Indigenizing Tourism: Native American Representations in Contemporary Travel Literature

Bayu Kristianto
{baladewabayu@gmail.com}

American Studies, School of Strategic and Global Studies, Universitas Indonesia

Abstract. This paper aims at investigating the ways in which contemporary travel literature deals with the search for authenticity in Indian country. It responds to the questions: How does contemporary travel literature deal with the search for authenticity in Indian communities? How do travel guidebooks present and "package" the history of colonization in Indian country? How does contemporary travel literature represent the agency of Indian people in responding to touristic practices that do not conform to indigenous traditional customs? The analysis focuses on an area in the United States with a heavy concentration of Native communities, i.e., the Southwest. Fodor's American Southwest, Lonely Planet's Southwest USA, and The Rough Guide to Southwest USA will be critically examined. I argue that while there are different representations of Indianness in various travel guidebooks, the agency of Indian people should be given more prominence in the ways that their representations are made through tourism. Furthermore, to encourage visitors to conduct touristic practices properly and respectfully, as they travel to indigenous lands, these travel guidebooks should take into account indigenous people's worldviews and epistemology.

Keywords: Indigenous, indigenizing, tourism, travel literature, travel guidebooks, Native American representations, authenticity, agency

1 Introduction

Throughout history, White America has always tried to understand the Indian. So drawn were early Americans to find the authentic Indian that they sent out surveyors, anthropologists, archaeologists, and photographers to find the most original "version" of the Indian. Having found Indian graves, Thomas Jefferson engaged himself immediately in the study of human remains, curious to find the most authentic of Indian culture that dated back thousands of years prior to the coming of the white man. In the late 1800s, anthropologists Frank Hamilton Cushing and Matilda Cox Stevenson lived and worked among the Zuni Pueblos. Enamored by the exoticism of the Zuni culture, they were obsessed with becoming experts on Indian culture, bringing sacred objects to the capital city, and intruding in ceremonies and sacred places, and in so doing committed a serious cultural offense. Edward C. Curtis's obsession was to take photographs of North American Indians in their "authentic" regalia before Indian people completely "vanished" from the face of the earth. Beginning in the 1960s through the 1990s and still continuing until now, New Age enthusiasts were attracted to the authenticity of Indian spirituality, which they believed could be found by

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coming to Indian reservations and learning from Indian elders firsthand. For those eager to be as close as possible to the spring of this spiritual knowledge and power: Indian culture and religion, journeys were offered to reservations and sacred places.

This paper aims at investigating the ways in which contemporary travel literature deals with the search for authenticity in Indian country that has permeated Western minds for centuries. Numerous books have been written on the subject of Native American representations in the media; however, these studies focus mostly on depictions from the 1930s (the most famous being Western films) and the 1960s through 1980s (centering on New Age appropriations and white shamanism). There is a lack of scholarly investigations on Native American representations in contemporary post-2000 travel guidebooks, which have become essential carry-ons for travelers in the United States and abroad. I contend travel guidebooks are one of the appropriate venues to examine the search for Indian authenticity as tourists still, to this day, travel to Indian country. I am interested also in investigating the ways in which travel guidebooks treat the history of oppression of Indian people and the way they package this history for touristic consumption. Furthermore, it is intriguing to observe how the agency of Indian people is manifested in the description of tourist destinations in Indian country and in the description of Indian people and culture.

My questions are: How does contemporary travel literature deal with the search for authenticity in Indian communities? How do travel guidebooks present the history of oppression in Indian country and package this history in such a way as not contradict the primary objective of tourism advertising, i.e., to sell the place? How does contemporary travel literature represent the agency of Indian people in responding to touristic practices that do not conform to traditional customs and beliefs in Indian communities? I focus my analysis on a particular area in the United States with a heavy concentration of Native communities, i.e., the Southwest. I chose this area because of the power of the exotic aura that tourists are always eager to seek in this area. The many Indian reservations and villages in the Southwest continue to attract tourists who are enamored with Indian culture. The three travel books I examined are Fodor's American Southwest, Lonely Planet's Southwest USA, and The Rough Guide to Southwest USA. I argue that while there are different representations of Indianness among various travel guidebooks, with some offering positive renderings of Indigenous people and culture and others seeming to put more emphasis on the needs and interests of the tourist, the agency of Indian people should be given more prominence in their representations through tourism. Furthermore, to encourage visitors to conduct touristic practices properly and respectfully as they journey to indigenous lands, these travel guidebooks should take into account indigenous people's worldviews and epistemology.

Ever since their first contact with America's indigenous peoples, Euro-Americans have been engaged in the search for Indian authenticity. However, this project seemed to be futile as they were more interested in seeing the projection of their own selves on the exotic Other. Instead of finding the much-valued authenticity that they sought, they created images of the Indian that instead fulfilled the needs of a particular era in history. This search for authenticity continues to slip; the authentic Indian could never be found, but the search still continues. Throughout history, there have been a number of well-known images of the Indians because the Indian has influenced the Euro-American imagination for several hundred years. The famous Indian character of the 1970s was the Crying Indian, made popular by Iron Eyes Cody, an Italian actor who played an Indian character in films and stayed in character in his actual life. The Crying Indian, known also as the Ecological Indian, projected "the stoic, yet mournful face, the famous tear, the canoe, clothing, and braided black hair," all of which are elements of a stereotypical Indian (Armitage 71). Prior to the emergence of the Ecological

Indian, the Indian image as corn was quite popular. Using the combined image of an Indian and corn (a figure with an ear of corn as the body with the head of an Indian man or woman), the Indian as corn was used in agricultural advertising to emphasize the important contribution of Indian foods to the American diet. Nonetheless, the Indian was depicted as part of nature, not fully human, and certainly lower in status than Euro-Americans (Armitage 84).

