

MASTER THESIS TOURISM AND CULTURE

THE SAGA OF THE “SAVAGE”

AN EXAMINATION OF VISUAL REPRESENTATIONS OF THE
MAASAI AND KAZAKH IN THREE DISCOURSES

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Abstract

This thesis researches the representation of the Maasai in Tanzania and Kenya and the Kazakh in Mongolia on photographs from various discourses. It will focus on an artistic discourse, a touristic discourse and an anthropological discourse, and will research the representation of the people in them through various aspects such as clothing and attire, surroundings, the position of the body, and overall composition and visual elements. For the artistic discourse, this thesis relies on the work *Before They Pass Away* by Jimmy Nelson. The touristic discourse is based upon photographs from various websites, blogs, and guidebooks. The anthropological discourse relies on photos from works by Edward Bruner, Takuya Soma, Dorothy Hodgson, Saniya Edelbay and Jennifer Post. By researching the representation of indigenous peoples in these discourses, this thesis answers the following research question: In what ways do the artistic, touristic and anthropological discourses on the Maasai from Africa and the Kazakh from Asia differ from or resemble each other as far as photographs are concerned? This thesis concludes that in terms of clothing and attributes, the artistic discourse deliberately leaves out modern elements whereas the touristic discourse deliberately leaves out weaponry. In terms of landscape, a reoccurring concept is the sublime; used in both the artistic and touristic discourse to create photographs that impress and awe. Again, elements of modernisation were left out of the artistic discourse that do occur in the other discourses. Finally, in terms of the body, the anthropological discourse focuses in a mainly educational way on bodily transformations whereas Nelson seems to use this and masculinity to enhance the idea of the Other. Interestingly, Nelson has deliberately left himself out of the pictures whereas in the touristic and anthropological discourse, the tourist is given a prominent place.

Key words: Kazakh, Maasai, depiction, representation, photography, landscape, body, clothing, Nelson, tourism, anthropology.

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Introduction

In January 2013, a document filled with photographs of so-called indigenous “tribes”, titled *Before They Pass Away*, was published. The photographer, Jimmy Nelson, had travelled the world for two and a half years to photograph 35 different groups of indigenous peoples that, according to him, faced the peril of extinction. These people, according to Nelson, were chosen “purely because of their aesthetic” (TED 03:32). In an interview with the *Volkskrant*, he explains that even though he titled the document *Before They Pass Away*, he does not feel that these cultures will eventually really become extinct. He does, however, say that he wants to “convey to these indigenous tribes the word that the authenticity of their culture is menaced to disappear. They do not see the value of it. In their view, success can be achieved through development like in the Western world. They look at themselves as primitive” (van den Bremer par. 14).

The document gained a tremendous amount of publicity. Jimmy Nelson paired up with the British Broadcasting Company to create a documentary on his journey and the people who are depicted in *Before They Pass Away*. Furthermore, he was invited to numerous talk shows to elaborate on his project both in the Netherlands and other countries, and gave a TED talk in Amsterdam that has been viewed over 203.000 times to this date. The document sold over 110.000 copies, and given the size and pricing of the book (the deluxe edition costs 129 euros), this is quite an extensive amount. The photographs also became the subject of a travelling exhibition that has been up for view in France, the Netherlands, the United States, Hungary, Belgium, Great Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Canada and many more countries. The publicity and popularity it gained made it a beloved document that many people have enjoyed, and one of the most famous visual works on indigenous peoples. More importantly, it also was a new window through which people in the Western world could look at these indigenous peoples, with whom they were often not familiar. It is this document that made way for the research topic of this thesis. The tremendous popularity it gained in the Netherlands alone, meant that the worldview and the way we look at other, non-Western people, was influenced by his work.

Nelson’s most famous photographs published in this book are the ones of the Maasai (of which one photograph was used as a cover image) and the Kazakh (which were used to accompany the many interviews and articles that were written about Nelson’s work). It are these two groups of indigenous peoples that are the topic of research for this thesis. I will refer to the work of Jimmy Nelson as part of an artistic discourse on the Maasai and Kazakh: his

photographs are sold as art prints all over the world, were part of a travelling exhibition and are not used as promotional or informative material.

The way of looking at “the other” through Jimmy Nelson’s document also happens through other manners: photographs of the Maasai and Kazakh are encountered by people on the television, in magazines, brochures, on websites, and other sources. Indigenous people have often been depicted as part of a more touristic discourse as well, which is aimed at tourists that are looking to visit countries where these people live or visitors of these countries looking to visit such people. It is often the case that the people depicted in Jimmy Nelson’s work are also “open for visits”. There are tour operators that operate in these regions, and that gain an income from guiding tourists on their visits to these people. This is the case for the Kazakh and the Maasai, but also for the Gauchos in Argentina, various ethnic groups in Papua New Guinea, the Tibetans in Tibet and the Mustang in Nepal. Thus, it is not an uncommon phenomenon. The tour operators are not always the ones that arrange these visits: sometimes touristic visits are initiated by the people themselves to gain an income. The existence of this phenomenon means that there is a touristic discourse aimed at tourists to encourage tourists to visit these people, which is bound to be different from Jimmy Nelson’s discourse as he considers his photographs to be works of art that are for sale on his website, under the name “art prints” (“Jimmy Nelson”). The touristic discourse is found in and on brochures, travel guides, billboards, travel magazines, magazines one finds on aeroplanes, advertisements, tourist offices, websites, etcetera. Furthermore, it can be stretched out to travel blogs, reviews, and other sources that were created by tourists themselves. It is a discourse that is seen by many people, who are possibly influenced by it and, perhaps, even encouraged to visit these indigenous peoples.

The final discourse that is of relevance for this thesis is the anthropological discourse. This discourse is, compared to the artistic and touristic discourses, not as widely known and it does not gain as much publicity as the former two. The anthropological discourse on indigenous peoples is created by scholars and experts in the field of anthropology. An example is Edward Bruner’s *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*, in which he analyses a variety of tourist productions that are connected to indigenous people and locals, such as safari excursions in various parts of Africa and dance performances in Bali. In this book, Bruner also added photographs that are presumably very different in terms of depiction and representation of indigenous peoples. Next to Bruner’s work, other relevant pieces of anthropological discourse are for example articles by Takuya Soma on falconry and the ethnic culture of the Kazakhs, in which he uses various coloured photographs to illustrate his points. There are also several articles by scholars on both the Maasai and the Kazakhs that touch attire, dress, traditions, and

other aspects of their culture, and that contain additional photographs. Important to note is that this anthropological discourse is characterised by more additive texts and information rather than just the images, as is often the case for the artistic and touristic discourse.

Even though research has been conducted on especially the touristic discourse and a snippet of research on Jimmy Nelson's document and the anthropological discourse, these three discourses have never been placed into perspective before, which means their similarities and differences concerning style, composition, additional information that accompanies the photos, colour, stage setting, and decoration are not yet clear. This thesis seeks to examine these three discourses and place them into perspective to answer the following research question: In what ways do the artistic, touristic and anthropological discourses on the Maasai from Africa and the Kazakh from Asia differ from or resemble each other as far as photographs are concerned? Sub-questions to this research question are the following: Are there things the discourses leave out? Things they add? What narrative do they give the spectator? How do they relate to each other? And what do the creators of these images say about them?

Status Quaestionis

The representation of certain indigenous peoples through photographs has been researched before. Most importantly in the journal *Visual Anthropology*, a journal that publishes articles on visual depictions of amongst others the Maasai and other indigenous peoples, but that also reports on the photographic agency of the anthropologist, the visual history of South Asia, and the "Other" in film. This journal is the most significant source for the research of visual representations of indigenous peoples; however, the articles do not focus on specific discourses and often use photographs that were taken in the 20th century or even before that, or drawings from books and pamphlets. The various discourses used for this thesis have not been researched in a similar manner, and have especially not been placed in perspective before: the similarities and differences between the three discourses used in this thesis have never been researched previously.

The document that represents the artistic discourse for this thesis, *Before They Pass Away*, has been scientifically researched in only one dissertation. *The Changing Roles of the Imagined Primitive in Jimmy Nelson's Photographs*, written by Donald Bullock, argues that Nelson's work "casts indigenous peoples as symbols for environmentalism and tourism and that his photographs include colonial tropes" (Bullock iv). The visual representation of indigenous peoples in a touristic discourse have been part of articles in *Visual Anthropology*.

However, this was never researched systematically and always with the use of only a few photographs. And finally, visual representations of indigenous peoples in an anthropological discourse have not been studied yet. There are many articles, books, and essays written on indigenous culture, but the way indigenous peoples are represented and how visual representations in this discourse have developed remain relatively unknown. An example of an article written on this subject is “But Where Are The Cattle? Popular Images of Maasai and Zulu across the Twentieth Century” by Neal Sobania, in which he researches alternative sides of the Other in popular depictions of Africa. On the other hand, the visual representation of the Kazakh is a topic that seems to be unresearched. Articles written on the Kazakh mainly discuss cultural phenomena, such as “The Musical Instrument as National Archive: A Case Study of the Kazakh Qyl-qobyz” by Megan Rancier, which researches a traditional Kazakh musical instrument. Some of these articles contain photos, but the way Kazakh are represented in these photos is relatively unresearched.

This thesis will add to previous research by analysing the visual representation of the Kazakh in various photographs, which has not been researched before, and simultaneously elaborate on the visual representation on the Maasai. Furthermore, this thesis will provide a precise, systematic analysis of photographs from three different discourses on specific aspects and specify how the representations and discourses resemble and differ from each other. In this way, this research will rise above the previous research on the representation of indigenous peoples in photographs by comparing three completely different discourses, which has not been done before.

Selection of Data

To answer the research question, I will analyse the depiction of the Maasai from Africa, and the representation of the Kazakhs from western Mongolia, based on the three aforementioned discourses. The reasons for choosing the Maasai and the Kazakh is because the photographs of these groups are amongst the most popular photographs in Jimmy Nelson’s work: the Maasai man on the cover of *Before They Pass Away* is the image that has reached the most people as it is the cover image, and on Nelson’s website, limited prints of his photographs are available. The photographs of the Maasai and Kazakh were amongst the ones that sold out first. Next to this, from a pragmatic perspective, these ethnic groups have both been researched by anthropologists, and they are both open for touristic visits, which means that the three discourses that this thesis will analyse are all apparent. I will create a small archive containing all the photographs that I will use for this thesis. These photographs are thematically analysed,

on the aspects of clothing, surroundings, the body, and overall composition and properties. For each analysis, I will rely on a particular theoretical framework.

I will use Jimmy Nelson's *Before They Pass Away* to represent the artistic discourse as this document is one of the most famous, visual works that focuses specifically on indigenous peoples. Unlike other visual works that contain photographs of indigenous peoples (such as *Genesis* by Sebastião Salgado), *Before They Pass Away* focuses specifically on photographing humans and less on photographing natural phenomena, landscapes, and animals.

For the touristic discourse, I will use photographs from various websites and travel blogs that promote visits to the Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania, and tours to the Kazakh in Mongolia. I selected these sources on amongst others the basis of their year: the sources that I have chosen were all created or have been edited after 2013, which is the year that *Before They Pass Away* was published. I also selected these sources on the basis of their location. I will only use photographs found on websites and in guidebooks that promote visits to the Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania and tours to the Kazakh in Mongolia. The reason for these specific countries is that in these countries, the photographs for *Before They Pass Away* were shot. There are several groupings of Maasai and Kazakh living in various countries, but they all have their own adjusted traditions, which means there might occur variations in their clothing and attire. To stay as close as possible to the indigenous peoples that Jimmy Nelson depicted in his work, the focus of this touristic discourse lies on the photographs that were taken in the same countries. The photographs used to analyse this discourse originate from four different websites, namely "Budget Safari Tanzania", which has a gallery of seven photos, "Tanzania Experience", which has a gallery of five photographs, "Kazakh Tour", which contains a gallery two photographs, and "Indy Guide", which includes a gallery of three photographs. Furthermore, I will use the photographs that originate from various tourist blogs. These photographs were taken by the tourists themselves rather than by a company, and have a less commercialized character. The photographs that are used are all related to the promotion of tours to these ethnic groups. The photographs that are used from the websites are all connected to a specific tour to either a Maasai village, a safari that also includes a Maasai village visit, tours to the eagle hunting festivities in Mongolia, or tours in Mongolia that include a visit or a homestay at a Kazakh family.

