation)	Up-scaling (20)	Downscaling
	Focus (Graduation)	Focus (2), no children	–
Experiential meaning (Food & Nature)	Food	Cooked dish (4) · Animal-based food (3)	Plant-based food
	Drinks	Drinks (4), used as a bare parent	Children not present in the export
	Plants	Natural element (5) · Raw food (3) · Crops (1) · Flowers (1) · Seeds (1)	Indigenous ingredients · Medicinal plants · Trees · Wild herbs
	Humans	Farmers/growers (6) · Indigenous/local (food) artisans (3) · Tourist/traveller (3) · Service providers (2)	Chefs/elders/ community leaders

Tagset	Second level	Values attested in the ten captions (no.)	Defined, not used
	Food-related activities	Tasting traditional dishes (5) · Interacting with locals or guides (4) · Harvesting (3) · Participating in planting, farming, seed sowing (3) · Preservation processes (2)	10 of the 15 values
	Settings	Organic farm (4) · Rivers/lakes (3) · Restaurant (2) · Festival, food (1) · Local market (1) · Ecolodge (1) · Mountains/forest (1) · Sea/beach/coastline (1) · Valley (1)	16 of the 25 values
Tourism tropes/strategies	–	CTA (13) · Ego-targeting (12) · Ecolexicon/green (12) · Authenticity/tradition (11) · Exclusivity (10) · Common ground/in-group (8) · Facework/branding (8) · Social (5) · Magic (3) · Play (3) · Rhetorical question (3) · Familiarity (1) · Proximity/intimacy (1)	Strangerhood
Digital affordances	–	Hashtag (31) · Colloquialism/slang/contraction (12) · Tagging location (10)	–

Source: computed from the caption annotation file; Author's table. © the Author

3.5 Analysis: Descriptive and Inferential Statistics

Raw counts were downloaded and exported from both software tools, which allowed for descriptive statistics such as within-corpus relative frequencies at category, annotation and sub-annotation level, with rates normalized per shot. Here, rates per unit of running time are reported only where pacing is itself at issue. Five comparisons between the regenerative corpora (Playa Viva + Regenerative Farm, $n = 1,003$ tags) and the neoliberal corpora (Elements of Byron + New South Wales, $n = 590$) were **specified in advance** and are the only inferential tests reported. Specifically, they compare:

- participant agency,
- human participant type,
- setting type,
- food portrayal,
- and reaction processes.

Gaia Retreat is retained as a single intermediate case, reported descriptively and never tested, since one account and two reels cannot support a third arm.

The five comparisons are reported first as descriptive contrasts: the counts on each side, the proportion, and the odds ratio with Woolf 95% confidence intervals, the Haldane-Anscombe correction being applied where a cell is empty. Fisher's exact test is then reported for each, with Holm-Bonferroni correction across the five, but under an assumption the data do not meet. Annotations are nested within shots

(Figure 4), shots within reels and reels within accounts, whereas the test treats the 1,593 annotations in the two arms as independent draws; the resulting p-values are therefore indices of how unevenly the annotations fall across the two arms, and they are not to be read as Type I error probabilities for a claim about regenerative and neoliberal discourse in general. With two accounts per arm, models that would correct for clustering (mixed-effects with account or reel as a random effect, or cluster-robust standard errors) are not estimable in any credible way. What the design does permit is a permutation check at the level of the reel, the smallest unit that is plausibly exchangeable between arms: the eight tested reels admit seventy assignments of four to each arm, the pooled odds ratio is recomputed under each, and the rank of the observed assignment among the seventy is reported alongside each comparison in Table 6. This check cannot reach conventional significance after correction for five tests, the smallest attainable value being one in seventy, and it is not offered as a test; it shows whether the association observed at annotation level survives when reels rather than annotations are the units. A supplementary distributional analysis reports adjusted standardized residuals per sub-annotation against expectation proportional to corpus size, the corpora differing in annotation volume by a factor of four.

Two counting decisions are stated here because they fix the tables in § 4.3. For the comparison of food portrayal, raw or growing matter comprises the values Plant-based food, Raw food, Crops, Seeds, Combined and Wild herbs/medicinal plants, and prepared food comprises Cooked meal/traditional dish and Animal-based food; drinks are excluded. For the comparison of reaction processes, the denominator is the whole Visual_Eventuality category of the scheme (1,115 annotations across the three corpora) and the numerator is the two human-to-human values, Reaction: Human-Human and Transactional: Human-Human; the three Human-Nature and two Non-transactional annotations belong to the same node but not to the tested subset.

Because a scheme of 261 values admits a very large number of possible two-by-two comparisons, and because a proportion of these would reach conventional significance by chance alone, the five tested here were fixed in advance and are the only inferential comparisons the article reports. Each derives from one of the countable expectations set out in § 2.3, which in turn derive from the six principles, so that what is compared was determined by the framework rather than selected from the results.

Playa Viva, reel 1: first six shots

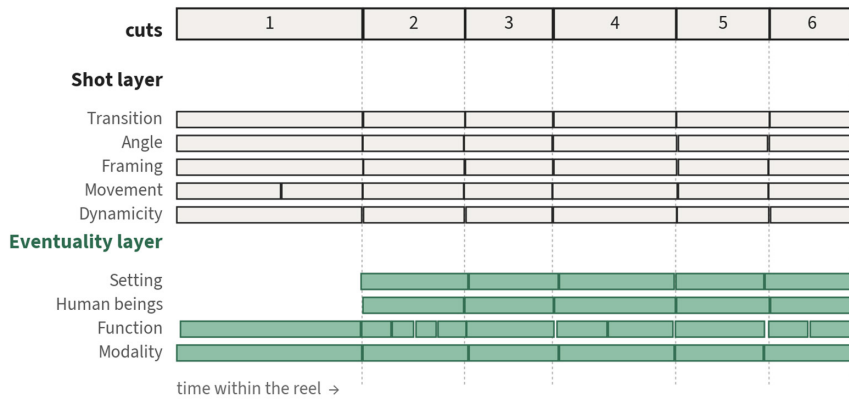


Figure 4 Author, The two annotation levels illustrated on the first six shots of Playa Viva reel 1. 2026. Diagram drawn from the GRAPEMARS annotation of the reel. Author's figure, © the Author

4 Results

Results are reported in five subsections. The corpus is described first, where a difference between two ways of normalizing the counts turns out to be a finding in itself. The distributional profile then shows which categories separate the groupings before any test is applied. The five pre-specified comparisons follow, three of which hold and two of which do not, and both nulls are reported. The captions and the cross-modal comparison close the section.

