

Out of Modernity

*The Search for Identity in Study Abroad and Performance of Identity in
Cultural Tourism*

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Chapter 1

Introduction: A Tour of East Africa, A Tour of Theory

Late one night on the St. Lawrence Kenya Studies Program study compound outside of Nairobi, someone decided to bring the computer projector out onto the lawn, making our own little garden drive in. We set up a screen, brought out pillows, chairs and couches and boiled water for tea and coffee. Everyone gathered around and we were joined by several of the compound employees, as well as our chef. We smoothed out a few kinks in the wires, got an extension cord to the speakers, and suddenly the screen flickered to life. There we were, listening to Meryl Streep as Karen Blixen, telling us about her farm in Africa. We marveled at the landscapes, enveloped ourselves in the love story, gasped at the costumes, the animals, and the people we watched on screen. We lost ourselves in the narrative the way we did in any movie theater back home.

But instead of emerging from a darkened theater to find that night had fallen, we simply stood up and took new notice of our surroundings, the same we gazed at in the film. Above our heads grew an avocado tree. Karen Blixen's coffee farm rested not more than two miles up the road. And we'd just returned from a ten-day field study north of Mount Kilimanjaro in the Maasai land known as Amboseli. While there, we'd lived two days with a Maasai family and spent time interviewing people in the area. We'd surveyed the growing tensions between using water for irrigating or for drinking. We drove through one of Africa's most famous national parks, searching for the perfect angle to frame a family of elephants in the foreground as Kilimanjaro rose from its base toward the sky. In short, in just ten days we moved between the roles of anthropologist, academic

and student, and tourist. At times, such as when I visited a Maasai cultural “manyatta,”—a contrived Maasai homestead where tourists pay to see the Maasai perform “traditional” dances—I occupied all three roles simultaneously – an American student abroad, participating in a frequently seen tourist performance, while looking at it from an anthropological perspective. What was this Maasai group getting out of their performance for the tourist? Were they losing anything? We had paid them a small sum of money; did this provide a measure of autonomy to the Maasai, or was it simply a small fee to pay to organize a Western-oriented show at the expense of the locals? They wore typical Maasai blankets, held traditional Maasai weapons, and spoke the Maasai language. And yet I knew from research that this performance was out of place, de-ceremonialized in a way by being organized for tourists. Just the day before I’d spoken with a Maasai man in English, walking around his farm where he explained about the difficulty of adopting agriculture in an arid rangeland, his jeans rolled up to his calves. Who was more authentic – the dancer or the farmer? The issue of “authenticity” was constantly debated among the study abroad group – the modern or the traditional? Which was more “authentic?” Which was more “real?” Perhaps what we should have been asking was how “authenticity” is produced. How is it manipulated? Who uses it and how is it used?

These are the questions I have since posed myself as I embarked on this project, but they are not the ones I found myself asking in Kenya. Rather, they have come more from my own research into the anthropological literature on tourism. My four months in East Africa spawned a different set of questions. How was I to make sense of my experience as I inhabited simultaneously several different roles? What did I get out of the four months? My fellow students and I occupied multiple places, sometimes

simultaneously, on the spectrums of travel ranging between tourist, ethnographer and insider. Our extended stay, knowledge of Swahili and intensive cultural immersion marked us as more than standard travelers, yet in that time we could not hope to approach any “emic or “insider” knowledge. We spent a fair amount of time off the beaten path, living with different tribes and speaking to a multitude of people, and yet when the opportunity arose we could not resist a tour via Land Rover throughout Kenya’s vast national parks. In short, even though I tried to keep in mind my anthropological background, I could not help but be swept up in the romanticization of our trip. Our screening of *Out of Africa*, and later on, *The Lion King*, was but a parcel of this romanticization. Even though we could see the real thing, indeed had been traveling throughout East Africa for months, we seemed to want to frame our experience in the context of the images in which we’d previously imagined our experience.

In many ways, my travel through Kenya and Tanzania opened up my eyes to East African culture in ways I had never imagined; I was *seeing* and *interacting* rather than reading and watching. I entered into dialogue where before I’d only heard lectures or read books. But I cannot say that I was always looking with objectivity. What I saw was affected by what I had already seen. I romanticized the cultures I encountered even after seeing them in context; the bias and notions that I brought to Kenya filtered how I interpreted what I learned.

This thesis then marks my exploration of the questions I should have been asking while abroad: Who benefits from tourism? Who exercises power within touristic contact? How is the meaning of this contact negotiated among tourists, travel agents and tour guides, and the cultural subject of observation? How much influence do ethnic groups

have over tourist encounters, and how does this provide either group, tourists or subjects, with a means of cultural autonomy? And how does ethnic tourism differ from other forms of travel, in its inexhaustible search for the “authentic” other?

This chapter will provide a broad overview of our study abroad experience, tourism in both Kenya and Tanzania, and the anthropological literature on tourism, particularly as it pertains to tourism among cultures. I’ll first look at how the history of tourism in each country evolved. Later, I will trace the anthropological perspective of tourism theory from its roots in the 1960s and 1970s to tourism theory today, focusing on power in tourist interactions and the autonomy that these relations allow each party in the interaction. I will apply these theories to the pastoral Maasai in East Africa and the hunter-gatherer Hadzabe tribe in Tanzania in chapters two and three. The fourth chapter will seek to answer my personal questions from my experience in East Africa: Where do tourism, study abroad, and anthropology exist on a continuum of travel and cultural encounters? How am I to define my own experience as a student abroad, participating in activities as a tourist but also in participant observation? More generally, it will ask how study abroad affects American students, drawing from interviews with study abroad coordinators and students and a small amount of literature.

Background of St. Lawrence University’s Kenya Studies Program

St. Lawrence University is a small, private, liberal arts college located in Canton, New York, serving around 2000 students. Founded in 1856, St. Lawrence (SLU) has run its Kenya Studies Program (KSP) since the mid-1970s. The program arose amidst the context of expanding international travel and tourism, at its time one of the first programs

of its kind in Africa. The program is part of SLU's Center for International and Intercultural Studies, whose aim, similar to that of the Peace Corps ethos, is to "extend intellectual growth...reflect upon one's own position in relation to others" and enhance "awareness of the interconnectedness of human cultures and the natural environment" (St. Lawrence Center for International and Intercultural Studies).

The semester-long experience is based at St. Lawrence's compound outside of Nairobi, but includes extensive travel throughout Kenya and Tanzania. Twenty-six students attended the Spring 2009 semester, of which I was a part. We lived in a communal house in a gated compound, in the wealthy suburb of Karen, named after the famous writer and later, as we saw, subject of *Out of Africa*. Our academic director, Mr. Abdelwahab Sinnary, and program director, Ms. Wairimu Ndirangu, lived on site, along with a host of handymen, maids, and a student chef. Of the twenty-six students, twenty were from St. Lawrence, with the remaining six drawn mostly from New England liberal arts schools. The racial make-up of the group was almost entirely white, and most students hailed from a science background, either in biology or environmental studies. Just one other anthropology student joined me on the trip, while political science, communications and sociology rounded out the rest of the students' majors.

My stay began with a ten-day individual home stay in the White Highlands, east of Lake Victoria in the area near the city of Kericho (**Figure 1**). There we the stayed with the Kipsigis tribe, a subset of the Kalenjin ethnic group. Known for being the predominant growers of Kenyan tea, the Kipsigis were meant to provide an example of agricultural Kenyan life. After a period of taking classes in Nairobi, the group traveled together to northern Tanzania to stay for a week with the Hadzabe of the Yaeda Valley

(**Figure 2**). Tanzanian based Dorobo Safaris, an outfitter run by three American brothers raised in Tanzania, organized the stay and itinerary. Our stay with the Hadzabe was followed by a three-week stay with an “urban family” in Nairobi. Most of the families, following the ethnic make-up of Nairobi, were Kikuyu, but this was not meant to be the focus of the stay. My own host family were Baganda from Uganda, but the three weeks were meant to provide a cultural contrast to the Kipsigis’ rural lifestyle, rather than any ethnically focused study. After a brief retreat to the compound, the group once again traveled together to the Amboseli region of Kenya, north of Mount Kilimanjaro, where we stayed for ten days at the Maasai Centre for Field Studies. The ten-day trip culminated in a home stay with two other students in a Maasai home. Afterward, we returned to Nairobi to take finals. The final month of the program was dedicated to an individual internship, which I undertook with a conservation organization based on the Kenyan coast, in the town of Watamu.

Tourism in Kenya and Tanzania

Kenya is predominantly known in the tourism industry for its diverse wildlife and its beaches. Occupied by the Portuguese and later the British, the country existed under colonial rule from the later 19th century until 1963, the year of Kenya’s independence from Great Britain. Early colonialists brought many things to East Africa, chief among them Christianity, but perhaps just as penetrating stand the introduction of coffee and tea. Together these two exports have traded places with tourism for Kenya’s greatest source of income since the country gained independence. Tourism throughout the country has been for the most part rising steadily since 1963. However, this increase has been marred

at various times by bouts of political unrest, causing sharp drop-offs in generated revenue for years at a time. At its height, Kenya sees over one million visitors annually, and tourism provides employment to several hundred thousand native Kenyans (Sayer 1998, Sindiga 1999).

Throughout Kenya (and Africa in general), tourism is spatially concentrated to a high degree. Most figures measure tourist visitation in the country based on bed-nights, the number of tourists staying in each hotel (Sindiga 1999: 61). The majority of Kenya's bed-nights are clustered on the coast of the Indian Ocean, a popular beach destination for Europeans. Nairobi follows next, operating as a home base for tourists traveling to the country's national parks. The larger and more frequently visited parks and reserves, such as the Maasai Mara and Amboseli National Park, own a smaller number of high-end hotels and campsites, and see far fewer visitors staying in the vicinity than Nairobi or the coast (Sindiga 1999: 62).

Existing, literally, on the edge of these "natural" destinations are sites of so-called "cultural" tourism. Most often these take the forms of Maasai "Cultural Manyattas," small Maasai communities that welcome foreigners to watch dances, take photographs, and buy jewelry and curios. Isaac Sindiga, one of the foremost authorities on tourism in Kenya, writes, "there has been a heavy reliance on Maasai cultural life to the extent that it has become an African stereotype" but that "Kenya's cultural pluralism has much greater variety that has yet to be fully exploited" (1999: 60). Sindiga's use of "exploited" may or may not be intended as a double entendre, but its indication of varying levels of power and, in a sense, usage, both of people and places, is reflective of the tourist scene throughout the country. Many ex-colonial landowners in Kenya have turned their

operations from farming to tourism, establishing partnerships with travel agencies abroad. Though Kenya operates the Kenya Utalii (Tourist) College, and Moi University fields a department of tourism, tourist ventures remained largely foreign owned until the recent past. Furthermore, the proportion of tourist income accruing directly to Kenya and Kenyan owned operators is relatively low due to the predominance of packaged deals that are organized and paid for overseas (Sindiga 1999: 79). This leakage represents one of the major problems facing the tourist industry, which, when combined with Kenya's periodic political unrest, make for an inefficient and unstable tourist industry.

In the past two decades the Kenyan government has been encouraging community involvement in tourist planning. In doing so the government hopes to offset the opportunity cost that many Kenyans see in promoting wildlife and land conservation over agriculture. The Kenyan government actively encourages the growth of the country's agricultural industry, which with cash crops like tea and coffee contributes the majority of Kenya's gross national product. In farming regions around areas like Amboseli, wildlife corridors where animals travel between parks have, in the past, been given precedence over private (and small-scale) farmland. The opportunity costs between small, cash-crop plots and the estimated value of wildlife (one lion, for example, is estimated to be worth \$7,000 in yearly tourism revenue, while an elephant herd brings in over \$600,000) often saw farmers' requests neglected in favor of ensuring the safety of the higher revenue-generating wildlife (Honey 1999b). This neglect has since given way to community planned tourist ventures as well as cash payments for the destruction of crops at the hands of wildlife. Such improvements for local peoples have, of course, not come without their own difficulties. Most notably corruption and poor planning and

implementation plague a large share of community tourism groups (Akama 1999, 2002, Ritsma and Ongaro 2002, Rutten 2004).

As an extremely profitable industry, tourism has begun to be highly promoted by the Kenyan government, who have sought to weave the industry into educational institutions in the hopes of promoting long-term and sustainable economic growth. Moi University founded a department of tourism in 1991 in hopes of educating native Kenyans on tourism policy, and thus extending the benefits local people receive from tourism. In addition, Kenyan Utalii College has undergone a drastic transformation since its inception in an effort to promote sustainable tourism throughout the country. Recently, Kenya has seen a large surge in eco-tourism ventures. Many expatriate owned outfitters are now involving local communities in ventures that hope to be light on the land, and a number of community-owned outfits are gaining in popularity (Sindiga 1995: 699, Honey 1999a, Rutten 2004).

Tourism in Tanzania is far less developed than in Kenya, in large part due to Tanzania's political history. Tanganyika, the mainland province of Tanzania, declared independence from Great Britain in 1961. After Zanzibar, the large, mostly Arabic-Muslim island off Tanzania's coast, declared independence over its Arab ruler in 1963, the two combined both geographically and phonetically to form what we now know as Tanzania. While Kenya adopted a more or less capitalistic structure to its economy and form of governance, Tanzania has until the recent past operated on a socialist paradigm. Swahili was adopted as the national language, and in part helped to solidify Tanzania as a peaceful nation enjoying high national unity, despite its more than 100 ethnic groups.

Until 1989, the Tanzanian government took a major share in tourism enterprises.

Western-style tourism did not fit in easily with this scheme, and Tanzania never developed the same tourist economy as its northern neighbor (Boniface & Cooper 2001: 247). The Tanzanian government was wary of depending too much on foreign currency (something Kenya has not seen as a problem), and as a result, tourism infrastructure developed slowly and cautiously. This has since changed as the Tanzanian government began a shift to a more capitalist economy, and the creation of the Tanzania tourist board in 1992 has helped reshaped the tourism industry through promoting travel and tourism business. In 2001 tourism provided an estimated 27,000 jobs and generated near one-quarter of the country's foreign exchange, almost on par with Kenya. Foreign arrivals total around 330,000, a number still far below Kenya's million annual visitors, but expected to increase in the coming years (Boniface & Cooper 2001: 247).

Still, Tanzania faces geographical difficulties in the promotion of tourism. Its main attractions, Mount Kilimanjaro, Serengeti National Park, and the Ngorongoro Crater, lie close to the Kenyan border. Boniface and Cooper note that in many cases it's easier to fly into Nairobi and travel south (Tanzania's transportation system, both on the ground and in the air, is inefficient and unreliable) than make the trip to these attractions from Tanzania's central metropolitan area, Dar es Salaam (2001: 248). For this reason, potential revenue in the form of airline tickets, hotel stays, and domestic travel, is lost with visitors choosing instead to travel through Kenya.

Despite these challenges, Tanzania is still likely to see heavy growth in the tourism industry over the coming years. As a more fully realized tourism industry begins to take shape, Tanzania will also benefit both from being a less-visited tourist destination and from enjoying a more stable political structure than Kenya. The Tanzanian

government describes its country as “one of the unique destinations on the African continent that has yet to be discovered by many” (Tanzania National Website). This “undiscovered” appeal might very well be one of Tanzania’s major attractions for tourists looking for increasingly more “exotic” and “authentic” experiences. In addition, Tanzania’s reluctance to grow its tourism industry as rapidly as Kenya’s may benefit the country in the end, as more ecologically stable and community-friendly tourism initiatives will be easier to implement from the ground up. Kenya, instead, may be forced to rebuild and restructure its tourist infrastructure to better adhere to the expectations of the growing numbers of green and eco-tourists.

Tourism Theory

Tourism studies in full can be said to have begun with the 1976 publication of Dean MacCannell’s *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*, in which MacCannell used the modern tourist as a model to describe the condition of modern life as a whole. MacCannell saw the parallels between globalization and mass modern leisure – that the ideological expansion of modern society is intimately linked to tourism, and by extension may be judged through a study of it. MacCannell’s approach draws heavily from Marxism, notably using Marx’s ideas on the alienation of labor to show the blurring lines between work and play: “The destruction of industrial culture is occurring from within as alienation invades the work place, and the same process is bringing about the birth of modernity. Affirmation of basic social values is departing the world of work and seeking refuge in the realm of leisure” (MacCannell 1976: 6). Modern people, now

alienated from their labor, look for their identity in their free time. This realm of leisure is marked predominantly by cultural experiences and cultural productions (domestic or, in the case of this project, international), which MacCannell sees as agents in defining the scope, force, and direction of a group, area or country. In coming to understand what a certain group of tourists values, an understanding of their present reality in their home region or country is revealed. More broadly expanded, MacCannell sought to show that the modern world defines itself by drawing boundaries between modern and non-modern, “us” versus “them,” and came to see itself (and the rest of the world) as a function of their proximity to this line.

MacCannell’s study provides a useful framework and vocabulary for tourism studies, which I will employ in further chapters. First of these is MacCannell’s concept of *sight sacralization*, in which he underlines the process that a specific tourist sight undergoes in becoming a place treated with a certain reverence or gravity. MacCannell notes five phases of sight sacralization: naming, framing and elevation, enshrinement, mechanical reproduction, and social reproduction - whereby groups, cities and regions begin to name themselves after a famous attraction (1976:43-46). Sight sacralization in MacCannell’s context is best used to understand large scale natural and human-made features, as in the enshrinement of Las Vegas through its iconic “Welcome to Las Vegas” sign, or in the social reproduction of the Grand Canyon as seen through the nicknaming of Arizona as the “Grand Canyon State.” As it pertains to the ethnic groups I will study in East Africa, the permanent landmarks that represent the allure of Africa for Americans and other Westerners become, in the case of Kenya and Tanzania, smaller and more mobile. The markers of a sacralized sight might be general - an acacia tree, a bow and

arrow, or a Maasai blanket – but they are no less part of the framing and enshrinement process for being so. “Tourists have been criticized for failing, somehow, to *see* the sights they visit, exchanging *perception* for mere *recognition*,” MacCannell notes (1976: 121). These objects enter into the consciousness in the same way as landmarks, so that a Maasai blanket indicates to a tourist he is entering into Maasai land just as readily as a Las Vegas welcome sign. This allows tourists “the capacity effortlessly to recognize a sight on first contact” (1976: 121).

In the tourist’s eye, these markers become the prerequisites for “authenticity,” even if that authenticity is constructed. Because they help tourists to recognize, rather than to see, these markers become necessary to the sought after tourist experience. In addition, this network of sacralized and highly-visible sights and markers constitutes the infrastructure of world tourism, whereby sights come to be seen (or fail to be seen) as “must see” attractions. This will become significant in later chapters when we see where the Maasai, whose culture has been “branded” and who have incorporated tourist-oriented markers into their culture, have been successful in obtaining autonomy through tourism, while the Hadzabe, whose culture remains little known to an international audience, have faced difficulties in adapting tourism to their own benefit.

Markers are also used strategically to communicate what MacCannell describes as the “Front, Back and Reality” of a place (1976: 92). The concept of what MacCannell describes as “staged authenticity” is particularly useful in analyzing the cultural productions so many tourists witness while abroad. The front region can be understood as the meeting places of hosts and guests, while the back is a place where the hosts “meet and prepare,” an area representing their non-staged social world, closed to outsiders.

MacCannell specifically thinks of front and back rooms in regard to performances, pointing out that more “primitive” groups (and consequently groups less visited by tourists) live their lives in the open, unconcerned with authenticity as exposed to relevant others. I will adjust this idea a bit later, bringing it into places where front and back rooms blur, where everything might either be “reality” or “authenticity,” as in the case of my time with the Hadzabe, in which I inhabited, depending on perspective, a front or back entirely. This back region becomes important for tourists concerned with authenticity: “Just having a back region generates the belief that there is something more than meets the eye; even where no secrets are actually kept, back regions are still the places where it is popularity believed the secrets are” (MacCannell 1976: 93). The face of a cultural production, then, might have layers: a front region, a staged back region (essentially just another disguised front region), and finally a “true” back region. These areas can be extended beyond cultural productions to show where modern people delineate boundaries between “the modern,” “the traditional” and “the natural;” tourism encounters can in many ways be the lenses by which we see and understand the lines between the blurring faces of modernity and its others.

The tourist lens, or gaze, operates in other ways as well. John Urry has described through his concept of the “tourist gaze” how these front and back regions, staged or authentic, are constructed according to the expectations of the tourist. The gaze regulates the way one group looks upon another, in essence conditioning what they expect to see. Symbols and markers, seen in television, film and literature, create anticipation for and expectations of a place. A tourist traveling to Las Vegas, for example, expects to see the fabulous Las Vegas sign, among the myriad of other images he or she has internalized of

the city. Yet even if these markers aren't present or visible, the object of the tourist's gaze will, in the mind's eye, adjust to what he or she hopes to see, the image that has been elevated into the modern consciousness through the aforementioned steps of sight sacralization: "What people 'gaze upon' are ideal representations of the view in question that they internalise from postcards and guidebooks...Even when they cannot in fact 'see' the natural wonder in question they can still sense it, see it in their mind. And even when the object fails to live up to its representation it is the latter which will stay in people's minds, as what they have really 'seen'" (Urry 1990: 86). Urry does not present a significant amount of evidence for this. It seems difficult to say precisely if tourists come away from a trip with their impression corroborating their expectations exactly. It is more fair to explain that the gaze frames the experience to a certain degree, and that the sight itself supplies the rest of the impression. Perhaps more important is that Urry sees that cultural productions are designed to adhere to the tourist gaze. His description is worth quoting at length.

Isolated from the host environment and the local people, the mass tourist travels in guided groups and finds pleasure in inauthentic contrived attractions, gullibly enjoying the 'pseudo-events' and disregarding the 'real' world outside. As a result tourist entrepreneurs and the indigenous populations are induced to produce ever-more extravagant displays for the gullible observer who is thereby further removed from the local people. Over time, via advertising and the media, the images generated of different tourist gazes come to constitute a closed self-perpetuating system of illusions which provide the tourist with the basis for selecting and evaluating potential places to visit. (1990: 7)

Urry's description might bring to mind too much of the stereotypical American abroad, waddling off a tour bus to snap a picture and hop back on eager for the McDonald's in the town ahead. He paints too binary a picture for reality: the actors and players in the tourism industry must exist on more a continuous scale, rather than merely the gullible

tourist and crafty operator Urry seems to describe. It may be true that a large portion of tourists are happy to receive what they've been shown at face value, but there also exists a multitude of tourists who avoid these sort of productions in their search for a true "authenticity." Erik Cohen has posited a correlation between the search for this authenticity and a tourist's place in society: "Tourists...appear to seek authenticity in varying degrees of intensity, depending on the degree of their alienation from modernity" (Cohen 2004: 106). Or as Malcolm Crick puts it more accessible terms: "The hippy, the FIT (Free Independent Traveler), and the working-class family on a cheap package tour for the annual fortnightly holiday, for example, exhibit a vast range of motivations—fun, relaxation, adventure, learning, escape, etc; and each kind of traveler generates a different set of socioeconomic consequences" (1989: 313). The continuum of tourist motivations might better be understood with relaxation, ease and "staged authenticity" (whether the tourist is complicit or not) on one end of the spectrum, with information, education and the "real" and "authentic" (at least as it's understood by the tourist avoiding staged cultural productions) on the other.

So far, the tourist, markers and cultural productions have been discussed in the abstract. Urry in particular seems to paint a picture of the tour operator and tourist without room in between (though he does later on allow for the "post-tourist," one who finds pleasure in tourist games knowing there is no authentic experience but roles that can be played) (1990: 11). Valene Smith's early anthology on the anthropology of tourism entitled *Hosts and Guests* (1989[1977]) commits this same fallacy in the title alone. Tourism, however, is negotiated by a large range of actors. Infrequently does the power of influence over a tourist encounter rest in one place alone. So-Min Cheong and Marc L.