Finding photographs of members of the Maasai and the Kazakh in the anthropological discourse was a bit more complicated. The pictures used for this discourse are all taken from scientific and academic articles, essays or books. In these texts, however, photographs are rarely used, which means that the pictures used originate from many different sources. Some sources

only use one photo, whereas other sources use more. Due to obvious reasons, many of the photographs used are, unfortunately, in black and white. The criteria handled for the photographs in the anthropological discourse were the following: the photographs must originate from a relevant scholarly source, and they must include one or more persons from either the Kazakh or Maasai which should be clearly stated. The relevance of these sources is determined by amongst others the topic of the text (the texts, or parts of it, all handle aspects of either Maasai or Kazakh culture), and the author (the authors of the sources all have a scholarly background). This has resulted in a set of 16 photographs of the Maasai, and a set of 16 photographs of the Kazakh. Unfortunately, the Maasai photographs are all in greyscale. The photographs of the Kazakh are, except for two, all in colour. Many of the photographs in the Maasai set are taken from scholarly articles by Edward Bruner, amongst others "Maasai on the Lawn" and "The Maasai and the Lion King". The collection also includes one photograph from the book *Hats and Headwear Around the World*, and photographs from the book *The Church of Women: Gendered Encounters Between Maasai and Missionaries* by Dorothy Hodgson. The set of photographs of the Kazakh are taken from various articles, including articles on eagle hunting such as *Ethnographic Study of Altaic Kazakh Falconers*, and *Contemporary Falconry in Altai-Kazakh in Western Mongolia*, both by Takuya Soma, and articles by Saniya Edelbay and Jennifer Post. I have chosen their articles as they contain the most photographs that show various aspects of the ethnic culture. Both encounters with tourists and performed essential rituals and ceremonies are photographed and used in these articles, which means that these sources offer a broad range of topics. Next to this, the sites of the photographs match the locations used in the touristic and artistic discourse.

Theory and Method

The theoretical framework will be set out throughout this thesis. Each chapter focuses on a different aspect of these photographs, and thus they follow a thematic structure. Therefore, every chapter relies on a different theory, which will be expounded on in said chapter. The first chapter, which focuses on clothing and attire, relies on the work *The Clothed Body* by Patrizia Calefato. In her work, she explains how bodies can transform into and express certain things by wearing clothes or using attributes, such as traditional folk attire, the use of weapons or clothes of a certain colour. It is a work that demonstrates how clothing is a basis for deeper meanings and philosophies, and discusses a wide range of aspects that are of importance for this thesis. The second chapter, which focuses on surroundings, relies on the books *Landscape and Power*, edited by W.J. Mitchell, and *Land Matters* by Liz Wells. These books both research

the power of landscape and the effects a (sometimes carefully constructed) landscape can have on a photograph and the viewer. *Landscape and Power* is a work of collected essays on landscape by various scholars specialized in this field, and is one of the most important and elaborate works on landscape. *Land Matters* by Liz Wells solely focuses on the importance of landscape in photography, and is therefore especially relevant for this thesis. The third and final chapter of this thesis focuses on the body and relies on *The Body and The Lens: Photography 1839 to The Present* by John Pultz, and articles by Ivan Márquez, Colleen Maykut and on essays in *Tourism and Gender* by Annette Pritchard. *The Body and The Lens* is a work that focuses on the position of the body in photography over a very long time-span and in various contexts, which is helpful for this research as the photographs were all taken in different contexts. *Tourism and Gender* is an edited work that contains a selection of essays written by various scholars that narrate on gender and the body in relation to tourism.

Throughout this thesis, visual aspects of the photographs will be a returning subject which is discussed in the chapters. Research on this relies on the work *Hardop Kijken*, written by Ad de Visser. It is a book in which he explains how to analyse photographs and other images by means of angle, colour, point of view, semiotic resources, and other aspects. Another reoccurring concept relevant for this thesis is the “Other”. This theoretical concept applies to the general representation of the ethnic groups in these photographs, and will thus return in all chapters. “The Other” is our way of identifying the other human being (in this case on the photographs of members of indigenous peoples) and the way the Other differs from “the self” or “us”. A condition of Otherness is that the state of being of the Other differs from the social identity of the self. This means that in this case (often) Western people look at and are interested in the depiction of indigenous people in Africa, South-America, and Asia. A final theoretical concept used and reflected on in this thesis is the tourist gaze, a term coined by John Urry. This concept refers to the series of expectations that tourists have developed about specific destinations or local inhabitants, and that they use in search for their “authentic” experience. I will use the aforementioned theoretical concepts to analyse the photographs, and implement these theoretical concepts in the separate chapters.

The hypothesis for this thesis and the research question “In what ways do the artistic, touristic and anthropological discourse of the Maasai from Africa and the Kazakh from Asia differ from or resemble each other as far as photographs are concerned?” is that these three discourses show both apparent differences and similarities. The expectation is that the artistic discourse is heavily staged and composed by ways of posing, the use of attributes, and for example portrait shots. Furthermore, I expect that the touristic discourse depicts the indigenous

peoples in relation to the visitors, such as photographs in which tourists pose with the Maasai or Kazakh. Finally, I expect the anthropological discourse to be the most realistic and closer to the actual image in comparison with the two former discourses as these photographs are probably used to illustrate findings in academic research. What I also assume is that the resemblance between especially the artistic and touristic discourse is striking, because the popularity of Jimmy Nelson's book is likely to have influenced the marketing strategies of tour operating companies and guidebooks, but also the tourist gaze of visitors.

This thesis consists of four chapters and a conclusion. To create a structure in which the research question is answered step by step rather than merely in a (very elaborate) conclusion, this thesis has a thematic structure. Each chapter will provide an analysis of a specific aspect of the depictions of indigenous peoples in relation to the three discourses. In the first chapter, I will present an analysis of the clothes that are worn and attributes that are used on the several different photographs from the three discourses. In the second chapter, surroundings will be of importance. I will analyse the position of the people in the photographs, the background and the landscape. In the third chapter, I will present an analysis of the body in relation to the photograph. This chapter will analyse the way the body is positioned and presented on various depictions of the Maasai and the Kazakhs. Finally, this thesis presents a conclusion in which the three discourses are placed in a general perspective and the research question is answered.

Chapter 1: Attire and Attributes

The human race has always worn clothes to protect itself from the elements. They were primarily worn to beat the colds and oppressive weather circumstances. In the long run, however, the reasons and motivation behind attire changed. From a merely essential way to protect oneself from and to survive the heat, cold, and other physical effects of nature on the human body (which we still do by dressing ourselves nowadays), attire also became a utensil to express identity: attire was, and still is nowadays, a distinctive feature and a form of expression. Clothes can alter both a body and an identity by transforming it or by expressing certain things and, in that way, defy nature, as clothes are an addition to our natural body (Calefato 1). In the Western world, slowly but surely a more generic style of dress has developed: people have started dressing in a more unified way in terms of style. Traditional costumes and pieces of apparel have become less important in daily costume, which often consists of clothing based on popular trends. Traditional costumes are still worn, however, often on special occasions and not as often as in earlier times. For some people living in other areas of the world, this is not (yet) the case: costume is still an important part of their lifestyle.

Those who come to mind are women in India who often wear traditional sari's, indigenous peoples in Africa who use not only clothing but also ways of body transformation through manners such as bodypainting and applying scars on their body, which is used to express themselves and, for example, social status or age. As Calefato puts it: "Costume, above all traditional folk costume, tends to be static and to display an exact correspondence between signs and their social significance in relation to the person who wears them" (3). For some ethnic groups, costume is still an essential part of their culture, and it is worn during special occasions but also in daily life. Often, these peoples have different types of apparel for different occasions. Both the Maasai and Kazakh are shown wearing traditional forms of dress in the photographs.

What this means, is that clothing is a phenomenon that apparently can demonstrate the native, cultural image of a country. It has a decorative, ethnocultural and social noteworthiness (Gabitov 121). For this reason, this chapter will elaborate on the attire and attributes of the various people in the photographs that are part of the three discourses relevant for this thesis. This chapter will systematically analyse the clothing and attire of the Maasai and the Kazakhs in firstly the artistic discourse, secondly the touristic discourse and finally the anthropological discourse and present a conclusion to place these three discourses and the aspect of clothing and attire in perspective.

The Artistic Discourse

Jimmy Nelson's *Before They Pass Away* contains nine pages with photographs of the Maasai, on which a total of fourteen photographs is displayed. The document includes eighteen pages with photographs of the Kazakhs. On these pages, a total of 20 photographs is displayed. In an interview with the *Independent*, Nelson mentions the following:

Often, I found that the tribes and communities had been photographed before, in a patronising way, whereas I'm trying to be celebratory, to put them on a pedestal. That's why I've photographed them in idealistic context. They are meant to be as glossy and beautiful as possible, and that's why I've chosen beautiful people to photograph. (Merrill par. 6.)

"To be a Maasai is to be born into one of the world's last great warrior cultures," reads Nelson's website ("Jimmy Nelson"). The Maasai are part of an ethnic culture, and they inhabit northern, central and southern Kenya and northern Tanzania. They are an immanent part of the Kenyan and Tanzanian culture, and very well known amongst tourists due to their distinctive customs and dress. Even though the governments of Tanzania and Kenya have tried to persuade the Maasai into abandoning their traditional (nomadic) way of life, the Maasai have continued to follow their ancient traditions (Earnes 122).

The clothing of the Maasai changes, due to their age, as well as their location. An example is that young Maasai men traditionally opt for black clothes for the period of a few months after their circumcision, which is an essential event in the lives of the young men. The most preferred colour, however, is red (Hodgson 33). Red clothing and red coloured skin (achieved by rubbing the skin with ochre) are distinctive characteristics of the Maasai ethnic identity (Hodgson 33). In Jimmy Nelson's photographs, the colour red is incredibly present. The Maasai series in his document consists of six full body photographs (figs.1-6), and seven portraits (figs.7-13). The full body photographs each show Maasai men and women, who are *all* dressed in red. Some of the costumes are created out of fabric that also contains black (fig.5), but the predominant colour is red. This is in line with the traditions of the Maasai, who prefer to wear red over any other colour. The fabric of the garments visible in the photos is either plain, striped or chequered in a contrasting black or white colour. The predominant colour remains red, which pops out in each photograph also due to its editing. Other colours in the picture (mainly the landscape, but sometimes even the colours of objects in the photographs,

e.g. cars or animals) are flattened and all part of the same, monochrome, brown-grey colour palette.

Accessories are important in Maasai culture. In many photos, the Maasai are depicted while wearing an *enkuraru*, an ostrich feather headdress (figs. 1-3, fig. 6, fig. 10). Traditionally, these headdresses were worn by Maasai warriors who were yet to kill a lion. If this rite was completed, the manes of the lion were supposed to be attached to the headdress as a trophy (Chico 10). They were worn during raids and wars to create a psychological advantage due to the height they add, but nowadays, these *enkuraru* are worn mostly during ceremonies and dances (Chico 162). In Jimmy Nelson's photographs they play an essential part as an accessory. It provides the photographs with a certain grandeur and highly stylised feeling. The portrait shots in the series do not in particular show clothing and garments, but the people in the photographs are styled with many accessories. Again, the *enkuraru* is used (fig. 10), but other accessories play a part as well. In these shots, especially the beading, which is characteristic for the Maasai, is evident (fig. 7, figs. 9-13). Maasai women often create their jewellery by hand with beads, and in these photographs, these accessories are worn by four Maasai women and three Maasai men. The beading is mostly white, with room for a few, not eye-popping colours that have faded a bit, such as a light yellow and faded red, blue and grey. White prevails. The women in these portrait shots are often dressed in purple pieces of cloth (fig. 7, fig. 11-13), that frame their face as if it were a veil. The colour purple is often connotated with stateliness and dignity, something that seems to be part of the underlying message of these photographs (de Visser 107).

The men in these portrait shots are depicted with (presumably) their spears, which emphasises the warrior mind-set of the Maasai (figs.8-10). The most often used shot in promotion and interviews from the Maasai series, and the photograph that also dominates the cover of *Before They Pass Away*, is the photograph that shows a man from the Maasai holding a spear, a decorated shield, and wearing his *enkuraru* (fig.1). The highly stylised feeling that these photographs encompass corresponds with Jimmy Nelson's statement in his interview with *The Independent*, in which he mentions that he used an "unashamedly glamorous approach", and that he tried to "put these people in the same context as somebody like Kate Moss. The photographs are meant to be as glossy and beautiful as possible" (Merrill par. 6.). The difference between these shots and campaign photos, however, is that "costume" or traditional clothing, worn by the Maasai, establishes a secure connection between the individual and the ethnic group he or she belongs to. A merely fashionable attire, often used in glamorous, high-fashion photoshoots, has a more urbane status (Calefato 9).