Popular in dime and romance novels, another famous Indian character was the Indian lover and warrior. He was depicted as nearly naked, and his physical beauty was almost always what the image emphasized. His nakedness was often contrary to the culture of his tribe, which might not advocate nudity. Interestingly, this character was often "highly Europeanized" (Bird 68, 69), having the bodily features of a European male but with bits and pieces of Indian regalia. Always a handsome and masculine character, he was a Doomed Warrior. At the end of the story, he would suffer and die, redemption for leading the life of a savage. Eventually, his character was marked by "relative powerlessness," having physical strength but doomed to be "structurally impoverished" (Bird 75). The fate of the Doomed Warrior was not so different from that of the Indian Princess, who in the beginning of the story was presented as helping the white man. However, as the story progressed and she had a sexual relationship with a white or Indian man, the princess turned into a squaw, rendering her status below that of a white woman. The Indian Princes was casually relegated to the status of a provider of "sexual convenience" (Bird 81). If the Doomed Warrior was doomed for his savagery, the Indian Princess devolved into a promiscuous sexual object, an unworthy one in comparison to the white woman.

The mainstream public was always drawn to travel to Indian country in search of the authentic Indian regardless of these constantly shifting images of the Indian. A case in point is an embarrassing incident that occurred on the Hopi reservation in the 1970s, when Euro-American tourists committed a reprehensible act in their quest to witness the most exotic element of Indian culture, i.e., the ceremony. Thomas Mills describes the incident as follows:

The two villages that alternate hosting and performing the snake and antelope ceremony no longer allow non-Hopis to attend the dance. The last year [in the 1970s] I managed the cultural center the village of Shongopovi was allowing everyone to attend, and I can only describe it as a stampede. Thousands of people tried to push and shove their way into the small Hopi village. Little respect was shown to the peaceful people who lived there. The elders had no choice but to close the dance to non-Hopi to perform the ceremony in the proper manner. This type of disrespect has been prevalent for many years. In 1902, a Mennonite minister and missionary named Henry Voth used spiked shoes to make his way down the kiva ladder to record every detail of the snake and antelope ceremony at the small Hopi Village of Mishongnovi on the Second Mesa (Indian Country Today, February 22, 2012).

It is clear this quest for authentic Indian culture was prevalent among tourists travelling to Indian country. The drive out west was such an undertaking that they deemed nothing could stand in their way to fulfill their mission. I believe such a quest for authenticity resides in the minds of potential travelers to Indian country still, and each contemporary travel guidebook deals with this quest in its own way. The issue of packaging becomes paramount: travel literature fulfills the quest by packaging the information in a specific way, and the packaging—some might even say whitewashing—of the history of oppression plays an important role in creating the attraction of places in Indian country instead of repelling tourists away from these destinations.

2 Tourism as Ideology

For quite some time, tourism has been a scholarly discourse with a number of scholars in sociology, anthropology, history, and cultural studies problematizing the act of travel as having significance beyond simply providing a release from life's pressures. Daniel Boorstin argues that a crucial part of tourism is tourist advertising, which is a matter of "the packaging and selling of 'pseudo-events,' where "caricature[s] of real events" are made to fit "the provincial expectations of tourists" (qtd. in Hummon 180). A consequence of this process is the replacement of "authentic experiences" with "standardized images" (Hummon 180). Tourism advertising becomes the process of standardization of places where what matters is the packaging of these destinations for tourist consumption. Roland Barthes contends the French travel book Guide Bleu "serves to mystify reality" and ultimately becomes an ideological instrument, i.e., an "agent of blindness," putting people as complementary to a place, that is, the place is considered as much more important than the people inhabiting it. It treats the past merely as "landmarks" that are hardly connected to real historical events (qtd. in Hummon 180). In Barthes' own words: "Just as hilliness is overstressed to such an extent as to eliminate all other types of scenery, the human life of a country disappears to the exclusive benefit of its monuments" (75). Travel guidebooks make us see only monuments in places, thus, reducing places to their signifiers only and in this process discounting the importance of the land and the people. Barthes finds this reduction to be a serious problem in tourist advertising: "To select only monuments suppresses at one stroke the reality of the land and that of its people, it accounts for nothing of the present, that is, nothing historical, and as a consequence, the monuments themselves become undecipherable, therefore senseless" (Barthes 76). Instead of highlighting the whole potential of a place, this process reduces its importance to certain points of interest having no historical significance.

Not only does tourist advertising measure a place by its monuments, it places the emphasis also on the tourist as the most important figure in the whole process. Hal K. Rothman suggests tourist advertising treats a destination as a commercial place and as tourist space that is "specially scripted," i.e., positioning the tourist "at the center of the picture" while making them believe their experience with the locals is the most authentic one and they can somehow see the world from the viewpoint of the indigenous subjects (Rothman 142). In search of authenticity, the task of tourist advertising is to make sure it takes the tourist as close as possible to the most authentic place and culture. According to Dean MacCannell, tourists are obsessed with finding authenticity as an effort to counter the recent effects of capitalism (qtd. in Harkin 575). Michael Harkin contends touristic practices today are marked significantly by this quest for authenticity, especially in destinations regarded as "Paleolithic," e.g., destinations "on the fringe of the developed world," such as Mexico, Morocco, Turkey, and eastern Europe. These places have become favorite destinations for upper-class, well-educated tourists, leading to the popularization of the New York Times' coinage of the phrases "the sophisticated traveler" or "the savvy traveler" (Harkin 575). As tourists journey to places in pursuit of authenticity, their encounters with so-called authentic places and people are "highly mediated," according to Harkin or "staged" in the words of MacCannell (Harkin 76). Authenticity slips from their grasp as these encounters still fail to capture the authentic, if the authentic exists at all. Harkin points out that "tourists constructed their experiences semiotically, seeking authenticity through the framing and reproduction of signs" (576). As tourists pursue authenticity among signs, authenticity is mediated; indeed, it is questionable if authentic authenticity can truly be found.