Miller note in “Power and Tourism: A Foucauldian Observation” that “from the perspective of Western society, tourism is often understood as a product of the individual decisions of tourists” (Cheong and Miller 2000: 371). The authors go on to question whether excess attention to the actions of tourists, as opposed to other institutional actors, is warranted, and if the exercise of power is one-sided and exclusively repressive on part of the tourist. While MacCannell and Urry provide a useful framework for analyzing the medium (symbols, markers, etc.) through which tourism is produced, Cheong and Miller’s Foucauldian approach takes into account the actors of the industry and the power they exert over their targets. If markers are the stage props in a cultural production, where is the crew and who is the director?

Cheong and Miller first discuss the Foucauldian binary between targets and agents, with targets as the subordinate actor in a given encounter. Agents focus the tourist gaze and determine what is and isn’t seen. They “contribute as experts in shaping the decisions tourists make in purchasing commodities and services, and the conclusions they draw in appreciating (or devaluing) amenities and other features of the destination” (383). In this way, they both create and limit opportunities and experiences for the tourist. Targets are the subordinate actors, though this does not always mean that a target necessarily gives in to the influence of the agent. Unlike Urry’s gaze-regulating tourist, or other theoretical conceptions where the tourist wields the largest degree of influence in cultural encounters, tourists, in Cheong and Miller’s conception, “qualify as targets because they necessarily operate from insecure positions. By definition, they are found on unfamiliar political and cultural turf, and they often communicate at a distinct linguistic disadvantage. In the course of sojourn, they are stripped of many of their cultural and

familial ties and protective institutions, and are exposed to new norms and expectations” (Cheong and Miller 2000: 380).

While a useful tool in looking at the ways in which power is yielded, this binary system, Cheong and Miller note, falls short of examining the full extent of power relations in tourism. We make a mistake in analyzing tourism as an interaction between hosts and guests and such a conception must be rejected in favor of a classification system that includes the middlemen in tourist interactions. Thus, the authors divide those involved in tourism into a tripartite system: locals (sometimes the targets of tourism), tourists themselves, and middlemen (or brokers). Importantly, each of these roles represents an amorphous identity. Brokers may leave their job at the end of the day and return to a local role, while tourists may gain expertise and become, in a way, brokers themselves, and so on. “The shifting identities of tourists, locals, and brokers largely depend on contingencies, time, and place. Consequently, there is no one-sided, fixed flow of power from one individual to another” (379). So while it should be noted that none of the three roles represents a fixed condition, it is helpful to examine the broker in depth in order to illustrate the ways that middlemen influence tourist interactions.

Middlemen and brokers, the most influential of Cheong and Miller’s tripartite system, represent those people with the ability to influence and negotiate tourist encounters as they happen on the ground. Hotel owners and employees, vendors and guides, tourist center employees, and police and guards at tourist sites might all fall into this category. Unlike agents, brokers do not sell the package or the destination, but they can, to a significant degree, affect a tourist’s understanding of a certain site or group of people. They might constrain both movements and behaviors, and often act as a tourist’s

informant, translating into their own words what the tourist needs to know or what the tourists sees. Brokers, Cheong and Miller note, can often be the most influential actor in a cultural production.

This model does not give middlemen complete control or agency, even should they wish to exercise it. More often than not, brokers are institutionally constrained as to what degree they might influence a tourist situation.

Even where small-scale tourism (in which the less wealthy are actively involved and from which they benefit) makes sense, its success is made unlikely by the industry's high level of vertical integration. Third world economies lack control over the world prices of international tourism. Although many Third World countries have a 'tourism on *our* terms' policy, demand is largely engendered by tourist agencies and a whole industrial network of image makers overseas (Crick 1989: 325-26).

In other words, middlemen must adhere to the language of MacCannell's markers and symbols and Urry's gaze in order to reach the tourist, just as they must use a lingua franca, most often English, in which to communicate. It may even be useful to go as far to say that in some instances middlemen have no agency at all. Noel Salazar notes in his analysis of tour operators in Tanzania that "tour guides are key actors in the process of folklorizing, ethnicizing, and exoticizing a destination" (2006: 834), but the discourse that they use to approach this process is quite often dependent upon that already in place in tourist encounters. Agency appears most often where individual tour guides personally re-negotiate a discourse to align more closely with their own views. This will become a key point of discussion in the more detailed analyses of tourist encounters among the Maasai and Hadzabe when I ask to what extent students, brokers, and the cultural subjects themselves can maneuver within pre-existing discourses that feature so prominently in Western media and literature.

Cheong and Miller's approach is perhaps most useful in dispelling the myth of the tourist as the automatic agent and the "native" as automatic target in tourism relations. "A mainstream view takes the tourist to be a rational, independent, and powerful actor who initiates the touristic trip and accordingly is responsible for its consequences on the locals and the environment. In contrast, the tourist, in the tripartite system is the Foucauldian target, positioned against brokers in the same way as Foucault has seen the child, the woman, the criminal, and the madman to be positioned against agents in their respective institutional systems" (2000: 379). Understanding this shift in the standard idea of roles in tourist encounters along with the mobility of these roles according to the specifics of time and place is particularly important when looking at the case studies to be presented later. These range from more democratic and educational trips that I undertook as part of an academic program, to the imagined reality put on display at the Mayers' farm, as detailed by Edward Bruner in Chapter 2. The economics of these encounters are varied and particularly stratified concerning wealth. A quick example: The Hadzabe occupy land in Northern Tanzania that is being increasingly partitioned for agriculture and cattle grazing. Tourism offers one of the few options the Hadzabe have for maintaining this land by allowing them government-sanctioned control over its usage. This requires bureaucratic and political maneuvering that is mostly unfamiliar to the Hadzabe. The tour company Dorobo leads several groups a year to stay with the Hadzabe. In return, they provide legal assistance to the group and have worked to retain the tribe's autonomy over their own land, educating several Hadza men (Hadzabe refers to the tribe as a whole, while Hadza is used to denote an individual or individuals) to participate within the governmental framework that dictates land usage. On top of this, several guides

employed by Dorobo help to translate Hadza culture to the visitors. This constant interplay of differential power – between target and agent and local/tourist/broker -- weaves a complex web of interaction, and Cheong and Miller’s framework provides a useful method in which we might better understand Hadzabe tourism.

A final actor to be considered within the tourism power structure is the state itself. Crick aligns himself with MacCannell in seeing the condition of modern civilization and the legacies of colonialism reflected in tourist structure: “the structural form of any tourist development necessarily parallels the preexisting socioeconomic structure in a country. Inevitably, then, the very way a tourism industry is planned and shaped will recreate the fabric of the colonial situation. It is no wonder that, to some, international tourism is pictured as the recreation of a foreign-dominated enclave structure reacting to metropolitan interests and entirely unrelated to the local economy” (1989: 322). He goes on to note that governments often subdue the local people in order not to upset a growing tourism industry, “suppressing signs of civil disorder and of animosity towards tourists themselves” (1989: 325). Considered together with the necessity of aligning a guest’s imagined-picture of a place – what the guest *hopes* to see – with what he or she actually sees, it seems that even with some degree of autonomy, the tourist, the broker, and the agent each have little freedom to carve a new path in what have increasingly become standardized roles. However, a fair amount of evidence from the growing field of eco-tourism and community-based tourism indicate this may not be the case.

Eco-tourism has been steadily growing as a viable model of tourism and conservation since the 1990s. As a concept, eco-tourism has existed since the 1970s, when Central American and African countries fertilized the seeds of the idea as an

answer to the destruction of rainforests and as an incentive for wildlife management, respectively (Honey 1999b: 136). The thought was that tourists were becoming environmentally concerned, and that a niche could be filled in marketing an environmentally and culturally sensitive tourist package. Since then, it has blossomed into an industry of its own, catering to a different clientele than package tour seekers or sun worshippers. In a way, it has turned into the package deal for Crick's "free independent traveler" or the tourist on the end of the spectrum, independently seeking authenticity and education.

Martha Honey, one of the first to undertake an extensive study of the subject, defines eco-tourism as "travel to fragile, pristine and usually protected areas that strives to be low impact and (usually) small scale. It helps educate the traveler; provides funds for conservation; directly benefits the economic development and political empowerment of local communities; and fosters respect for different cultures and for human rights" (1999a: 25). By necessity, the study of eco-tourism often overlaps with biology, environmental science and development studies. This last is particularly interesting when one considers that eco-tourism has become "the core of many developing countries' national economic development strategies and conservation efforts" (Honey 1999b: 137). As previously noted, MacCannell, Urry, and Crick each have taken a more negative view of the tourist. Crick describes them as "poor 'culture carriers', being stripped of most customary roles through which their culture could be understood by others...For most people tourism involves more hedonism and conspicuous consumption than learning or understanding...Tourism is very much about *our* culture, not about *their* culture or our desire to learn about it" (1989: 328). Such an understanding runs almost directly counter

to Honey's definition of someone seeking to foster respect for different cultures and to empower local communities. The aforementioned authors (particularly MacCannell) had yet to bear witness to the full realization of this off-shoot of typical tourist travel, which appears as the vacation extension of the green movement. Certainly the prominence of the term has only been seen in the past two decades, but it might also be said that, in many cases, their arguments remain true in regards to eco-tourism, at least when it comes to cultural performance and gazing. While eco-tourism has arguably done tremendous things for environmental efforts, its applications to cultural tourism are not as easily transferable due to the necessity of first building a tourist infrastructure. While the environment might survive well on its own by being left alone, communities on the edge of the tourism industry cannot help but come into contact with tourists, and if gains are to be made in incorporating people in a meaningful way to the eco-tourism movement, eco-tourism developers must first provide education and an effective mode of communication and cooperation between indigenous peoples and tourists and tour operators.

The importance of eco-tourism is that through these ventures both tour companies and local people are gaining a far greater influence than they previously enjoyed in planning for a form of tourism that benefits the surrounding community. Of course, these new eco-tourism start-ups and companies have their detractors. Very few of these ventures are without complications, and some have made the argument (MacCannell 1992, Stronza 2001) that all eco-tourism might do is create the same reduction of culture on display, only now more dependent upon tourist revenue because it necessitates the abandonment of other means of livelihood. Nevertheless, both worldwide and in my own travels in East Africa, eco and community conscious programs have sprung up where the

local community is in equal part a decision maker in how tourists might use their land. Dorobo Safaris have, in addition their partnership with the Hadzabe, drawn a contract with a local Maasai community in Tanzania, giving the Maasai autonomy in the planning process. Funds are equally distributed and a number of measures have been put in place to combat leakage of profits through corruption or other means. This ground-up planning process is in large part what this new breed of eco-tourist looks for in a travel destination, and visitors are at times willing to sacrifice ease, comfort and economy for an experience they feel is more sustainable and authentic.

Finally, this notion of “authenticity”, the ultimate goal of the eco-tourist, is something that must be both defined and, in a sense, dispelled. As a tourist myself in East Africa I looked for these “authentic” experiences – places off the beaten path where I might have a “real” African experience. I wanted to go beyond the back room into reality, a reality I’d gathered a picture of in part by anticipating my time as a tourist. I exercised (unconsciously, for I’d yet to even hear the term) the tourist gaze myself. Before I embarked upon the study component of my trip, I climbed Mount Kilimanjaro. The preparation for this trek included the perusal of hundreds of websites, dedicated both to the mountain and also to its surrounding cultures. Using safari websites as my guides to East African life was not the most accurate method of learning about local cultures, but it was undeniably the most entertaining. However, these images swimming through my head acted as a handicap for the better part of my stay; I was plagued just as Urry described in hoping to see what I’d already seen. In a way, the hardest part of this project has been dispelling this myth of authenticity – that there exist binaries out there separating the world into us and them, traditional and modern, pristine and globalized.

There is no question that the way the program was structured on binaries, as I discuss in Chapter 2, helped to cement such polarities in my mind. Was my stay with the Hadzabe an “authentic” experience, or was it a well-developed and planned elaboration of MacCannell’s staged back room? Was I seeing the “real” Hadza or the actors? Did my home stay with the Maasai represent an authentic cultural experience if my host father wore a denim jacket while his brother donned the more traditional red blanket and tire sandals? Did it matter if they were being paid? At times, I probably ignored what I saw as evidence of modernization in order to convince myself I was having a truly indigenous and primitive experience, more akin to early English colonialists or the “collecting” stages of anthropology (Clifford 1988). Because I’d been conditioned by the tourist gaze to think in such polarities it was difficult for me to see the people I encountered as possessing both “traditional” and “modern” qualities. The notion I found so difficult to dispel was that such binaries no longer exist and perhaps never did exist. If a cultural performance is staged, does that mean it is any less authentic than one used in a traditional ceremony? Perhaps I better understood it by framing the question in a format more familiar to me. If I watched Baz Luhrman’s adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet*, is that any more significant and unique than watching the original performance in the Globe Theater?

This is not a debate unfamiliar to anthropology, and most would now argue against any notion of an authenticity based in history. In *The Predicament of Culture* (1988), James Clifford helped to shift anthropology away from its earlier certainties in being able to “capture” or “collect a culture.” Clifford uses the concept of “heteroglossia,” in its rote definition the presence of two or more voices in a text, but

often extended to the fact that languages, having co-evolved by borrowing from other languages, have no single plane on which they might be juxtaposed. Culture, and by extension, “authenticity,” exist in the same way. “In the West...collecting [whether art or the cultures that produce them] has long been a strategy for the deployment of a possessive self, culture and authenticity” (Clifford 1988: 218). In addition, “the concrete activity of representing a culture, subculture, or indeed any coherent domain of collective activity is always strategic and selective” (1988: 231). Often in tourism, this selection is carefully undertaken in the forms of the display of specific markers or small aspects of culture. In these ways a tourist performance or tourist sight comes to synecdochically represent the culture as a whole. Still, some have seen tourism as a way to preserve traditional (and in many cases, these particularly selected) cultural values, engaging in performance in order to preserve an “authenticity.” Rodrigo de Azerado Gr̃unewald has argued that tourism has provided the Pataxo Indians of Brazil with a means of defining authenticity by separating what is made for the tourist and what is made for the tribe. He notes that the Pataxo “strive to define the nuances between the different kinds of craftwork in order to tell their tradition from the mere exchange objects that the white population transfer to them” (2002: 1013). The Pataxo have intentionally altered what they trade to a small degree in order to demarcate what is “authentic” from what is constructed to sell. Gr̃unewald posits “the fact of being a *tourist Indian* and selling oneself in the arena does not constitute the lack of authenticity; ‘authenticity in whose eyes?’ is a question to be asked. The Pataxo are not just ‘Indians’ for tourism, but in this arena they mold and remold themselves, in accordance with expectations that they themselves impose” (2002: 1018). His theory aligns well with Cheong and Miller’s idea

of the transference of power between tourist and indigenous subject. While the tourists feel they are buying an “authentic item” from an “authentic Indian,” the Pataxo are all the while defining themselves by creating objects that are not representative of traditional culture, thereby coming to their own understanding of what makes an object authentic by understanding what does not. John and Jean Comaroff have also developed this notion in *Ethnicity, Inc.*, in which they highlight the commoditization of ethnic identity as a discrete product to sell in the market place.

It is the case that the intensive marketing of ethnic identity may well involve a Faustian bargain of sorts, leading to self-parody and devaluation. But...it also appears to (re)fashion identity, to (re)animate cultural subjectivity, to (re)charge collective self-awareness, to forge new patterns of sociality, all within the marketplace. And it often does so...by *ambiguating* the distinction between producer and consumer, performer and audience. How so? Because the producers of culture are *also* its consumers, seeing and sensing and listening to themselves enact their identity – and, in the process, objectifying their own subjectivity, thus to (re)cognize its existence, to grasp it, to domesticate it, to act on and with it. (2009: 26)

Rodrigo makes important steps in moving away from the earlier binaries presented in tourism theory; the distinctions between producer, consumer, performer and audience all blur. But still it can only be said to be presenting one aspect of a culture, isolating and embalming a marker or performance that comes to be seen as the model for the culture as a whole. Sometimes, this is by choice. His analysis fits in well with the Comaroffs’ ideas on marketing culture: “Those who would (re)claim their ethnic ‘nature’ by means of grounded ethno-preneurialism appear to do so, more or less often, with a good measure of critical and tactical consciousness” (2009: 27). Authenticity is, in the Comaroffs’ conception, just as much negotiated by the culture being sold as the tourist gazing and buying.

Should “authenticity” perhaps then be replaced with “traditional?” Does adhering to a traditional cultural norm for display purposes then render it modern? MacCannell eulogizes what he sees as this loss particularly eloquently:

On the surface, the institutionalization of primitive-performances-for-others appears as a simple hybrid cultural form. Such performances seem to combine *modern* elements of self-interested rational planning and economic calculation with *primitive* costumes, weapons, music, ritual objects and practices that once existed beyond the reach of economic rationality. Ideally, this particular assimilation of primitive elements into the modern world would allow primitives to adapt and co-exist, to earn a living just by ‘being themselves,’ permitting them to avoid the kind of work in factories or as agricultural laborers that changes their lives forever. But on witnessing these displays and performances, one cannot escape a feeling of melancholia; the primitive does not really appear in these enactments of it. The ‘primitivistic’ performance contains the image of the primitive as a dead form. The alleged *combination* of modern and primitive elements is an abuse of the dead to promote the pretense of complexity as a cover for some rather simple-minded dealings based on principles of accounting...The image of the savage that emerges from these ex-primitive performances completes the postmodern fantasy of ‘authentic alterity’ which is ideologically necessary in the promotion and development of global monoculture. The ‘primitivistic’ performance is *our* funerary marking of the passage of savagery. In the presence of these displays, there is only one thing we can know with certainty: we have witnessed the demise of the original form of humanity. (1992: 19)

Good. Once we have witnessed the demise of the original form of humanity, the notion of the authentic becomes perhaps less complicated. MacCannell goes on to note that the use of the term “primitive” is used only to keep the idea of the primitive alive in the modern consciousness, that it must stay alive to validate the “empires” built on the necessity of the primitive, empires such as anthropology and tourism which depend on the this sort of “other” to exist - to varying degrees. This conception will become particularly relevant as I begin to delve deeper into the range of tourist enterprise that exists in Africa, particularly for the Maasai, who, romanticized in the highly broadcast pictures and descriptions of their continent, have been able to develop an entire industry based on the

performance of their culture; ethno-preneurialists for sure. However, what should be emphasized is that this “staged authenticity” contrasted to a back room “reality” are in essence one in the same. By definition they are equal parts of modern life and thus cannot be extricated from the other. Authenticity cannot be conceived of as a fixed property; it is an attribute negotiated both by tourist and by tourist subject. MacCannell seems to feel that these “primitivistic” performances, the “abuse of the dead” is something that “ex-primitives” have been duped into for lack of better alternatives, which cannot be true in all cases. Rather, though performed, they can at times offer a disenfranchised group a means of cultural and political autonomy. In order to better see the where “primitives,” or “ex-primitives,” as MacCannell would have them, adopt tourism very intentionally as both a means of controlling the images of their culture, and in obtaining a livelihood, we need to look at specific ethnographic cases, rather than taking a pessimistic view of cultures as a whole. This I’ll do in the next two chapters, in my analysis of tourism among the Maasai of East Africa and Hadzabe in Tanzania.

Chapter Two

Please Put Away Your Cell Phones Markers of Modernity in Maasailand

Introducing the Maasai

The Maasai are inarguably the main cultural attraction of East Africa. They exist in guidebooks right alongside the wildlife and landscape, where one finds little mention of any other of Kenya or Tanzania's more than one hundred ethnic groups. The Maasai inhabit a particular place in the East African and the world consciousness, though the nature of this place is starkly different to each. To many East Africans, the Maasai live like backwards fools, intent on technological stagnation and resistant to change or development. In the world consciousness this stereotype holds true, but its reality is romanticized - fools, savages indeed, but beautiful, noble and quintessentially African. This image comes from a long legacy of "primitivism" and colonialism, the Maasai gradually becoming defined as the opposite of British colonialists in the accounts to be discussed later. Significant, however, is that the Maasai hold their particular place in world consciousness in part because of their appeal to the British. As big-game hunters moved into the country, the Maasai, big-game hunters themselves, necessarily excited the British, moving into the romantic warrior image we see them in today. This chapter will trace how the Maasai image has filtered into the tourist consciousness. It will seek to explore the ways that foreign owned tourism companies and the Maasai themselves have adapted this image to their own purposes. And it will explore the questions of how the notion of "authenticity" is used by both Maasai, tourists, and study abroad groups, and

how its negotiation leads or does not lead to cultural, political, and financial autonomy for the Maasai.

A Brief History

The Maasai likely moved into southern Kenya and later to Tanzania from Northern Kenya during the 15th century. Their subsistence method, pastoralism, allowed them to travel across vast areas of land with their cattle. The earliest contact with the Maasai came during the last decades of the 19th century, as the British began slowly moving into what was then known as the British Protectorate in East Africa. At several points in history, notably in 1906 and 1911 and throughout the 1920s, the British relegated the Maasai to game reserves, in order to make room for colonialist settlements (Waller 1976: 529). Development schemes have been undertaken to “modernize” the Maasai, both by the British during early colonial rule and by the Kenyan government after independence, to which the Maasai have been “largely indifferent” (Waller 1976: 429). Today, the Maasai inhabit central and southern Kenya and northern Tanzania, numbering near 900,000 individuals split about evenly between the countries, an estimated 1-2% of the population in each (Sayer 1998: 67, Schneider 2006).

Of the myriad of historical factors that have coalesced to form the Maasai’s situation today I will highlight three in particular: the Maasai’s reputation in colonialist and Arabic travel accounts, the tribalism that arose in Kenya during the Mau Mau Rebellion of the 1950s and 60s leading up to independence from Great Britain in 1963, and the creation of Kenya and Tanzania’s national park system. These three factors are still clearly visible to the tourist and student abroad today; the colonialist image of the

Maasai has transferred to be the tourist image of the Maasai, the tribalism in Kenya remains a constant presence (even more so after the recent election violence), and the Maasai are still found on the outskirts (and within) Kenya's and Tanzania's national parks.

The stereotypical Maasai image in colonialist and modern consciousness has changed remarkably little from the 19th to 21st century. Noel Salazar cites in his piece on "Tourismification" a travel account representative of the colonial notion of the Maasai. The following comes from Joseph Thomson's 1885 log of his expedition through Maasai territory in East Africa:

The word was passed round that the Masai [sic] had come ... Passing through the forest, we soon set our eyes upon the dreaded warriors that had been so long the subject of my waking dreams, and I could not but involuntarily exclaim, 'What splendid fellows!' as I surveyed a band of the most peculiar race of men to be found in all Africa (as qtd. by Salazar 2009: 3)

As the British moved further into the country, the Maasai came to be perceived more as a threat to development than the splendid fellows that so animate Thomson. During the first several decades of the 20th century, the British herded Maasai into small reserves. The goal was both to grant more land to the British and to sedentarize this typically nomadic people in hopes of modernizing the Maasai through education and agricultural instruction (Hodgson 1999: 130). These lackluster efforts did little to change the Maasai's fierce defense of pastoralism. Because traditional Maasai economy centers around the possession of cattle, what the British promised to provide - crops, clothing, and shelter - appealed little to the group. As a result, these modernization efforts enjoyed only sporadic success (Hodgson 1999). Still, the prolonged contact heavily affected the

Maasai notion of masculinity. Colonialists celebrated those Maasai who most closely adhered to their conception of the noble savage and the warrior. The Maasai, perhaps inadvertently or perhaps in efforts to garner personal favor among colonialists, began to adhere to British notions of Maasai masculinity. “Being ‘Maasai,’ ...came to be understood by Maasai men themselves as being a pastoralist and a warrior: a dominant masculinity forged in opposition to ‘modernity’ and sustained by certain economic and social interventions. Conversely, Maasai men who in some way embraced aspects of modernity, and therefore did not conform to this dominant configuration of masculinity, were stigmatized and ostracized” (Hodgson 1999: 122). Hodgson illustrates how the romantic imaginary Maasai existent more in the British eye than reality actually developed into the Maasai’s own standards of a physical and cultural ideal. In the early 20th century, they adapted themselves to meet the colonizer’s gaze. Following independence in the 1960s, and the subsequent development of Maasai-centered tourism, they now meet the tourists’ gaze.