So far, what stands out in the Maasai series are the colour of their attire, the use of weapons as accessories in several photographs, and the beaded jewellery that is worn in many photographs by both men and women. The photographs seem very stylized due to these elements, while Nelson has still maintained the image of the Maasai “warrior”.

The photographs of the Kazakh show us vitally different things in terms of attire and attributes. Nelson mentioned that, to take the photographs of the Kazakh, he had to gain their trust, to convince them to “get up at 3am with a madman and his camera to travel up a mountain to catch the sunrise at dawn” (Merrill par. 10). The Kazakhs are traditionally pastoral nomads, living in portable, dome-shaped tents (called gers or yurts), inhabiting mainly Kazakhstan, parts of Russia, Mongolia and parts of China (Augustyn par. 1). Nelson’s photographs, however, were taken solely in the Altaj region in western Mongolia. Temperatures in which Jimmy Nelson took photographs of these people were around -20 degrees Celsius, and Nelson explained that he genuinely had to convince his “subjects” to pose for him three nights in a row to get the perfect lighting (Merrill par. 11). The series consists of fourteen full body photographs (figs. 14-16, figs.18-24, figs. 29-30, figs. 32-33) and six portraits (fig. 17, figs. 25-28, fig. 31, fig. 34).

Many things are happening in the photographs of the Kazakh, taken in Mongolia. The country’s splendid nature is given a stage on which it can show off its grandeur, while at the same time Jimmy Nelson has positioned his subjects with animals (both horses and eagles), which gives the photographs a more dynamic feel to it. Eagle hunting is an ancient part of the Kazakh culture: on horseback, the Kazakh men hunt for animals with their trained golden eagles (Nelson 14). As mentioned before, the photographs of the Kazakhs were taken in temperatures sometimes even under -20 degrees Celsius. This is also visible in the garment of the people present in the photographs. An important reason for the way Kazakh dress is as it is, is the self-sufficient, customary and nomadic way of living of the Kazakhs in sometimes low temperatures (Gabitov 121). They all wear thick, warm fur coats, accompanied with leather gloves and for the men a warm skullcap (*tuhia*) made of fur. Fur is closely tied to Kazakh tradition: “across mountains and steppes, a large variety of animals – including rabbits, marmots, foxes and even wolves – are hunted for their fur, an integral part of Kazakh clothing” (“Jimmy Nelson”). Thus, the fur returns in many photographs.

The subject’s clothes are all quite timidly coloured. Due to the hunting-tradition of the Kazakhs, clothes worn outside must blend in with nature and be as unnoticeable as possible to camouflage the hunters well. Browns, greys, and whites have the overhand in the colour scheme of Kazakhs’ clothing in these photographs. These colours vary through the seasons: during the

summer months, their garment will consist of greens while during autumn, they will choose for brighter, yellow-ish colours (Gabitov 122). Kazakhs greatly appreciate richly embroidered clothing, which is an integral part of their dress and traditions (“Jimmy Nelson”). This type of clothing, however, is only visible in three photographs of the Kazakh series (figs. 24, 26, 32). The colours which are used most often are red and gold for the embroidery work, and black for the other pieces of clothing worn underneath the fur coats. The emphasis in the Kazakh series, however, is placed on the outdoor-character of the members of this group, which means that they are mostly depicted in their outdoor equipment. In the series, only one photograph depicts a woman (fig. 25). Her garment, on the first look, does not differ from the men’s garment. The woman is also depicted wearing a big fur coat and a fur hat. The hat does look slightly different from the *tuhia*’s that the men wear. The hat worn by women is a *borik*, a round cap made of otter, marten or raccoon fur. Unlike the hat that is worn by the men, this hat is big enough to fully cover the ears, while the hat worn by men has specific caps on the sides created for that purpose. In two photographs, which were taken indoors, men are shown wearing *takiya*’s, small round hats that are decorated with embroidery work.

Kazakhs also wear beads and talismans, which are supposed to safeguard them from evil, in line with their shamanic beliefs. In Jimmy Nelson’s photographs, these talismans are not shown. However, men and women are depicted wearing beaded belts around their fur coats (figs. 16, 18, 20-21, 27, 29, 31, 33) and the series includes a photograph on which a young child is depicted, dressed in traditional beaded clothing and headdress (fig. 26).

Furthermore, the connection between the Kazakh and various animals cannot be neglected. Eighteen of the twenty photographs depict Kazakh with animals such as horses or eagles, and in one of them three children are portrayed with two lifeless animals hanging on the wall (fig. 26). The connection between the Kazakh and their animals is so strong that they appear in almost every shot. To the Kazakh, animals are indispensable for their nomadic lifestyle and primary needs such as nutrition and clothes. By showing this dependency in his photographs, Nelson creates a barrier between the spectator and the Other: this type of connection with and especially the dependency on animals as a vital part of life, is not typically something Western people are familiar with, at least not to such an extent. The Kazakh men are portrayed sitting on their horse, or while hunting with their eagles, sometimes on their horse. The connection these Kazakh have with their eagles is reinforced by the iconic photograph of a Kazakh man and his eagle, kept close to his face, the background consisting of a grey sky (fig. 17). This photograph was especially popular and used as promotional material for Nelson’s document. In all the photographs, the eagles are used as an extended piece of their arm: it seems

that they are becoming a figurative part of the body. A Kazakh and his eagle are a team. As the eagle grows closer to its owner, they are accustomed to perching on his right wrist. In Kazakh culture, the eagles are always on the right wrist as the left arm is used to control the horse (Soma, *Contemporary Falconry*, 106). This is a characteristic that is also visible in the photographs. The eagles are positioned sitting on the lower part of their arm, relatively close to the chest and face of the Kazakh holding them. The connection is undeniable.

Kazakh always hunt on horseback because it is easier for them to move around in mountainous terrain, which is why in most of the photographs with eagles, we see the Kazakh depicted while sitting on a horse as well: a figurative extension of their legs, which makes it easier for them to move around and hunt (Soma, *Contemporary Falconry*, 105). The Kazakh are dependent on their animals as they would not be able to hunt without them or move through steep, mountainous areas. This dependency is made clear in the photographs by Nelson, who has constantly photographed the Kazakh with their animals. This connection is enforced by the type of clothing that the Kazakh wear: their bodies are transformed by wearing materials that are of the same colour palette as the horses that they are riding. Often, this colour is identical: a white horse carries a man in white fur clothes, a black horse carries a man in black fur, etcetera. In one particular photograph, Nelson has photographed five Kazakh men from such a distance that they become incredibly small. They are riding their horses, but are changed to silhouettes because of the distance (fig. 15). Due to this effect, men and horse become one in this photograph.

To conclude, the Kazakh wear only traditional clothing in these photographs although some elements that are traditionally part of their attire are missing, such as beaded talismans and jewellery. The clothing of the Kazakh is, in contrary to the Maasai, very timidly coloured and especially the connection between man and animal is conspicuous in this series.

The Touristic Discourse

Tourism attracts “travellers from affluent capitalist democracies” to anywhere in the world (Bruner, “Maasai on the Lawn” 436). This means there is a discourse, in which stakeholders such as touring companies, governments and travel agencies, try to attract tourists to travel with their companies or to visit certain places. All photographs used for this discourse, except those from the blogs, are aimed at attracting tourists to book a tour to these groups and thus have a commercial purpose, as the income of tourists and visitors is an important upholder of local economies (Bruner, “Maasai on the Lawn” 436). The galleries on the websites all contain photographs of both members of the ethnic groups and the tourists, but also photographs of

ornaments, homes, and accessories and objects that can be bought by tourists at specific locations. For this analysis, I have used mostly the photographs with people in them.

A striking difference that is visible when comparing the photographs of the Maasai created by Jimmy Nelson, and those found in the touristic discourse, is colour. As mentioned before, in the photographs produced by Jimmy Nelson the Maasai are all depicted wearing red, whereas in the photographs of this touristic discourse, the colourful character of the Maasai's clothing is very prominent. Almost all the photographs used for this discourse show Maasai men and women wearing bright coloured clothing in other tones as well. Even though red is still a very prominent colour, it is accompanied by colours such as purple, bright blue, yellow, and green. Especially the blue is very noticeable. There is a strong colour-against-colour contrast visible in all these photographs, such as clothes coloured in blue and red. Blue and red are two primary colours and contrast heavily against each other. These types of contrast have the effect of intensifying colours, hence the photographs in this discourse look a lot brighter and more colourful compared to Nelson's photographs (de Visser 103). Conspicuous is the amount of colourful beaded jewellery that is worn by both the Maasai and the tourists that are on some of the photographs as well (figs. 34, 36, 39-40, 43, 45, 56). The Maasai wear bright clothes and beaded accessories, such as bracelets and collars, especially for special ceremonies (Tarayia 183). To them, embellishing their bodies with beaded jewellery makes them delightful and attractive to one another. For the Maasai, the natural body alone does not create attractiveness. The body must be completed with by a variety of ornaments and tokens, that emphasises its shapes and lines (Talle 354). In these photographs the Maasai women and men almost all wear necklaces and bracelets, and female tourists are often depicted wearing large, flat, beaded disks around their neck (figs. 34, 43, 45, 56). For the Maasai, these disks signify unmarried women (Talle 355). There are even photographs that specifically only show traditionally beaded bracelets, which are for sale for visiting tourists (fig. 37). This signifies that these accessories worn and displayed in this way for commercial ends in order to gain an income from sales to tourists.

Another interesting element of these photographs is weaponry, or, more specifically, the lack thereof. In the photographs that are part of the touristic discourse, not a single weapon is held or displayed, whereas in Jimmy Nelsons photographs spears, shields and other weapons were given a prominent position. This is definitely not the case in the photographs part of the touristic discourse, which might be due to the negative character of these types of attributes. Tourists could be discouraged to visit the Maasai if their initial feeling is determined by the presence of weaponry, as weapons can cause people to feel unsafe. Due to this, amongst others,

the character of these photographs in comparison with Jimmy Nelson's work is more cheerful and bright. Another element that is lacking in the touristic discourse but that is incredibly prominent in Jimmy Nelson's depiction of the Maasai, are the enkuraru's. Not a single photograph that is a part of the touristic discourse used for this thesis displays these ostrich feather headdresses, as they nowadays are not part of their daily attire anymore (Chico 162).

Thus, the most conspicuous about the photographs of the Maasai is that the colour palette seems entirely different compared to Nelson's photographs, and that weaponry seems to be completely left out of the narrative, as well as the traditional enkuraru that was apparent in Nelson's photographs.

The photographs of the Kazakhs in this discourse also show significant differences. The first and most striking difference is that due to the weather circumstances in which some of the photographs are taken, the attire of the people depicted is somewhat different. Rather than just their winter attire, the Kazakhs are also depicted in their summer clothes in the touristic discourse (figs. 62, 67-70). A reason for this could be that to tourists, the weather conditions during the summer months are more amicable than the conditions during the winter. There are, however, also several photographs that were taken in winter and in which the Kazakhs are wearing similar attire to the photographs of Jimmy Nelson (figs. 63-66, 71, 73-77). The photographs that are used to promote the Golden Eagle festival tours, for example, were all taken in the wintertime as this is when the festival takes place. The embroidered clothing that is also depicted in Jimmy Nelson's photographs, returns even more so in these depictions of the Kazakh people. Men are shown wearing richly decorated clothes in many different colours, the most popular ones being a bright red, blue and green, but other colours such as pink and purple are also seen in the photographs (figs. 63-64, 71, 75, 77). Footwear in Jimmy Nelson's photographs was nearly invisible, although a few photographs give a hint of leather boots. Shoes, however, are symbols of the utmost importance: they accompany us, and protect our feet (Calefato 155). In the touristic discourse, shoes have (perhaps not intentionally) taken on a more critical role. Especially in the photographs taken in winter, the shoes are visible on almost every full body photograph, displaying sturdy leather boots with embroideries and carefully made indentations in organic shapes (figs. 64, 73-75, 77). The position on top of the horse seems to be of importance, and due to the direct angle from which these photographs were taken, the boots are always visible.