4.1 The Corpus

The ten reels comprise 216.3 seconds of footage, segmented into 105 shots and carrying 1,737 annotations; of the template's child nodes, 119 remain structurally empty. Table 5 gives the distribution across the five accounts.

Table 5 The pilot corpus: reels, duration, shots and annotations by account, with annotation density per shot and per ten seconds

	Playa Viva	Elements of Byron	Gaia Retreat	Regenerative Farm	New South Wales	Total
Reels	2	2	2	2	2	10
Duration(s)	42.5	25.1	41.9	84.8	22.1	216.3
Shots	25	13	10	32	25	105
Annotations	396	231	144	607	359	1,737
Annotations per shot	15.84	17.77	14.40	18.97	14.36	16.54
Annotations per 10 s	93.19	92.08	34.37	71.62	162.37	80.31

Source: Author's table, © the Author

Grouped for analysis, the regenerative corpus (Playa Viva and Regenerative Farm) contributes 1,003 annotations over 57 shots and 127.3 seconds, the neoliberal corpus (Elements of Byron and Destination New South Wales) 590 over 38 shots and 47.2 seconds, and Gaia Retreat, retained as a single intermediate case, 144 over 10 shots.

The two denominators tell different stories, and the difference is itself a finding. Per shot, the five corpora are closely comparable, ranging only from 14.36 to 18.97 annotations. Per unit of running time, they diverge by a factor of nearly *five*. Destination New South Wales is simultaneously the sparsest corpus per shot and by a wide margin the densest per second, because it cuts on average every 0.88 seconds; Gaia Retreat is the mirror image, at 4.19 seconds per shot the slowest in the corpus and the least dense per second. Neither corpus is more heavily annotated than the other in compositional terms; what differs is how much composed material is delivered to the viewer per unit of attention. Annotation rates are therefore reported per shot throughout, as the shot is the unit of segmentation, and the temporal measure is used only where pacing is itself at issue.

Two properties of the corpus appear to be constants of the genre rather than variables of the orientation. A shot carries a mean of 16.5 annotations, with a range across the five accounts of only 14.36 to 18.97, and roughly a third of what is annotated records the camera rather than the depicted world, at 31.6% in the regenerative corpus, 33.4% in the neoliberal and 34.0% in the sustainable. A single composed unit would therefore seem able to sustain a broadly fixed quantity of simultaneous semiotic material, whatever it depicts. What varies, and by a factor of nearly five, is the rate at which those units are delivered, with 70% of the 105 shots running under two seconds and 18% under one. This suggests that the three paradigms do not differ in how much semiotic work they invest in a shot, but in how

much time they allow the viewer to do that work. The figures are these. Destination New South Wales cuts every 0.88 seconds and delivers 162 annotations per ten seconds of viewing, the highest rate in the corpus. Gaia Retreat holds each shot for 4.19 seconds and delivers 34. The two regenerative accounts fall between, at 1.70 and 2.65 seconds per shot. Density of delivery is therefore where the paradigms first become visible and what may severely impact the conscious internalization of content, as discussed in § 5.

4.2 Distributional Profile

Which categories separate the groupings can to some extent be read off before any inferential hypothesis testing is conducted. Adjusted standardized residuals were therefore computed for every sub-annotation against an expectation proportional to corpus size, since the corpora differ in annotation volume by a factor of four and an expectation of equal distribution would have misallocated the surplus to the largest of them.

What emerges separates the groupings along substantive rather than technical lines, and does so twice over. The neoliberal corpus is distinguished by objects and by consumption, with the largest residuals falling on modern food utensils ($z = +4.88$, 27 observed against 12.9 expected), wine (+4.67), the tourist as represented participant (+4.32), cooked meals (+3.54), smiling (+3.28), the tasting of traditional dishes (+3.23) and fine dining restaurants (+2.90). The regenerative corpus is distinguished, conversely, by production and by producers: local or Indigenous farmers (+4.04, 22 against 12.7 expected), raw fruit, vegetables and herbs (+3.85), permaculture gardens (+3.21), farm stays (+2.67), harvesting (+2.57) and community and farmers' markets (+2.43). The negative residuals are arguably as informative as the positive ones, since harvesting, community markets and the tourists-and-locals co-presence category are observed zero times in the neoliberal corpus ($z = -2.16$, -2.03 and -2.16). Figure 5 illustrates the allocation of screen time across key stages of the food cycle (seeding, cultivation, harvesting, raw food, food preparation, cooked food and consumption) and participant categories (producers, tourists and staff).

A second separation is that formal and genre features fall the same way: the single largest regenerative residual is visual form, Other (+4.65), followed by middle-age participants (+3.05), on-screen keywords (+2.57) and female participants (+2.56), while on the neoliberal side stand rivers and waterfalls as setting (+3.20), emoji (+3.12), long shots (+3.01) and written-verbal modality (+2.65). Both lists are thematic selections from a larger set, and Figure 6 gives the full distribution of residuals, while Figure 7 gives the

relative frequencies of the most frequent sub-annotations across the three groupings. One result, finally, is stronger as a proportion than as a residual: every one of the ten facial-expression annotations in the neoliberal corpus is a smile, against three of sixteen in the regenerative corpus, so that 77% of all smile annotations fall in the neoliberal arm.