In a discussion of tourism in the greater Southwest, which emerged along with the development of the railroad, Shelby J. Tisdale suggests travelers to the Southwest were attracted to the authentic as they "were anxious to get to destinations and to experience something of the untamed wilderness and the 'noble savage' along the way" (433). They were eager to see in person how the exotic Others lived while keeping "a safe distance" from them (Tisdale 433). The railroad took tourists to places where they could see indigenous peoples living in the "natural" environment, and later railroad and tourist companies became the "promoters of [the] romanticized image" of the Indian (Tisdale 435). According to Luke Desforges, "[a] desire to encounter an imagined geography of authenticity is an important component of tourism consumption" (358). The notion of "picturesque Others" is intriguing, as Velvet Nelson remarks: "[T]hese picturesque others are perceived to be authentic representations of the local population. This 'authentic' myth conceals the fact that their lives are never truly represented. They are not shown in everyday clothes, family contexts, leisure activities or work unrelated to tourism" (133). The problem of the practice of offering "Indian Detours" is rather than stimulating cultural understanding, "brief encounters between tourists and Native American 'hosts' appeared to reinforce ethnocentrism and stereotypes" (Tisdale 452).

Thus, tourism has become another form of colonial practice and has gone beyond local control as heavily capitalized players are taking part in such a way that tourism does not reflect the values of a place but those of the travelers (Rothman 147). In postmodern capitalism, tourism has gone beyond the national to the trans-national and global; in today's postindustrialism, what matters in the tourism business is "the marketing of images, of information, of spectacle" (Rothman 147). Rothman suggests, "[t]ourism, in which people acquire intangibles – experience, cachet, proximity to celebrity – became the successor to industrial capitalism, the endpoint in a process that transcended consumption and made living a function of accouterments" (148). Travel has become a way for individuals to define themselves as unique individuals by immersing themselves in activities that others are assumed to be incapable of doing. Travel has become "a new form of religion," by which the value of oneself is created (Rothman 149). Indeed, "it is a way to dream better in a reality much the same" (Rothman 151). Tourism becomes important as it plays a crucial role in the creation of the postmodern self, whose identity is shaped by the ability to move from one place to another with the self no longer confined to a particular place. As the traveler searches for a new place to visit, he becomes more and more a placeless subject. According to Hummon, "the contemporary tourist becomes the quintessential, if tragic, modern person, searching for authenticity in an increasingly meaningless world" (181). In this desperate quest, reality becomes distorted, and ordinary places must be made into "extraordinary tourist worlds," making tourism an ideological practice as a basis for a "ritual inversion of activity 'on vacation' and a vindication for returning travelers" (Hummon 181).

Therefore, we can say that as an ideology, tourism frames the act of travelling, providing justification for the worth of travelling and the quest for authenticity. Tourism will continue to find validation as time changes to justify its practices. It will continue to distort and mystify reality, since this distortion and mystification are necessary for the practice to sustain itself. Complicit in this process, travel literature tends to "locate, explain, and romanticize the natural beauty of the region and its exotic inhabitants" (Tisdale 456). Clearly, such a representation resides within an ideological framework. Regardless of how detrimental tourism could be for indigenous people, we should not push aside the fact that tourism could also be beneficial for them. The idea of sustainable tourism has been around for quite some time, via which attention is given to tourism's socio-cultural effects, taking into account the life of the local

residents and awakening a sense of responsibility on the part of the visitors (Lansing and De Vries 80). Paul Lansing and Paul De Vries point out tourism has had positive effects on the lives of Australian Aborigines. The arrival of tourists has drawn public attention to the importance of conservation of cultural heritage. The Aborigines have also gotten part of their land back and have become leaders in their own homelands, actively engaged in preserving both the environment and their culture and providing useful information for tourists in the regions surrounding Uluru (Ayers Rock), Kata Tjuta (The Olgas), and Alice Springs (80). Sustainable tourism is truly possible when it recognizes indigenous people's agency in maintaining and managing their own land.

3 Indian Agency in Tourism

While the making of Indian images continues to happen in American society and tourism remains a problem in Indian country, the Indian people are not devoid of the power to take matters into their own hands. Harkin mentions instead of succumbing to the effort of tourists to frame their homeland to serve their ends, the local indigenous people "frame [the site] in such a way that their necessary but uncelebrated labor creates meaning as well as economic gain" (577). Harkin quotes Arjun Appadurai's concept of "the production of locality," stating that "[a]lthough subject to the forces of globalization and modernity, indigenous and non-Western people dialectically produce and reproduce local meanings" (577). Indigenous people are thereby engaged in the process of decentering the tourist subject, making themselves important agents in tourism discourse and practices.

Indigenous and local people are also capable of devising shrewd techniques by which they take control of the tourist's engagement with the place and culture. This practice is known as "double framing" of touristic sites, creating what Harkin calls "cordon sanitaire," separating tourist arenas from both the actual space of life and the outside world. Indigenous people use misinformation, psychological distancing, and satire as double-framing techniques (Evans-Pritchard and Nesper, qtd. in Harkin 578). Eventually, it seemed tourists became aware of this separation-making and, thus, continued to insist on access to the authentic, forcing the native people to resort to the use of play, irony, and mendacity to counter against such intrusive insistence. Harkin notes it is common for native tourist guides to lie to visitors to incite interest and to increase tips; however, to avoid the loss of privacy and the traditional modes of life that indigenous people need to maintain, the practice of staging touristic encounters is essential. He makes an interesting statement, pointing out the irony that the communities who want to protect their privacy are the ones most sought after by curious travelers. As a result of this, the Hopi and Zuni saw the need to "recontextualize" their songs and dances, which are drawn from sacred and secular sources, for the sake of providing touristic spectacle. They are able to take advantage of this performance and "present positive images of themselves" (Harkin 578). In highlighting indigenous people's agency, Tisdale addresses the concepts of "museumification" coined by MacCannell (1976) and Rodriguez's "touristification" (1990), saying, "Native American populations of the Southwest have resisted 'museumification' or 'touristification' on the one hand, while accommodating it on the other" (Tisdale 454).