Today’s tourist accounts seem almost humourously close to Thomson’s excited description. Edward Bruner (1994, 2001) details the language and imagery surrounding Maasai tourism; Africa is described like a lost continent, with the Maasai as the quintessential tribe. They are exotic and noble, brave warriors who reign over an area of the world that can be only be described like Eden. At the same time, evaluated on the standards of modernity, the Maasai are backwards, savage and uneducated. Part of the reason this image has remained so persistent can be found in an examination of the ethnic fault lines that opened in Kenya during the Mau Mau rebellion in the 1950s and 60s, leading to Kenyan independence in 1963. Much of the initial protest against colonial rule

and the disenfranchising of the native population in Kenya came from the Kikuyu tribe north of Nairobi. The British, afraid of political discontent spreading to a national level, banned political parties from functioning beyond immediate locales. Political parties thus formed locally, often drawing lines between specific ethnic groups. Years after independence this fragmentation held in place to create not just a divided political system, but a divided nation, in which loyalty to one's tribe (and often, by extension, political party) took precedence over loyalty to the country. Political dissatisfaction and prejudice became closely intertwined with tribal prejudice. Under this system, the Maasai, steadfast on maintaining a pastoral lifestyle, have been characterized by other Kenyans as uneducated, backward and hopeless. In the national media, Kenyans from most ethnic groups are described according to their profession or living location, whereas Maasai are always described as Maasai. Cartoons, both in the political section of newspapers and in children's television shows, portray Maasai as hopeless and uneducated (Hodgson 1999: 134). As a result, efforts to modernize the Maasai have not been undertaken in a particularly enthusiastic manner. Much of Kenya has been content to let the tribe become the de facto human mascot of the tourism industry. Tanzania, slower to develop modern industry and infrastructure than Kenya, has looked to its northern neighbor as a model for its tourism industry and has placed the Maasai in the same "savage slot." As a result, the prejudice experienced by the Maasai has remained largely the same over time in both countries.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the establishment of Kenya's (and to a lesser extent Tanzania's) national park system (Figures 3-4) has displaced large numbers of Maasai from their traditional land. Beginning with the British establishment of

reserves throughout the first half of the 20th century and leading to the creation of the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) in 1990, in most cases in traditionally Maasai territory, Maasai no longer retain access to traditional grazing areas and watering holes. The colonial government's creation of national parks on Maasai land may be partly intentional as a cultural draw in order to attract tourists, but on the other hand, the Maasai have historically inhabited vast areas of land, and the creation of such large reserves necessarily occupied a large share of Maasai territory. Barred access to watering and grazing areas, some Maasai have chosen to adopt tourism as a supplementary or sole means of livelihood. Many Maasai still practice pastoralism, but supplementary income has come from the cultural manyatta industry that has sprung up around Kenya's national parks. Cultural manyattas exist throughout the country on the peripheries of national parks, functioning like oxpeckers on the rhino's back, or, depending on one's level of optimism, like scavengers circling carrion claimed by the stronger predator.

A History of Manyattas

Cultural manyattas first appeared on the tourism scene in the 1970s and 80s on the outskirts of Amboseli National Park. During the mid-20th century the area surrounding Amboseli witnessed the creation of the Group Ranch system, the demarcation of large plots of land operated by a number of Maasai families. The goal of these ranches was to pool enough money to develop a water infrastructure and to increase pastoral efficiency by keeping cattle stocks to a sustainable level agreed upon by the group. Cultural manyattas have been organized on this same group structure. Members of the cultural manyatta elect the management committee, composed of a chairman, secretary and treasurer, together with a number of committee members. Together, the group oversees

the Maasai cultural manyatta and organizes the fee that must be paid to become a member of the group. The idea is sound in its fundamentals, but corruption has plagued the industry since its conception. The manyattas rarely obtain enough money to advertise beyond small leaflets distributed at local hotels, and are further cheated out of income due to under-the-table deals organized between manyatta leaders and tour operators. Manyatta chairmen frequently bribe tour drivers to attend their specific manyatta and as a result money rarely filters equally to all members of the manyatta members. This has occasioned a mushrooming of cultural manyattas organized by persons dissatisfied with manyatta leadership. These Maasai break off to form their own manyattas, often with little planning or development (Akama 2002, Ritsma and Ongaro 2002).

Manyattas have further impacted Maasai life in two notable ways. The first is that though the idea was originally conceived as a place of temporary employment, where Maasai might live and perform for short periods of time, many Maasai have chosen to create a permanent place of residence at the manyattas. Thus the traditional nomadic and pastoral lifestyle has in some cases been abandoned in favor of tourism profits and a more sedentary lifestyle. Second, adhering to the tourist gaze, the many *moran* (also called *muran* and *mooran*), Maasai in the warrior age set, have chosen to remain at the manyatta for tourists during the period of their lives in which Maasai men traditionally set out to live on their own. *Moran*, with their ochre died hair and lithe bodies, are the image that tourists come to see. Many *moran* still live alone during some parts of the year, but this is increasingly losing favor to going to school and working at the manyatta (Ritsma and Ongaro 2002, Akama 2002).

The Kenya Wildlife Service has encouraged the growth of these manyattas under a policy designed to “promote partnership and community participation in wildlife conservation and tourism by the Maasai community” (Ritsma and Ongaro 2002: 13). The KWS hopes that the income received by the Maasai will be an incentive to animal conservation, as local Maasai have entered Amboseli to slaughter animals at several times throughout the park’s history. Part of the tensions can be traced to competing subsistence methods. While a majority of Kenyans (and nearly all educated Kenyans working within the KWS and national park service) depend on agriculture for food, Maasai have traditionally lived almost exclusively on milk and blood from cattle. Under this system, Maasai had little incentive to live at peace with animals or tourists; the more animals and people in the park, the less access Maasai had to grazing, and by extension, to food. Several of the Maasai I lived with near Amboseli explained that in recent decades, corresponding roughly with the rise in tourism (and partly as a result of that rise), Maasai are entering into an agricultural economy by supplementing their diets with purchased foodstuffs. The KWS, by offering monetary incentives to the Maasai, hopes the group will now see further killing as an undesirable opportunity cost of losing both revenue and tourists.

The cultural manyattas of Amboseli have spread throughout East Africa, existing now around many national parks, even where Maasai have not traditionally lived. Increasingly, the “shows” once isolated to these traditionally modeled villages are being performed throughout tourist hotels in Nairobi and along the Swahili coast. While on my independent study during the last month of my stay, I often found myself walking along the Indian Ocean with a trio of *moran* who performed in the town at night. In addition,

Maasai curios are found prominently throughout shops in Nairobi and along the roads most frequented by tourists. Scarcely any drive that leads to some area of tourist attraction is without at least one shop, and most, as I gathered from my own observation, are actually non-Maasai run. This is one of the more interesting developments in the Maasai tourism industry, whereby other ethnic groups have adopted Maasai markers (blankets, spears, etc.) in order to turn a profit.

Case Studies

The Maasai Centre for Field Studies

Although the cultural manyattas are the most visible sites on the continuum of Maasai cultural tourism, another eco-tourism aligned outfit has developed to the northwest of Amboseli National Park on the Kuku Group Ranch. Originally operated by the local Maasai community, the Maasai Centre for Field Studies has since formed a partnership with the University of Central Lancashire (UCL) in England. Little information is available on the Centre's website about how the organization is run, and my attempts to get in contact with parties on both the Kenyan and British side have repeatedly failed. From anecdotal conversation during my stay at the Centre, the University of Central Lancashire, having used the Centre as a base for its programs in the past, bought a partial stake in ownership when it looked as if the Centre would go under.

The Centre predominantly markets itself as an educational organization. Its web advertises programs for three groups: "Fieldtrips for Schools, Colleges and Universities," "Guided educational tours for the public" and "Independent travelers." The fieldtrips for universities are described as being highly customizable, able to be organized around an

itinerary to fit groups studying geology, archaeology, culture and development. Lectures at the Centre are delivered by their “resident team of Instructors – all from the neighbouring Maasai community, and guest lectures by experts in relevant fields.” For the public the Centre splits its instruction into three courses: “Maasai Culture and Change,” “Wildlife Conservation in Kenya” and “The Anthropology of Kenya.” All of these, however, are “accompanied by academic staff from the University of Central Lancashire...Each tour is for seven days and comprises a blend of field visits and lectures delivered at the Maasai Centre” (Maasai Centre for Field Studies).

The important distinction between public educational groups and university tours is that local Maasai orchestrate the latter (presumably in conjunction with the university’s advisers and professors), while the UCL team lectures for the public during the educational tours for the tourists. St. Lawrence University, as one of those university tours, used the Maasai Centre for the pastoral component of their program. Our stay with the Maasai was organized to illustrate the three subsistence methods we would encounter while in East Africa: agriculture among the Kipsigis, hunting and gathering with the Hadzabe, and pastoralism among the Maasai. St. Lawrence summarizes the pastoral program on its website:

This component focuses on the socio-economic, and environmental factors responsible for changing the Maasai culture and pastoral lifestyle from pure nomadic pastoralism to semi-sedentary, mixed agro-pastoralism in the Amboseli region on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro. Students learn about and examine the competition for irrigated land, pasture and water between various groups -- between the pastoral and agro-pastoral Maasai, between the resident Maasai and non-Maasai farmers and between livestock and wildlife. Students learn how the local Maasai manage their own wildlife sanctuaries, tourist lodges, campsites and, cultural tourism ventures. Students get a rare opportunity to participate in a two-day home stay with a traditional Maasai family. This component is hosted by the

Maasai Center for Field Studies, a non-profit making organization owned and managed by the Maasai community of Kuku Group Ranch. (Center for International and Intercultural Studies)

The non-profit making descriptor is important as it marks the Centre predominantly as an educational site. Still, the Centre employs a number of local Maasai who earn wages, and it cannot be assumed that the organization is oriented entirely towards education; in many ways it is the center of activity and a significant site of commerce on Kuku Group Ranch, where tourists would not otherwise travel. The Centre represents an extension of eco-tourist centered travel: edu-tourism. To the eco-tourist blatant cultural displays might be unacceptable, but a form of tourism that is partly educational aligns more closely with their community and environmentally conscious aims.

We stayed at the Centre for ten days. The first two days we traveled on two game drives within the national park and one in the Kimana Wildlife Sanctuary (similar to a group ranch). During this time we also visited one of the aforementioned cultural manyattas. One afternoon during the game drives was spent at the Ol Tokai Lodge, a luxury hotel with a full buffet and bar. The students referred to these affectionately as our “tourist” days; they marked the times we could let loose, behave, in some cases, with (what I saw as) cultural insensitivity, and generally act in the roles in which we were most comfortable – American tourists. This role-playing will be furthered discussed in Chapter 4.

For a full day we organized into small groups to go out into the local community, where a small number of Maasai and non-Maasai have taken up small-scale agriculture. These farmers, many from the local area but several from several hundred miles away (and from other ethnic groups), have irrigated plots of land adjacent to a nearby stream.

Each farmer, Maasai or non-Maasai, pays a small fee to the group ranch for the use of the land. Here we conducted interviews facilitated by a translator from the community on farmers' reasons for adopting agriculture in this area, a semi-arid rangeland and traditional pastoral expanse. We also had the opportunity to interview members of the local community whom the Centre divided into groups: pastoral Maasai men, agricultural Maasai men, "traditional" women, "educated" women, and Maasai elders. These designations were assigned by our academic director and the Maasai Centre.

"Traditional" women were those Maasai women who had not been educated in schools and who helped to run more traditional households; they wore blankets and large amounts of homemade jewelry. The "educated" women were presented as the traditional women's opposite; educated (often to university level), attired in Western dress, and English speaking (there was no translator present.) Maasai Elders were men who held significant roles in the community, often members of the same committee that oversaw Kuku Group Ranch.

One morning was spent walking to the local school with Maasai children and attending their morning ceremonies. Guest lectures were given by educators in the local community on conservation, ecology, and Maasai culture. The final days of the trip were occupied with a two-day, one-night home stay with a Maasai family, in pairs or groups of three. St. Lawrence had in the past extended the home stay to two nights and three days, but received complaints from students about bed bugs, dehydration, etc. The home stays exist on a continuum between "traditional" and "modern." Some students lived in families with outhouses, while my bathroom was on any of the thousands of acres surrounding the area outside the house. Some hosts were employees of the Maasai Centre

who spoke fluent English, while others were Maasai who had learned enough to communicate but often had difficulties in translating culture. All transport during this time was provided by Westminster Safari Company, an outfit based in Nairobi.

That students had complained in the past about the Maasai home stay is not insignificant. Of all the trips we undertook, students approached this trip with the most trepidation. Being outside of the St. Lawrence social network, I had heard little about previous students' experiences. I went into the trip not knowing what to expect, while some horror stories kept others preoccupied with the misery that might be the overnight stay. Perhaps this violent trepidation came partly from the knowledge that we were indeed entering a true "back room," a place of too radical an otherness to suit the tastes of every student. No markers existed where we were traveling; there were no park rangers, public information signs, or regulations of any sort. Houses we stayed at might have been separated by an hour's drive and not all families owned a cell phone. In short, students expected a truly "real" experience, at least one that we considered to be non-fabricated.

I'd like to highlight another significant factor in the way students approached our ten days outside Amboseli. The educational trips we undertook were components of the main course for the semester: Environment and Development in East Africa. This course is cross-listed by St. Lawrence as African Studies, Anthropology and Environmental Studies, meaning students could earn credit in one of the three listings. Though all activities were the same regardless of which department one chose to earn credit in, I'd imagine that the way in which students approached the experience was heavily affected by their course of study. While I asked more cultural questions, many students seemed more interested in the environmental or ecological components.

To describe the Maasai Centre solely as an educational hub is difficult, in large part due to the fact that during our stay there students occupied several different roles in addition to the subjects we chose to study. Cheong and Miller note that “at the individual level, power relationships in the behavior of tourists among others are often constrained and managed” (2000: 372). Taking a more Foucauldian view, each of the situations we found ourselves in was embedded with very specific power arrangements. These varied according to the activity in which we were engaged, whether indulging in “tourist time” at the hotel pool, listening to a lecture given by a local professor, or in our interviews, which were largely facilitated and translated by Maasai Centre guides. In short, the lines between education and tourism were blurred in many of the activities we engaged in at the Centre. In the same vein, even the educational tours provided by UCL cater primarily to eco-tourists. Perhaps, then, the centre can be best described as a place not for field studies (as the study component seems to be present only for the few study abroad groups) but for edu-tourism, with an emphasis on the equal distribution of both components.

What I do find significant about the Centre is its lack of MacCannell’s so-called “front and back rooms.” Our program director was quick to point out the contrived nature of the cultural manyatta visit, and our hosts were clear on the fact that some of the local lecturers would lie to us (as was the case in a talk held at the Kimana Wildlife Sanctuary, in which the warden had for years been pocketing conservation money). The Maasai who came to the center to be interviewed were provided with free lunches but no monetary compensation, and we were encouraged to challenge them on issues of tourism and the exploitation of Maasai culture in order to better understand the community perception of

such issues. Furthermore, the actual organization of the Centre meant we were in constant contact with the community, comprised of the multitude of peoples living in the immediate area, the multitude of peoples existing on a continuum presented to us in interviews, from educated to non-educated, “traditional” and “modern”, pastoral and agriculture. Employees were welcome to the same recreation areas as students, employees invited students into the kitchen where many of them worked, and the students and Maasai even shared showers.

These same employees, in addition to Maasai who were close contacts of the center director, helped to host the home stay component. Unlike the cultural manyattas, the reality of Maasai life as lived by the Maasai around Amboseli was shown in the open. My host father wore a denim jacket and carried a cane made from PVC piping – this he used to direct his cattle, rather than a more traditional thatch. His brother, who lived in the same manyatta, had dropped out of school, spoke no English and wore traditional Maasai dress. Both had cell phones. The families were compensated for this stay.

Though a different experience from a cultural manyatta, it is still difficult to say whether or not the Maasai were adhering to some form of the tourist gaze. Perhaps they had adjusted their presentation to suit the gaze that we brought with us as education tourists looking for educated and more “modern” Maasai and not the “traditional” *moran*. I’d heard rumors that some families would hide their cell phones in order to appear all the more traditional to students. (My own host father talked as much as on his cell phone as he did to me, which, considering I’d heard his life story in the first hour, was a significant amount). He seemed proud of his “modernization” (his words) – wearing full denim, wielding a cane, and explaining forcefully that not all Maasai want to be seen like the

moran, with red-ochred hair and spears in their hands. Still, the program provided us with beads to bring to our families in order that we might make traditional jewelry. My family thought it a curious gesture given that they bought their own jewelry. Still, these home stays lasted less than 48 hours, and it seems impossible to say how accurate they were in demonstrating the daily life of each family without extensive observation while students aren't there. For the most part, though I doubt many of the students would be eager to repeat the home stay (bed bugs do exist, and they bite), not one student had anything near a terrible experience. If anything, the trepidation they arrived with was extinguished to a great degree, and all the students praised the Maasai cooking (though several claimed lactose intolerance as a means to avoid drinking warm, whole milk). Perhaps what was most significant about the home stay (and this relates back to the physical difficulties that seemed to be the main fear) was that the Maasai did not treat us as tourists. The Kipsigis were afraid that, as Americans, we were unaccustomed to work, heat, and Kenya in general. As a result we spent a fair amount of time sitting, watching, and smiling politely. The Maasai, in contrast, put us to work. I covered at least ten miles with my host father and our cows, waving our thatches behind the stray grazers and clumsy walkers. We enjoyed meaningful conversations (through translations) with the people we encountered, instead of the more formal introductions given to us by the Kipsigis. In this way, though both home stays represent a "back room," the Maasai home stay *felt* more "authentic" because it did not *seem* contrived.

Cultural Manyattas, Ed Bruner, Mayers Ranch

The St. Lawrence-led visit to the cultural manyattas began with the disclaimer spoken by our program director that what we were about to see was in no way authentic

and by no means should we consider it representative of current Maasai life. (The overall impression given was that it was a site to be pitied, a view which I do not endorse for reasons to be demonstrated later in the chapter). The manyatta visit was designed to provide a contrast to the interviews we'd conducted with the Maasai community, acting like a conversation with this final group of the community, "the tourist focused Maasai" if you will. As soon as we stepped out of the safari vehicles, the Maasai led the group to form a line and we began to chant, pushing our chests in and out in the manner they demonstrated. Both men and women danced in a line, students mixed in behind the Maasai. After completing one circuit of the dancing area, the Maasai stopped and formed a semicircle, where we were encouraged to jump as high as possible. The men demonstrated, the women watched in bemusement from the side. The Maasai would lend us their *rungus* (a traditional hunting weapon) or canes and we students would (after verifying everyone else was doing it too) jump as high as we could, stepping back into the line to watch others take their turns. The dance was effective. Despite the "inauthenticity" warning, everyone seemed to enjoy the moment, smiling and snapping photos, a great illustration of the post-touristic complicity in a staged performance. In short, it was really fun.

After a brief visit to their huts where they showed us where they cooked, as well as a fire making demonstration, both participants and actors divided into one group of men and one group of women, and each sex had time to interview each other, again with the aid of a translator from the Centre. The conversation among the males began seriously, many students asking prodding questions regarding whether or not these men were really *moran*, how much they received from tourism, if they appreciated tourists

visiting Amboseli. Yes, not enough, double yes were the answers. But slowly the conversation evolved into the typical male banter into which both groups seemed to relax. Did they share wives? Had they killed lions? What are Maasai women like? The questions weren't one sided; the Maasai seemed to have prepared just as many to ask us. Are you all circumcised? (They laughed wildly when we all were not). What are American girls like? What are the animals like at home? The conversational level reached a familiarity we had, up to that point, avoided among other Maasai or other ethnic groups we'd encountered. It seemed that because we were told of the contrived nature of the visit, we felt free to act without the same sort of deference and politeness we showed to, for example, the Maasai elders or "traditional" women. This is not to say that we were disrespectful, but that we felt most free to talk like American students among the *moran*; they were, after all, our own age and shared many similar interests (e.g. British football, Tupac, and girls).

The camaraderie enjoyed during the conversations proved short-lived once we reached the handicraft portion of the visit. The women had set up their blankets with all types of curios, and men and women alike hounded us to purchase something. The curios were the same as we had seen throughout the country, but many students felt that, as potential customers, we were not rewarded with the same respect as students that we received in Nairobi markets. Typically a few words of Swahili were enough to bring down tenfold the exorbitant price of some seller there. The Maasai, however, spoke only English to us, passing off sharpened cattle bones as lion's teeth ("simba teeth") or hawking spears which had "killed leopards" and even (a Maasai man ardently insisted) a tiger.

Although our program directors tended to deride our visit to the cultural manyatta due to the “exploitation” of Maasai culture, the breaking down of barriers witnessed at this exchange seems a far cry from the enacted colonialism and rigidity of cultural barriers present at the Mayers Ranch outside Nairobi. Mayers opened in 1968 and flourished until the later 1980s. Pressures from the government forced Mayers to shut down as many Kenyans found the performance offensive. Although the Mayers Ranch is now closed, Edward Bruner and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s exposition of the site remains a useful tool in understanding Maasai tourism, as similar ventures still operate throughout East Africa today.

Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett describe Mayers Ranch as a site which “enacts a colonial drama of the savage/pastoral Maasai and the genteel British, playing upon the explicit contrast between the wild and the civilized so prevalent in colonial discourse and sustained in East African tourism” (1994: 435). The performance, juxtaposed next to the Mayers’ colonial house, is built upon binaries: culture/nature, Mayers/Maasai, White/Black, and Grass/Earth. The result is a tourist ideal: the authentic experience of Maasai ritual, the performance of the idealized noble savage, just a few feet from the comfort and familiarity of a well-tended English garden. Mayers Ranch encompasses the other and the familiar in one package, the whole of *Out of Africa* on just a few acres.

Jane Mayers, head of the operation, sees herself as preserving Maasai culture. As for the Maasai, Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett note: “with the income provided by their work at Mayers they are able to increase their herds and maintain their culture. As far as we have been able to determine, the ability to increase their herds and maintain

their culture is absolutely essential to the Maasai—it is the most important thing to them and they made that clear to us when we interviewed them” (1994: 465). Yet, the Maasai do not mind hiding their socks or radios as the tourists arrive. The authors explain that the Maasai are able to distinguish between “tourist time” and “life time.” Furthermore, they explain that the Maasai have always placed themselves within a cross-cultural network in order to obtain metalwork, honey, cloth and other items through trade. The Mayers ranch might be read as extension of this traditional practice.

The authors’ distinction between “tourist time” and “life time” is troublesome in that it seems to assign too much of a distinction between the two, tourist time apparently existing wholly separate from life. Just as we do not distinguish between our everyday lived experience and time at work, the Maasai’s production should not be trivialized based on its “inauthenticity” and therefore life-separateness. In one sense, provided with consent, there is little wrong with putting culture on display. (This applies to the ideal performance situation in which Maasai have decided on this economic route and have not been exploited in any manner. Mayers Ranch, arguably, does not fit this model, although there is little data in the article from the Maasai on which to base this conclusion).