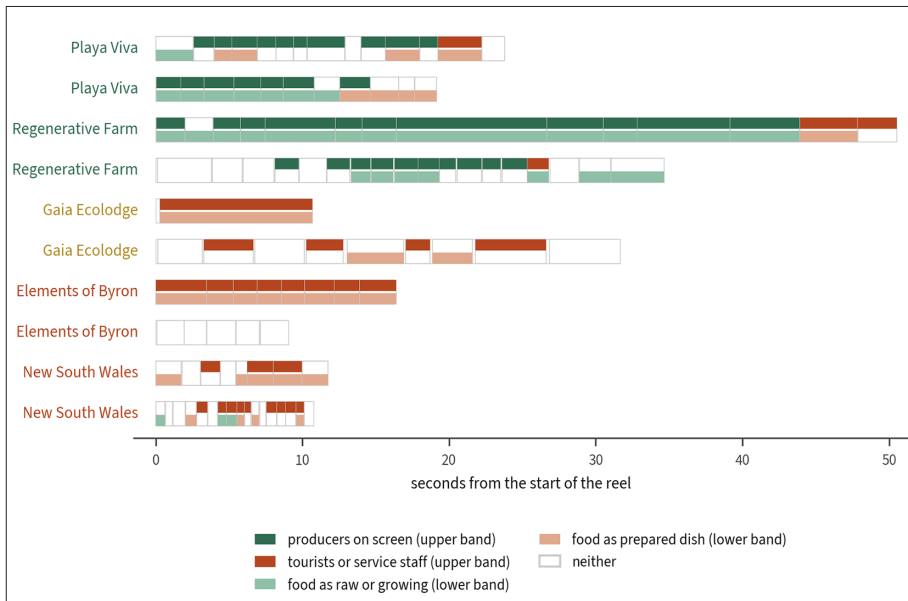


Figure 5 Author, The corpus in real time: producers, visitors and food across all ten reels. 2026. Chart generated from the GRAPEMARS project exports. Author's figure, © the Author

Gaia Retreat, though never entered into an inferential test, holds the two largest residuals in the entire corpus: interacting with locals (+5.82, 4 observed against 0.4 expected) and beach resorts or ecolodges as setting (+5.41, 7 against 1.2), followed by service providers as participants (+4.70) and spoken-verbal modality (+4.19). It also returns no Actor tags at all (−2.22). This profile is partly a genre artifact, its second reel being a talking-head interview with the property's Head of Food and Beverage, and is reported descriptively for that reason. Its participant-role profile is the clearest reason for holding it out: Carrier/Attribute and Sayer account for 40% each of its ten Function annotations and Actor for none, and four of its five human-participant annotations are service providers.

Two visual features that might typically be expected to differentiate these groupings fail to do so. Eye-level framing – often associated with viewer identification and egalitarian engagement with represented

participants – is proportionally more frequent in the neoliberal corpus (5.59% of annotations) than in the regenerative corpus (3.79%). However, as eye-level framing functions as the baseline angle across all sets, this difference yields little diagnostic value. Conversely, very close shots show the opposite pattern, appearing at 2.20% compared to 1.30%, though this margin is too minor to be statistically or analytically meaningful.

Two things follow from the shape of this distribution. Since visual form, framing, on-screen text and emoji separate the corpora as sharply as farmers and wine do, the orientations would seem to constitute distinct registers rather than one register applied to different content, the difference being realized in the manner of showing as much as in what is shown. The sustainable account is the clearest case, its four largest residuals falling on interacting with locals, beach resorts as setting, service providers as participants and spoken-verbal modality, a configuration that suggests a paradigm organized around mediated hospitality, in which a member of staff explains the destination to a guest already within it. The zero cells, finally, are absences rather than small values: an observed frequency of zero where five or six occurrences were expected.

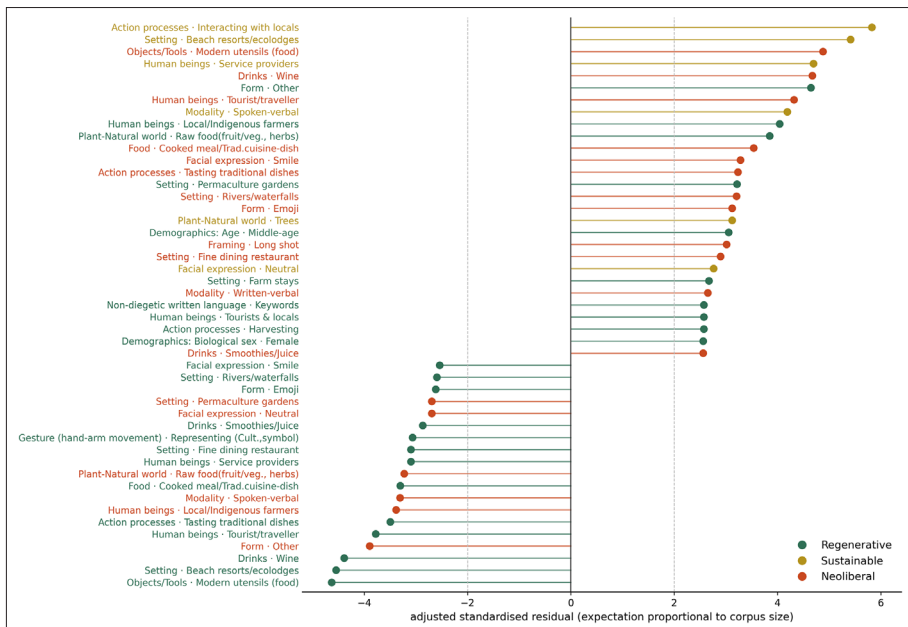


Figure 6 Author, Adjusted standardized residuals by sub-annotation and grouping, absolute value 2.5 and above. 2026. Chart generated from the GRAPEMARS project exports. Author's figure, © the Author