We can thereby see Indian people actively engage in the formation of meaning within the discourse of tourism and tourism practices. They are involved in the process of double framing and constant reframing of signs to cater to the tourists' quest for authenticity. They are fully aware that despite the advantages that tourism generates, they must not let themselves be

overwhelmed by this industry and be forced to sacrifice their tribal lifeways and community integrity. Tourism continues to be the favorite practice of the outsiders; however, indigenous people continue to find ways by which they become both subjects and agents in the tourism industry. As stated by Tisdale, the indigenous people fully realize that change has occurred and that there will be no returning to a romanticized, mythical golden age as it is defined by non-Indians. Instead, they have set about finding new ways to take advantage of these changes while maintaining their own culture identity and cultural values, as they have always done. (Tisdale 456)

4 Travel Guidebooks: Authenticity and the Packaging of History

4.1. Fodor's *American Southwest*

Fodor's Travel is a division of the well-known book publisher Random House, based in New York and Toronto. Its tourist destination information is organized according to the attractions that each place offers and includes all the facilities and accommodations available to tourists. For each place, there are sections such as "what to see," "where to eat," "where to stay," "nightlife and the arts," "sports and the outdoors," and "shopping." It is quite clear the book intends to provide readers everything they need to know to get the most out of a destination. The books emphasize convenience to the point that historical information is provided only inasmuch as it is useful to highlight the attractiveness of a particular place.

The search for Indian authenticity is paramount and requires visitors to immerse themselves in real experiences involving the senses. For example, the act of touching objects is crucial to gain a profound sense of authenticity. In describing the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center, the book states the following: "Lower-levels exhibits trace the history of the Pueblo people. Youngsters can touch Native American pottery, jewelry, weaving, tools, and dried corn at the Hands-On Corner and also draw petroglyph designs and design pots (164) [my emphasis]." Though the museum provides the facility for visitors to actually touch the objects, the act of touching itself plays an important role as it bridges the tourist's body with the cultural objects that fascinate the mind. Authenticity is obtained by utilizing the senses to get an actual feel of cultural objects.

The focus on the newcomers and visitors is obvious in Fodor's American Southwest's description of Taos, New Mexico. Instead of focusing on the people of Taos, the description of this destination highlights the fact that Taos have continued to invite non-Native artists to come there. Therefore, it was the outsiders who mainly played a role in the town's "creation":

In the early 20th century, another population – artists – discovered Taos and began making the pilgrimage there to write, paint, and take photographs. The early adopters of this movement were painters Bert Phillips and Ernest Blumenschein, who were travelling from Denver on a planned painting trip into Mexico in 1898 when they supposed to have a broken wagon wheel repaired in Taos. […] Over the following years, many illustrious artists including Georgia O' Keefe, Ansel Adams, and D.H. Lawrence also took up residence in the area, and it is a small mecca for creative types today (164).

The arrival of interested outsiders gave the place its value, while the indigenous people are deemed not as significant. In fact, the book mentions Julia Roberts as one of the eager visitors to Taos; however, the book provides very little information about the locals, who are subsumed as simply belonging to the Taos' small population of roughly 6,500. In addition,

much more important than the people is the fact that Taos is a United Nations World Heritage site, having the largest collection of multistory pueblo dwellings in the United States (173). Somehow, the book has to mention Taos Pueblo people as the place's inhabitants in order to enhance its authenticity, signaling that it is indeed worth visiting.

Even after 400 years of Spanish and Anglo presence in Taos, inside the pueblo the traditional Native American way of life has endured. Tribal custom allows no electricity or running water in Hlauuma and Hlaukwima, where varying numbers (usually fewer than 100) of Taos Pueblo people live fulltime. Roughly 2,000 others live in conventional homes on the pueblo's 95,000 acres (174).

This description highlights the importance of the place remaining in its original condition from hundreds of years ago. The more detached it is from the mainstream, the more attractive its authenticity is for tourists. The book emphasizes the idea that there are only a small number of Native people inhabiting Taos to enhance its sense of separation from modern life. The idea that there are two different groups of people in Taos, one living in the traditional pueblo and practicing ancient ways of life and the other living in the more modern periphery, strengthens the lure of authenticity that the book is cultivating. The book states further 80% of the population is Catholic and the Church of San Geronimo has been there since 1620. It also highlights the fact that despite being Christians, Native people still maintain their own religious traditions as well. However, there is a lack of discussion of how the natives reacted to the intrusion of Christianity into their tribal life since the time of encounter. This history of conflicts seems to be less important than the fact that despite being Christian, the native people in Taos remain in a way authentic, embracing Christianity while maintaining traditional religious traditions. While both Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA* and *The Rough Guide to Southwest USA* discuss the Native people's negotiations of religion, Fodor's *American Southwest* is unique in that it mentions religion but fails to address the friction that occurred due to missionization.

One thing this book emphasizes is the three most dominant racial groups in the area have always lived side by side peacefully. The recurring inter-racial conflicts are deemed irrelevant to tourists eager to explore the place. This artificial creation of peace is necessary for a tourist destination to continue to attract visitors, hence the suppression of this fact and possible frictions that do happen and could continue to happen among these groups in the future.

Turning to the city of Tucson in the guide, we read it has a tri-cultural (Hispanic, Anglo, Native American) population, and the chance to see how these cultures interact – and to sample their cuisines – is one of the pleasures of a visit. The city is particularly popular among golfers, but the area's many hiking trails will keep non-duffers busy, too. If the weather is too hot to stay outdoors comfortably, museums like the Arizona State Museum and the Center for Creative Photography offer a cooler alternative (328).

It is interesting to see the emphasis on the "interaction" between cultures in this description. The history of race relations is framed in such a way that it is the blending of cultures, instead of their collision, that should matter to tourists. In fact, this blending becomes the strength of this place as a variety of conveniences can be found in the same area. The description is quick to mention, leaving historical ambiguity behind, that nature offers visitors many possibilities for exploration and that the buildings are a convenient haven from the heat.