The traditional Kazakh headdresses, which were also depicted in Jimmy Nelson's photographs, return here. The skullcap (tuhia) is especially prevalent in the photographs that are used to attract tourist to the Golden Eagle festival (figs. 63-67, 72, 73-77). Several men in

the photographs also wear the *takiya*'s (figs. 73, 79). They reoccur in several photographs, in different colours and with different types of embroidery. The cap itself is usually of a neutral colour such as black, brown or grey, but the colour of the embroidery on the caps varies from gold to red, and from blue to green and yellow. These caps are worn by men who have joined one of the festive games so typical for the Kazakh, such as horse races or rope-pulling.

An interesting element of the photographs is that the clothing of the Kazakhs depicted is traditional, but mixed with modern features. Men are depicted wearing more conventional headdresses, but also wearing jeans and regular t-shirts (figs. 69, 70, 72-73, 75-77). Women and children are depicted wearing modern hiking trousers and boots, and also wearing modern caps that are not part of Kazakh traditional attire (figs. 67-70, 72-73). It is clear that "modernisation" is not left out of the picture here, but merely seen as something that is also part of Kazakh culture whereas, in Jimmy Nelson's photos, there is not a single sign of Western modernity.

So far, the photographs of the Kazakh in this discourse show quite a few similarities with Nelson's photos: several pieces of attire return, such as traditional headdresses and fur clothing. In this discourse, however, traditional pieces are mixed with modern attire such as vests, jeans, and walking boots.

The Anthropological Discourse

The photographs taken of the Maasai, especially those from Bruner's articles, were taken at specific locations where tourists regularly visit, such as Mayer's Ranch close to Nairobi. About this location, Bruner states that "the site enacts a colonial drama of the savage/pastoral Maasai and the genteel British, playing upon the explicit contrast between the wild and the civilised so prevalent in colonial discourse and sustained in East African tourism" ("Maasai on the Lawn" 435). He furthermore states that the narrative of tribal opposition and territorial containment is "performed" daily, for an audience of tourists and other spectators ("Maasai on the Lawn" 435). This means that many of the photographs taken here are of staged scenes or acts. Not all photographs, however, are like this. Four of the photographs from Bruner's articles depict a man wearing an *enkuraru* (figs. 80, 82-83, 85). In contrary to the touristic discourse, where this headdress was not present, it does seem to be part of touristic visits or guided tours, as they are worn by men who are performing in front of tourists. The photograph taken from *Hats and Headwear Around the World* also depicts a Maasai man wearing an *enkuraru*, the accompanying text explaining that this is a typical form of headdress worn by Maasai men (fig.

93). The face and body of the man in the picture are decorated with “red ochre and clay” (Chico 162), and he has embellished his body with several types of jewellery, amongst others beaded necklaces and amulets. The decorative marks on the face reoccur in a photograph taken of ten Maasai women (fig. 88), who have decorated their faces with “circular white chalk markings in preparation for a ritual” (Hodgson 33). These facial decorations made with white chalk were not present in the artistic and touristic discourse, but do seem to be part of Maasai life.

An interesting picture found in Bruner’s “Maasai on the Lawn” is a picture of a Maasai elder, who wears an enkururu but more specifically, who holds a polaroid in his hands on which he is depicted himself (fig. 83). This signifies his awareness of being photographed by tourists and other visitors, and that these photographs are then taken somewhere; even though he does not know where to. In the polaroid, the Maasai elder wears his “feathered headdress, and carries a spear and a club, which he uses to point the drivers of the automobiles to the parking area. At the same time, he poses for pictures” (Bruner, “Maasai on the Lawn” 450). The spears and clubs reoccur in the anthropological discourse, although it is made clear that they are not used for their traditional purpose anymore: they are used in ceremonial dances and while posing for pictures, which becomes evident when reading the descriptions of the various photographs (figs. 78, 83-86). Unlike in Nelson’s depiction of the Maasai, in which the weaponry and elaborate headdresses are shown as a vital symbol of Maasai culture and as glamorous accessories, weaponry in the anthropological discourse seems to be of value only to the tourists who are looking for an interesting tour, or spectacular photographs for in their photo albums. Spears and clubs seem to be used only when performing in front of tourists or creating a certain stereotype: that of the “warrior”, the “wildling”. The clothing of the Maasai does resemble the clothing in the other two discourses. However, as the photographs are all in black and white the colour of their attire remains a mystery.

To conclude, this discourse shows that the Maasai use their weapons during performances with tourists, while it does not seem to be a traditional aspect of their attire anymore. It is mainly used to enforce a certain stereotype. Furthermore, the enkururu returns in this discourse and is worn in performances for tourists.

Colour is, in contrast, not lacking in the photographs of the Kazakh, in this discourse. Apart from the fact that these photographs are all, except for two, in full colour, the attire of the people (especially the women) in the photographs is also remarkably colourful. Women are depicted wearing bright cobalt-blue dresses, richly embroidered in red and gold, but neither shunning pinks and orange tones (fig. 106-107). These photographs were taken during a celebratory feast, which is probably the reason for their colourful attire. Most of the men in

these photographs wear timid colours, one even wearing a grey, modern suit. The photographs show a mix of modern and traditional style: in the same photograph of the man wearing a suit, there is also another man who wears a highly traditional Kazakh cap and heavily embroidered clothing, in emerald green (fig. 106). The typical, less festive headdress worn by Kazakh men is also depicted: both *takiya*'s (figs. 101, 108-109) (the small, often embroidered cap) and the *tuhia*'s, the skullcaps often worn during eagle hunting, made out of fur (figs. 94-98, 102-105).

An interesting correlation between the photographs in the touristic discourse and this one is that men are again photographed while wearing jeans. In the entire document *Before They Pass Away* not a single pair of jeans can be found, whereas this does seem to be a piece of garment regularly worn by those that belong to the Kazakh ethnic group (fig. 104). Traditional elements of their clothing are mixed with modern pieces of apparel: the traditional *takiya* is combined with a fleece vest (fig. 101), and sturdy fur jackets are combined with jeans and modern walking boots (fig. 104). Soma mentions that the actual practice of hunting is only carried out by very few men in the villages that were visited for the article. Soma states that “the others become demonstrative ‘eagle-owners’ for tourists”, and that many of them have no actual hunting experience (“Ethnographic Study of Falconers” 12). This again illustrates that many parts of the “traditional” lifestyle of these ethnic groups, such as eagle-hunting (or in the case of the Maasai, the weaponry), are maintained only for the sake of tourism.

Finally, something similar to photographs in the artistic discourse is the connection between the Kazakh and their animals. In these photographs there is an undeniable connection between the falconers, their eagles and their horses. This is something that Soma addresses as well in one of his articles: “The Altai-Kazakh practice of eagle falconry is a distinctive cultural form of intangible heritage, relating to animal husbandry and the interaction of man and beast” (“Eagle Hunters in Action” 110). He goes on by saying that there is an emotional bond between the hunters and their eagles, and that they are less afraid of humans which enables them to co-exist positively alongside their human neighbours (110). All Soma's photographs but one (a shot of the landscape) have animals in them. Mostly horses and eagles, but occasional photographs show foxes caught by eagles or the final results of a hunting spree in which case the animals are lifeless. Soma's photographs also show that falconry is not only dependent on eagles: hunting is a team sport, for which “beaters” are also necessary. Beaters are hunters on solely their horse. When the falconers have found a prey, beaters “gallop towards it over the foothills making as much noise as possible, to frighten the foxes out from under the rocks where they are hiding” (Soma, “Eagle Hunters in Action” 108). These beaters are also photographed by Soma to illustrate their actions. They are captured on camera while moving and galloping

with their horses, which causes movement to be a significant part of these photographs. The beater's movement is crucial to eagle hunting, and the combination of the beater and the falconer together is the combination that makes the Kazakh hunting tradition so distinctive.

To conclude, the Kazakh attire in this discourse seems to consist of traditional, fur and embroidered clothing mixed with modern elements such as jeans, walking boots, and even suits. This is similar to the touristic discourse. The connection between animal and man seems to be a reoccurring aspect and was again visible in the anthropological photographs.

Conclusion

Even though Jimmy Nelson has depicted these ethnic groupings, the Maasai and the Kazakh, as glamorous as possible, photographs in the touristic and anthropological discourse show that many aspects of Jimmy Nelson's depiction differ very much from these other two discourses.

Traditional elements in attire and attributes such as the headdresses and other pieces of clothing are, especially in the Kazakh series, mixed with modern features such as fleece vests, jeans, and walking boots, which is visible after analysing photographs from the touristic and artistic discourse. This aspect is completely left out in Nelson's photographs. For the Maasai this is not so much the case: their style of dress is similar in each discourse and elements of modernity are kept out of every discourse. There are, however, some aspects of the visual representation of the Maasai that differ between the discourses. Conspicuous was the touristic discourse of the Maasai: weaponry and the enkururu are overall lacking in these photographs. A reason for the fact that weaponry is entirely left out the touristic narrative might be because this attracts fewer tourists: weapons are associated with violence, and tourists are mainly looking to have a good time and enjoy their day-tour to an "authentic" Maasai village, safely. Weaponry such as spears and shields might generate a different impression and atmosphere, one that tourists are not on the lookout for.

Furthermore, research on the photographs in the anthropological discourse points out that several parts of the traditional lifestyle of both the Maasai and the Kazakh are maintained mostly for the sake of tourism. The weaponry of the Maasai is depicted only in combination with tourism, such as during dance performances for tourists or posing for photographs taken by tourists. This raises the thought that Jimmy Nelson's photographs are highly staged when it comes to attire and attributes, whereas the depiction of the Maasai and Kazakh in the touristic and especially the anthropological discourse are somewhat closer to reality.

Finally, the connection between the Kazakh and their animals is evident in each discourse. The most conspicuous element of the Kazakh photographs was the bodily connection between human and animal. In all three discourses, this connection was evident. Nelson cleverly used the clothing of the Kazakh to reinforce the idea that the Kazakh are almost one with their horses, by matching the colours with the horses they sit on. Furthermore, the eagles are predominant in this discourse: they are positioned close to the faces of the Kazakh men and always placed on their right arm.

Chapter 2: Surroundings

In the introduction of the edited work *Landscape and Power*, W. Mitchell states that we should look at landscape not as a noun, but as a verb. He explains that landscape can be seen as a process, by which social and subjective identities are formed (1). As the title already unveils, according to Mitchell, landscape is to be associated with power. Especially in tied down images, whether it be paintings, photographs, or film, landscape has a predominant role. And not only in images; it is also in poems, sonnets, songs and other literature that we encounter descriptions of landscape taking on a specific role. In this sense, landscape is used to allegorise, to create, and to symbolise (Mitchell 1). Liz Wells, who is a scholar in photographic culture and landscape, mentions in her work that in literature, we often find the landscape to reflect the protagonist's feelings, fears or thoughts. In film, landscape has the power to set the atmosphere for a narrative, or set the scene for action. In photography, landscape can reflect and reinforce contemporary ideological, social and environmental attitudes (Wells, *Land Matters* 1). Therefore, it is an element worthy of thorough analysis.

Before landscape became a separate entity in photographs as part of a background setting that could be analysed and viewed as such, landscape became a subject to photograph on its own. Early landscape photographers created personal work, devoted to "structuring landscapes in familiar terms" (Snyder in *Landscape and Power*, 179). Landscape photography can display certain parts of our world, differentiating in depictions. Sometimes incredibly extensive and interminable, at other times minuscule. Landscape often captures the demeanour of our natural world, but can sometimes also emphasise man-made structures, perhaps even featuring these as disturbances. The question that arises for this thesis is how the landscape as an entity in photography affects our perception of a photograph. In an interview, Nelson mentions that to him, photography is a metaphor. He uses his photographs to educate people on the values of "indigenous tribes" (Soldati par. 12). Nelson has carefully constructed his photographs to achieve this goal: from the people he chose to photograph, to the clothes they are wearing, to the position of their body, to the location that they are photographed at. His photographs are incredibly staged, presumably in contrast to the photographs used in the touristic and anthropological discourse. Especially the touristic photographs seem to be taken spontaneously during performances and tourist visits.