4.3 The Five Pre-Specified Comparisons: Inferential Hypothesis Testing

The analysis was limited to the five comparisons fixed in § 3.5, with no post hoc tests. Table 6 gives, for each, the counts and proportions in the two arms, the odds ratio with its confidence interval, the Fisher p-value under the independence assumption discussed in § 3.5, and the rank of the observed partition of reels among the seventy possible. The p-values are not what carries the findings, and they are not read below as evidence that the two discourses differ in general: with annotations nested in ten reels from four accounts, the descriptive contrasts and the two empty cells are the evidence, and the reel-level rank shows how far each contrast survives a change of unit.

Table 6 The five pre-specified comparisons: counts, odds ratios, 95% confidence intervals, Holm-corrected Fisher p-values and reel-level rank

	Comparison	Regenerative	Neoliberal	[Gaia]	OR	95% CI	p (Fisher, Holm)	Reel-level rank
H1	Actor against Goal	36/66 = 54.5%	17/35 = 48.6%	0/2	1.27	0.56-2.89	1.0 (n.s.)	14 of 70
H2	Local producers against visitors and service staff (the producer side includes the combined tourists-and-locals value)	38/42 = 90.5%	0/20 = 0.0%	0/5	350.8	18.0-6840	5.8×10^{-12}	1 of 70
H3	Production and commons settings against consumption and lodging	44/48 = 91.7%	1/16 = 6.2%	0/8	165.0	17.1-1594	1.4×10^{-9}	2 of 70
H4	Raw or growing matter against prepared dish	35/37 = 94.6%	5/19 = 26.3%	2/3	49.0	8.5-283	5.7×10^{-7}	2 of 70
H5	Human-to-human reaction processes against all other eventuality tags	7/646 = 1.1%	4/381 = 1.0%	0/88	1.03	0.30-3.55	1.0 (n.s.)	34 of 70

Source: Author's table, © the Author

Fisher p-values assume independence of annotations and are reported for completeness (§ 3.5). Reel-level rank is the position of the observed assignment of the eight tested reels among the seventy possible assignments of four to each arm, ordered by pooled odds ratio in the predicted direction; 1 of 70 means no other assignment produces a larger contrast.

Three of the five comparisons fall in the predicted direction, and the first of them, H2, needs no statistic to be seen. Across the neoliberal corpus, that is the two Australian accounts taken together, there is not one annotation for a local or Indigenous farmer, a traditional cook, a community elder or a food artisan: all twenty of their human-participant annotations are tourists (17) or service staff (3). In the regenerative corpus the proportion inverts almost completely, at 38 of 42. The 38 comprise local or Indigenous farmers (22), community leaders or elders (4), food artisans (2), a traditional cook (1) and the combined value recording tourists and locals in co-presence (9), counted on the producer side because a producer is present in the frame; the four remaining annotations are of tourists. This is erasure in the sense in which Stibbe (2015) uses the term, and the zero cell rather than the statistic carries the finding; at reel level, every regenerative reel returns a producer proportion of 0.84 or above and every neoliberal reel returns zero, and the observed partition is the one assignment in seventy that produces this contrast.

H3 makes the same point about place. Regenerative reels situate food in permaculture gardens, farmers' markets, traditional kitchens, farm stays, communal feasts and open-air kitchens, in 44 of 48 setting annotations, the remaining four being rooms of unspecified type; neoliberal reels situate it in restaurants, resorts and rooms, in 15 of 16. At reel level the contrast is nearly as sharp, six of the eight reels returning a proportion of 1.00 or 0.00 and the observed partition ranking second of seventy. Settings of natural landscape (beaches, rivers, forests and mountains) are still very present, but are neither production nor consumption sites; sixteen annotations fall there: seven regenerative, eight neoliberal and one sustainable. H4 supports the reading of food as living matter against food as finished product, though less sharply: raw or growing matter accounts for 5 of the 19 food annotations in the neoliberal corpus, and the observed partition ranks second of seventy.

Two of the five comparisons, conversely, do not. H1 is null, in that the balance of Actor to Goal annotations is statistically indistinguishable between the two corpora, so that the passivity which the neoliberal corpus undoubtedly conveys is evidently not carried by a shortage of agents (Elements of Byron, for example, records nine Actors against nine Goals, and New South Wales eight against nine, and the observed partition ranks 14 of 70), but rather by *who* the agents are and by *what they do*: in the reels, they are indeed tasting, sitting and looking rather than harvesting, cooking and giving. H5 is null for a different reason. Reaction processes of any kind number 16 in 1,737 annotations; the human-to-human subset tested here numbers 11, seven regenerative and four neoliberal, against 646 and 381 eventuality annotations respectively, so the rates are almost identical because the phenomenon is close to

absent everywhere. The reel-level rank, 34 of 70, says the same: the observed partition is indistinguishable from a random one. This is itself a finding: compared to static imagery (Mattei 2024), acts of static, perceptual consumption are close to absent from tourism reels of every orientation examined here.