It is apparent an important descriptive strategy of the guide is to move from one feature to another, leaving the reader without enough time to digest a particular piece of information. The book seemingly chooses to exclude historical events that are too controversial and too politically bothersome. While the other two books I examined include the mention of the Navajo Long Walk, during which roughly 3,000 Navajo died in the forced

relocation under the leadership of Kit Carson, this particular book does not seem to regard such a fact as important and worthy of inclusion. While Native people are regarded as necessary merely for the sake of creating an attractive sense of authenticity, the importance of outsiders' influence on the region seems to be the highlight of the description. The Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) is depicted at length because it is where Euro-American art teachers were successful in educating Indian artists and helping them to launch their careers as Native American artists. The mention of such famous Euro-American artists is seemingly important to make this place appealing: "Artist Fritz Scholder taught here, as did sculptor Allan Houser. Among their disciples was the painter T.C. Cannon" (91). Indigenous people are positioned at the periphery still: they are important for their sought-after authenticity, but if they do not live up to the imagined authenticity in the travelers' minds, they receive very little mention.

4.2. Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA*

Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA* has a different approach from Fodor's *American Southwest* to the issue of authenticity and packaging history. First of all, Native American history including the arrival of the Europeans was included at the beginning of the book in a section titled "History" so that at the outset of their trip planning, travelers could read balanced and relatively unbiased history of Native people and their interactions with Europeans. Lonely Planet does not make any effort to silence or blur Indian-white conflicts. Below is a passage on the effects of colonization by the Europeans in Indian country:

When the Europeans arrived in the Southwest they brought a lifestyle completely foreign to the Native Americans. Mother Earth and Father Sky, bows and arrows, ritual dances and sweat lodges, foot travel, spiritual oneness with the land – all these were challenged by the new concepts of Christ and conquest, gunpowder and sword, European civilization and education, horses and a grasping desire for land (37).

There is clear acknowledgment the American Southwest has been a land of conflicts, where Native people struggled against the colonization of their land perpetrated by the Spaniards and the Anglo-Americans. Lonely Planet does not shy away from depicting the strained relation between the two races. The following passage is also quite telling: "In addition to armed conflict, Europeans introduced smallpox, measles and typhus, to which the Native Americans had no resistance, into the Southwest. Upwards of half of the Pueblo populations were decimated by these diseases, shattering cultures and trade routes and proving a destructive force that far outstripped combat" (39). I believe such information is necessary and useful for potential visitors to the Southwest. Knowing the history of the place and the people is one step toward responsible travel and at least Lonely Planet is striving to achieve this goal. In my opinion, such a strategy is useful to respond to Barthes' critique that tourism merely reduces the geography and its people into senseless monuments.

In a land of conflicts with a history of oppression, the following acknowledgment is a necessary insertion for travel advertising:

Even after the wars were over, Native American people continued to be treated like second-class citizens for many decades. Non-Native Americans used legal loopholes and technicalities to take over reservation land. Many children were removed from reservations and shipped off to boarding schools where they were taught in English and punished for speaking their own languages or behaving 'like Indians' – this practice continued into the 1930s (40).

As Lonely Planet itself acknowledges, the notion of responsible travel is essential in its advertising of tourist destinations. Tony and Maureen Wheeler, the founders of Lonely Planet, stress the importance of travelling responsibly, i.e., the necessity of "making connection" to the place being visited: "[W]e realized from the start that making a connection to the places we visited was a vital part of the same message we wanted our guidebooks to carry, right down to how they are produced" (the Lonely Planet website).

Debbie Lisle points out Lonely Planet has become the opponent of "the cruise ship and the droning tour guide," for it "offers an alternative ethical vision of travel that seeks to overcome rather than entrench – the global inequalities bequeathed by colonialism and capitalism" (156). One example of this critical attitude is the writers of Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA* recognize there are inaccuracies in anthropological works written about Native American religions because the strong sense of privacy regarding spiritual matters among Native people prevents them from comfortably revealing facts about their ceremonies and rituals (49). Such an acknowledgment is an indication of awareness that scientists are not the only authority providing information on Native lands. Lonely Planet's Southwest USA does not hesitate to present unpleasant facts such as poverty on Indian reservations, stating, for example, "Today, the San Carlos and Fort Apache Reservations are among the poorest and youngest: over 50% live below the poverty line, unemployment hovers around 16%, the median household income is $17,000, and the median age is 22" (55).

In the section "Native American Southwest," there is a detailed description of each of the tribes residing in the area that includes the population, the exact location, the size of the area, the meaning of the Native name of the tribe, the natural resources, its main livelihood, the general character of the people and culture, and the languages spoken. In my opinion, the placement of this information at the very beginning of the book is a correct strategy, so that travelers are aware of facts about Native people that are largely ignored by visitors, who perhaps think Indian people are relics of the past. It is important that visitors to the Southwest are informed about the existence and persistence of its Native American culture and people. Lonely Planet has rightly included the importance of observing proper etiquette when travelling in indigenous lands. The inclusion of a passage such as the following is crucial:

When you visit a reservation, you are visiting a unique culture with perhaps unfamiliar customs. Be courteous, respectful and open-minded, and don't expect locals to share every detail of their lives. Native Americans welcome visitors, but the almost constant, high-season parade of well-meaning scrutiny would exhaust everyone" (61).

Especially considering the lack of respect shown by European visitors in the Hopi village of Shongovopi in the 1970s, such an admonition is highly essential. Lonely Planet clearly realizes the observation of protocol is paramount in Indian communities.

However, despite extensive information on Native people and culture there seems to be excessive reliance still on information provided by anthropologists and archaeologists. It seems that in an effort to provide objective and reliable information, anthropological and archaeological sources were considered to be the most appropriate well of information, overlooking other sources that can also be as reliable, such as information provided by the Tao Pueblo people themselves. Commenting on this practice, Debbie Lisle argues, quoting philosopher Alain Badiou that humanitarian tourism such as that advocated by Lonely Planet maintains the dichotomy of benefactor and victim since the "quasi-feudal" power was put in place behind a mask of humanitarianism: there is a difference between the people who give and those who receive (159). Thus, the ethics of humanitarianism still relies on essentialist ethics, which sharply distinguishes the giver from the receiver, dominant in a vulgar sociology, claimed to be "directly inherited from the astonishment of the colonial encounter

with savages" (160). Lisle contends Lonely Planet travel books condone such feelings of fascination, and at the same time "they bury such a 'vulgar sociology' in the noble sentiments of humanitarianism" (160). She continues by saying the colonial logic is not "dissolved" by Lonely Planet; instead, "it is smuggled into this new discourse of humanitarianism in covert and subtle ways" (164). Therefore, based on this contention, Lonely Planet guidebooks are complicit in the process of objectification of the Other. While stating they encourage responsible travel and the awareness of existing global inequalities, they are players in the practice of Othering the Other at the same time.