Tourism is only another means of maintaining elements of a subsistence economy.

Parallels exist in the United States in the colonial villages in which dress, language and labor are isolated in the past, displayed for tourists to see. The troubling component of the Mayers Ranch is that it affords the Maasai little autonomy over their cultural production. Not only do the Mayers rigidly control the production of the performance, but they also limit the information the tourist receives on the Maasai as an ethnic group. Mayers’ performances glorify the *moran* period, describing circumcision and the warrior role, but

leaving out details of the warrior set today: the fact that many *moran* go to school, search for lost cattle, and carry messages, among other less glorious tasks (1994: 446). The young men near Amboseli played up the *moran* stage as well. All of them, they told us, had killed lions, a claim discredited by the rangers at the KWS as impossible. They mentioned attending school but claimed they were still “true *moran*,” versed in the *moran* culture, even though the director of the Maasai Centre pointed out that many of them go to school and work the manyatta during holidays.

The difference, then, between the Mayers performance and the cultural manyatta of my own visit is subtly nuanced. The manyatta operates as a fabrication for the tourist, a willful exposition of strategic essentialism, but Mayers, in its essentials, is “Africanism,” if you will. Given that Mayers Ranch was shut down on charges of exploitation and neo-colonial (interestingly by a group of Black Americans) it might seem that the manyattas might be criticized on the same level. And in many ways, they are, but only by native Kenyans (Akama 2002, Ritsma and Ongaro 2002). It seems interesting that it took Westerners to charge exploitation on the part of the British colonialists and Kenyans to charge self-exploitation on the part of the Maasai). The question then of who speaks for whom becomes tricky, particularly more so when one takes into account the culturally sensitive ventures undertaken by some eco-tourism companies, which I’ll elaborate upon in the following section.

The Maasai and Ecotourism

As previously described, the Maasai are cemented in the Western consciousness as part of the African landscape, a sight to see on safari as wild as the elephants of Amboseli, the wildebeest of Maasai Mara, or the lions of the Serengeti. It is ironic, then,

that the people who once lived more or less in harmony with the wildlife now see it as the greatest threat to their livelihoods. Under the national park system, animals have been given priority to water sources and grazing areas over the Maasai and their cattle. Living in a pastoral economy puts the Maasai in a paradox regarding a cash-based economy, money being the main incentive the government has provided the Maasai in order to promote the conservation of wildlife. Though cash may buy them more cattle, it does not grant access to water or land, which provides little incentive in turn to promote conservation. As a response to the Maasai's frustration at being restricted to traditional grazing areas, young *moran* have sometimes killed elephants, lions and other animals within the park as protest. This, as previously stated, was one of the factors that led to the creation of the Group Ranch system, but this is still a rare occurrence, and the Maasai are noticing other options are available. Several eco-tourism outfits, by partnering directly with the Maasai, hope to ameliorate the win-lose complications of raising cattle while restricted to grazing areas in a cash economy.

These outfits have not come without their detractors, or their consequences. While the Maasai Centre represents one end of the eco-tourism spectrum, it is unlikely to receive tourists looking more for a holiday than educational tour. It functions primarily as a center for studies, not a place of relaxation or luxury, and as such is likely only to attract universities and small numbers of travelers. Other organizations are appearing that cater more toward the independent tourist or family holiday. Oliver's Camp, a privately owned site on the edge of Tarangire National Park in Tanzania with a name fit for the most jolly of British tourists, has organized a markedly egalitarian partnership with the local Maasai community. Oliver's worked closely with Dorobo Safaris, the organizer of

the St. Lawrence Hadzabe visit, in developing the camp. After an extensive series of negotiations with the local Maasai community, the camp secured a 33-year lease on a 5,000-acre core area and 80,000-acre activity area. The core is used for walking safaris and there it is agreed the Maasai will not graze, cattle or farm. But there are exceptions. In times of real need villagers have access to the 5,000 acres of core land, in addition to their permanent water and grazing rights throughout the activity area. This allows for a symbiotic relationship between tourism and the Maasai community. The partnership has allowed the Maasai security over their land, while the group has only to forego a small parcel of core area for tourists. In addition the core center provides monetary benefit. The community is paid \$12 per night for each overseas tourist and \$6 for tourists from Tanzania (Honey 1999a: 249). This money goes directly to a community fund, overseen by a small committee. In addition, Oliver's employs four Maasai in a staff of sixteen workers, a further economic benefit of the camp.

Dorobo itself has several agreements with Maasai communities around the Ngorongoro crater, also in Northern Tanzania, that grant exclusivity to Dorobo to operate tours on their land. "Dorobo argues that exclusivity, 'while controversial, is a critical project component from a marketing perspective,' since prospective tourists are seeking 'an exclusive wilderness experience with an option of walking.' In making payments to the villages, Dorobo says it has 'attempted to walk the fine line between ensuring suitable use of funds [and] dictating use'" (Honey 1999a: 251).

The Kenya Wildlife Service and Tanzania National Parks Service both provide financial incentives for the Maasai to help in conservation efforts, but the agreements rarely function as hoped, and arguably have never worked as well as Oliver's or

Dorobo's partnerships. The difference between eco-tourism outfits and national parks is one of exclusion – in the parks Maasai are granted no access to land. Instead, it is hoped that the partnership will thrive based on the incentive of small stipends. “This ‘stakeholders’ theory—that people will protect what they receive value from—has dovetailed with economic development theories holding that the road out of poverty must begin at, not simply trickle down to, the local community level” (Honey 1999a: 12).

Oliver's and Dorobo have helped to build an infrastructure closer to ground level, but one must still not lose sight of the fact that these are fundamentally foreign owned operations operating on a smaller scale, in better communication and cooperation with local communities, but operating off of their profit from the land. Some have made the argument (Honey 1999a, Rutten 2004, Uddhammar 2006) that these small operations are the best option for the Maasai and other groups in preserving traditional land, that entering into the tourist economy is the only way to exist in today's increasingly global economic picture. Even the Maasai Centre, once entirely Maasai run, was forced into partnership with the University of Central Lancashire in order to stay afloat. While of course many of these partnerships provide very real benefits for Maasai communities, few if any are entirely Maasai founded or most importantly, operated. While philanthropic in many senses, these are still for-profit enterprises. This has led some to criticize such ventures as “eco-colonialism” (Crowe and Shryer 1995). Douglas Crowe and Jeff Shryer have cautioned against eco-tourism as a fix-all, citing the fact that many eco-tourism advocates have promoted their personal concept of Africa in tourism ventures, one which is separated from the socioeconomic realities of the region. The partnership (which most often means local Maasai are partners in the deal but not co-

creators of it) seems to imply that “Third World people do not possess the proper conservation ethic nor are they able to duplicate First World managerial efficiency” (1995: 26). This may be true in many cases, but not all. Regardless, it seems likely to only be a phase in a transition to a more stable tourist economy in East Africa. I would hypothesize that as the eco-tourism industry develops both within Kenya and Tanzania and worldwide, local peoples will begin to capitalize much more on their resources and, in the future, require no partnerships at all. Still, it seems that the Maasai Centre’s forced partnership with UCL indicates that the realities of maintaining native-run operations remain difficult today (this even as Kenya’s educational systems has begun to focus more on tourism as an industry). Important to note is what the UCL provides is expertise from *English* lecturers and *Western* study abroad groups. Even eco-tourists looking for true education seem to desire it from the mouths of native English speakers. And it must be noted that what the UCL also brought in large numbers were students groups, who had not before visited the Centre in large numbers. Is educational tourism enough to sustain any organization, or is it only the beach and performance oriented ventures that may succeed?

Discussion

The difficulty in discussing tourism among the Maasai is that the spectrum of visit types confound any one model or theory. Groups living along the border of the Maasai Mara may draw in far more financial benefits than smaller operations due to the near constant flow of tourists to the Reserve, yet corruption and politics in the system mean few see an equal share of the revenue. Smaller operations like the Field Centre and Oliver’s Camp allow more even distribution, if at a smaller level. Along the same lines,

tourists looking for “authenticity” may see Amboseli or the Mara as a beacon of exoticism and adventure, while the Maasai Field Centre educates tourists on the present circumstances of Maasai life. In many ways the idea of authenticity here is paradoxical. The peripheries of national parks are the sites for the construction of the “authentic” and “traditional”, where few receive fair benefit from tourism, while in more isolated areas the tourist will find the “modern” and well compensated – but not clothed in blankets and beads.

Thus an analysis of each case study proves difficult to undertake due to the fact that most people and organizations working with the Maasai look to develop one of two disparate poles, the preservation of the “authentic” and “traditional” on the one hand and the “modernization” of the Maasai (including adoption of agriculture and technology) on the other. Importantly, both poles claim their own authenticity. What remains salient are the ways in which both poles use this designation to further their own goals.

Grünewald argues that among the Pataxo of Brazil, being “a *tourist Indian* and selling oneself in the arena does not constitute [a] lack of authenticity” (2002: 1018). I tend to disagree with Grünewald’s idea that tourism might lead to cultural preservation, as it implies “a culture” present to be preserved. Though he goes on to note the importance of asking in whose eyes “authenticity” in is seen, he commits the same mistake as Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in demarcating “tourist time” and “life time,” a separation that in denying authenticity to one aspect of daily life assigns it to the other, rather than seeing both as a complex but present reality. A traditional dance adapted to tourists is not preserving its original meaning, as the significance of the dance changes as a function of its context. Instead, it allows the Pataxo a certain degree of

autonomy. Elizabeth Garland and Robert Gordon note the same dynamic among the Bushmen of South Africa: “As indigenous peoples, bushmen cannot be conceptualized simply as objects for tourist consumptions; as modernizing subjects, they must also be seen as producers, agents in the production and marketing of tourist artifacts and experiences” (Garland and Gordon 2010: 256). As illustrated, the ever-evolving landscape of cultural tourism now incorporates the tourist object into the power dynamics as indigenous peoples become ever more conscious of their own marketability. With this in mind, I will pay close attention to just how meaning is negotiated between tourist, guide and object.

Several dynamics play in equal strength at the Maasai Centre for Field Studies. For purpose of ease I will examine only my own study abroad group, though UCL’s guided educational tours would undoubtedly be another interesting area of study to explore. The itinerary at the Maasai Centre was a collaborative effort between our academic director at the St. Lawrence Kenya Studies Program, Abdelwahab Sinnary, and the director of the Centre, a Maasai man we called Jackson.

Translators from the Maasai Centre facilitated all conversations between students and the local community. Often these were conducted in Ol Maa, the Maasai tongue, and less frequently in Kiswahili, as was sometimes the case with non-Maasai farmers in the area. None of us being fluent or even proficient in Swahili, it is difficult to say exactly how literally certain aspects were described. In this way, our guides, as Cheong and Miller’s intermediaries, had the ability to exert a fair amount of influence over our perceptions, though to what degree is impossible for me to say. Frequently a number of

cultural questions from the group followed the interviews, so our guides functioned as translators not just of language but also of culture. As Noel Salazar explains this interplay of discourse:

[T]he tourism-industrial complex, a highly decentralized apparatus of power, spreads its own stories, practices, and worldviews. Tourism tales are powerful in the sense that they turn places and peoples into easily consumable attractions, providing simplified and historically fixed versions of local heritage. The more global tourism grows, the more its selective representations of life become the codified and authorized versions of local culture and knowledge (2006: 836).

In a sense, Salazar is describing the linguistic equivalent of the tourist gaze. Translation at the hands of tourist guides will often affix to standard answers and scripted and responses. Tour guides must master global discourses in order to make their language understood. Although Salazar notes that tourist discourse is in many cases scripted (as is the case during training at tourist colleges and private companies), he also allows for the negotiation - sometimes unconscious and often unintentional - of certain meanings in tourist discourse. What we as students heard was not just the voice of the farmer, “traditional pastoralist” or Maasai elder, but their words partially filtered through the eyes of the guide.

Salazar’s fieldwork comes from his own study at a private tour company, a starkly different context than a community run edu-tourism center. The guides he observed had an economic and personal interest in affixing the tourist gaze, reproducing global discourses familiar to the packaged tourist. Indeed, guides “voluntarily participate in the game of ‘staging authenticity’”. It is in their own interest for example, not to inform tourists about the fact that most of the Maasai *bomas* visited during safari tours were especially created for tourism” (Salazar 2006: 845). Although the Maasai Centre is

similar to private companies in its goal of increasing tourist revenue, its motivation is different. It is in the Centre's interest to trade in a different sort of discourse that more closely adheres with the ideas of liberal development. Like the "educated women" we spoke with, part of the guides' discursive goal lies in representing the modernity of our subjects. If the cultural manyatta we visited had been previously emphasized by our directors as being "inauthentic" in its representation of "authenticity," the conversations we had with university educated Maasai and entrepreneurial farmers were meant to be shown as the manyatta dancer's cultural opposite. Guides simply adhered in their discourse to what students expected to see.

I do not believe that either the study abroad administrators or the guides necessarily see the issues in black and white terms; however in a course of study designed to demonstrate the continuum of modes of life among the Maasai, two poles must be present in order to understand that which lies in the middle (a perfect iteration of MacCannell's vision of understanding the world through the drawing of lines and division between modern and non-modern). The organization of the program is based on binaries: pastoral/agricultural, rural/urban, and most importantly, traditional/modern. In some ways, our course of study at Maasai Centre exists as a strange parallel to Mayers Ranch, for while a continuum in each subject of study was never denied, guides often painted a picture in binaries for simplicity's sake: farming/herding, English/Ol Maa, "inauthentic authenticity"/"authentic authenticity".

I'll return to the brief Maasai home stay at the end of the trip as a way to explore how the realities of the edu-tourism encounter can break this binary vision. A large number of the Maasai we stayed with operated small-scale agricultural plots, or at least

brought us to visit friends or relatives who practiced an amalgam of pastoralism and farming. The issue of tourism, however, remained stagnant. The Maasai made us feel as if we were different – students, not tourists. Most particularly on our home stay, we were made to feel as if we were apart from the sun-burned Brits we often encountered on the park. My host father retrieved for us the branches of a specific plant that Maasai use in herding cattle; every Maasai we passed in the area would stop and, noticing the stick, give us a long look, then laugh. My host father would laugh in response, then translate what they were saying, typically something along the lines of, “they see that you are real Maasai,” pointing at the stick. This stick operated as a marker of Maasai identity within the Maasai community, a marker not of the front but the back region. Of course, this stick could also have retained an insider symbolism as “the stick we give tourists to make them feel like Maasai,” but the curiosity with which I was regarded (also in part due to the fact that the area in which we stayed is by no means a tourist town), leads me to believe the stick held real significance for the Maasai. My host father did not want me to feel like a tourist or a guest, but as a Maasai myself.

Without question, most students on the program drove away from the Amboseli region with the idea that the cultural manyattas exist as a sad farce, a thing to be pitied in their essentialism. (One of the students who lived with my Maasai host family refused to take pictures at the manyatta, but keeps his herding stick above his bed.) One of the problems inherent in manyattas, and part of the reason many students chose not to indulge in its consumption via photographs, is the presence of corruption and manipulation of power. Most package tours allow their drivers to make money on the side by harboring preference for a specific manyatta. “Drivers-cum-guides have a great

leeway in selecting which manyatta should be visited” (Ritsma and Ongaro 2002: 132) and as such use their leverage to cut side deals with the leaders of the manyattas, taking a portion of the tourist money that is most often given to the driver to pay to the head of the manyatta, instead of directly to the Maasai performers. In this way, the leakage of money leads to the mushrooming of more manyattas due to the movement of Maasai dissatisfied with manyatta leadership. (Ritsma and Ongaro 2002: 134). This is often the first problem cited at cultural manyattas, but just as decried is the strategic essentialism on the part of the Maasai, this “ethno-preneurialism” of selling the self and the culture (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). The difficulty here is that there exists so little data on the Maasai’s opinion – educated or non-educated, pastoral or agricultural, cultural manyatta dwelling or not – of the performances, and their effect on Maasai cultural life. Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett seemed not to see such interviews as in the scope of their project, and Kenyan academics have automatically approached the issue from a negative standpoint, choosing instead to focus on exploitation and unequal wealth distribution. Though undeniably a troubling aspect of Maasai tourism, there need to be more studies that focus on cultural manyattas as a viable way to make a living.

Native observers (Akama 2002, Ritsma and Ongaro 2002) seem most critical of the Maasai tourist destinations on the grounds of their authenticity. “Instead of providing an accurate representation of the Maasai history and culture, tourism has continued to present the colonial images and stereotypes concerning the Maasai as a backward community which provide additional anecdotes to Western tourism looking for exoticism and adventure in the African wilderness” (Akama 2002: 44). Akama continues on to cite that tourism has neither contributed to the socioeconomic development of the Maasai nor

contributed to cross cultural understanding. There are several issues with his analysis. First, Akama does not account for the post-tourist, one content to play the role of tourist watching a dance. Secondly, both his and Ritsma and Ongaro's hiding jeans, cell phones and watches, indicate that in some form, the Maasai have entered into the global economy. To say that tourism has not contributed to the socio-economic development of a group which traditionally used livestock as the only means of monetary exchange does not recognize forms of development beyond infrastructure and material wealth. The structure of their housing has not changed, the Maasai still continue to live in mud and dung huts, but their dress and mode of life are now markedly different due to tourist income. And while Akama and Ritsma and Ongaro may be accurate in their assessment of manyattas contributing to a Westerner's backwards image of the Maasai, it is not so much because of the strategic essentialism on display but because this is the *only* thing the tourist sees. A Maasai visiting the United States would develop the same impression if he or she only visited Portsmouth Colony's colonial show in the summer. In many ways the backwards image is perpetuated as much by tourists' unwillingness to see anything beyond a Maasai show as it is by the Maasai's strategic production.

Finally, it seems difficult to condemn the manyattas without first developing some understanding of the Maasai attitude toward these tourist villages. The expansion of the sights around Amboseli indicates that, at least to some degree, the Maasai have accepted the reality of the manyatta (though I should be quick to point out that other wage-earning options are few and far between). The reality is that by drawing a line between authentic and inauthentic, as Akama and Ritsma and Ongaro have done, one starts the process

which begins a devaluation of a potentially legitimate means of livelihood, equal in its ultimate goal to traditional pastoralism or farming.

Clifford's *Predicament of Culture* proves useful here again. "The concrete activity of representing a culture, subculture, or indeed any coherent domain of collective activity," Clifford writes, "is always strategic and selective" (1988: 231). In this case, however, it is selective and strategic on the part of the Maasai (and not the White tour guide) in that the performance is constructed to fit the tourist's gaze. Whose performance is this, then? In a performance designed by the Maasai for the wants of the tourist, it seems difficult to say which party retains more power. Cultural display cannot be condemned on this point alone. It should be noted that within the vast majority of the art world, save for a small number of innovators throughout time, artists have adhered to the critic's or buyer's gaze. Most modes of production must adhere in some way to the buyer's taste. "To locate 'tribal' peoples in a nonhistorical time and ourselves in a different, historical time," Clifford writes, "is clearly tendentious and no longer credible" (1988: 200). In decrying the essentialism of Maasai performance, writers commit this same mistake by seeming to believe that the Maasai will become what they perform. By decrying the essentialism of the performance we fail to see the great deal of autonomy involved. What if the 'tribal' peoples themselves locate the performance in a nonhistorical time to appease the tourist? Is a reappropriation of the tourist gaze undertaken by the Maasai something to be condemned, as many have? Comaroff and Comaroff, as previously noted, have suggested it is not: The producers of culture are also its consumers, and marketing ethnic identity can refashion identity and create a new collective awareness. In putting themselves on display, people within a culture must

define not only what they are presenting but also what they choose not to present. This refashioning, recharging, recognizing, is an aspect of the cultural display that Bruner does not allow for. “[I]s it too speculative to contemplate that the Maasai will eventually become (rather than just appear as) the pop culture image of themselves? I do not believe in the homogenization of world cultures caused by globalization, for local cultures always actively assert themselves, and I would argue for the long-term integrity of the Maasai. But the issue is raised, how well will the Maasai continue to compartmentalize themselves and separate performance from life?” (Bruner 2001: 897). Here Bruner commits the same error as Akama and Ritsma and Ongaro, presupposing that at the end of compartmentalization (an idea that must be dispelled in itself) the Maasai will suddenly become some cartoon image of themselves. Bruner is lamenting the loss of the same thing the tourist is interested in preserving: authenticity, tradition, and the noble savage. Instead, I would like to present Maasai tourism as a very real enterprise, undertaken, as the Comaroffs note, with a degree of self-awareness. The act of changing out of jeans and slipping into traditional blankets indicates the Maasai’s cognizance of their performance, and further illustrates their ability to balance the act. Maasai tourism should not be decried on the basis of essentializing or compartmentalizing, particularly when (as often is the case) it is done so by choice, but must be seen as it is: a legitimate means of livelihood based on the conscious refashioning of culture as performance.

If I have at this point muddled the picture of study abroad and tourism, it is not unintentionally so. The reality is that to separate the two is still conceptually difficult for me, as it was even more so while in Kenya. Our motivations (and our gaze) changed from

day to day depending on the activity of the trip. Within Amboseli National Park and at the cultural manyattas we felt free to ask naïve questions, to take pictures, to imagine ourselves as the colonialist, or to jump around and make jokes - in short - to act like college students. Yet few people brought cameras to our interviews with the elders. Instead we took diligent notes and acted respectfully, asking questions where appropriate and being generally inquisitive - we became anthropologists. To examine it in another sense, tourism gave us the license to act ourselves, while what we saw as “authentic” (in this case, modern) forced us to act more reserved and respectful – asking which way we should see rather than determining our own gaze.

The difference between these is not surprising, but it’s at the crux of the difference between tourism, eco-tourism and education. Though often evaluated according to different theories and standards, the issue might be said to boil down to one of autonomy: Who is allowed to speak for whom? Where does the money travel? Who controls the tourist gaze? If “authenticity” was the means by which previous anthropologists and academics critiqued the tourist experience, autonomy might now be a better standard in which we might come to some understanding.

Tourism, eco-tourism and study abroad/community education each sell authenticity to the visitor in a bundle wrapped according to the expectation of each individual or group. Analysis should only take into account present-day realities; it cannot depend on comparisons to the past or future state of Maasai culture. We must judge as much on results of the manyattas as on the theory behind them, and to do this we need the ethnographic data that, as of this writing, does not exist. As Foucault notes, power is wedded to knowledge and one shouldn’t be considered without the other

(Cheong and Miller 2000: 374-5). The Maasai are choosing to use this knowledge of the tourist gaze to their own benefit, here illustrating Cheong and Miller's assertion that power is wielded in different ways by tourist subjects; rarely is the subject at the behest of the gaze: "Power defies the binary social structure of 'dominators' on one side and 'dominated' on the other. Instead, the specific and multiple production of relations of power manifests itself in different localized settings with their own rationalities, histories, and mechanisms" (Cheong and Miller 2000: 376). The question is whether or not (despite corruption) manyattas provide the Maasai with autonomous influence on their situation.