To address potential coding ambiguity affecting H2, a sensitivity analysis was conducted regarding a boundary decision in the New South Wales oyster reel. Although the individuals depicted are oyster farmers, they were categorized under the *Service Provider* annotation. This decision rests on the absence of active farming, growing, or harvesting depictions, paired with the convergence of four distinct service-provider criteria (exceeding the required three-cue threshold): commercial branding on apparel, active mediation behavior, a staged hospitality environment (dining in the river), and a clear service role. Read as coded, H2 returns $OR = 350.8$ (95% CI 18.0-6840). With those annotations read as producers, it returns $OR = 53.8$ (95% CI 10.8-267.3, $p = 7.1 \times 10^{-9}$). The conservative figure is the one reported in the text; the effect is an order of magnitude smaller under the alternative coding and remains very large. The size of that shift is the point: a single boundary decision on three annotations moves the odds ratio from 351 to 54, which is the clearest argument this study can offer for a second coder, and it is taken up in § 6.

Read together, the three comparisons that fall in the predicted direction and the two that do not indicate where the difference between these five accounts lies, and, if the pattern holds beyond them, where the difference between the discourses would be found. It is not in grammar, the distribution of agentive and affected roles being indistinguishable between the corpora, nor in reciprocity of attention, which is close to absent everywhere. It lies in casting and in location. Humans appear in 67 of the 105 shots and in 42 of the 57 regenerative ones, so the corpora do not differ in whether people are shown but in which people, doing what, and where. Each paradigm returns a different answer to the question of what a destination is made of: producers in the regenerative corpus, where 29 of 42 human annotations are farmers, elders, artisans or cooks; visitors in the neoliberal, where 17 of 20 are tourists; and staff in the sustainable, where four of five are service providers. This suggests that the three are not points on a single scale running from commodification to regeneration, but three distinct constructions of the host-guest relation.

4.4 The Captions

The captions separate along the same axis. The ten captions were annotated for Transitivity, Appraisal, experiential meaning, tourism tropes and digital affordances, yielding 565 annotations: 339 regenerative, 169 neoliberal, 57 sustainable. Transitivity accounts for 57.8% of the regenerative annotations against 38.5% of the neoliberal; Appraisal runs the other way, 9.4% against 20.1%. Digital affordances take 28.1% of Gaia Retreat's, an artifact of fifteen hashtags on a 56-token caption.

Two lexical fields are in near-complete complementary distribution. Green-lexicon items (*regeneration, sustain, organic, minimizing waste, without chemicals, care for the soil, nature's bounty*) occur twelve times in the regenerative captions and not once in the neoliberal or sustainable ones. Conversely, every exclusivity marker (*award-winning, the best, famous, prized, signature, coastal gems*) and every magic marker (*charm, unforgettable, a floating tasting experience*) occurs outside the regenerative captions. Tested as a single pre-specified comparison, green-lexicon and authenticity markers against exclusivity and magic markers, the regenerative captions return 20 of 20 and the neoliberal 3 of 12 (Fisher's exact $p = 7.8 \times 10^{-6}$). A second pre-specified test, on whether producers rather than tourists and service staff are named, returns 7 of 7 against 2 of 4 and is not significant ($p = 0.109$) on these numbers.

The same asymmetry appears grammatically. Plants annotations (crops, raw food, seeds, natural elements, flowers, trees) number ten in the regenerative captions against one in the neoliberal; Food annotations (cooked dish, animal-based, plant-based) number five in the neoliberal against one in the regenerative. Material processes account for 9.1% of regenerative annotations against 4.7% of neoliberal, and the sub-type Material/Transformation occurs five times in the regenerative captions (*turning the paddock into a party, matures into vibrant roots, turning nature's bounty into valuable products, transforms local organic produce into probiotic-rich ferments, turning food waste into something worth savoring*) and never in the neoliberal ones.

Producers are named in the neoliberal captions twice, and on neither occasion as Actor, since *the farmers* is the Goal of the material process *meet* and *makers* sits inside a Circumstance; in the regenerative captions, by contrast, producers occupy the Actor role three times. The difference is therefore one of grammatical role rather than of presence.

The Appraisal layer separates the corpora by rate before it separates them by kind: evaluation accounts for 20.1% of the annotations in the neoliberal captions against 9.4% in the regenerative ones, so that the former evaluate roughly twice as densely. The architecture

of that evaluation, however, is close to constant, with Attitude and Graduation dividing 71% to 29% in the neoliberal captions and 72% to 28% in the regenerative. What differs is not which resources are used but what they are used on. Judgement of social esteem attaches in the regenerative captions to what producers do, in their wisdom, their passion, dedicated, empower and giving back, and in the neoliberal captions to the recognition a product has been granted, in award-winning and famous. Appreciation of valuation follows the same split, since the regenerative captions value intrinsic properties, as in rich in flavor and health benefits and valuable, whereas the neoliberal captions value comparative rank, as in the best, quality, signature and the true art. Graduation is likewise directed differently: Force up-scales duration in the regenerative captions, where 15 years and 10 years assert persistence, and up-scales superlative rank in the neoliberal ones, where award-winning, the best and plenty of assert distinction. Appreciation of reaction is the clearest case of all, participatory and sensory on one side, in vibrant, farm-yard fun and Farm-fresh vibes, and drawn from the vocabulary of the gaze on the other, in scenic, sweeping views, charm and rolling. The sustainable captions record no Judgement whatever, evaluating the experience through valuation and force alone and leaving no participant assessed as a social actor.

If evaluation is redirected rather than suspended, one caption in the corpus shows the redirection happening in a single move, and it does so against the design. The New South Wales reel explicitly disclaims the spectacular reading of its setting: the Hawkesbury River isn't just scenic, it's home to some of the freshest oysters in Australia. The disclaimer is nonetheless made in the vocabulary it disclaims, since scenic is itself annotated as Appreciation of reaction, and what replaces it is not a withdrawal from evaluation but an intensification of it. Within the same caption the oysters are famous, prized, unique, a delicacy and the freshest, of which freshest and unique carry Force of up-scaling as well as valuation, while famous, prized and coastal gems are annotated as exclusivity markers and coastal gems additionally as metaphor, the organism becoming a precious object. The caption closes by selling a floating tasting experience, annotated as magic. Naming the river as home to the oysters would therefore seem to raise the capital value of the commodity rather than to displace the commodity reading, and the two resources operate together: graduation supplies the intensity and the exclusivity markers supply the scarcity.