This chapter seeks to research the effect and power of landscape and surroundings in the artistic, touristic and anthropological discourse by analysing the photographs from the three discourses systematically. Its title, *Surroundings*, refers to the particular things and conditions around the people that are photographed. It is essential to distinguish two important elements

that are a part of this term: *background* and *landscape*. The term background in this chapter refers to the part of the photographs that forms a setting for the main figures, or that appears furthest from the viewer. I will use Liz Wells' definition of landscape: "a vista that encompasses nature and/or the changes that humans have effected on the natural world" (*Land Matters* 2). The distinction between the two is especially important for the next part of this chapter, that expounds surroundings in the artistic discourse: a background does not contain natural sights or something else that indicates a location, whereas landscape does. Jimmy Nelson frequently uses a studio-setting for his photographs, which creates a particular atmosphere but cannot be appointed as "landscape". Therefore, I will refer to this as "background".

The Artistic Discourse

In the previous chapter, the highly stylised character of Jimmy Nelson's photographs was already mentioned. Assuming this, the locations of Jimmy Nelson's photographs must have been carefully selected. In an interview, Jimmy Nelson mentions that he is not "flown in by a helicopter" to take his photographs. He says that he spends "weeks on the location that he visits" while sitting, watching and explaining what he is doing to the people he meets, rather than visiting a place for two days, in which he takes his photographs and leaves again (Mendo par. 10). During the weeks that he visits, Nelson and his team explore the region to find the perfect locations for his photographs. The photographs are all taken with an analogue plate camera, which means that Nelson is not able to see what he has photographed at that moment, opposed to when he would have taken photographs with a digital camera (Mendo par. 3). This means that the photographs he takes must be right in an instant: he cannot take multiple shots in a few seconds. Setting up his camera takes time, which means he can only take one or two shots during, for example, a sunset or sunrise. This has caused multiple situations in which he and the subjects of the photographs had to climb the same mountain multiple times, or take long walks in the middle of the night to reach a certain spot in time, in order to get the right shot at the right moment (Merrill par. 10). The reason Nelson chose to use an analogue camera is because sharpness and the reproduction of detail are better than in digital shots (Hendriks par. 2). Nelson also explains that he appreciated the "terrestrial" character of analogue photography. It sometimes brings about imperfections, that he finds romantic and interesting (Hendriks par. 2).

The carefully chosen landscapes (and the positions of the people in them, which will be analysed in chapter 3) are prevailing in several shots. The photographs Jimmy Nelson took of the Maasai show six individual photographs that contain landscape (Figs. 1-6). The other seven photographs are taken in a studio-setting and display a dark background, that emphasises the

people in the photographs (figs. 7-13). The five photographs that contain landscape show us details of the incredible, immense and vast nature of Tanzania and Kenya. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the prevailing colour in Jimmy Nelson's photographs of the Maasai is red. The landscape's colour palette, which is not the central element of these photographs (but taking on a grand role), is composed of browns, greys and yellows. The colours are modest, almost monochrome, and they are never bright, fiery or saturated. The lines of the landscape in the Maasai photographs lure us in: in the Western world, we are used to reading lines from left to right. Nelson cleverly anticipates on this by using horizontal lines that start on the left side of the photograph and lead us towards the photograph's focal point: the people. The composition of the photographs taken outside focuses on these horizontal lines. Using horizontal lines in composition creates a stable and tranquil atmosphere (de Visser 66). By contrasting these horizontal lines with vertical lines that are created by the positioning of his subjects in the photographs, the people photographed look stately and almost noble (Visser 66).

In one particular photograph, Nelson uses a small pool of water to enhance the effect of a wrecked car that is in the shot: it is reflected in the water, doubling its effect and presence (fig. 4). The wrecked car is not in use anymore; two of its wheels are already in the puddle, as if nature is swallowing it up. Two of the Maasai in the photograph are positioned on top of the car, which enhances the gist that the Maasai are "stronger" than Western civilisation: they do not need it, nor do they want it. Thus, there seems to be no place for technology here: Western civilisation has failed in this place. By using the reflection of the car in the water, Nelson enforces the failure of Western civilization even more.

Landscape indicates to us the space in which a photograph is taken. This can give the viewer of a photograph ideas on ideological dimensions. Jimmy Nelson's photos all show us landscapes without virtually any signs of modernisation, and if there are, this modernisation does not thrive (fig. 4). The photographs are taken in places that are far away from the modern world: all they show us are vast, intense, stretched out pieces of land adorned with a few trees and, in one photograph, a small pond and a wrecked car. The photographs do not show buildings, roads, train tracks or other signs of modern civilisation. This creates a sense of remoteness and the wild. This landscape and the location, then, may also be seen as a part of the world that has not yet been territorialised geographically or economically (Wells, *Land Matters* 3). This assumption can give the spectator the idea that the Maasai are a truly "wild" people, and in that way contribute to a sense of identity and cultural belonging of the spectator, who can view the Maasai as the Other upon seeing these photographs (Wells, *Land Matters* 5). The landscape in Jimmy Nelson's photographs thus contributes to the relation we have with our surroundings, but also shows us practical interventions: the photographs show that there is no

agriculture, nor industrial culture or architectural matters in the areas where these photos were taken. Because Jimmy Nelson was incredibly careful in choosing the locations of his photographs, the atmosphere that the photographs generate was also carefully constructed. It is virtually impossible for spectators to look beyond this. Wells mentions the following about this in her work:

Even if highly tutored in the effects of aesthetic and photographic coding and of the judgements that must have been exercised by the photographer, still at one level the spectator looks ‘through’ the representation that is depicted. (*Land Matters* 7)

By this, she means that it is almost impossible to *not* be biased by the representation created by the photographer. She continues by reminding the reader that photography is rhetorical. Photographers use a wide range of strategies to add emphasis and tone to their work. Photographs are never unbiased, as they reveal the decisions and choices that were made by the photographer (*Land Matters* 9).

Whereas the photographs of the Maasai that contain landscape express ideological dimensions, the portraits that were taken inside do not. That is if we focus on the background. The photographs taken inside were shot with reflectional screens that functioned as a background, to “pass on a more natural atmosphere”, according to Nelson (Hendriks 2). The setting of these portraits enhances the stylised and glamorised feeling the photographs radiate (figs. 7-13). The background is black, and because of this the entire focus of the portraits is on the people in them. The background is not a distraction for the viewer and only enhances the effect of the eye being immediately drawn to the faces of the people in the photographs. Their clothing and appearances blend in with the background slightly. Accessories such as the enkuraru and headscarves that are used are of darker colours, like the background, such as black, grey and dark purple (figs. 7, 10, 12). The disappearance of landscape (and thus context) in these photographs loosens the people photographed from their nature: they are taken away, are floating in time and space rather than being connected to it. The people photographed are photographed as objects, they are museumified: photos, people, that one could look at in a museum. The Maasai are portrayed as the Other, distanced from our own time and space and our own familiar reality.

So far, an interesting contrast has emerged: the landscape photographs express vitally different things than the portraits. The former places the Maasai in context, whereas the latter extracts the subjects photographed from their native environment. Furthermore, Nelson

enhances the distance between the Other and the spectator by evoking a sense of wildness and Otherness in his landscape photographs.

In comparison, the photographs taken of the Kazakh especially showcase nature and landscape in all its grandeur and vastness. Ridged mountains, topped with eternal snow (figs. 18-20). Rivers that seem to flow away into infinity (Figs. 14-15, 19-20). Clouded skies, photographs that seem to focus more on the landscape rather than on the people in it. It is evident that Nelson was considerably impressed by Mongolia's steppes, mountains and precipitous locations. On his website, he mentions that he "had to wait days for the right conditions", for an image he "spent years dreaming of making" ("Jimmy Nelson"). Landscape prevails in this series, that contains twenty photographs of which eleven showcase Mongolia's landscape. Again, it is obvious that Nelson photographed these people on remote locations. There is not a single sign of modernity in these photographs, and this effect is enhanced by the fact that the photos taken outside were almost all taken from a higher point, leaving more room in the frame for the landscape. On all photographs taken outside but one, in which a few buildings are visible (fig. 29), the spectator can look kilometres in the remote distance through this frame, without seeing the slightest sign of cultivation, buildings or roads. The way landscape is presented also is a record of human actions that were foisted on the land depicted (Wells, *Land Matters* 16). In this case, Nelson shows us pieces of the earth still seemingly untouched by human existence, and in that way again emphasising the difference and distance between the spectator and the people he photographed. Human accomplishments outline a landscape, and by deliberately choosing to depict the Kazakh in this way, the character and presence of the Other are enhanced (Wells, *Land Matters* 19). The compositional lines in these photographs are mostly horizontal and vertical. Nelson has used very little, deliberate diagonal lines. Diagonal lines create movement (de Visser 74). In some photographs this movement is present due to the eagles that are flying in some pictures (figs. 18-20, 21). The majority of the photographs, however, come across as seemingly static: due to this effect, the Kazakh seem to be frozen in time. This is in stark contrast with the photographs from especially the touristic discourse, which will be discussed in the next part of this chapter.

Something that the viewer cannot miss in Nelson's photographs of the Kazakh, is an atmosphere of sublimity. The sublime is often associated with certain landscapes: it is a powerful, frightening and natural force (Bell and Lyall 5). Emphasis is on a feeling of sensation, which is a feeling captured in Nelson's Kazakh series. People are portrayed on steep ridges, high mountain tops and as small creatures standing out in a barren landscape, evoking a feeling of awe that is often related to sublime vistas such as these (figs. 14-16, 18-20, 22-23). The sublime finds its most evident manifestations in "the spectacle of nature in all its splendour,

power and awesomeness” (Scaramellini 52). With these photographs, Nelson captured the impressive yet at the same time terrifying feeling one must experience when being in these places. Grand views like these can trigger a physical reaction, a sense that Nelson tried to capture with his photographs. In two of his photographs, Nelson has even decided to depict the Kazakh incredibly small; in these pictures, it seems as if the landscape has taken over and the presence of the Kazakh only emphasises the grotesqueness of the Mongolian nature (figs. 15, 19). Words associated with the sublime are grandiose, immense, frightening, and horrible (Scaramellini 52). The sublime evokes raw emotions, not muffled up by graciousness. This is what Nelson tries to capture with his images, and what creates an almost hypnotising effect: even though it seems terrifying, one cannot stop looking at it. The sublime is supposed to evoke the most intense emotions that the mind is able to feel when pain or danger find themselves too close, they are not able to give any delight and are only that: terrible. However, from the right distance and with the proper modifications, they can be tremendous (Scaramellini 52). The photographs of Nelson show us situations that could be incredibly dangerous (men on steep ridges, high mountains, in dangerous places). However, because the beholder can look at them in the safety of their own home, the photographs seem to evoke just the right amount of thrill. They *astonish*: “the passion caused by the great and the sublime in nature, when those causes operate most powerfully is astonishment, and astonishment is the state of the soul in which all its emotions are suspended, with some degree of horror” (Burke in Scaramellini, 52). The combination of nature and the sublime evokes these astonishing emotions. Essential to create a sublime effect, is the use of irregularity, variety, an interplay of lights and shadows. Small figures can be placed in marginal locations, to further enliven the scene (Scaramellini 54). This is precisely what Nelson does in one of the Kazakh photographs that has been discussed before: he positioned a few horse riders in the bottom right corner of the photograph, to show how little they are in comparison with the vast landscape that surrounds them (fig. 15). In another photo (fig. 19), he does the same with Kazakh hunters that let their eagles fly. A sight that would have been spectacular on its own, but that now seems volatile in comparison to the grotesque landscape behind them.

Overall, it may be said that Nelson has tried to evoke sublimity with his landscape photographs of the Kazakh: most of the photographs in this series were taken outside, and the photographs act as a stage on which the Mongolian landscape can show off its sublime effects. Furthermore, modernity is completely left out of the picture. There is no sign of civilization, it seems that these photographs were taken at the edge of the world.

The Touristic Discourse

Jimmy Nelson has deliberately used landscape and background to provoke specific ideas and feelings in his photographs, for the spectator to experience. Photographs in the touristic discourse are mostly used to lure in customers and to persuade them into taking a tour with a particular company. Because of this, tourism and photography are intrinsically linked: photography plays a pivotal role in the marketing and branding of tourism destinations (Garrod 346). As explained before, a photograph is always liable to the perspective of the photographer. Thus, various elements of a picture (such as landscape or background) can be used to influence the gist of a photograph or even to influence the spectator (in this case a potential tourist). The question arises whether the photographs of the Maasai and Kazakh from the touristic discourse have been shot with this knowledge and if so, how this translates to the pictures and the figurative position of landscape in them. It is important for photographs in the touristic discourse to lure tourists to certain destinations, but also to correlate on an acceptable degree to the genuine features of a place. If they do not, tourists will be dissatisfied, refrain from recommending a specific destination to others, and not come back (Garrod 346). This concept is undeniably related to the tourist gaze, a term conducted by John Urry that refers to the socially constructed way in which images are produced and reproduced, for and by tourists (Urry and Larsen 3). The gaze is a certain way of looking at the world, which is imposed on tourists, and constrained by the “imagery created for tourism destinations by the tourism industry” (Garrod 347). Photographs created for and by tourists, such as those in this touristic discourse, presumably correlate to this tourist gaze.