While it should not be forgotten that "though engaging in self-commodification may earn [indigenous peoples] certain gains, it also necessitates their continual orientation toward global economic and political systems in which they appear destined to remain third-class citizens" (Garland and Gordon 2010: 263), it must also be remembered that in many cases tourism remains a necessary step to obtaining funds that lead eventually to education and the building of infrastructure. To a people often dependent on handouts and foreign aid, tourism provides an economic boom that may yet aid the economy and "develop" the Maasai (to their choosing) in the way that British programs failed. Still, it seems fair to ask, if that comes at the price of adhering to the tourist gaze, may it be said to be truly autonomous economic gain? As Garland and Gordon describe with the bushmen,

Tourism that promises authenticity only at the meta-level, that does not attempt to conceal the ways in which tourism is changing the lives of people involved in it, offers bushman tourism providers at least a partial chance to decide for themselves how much they want to cater to tourists' desires to consume their cultural Otherness, and how much they want to

assert their more modern identities as indigenous peoples or tourism producers. (Garland and Gordon 2010: 262)

Tourism at cultural manyattas arguably does not adhere to this meta-level, as it does conceal the changing lives of the people involved in it, presenting them instead as static. What may be at issue is the fact that Maasai perform traditional dress and dance, as this seems to be what they might best offer the tourist. It is likely few westerners would decide to go on a cattle-herding trip through the desert, and it may be just as likely these are parts of the culture that the Maasai chose to *hide* from the tourist in a deliberate selection of what is and is not on display (Chambers 2000).

Here is where more isolated tribes have actually gleaned an advantage in cultural tourism. The Hadzabe of Tanzania do not perform culture but subsistence, bringing in tourists to hunt and gather. Their (in some cases) open embrace of tourism acknowledges the existence of a Western world, as does their Western dress and possession of cell phones. Yet by all other standards, they are a “primitive” tribe, living predominantly off of hunting and gathering. This is a perfect example of Garland and Gordon’s meta-level tourism, a tourism that does not hide the tribe’s modernization (in dress or Western contact) because their subsistence method is primitive enough. I will now turn to the discussion of the Hadzabe, and will look at how the Hadzabe have or have not developed some measure of autonomy through tourism in a different political and cultural environment.

Chapter 3

A Life Free of Pus Tourism and Autonomy in the Yaeda Valley

The Hadzabe

National Geographic published a striking photo in its December 2009 issue. Atop a left-leaning bent tree, its branches curled out like fingers, stands a small, barefoot man looking out into the distance. The plants beneath him are scorched and golden, and hills rise far off in the distance through a haze. “The Hadza,” the caption reads. “They grow no food, raise no livestock, and live without rules or calendars. They are living a hunter-gatherer existence that is little changed from 10,000 years ago. What do they know that we’ve forgotten?” (Finkel 2009: 1).

Michael Finkel spent a week among the Hadzabe, much as St. Lawrence’s tour group did during our stay in the Yaeda Valley. He hunted baboons, smoked tobacco, and rolled around in a mud bath. He ate scorched meat, slept beneath the sky, and sucked wild honey off his fingers. In short, he lived as a Hadza hunter-gatherer for a week. “What the Hadza appear to offer—and why they are of great interest to anthropologists--” Finkel writes, “is a glimpse of what life may have been like before the birth of agriculture 10,000 years ago” (4). The article continues in a more or less standard lost-tribe, cultural-relic fashion: the Hadzabe (here I use the more correct plural to refer to the tribe, while employing “Hadza” only to describe an individual), Finkel says, have never known famine, are egalitarian, enjoy leisure, never get sick, and engage frequently in all manner

of sexual activities. They are, by all aspects of the article, a blast to live with. Indeed, Finkel admires them immensely.

There are things I envy about the Hadza—mostly, how free they appear to be. Free from possessions. Free of most social duties. Free from religious strictures. Free of many family responsibilities. Free from schedules, jobs, bosses, bills, traffic, taxes, laws, news, and money. Free from worry. Free to burp and fart without apology, to grab food and smoke and run shirtless through the thorns...But I could never live like the Hadza. Their entire life, it appears to me, is one insanely committed camping trip. (13)

The Hadzabe are “free,” a tribe to be envied, but not, it turns out, one that we “moderns” might be able to emulate. Sooner or later we would grow tired of sleeping on rocks and living off tubers. One can’t “camp” forever. But that doesn’t mean we can’t try, as many do. In many ways, Finkel’s article epitomizes well what tourists hope to get out of their contact with the Hadzabe – a brief foray into a “forgotten” lifestyle, one in which they might be removed from their responsibilities, enjoying a newfound freedom for a week or two at a time.

Today the Hadzabe number between 1,000 and 1,500 individuals that occupy a traditional area around Lake Eyasi, just south of Serengeti National Park (**Figure 2**). Currently, their ancestral land is shrinking due to the introduction of agriculture and immigration of neighboring tribes. The area in which they live, classified as semi-arid, receives on average 400-600mm (16-24in.) of rainfall each year (Armitage 1996). Archaeological evidence (Marlowe 2002, Mabulla 2003) suggests that for millennia, Hadzabe have lived as hunter-gatherers within the Basin, subsisting off a large variety of foods, many drought resistant, including baobab fruit, tubers, wild berries and honey, and of course, game meat. Andrew Madsen notes in his survey on Hadzabe land rights that the “Hadzabe have never known famine or hunger” (2000: 11) and anecdotal evidence of

my own experience suggests this to be true: when Thad Peterson, head of Dorobo Safaris asked the small group we stayed with if they had ever heard of a Hadza man or woman dying of hunger, the Hadzabe replied that no story has ever been told of starvation in the Eyasi Basin.

Their language, Hadzane, is an isolate, and until recent history, the Hadzabe are believed to have had little contact with other ethnic groups. Though several agricultural and pastoral tribes, most notably the Iraqw and the Datoga (also Tatoga or Barabaig), have farmed or herded in the area for centuries, archaeological evidence points to their migration into Hadzabe land for use of cattle grazing and farming only in the last hundred years (Marlowe 2002). All this suggests that contact between the Hadzabe and other groups has, until recent memory, remained minimal. Today, prominent contact exists between the Hadzabe and the Iraqw, trading wild honey for metal, tobacco and marijuana; in other words, they are part of a bartering economy, and are by no means isolated. Increasingly, Hadzabe are seeing tourists arrive on their land to watch the Hadzabe perform traditional skills.

Visitors today to the Eyasi Basin in Northern Tanzania have a far easier time happening upon the Hadzabe (also Hadzabe'e or Kangeju) than early colonialists at the time British and German governments first entered traditional Hadzabe territory. Consider the account of one of the first Europeans to come into contact with what was then known as the Kangeju tribe:

It is by no means easy to come into contact with the Kangeju. They wander about in small parties, and if they find themselves in the same vicinity as strangers, and particularly Europeans unknown to them, they hide until the coast is clear or leave the neighborhood entirely before they have been noticed. (Bagshawe 1925: 118)

Bagshawe reports that after some coaxing and sharing of zebra meat, he convinced a trio of individuals to accompany him through the area around Lake Eyasi. The three Hadza men stayed with him for several days, during which they hunted “vigorously and became the best of friends” (119). Though nearly a century has passed since Bagshawe’s account, the Hadzabe’s avoidance of the outside world might still be said to exist. Today, the Hadzabe prefer to remain in the bush, unless circumstances arise in which some incentive (e.g. medical services, food handouts, or money) becomes appealing enough for them to leave.

The Hadzabe are not uniform in their subsistence methods; individuals range from being entirely dependent on the land to entirely dependent on tourist income. As best as can be defined, the tribe resides within three categories of subsistence: hunter-gatherers without tourist contact, hunter-gatherers with tourist contact, and those Hadzabe who have taken up residence in village centers where missionaries have attempted to set up schools and hospitals. Some of these village-dwelling Hadzabe are employed by local organizations or neighboring farmers. Others live off of tourist revenue. Frank Marlowe, one of a handful of anthropologists to undertake fieldwork with the Hadzabe, estimates that 250 Hadzabe in the west of the Eyasi Basin live within very limited networks of social contact, avoiding contact with tourists whenever possible. Among the around 750 Eastern Hadzabe, 200-300 live exclusively from hunting and foraging, while the remaining 450-550 shift between foraging and various other activities, including guarding the maize fields of neighbors and participating in tourism.

The divisions between each group are complicated by the fact that, for the most part, each group retains hunting and gathering knowledge and a number of Hadzabe in

each region have obtained some degree of formal schooling. Almost all Hadzabe fluently speak Kiswahili (Marlowe 2002), and a number I encountered knew at least a few words of English, French or German, gleaned from whichever missionaries those Hadzabe had happened to encounter in the area over the years. Freedom of movement within the area means that Hadzabe can migrate to other areas and groups, and thus it is difficult to say precisely to what degree each individual depends on the land for subsistence. Perhaps this is the first step in contextualizing the tribe in a way that tourism brochures (ever-isolating and exoticizing) have not. James Clifford writes in *Routes* (1997) that “virtually everywhere one looks the processes of human movement and encounter are long-established and complex. Cultural centers, discrete regions and territories, do not exist prior to contacts, but are sustained through them, appropriating and disciplining the restless movements of people and things” (3). In other words, “a location...is an itinerary rather than a bounded site—a series of encounters and translations” (1997: 11). It is within this context of a “bounded site” that tourism (and to a large degree colonialists) have, intentionally or unintentionally, located the Hadzabe. Geographical factors have also played a role; the Hadzabe’s traditional land is bounded by valley rifts and a lake. The nearest tarmac road is more than a two hour drive. And though as previously stated, archaeological evidence points to the Hadzabe’s isolation up until the last several centuries, the present-day complexities of contact and non-contact within the group should not be considered to be new. While anthropology has made steps away from this view of each culture as bounded and isolated, tourism and colonial policies (and to a lesser degree, development initiatives) have held onto this “lost tribe” notion in order to more attractively sell the Hadzabe as an exotic, bounded, and primitive “other.”

Land Control, Tanzanian Policy and Tourism

Contact with colonialists began in earnest in the 20th century when the British colonial government attempted to settle the Hadzabe in 1939 (Marlowe 2002: 11). Such settlement attempts can be located within the larger process of what has been called “ethnic tidying” implemented by Britain during its colonization efforts. Lee Cronk, who coined the term, describes the process this way: “identify a limited number of discrete ethnic units in the colony, associate certain parcels of land with those ethnic units, and ensure that people live in the areas where they have the most cultural affinities” (2004: 68). Ethnic tidying made for an easier colonial system where groups and languages were isolated. Later, it made for an appealing tourist experience.

This initial attempt at “rounding up” the Hadzabe lasted less than a year, when the tribe abandoned the settlement for the bush. Since then, mission and settlement attempts have been undertaken in fits and starts, notably with the establishment of a school in the 1960s by the Tanzanian government, as well between 1971 and 1975, when Tanzania initiated a program encouraging the Hadzabe to adopt agriculture. This “agriculturization” push was not limited to the Hadzabe. Julius Nyerere, the first and former President of Tanzania, encouraged the agricultural development of Tanzania after seeing such policies implemented in socialist-leaning countries. The Arusha Declaration of 1966 laid out his framework for the socialist state, and encouraged all Tanzanian citizens to move into socialist villages. “There, it would be...much easier to provide schools, dispensaries and all other necessary facilities...Better still...communal farms would lead to increased agricultural output” (Sadleir 1999: 293). The Hadzabe, as a people residing within the newly carved boundaries of modern-day Tanzania, were

included in this effort of “villagization,” not so much in order to eliminate a hunter-gatherer way of life (though today a prejudice exists against non-agriculturalists) but in the hopes that this migration would help to solidify the newly formed nation.

Villagization is important to locate in the context of both modernization and state building, part and parcel of a more extensive development and nationalist program that also included the adoption of Swahili as Tanzania’s national language. For most tribes in Tanzania, villagization became a reality. And for a time a number Hadzabe lived and farmed in this initial communal area, but after a drought in 1975, most returned to the bush and a foraging lifestyle (Madsen 2000).

This theme of uncommitted adoption of agriculture continued for a number of years. Madsen defines the three main objectives of the various settlement initiatives, both during villagization and by development narratives today: abandonment of hunting and gathering, the inclusion of Hadzabe as sedentary participants in national institutions, and the self-sufficiency of the Hadzabe in food production as producers of agricultural products (rather than dependency on government handouts). Across each development initiative, the ultimate result “was the eventual, sometimes rapid, abandonment of the settlements by the Hadzabe and the subsequent arrival of people from neighboring communities to take their place. Every attempt at settling the Hadzabe resulted in another piece of their land being lost, either through people moving into facilities built for them or through their enforced absence from other areas of their traditional territory” (Madsen 2000: 20). Although the Hadzabe were able to participate in local government and land policy for a period of time, in recent years this steady influx of non-Hadzabe agriculturalists (Hadzabe refer to non-Hadzabe in general as “Swahilis”) has meant that

under Tanzania's new land policies, Hadzabe are gradually losing rights to their ancestral land.

Under the Tanzanian Land Act Bill of 1996, control over land is granted to a village council and village chairperson. Though the council is elected by popular vote, this presents at least three complications for Hadzabe in obtaining autonomy over their land. First, as a nomadic community, the Hadzabe are infrequently in a position (both literally and figuratively) to vote on village leadership. Second, the meager infrastructure once built for the Hadzabe, as previously noted, continues to be filled by non-Hadzabe. These Swahilis are usually from one of several of the neighboring tribes, and tend to vote based on ethnicity more than any vision. Last year witnessed the first time that the Hadzabe living near Mongo wa Mono, the main villages in Hadzabe land, were unable to keep a Hadza as village chairperson, being outnumbered by non-Hadzabe in the village (Thad Peterson in an e-mail to the author, Jan. 25, 2010). Finally, the bureaucratic structure of the Land Act demands at least some level of governmental and legal knowledge, something few Hadzabe (and many Tanzanians in general) have had the opportunity to obtain. "One of the preconditions of [village councils] is a high level of awareness among villagers who know and are able to exercise their rights over such issues as immigration, the granting of plots of land and the levying of fines for inappropriate use of land. Unfortunately, few villages and villagers have the information or resources to allow them to take and maintain control over their lands" (Madsen 2000: 70). This remains doubly true for the Hadzabe. Madsen goes on to note that anecdotal evidence suggests that failed development policies aimed at settling the Hadzabe (among these, at least indirectly, the Land Act) have been replaced by the informal

encouragement of non-Hadzabe to settle on Hadzabe lands. More accurately it may be said that given the predominance of agriculture as the main subsistence method in East Africa, both hunter-gatherers and pastoralists are disenfranchised simply due to an infrastructure that recognizes and promotes farming as the most common means of livelihood.

With the Hadzabe losing title to traditional hunting and foraging land, much of the development literature on the tribe has focused on the question of how long the Hadzabe can continue to live a hunter-gatherer lifestyle and whether or not development initiatives should support or discourage the continuation. Among the more isolated Hadzabe who have refused touristic contact, this question may still apply. But among the Hadzabe who have contented themselves (at least part of the time) with being tourist subjects, in addition to the small number of Hadzabe who have taken to living in settlements throughout the Yaeda Valley, the question seems obsolete. Perhaps the first question to ask is to what degree can the Hadzabe still be considered hunter-gatherers? What percentage of subsistence must come from bush meat and foraging to consider a people as hunter-gatherers? Revenue from tourism and other jobs continues to provide money for the Hadzabe to buy food that supplements the traditional subsistence base, but they earn this money through hunting and gathering. The larger question then seems to be: Is hunting and gathering compatible with modernity? MacCannell, of, suggests it is not: “The ‘primitivistic’ performance is *our* funerary marking of the passage of savagery” (1992:19). Yet my home stay illustrates that in many ways hunting and gathering, if displayed to tourists as in the case of the Hadzabe, actually allows a group to retain, at least for a time, their subsistence methods.

These questions become salient in an examination of the Hadzabe's cultural autonomy (by which I mean their ability to live as they choose), which can be traced at least partly to the foods that each group of Hadzabe consume. Among Hadzabe displaying traditional skills for tourists, the money earned through such an endeavor might be seen simply as an extra yield. In obtaining food in their traditional manner, they are able to multiply how much they earn by having others pay to watch what they would already gather or kill. By contrast, in villages such as Mongo wa Mono, Hadzabe rely on government handouts to purchase food. Very few Hadzabe have adopted agriculture themselves, instead choosing to purchase the fruit of another's labor (Marlowe 2000). The issue boils down to a question of freedom, and it is in this context that the question of tourism and autonomy among the Hadzabe arises. Many Hadzabe fiercely defend a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, but a small number have chosen agriculture/tourism/government handouts as an alternative. This tension is illustrated in "The Pied Piper of Eyasi," filmed by the BBC in a series entitled "Life on the Edge." The film follows Baallow, a university educated Hadza man, as he travels by motorcycle across the Eyasi Basin in his efforts to gather support from the Hadzabe to fight for their ancestral land. He visits Hadzabe in the town of Mongo wa Mono, speaking with his tribesmen who have chosen to settle. He carries on to more remote areas, and abandons his motorcycle in favor of joining a hunting party. Both groups, settled or not, are unsure how to proceed (Cassini 2008). The question is presented by Baallow and the BBC in binary form: "Should the Hadza people embrace development? Or cherish their traditional way of life?" the BBC website for the films asks viewers (Bradshaw 2008). But it seems in many ways that Hadzabe currently manage this tension by allowing both poles an equal pull; specifically

for those who earn wages as tourist subjects, modernity (in the form of incoming tourists) is not necessarily exclusive of hunting and gathering. Rather, Hadzabe insistence on eschewing an agricultural lifestyle can be accomplished in several ways. Before we move on to this, it is important to develop the origins of the Hadzabe's defense of a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, and after doing so, locate the settling of villages as another part of this defense.

In a traditional creation myth, Haine, the Hadzabe god, allows various tribes to choose the implements that will determine their subsistence methods. Before the tribes he lays down cattle, hoes, and bows and arrows. If a tribe wishes to choose either cattle or hoe, it must first lick pus. The Datoga choose cattle, first licking pus. The Iraqw pick up the hoe, again, accepting the pus. The Hadzabe, of course, refuse either hoe or cattle, choosing instead the bow and arrow (Kaare 1994: 328). Tourism and government handouts must then be located in the context of labor in which they are procured; together with a fully hunter-gatherer subsistence base, all three represent activities that do not include cattle or hoes. Cultural identities are constructed through our classification systems. By extending this notion, I'd like to posit that the Hadzabe in part see their identity in avoiding both hoe and cattle. While those settling in villages might depend on the fruits of agricultural labor, these fruits are, for the most part, not sown by their own hands, being either purchased or given by the government. In addition, Hadzabe, by engaging in cultural tourism, have allowed themselves a quasi-hunter-gatherer lifestyle that remains pus-free. Though the myth harkens back to an era pre-dating the formation of the Tanzanian state and government, its application rings true under government

policy. Kaare describes the issue of the Hadzabe's autonomy over hunting and gathering eloquently:

Contrary to the conventional belief that failure of the educational programs for nomadic groups is due largely to the incompatibility of schooling values with traditional values, the cultural resistance waged by the Hadzabe...emanates from the struggles for the *reproduction of their own world order*. This means that the opposition represents much more than incompatible value systems. *It includes such things as fear of losing the freedom assured in the hunting-gatherer life, fear of a breakdown of egalitarianism, and resentment of authoritarian village administration...*[T]he education policies of postindependence Tanzania were intended to foster 'modernization' and simultaneously facilitate nationbuilding. Resistance to these policies by the Hadzabe must be viewed in terms of what these policies really are: asymmetrical, nonreciprocal, and destructive of relationships between persons. (1994: 328-329, emphasis added)

Madsen is correct in locating development policy alongside some its consequences, namely the asymmetrical relationships developed between persons. The Hadzabe's traditional culture excludes leadership roles to such an extent that, during my time with the tribe, one Hadza man explained that they would often hire non-Hadzabe to help control their land, refusing to place one of their own in a leadership position.

As previously noted, not all Hadzabe participate fully in a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Many have moved to the village of Mongo wa Mono and rely heavily on government handouts. Another group resides to the north of the Yaeda Valley, along the Ngorongoro Safari circuit. Here, where more tourist groups frequent the area, Hadzabe can teach their hunting and gathering skills to tourists for sums large enough to provide food year round. But though different in details, each group continues to defend a lifestyle that includes neither cattle nor manual labor. In many ways, tourism (and to a less degree, sedentarization) might still be viewed in the context of, if not a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, a modern-labor (e.g. farming, factory, office) free way of living. Still,

as I turn to development and tourist literature, we'll see that most familiar with the Hadzabe believe that, despite the tribe's defense of their autonomy, both tourism and in-migration will eventually spell the end of even a resemblance of a hunter-gatherer lifestyle.

Enduring as Hunter-Gatherers

In-migration of other peoples upon Hadzabe land is likely to prove the greatest factor in the Hadzabe eventually abandoning their traditional subsistence method. Other often noted factors, such as habitat loss and game decline, can be traced back to this same in-migration. The impact of this movement "has been significant land loss for the hunter-gatherer Hadza people, environmental deterioration of the dryland ecosystem from habitat loss, wildlife decline, deforestation, and overgrazing. In addition, interest in the form of politically powerful professional hunters, tourism initiatives, and government plans to classify a substantial portion of the area as a game reserve create a familiar and challenging picture" (Armitage 1996: 396). The portion of the area demarcated for a game reserve has since been abandoned, but the fact that it was still debated in the Tanzanian government indicates the state's minimal concern for Hadzabe land rights.

In this context, tourism presents itself as a double-edged sword. To a certain degree, funds from culturally sensitive and policy-minded tourism like Dorobo Safaris have helped the Hadzabe to secure access to their own land. The Hadzabe retain significant autonomy in determining the tourist interactions with Dorobo because groups are kept small and negotiations are restricted to Hadzabe and Dorobo management, thus mitigating any leakage of influence to middlemen. On the other hand, less eco-conscious and sensitive ventures, most notably those running routes along the Ngorongoro Circuit,

have exploited Hadzabe to a significant degree. Tourism companies have been reported to pay Hadzabe to remove their clothes for pictures, and it is not uncommon in those areas for both men and women to use tourism revenue to buy alcohol.

Before decrying these circumstances, it seems important to note that Hadzabe are not necessarily forced into such acts. In regard to the issue of autonomy, it is not possible to say that tourism has coerced the Hadzabe into the adoption of another lifestyle. More accurately, the Hadzabe, through tourism, have strategically chosen to (in part) cease a fully foraging lifestyle and live off of purchased food products. While exploitation *is* something to be decried, the literature does not answer the question of whether the Hadzabe chose to remove their clothing for money. Still, tourism companies are often reticent to speak about the logistics and economics of their cultural exchanges, preferring to keep mechanisms by which those visits are organized secret. In this way, the site is more easily sacralized, and without the knowledge of where and how money changes hands, tour operators can create the elevated sort of place that MacCannell sees as crucial to the site's success.

I would argue that a large degree of autonomy has been lost in some of these tourism encounters through middlemen and exploitative positions, simply because the Hadzabe have no way of legally enforcing contracts or agreements. Without being willing to engage in other methods of earning money, the Hadzabe who have chosen tourism as a lifestyle have put themselves at the behest of some tourism companies. The issue is compounded in complexity due to the fact that it may be by choice that Hadzabe engage in tourism, though this choice can only be described as limited, as no industry or other means of wage-labor exist in the Eyasi Basin. The aforementioned land pressures

and environmental factors may force some Hadzabe into tourism out of a dearth of other options. The Tanzanian government has done little to alleviate these pressures. As Armitage notes, governmental bias toward agriculture as a mode of production has contributed to an environment unsupportive of alternative subsistence methods:

There is a strong cultural bias against other modes of production in Tanzania including pastoralism, and hunting and gathering even more so...[This bias] offers those engaged in formalized agricultural economy of the area greater socioeconomic status and political control than pastoral or hunter-gatherer people. In the Eyasi-Yaeda basin, such political power has significant implications for traditional inhabitants like the Hadza...since they in effect have little control over land they have occupied and resources they have utilized for centuries. (Armitage 1996: 399)

It is within this context that the Hadzabe allowed Dorobo safaris onto their land in an effort to secure some semblance of land rights.