That the caption layer reproduces the axis found in the images, on a tool applied independently and with categories drawn from a different tradition, offers convergent support that neither layer could provide alone. The lexical evidence also places the sustainable account, and it does not place it in the middle: its most frequent trope is exclusivity,

at four annotations, which is the neoliberal corpus's most frequent trope as well, at six; it records no green-lexicon items whatever, where the regenerative captions record twelve; and it names no producers, against seven in the regenerative captions and two in the neoliberal. This suggests that on the lexical axis the sustainable paradigm aligns with the neoliberal rather than occupying a position between it and the regenerative, which is what the floating-signifier argument of § 2.3 would predict of a label adopted without the practice it names. The two modes are not equivalent resources, however, since language permits a producer to be named and simultaneously demoted to Goal, so that a caption can accomplish presence without agency in a single clause.

4.5 The Two Modes Compared

Because caption and reel are matched one-to-one, the two annotations describe the same ten objects. The regenerative reels both name producers in the caption and show them on screen (Playa Viva 3 named and 15 shown; Regenerative Farm 4 and 14), while showing few tourists or staff (1 and 3). The neoliberal and sustainable reels show tourists and staff and no producers (Elements of Byron 0 producers and 8 tourists or staff; Gaia Retreat 0 and 5; New South Wales 0 and 12, subject to the coding boundary described in § 4.3). What distinguishes the New South Wales caption is not that producers are absent from it but that they are grammatically demoted: named, and named as Goal.

Naming and showing thus emerge as separable resources rather than two channels carrying one message, and the paradigms use them differently. The regenerative accounts align them, naming in the caption those they show on screen; the neoliberal accounts align them too, but on tourists; the sustainable account aligns them on service providers, naming two and showing four. The New South Wales account is the only one in which the two come apart, naming producers whom the visual annotation, under the coding adopted here, does not record as such. This suggests that alignment between naming and showing is not itself diagnostic of a paradigm, and that what is diagnostic is rather which participants the two modes agree about.

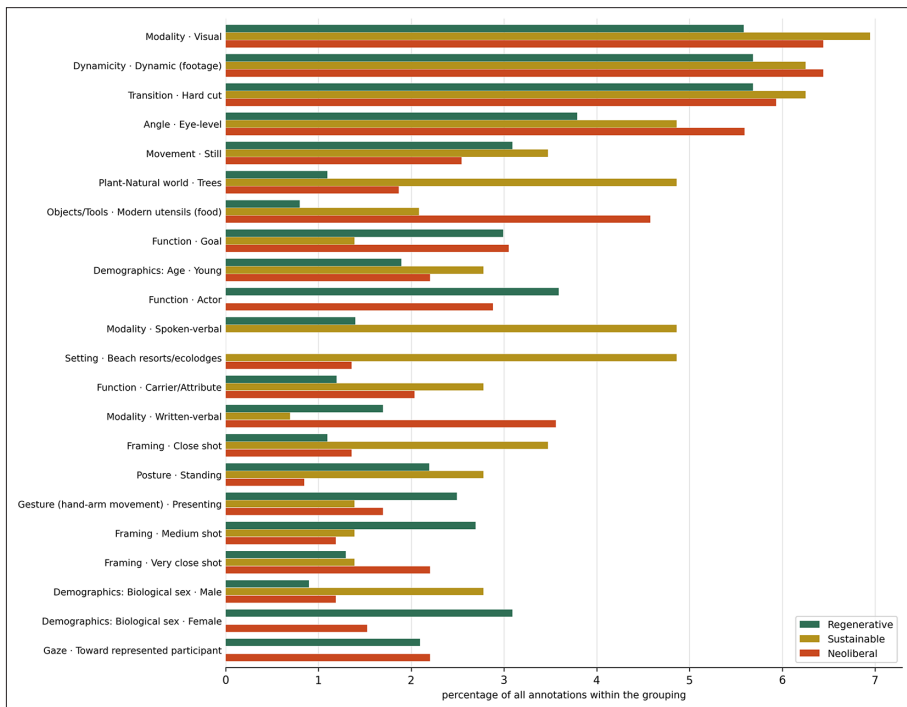


Figure 7 Author, Relative frequency of the most frequent sub-annotations across the three groupings. 2026.
Chart generated from the GRAPEMARS project exports. Author's figure, © the Author

5 Discussion: Food as *Living Matter* and *Finished Product*

The clearest axis in the data is not evaluative but experiential: what kind of thing food is allowed to be. In the regenerative corpus food appears overwhelmingly as matter in process (raw fruit, vegetables, herbs, crops, seeds and soil), situated where that process happens; in the neoliberal corpus, it is a prepared dish in restaurants, resorts and rooms (§ 4.3, Table 6). The residual analysis says the same in a different register, setting modern utensils, wine, cooked meals and the tasting of traditional dishes against local farmers, raw food, permaculture gardens and harvesting (§ 4.2).

This is the contrast Stibbe's account of erasure predicts (2015), and it is worth being precise about what is erased. It is not nature as scenery: trees are the single most frequent plant annotation in the corpus, and proportionally most frequent in the sustainable account. What disappears is nature as a process with a duration: growing, harvesting, transforming. A tree in a resort reel is a backdrop; a

paddock in a farm reel is a stage of production. The scheme separates the two because it annotates process and setting independently.