The first thing noticed in the photographs of the Maasai are the blue skies in almost every photograph. Each photograph that is zoomed out and gives the spectator an impression of the landscape contains (mostly) clear blue skies, which creates an optimistic, colourful and cheerful ambience. This correlates to the clothing of the Maasai which is, as mentioned in chapter one, very colourful and bright. The combination of these aspects causes a seemingly joyful atmosphere, which is, considering the character of the tour that is offered, not strange. The description of the tour uses words and phrases such as “a group of pleasant Maasai”, “tasting traditional tea and a tasty lunch”, “unforgettable excursion with Maasai warriors that will guide you”, “a get together with your Maasai friends”, “a starry sky”, and “traditional singing and dancing performances around a campfire” (“Tanzania Experience”). These amicable and pleasant descriptions correspond to the atmosphere in the photographs which is generally cheerful and bright due to the bright colour tones, to which the blue skies contribute substantially.

At the same time, the photographs also generate a feeling of Otherness by showcasing a traditional village, *boma*, of the Maasai as a backdrop in several photographs (figs. 34-35, 38, 44, 52), and the dry and barren landscape of Kenya and Tanzania's plains (figs. 35-38, 41, 44, 51, 53, 55, 59): these are characteristics often associated with Africa and a visit to a "fascinating tribe", which becomes clear when browsing through these photographs that all seem to showcase the same thing ("Budget Safari Tanzania"). Such a depiction of the Maasai and their surroundings seems to be part of the tourist gaze, as the photographs from different sources all seem to show the spectator the same barren plains with a few trees here and there, small, brown houses and "primitiveness": there are, just as in Jimmy Nelson's photographs, no other signs of industrialization or a modernised society visible in the landscape and backdrops of these photographs. A *boma* of the Maasai typically consists of a few huts made of mud, also referred to as "homesteads", that surround a central cattle enclosure. Each homestead also often has a separate enclosure for the family's animals (Kissui 425). In the photographs, the *boma* is quite a few times part of the landscape: the viewer sees it on the photographs, however, it is not the most important part of the photo: Maasai and tourists are standing in front of it (figs. 34-35, 38, 44, 52). The centre of the *boma*, however, looks different and seem to be arranged in a specific way for tourists in a certain photograph (fig. 38). Several picnic tables decorated with lanterns surround a firepit, where both Maasai and tourists can take a seat. The surroundings, in this case, seem to be orchestrated especially for group visits by tourists, rather than meet the subscription of a *boma* that Kissui stated in his article. This type of decoration returns in more photos. Apart from the display of Maasai homesteads, several photographs also show the huts from the inside. These photographs are typically shot with tourists in them, on which I will elaborate in the next chapter (figs. 40, 45, 60).

All in all, the photographs of the Maasai in this discourse seem to have been taken in the light of tourist expectations: they are colourful, the weather is good, and even though the Maasai themselves live in small and seemingly uncomfortable huts, tourists still have an enjoyable time and comfortable places to be seated.

The photographs of the Kazakh found in the touristic discourse cleverly use the attraction of the sublime to persuade those interested in taking a tour to the Mongolian mountain regions. Ever since the Romanticism period in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, uncontrollable, wild and seemingly undiscovered landscapes have started to attract visitors and have lost the aversion against them (Bell and Lyall 7). Since then, these "unspoiled" and "wild" regions have only gained popularity: "the security of geometrical precision of cultivated lands gave way to appreciation of wilderness, now seen as a place of spiritual renewal or challenge" (Bell and Lyall 9). Just like in Nelson's photographs, the photographs in this discourse

showcase the beautiful nature Mongolia has to offer. It seems that this is one of the many reasons for visitors to opt for a journey to Mongolia: “fantastic trekking adventure among snow-capped peaks of the high Altai Mountains”, “experience a pristine mountain world where you will see Kazakh nomads still hunting with their golden eagles”, “immerse yourself in the unique landscape, culture and traditions of western Mongolia”, are phrases used in promotional texts and information on specific tours (“Kazakh Tour”). Ever since the re-valuation of mountainous regions in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, these areas have metamorphosed into grand tourism resources (Wells, *Land Matters* 11). Landscape, therefore, takes on a very prominent role and in quite a few photographs, the landscape even was given a more substantial role than the Kazakh in these specific shots: they are depicted as very small, against a backdrop of jaw-dropping mountains, blue, shimmering lakes and immense glaciers. The Mongolian landscape looks well in a picture and reviews of tourists on the website describe it at “just like a postcard”. What these tourists probably mean or feel is that by directly looking at these landscapes, they can connect it to a “canonical” image and were able to test the compatibility of the actual landscape to their registered image (Bell and Lyall 8). The landscape in these photographs is presented as an attraction on its own, which gives tourists the spectacle that they search for and that must still be visited because a photograph could never be quite as fantastic as the actual vistas must be (Wells, *Land Matters* 16).

Different from Nelson’s photograph are the presence and signs of buildings and modernity: the photographs show yurts, the traditional Kazakh homes (figs. 67-70), but also facilities for tourists with jeeps, and other undefined buildings and homes created out of brick (figs. 72, 76). Whereas Nelson seems to focus on the secluded character of his landscapes in the Kazakh series, this is not a priority for the photographs that are in this touristic discourse. A possible explanation could be the fact that these photographs focus on attracting tourists. The context of these photographs is that they were taken to promote multiple day tours, that include meals and overnight stays. To attract as many tourists as possible, a tour company must provide those that are interested with pictures that are an adequate representation of the facilities that they will use during a tour to the Kazakh.

Another striking difference in comparison to Nelson’s photographs, is the presence of movement. Quite a few photographs in this discourse were taken at the Golden Eagle Festival, which is one of Mongolia’s most popular events and which attracts many tourists (figs. 64-67, 72-76). The primary goal of the photographs taken here seems to pass on the spectacular sensations of this event. Many of the photographs depict the sensational competitions that are held at this event, and show the viewer men bent over on their horses, presumably at top speed.

The diagonal, tilted and seemingly random, crooked lines enhance the dynamics of the photographs and create a lot of movement (de Visser 66).

To summarize, the photographs of the Kazakh in this discourse seem to focus on the sublimity of Mongolia and the sensation that the Golden Eagle Festival provides for the spectator. The photographs show off the sublime and impressive landscape, which is similar to Nelson's photographs. Furthermore, the speed and dynamics between man and horse is a returning element in the photographs as well.

The Anthropological Discourse

I have addressed both the importance of the tourist gaze and the sublime in the previous paragraphs. The use of both these concepts can be explained in relation to the specific contexts of the photographs. These contexts, however, do not apply to the anthropological discourse: the photographs in this discourse were not taken to impress the spectator nor to attract possible tourists, but they were made and used to substantiate points made in academic and anthropological articles about the Kazakh and the Maasai, and to illustrate certain findings or to demonstrate certain concepts such as clothing, gear, or facial decorations. This is partially the reason why quite a few of the photographs are shot or published in black and white, and why the locations of the photographs and the angles seem to have been selected randomly sometimes.

The photographs that I have used of the Maasai, taken from various academic articles and books, are all in black and white. One of these photographs, which is on the cover of Edward Bruner's *Culture on Tour*, was also used in one of his articles. In this article, the caption states: "Maasai Elder" (Bruner, "Maasai on the Lawn" 450). It is a close-up photograph of a Maasai, who is wearing an enkuraru that frames his face and the photograph at the same time (fig. 82). The man is holding a polaroid photograph of himself, in which he is posing with a spear while wearing an enkuraru. The polaroid shows a typical picture taken by tourists that visit the Maasai at Mayer's Ranch, and the man holding it again illustrates that the photograph symbolises the way tourists look at the Maasai, and that the Maasai know that this image is often what tourists expect. The landscape in the polaroid is subject to the Maasai that poses for the camera, who is placed in the centre. He is standing on the lawn of Mayers Ranch, which was then a tourist attraction near Nairobi that was privately maintained by an English ex-colonial family called the Mayers (Bruner, "Maasai on the Lawn" 435). The man is surrounded by many trees, which is different from the photographs in the artistic and touristic discourse: there were trees in these shots, but always just one or two. The trees reappear in other

photographs: they are visible in almost every shot, and in one photograph the tree is even of significant importance (fig. 87). The caption reads the following:

Fig. 1.1. Sekot and Lepadayan stand in front of a sacred *oreteti* tree near Mti Mmoja. The descending vines and rising roots produce a tangled thicket that links Eng'ai and the world. Photo by author, 2000. (Hodgson 29).

The photograph revolves around this tree that was believed to be especially sacred. These trees hold water in their stems and crevices and were regarded as sacred places where people worshipped, prayed, and plead to Eng'ai (a divinity for Maasai) for rain and other blessings (Hodgson 29). The *oreteti* tree does not reoccur in other photographs, but it is of significance that photographs from this discourse all contain trees and afforested areas in them and that they are evidently there. This does not seem to be the case when analysing the photographs in the other discourses. A reason for this might be that the canonical image many people have of the southern part of Africa is one of stretched out lands and savannas with a lonesome tree on them, while a majestic elephant struts in the background. This canonical image is then created and reproduced by photographers, tour operators, and marketing companies, as this is the image that people expect and prefer to see. Photographs in this discourse, as mentioned before, are not aimed at attracting views, visitors or buys and do not necessarily have to correlate to a canonical image, presenting the surroundings as they are without relying on measures to create a more spectacular or impressive photograph.

The photographs furthermore show the spectator the locations where the Maasai perform for tourists. The tourists are seated in areas with roofs made of leaves to keep them in the shade, while they watch the Maasai perform. There are clear distinctions between tourist "areas" and Maasai "areas": tourists are seated comfortably while the Maasai perform on a lawn or open place, in front of these tourists (figs. 80, 84). This emphasises the underlying structure of these performances. As Bruner states in his article, "Maasai on the Lawn", on this specific subject:

Tourism gives tribalism and colonialism a second life by bringing them back as representations of themselves and circulating them within an economy of performance. (...) Tourism at Mayers Ranch performs a paradox. It sells Maasai pastoralism as pristine and independent but depends for the production of this idealization on Maasai adaptability and interdependence. (435-436).

The surroundings of these photographs amplify this statement, as they depict a clear distinction between the Maasai and tourists. Even though they pose together in certain photographs, there is an apparent separation between the two.

All in all, the photographs of the Maasai show that there are a lot more trees visible in these photographs, which are missing in the other two discourses. Furthermore, there is a clear distinction visible in the landscape; there is a place for the Maasai (where they perform), a place for tourists (where they are seated), and a place where both of them intertwine.

On the first glance, the photographs of the Kazakh all seem to be focused mostly on the people that are in them. They are often placed in the centre, sometimes concealing grand parts of the landscape or their surroundings. Four of the photographs were taken indoors (figs. 101, 106-108). Two of these photographs were taken in a festive setting (figs. 106-107). The edge of these photographs show that the location is inside a tent-like construction, but the setting is spacious and modern and depicts grand, set tables, where people of all ages are seated. The photos are captioned with the following text: "Photo of the author. Holiday of Nauryz" (Edelbay 133). The author mentions in the article that the photos are evidence of an intertwining of several cultural processes: globalisation and the penetration of Western culture into the Kazakh traditional celebrations and ceremonies (Edelbay 122). This elucidates the Western aspects visible in the surroundings of these photographs, such as the table setting and decorations, which are uncommon in Kazakh traditional culture as they originally are a nomadic people. Another photograph taken indoors shows the same mix between the pastoral, nomadic culture of the Kazakh and Westernisation: it depicts a Kazakh, wearing traditional clothing and posing with his harvests, in a Westernised home that is unable to be transported to a new location the way yurts are (fig. 101). The last photograph taken indoors was taken inside of a yurt, and depicts a *dombra* (a musical instrument) maker at his place (fig. 108). The difference between the yurts and Westernised homes is striking: the yurt's walls are covered in tapestries, and the *dombra* maker is seated on cushions and pillows that cover the floor.