Dorobo Safaris

Founded in the 1980s by three sons of Lutheran missionaries stationed in Tanzania, Dorobo Safaris is “considered by many to be the best ecotourism outfit in the Northern Safari Circuit” of Tanzania” (Honey 1999a: 250). A substantial portion of their ecotourism ventures have been undertaken with the support of local communities and designed to benefit those communities equally with Dorobo itself. Today they specialize in customizable walking and Land Rover safaris, while also leading small groups to stay with the Hadzabe.

Dorobo also operates the Dorobo Fund, a mechanism organized to support a number of different initiatives throughout Tanzania, including securing indigenous land rights, “facilitating sustainable resource management”, “promoting livelihood options that respect culture and environment”, and “promoting wilderness as an economic option

for communities” (Dorobo Fund). Founded by Daudi, Mike and Thad Peterson, the organization quickly took on a number of Maasai from the local community to help shape Dorobo’s vision. This early community partnership led to others throughout the northern Tanzania area. Today, a large portion of the Dorobo Fund’s work focuses on Hadzabe land rights.

St. Lawrence and Dorobo

St. Lawrence University’s tour group traveled by bus to Arusha, stopping at Dorobo’s base where we moved our bags into from the St. Lawrence bus to the two World War Two era German infantry vehicles that would bring us over the rough terrain into the Yaeda Valley. Thad Peterson was to accompany us along with four Dorobo-trained guides, all Tanzanian (though we never asked about specific ethnic identity), and our academic director, Abdelwahab Sinnary. Thad’s son, Simon Peterson, also traveled along with us and became an important intermediary between St. Lawrence students and the Hadzabe. Simon grew up in Tanzania, learning Kiswahili before he spoke English, and had visited the Hadzabe numerous times before. He’d also spent his summers in the United States and had studied abroad in New Zealand. Being college-aged, he frequent became the first person students went to when they had questions, simply for ease of communication (and also, particularly for the girls, his looks and seeming exoticism). The drive from Arusha to the Yaeda Valley was accomplished over two days, with one night spent camping in between. During this time we also got to know our guides, trading safari stories and tales about our own trips in Kenya. The guides seemed more than comfortable with students, always ready during a lull in the conversation to provide some

anecdote or question. One introduced himself by saying, “My name is Douglas. And I have a question for you. What is it that makes the world beautiful?” The question was a perfect illustration of Salazar’s (2006) discussion on tourist discourse; Dorobo guides provided a conversation that supplied an imaginary (thinking about the beautiful as we crossed grasslands filled with zebra and gazelle), and offered us a language of “persuasion” and “seduction” (833). While often our guides would more often provide educational translation rather than illustrative conversation, they significantly began the encounter by drawing our gaze to what the tourist hopes to see – things beautiful, green, and exotic.

Here it is fit to examine a bit more in depth the relationships of all participants in St. Lawrence’s Dorobo visits, which exist within a complex power framework. Specifically, it seems salient to explore the location of Dorobo guides and the Hadzabe within this framework. While Thad and Sinnary jointly determine the itinerary and activities for the trip, within this plan, Dorobo’s guides most often operate as the main translators. Thad mainly served as head lecturer. At the same time, Thad made clear in conversation with me that Hadzabe act as guides and teachers in their own right, particularly during the times when one or two men led students without any intermediaries.

Still, during my stay in the Yaeda Valley, it certainly felt as if the Hadzabe had minimal control over the encounter, particularly when an itinerary has already been established in an area where daily activities presumably do not move according to a clock. Not only were the Hadzabe our cultural subject of study, they also helped with chores around the camp – bringing water, even setting up and taking down the tents

provided by Dorobo. In the vast majority of safaris, this is the guides' job. This in particular led some students to wonder about exploitation of the Hadzabe, and yet it seems too simplistic to declare an unequal power relationship this activity as indicative of an unequal and exploitative relationship. Consider Foucault's observation on this dynamic: "We must not look for who has the power ... and who is deprived of it; nor for who has the right to know and who is forced to remain ignorant. We must seek, rather, the pattern of the modifications which the relationships of force imply by the very nature of their process" (1978:99). Setting up tents does not clearly demonstrate a deprivation of power. In this case, Dorobo's guides, who exert a great deal of influence in their role as translators, seem a better indication of the tribe's lack of power, at least in regard to communication, as the Hadzabe do not have a chance to express themselves without a translator present.

Importantly, Dorobo guides are themselves tourists among the Hadzabe, subject to the influence of the same prejudices (though not necessarily victim of them) as the rest of the Tanzanian population. In many ways, the Hadzabe's avoidance of integration into the socialist village system sets them apart not just culturally, but nationally and again, physically. They are bounded not just by geography but also by the living patterns adopted by the rest of Tanzania. The question of "What makes the world beautiful?" might even be located within this context; although arguably part of a tourist-focused discourse, the guides very well may have been exploring these issues along with us, turning philosophical as they travel to visit a tribe that lives (arguably) much differently than they do. Finkel's article certainly includes this sort of wonder at the world, though not explicitly expressed. What makes the world so beautiful that the Hadzabe can live

within it exclusively, without infrastructure? Was this a question we wanted to ask the Hadzabe too?

It is difficult to say that the Hadzabe are able to accurately explain their culture to outsiders due to what may be lost in translation; it is equally difficult to say that translators are unable to effectively translate to the tourist what the Hadzabe hope to explain to the tourist. But it seems important to note that the very presence of the interviews scheduled by St. Lawrence indicate an emphasis on working toward cultural understanding. If we are to imagine that other visits are more purely touristic - rather than academic - in nature, it seems fair to suggest that a portion of cultural interaction is lost in these visits, particularly where the main draw of the Hadzabe consists not of a branded culture or performance (as in the case of the Maasai) but a livelihood method, a set of skills. Dialogue in these cases is likely to be more focused on hunting and gathering, and stays with the Hadzabe are notably shorter, usually no longer than a day as part of a larger safari. Regardless of duration, however, Dorobo guides are able to exert a huge amount of influence over how tourists experience Hadzabe visits. By the same token, Dorobo specializes in safaris that are tailored to fit. While this extends more to actual itineraries, it can also be said that it caters also to certain viewpoints. Noel Salazar's articles on tourist discourse indicate that to a certain degree a tour guide will adhere in his or her translation (of language and culture) to the tourist's expectations. It may reasonably be assumed that Dorobo guides are not in the business of correcting false assumptions; this is, after all, not primarily an educational visit, but a tourist excursion. Here again the boundaries between tourism and study abroad are more fully felt. To

understand better how they may differ we can examine the way most tourist-oriented visits are organized.

Dorobo visits several different campsites in the Yaeda Valley area in the West of the Eyasi basin. Thad Peterson describes the planning as follows:

Each location has a group of Hadza living in the basic vicinity. They themselves meet and choose one person to be the main representative guide when we have tourists camping there. He is responsible then for organizing which Hadza, both men and women, will join the camp each time. This is supposed to be done on a rotating basis so that everyone who wants gets a chance before others get a second term...Each of these Hadza are paid a small fee by Dorobo for their help as guides, teachers and with camp chores (e-mail to the author, Feb. 24, 2010).

Peterson goes on to note that this rotation doesn't always go smoothly, as it often depends who is available and how much advance notice the Hadzabe guide receives (many of the Hadzabe own cell phones, charged by generator in one of the villages on the outskirts of the Valley). Simon pointed out to us that this is probably less egalitarian a workforce than theorized, as a core number of men enjoy leading tourists, while a portion of Hadzabe men have no desire to participate at all.

The small amount of cash paid to the Hadzabe guides is in addition to a larger amount that goes into a communal fund distributed between a number of villages with Hadzabe inhabitants. These funds assist the Hadzabe in a number of areas, including emergency medical costs if a Hadza falls ill and costs paid to anyone they choose to help represent their interests in local village councils. In addition, the Hadzabe who choose to spend time at each campsite are provided for in meals, typically in the form of maize flour used in making the East African staple of ugali. In this way it seems appropriate to draw a parallel between the government handouts that Hadzabe receive in villages and those they receive from Dorobo. While Dorobo's meals are technically paid for in

helping to guide and demonstrate for tourists, the major portion of the Hadzabe's time is spent simply being present with tourists. These meals can be located within the larger network of pus-free subsistence methods; tourism does not require the same labor as wage jobs or farming (with the exception of small chores around the campsite). Everything gathered or killed in demonstration with the tourists is shared communally. Here, it seems, the only difference between tourists and a study abroad group is in numbers. Tourist visits usually only encompass one or two families. So while more money may go to the Hadzabe during a large visit like that organized by St. Lawrence, the result of the visit – the cash exchanged – remains the same.

We stayed four nights in Hadzabe land, two each at different campsites. We arrived in the evening, and after getting our bearings and setting our tents, formed into small groups to interview several Hadzabe men who lived nearby. These men were to become our main guides for the stay, and many of our questions for them were personal rather than cultural: their age, marriage status, children, biggest kills (the popular question with the guys), etc.

The following day we broke off into smaller groups and walked to an area to dig for tubers. Hadzabe women showed us the method of digging for the roots, and we each tried our hand. The Hadzabe men (who carry their bow and arrows everywhere while walking) went off in search of wild honey, and a number of St. Lawrence students, growing tired or blistered from the digging, wandered off to find the Hadzabe men. So while there was some structure to the morning, we were mostly free to do as we wished.

Dorobo guides were around this entire time, and encouraged us to pose questions to the women.

After a leisurely lunch and siesta, we broke off into groups of three or four to walk with one Hadza man (no Dorobo guides) in search for the proper bush with which to make arrows. Here, each Hadza man was given what essentially seemed free rein in leading his tourists. While some stuck close to the campsite, I, along with three other students, ended up on a two mile jaunt, in which the four of us often wondered where we were being led, cognizant of the fact that, this far from the campsite in a completely foreign area, we were truly in the hands of our guide. In our limited communication in Swahili, he explained he knew where the best bushes were (not near the campsite) and this was the reason for going so far. Upon finally returning, the group gathered to watch the men debark, fire and sharpen the arrows, later attempting to make our own (with Hadzabe assistance). We were encouraged to make our own marks on the arrows so we could locate them when we left; in this way we could bring home our own marker of having visited the Hadzabe. The Hadzabe might easily have sold us the arrows, but to make them gave the students a feeling of inclusiveness among the tribe; we were able to say we'd lived as hunter-gatherers, become interim members of the tribe ourselves.

The final portion of the day was split into four groups, each with one translator, and a number of Hadza. Each group had its own subject of questions, ranging from land rights to subsistence methods to gender roles. We were asked to sign up to the group of our choice, but with a limited number of spots, students often found themselves in a subject outside of their interest. It seemed the Hadzabe were not told on which subject they were to be interviewed. They often seemed to find our line of questioning

uninteresting. In my particular group of several Hadza men and women, only one woman and man responded to our questions about Hadzabe land rights. After we'd exhausted this particular line of questioning, a moment of silence fell until one of the previously taciturn Hadza men asked a question through our translator about America. Conversation then seemed to fall into the same comfortable banter that I'd experienced at the Maasai manyatta. The Hadzabe were particularly interested in our staple crop (corn? pizza?), what our houses were like at home, and how much education in America costs. Translation between students and Hadzabe by the guides was not often direct. At times our guide would explain that a question may not make sense to the Hadzabe, or, upon hearing a particular response from their side, would try to put it into American-intelligible terms.

Besides the structured interaction, most of the students essentially kept to their area of the camp and the Hadzabe theirs. The exceptions most often came when Simon became an intermediary, and seven or eight students would follow him to sit with the Hadzabe. While our Tanzanian guides were fluent in English, the cultural gap between us proved uncomfortably noticeable. For example: Our main guide, Douglas, was particularly adept at explaining things in a concise and unbiased manner. Another, Jessica, who was visiting the Hadzabe for the first time as well, often seem perplexed when translating between the two groups. That noted toward the end of our trip that the Tanzanian guides often had a difficult time during their first Hadzabe visit simply because the agricultural bias in Tanzania runs so deep. The Hadzabe were, to Jessica, just as foreign as they seemed to us. Simon, on the other hand, had been visiting the Hadza since he was a kid, and maintained a personal relationship with a handful Hadza men

throughout the year. Several of the students would sit with Simon and a number of Hadzabe, talk in basic Swahili and sing. One Hadza taught a student how to play his violin-like instrument, called a zezi, made out of a gourd. I'd bought a ten-pound catfish from a local fisherman during the drive into the valley, and the Hadzabe taught me how to cook it, after which I shared with a number of them.

Something about the night-time and the camp fire brought the two groups more easily together. While the daytime activities, ostensibly a mix of tourism and study, often felt forced or structured, the night left time for a shared cultural interaction that, maybe most importantly, was not supervised by intermediaries. It must be noted that part of the draw to this time around the campfire centered on the large bag of marijuana that Simon had brought with him, but regardless, the campfire marked the greatest extent of social interaction between the groups during the stay because unstructured and unguided. The presence of the fire, known both to the Hadzabe and the outdoorsy New England students, marked a common cultural ground not enjoyed in digging for tubers or climbing trees for wild honey. Though having to rely predominantly on gestures, students seemed to feel the experience became more "real" here in that it was not contrived or listed on the itinerary. For these hours, we inhabited a true "back room," feeling ourselves to be earnestly integrating with the group, in contrast to the times when the Hadzabe were told by Thad what their activity for the day was supposed to be. The Hadzabe here *chose* to spend time with us, rather than being paid to do so.

The following two days were spent at a different campsite, reached by foot, built and maintained by Dorobo, around six miles from our original campsite. It sat atop the Kideru Ridge, above a traditional Hadzabe camp, where wild game was more abundant.

Dorobo had, with the help of the Hadzabe, constructed a road up to the ridge that could be reached by their vehicles that carried our bags and supplies. Water had to be transported up from a borehole at the base of the rise, one reason why the Hadzabe traditionally camped at the bottom. The view from the top provided a perspective over a large part of the Yaeda valley, and the wind from the higher elevation cooled the campsite at night. In many ways, this became (literally) an elevated sight, an enshrined structure that helped to frame our encounter in a back room to an even greater degree than the campfire. At the same time, its contrived nature (because constructed) would fall more into MacCannell's category of a front room, the meeting place of hosts and guests. This is an important challenge to his cultural tourism analyses, for Hadzabe tourism is essentially, an entire back region, able only to exist in a place like the bush (one cannot perform hunting in the absence of animals). While Mayers Ranch brought the Maasai to the base of a safe, familiar, Western environment, Dorobo's construction of this road and campsite mark an entrance even deeper into this (already quite isolated) bounded area, to a place where even the Hadzabe infrequently visit. In many ways this is the same strategy as Maasai manyattas putting on traditional blankets; both serve to bring the cultural subject deeper into what the tourist sees as markers of authenticity, be those traditional dress or deeper penetration into a traditional area.

We spent a large part of the final day hunting. Led by two Hadzabe men in each group (and Simon in mine), we walked in groups of four or five in search of game. The guides remained at camp. We were instructed to bring a large amount of water and food, as we wouldn't be returning for several hours. Simon and one of the men split off from us after spotting an impala in the distance, leaving the rest of the group and our remaining

guide partially lost, wandering in the bush. No longer with a translator, we resorted to hand signals, but mostly just followed our guide where he went. There was no rush to return. We stopped for some honey, essentially trailing our guide without protestation, hoping he knew we had to get back at some point. We returned to the camp several hours later, with other groups filtering in more or less around the same time. We were instructed by the Hadzabe in how to skin and carve what we'd killed (a small antelope, a bird with bright plumage called a gold-crested franklin, as well as a black mamba). Most of the meat was shared, though the Hadzabe refused to touch the black mamba meat, snakes being one of the few animals they avoid consuming.

After a final send off meal, everyone gathered atop the highest point of the ridge at sunset, Hadzabe on one side, Americans on the other. Thad mediated the conversation, and the session was meant to act like a final interview, as well as the expression of thanks on both sides. One of the more charismatic of the Hadzabe stood up to express gratitude on the part of the Hadzabe, for without tourists, he did not think the Hadzabe could continue to hunt and gather. We said thanks in our part, and everyone drifted off to sleep in their own time, ready for the long haul back to Dorobo base camp the next day.

Discussion

It seems that two questions are particularly important in addressing tourism among the Hadzabe, led both by Dorobo and other safari companies. The first is to which degree tourism allows the Hadzabe a measure of autonomy, particularly when it comes to control over their land and display of their culture. Second, and related to the first, to what extent does tourism affect the prospects for the Hadzabe to continue a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, something that they seem dedicated to maintaining? While as

previously mentioned, this question occupies much of the policy-driven literature focused on the Hadzabe, I hope to address the issue not in regard to sentimentalism or cultural preservation, but for the likelihood of the Hadzabe continuing a foraging lifestyle *should they choose*.

While Dorobo purports to carry the Hadzabe's best interest in mind, it is but one of a several Hadzabe tourist outfitters, and little data exists on the myriad of lower-budget ventures that visit the Hadzabe near the Ngorongoro crater, from where most of the reports of "exploitation" of the Hadzabe originate. With that in mind, this analysis will pertain particularly to Dorobo's contact with the Hadzabe, which Thad estimates at between 200 and 400 individuals (E-mail to the author, Mar. 4 2010). As previously noted, the Hadzabe engage in a variety of activities, both in what one might describe as "traditional" (hunting and gathering) and "modern" (cleaning utensils, taking down tents). This latter notion of manual labor, work typically left to campers themselves and which might fairly be described as subservient labor, at first seems to hint at a deep power differential. Watching the Hadzabe take down a tent that I would have gladly disassembled left me uneasy. Yet I realize now this came more from a feeling of tainting what I initially considered to be untouched. To watch the Hadzabe hunt and gather bothered me none at all, but I cried foul when they were asked to engage in any activities related to modern life? In my mind I separated the activities into one the Hadzabe should engage and the other they should not. In reality, I was decrying the markers of modernity I didn't want to see (knowledge of tents and dish soap); had I forgotten the Hadzabe carried their cell phones around with them? Both were activities the Hadzabe were *paid* to do, part of the program in which the Hadzabe chose to participate.

The Hadzabe are not necessarily forced to take down tents, let alone accept visitors. Cheong and Miller note that a main characteristic of a Foucauldian agent is the endorsement of tourism, which many of the Hadzabe ostensibly support by coming to Dorobo's specific tourist sites. (This argument, it should be noted, does not apply to northern areas of tourist visits, where Hadzabe do not always have the choice of tourists visiting. When Hadzabe stay in Dorobo's camps it is of their own volition, as Dorobo has been adamant about not encroaching upon Hadzabe land where the Hadzabe do not support it). The tourist agent "derives power not from pure force but from inducement, that is, only when the target has been caused to behave in a certain way" (Cheong and Miller 2000: 376). In ways Dorobo does and does not exert this power among the Hadzabe. While they are told what activities are to be done during the day, the Hadzabe are free to do it in their own manner. During each activity Hadza guides still smoked (tobacco and pot) and sent texts, chatted with each other and made jokes. Dorobo, as the tourist, agent controls what the Hadzabe *do*, but not *how* they do it. There seems to be little manipulation of the actual imagery. MacCannell's markers still exist, but only in a way that acknowledges the complexity of Hadzabe life; a man may hold a bow in one hand while checking his phone in the other. The "primitive" is not being performed so much as visited, as among the Hadzabe "traditional" modes of life are still being lived, right along side the oft-hidden markers of modernity. Garland and Gordon's discussion of bushman tourism at the meta-level, which I previously applied to the Maasai, seems more applicable to the Hadzabe. In not attempting to conceal the ways tourism has changed the Hadzabe, Dorobo offers the tribe at least a partial chance to portray themselves to tourists in their manner of choice, simultaneously living a traditional way of life in a modern

world, which both the bow and arrow and tents demonstrate. But this applies only to a small portion of Hadzabe tourism, and even the nature of Dorobo's other visits is likely to differ when guests are not also students. Consider American-based Naipenda Safaris' description of their offerings into Hadzabe land:

Take a journey into the "Gods must be crazy" movie. The Hadzabe tribe of Tanzania is the last true nomades of Africa. Naipenda Safaris can take you on an amazing adventure with the Hadzas. You will join the men as they hunt for their daily subsidance using traditional Bow and arrows, or join the women as they forrage for fruits and berries. This is not a show or a "tourist put on". This is the real deal. A true African cultural experience, not for the faint of heart (Naipenda Safaris, *all spelling errors listed sic*).

The pictures shown include the Hadzabe either only from the chest up without shirts, or in clothes in varying shades of brown. None wear shoes. By contrast, one of my favorite guides with Dorobo wore an AC/DC t-shirt, and another made fun of my sandals for not being durable enough. This is a safari that advertises the primitive (The Gods Must Be Crazy, "true nomads") and hides the modern.

Even among Dorobo's visits, the Hadzabe have little choice over *when* tourists come, if they come at all. Thad explains, "groups are always willing to have tourists visit," probably because of the small amount of money paid to each individual staying with the tourists for the few days (e-mail to the author, Feb. 24, 2010.) He emphasized, however, that the bulk of the tourism revenue goes into a communal account shared by all Hadza in the Yaeda Valley, including those who do not see tourism at all. Dorobo organizes visits no more than six times a month and sometimes none at all, spread out among six different areas. However, both Thad and Simon noted they'd begun to see a core number of men over and over, simply because they enjoyed having tourists (or

earning a bit of cash). In this way, several Hadza men came to see themselves as actors, eager to take on tourism by freely engaging in it.

While the small stipends given to each Hadza are of course a draw, I would also like to locate tourist visits within the context of the Hadzabe's fierce defense of a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, or as it might be more accurately described, disdain for agriculture or herding. Here again I bring in the Hadzabe's creation myth; the idea of licking pus still seems to ring true for many Hadzabe. Key is that, as proposed by Haine, a hunter-gatherer lifestyle did not necessarily provide a better subsistence (though within the ecological context of the basin it inarguably does), but represented an option that required *less effort*. Tourism, in addition to providing cash, also provides food. Apart from what is killed or foraged during tourist demonstrations (inadequate to feed a group of so many), the Hadzabe's meals during tourist stays are provided by Dorobo, usually in the form of maize flour. In this way, were tourism to become the main livelihood of the Hadzabe, traditional skills would be retained but only used to the extent needed for demonstration. At the same time, as members of the original affluent society, as Sahlins (1968) would have it, the Hadzabe as tourist subjects would still be able to maintain a lifestyle that includes a fair amount of leisure. And yet at what point does the tribe become subject to the whims of the tourist? Assuming tourism revenue provides a measure of autonomy, to what degree is that autonomy lost if the Hadzabe were to become more fully dependent on foreign visitors? It seems important to consider that this sort of lifestyle change would not preclude a return to a full hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Rather than losing traditional skills and adopting farming, the Hadzabe would still retain skills that can be put back to use at some point in history.

Whether or not the Hadzabe are always willing to receive tourists, as Thad describes, is difficult to verify without in depth interviews. In my anecdotal experience in asking several Hadzabe this same question, each emphasized tourism as a positive development for the tribe, and said that without tourists they could no longer be hunter-gatherers. Does tourism, then, in some sense, provide the Hadzabe autonomy in the choice of their subsistence methods? The answer is complicated in several ways. The first question is whether or not the Hadzabe, performing hunter-gatherer skills while subsisting predominantly off of purchased food, are still hunter-gatherers. Marlowe notes that tourism only keeps the Hadzabe *appearing to forage*. Some Hadzabe live exclusively off tourism revenues, heading only into the bush when tourists arrive (2002: 15). He later points out that though the Hadzabe spend a fair deal of money of buying maize, they also buy alcohol. In several camps he witnessed heavy drinking. The crux of the issue, he explains, is that after several cycles of hunter-gatherer demonstration, Hadzabe either begin to lose traditional skills, or tourists - no longer assuming the Hadzabe to be authentic hunter-gatherers - stop arriving. Tourists visit the Eyasi Basin with the knowledge that it is home to one of the “last hunter gatherer tribes on earth,” a back region yet to be tainted by industry and modernization. Here again it seems important to note the bounded area of Hadzabe land, and the way that it renders the Hadzabe, as Clifford notes, as an apparently isolated tribe, regardless of the reality of their interconnectedness with other groups. The “authenticity” of the Hadzabe depends on this boundedness, and the difficult trek it takes to enter into the Basin helps to affirm this isolation. Unlike safari visits, a landing strip in the valley would physically mark the Hadzabe as connected.