The comparisons reported above establish that the corpora differ in who appears, where and what food is allowed to be. They do not characterize how the more-than-human world is positioned in relation to human action, which is the question Stibbe's account actually poses. To address it, the nature- and food-referring nominal groups and clauses in the same ten captions were read again after the pre-specified analysis was complete, and sorted into seven semantic positions. The sorting is semantic rather than systemic, in that the positions are realized at different points in the lexicogrammar: two by the assignment of a participant role in transitivity, where nature is Medium or Actor of its own process, as in turmeric at our farm undergoes a remarkable journey, or Goal of a human material process, as in Once harvested; two by the selection of the Thing in the nominal group, where what is named is an ecological system, as in the watershed from the mountains to the sea, or a service format from which organism, place and producer are absent, as in A terrace style buffet breakfast; two by evaluative resources, where nature is appraised through Appreciation of reaction, as in sweeping views, or of valuation, as in valuable products; and one circumstantially, where a material process is qualified as care, as in Grown with care. Because the seven cut across the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions rather than falling within a single system, they do not constitute an annotation layer and are not offered as one. Forty-five expressions were sorted in this way, and Table 7 reports the distribution across the tourism paradigms.¹⁴

Table 7 How nature and food are positioned in relation to human action across the three groupings

	Regenerative	Neoliberal	Sustainable
Agent	2	0	0
Kin	3	0	0
Network	12	2	0
Object	5	0	0
Spectacle	0	2	0
Commodity	5	9	2
Absent	0	2	1
Total	27	15	3
Source: Author's table, © the Author			

14 The full categorization of each nature- and food-referring nominal group and clause is available on the same terms as the codebook (§ 3.1).

The distribution is polarized at four of the seven positions. Nature acts or becomes, and enters a relation of care, only in the regenerative captions; conversely, it is offered to the gaze, and food appears as service format alone, only outside them. The interdependency position is meanwhile the largest in the regenerative captions, at twelve occurrences, and characteristically links the organism to a cycle or a place rather than to a plate: a way of life rooted in seasonality, sustainability, and soil; stay connected to where our food comes from; food so fresh it's still got dirt on it.

Two qualifications keep the reading honest. The commodified position is the largest overall, at sixteen occurrences, and five of those fall in the regenerative captions, where turning the paddock into a party and Farm-fresh vibes guaranteed sell the produce as directly as any neoliberal caption sells a vintage; regenerative discourse does not stand outside the market it addresses. And the only two interdependency expressions outside the regenerative captions both come from the New South Wales oyster reel discussed in § 4.4, a further reason to treat that account as more complicated than the design allows.

If lexico-semantic as well as evaluative construal is where the corpora separate, grammatical agency is where they do not. The pre-specified comparison of Actor to Goal annotations returned no difference (54.5% against 48.6%, OR 1.27, CI 0.56-2.89). This matters because a plausible and frequently made argument, that neoliberal tourism discourse renders its participants passive and that this shows up as a shortage of agents, is not supported by these data (Mattei 2026). The neoliberal corpus is not short of agents. The caption layer returns the same null on an independently annotated instrument: Actor accounts for 12 of the 36 Actor-and-Goal annotations in the regenerative captions and three of the nine in the neoliberal ones, 33.3% on each side, an odds ratio of exactly 1.00. The counts are small and the comparison is descriptive, no inferential test having been specified for it, but the two modes converge.

The passivity that the neoliberal corpus conveys is nonetheless real, and appears to be carried differently: by who the agents are, namely tourists and service staff and never producers, and by what those agents do. The action processes with the largest positive residuals in that corpus are tasting traditional dishes and sitting, whereas in the regenerative corpus they are harvesting and preparing local food. A tourist tasting is grammatically as active as a farmer harvesting, and the difference lies rather in the fact that one act consumes an outcome while the other produces it.

Gaia Retreat was retained as a single intermediate case and never tested, and its profile is instructive precisely because it does not sit between the poles (§§ 4.2, 4.4). An account that brands itself sustainable holds the corpus's two largest residuals, for interacting

with locals and for beach resorts as setting, records no Actor annotations at all, places its three nature-referring expressions in the commodified and absent positions, and shows no producers, no production setting and no food in process.

Such multimodal constructions reach a viewer under particular conditions, and the pacing difference reported in § 4.1 bears on how they are likely to be received. A meta-analysis of 71 studies finds short-form video use associated with poorer attention and inhibitory control (Nguyen et al. 2025), and experimental work across electroencephalography, functional imaging and behavioral measures points the same way (Yan et al. 2024; Wei et al. 2026a; Chiossi et al. 2023), the mechanism being stated most directly by inter-subject correlation analysis: rapid switching heightens bottom-up attentional capture while weakening the top-down processes on which deep encoding depends (Wei et al. 2026b).¹⁵ If that mechanism operates at the cut rate observed in the destination-marketing reel, what fails to form is the integrated representation against which an absence could register as an absence, so that erasure in Stibbe's sense may meet less resistance in this genre than in the written promotional genres on which the ecolinguistic literature has largely been built. This is offered as a reading of the pacing evidence and not as a finding: no reception data were collected, and the question is returned to in § 6.