The photographs that are taken outside are also focused mostly on the people in them. Unlike in the touristic and artistic discourse, the landscape was not given a part as important as in those photographs, and it is subject to the people in the photographs. In most of the photographs, the landscape is a blurred background which enhances the focus on the Kazakh in these pictures. There are only two pictures that are clearly used to show the reader of the article the landscape (Figs. 99-100). The caption of one of these (fig. 99) states: "Fig. 3. Traditional hunting field, Agjal Mountains" (Soma, "Eagle Hunters in Action" 16). In this particular photograph, the person in it is subject to the landscape instead of the other way around. He is depicted as very small while seated on his horse, whereas the landscape is a vast, hilly area.

This is done, however, to demonstrate the hunting lands and hunting culture of the Kazakh eagle hunters. The photographs in no way rely on the same techniques and atmosphere as those in the artistic and touristic discourse. Even though they are taken in the same regions of Mongolia, the photographs do not evoke the same sense of awe. This is because the focus of these photographs is on the demonstration of cultural aspects of the Kazakh, such as the eagle-hunting, music, or festive celebrations and, by all means, not on the landscape.

To summarize, the photographs of the Kazakh mainly focus on the people in them, as they illustrate several hunting techniques and traditional elements of Kazakh culture. The landscape is subject to this and does not in any way take on the same role as in the artistic and touristic discourse.

Conclusion

It is evident that both Jimmy Nelson and the photographers responsible for photographs in the touristic discourse rely heavily on landscape and surroundings to leave behind a grand impression on the spectator. The photos from the anthropological discourse, however, mainly focus on cultural aspects and for the photographs of the Maasai, dynamics between tourists and the Maasai are shown. In almost all the photographs, landscape and background are subject to the people in them, and the photographers purposefully focused on the people that were present rather than on surroundings. This has caused these photographs to be perhaps less engaging to the eye, but more enquiring about certain aspects of Maasai and Kazakh culture.

The photographs of the Maasai show quite a few differences in various categories. Jimmy Nelson's photographs are less colourful and cheerful than the photos used in the touristic discourse, which generally show the spectator bright blue skies that contrast favourably with the colourful clothing of the Maasai. Nelson's photos are more dramatic and use a darker, more monochrome colour palette. Both categories show the vast savannahs of Africa without much vegetation, expedient for the canonical image that tourists and Western people are often familiar with. This contrasts with what is visible in the photographs in the anthropological discourse: in these photos, there is quite a lot of vegetation (and especially trees) visible in the landscape. Interesting as well is the juxtaposition of the dynamics between tourists and the Maasai in these photographs: there is a clear distinction between the areas that are suitable and meant for tourists (chairs, lounge areas, shade), and areas that are meant for the Maasai (the places where they perform).

Photographs of the Kazakh in the artistic and touristic discourse rely heavily on the effects that the sublime has on the spectators. It is evident that Nelson has used the effects that

the sublime causes to evoke a sensational experience and to show the grandeur of Mongolia's vast steppes, snow-capped mountains and shimmering lakes. The same has been done in the touristic discourse: the sublime attracts visitors; thus, this is what is shown in the photographs that promote tours to the Kazakh. In the anthropological discourse, an interesting merge between Western and Kazakh culture is visible, especially in housing and decoration. This is due to globalization and the penetration of Western culture into the Kazakh traditional celebrations and ceremonies. Photographs that show landscape do not evoke the same feelings as the photos from the artistic and touristic discourse, as the focus is much more on the people in these photographs rather than their surroundings.

Chapter 3: The Body

The analysis of images can reveal to us many aspects; amongst others underlying power relations, a photographer's frame of reference, and the relationships and dynamics between gender, race and cultures. An image can reinforce particular ways of seeing the world, and it can even limit and transmit people, nations, genders and sexes into distinct mind-sets (Morgan and Pritchard 6). In his article "Picturing Practices: research through the tourist gaze", Crang argues that photography has altered how "travellers" or tourists encounter the world. A camera provides technology and new ways to frame the world. As opposed to complementing the framed experience of a certain place with another, more 'genuine' or 'authentic' way of experiencing and undergoing, Crang advocates that, in fact, photography is one of the many possible ways in which we can comprehend the world that we find ourselves to be in. Thus, the photos taken by the photographer can create certain ideas about people and places. The concept of "the body" often relates to the act of performing, undergoing or experiencing. In photography, the body reflects upon these performances: in the final creation of a photograph, the body maps a particular "trajectory", such as attaining a certain posture and ordering spatial dynamics with others (Crouch and Desforges 13). Next to this, a photograph draws a connection between the spectator and the experiencing of other times and places. The representation of photographed bodies, like any bodies, are central to society's composition of power relationships in general. They symbolise and demonstrate personal identity, sexuality, gender, authority, beliefs, and ideologies (Pultz 7).

A photograph reflects on a whole collection of connections: the camera to the subject photographed, the observer to the photograph itself, the dynamics between lens and film, and, eventually: the spectator and the photograph. The photographer, however, is always separate and, as Pultz argues, "freely viewing some object or scene" (9). Interesting to note is the term "subject": individuals that are photographed are often referred to as subjects, which indicates and projects the degree to which they are contingent on the photographer and their frame of reference. Photographs of indigenous peoples made by Westerners, such as Jimmy Nelson, often exert social control over these peoples: the Maasai and Kazakh were not consulted to find out the ways in which they would prefer to be represented to the outside world: this becomes clear when reading the book *Before They Pass Away: The Stories Behind the Photographs*, a book in which one of Nelson's assistants, Hannelore Vandebussche, documents their journey. There is a team behind each photograph that locates the "tribes", finds the best spots to photograph the people and that sets up a studio setting for Jimmy Nelson. Thus, the photographed people played a subordinate role in the construction of their representation to the

outside world (Akama and Sterry 46). Whereas previous chapters have discussed the clothing, attire, and surroundings of the photographs, this chapter seeks to reflect and research the representation of “the body” in the photographs from an artistic, touristic and anthropological discourse. The chapter focuses on body transformation and body positioning.

The Artistic Discourse

Nelson’s photographs were carefully constructed and taken. In a TED talk he gave in Amsterdam, Nelson tells his audience about one of the moments where he created the composition and arrangement of people in one particular photograph. He addresses his audience:

I’m in southern Ethiopia. There’s a big family, there’s a very beautiful tree (...) And what’s most important for me is the beauty and the aesthetic. There’s babies and there’s grandparents, I’m getting them in the tree and waiting for the light to set and it’s going, going, and I think, I’m okay, I’m in control, I’m in control. (...) I made sure the girls were in the right position. And then at the last minute, I go, “the goat, the goat! I need something for the eye to look at. (TED 00:24).

This quote explains a lot about Nelson’s working method: he prefers to be the one in control, thoroughly positions his subjects, and waits for the perfect lighting until he shoots the photograph with his camera. His photographs are utterly thought out, from which we can conclude that he has carefully chosen, considered and decided upon the positioning of his subjects. This makes analysing his photographs extra interesting, as they are a representation of his mind-set and ideas.

The Maasai series shows a stark contrast between the portraits, which were shot inside in a studio-like setting and that have a dark coloured monochrome background, and the photographs in which Maasai are positioned in Kenya’s nature. The portraits show various Maasai men and women, all wearing extensive jewellery in the form of necklaces, earrings, and beaded accessories that adorn the head. Some of the faces are painted in red paint that form geometrical shapes across the face or are scarred in certain ways (figs. 7-10, 12-13). These photos stress the transformation of the body: these body paintings, piercings, scars and pieces of jewellery all indicate the change a body can undergo to express certain things (Márquez 3). It also creates a setting that revolves around the unusualness or abnormality and mystery that is often coupled with these ethnic groupings. The photographs emphasise the difference between

the Other and “us”, and the queerness of the people portrayed. The stereotype of the “tribe” is reinforced, a word that is frequently used by Nelson (Márquez 4).

The way we adorn ourselves reveals hints to culture, education, psychological well-being, and sometimes even respect for others (Maykut 406). Several photographs show that the Maasai have scarred their bodies, either visible in their face or on their shoulders. Scarring the body can be done for various reasons, which relate to for example the hardening of the body (which is often done during the transition from childhood to adolescence) or a rite of passage (Garve et al. 2). Hardening by scarring is done because it is believed that, according to Garve, “physical and emotional stress exerted on children will allow the individual to withstand strain, both physical and mental, in its later life” (2). Mutilation is thought to intensify personal strength and to create a stronger development (Garve et al. 2). Transformations of a body of this kind, leaving aside tattooing, are an incredible distance from the transformations Western people undergo (such as plastic and aesthetic surgery, tattoos, and ear shaping) to change their bodies and to express certain things through their bodies. This emphasises the distance between the viewer and the Other even more: the stereotypical image of a “wildling”, or “tribe member” is enforced by showing the scars and chalk markings that were inflicted to several of the people photographed.

Three of the portraits depict Maasai men with their spears, which is held very close to their faces (figs. 8-10). By positioning them this close to their faces, Nelson amplifies the difference between the Other and the Westerner. The men who hold spears look directly into the camera, and due to the weaponry, this is a bold, almost intimidating look. On occasion, the spear is held firmly with both hands, creating an even stronger connection – literally and figuratively – between the Maasai and their weapons (figs. 9-10). The composition of these photographs is one of diagonal lines. Especially the men, who were photographed with their spears, come across as uneasy. This is partly due to the use of many diagonal lines. The men lean slightly to the left, whereas their spear is positioned in such a way that it points to the right. These firm diagonal and tilted lines can cause unrest and agitation (de Visser 66). Another aspect that enhances this effect is the use of orange chalk markings on their faces: the colour orange is often associated with aggressiveness (de Visser 107). This, in combination with the spears and diagonal lines, enhances the idea of the Maasai “warrior”, or “wildling”.

The women, who are portrayed without spears, look up to a to us invisible sky, while their faces catch light that is falling onto them (figs. 7, 12). This gives the photographs and the women in them a softening, almost divine-like effect. They are portrayed virtually as Madonna's: serene, with a piece of cloth draped in such a way that it frames their faces like a veil does, similarly to the characteristic image of a renaissance painting. They sometimes look

away from the camera rather than staring right into the lens, avoiding contact with the spectator, which is in stark contrast to the photographs of the Maasai men. Nelson uses a centralized composition and lets the light fall on their face, which puts the focus on their facial expression and centralises the women (de Visser 68). In the document *Before They Pass Away*, these photographs are placed on two pages with each four photographs. The photos with and without weaponry are put next to each other on some occasions, emphasising contrast even more.

The photographs of the Maasai taken outside show the spectator various underlying ideas and representations. As these photographs are all full-body photos taken from afar, it is difficult to identify the alterations to the body of the people photographed. Their position in the photograph, however, does give us an idea on Jimmy Nelson's mind-set and the dynamics between the people photographed. The Maasai man who made it to the cover of the book appears in two photographs: the cover photo, in which he is photographed solo, and a photograph with two other people (figs. 1, 6). It is clear that this man is portrayed as a leader: he is the only one to pose with a spear, shield, *and* an enkuraru, and the only one to be photographed solo in the landscape (the cover photo). On the photo where he is portrayed with two other men, he clearly still is the leader: he is positioned a lot closer to the camera, whereas the other two men are positioned at such a distance that it is impossible to see their faces. In both photos, he distances himself from the viewer by placing an object in-between his body and the camera. In doing so, the distance between the viewer and the man is enhanced. Even more so if one realises that the object placed between him and the viewer is a shield: an object that protects him from the Western, modernised world and which keeps it at a distance. He also becomes harder to approach: the shield is a clear obstacle, not used by people in the Western world, and thus enhancing the Othering character of the photograph. Another photograph shows five Maasai, the back of their bodies facing the camera, looking into the distant landscape (fig. 3). It depicts a sense of pride: the pride they feel when looking at that majestic landscape, where they seem to belong. A landscape that has no secrets for them, and that they consider to be their home. The Maasai have their head held high in each of the photos, showcasing pride, confidence and sincerity. In one particular photo, four men are "flocked" together, their bodies touching each other, as to become one unified person rather than four individuals (fig. 5). They are all dressed in clothes made of red and black striped fabric, which enhances the idea of becoming "one" even more so. They seem to create a unified front that shields them from what is standing in front of them.