Marlowe's analysis, though correct, still seems to lament the loss of traditional Hadzabe life. While the introduction of alcohol to Hadzabe culture is likely to affect the small groups in some way, it cannot be said to be necessarily evil or wrong, particularly where its consumption is chosen. Though reports of Hadzabe being made to wear traditional skins or strip for photographs is troublesome, there still exists a degree of autonomy in these encounters. The difference is ultimately between "strategic essentialism" on hand and "forced traditionalism" on the other. In the same way Maasai change from jeans to blankets to dance for tourists, so the Hadzabe can change from shorts to skins with a measure of self-consciousness. In this way skins act (distastefully or not) as chosen markers, but not necessarily as an assigned or forced uniform. In addition, a number of Hadzabe refuse to visit tourists, and have only to do so by not entering areas where tourists frequent, currently near villages accessible by roads. Thus the consumption of alcohol isn't an act into which the Hadzabe are unfairly coerced but a product of modernity that they choose to consume through their own ventures into the modern economic system – tourism.

Perhaps most importantly, tourism revenue is also crucial to allowing the Hadzabe the retention of their land rights. Money in the communal fund helps secure at least some support for traditional land rights, but with the growing population pressures in the area, if the Hadzabe lose a majority population, they have little chance of determining the future of their traditional area anyway. Thad describes this as a double-edged sword. If tourism "can be done in a respectful way and provide them an income that can subsidize their hunting and gathering lifestyle and give them more options particularly for

justifying the conservation of the land, then it might be better than many alternatives” (e-mail to the author, Feb. 24, 2010). Yet as to the question of the long-term prospects of maintaining a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, the situation seems unlikely. Thad himself notes “given the historical precedents, chances are probably slim. However,” he continues, “it is not for us to choose – what we do know and all agree on is that if [the Hadzabe] do not have a secure land base, then their choices become very limited – so that is where I think we outsiders can try to help the most.”

The difficulty in analyzing the whole of the situation is, of course, that the Hadzabe are perhaps being compelled to engage in tourism due to current circumstances. With in-migration of other groups, it remains to be seen whether or not Hadzabe would engage in tourism in terms that are partly disadvantageous. More likely, without the necessity of securing their land (of which tourism revenue has been demonstrated to be an important part), Hadzabe would not *need* to engage in tourism. After all, the Hadzabe historically have not lived within larger social networks. Yet it can also be reasonably hypothesized that the Hadzabe would adopt tourism simply as an extension of a “hoe-and-cattle-free” method of living. Regardless, the land pressures of the current day may mean that the Hadzabe see tourism as the sole means of preserving some form of their traditional land rights. In this sense, the degree of autonomy that exists within tourist interactions is overshadowed by the fact that these interactions are in some ways a last resort, not a forced traditionalism (as in many ways the Hadzabe still live the traditionalism tourists so lust after) but a forced display of traditionalism, or in other words, a forced visibility.

The same National Geographic article that began this chapter circulated throughout the Kenya Studies Program e-mail list this winter. We all seemed cautious to fully absorb the article at face value; there were several e-mails that talked about the romanticization and stagnant image of the Hadzabe presented. Yet at the same time, it was clear everyone enjoyed reading about the Hadzabe from a non-academic point of view. Regardless of the content, the “pictures were sick,” and reminded everyone of their time with the tribe. This same tension existed in the anecdote that began this whole project; a desire to see the romantic in what we’d studied, a constant pushback between adopting and eschewing the tourist gaze. It is this tension, between re-orienting ourselves with the tourist gaze and abandoning it altogether, along with other issues, which I explore in the fourth and final chapter.

Chapter 4

Dancing for the Maasai The Roles and Rewards of Study Abroad

Going Abroad

What is study abroad and why do it? What do students get out of it? What *should* they get out of it? “Get out of it” may be lexically vague, but so too is the nature of study abroad. The answers to these questions are as numerous as the many options of abroad programs themselves. Study abroad means many things to many people. The main purpose of study abroad, if we might hazard a definition, is ostensibly a pursuit of educational opportunities in a foreign country and the broadening of oneself derived from experience in a foreign country. Study abroad cannot and should not be thought of exclusively as academically focused; by nature study abroad is also travel and tourism.

The concept of study-abroad, as Americans now know it, began in 1923 when Professor Raymond W. Kirkbride, a World War I veteran who’d seen time in France, convinced University of Delaware President Walter S. Hullihen to send eight students abroad to France for their junior years. After completing their studies at the University of Sorbonne, the group came home raving about their experience. Soon after, students from universities up and down the east coast were signing up to study overseas with the University of Delaware; the Junior Year Abroad had been born (Kochanek, n.d.).

Today more than 220,000 students from American universities go abroad each year, with programs operating in virtually every country the world over. At smaller undergraduate institutions such as Hartwick College in New York or Oberlin College in Ohio, participation by students in study abroad veers near 100% of the student

population. Among large research universities who send a significant portion of their students abroad, students traveling outside the United States for academic pursuits range from 40 to 70% of the school population. Tufts ranks fifteenth on this list, with 48% of students choosing to go abroad (Open Doors 2009). Yet the University of Delaware's initiative was hardly new in its premise; America's elite had been going abroad for many years on the traditional grand tour of Europe. Although not connected to specific universities, these tours were ostensibly undertaken with the goal of a gaining a more-worldly education (becoming "cultured," one might say), an aspiration shared by study abroad programs today. While scholarships and the increasing ease of travel have certainly made studying outside of the United States a more far-reaching and democratic opportunity, foreign travel is still inextricably linked to financial resources. Consider that among the top 40 U.S. Universities for percentage of students going abroad, only five are public schools, the rest being private, expensive, research based institutions. Among the top 40 liberal arts colleges, where study abroad rates are even higher, not one is public. While students at most universities are free to study abroad in a range of programs and many scholarships are transferable to study abroad programs, it seems difficult to separate study abroad from money. I will touch on this later when I discuss how the nature of "fun" and "tourism" are today integrated into the St. Lawrence Kenya Studies Program.

Tufts offers ten of its own programs, located from Chile to Hong Kong and every continent (save Antarctica) in between. The university encourages "majors in all departments" to study abroad, not the least because it makes for easier housing placements during the year (Tufts Study Abroad). But study abroad is undeniably a

valuable and transformative experience. My friends and I look back on our semesters or years abroad as the most exciting and educational experiences of our lives. In studying in another country we widened our worldviews, encountered different cultures, and developed in our own persons as we found a sense of independence and self-sufficiency. Certainly no domestic airport will ever daunt me after hauling 100 pounds of mountain climbing equipment through two East African airports and three Land Rover rides, all while trying and failing to express myself in English, on my way to climb Mount Kilimanjaro.

But what did we aim to get out of study abroad? In terms of my own motivations, I applied to St. Lawrence's Kenya Studies Program (SLU KSP) for a number of reasons. As an anthropology major, I wanted a place where I could encounter cultures I hoped to be far different from my own. (Going to Europe just never struck me as "different" enough.) As a student, I looked forward to spending time taking classes with professors at the University of Nairobi, teachers who would undoubtedly bring to their disciplines an expertise I might not be able find at home. And as a tourist, well, Kenya offered a hell of a lot. I left two weeks before the program started to hike Mount Kilimanjaro, and later climbed Mount Kenya, with a number of other cliffs and peaks in between. I fulfilled a lifelong dream of spotting a cheetah, my favorite animal since childhood. And I captured on film the sorts of things I'd before only seen through a television or computer screen; wave-like hills of tea farms, acacia-framed sunsets, and the jagged peaks of the Kenyan highlands after a rainy season snowfall.

One theme rang true among all my friends who had come back from studying abroad: "I came home a different person," they would say. Before I left, I was both

excited and confused by this assertion. How was I going to be different? Was something in me going to change? Would I feel it? This question actually troubled me for a large part of the time I was in Kenya. (My friend currently studying dance in Italy expressed it this way in her blog: “Finally, after fifteen or so years of being convinced I hate peanuts, I discovered I really do like them. I guess they don't lie when they say study abroad will change your life.”) At every new experience I thought to ask myself, “How am I now different? How have I been changed?” Did I feel different one month into the trip? Two months? What about on the plane, looking out the window to see Boston creeping up over the water for the first time in five months? That answer, in short, is no, and even now if someone were to ask me how study abroad had affected me (as I've asked myself throughout the course of this project), I'm not sure I'd be able to pin down any one thing. I have memories of an amazing experience, but am I different because of it?

One way to answer this question is to first understand study abroad by asking the question I've posed throughout this thesis: What are the intersections of study abroad, tourism, and anthropology? As a participant in all three, how was I to make sense of my four months in Kenya?

Mwenda Ntarangwi, director of the KSP from 1998-2003, argues that the distinctions among these roles are minimal. “There are more similarities than differences between the tourist, the anthropologist, and any other student of culture,” he writes in “Education, Tourism, or Just a Visit to the Wild?” The amount of time spent abroad might best be understood as the main differentiator between the three.

The advantage the ethnographer has is the length of time spent in the field and the gradual understanding of the ways the cultures under study are organized and operate. We can thus argue that the difference between the tourist and the student of culture is one of degree, given that both are

driven to other cultures basically because they are different, but then one (student) spends more time in the culture than the other (tourist) (Ntarangwi 2000: 56).

This plays a role in the ways the visitor decides upon what to concentrate in his travels, Ntarangwi says. The tourist focuses on the visual but the student focuses on the visual and verbal. The tourist is content to see but the student must also *listen*; one concentrates on what is displayed while the other on what is both *displayed* and what is *said*. I might add that the anthropologist, presumably more well-versed in the culture than the student, listens to what is *not said*. Tourism, study abroad, and anthropology, then, all exist on a continuum. As time abroad progresses, so must cultural knowledge and sensitivity. This is what leads some students to feel they hold an “ability to see the ‘real culture’ while the tourist sees the ‘unreal’ or ‘performed culture’” (Ntarangwi 2000: 57). Students feel by the second or third month that they know more than the tourist - are indeed on their way to owning the ability to both see and listen. Certainly I used my knowledge of Swahili to my advantage, passing tourists lines by yelling something in Kenya’s lingua franca. I asked questions because I wanted to listen. But before I progress further with this analysis, it seems important to note how Ntarangwi’s assessment is not fully applicable to all study abroad programs.

While I tend to agree with Ntarangwi’s idea of the tourist-anthropologist continuum, study abroad exists in an entirely different way (and on its own continuum) throughout other countries. While much of our time in Kenya was spent on field components outside of urban areas, most European study abroad programs, which attract the vast majority of students, operate entirely in cities, and by extension, in a population more closely related to Western culture.

George Gmelch, an anthropologist at Union College, taught for a summer at the University of Innsbruck in Austria. During that time he asked students to keep a detailed record of their travel outside of Austria, hoping to understand, more or less, what student tourists learn while abroad. At a glance, students' travel seems predominantly self-focused and culturally-apathetic. "For many students," Gmelch writes, "getting to know the places well mattered far less than being able to say that they had been there" (2004: 421). He goes on to note he was surprised by the superficiality of student engagement in the cultures they visited. Students had little meaningful contact with local people. But at the same time, students did change over the course of their study. "Despite their limited immersion in the cultures they visited, the students' *travel* seemed to contribute to their personal development—they became more confident, self reliant, and adaptable. It is hypothesized that the primary cause of this change were the daily challenges students faced in having to function and satisfy their basic needs in an ever-changing array of foreign places, each requiring a new set of cultural understandings" (430, emphasis added). Development in Europe while abroad was predominantly personal, brought about in negotiating the complex transportation systems students were unfamiliar with, in the same way my journey to the base of Kilimanjaro gave me a newfound respect for the world-backpacker. Tufts' Director of Programs Abroad echoes Gmelch's account. In speaking about the reviews that many students write upon coming home, Sheila Bayne explains "Having read hundreds, if not thousands, of these evaluations over the 20 years I have been at Tufts, I can say that the most frequent responses are along the lines of (1) it was the best experience of my life and (2) I gained independence and a broader view of the world" (E-mail to the author, March 22, 2010).

The roles that Ntarangwi's students' assumed in Kenya – as academics and as anthropologists – seem to be mostly absent from Gmelch's account. Students are tourists and nothing else, running off to take a picture in front of the most famous monument and then locating the nearest pub. But what of a study experience in Kenya, where cultural interaction was a scheduled component of the program?

I would posit carefully that at least one difference between the experience of a Kenyan program versus an Austrian program is attributable to race and skin color. While in Europe students were likely unremarkable, blending easily into a European environment due to phenotype, the white student in Kenya is, of course, highly visible. Though many ex-pats live and work in the country, they are focused in and around Nairobi. It can reasonably be assumed that the white foreigner out in the bush is a tourist, an NGO employee, or an academic. Thus immediately students pick up that they have, in a sense, a limited number of roles to which they may adhere, choosing the role of the academic to fit them better than the tourist. Spending more time in the bush than the typical tourist on a week-long safari, Ntarangwi's students developed a sense of superiority akin to the kid who rules the playground, his dominance and knowledge gained simply by being there the longest. Yet, Ntarangwi says,

Although we do discuss issues related to tourism, wildlife, and indigenous people's rights, among others, we still indulge in touristic activities. We ride in open vehicles with camera and notebook in hand ready to take still pictures of all the animals sighted...Despite such touristic activities, I have noted in my interaction with students that they feel a slight resentment toward tourists; the students definitely project themselves as a category that is a notch higher than the tourist. (Ntarangwi 2000: 55)

This category above the tourist includes the gaining of unspoken rights to which the tourist is not entitled, or at least so the student feels. Ntarangwi notes that students were

appalled at the number of tourists driving in safari vehicles throughout the Ngorongoro Crater, kicking up dust, carving deeper roads and ruining grass. Yet no students thought to mention the fact that KSP had hired five vehicles to carry all 24 students participating in the program. Somehow being in the Crater as part of an academic itinerary allowed the students to feel they were able to criticize the tourists, even as they engaged in the very activity that they decried. But this didn't just have to do with environmental concerns. "It was more of an expression of dislike for people who were making the students' visit less unique and raw, for they would have loved to be the only ones there experiencing that space" (Ntarangwi 2000: 55). Students felt completely comfortable to bring out their cameras and take as many pictures of Ngorongoro wildlife as their film canisters could accommodate. Tourists would obstruct these Kodak moments, and what Ntarangwi's students wanted was the undisturbed wilderness every tourist looks for, the virgin back room wilderness that the National Geographic Channel shows.

Yet when it came time for "cultural" activities, students left their cameras in their tents. At one of the Maasai manyattas outside of Ngorongoro (assumedly quite similar to the one I visited near Amboseli NationalPark), students bemoaned the exploitation of the Maasai.

Many of the students were unable to relate to this kind of performance. Indeed, some of them had to be persuaded to get off the vehicles and visit the cultural *boma*. To them this was not 'real,' and it was wrong for people to parade themselves and dance for a fee...Many of the students refused to take pictures at this space, yet we had a long talk with some that I saw secretly taking pictures of young Maasai initiates from the comfort of their vehicle. Thus it was clear that they did not want pictures of people who had willingly and knowingly decided to display themselves for the camera but of those who were unwilling or unknowing, or both (Ntarangwi 2000: 58).

The last point that Ntarangwi makes seems a perfect example of Erving Goffman's "presentation of self" theory. Goffman's seminal work, published in 1959, explains how social life is essentially a set of performative expressions tailored to actors and situations. Clearly if a student is willing to snap a picture anonymously and invisibly from a tour bus, but adamantly against the same act if it requires being out in the open, some sort of role is being maintained. Or perhaps the performance did not include "real" Maasai; only a photograph snapped in secrecy was worthy of precious film, because it was more "authentic." Ntarangwi sees this as a mask of academia. Because there is an ever-pervasive struggle for the student abroad in Africa to distinguish the academic self from the touristic self, students assume a mask of academia that gives them "the confidence to consider their experience more authentic, to think that they have more knowledge of the society than does the tourist, and to suppose that their stay is less harmful to the culture than that of the tourist" (Ntarangwi 2000: 57).

Why don't they wear a mask of academia? In Europe, students could easily blend in with a crowd, making themselves anonymous in a way that many tourists try to do – hastily reading a subway map in the hopes one won't be marked as an outsider or refusing to carry fanny packs or backpacks in an effort to look as if they belong. But, as noted previously, blending into the Kenyan bush is a different act than camouflaging in a European center. Thus the student has a choice – to play the role of the tourist, or to be the academic. But the motivation for both the student and tourist is the same; both seek authenticity. What tourists see as authentic, students do not, because they have been around long enough to see the tourist's "authenticity" as staged. Not only can they pick out MacCannell's contrived back regions, but they see them (and, it can be said, are

encouraged to see them by St. Lawrence) for what the tourist might not: harmful, exploitative, and wrong. And thus the student refuses to engage in the activity; the camera stays in the van, a symbolic denial of the tourist role.

As demonstrated in Chapter Two, Maasai performance within cultural manyattas is not necessarily exploitative. But then again, does the student actually care whether it is or is not? If students find photographing the Maasai invisibly from their vehicle to be acceptable, but snapping photos as a “tourist” in a manyatta to be reprehensible, what then are they hoping to communicate? Most likely, they did not expect to be caught shooting from the vehicle, and probably would have loved to snap shots as the Maasai hummed and jumped during their performance. (I certainly took several megabytes worth of pictures on my visit to a manyatta). So for whom then were these students themselves performing?

As can be imagined, each study abroad experience and group must vary according to its participants. This sort of aversion to the cultural exploitation of the Maasai was not at all present during my stay in Kenya. In many ways, my tour group performed the opposite of Ntarangwi’s students. While we were just as aware of the contrived nature of the performance, this, if anything, allowed us greater license to behave as tourists, knowing it to be, after all, a tourist performance; we celebrated the performance as staging-complicit post-tourists. Several of us had purchased Maasai blankets during the program and the employees of the Maasai Field Centre were more than willing to demonstrate (chuckling to themselves the whole time) how the blankets were properly worn. Dressed thus, we showed up to the performance costumed the same as the performers. In a way we undermined the idea of “authenticity” by bringing it ourselves –

we could do everything the Maasai did, the ceremonial and sacred aspects of the performance having already been dissolved in our minds. When the Maasai danced, we danced, but faster. As the Maasai jumped, we jumped, only higher.

But would we have done this had we not also been staying with the Maasai? We knew it to be performance because of our studies and because we'd been in the country long enough to know the routine, but more so we felt we were not being culturally insensitive because we (a) had long since considered a notion of authenticity (at least in this situation) to be absent and (b) had the support of several Maasai who we actually considered to be "authentic" because they held a wage-earning position and thus were not acting any form of traditionalism. Employees of the Field Centre asked us repeatedly what the Maasai thought when we showed up wearing blankets ourselves. In this way, the cultural manyatta actually went through a period of reverse sight sacralization. The steps of sight sacralization that MacCannell describes became markers of de-sacralization; we could easily juxtapose the mechanical reproductions (prints and photographs) with our guides at the Maasai Centre in order to see the production aspect; Centre employees looked nothing like the stereotypical Maasai postcard shot. In educating ourselves on the contrived nature of these photographs, the manyatta no longer appeared elevated or enshrined. It was a show and nothing else. The manyatta moved from back room (the way a tourist is meant to see it), to front room (when we understood it was just a contrived meeting place) and back to what we saw as a more authentic back room; we knew of the performance and thus were able to see the social interactions and the staged interactions. The manyatta re-became a legitimate place of study because we learned we

could analyze it like knowledgeable academics (pushing toward anthropologists), not tourists.

Encouraged to push the Maasai on the theatrical nature of the dance we watched, students asked questions about what that ceremony meant to the Maasai. The Maasai were quick to explain that it was a circumcision ceremony. In its real production women could not have seen the men, but this didn't make it "inauthentic," they said. This line of questioning quickly gave way to the previously discussed "guy talk," as well as posed photo-ops and weapon demonstrations. As soon as we left we went back to the Maasai Centre, popped open beers (cameras down, once again back to students), and chatted about the "inauthenticity" of the performance. We went from (knowledgeable) tourists dancing with the Maasai to academics *cum* students. We had *performed* the tourist to the Maasai, all the while holding in mind its authenticity. This did not deter us from playing along, dressing up or dancing. In truth, every role we adopted while on the program was carefully negotiated to mirror the situation in which we found ourselves. We snapped pictures on game drives, got massages and got drunk at the tourist hotel we visited one day for lunch, traveled back to the Maasai Centre and put our cameras away to take diligent and sensitive notes in our interviews with Maasai elders, and participated in lectures like typical students. Though none of this should come as a surprise, the difficult question to ask is what students actually made of the experience. As Ntarangwi notes,

If the tourist were to record his or her work in a journal or a book, many of the resulting observations and experiences would be structured in a special way to reach a certain audience as guided by the rules of the discipline for which he or she seeks to write. Therefore, there is a major difference between the written text and experiences in the field. The text tends to eliminate experiences in the field and cultural biases that the tourist or student brought to the field (2000: 58)

He goes on to offer Malinowski's published work contrasted with his slur-ridden field notes as an example. How could we know then what students actually made of the experience?

Getting Away

To extend the role-playing analogy further, it seems reasonable to assume that the way a study abroad office *frames* a school's study abroad programs will dictate to some extent how a student approaches a program (allowing for the fact, of course, that the framing *within* the country is just as significant). It's perhaps worth comparing the descriptions of study abroad in a small range of university study abroad sites. To begin with, we might go back to the University of Delaware, the university that began modern study abroad. Their online introduction to study abroad reads as follows:

Did you know that you can study entomology in the rain forests of Costa Rica? Take the London Underground to your next Shakespeare class? Fulfill your language requirement and see Tokyo on the weekend? You can. Go on one of the University of Delaware's study abroad programs, and you can have the adventure of your (academic) life. (University of Delaware Center of International Studies)

Here, every academic component (study entomology, Shakespeare, language requirement) is cleverly juxtaposed with near-tourist language and imagery (study in the rain forest, ride the London Underground, see Tokyo on the weekend). The last line is particularly telling: in studying abroad, a student will have the "adventure" of his or her life, the *academic* component being merely parenthetical.

Contrast this with the School for International Training (SIT) study abroad programs. SIT is known for its anthropological, experiential, and culturally immersive courses of study, scattered throughout the world and focused predominantly in less

frequently visited areas. In many cases, students hoping to visit a more “off the beaten path” country in Asia, Africa or South America have SIT as their only option. Within each program the country’s culture is a heavy component of study; students stay with host families throughout the duration of the semester or year, and all are required to complete an independent project that involves full immersion in some aspect of the host country’s daily life. SIT’s website describes its abroad programs this way:

SIT Study Abroad programs examine critical global issues in a specific cultural and geographical context. Studying with host country faculty and living with families, students gain a deep appreciation for local cultures, develop language skills, and become immersed in diverse topics ranging from the politics of identity to post-conflict transformation, from global health to environmental policy.

As the description continues, the SIT Study Abroad Experience is bulleted to include “rigorous academic programs,” “undergraduate research,” “cultural immersion,” “access to SIT’s extensive local resources,” and “a commitment to reciprocity.” Nowhere do the descriptions mention what students might hope to do on weekends, and nowhere is the trip described in romantic language. Studying entomology in the rainforest might undeniably include difficulties, not limited to oppressive heat and biting insects, culture shock and foreign food. But the University of Delaware’s description sounds fun, placed as it is next to the touristic idea of studying Shakespeare on the London Underground. SIT is, instead, “rigorous,” focused on “critical global issues,” and committed to “reciprocity.” One sounds in part like a tourist brochure while the other seems more serious and academic. Is it unfair to say that a student choosing the University of Delaware looks more for a vacation semester than an academically rigorous course of study?