This point is furthered when one considers how much emphasis Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA* places on information provided by anthropologists and archaeologists. In the description of their history, culture, and people, the native subjects do not have a voice of their own. It is quite obvious the guide has failed to include stories and history from the Natives' oral traditions in its elaboration of tribal communities. However, it should be noted the Natives do have a small voice in the book: There is a feature article on local history that includes the story of how Navajo Don Mose bridged the Navajo and Euro-American worlds. Despite what other Navajos predict, Don Mose believes the Navajo language will not disappear and is instead developing still. Claiming there should not be a uniform notion of poverty, he considers his people rich for possessing their homeland and their sacred mountains (59). While such an inclusion is a step in the right direction, it is seemingly the only place where we can hear an actual indigenous voice. In the book, most of the time, the Native subjects are silent. By providing only a limited space for indigenous voices, Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA* draws its knowledge of the area from the authority of Westerners still. The separation between the observer and the observed is quite rigid, despite a small allowance given to the observed to relate his/her experience.

However, the emphasis on observing the Other is less intense in Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA* in comparison to what I found in Fodor's, the title of which is somewhat problematic because "America" refers to the entire western hemisphere, not solely the United States. Also, Fodor's *American Southwest* does not place much emphasis on the history of Indian-white relations and even less on observing protocols and maintaining appropriate etiquette when visiting Indian lands. It places more emphasis on the search for authenticity than Lonely Planet does and advocates the idea that contact with Westerners is the only thing that gives Native places meaning. On the other hand, Lonely Planet insists it is highly essential that travelers abide by Native protocols and maintain proper behavior as responsible travelers.

4.3. *The Rough Guide to Southwest USA*

The Rough Guide to Southwest USA strikes an interesting balance between providing complete historical information, encouraging cultural sensitivity, and maintaining a distance from the issue of authenticity. It has this to say about the importance of cultural sensitivity:

Many outsiders—Americans and non-Americans alike—feel uncomfortable about entering Native land, but so long as you behave with due cultural sensitivity you will almost always be made to feel welcome. In particular, travelers in "Indian Country" should respect the laws that bar the sale, possession, and consumption of alcohol on the reservations. Always request permission before photographing (or even drawing) people or personal property, and accept that you may be asked for a fee. As well as obeying explicit signs that ask you not to enter specific areas, such as shrines or kivas, you should also be aware that off-driving and off-trail hiking or climbing is forbidden. If you have to drive up to someone's home or hogan, stay in your car and wait to be approached, rather than blundering in (50).

This important advice is placed in the "Basics" section at the very beginning of the book, under the heading "Travelling in Indian Country," which signifies how important it is for travelers to understand the protocols and customs that prevail in Indian communities. This prominent placement indicates the publisher of the book is likely aware of the negative effect tourism had on Indian communities in the past. In my opinion, the suggestion that it is still possible to enjoy traveling in Indian country but that utmost care should be taken in the process is highly appropriate.

The book tries also to maintain a healthy balance between the quest for authenticity and the fabrication of authenticity as it applies to Indian culture and crafts. Instead of urging travelers to seek the most authentic Indian crafts, it points out authenticity is merely a cultural construction, i.e., what Indian crafters offer to tourists is the projection of a Westernized notion of authentic Indianness:

Enterprising traders encouraged Indians to adapt or learn craft techniques to make souvenirs; as one anthropologist put it, the resultant hybrid was "the Indian's idea of the trader's idea of what the white man thought was Indian design" (51).

"Authentic" Indian art becomes little more than simulacra: the Euro-Americans think that they are purchasing authentic items, while the Indians are only catering to the notion of authenticity as it is formed by the white man himself and later processed and manipulated by the trader. True authenticity slips away from the tourists' grasp when they buy a product essentially shaped by their own imagination. In this way, the book problematizes the notion of authenticity and maintains a certain distance from it, even mildly poking fun at tourists who are obsessed with finding authentic Indian cultural objects when travelling in Indian country.

To cater to the needs of some travelers who insist on finding authentic Indian crafts, the book provides an important reminder there are many terms describing Indian crafts but that only one has the "legal force" of authenticity. This somewhat tongue-in-cheek admonishment acknowledges and mildly mocks some tourists' fixation on authenticity:

If you want to be sure that whatever you're buying was individually crafted by a Southwestern Indian, you're entitled to ask the vendor for a written Certificate of Authenticity. Only the phrase "Authentic Indian handmade" has any legal force. "Indian handmade" means that the object was designed and assembled by American Indians; "Indian crafted" means that American Indians had a hand in the process; and words such as "real" and "genuine" mean nothing (51).

Interestingly, the book strives to present an objective observation of conditions on the reservations and does not shy away from the mention of some of the unpleasant sights found in the area.

While a declining proportion of Navajo are now farmers or shepherds, their nomadic origins remain evident. Most Navajo choose not to live in urbanized areas, so what few towns there are on the reservation tend to be ugly modern accretions, consisting of trailer homes gathered around a few disheveled lots (66).