6 Conclusions: Limitations and Future Work

Returning to the framework with which the article began, four of the six principles were testable here, and this corpus answers them differently. Acknowledging diverse forms of knowing and being is enacted in the regenerative corpus and categorically absent elsewhere (H2); moving beyond capitalist approaches, read as the lexicogrammatical construction of food as process rather than product, is enacted on the same side (H4), as is commoning the food system, read as the visibility of shared and productive space (H3). Taking care of people, animals and the planet, read as reciprocity between represented participants, appears to be enacted nowhere,

¹⁵ Intracranial recording locates visual recognition within the first 300 ms after stimulus onset and shows the supporting networks shifting over that interval from a segregated to an integrated state (Kopal et al. 2023). Recognition is therefore accomplished within any shot in this corpus; a cut at 0.88 seconds falls in the integrative phase that follows. Learning from fragmented short videos, against a continuous video matched for duration and content, yields poorer memory accuracy with reduced activation and connectivity in integration networks (Wei et al. 2026a), and rapid context switching degrades the retention of intentions (Chiossi et al. 2023).

since the reciprocal-reaction floor is the H5 null and it applies to the regenerative corpus as much as to any other. One reading of that asymmetry is that food discourse of every orientation represents plants and animals as what is consumed rather than what is cared for, so that reciprocity has no represented participant to attach to; the corpus cannot decide between that account and a shortage of the relevant shots, but it makes the absence visible.

That asymmetry is arguably the most interesting thing to emerge from the study. The regenerative accounts have restored the producer, the production site and the living organism to view, but they have not restored reciprocity, and the relation between the people on screen remains as thin in regenerative reels as in neoliberal ones. If the ethics of care described by Tronto (1993, 103) and extended by Hassink and colleagues (2021, 129) is to become the substance of regenerative tourism rather than its vocabulary, that would appear to be where the gap lies. The annotation scheme and codebook used to reach these conclusions are available in full (§ 3.1), so that the analysis can be repeated, contested or extended; this is what a pilot of this kind can reasonably offer.

The statistical caution stated in § 3.5 belongs to the field as much as to this study. Empirical multimodality is recent, its methodological guides are still being written, its application to tourism communication is more recent still (Mattei 2024; Mattei, Wildfeuer 2026), and the analysis of moving image on social platforms is described in the most recent of them as one of two areas “at the current forefront of multimodal analysis for which many open issues remain” (Bateman, Wildfeuer, Hiippala 2026, 189). Three of those issues are visible in the present data. The first is conceptual: a reel is a canvas that layers perspective material, non-perspective inserts, written overlays, speech and music, and the scheme has to represent that complexity before anything can be counted (Bateman, Wildfeuer, Hiippala 2026, 105-17; Grzenkowicz, Wildfeuer 2026, 294-9). The second is procedural: annotating and testing on such a scheme requires decisions about which unit is counted, since an annotation, a shot and an artifact are different things and the same corpus yields very different totals under each (Bateman, Wildfeuer, Hiippala 2026, 151). The third follows from the second and is the one that matters for inference. A corpus of few artifacts can carry many annotations, ten reels here carrying 1,737 and sixty TikTok videos elsewhere carrying 44,931 (Grzenkowicz, Wildfeuer 2026, 302), so that the number of observations available to a test bears no fixed relation to the number of independent units behind them. The practice followed in the field, including in Mattei (2026) on Instagram posts and websites, is to tabulate annotation or shot counts by corpus and to test them with chi-square and inspection of observed against expected cells (see the worked examples in Bateman, Wildfeuer, Hiippala 2026, 171-2); the nesting of those counts in artifacts

and accounts is a question the field does not seem to have addressed yet, to the author's knowledge, and it is part of the work that remains to be done. What the present study does is to make the nesting explicit where the counts are reported, treat the counts as descriptive, and add the one unit-level check the design allows. The same guides ask that reliability be measured with chance-corrected statistics and that its absence never be hidden but explained (Bateman, Wildfeuer, Hiippala 2026, 25-7); the position taken here follows that instruction, and the protocol under which double coding is to be done is the one already established for comparable data (Mattei, Wildfeuer 2026, 206-7).

Four limitations qualify the findings. The first concerns scale and design, the corpus comprising ten reels from five accounts purposively selected as polar cases, so that the contrasts are illustrative of the types rather than estimates of the populations they represent. The second concerns non-independence, since annotations are nested within shots, shots within reels and reels within accounts, whereas Fisher's exact test treats the 1,593 annotations in the two tested arms as independent, which they are not; the p-values in Table 6 are accordingly reported as indices of association under an assumption the data do not meet, and it is the effect sizes, the confidence intervals, the two categorical absences and the reel-level ranks that carry the interpretation. A related limitation belongs to sampling: the two most recent food-related reels per account record each operator's current editorial practice and cannot show whether the pattern found here is stable over the account's history, and the national confound between the Mexican regenerative account and the Australian comparison set, discussed in § 3.3, is mitigated by the Australian regenerative farm rather than removed. The third, and most consequential, concerns reliability: the corpus was annotated by a single coder, no second coding or agreement statistic exists, and none is reported. The codebook specifies the criteria applied, which is a necessary condition for reliability without being a demonstration of it, and the sensitivity analysis in § 4.3 shows what is at stake, one boundary decision on three annotations moving the H2 odds ratio by an order of magnitude. A scheme of 34 categories and 261 values that resolves boundary cases by the convergence of at least three cues is exactly the kind of instrument whose counts need a second pair of hands before they are taken as fine-grained evidence.

A fourth limitation belongs to the instrument rather than to its application here, in that the Demographics node offers only two values for biological sex and so does not capture non-binary, trans or intersex identities; this would need addressing before the scheme is applied to corpora in which gender identity is itself at issue. Future work should engage above all with double coding, on a subset of the corpus in the first instance, following the protocol established for comparable data in Mattei and Wildfeuer (2026, 206-7), namely Krippendorff's

(2004) generalized metrics with partial agreement where multiple non-mutually-exclusive labels fall on the same unit, a trained second coder, and agreement computed separately for segmentation and for category assignment; and with more reels per account within the same food-related brief, so that the reel-level check in Table 6 can become a test; and, separately, with reception data, since whether the pacing contrast found here has the attentional consequences the neurocognitive literature would predict is a question for audience testing rather than for annotation.

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