Why might the descriptions be so different, and why must abroad programs differ? Study abroad has evolved from Delaware's first eight students to a cultural rite of passage, the four-month trip that many students associate with junior year abroad. Study abroad is mentioned (from my limited memory of the ten or so colleges I visited) on every college tour. It's a huge draw for applicants to know their university encourages study abroad and can provide the programs themselves. But when a prospective student browses a study abroad website, are they interested in hearing about rigorous coursework, or about the fun things they might experience? Even a quick perusal of Tufts Study Abroad catalog shows pictures in front of famous landmarks more than students engaged in the classroom or field. While of course to answer this question is supposition, the stereotypical hallmarks of study abroad are not in my mind "rigorous coursework" but easy coursework, and rampant drinking instead of a "commitment to reciprocity." Here SIT has an advantage in running an organization devoted predominantly to study abroad; the reputation of their programs attracts a specific student, and not operating their own large-scale university, they aren't looking exactly looking to provide for a larger demographic. This is where the context of "fun" and "tourism" enter into the study abroad language. Certainly SLU students, upon hearing their fellow students return from Kenya with tales of tourist hotels and game drives, will be quite willing to apply for the program. I'd apply to Delaware's programs thinking I might be going on vacation.

Perhaps framing is related to both the caliber of students and their financial resources. Consider Tufts' online descriptions of each of their programs abroad; each includes a detailed description first of the university where students will stay, and later of the city and country. There is no mention of what students will be doing on weekends, or

the sort of tourist things they might engage in during free time. Tufts has no problem with application rates, and the student body can be generally described as coming from an affluent background. As a world class institution they have strong draws in areas beyond study abroad. Perhaps for a public university like the University of Delaware, some other draw must be advertised, and prospective students perusing their website might be initially attracted to a study abroad program that sounds fun and interesting. Certainly Gmelch's students knew what was expected of them on weekends; as soon as Friday class was out they were off to the train station excited not to go to museums or see other cultures but to snap pictures in front of monuments and to drink. Would they have gone abroad if they were told they could never leave the Austrian campus and could only speak German?

I would not hesitate to postulate that the University of Delaware study abroad *is* in part like a tourist experience, while SIT programs *are* more serious and academic, although this is not to say that Delaware is not academic nor SIT touristic in some aspects. In the same way a continuum exists among tourist encounters, so must study abroad programs, ranging everywhere from party semesters in New Zealand to intensive study at Oxford University. Delaware requires a 2.8 cumulate grade point average to go abroad, while Tufts asks for a 3.0. For their more intensive Oxford program, a 3.7 is required just to apply. Academic caliber and reality of a program is established in some ways before the program even starts. On top of this, the way programs are advertised will heavily influence what kinds of students (academic focused, adventure focused, party focused, etc.) apply. This in turn affects the overall experience regardless of course of study; my time on the KSP would have undoubtedly been different had I studied with

twenty-five anthropologists, just as it would have changed had I plucked a crowd from a frat party and put them on a plane to Nairobi.

I did have the opportunity to speak with several SIT students while in Kenya. They seemed surprised at the sort of tourist things I described doing – game drives, hotel swimming pools, cultural performances – they’d done none of these. They were expected to use their stipends to spend less than one dollar per meal and stay in rudimentary lodgings. In other words, they were forced *financially* to be culturally-immersed because their money did not allow for Western food or lodging. St. Lawrence, on the other hand, took all manner of precautions to ensure safety and comfort, even flying students to their respective independent studies in some cases (and not unfairly so; both SIT and St. Lawrence students knew what they were signing up for). Our living stipends were more than sufficient and extra money was always available. (My daily stipend included a lemonade, the one drink minimum required to tap into WiFi at a local tourist hotel in order to do work for my independent study.)

Here, of course, St. Lawrence’s study abroad website seems useful to review. Their online overview of study abroad goals reads closer to SIT’s. St. Lawrence’s mission is for students to

- * extend intellectual growth through an integration of classroom learning, cultural and linguistic immersion, and opportunities for engagement with diverse communities through study, work and service;
- * reflect upon one’s own position in relation to others and develop capacities for interacting with people from different cultures and backgrounds in a world of uneven wealth and privilege;
- * enhance awareness of the interconnectedness of human cultures and the natural environment;
- * cultivate a lifelong appreciation of the challenges and rewards of working in intercultural contexts in a broad range of personal and professional situations.

Noticeably, SLU's description lacks the adventurous language of the University of Delaware. And indeed, I feel that I have to a large degree fulfilled each of these goals. But this does not mask the fact that a great deal of our time was spent doing tourist things. Our very first night in Nairobi we were visited by a group of dancers and drummers, and this same sort of performance sent us off. So, perhaps the best way to summarize is to say, as I have said throughout this project, that one of the most difficult parts of being abroad was in learning how to maintain these roles. In hoping to understand how this was achieved, if at all, I went to students from my program. What did they make of their experience upon returning home? Had any role stuck with them more than others?

Coming Home

I asked my fellow students on the Kenya Studies Program how they thought of their experience in an open-ended form. Through an e-mail list I asked for responses to two questions: "How do you feel your study abroad experience affected you?" and "How has your perception of Kenya and Africa changed?" Replies came from around half of the twenty-six students, and, as expected, varied significantly in form. A majority of the responses I would identify as similar to George Gmelch's students, who felt that their travels made them more independent, but other students reflected more deeply upon cultural and anthropological issues.

I'll first provide a review of responses to the first question: How do you feel your study abroad experience has affected you? Many students reflected upon friendships formed or newfound independence. "The bond that was formed between the majority of

the students on the program was almost tangible,” Emily wrote, “but above all else, supportive and empathetic to the tougher aspects of the program itself.” Jordan explained:

Upon coming back, I found the things that I missed the most about being in Kenya where the experiences that challenged me the most: camping in Tanzania, trying to navigate my way to my [independent study office] on my own in Nairobi, etc. Since returning I am always referencing my time there, using it as inspiration in my schoolwork.

Notice what Jordan sees as salient in being the most independent difficult aspects of the program: camping in Tanzania, or trying to move around on her own in Nairobi. Lurking beneath these answers are the cultural aspects involved: “camping” in Tanzania was living with a hunter-gatherer tribe for a week, while the public transportation system in Nairobi revolves around small vans called *matatus* that seat fourteen but often hold near twenty people, with strangers in each other’s laps and babies in strangers’ arms (and ninety degree heat, squashed fruit on the floor, you get the picture). Whites are often charged more than Kenyans, which led to, in my experience, some very heated arguments with matatu drivers. While Jordan does not reference these cultural encounters specifically, they both challenged her, and in turn, she missed them. But perhaps it isn’t even the cultural components Jordan found difficult. She lives in a sorority at school and had little outdoor experience before arriving in Kenya. Camping in the Adirondacks or navigating in New York City might be just as challenging. But other students found no difficulty in these aspects of daily Kenyan life. Indeed, they seemed to want to transfer some aspects of the cultures they encountered in Kenya to their own lives, or at least to educate their friends at home.

Several students noted that their time abroad made them more interested in Kenyan culture but also in world cultures. Katie explained:

I feel I am more aware and attentive to my surroundings whether I am traveling or just at school in my day to day life. I find I care less when people complain about petty issues that in the scheme of life don't matter a whole lot. The most obvious change I can see in myself is my desire and love for life. I have always truly loved life and lived everyday fully, but after Kenya I feel I have a greater appreciation for the World. I have a giant travel bug and I want to learn about so many countries and their cultures, the issues facing them, I want to know them in and out.

Katie is actually fulfilling this wish, studying abroad again this year in New Zealand and returning to Kenya this summer in order to carry out her own independent research.

Another student, Nina, describes how (like Ntarangwi's students) being in Kenya for so long enough opened her eyes to Kenyan issues - to the extent she felt the need to correct her American friends on their misconceptions regarding East Africa:

[O]ne way that I did change my way of thinking was, surprisingly, after I returned from Kenya. Although I believe that the opportunity that I had to experience Kenya does not make me better than anyone who hasn't had the chance to go abroad, when I came back, I realized of all the misconceptions people have about anything that seems foreign to them. When I try to talk about my experience in Kenya, people were only interested in hearing about what they imagined Kenya would be like. They asked about safaris, the Maasai villages, and poverty. My awareness of other people's unawareness has sparked my interest in Kenya's diverse aspects so that I can be knowledgeable enough to fix the misconceptions the others have.

Are we knowledgeable enough upon returning to correct others' misconceptions, or is this more of an extension of Ntarangwi's disdain of students feeling above tourists?

Perhaps it can be better identified as the earning of cultural capital through our edutourist experiences. Surely having lived abroad for four months in East Africa we know more than the everyday student – do we have a right then to correct it? Even if we didn't,

we certainly felt the need to do so. (Indeed, I've found most of us mention Kenya every chance we get. Again, this is part of what brought me to this thesis in the first place; I could tell everyone all about my travels, and could explain minor cultural components, but where did *I* fit into this entire process?)

Nina explained in answering the question of how her perception of Kenya and Africa had changed that she no longer views the continent as a sole entity: "After my experience in Kenya, I no longer treat Africa as a whole. Before, I would habitually say 'African politics' or 'African culture' just because everyone else did the same thing." Without drawing too many conclusions about Nina's knowledge of Africa, it seems here there is at least some evidence of Ntarangwi's feeling that as students, we didn't have much more than the tourist. Nina went from thinking of Africa as a whole (arguably a very large misconception) to educating her friends on the specifics of Kenyan life. But can Ntarangwi say she didn't learn enough to correct her friends' misconceptions? Perhaps as a native Kenyan he is simply feeling a nerve hit by white Americans that come ignorant to his country, spend four months studying, then act as if they are experts in all aspects of Kenyan life. But isn't this what study abroad wants us to do? Inform our viewpoints, correct other's misconceptions, and broaden the overall campus by creating a student body with diverse experiences and expertise? Might this be why Ntarangwi retired from KSP after only several years?

Several students echoed Nina in their recognition of this "Africa as a whole" fallacy. Matt wrote:

On the canvas of my impressions, Africa is no longer a painting but a mural of many. I used to think Africa differed little from country to country, and although I have only spent a significant amount of time in one of its nations, Kenya contained such a wide array of diverse peoples,

cultures, climate, and geography that it would be naïve for me to hold on to my previous belief.

What gave him this belief in the first place? Danielle's response offers some ideas:

When I was preparing to go to Kenya, I expected the whole entire country to have very few trees, very little foliage and lots of clay...Africa is not one barren desert or some lion king jungle. Its diversity in terms of land, people, languages, traditions and perspectives is so wide that I cannot put it into words. And I now see each Kenyan as someone with their own ideas, thoughts and knowledge. Perhaps it is generalizations that I have ridden myself of since our time in Kenya.

Western media slips quite tacitly into Danielle's response: Africa is not a barren desert or "some lion king jungle." As Americans who, for the most part, had little experience of Kenya before leaving, we were subject to the same misconceptions as anyone else. Our knowledge of Africa was something that existed as a whole – the way we'd always heard about African poverty or African politics on the news and in school. Perhaps our education just did not provide for any differentiation. I distinctly remember my world studies classes in high school with units such as Russia, China, India and Africa. In such a diverse place it's easy to see how things can be lumped together for simplicity. Though the Lion King was indeed inspired by Kenyan geography and landscapes, to many Americans I'd imagine its images do encompass, in their minds, the whole of Africa – the land of Lions, Zebras and Flamingos.

I've identified that St. Lawrence's study abroad goals are more closely aligned with SIT's. Do student responses reflect the fulfillment of these? In some ways yes, but more frequently the theme I saw, as George Gmelch saw, and as Sheila Bayne notes, was a personal development. However, Matt certainly gained an "awareness of the interconnectedness of human cultures" – he noted in his response how similarly he and one of his host brothers acted. And Katie, in her desire to know more cultures inside and

out, certainly seems to have gained an “appreciation of the challenges and rewards of working in intercultural contexts.” But most students responded like Jordan and Emily; they’d grown as people, and they’d made lifelong friends.

No country, culture or place can be understood fully in as little as five months. But efforts can be made in the right direction, and my awareness of Kenyan issues and knowledge of Kenyan cultures increased ten fold in the time I was there. Certainly, (particularly as a student) I feel that I do have a right to challenge misconceptions, to feel more knowledgeable than the tourists I encountered. Yet what I saw encompassed a tiny fraction of all that exists. To say that I know Kenya is naïve but to say that I know America might be as well. The best I might try to explain is that the skeleton of my knowledge has been built, and more so that I have a greater desire to continue learning. And yet, what can we make of the anecdote that started off this entire chapter, the movie projector on the lawn, *Out of Africa* and *The Lion King* presented on the big screen? Will we ever be able to get those images out of our head, see clearly through a window that isn’t obfuscated by movies, magazines or television shows?

If memory serves me correctly, one student remarked at the end of *The Lion King*, “I wish Kenya really looked like that.” We’d arrived in the middle of the worst drought in fifty years, and the rain only came in the last week of our stay. Our last month in Kenya, occupied by our independent studies, was spent by most of the students in Nairobi, away from the bush. What they saw for a month was trash on the streets, skyscrapers, and creaking taxis. A few other students, along with myself, had the privilege of moving out of the city for our studies, and returning home on the eight hour drive from the coast just

as the rains had begun. What seemed like a desert and wasteland the month on our drive to the coast suddenly appeared before our eyes as the lush Eden that it looked like in *The Lion King*. The landscape had worked in reverse of the movie, from the barren red tones under the tutelage of Scar to the paradise-like green of Mufasa's rule. Other students did not *see* this, but you can bet they imagined it. "I wish Kenya really looked like that" perfectly iterates the tourist gaze. What students imagine they see will in effect turn into what they actually saw. Even now, when I think back to Kenya, my own images blur with those of *Out of Africa*, so that I sometimes have to remind myself that Kenya is not really green.

In this same way, I would hypothesize that students' responses to these questions were, in some way, adhering to a gaze. Or as it might be more clearly understood, as soon as my fellow students sat down to write their responses, they immediately assumed a culturally sensitive, more anthropological role. As Ntarangwi notes above, "If the tourist were to record his or her work in a journal or a book, many of the resulting observations and experiences would be structured in a special way to reach a certain audience as guided by the rules of the discipline for which he or she seeks to write." The same must be said for the students (and Maasai and Hadzabe) asked to respond to questions for an anthropology major writing his senior thesis (or for an NGO employee, development academic, or plain-Jane sunburned tourist). This is not to say that I believe any of the responses are fabricated. On the contrary, I consider each one to be sincere, but *only in the context in which they were written*. In the same way we could switch from cultural sensitivity as academics to rambunctious photo-snapping tourist-like students in our time within Kenya, so too might we switch from reflective academics to story-telling world

travelers in our reflections. In demonstrating my own experience, I can talk quite anthropologically about my time abroad with my anthropology professors. But when one of my friends asks me about Africa, I'm quick to go ahead with the "Let me tell you about when I drank fresh goat blood, shirtless, in the desert north of Kilimanjaro" story or perhaps the "I watched a guy shot by a Kenyan gang right outside where we took Swahili class" story. If anthropologists are story tellers, so too are students, and each knows their audience well.

The point is that all these stories live inside me and appear where I think they should. So when Ntarangwi suggests that study abroad and tourism are no different, I might say: Of course not, but this does not make any of the roles less significant. An author's high-brow literary work is not lessened if he or she watches soap operas during the day. In the same way the attitudes expressed by my fellow students, if not always present in their minds, are still real. In another way: Should *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* be denigrated in juxtaposition to Malinowski's field notes? We may perhaps attack his character, but much of the scholarship is still sound. While KSP students may have fallen prey to the visions of *The Lion King*, anthropologists too have been victims of the same images, the same prejudices, the same influences of the day (more true for its early stages than the last several decades). I have of course highlighted many problems that I perceive within the Kenya Studies Program, and could of course highlight many more. But this should not diminish the real significance of everything it provides, and anyway, these arguments derive from an anthropological perspective. While by nature the program is intensely anthropological, the majority of its students came from a science background, and, for what little I know, the Kenya Studies Program fulfilled all their

expectations – with interest. As their responses show to some degree (and their conversations even more so), students can speak anthropologically, culturally sensitively. And they can also tell stories like college students. Is Ntarangwi asking too much that students entirely move out of the roles they've been conditioned to play? Perhaps the best we might ask is that they understood where these roles are appropriately (or more importantly, inappropriately) performed. Students abroad can't all be full-time ethnographers. For that, we'd need an army of anthropology majors.

Changing Study Abroad

It wasn't until I sat down with my thesis adviser that I realized just how far this project has come, but more importantly, how far I've come in thinking about it. While I still might not be able to effectively articulate how study abroad changed me, I can certainly describe how *I've changed study abroad*. When I reflect on my experiences I see each one differently than I did upon coming home; the Maasai manyatta is no longer just a dance, hunting with the Hadzabe is not just a fond memory of a cool trip. This was probably my most personal goal in undertaking this project; I returned to the United States with the feeling that I'd done something amazing, but wasn't quite sure what to make of it. Certainly I'll never be the same tourist again. But in a larger way my experience will never be the same because how I view it has changed.

Of course, nothing about my experience is different from when I first stepped foot back home. What's changed is my perception of it, and I think from looking at student responses, too has the salience of the trip shifted for them. What study abroad provided us was a greater self awareness, not so much in the independence we gained while abroad

but in the knowledge we now retain of having moved in between cultures and of the roles we assume while doing so. If not through a conscious orientation of perspective, my fellow students still show cognizance of role maintenance in their responses. In many ways the difficulty of iterating just how study abroad changed us is the fact that not enough reflection is forced upon us after returning home; friends want to hear the stories but are far less likely to be willing to and respond to a self-evaluation of how our own reflexivity has shifted. Maybe students abroad should have to take a class after returning home to better understand their experience, otherwise it is so easily lost among the anecdotes and the snapshots. We didn't take pictures of much of cultural experiences - only in the places where the role was accepted: tourist performances and safari drives. Going through my own photos is like browsing a safari website, not an anthropologists' survey. If I can express my main purpose in undertaking this project after having completed it, it's that I felt my trip to be markedly significant in changing my perception of the world, but I couldn't say how. Had I not busied myself over the past two semesters with really *forcing* myself to confront all the aspects of my experience, I'd probably be left with images of giraffes and Mt. Kilimanjaro, and little else.

Study abroad changes you without your permission. The way students seem to talk about it (and the way that I thought about it) was like a virus; you couldn't look for it to change you, it's out there somewhere, and you'll know when you've been hit. But what if you never catch it? What if I'd returned home and put the pictures and memories away - how would my study abroad be different today? Perhaps this is the importance of *changing study abroad*; our knowledge is reflexive and situational, and even if I've wanted to tear my drafts to shreds or launch my computer out of my window at points,

I'm glad I've undertaken this project because it has created for me a situation to better understand my experience. I have created my own role (shaped in turn by MacCannell, Urry, Cheong and Miller and my wonderful advisers) to understand what Kenya and Tanzania meant to me, and more so what it means to all the people I encountered while there. I am as situated as the Maasai dancer or Hadzabe hunter, but in many ways, they knew their roles better than I did, forced to confront their negotiation every day; if I did the same, it was unconscious, and this is where this thesis has played such a role in changing my own study abroad experience.

I went out to Utah at the end of March celebrate the completion of the first full draft of this project. While there, I visited the Delicate Arch in Arches National Park, the most photographed natural sandstone formation in the world. Before hiking up to the arch, I read the disclaimer at the foot of the trail, which explained that people come from all over the world to see this arch, and that it would be kind of me not to "ruin" their experience by standing under the arch and preventing them from taking the "pristine" photograph. Later in the day, as I was kneeling on the ground taking a picture of another arch, a Canadian couple hastily moved out of the way, explaining "We know what it's like to have your picture be ruined by someone standing in it." I nodded politely and said thanks, but realized after a minute that what I really wanted to say was, no, stay there. The park was full of tourists. Everyone looked up at the arches with awe. To take that "immaculate" picture would be to misrepresent my experience. National Parks are tourist destinations, the same as a Maasai manyatta or Hadzabe hunting tour. What safari companies don't explain is that now part of the landscape equally as much as the elephants, the acacia trees, and blanket clothed *moran*, are camera-toting tourists,

students having a hybrid tourist/educational experience, and anthropologists reflecting on the meanings of their own presence and research. It wasn't just the arches that held my interest at Arches National Park; what the visitors there did, how they saw the park, and how they formed their own meanings of the those sandstone bridges seemed just as important.

Figures



Figure 1 (Source: Perry-Castañeda Library Map Collection, Wikimedia Commons)

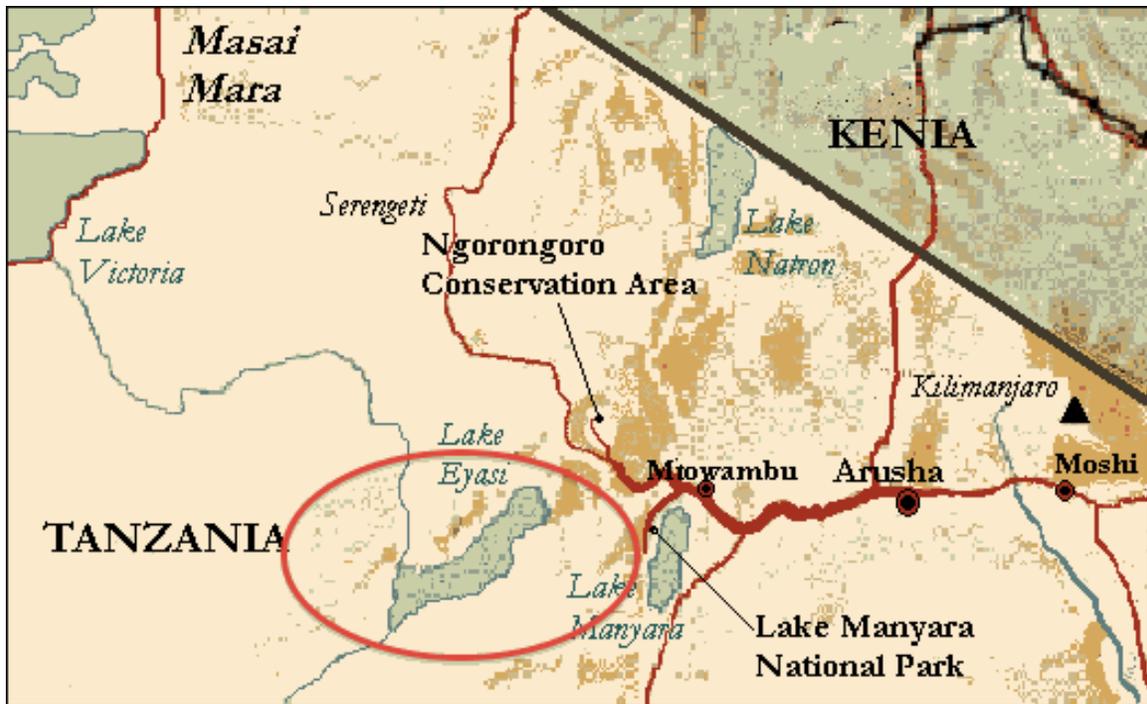


Figure 2: The circular area shows a rough estimate of Hadzabe occupied land until the 1950s. Today the Hadzabe predominantly inhabit a significantly smaller area to the south of Lake Eyasi, known as the Yaeda Valley. (Source: Esculapio, Wikimedia Commons)

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