The fact that the book describes the living places of the Navajo people as "ugly modern accretions" may be dissonant for travelers eager for beautiful sights. This unflinching description seems to be made by someone outside the community who is passing a judgment on the Natives' living condition with no thought to why or how they devolved into that condition. Indeed, the book's weakness, similar to Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA*, is its lack of attention to indigenous voices. While their history and culture are described in extensive details, Native people remain outside of the picture focused by the Western gaze. While Lonely Planet's Southwest USA makes space to hear from a living indigenous voice, *The Rough Guide to Southwest USA* cleaves mostly to information obtained from sources deemed

reliable in the western world, i.e., archaeology, and makes no room for a Native perspective. To provide information on the Ancestral Puebloans, reliance on archaeology is obvious: "Archaeologists divide the Ancestral Puebloans of the Four Corners into three subgroups" (66); "To archaeologists, Chaco Canyon represents the apogee of Ancestral Puebloan achievement" (114); and "When Chaco became a national monument in 1907, archaeologists estimated that it was once home to twenty thousand people" (114). The book portrays the disappearance of the ancient Pueblos without seeking a modern Native voice to provide a current perspective or even to share traditional Puebloan stories.

This silence notwithstanding, the book contains a brief mention of the Ghost Dance (393) and the Navajo Long Walk, a very important historical event for the Navajo people (77), but includes quite an extensive exposition on the Hopi religion (pp. 84-85). This article starts with a strong statement seemingly intended to engender tourists' respect for indigenous religious traditions: "The Hopi feel neither the urge nor the obligation to divulge details of their religious beliefs and practices to outsiders" (84). To warn potential travelers who may be intrigued by the pursuit of authenticity in Indian ceremonies, the book is quick to remark, "the Hopi have moved toward the exclusion of non-Indians" (84). However, it goes on to say if luck is on their side and an opportunity opens up to participate in a social dance (but not the sacred Snake Dance, in which dancers perform with live snakes between their teeth, drawing as many as 2,500 observers to one in 1916), proceed thus: "If you do get a chance to attend a ceremony, wear clothing that fully covers your body, keep your distance, and do not photograph, or question either dancers or audience" (85). The book advocates responsible travel and a respect for the norms and customs of the foreign world one is visiting. Instead of urging potential travelers to pursue authenticity at any cost, this book makes them think carefully before starting a journey in Indian country.

Even more, it provides useful suggestions for travel in Indian country, and the detailed historical references are available in many places in the book: the beginning, in each description of a place throughout the book, and especially at the very end, where there is a long exposition of the history of the Southwest. It seems while the *The Rough Guide to Southwest USA* tries to avoid creating what Roland Barthes calls "senseless monuments," uprooted from the history of the land and the people, it at times demonstrates a disappointing disregard of the indigenous perspective of history still. A case in point is the elaboration of the migration of Native Americans from Asia via the land bridge on the Bering Strait. It describes the story as follows:

No trace of human beings in the Americas has been dated any earlier than 14,000 years ago, when the true pioneers of North America, nomadic hunter-gatherers from Siberia, first reached Alaska. Thanks to the last ice age, when sea levels were three hundred feet lower than the modern Bering Strait, a "land-bridge" – actually a vast plain, measuring six hundred miles north to south – connected Eurasia to America (565).

Despite the prevalence of this idea, most indigenous people in America reject the theory because it provides justification for the idea they did not originate on American land.

Leanne Hinton, a famous linguist from UC Berkeley whose work focuses on California Native languages, argues in support of the Native people's standpoint, "it is senseless to try to find out when people arrived at a certain location long ago; people were created where their land is" (93). Hinton references another scholar also, Johanna Nichols, who conducted research on comparative grammar of California Indian languages (1992) and found, "Native American languages are so different from each other that they must have been diverging for much longer than 15,000 years. This supports the theory that the Americas were populated before then" (Hinton 82). The authors of *The Rough Guide to Southwest USA* may not agree

with this theory, but there should at least be a mention of this controversy in Southwest history instead of simply glossing over it.

I contend this exclusion is in line with the book's reluctance to include indigenous perspective in its description of places. This seeming ambivalence is quite intriguing: the book strives to provide as much information as possible, i.e., historical, anthropological, sociological, and anthropological, to avoid erecting senseless monuments at each destination, but it negates the role of indigenous inhabitants in the formation of spatial discourse pertaining to their own land. It is quite clear the history of the American Southwest is packaged to cater to the interest of the inquisitive tourist but not so much to provide a balanced historical account that is respectful and beneficial to both Native and non-Native people.

5 Indian Agency in Southwest Tourism

Since tourism was the extended hand of colonialism, with tourists arriving in Indian country alongside or replacing non-Native anthropologists and photographers, Indian people in the Southwest decided to take tourism into their own hands. Seeing a ceremony turn into a stampede was a harsh lesson that forced them to make decisions about which spectacles were available for tourists and which sacred ceremonies were completely closed to outsiders. Furthermore, many indigenous inhabitants of the area work as tour guides, leading tourists on paths allowed to be trampled upon by outsiders. Usually charging a fee for this service, Indian guides make sure travelers stay on the path and do not foray into forbidden areas. For example, in the Monument Valley Navajo Tribal Park the only tour available is the Navajo-led tour, offered to tourists who want to "get off the road and into the back country," either on horseback or in a car, with a fee starting at $40 [in 2008] (Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA* 224).

Indian agency is noted in the travel guidebooks with many references to Indian people becoming active participants in negotiating the impact of tourism on their communities and making it beneficial for them instead of detrimental to their traditional lifeways and customs. A tour led by indigenous people provides the venue in which verbal and non-verbal agency takes place. Native guides may exaggerate to tourists the dangers of venturing off the path, they may deliberately distance themselves from them, or they may reply satirically to tourists' intrusive questions.

The Rough Guide to Southwest USA mentions tourism is at the center of the economy of the Havasupai reservation, claimed by an anthropologist in 1930 to be a place where native culture remained in its original condition. Nonetheless, the Havasupai people manage to keep the number of tourists very low at roughly 35,000 per year. To avoid any destructive impact on their traditional lifeways, they have refused the development of a road or a tramway down the Havasu Canyon. This is a strategic move because the Havasupai people, numbering about 500, capitalize on tourism by escorting non-hikers up and down the trails on the back of a horse or mule. They also operate quite a successful campground as well as a convenient lodge in the nearby village of Supai (391).

The presence of the many prohibitions, which may make some tourists reluctant to visit a particular destination, is a manifestation of Native people's taking control themselves of tourism. This sense of belonging and ownership is essential in affirming their agency as the rightful possessors of their land. With regard to the Hopi Reservation, Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA* provides the following warning:

Each village has its own rules for visitors, which are usually posted along the highways, but generally speaking, any form of recording, be it camera, video or audiotape, or even sketching, is strictly forbidden. This is partly for religious reasons but also to prevent commercial exploitation by non-Hopis. Alcohol and other drug use is also prohibited (227).

In the Hopi and in many other Indian reservations, the Indian people are in control of what outsiders are allowed to see, going so far as forbidding them to record, photograph, or memorialize any of it in any way. While tourism can be beneficial to Indian communities, it must not compromise the sacredness of certain places. In their often-insatiable quest for authenticity, tourists may forget being inquisitive can be intrusive, and it is up to the Indian people to make sure the practice of tourism does not objectify them. Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA* makes frequent references to the importance of respecting the right of Native people to select what will or will not be made a tourist spectacle, as seen in the following passages:

Pueblos are not Museum: At pueblos, it's easy to forget that these incredible adobe structures still house people. But they do. Public buildings will be signed; if a building isn't signed, assume it's private. Don't open any old door, and certainly don't climb around. Kivas are nearly always off-limits.

Ceremonies are not Performances: Treat ceremonies like church services; watch silently and respectfully, without talking, clapping or taking pictures, and wear modest clothing. Powwows are informal, but remember: unless they're billed as theater, ceremonies and dances are for the tribe, not for you.

Privacy and Communication: Many Native Americans are happy to describe their tribe's general religious beliefs, but not always or to the same degree, and details about rituals and ceremonies are often considered private. To avoid seeming rude, always ask before discussing religion and respect each person's boundaries. Also, Native Americans consider it polite to listen without comment; silent listening, given and received, is another sign of respect (LP 62).

By including these warnings and advice, Lonely Planet engages in the act of affirming Indian people's agency in making tourism operate on their own terms instead of those of the outsider. Thus, native people use tourism to serve their own interests instead of those of travelers. It is an act of agency to let travel book publishers know of these prohibitions and warnings so that travelers arrive with the proper understanding of how to behave respectfully on Indian lands. I contend such a practice is one of the shrewd techniques used by Native people to manage and control the way outsiders engage with them, their land, and their culture. The Natives engage in double framing by separating the tourist arenas from sacred places and actual living space. While not mentioned by the travel guides, I believe an empowering process of recontextualization happens when Natives select songs and dances in a performance open for tourists for the sake of touristic spectacle.

Both Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA* and the *The Rough Guide to Southwest USA* are engaged in the act of protecting Indian communities from nagging intrusion by uninformed tourists; this is one of the ways in which they advocate the practice of responsible travel. Despite their intermittent silencing of indigenous voices, both books take enough care to remind travelers to behave properly when journeying though Indian country. Such references are unfortunately scarce in Fodor's *American Southwest*. The Fodor's guide places little emphasis on the importance of proper behavior by tourists in Indian country, emphasizing instead tourists' unslakable quest for authenticity, referring to Native people mostly as producers of crafts and jewelry.

6 Conclusion

The three guidebooks grapple with the question of authenticity, the packaging of history, and Indian agency in tourism in different ways. Lonely Planet's *Southwest USA* does not so much emphasize the issue of authenticity as much as the other two guides do. Perhaps realizing such a quest tends to be destructive to Indian communities and abiding by the principles of responsible travel, it tries to offer information as objectively as possible, incorporating crucial information with regard to the plight of Native people in the face of European colonization. By placing a candid discussion of Indian history at the very beginning of the book, it makes potential travelers aware their destination has a unique history of conflict and oppression, a bit of unpleasantness that potential travelers encounter at the start of their reading. However, this historical information is confined to the beginning of the book, which after the chapter on history, becomes more of a manual, presenting places, facilities, and accommodations with less emphasis on people and history. It suffers further from excessive reliance on scientific and anthropological sources, neglecting traditional narratives by indigenous people, providing a nod to them in one short section only.

The Rough Guide to Southwest USA seems to be aware of travelers' search for authenticity, and it plays with this notion by presenting Indian culture as simulacra, when what is regarded as authentic Indianness is actually the result of imaginative processing by the colonializing society. Its packaging of history is different from Lonely Planet's: it presents extensive elaboration of historical facts of each tribe and reservation at the beginning of the book, constantly engages the readers with historical accounts and important indigenous cultural elements throughout the entire book, and includes a detailed historical explanation of entire Southwest at the very end of the book. Such a strategy is effective to rid the sense of encountering senseless monuments when learning about and visiting a place. It features discussions of important topics such as the Hopi religion, which is lacking in Lonely Planet. In this way, it serves as both a travel guidebook and an inspiring introductory learning tool about Native people in the Southwest. Unfortunately, its perspective remains steadfastly western in its discounting of the standpoint of Native people in response to important issues such as the Bering Strait controversy. Its breadth of historical, anthropological, sociological, and archaeological information is quite impressive; however, it partakes still in the act of silencing indigenous voice and epistemology.

Since it does not present enough historical information of destinations in Indian country, Fodor's *American Southwest* seems to be the least favorable to indigenous people, among the three. I contend this book tends to treat places as senseless monuments, without any significant history other than what they can offer to uncritical tourists. In addition, instead of treating the indigenous people as the main actors in touristic practices, the book places the tourist directly in the center of the picture. This conforms to Velvet Nelson's assertion, "[i]n promotional material, local people are represented as irrelevant unless they have a function to tourism, whether they serve as a tourism attraction or facilitator" (136). Furthermore, the notion of the quest for authenticity remains strong in this volume, which focuses on finding the most authentic Indian crafts made by the Indian peoples themselves. The book emphasizes authentic touristic experience as the ultimate objective of touristic travels and, by evoking past visits and colonization by Euro-Americans as attractive models for tourists, focuses strictly on what travelers can obtain by travelling to Indian country.

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