Nelson has chosen to solely portrait younger Maasai. Not one of his photographs depicts an elder Maasai. The Western image of the Other, the strong, male warrior, is hereby reinforced. Age and the effects it has on the body are an important element of Maasai culture. Whereas

elderly people are respected in the Maasai community, they are not the young “warriors” anymore that they used to be. These young men seem to embody the ‘rich’ and ‘primitive’ culture of the pastoralists of East Africa to most Westerners, among them tourists (Meiu 473). A familiar sight on Kenyan and Tanzanian beaches are the infamous “beach boys”: “young male warriors of the Samburu ethnic group of northern Kenya. Dressed in traditional attire of red cloth and colourful beads (...) and occasional face painting, among whom the Maasai are the best known” (Meiu 473). These so-called beach boys pose for photographs, sell souvenirs, but mostly hope to find European, female partners for transactional sex, long-term relationships, or marriage. They dress and look a certain way to appeal to this target group: they wear traditional clothing; try to maintain a to Western standards fit physique, and by these means try to add to their masculinity. This masculinity is something that returns in Nelson’s photographs, in which he has depicted the young Maasai men in the same way: they are the embodiment of the stereotypical image that ‘beach boys’ envy and strive to be. The spears that they hold, the shoulder and arm muscles that are visible and accentuated by the lighting, and the chalk markings on their face all add to this idea.

To conclude, various types of body adornment are part of traditional Maasai culture. Nelson uses these elements to further enhance the idea of the Other. He also does this by positioning his subjects in a certain way, such as positioning a shield in between the person photographed and the camera.

The photographs of the Kazakh show us vitally different things. Scarring, weaponry and chalk marks are non-existent concepts in the Kazakh series. Body transformation and alteration seems to be mostly done by the use of clothing. The body in the Kazakh series is covered up in thick fur clothing, and the focus in these shots is mostly placed on the facial features, whereas other body parts remain mainly invisible. In the portrait shots, the faces are the only visible part of the body apart from a right hand in some of the photos (figs. 17, 24-27, 30, 32-33). The people photographed all fiercely look in the camera, their faces showing no other strong emotions; they do not smile, but they do not look unhappy either. This is the case for almost all of Jimmy Nelson’s portraits. About this, he mentions in his TED talk that by taking these pictures the people he photographs have “his soul”, and that he has their soul. According to Nelson, the beholder is reflected in the eyes of the people photographed (TED 15:34). It seems that eyes are a very important expressional feature that he uses in his portrait shots, and that catch the attention of the viewer immediately.

Reoccurring in these photographs is the concept of masculinity: of all the photographs that made it into *Before They Pass Away*, only one depicts a woman (fig. 25). The other photographs all focus on the outdoor character of the Kazakh and their dependency on hunting

and nature to ensure they are provided with their primary necessities of life. Especially the practice of hunting is associated with men rather than with women, and Nelson enforces this common association by only using one photograph of a woman in his series.

Interesting is Nelson's position as a photographer in these photographs. Although he is not in the photographs himself, the standpoint from which he took the photographs seems to be quite often from a higher position. This is especially the case for almost all the photographs that Nelson took outside. Nelson's point of view is also the point of view that he gives to the viewer (de Visser 122). By placing himself literally above the subjects that he has photographed, he photographs from a higher point of view. A high point of view gives the creator of these images, and thus also the spectator, a "supreme" feeling, and a detached overview of the situation (de Visser 122). By taking photographs from this perspective, Nelson enhances the idea of the distant other but also provides us with a lot of information: a higher placed horizon means less overlap, and thus more to see (de Visser 122).

To conclude, Nelson's photographs of the Kazakh show that body alterations and transformations are less common in Kazakh culture than they are in Maasai culture, and bodies are mainly altered by clothes. The only visible part of the body in most photographs is the face. The portrait photographs of this series focus mostly on the eyes, which seems to be an important element for Nelson. Furthermore, he enforces the thought that hunting and thus providing the primary necessities of life is associated with masculinity by using only one photograph with a female in it.

The Touristic Discourse

In tourism, commercial photography often exploits exoticism and Otherness, whether it be conscious or unconscious (Wells, *Photography: A Critical Introduction* 225). Even though this discourse relies on sources published after 2013, it is not to say for certain that Jimmy Nelson's document influenced the photographers of these photos. It is, however, a certainty that there are some striking resemblances between the photos, especially between the Kazakh series, such as the glamorous element evident in Nelson's photographs and use of the sublime.

An evident difference between Nelson's Maasai series and the photographs of the Maasai in this discourse when looking at the body, is facial expressions. In most photographs, Maasai and tourist alike are depicted with happy facial expressions and smiles on their faces (figs. 43-45, 48-50, 52-53, 60). The element of fun and pleasure is put forward evidently. This is especially the case for photographs that were found on promotional websites and in guidebooks. Both the Maasai and the tourists look happy, which creates an optimistic atmosphere. However, a smile can also be deliberately worn and be a "will to please", especially

in precarious situations in which someone is dependent on the other (Veijola and Valtonen in Pritchard, eds. 16). This is the case for the Maasai, who gain an income from tourists that visit and pay for this and sometimes buy souvenirs or pay to take a photograph. A friendly face is more likely to persuade tourists into buying souvenirs than a hostile one.

The presence of tourists is also something new: Nelson has deliberately filtered himself, his team and possible tourists out of the photographs. Nelson creates photographs that imply there is nothing there but foreign land and the Other. In this touristic discourse, however, the tourist has an important role as being part of the photographs. To show photos is to have been somewhere, and to be in these photos with the Other is to prove that the tourist was actually there. Consequently, tourists are often part of the photograph: by posing with the Maasai, by joining in in their ritual dance performances, or by wearing the same type of clothing. Photographs that depict tourists posing with the Maasai show white, Western tourists that pose happily alongside Maasai children, men, or women (figs. 41, 49, 52, 58, 60-61). They are often standing in de middle but sometimes on the side. Popular amongst women seems to be the photograph with Maasai children: in various photographs, they pose with the younger children happily. An incredibly stark contrast emerges: the wealthy Westerner, privileged to travel and visit the Maasai, standing next to young Maasai children dressed in simple traditional clothes, sometimes barefooted, obviously not as wealthy. This contradiction immediately also creates a hierarchy, in which the developed and rich Western tourist is placed above the Maasai, emphasising how “primitive” they live.

Photographs taken from blog posts about a Maasai village visit are accompanied by texts, which all have the same atmosphere: “we were greeted by the smiles of the Maasai tribe women and their children. The children grabbed hold of our hands and were very excited to show us around” (“Where is Nikki”). This quote was taken from a blog post about a visit to the Maasai, and other posts about such visits are very similar. On these tourist blogs are many photos in which tourists pose with Maasai families. Many photos show similar situations: young Maasai children seem keen to hold hands with the visitors, and visitors are eager to pose with them (figs. 50, 52-53). Next to this, tourists post many pictures in which they show a close connection with the Maasai: laughing, talking, and performing in their rituals and dances together (figs. 34, 39, 43, 50, 59). Tourists are willing to show others how much they emerged themselves in Maasai culture. This is not only expressed with photographs that show the Maasai and tourists together but also by performing together in the Maasai rituals and mostly, trying to temporarily transform into a Maasai by dressing up in chequered clothing and for women, putting on typical jewellery (figs. 40, 42-45, 56, 60). When jewellery is gifted, it signifies an intimate relationship: it is a way for tourists to feel important and connected with the Maasai,

and a way for the Maasai to possibly gain economic profit. Body adornment can be used by members of a certain cultural group to distinguish themselves from other individuals, who are not part of this group (Maykut 409). Tourists that adorn their body with traditional Maasai clothing and jewellery and after that pose with them, seem eager to show their close connection with this cultural group to friends and family back home.

In his article on the creation of the Maasai image, professor John Akama states that “the Maasai are represented in advertisements and tourism commercials as a primitive and backward community, which provides additional anecdotes for international tourists looking for exotism and adventure in the African wilderness” (44). This statement is reinforced by the photo galleries on websites that promote tours to the Maasai, which show visitors for example photographs in which tourists pose inside homes of the Maasai. They are laughing and seem to be having a good time, but at the same time also stress the difference between two worlds: the rich Western tourist that poses in a small house created out of “mud and animal dung”, which is what the caption reads (fig. 45). Other pictures achieve the same effect, such as a photograph in which three Maasai men are squatting to make fire without a lighter but by using a traditional technique with wooden sticks. The caption reads: “Maasai men are making a fire, without lighters!” (“E&T Abroad”) (fig. 57). All these photographs stereotype the Maasai, and reinforce the idea of the primitive and “noble savages”, that have managed to resist the influence of the Western world, and that still live by the rules of their exotic culture (Akama 46).

To summarize, the position of the tourist in this discourse seems to be of vital importance. The tourist poses with the Maasai, dresses like the Maasai, but also contrasts with the Maasai when posing in their homes. The connection between the tourists and the Maasai seems to be very essential to tourists.

On the other hand, photographs of the Kazakh show quite a few similarities with Nelson’s shots. The photographs Nelson took of the Kazakh were quickly used as promotional material for his work, and were, amongst others because of the splendid nature and sensational eagles, considered to be the most beautiful of his work. The photographs of the Kazakh are used in almost every article or interview with Jimmy Nelson. Interestingly, the photographs with a touristic, commercial aim, seem to have followed these photographs as an example for promotional material. Nelson’s iconic images of Kazakh men and their eagles, standing on top of a mountain ridge or just a close up of their face and the eagle, are similar to the photographs in this discourse (figs. 63, 65, 75). Photographs in this discourse were often taken at the Golden Eagle Festival, an annual event introduced by the Mongolian Eagle-Hunters’ Association in 2000 (Soma, “Altaic Kazakh Falconry as Heritage Tourism” 139). The event gives falconers a chance to meet other falconers, and to display their eagles to the public (Soma, “Altaic Kazakh

Falconry as Heritage Tourism” 139). The event is becoming more and more popular, and during the season, many tours and treks are programmed around it. Many of the photographs in this discourse were taken at this festival, where even female falconers also have a chance to display their talents. These are missing in Jimmy Nelson’s Kazakh series. The sensational aspect of the Kazakh hunting culture, and the splendid backdrops that are used for the photographs, are similar to Nelson’s shots. However, whereas the falconers photographed by Nelson show minimal movement (in most photographs, their horses are standing still), the photographs in the touristic discourse seem to focus much more on movement, speed and sensation. The Kazakh are depicted while riding on their horses, their bodies trying to balance by leaning to the left or right side of the horse, and their right arm stretched out to support their eagle (figs. 67, 71, 74-76). The photographs are about movement and the dynamics between horse, eagle and man. This connection, which was also evident in Jimmy Nelson’s photographs, seems to be just as important here. However, the sensational element of movement element that is added to it is new.

The position of tourists in these photographs differs from the position of tourists in the photographs of the Maasai. Whereas in the Maasai series, tourists often pose with the Maasai and are eager to display a strong connection with the local community, this seems to be less the case for the Kazakh photographs. There are no photos in which the tourists are deliberately *posing* with the Kazakh people. There are, however, photographs in which both tourists and Kazakh are present. In these photographs, they often are in yurts together, drinking tea or helping with daily activities (figs. 69, 72).

In conclusion, the photographs of the Kazakh in this discourse look similar to Nelson’s photos in terms of the positioning in the nature of Mongolia, and the use of the eagles. A difference with the photographs of the Maasai is the presence of tourists, who do not make an appearance in these photographs.

The Anthropological Discourse

The anthropological discourse, consisting of photographs solely taken from academic articles, on the first glance seems to be of an entirely different calibre. The photographs used in this discourse were all used to demonstrate certain happenings, concepts, or arguments to support statements in the article. Whereas according to Nelson his photos are created to enjoy, educate, and provoke, photographs from the touristic discourse are used to promote and to persuade. Photos in the anthropological discourse, however, are used to educate and illustrate.

The Maasai photos are primarily used to illustrate the several body adornments and transformations that Maasai undergo. This includes their clothing and accessories, but also the practice of body painting, chalk markings, and scarification. The captions of the photographs illustrate this fact, by merely describing what is seen on the photograph such as the following caption: “Maasai warrior, his face and body decorated with red ochre and clay, wearing an ostrich feather headdress” (Chico 162) (fig. 93). Photographs with these kinds of captions are often photographs taken from the front, in which Maasai men and women stand up straight, their faces looking at the camera. In Hodgson’s book, the photographs and captions are similar: “Fig. 1.2. Maasai women in preparation for a ritual (which Hinde calls a “medical ceremony”) with circular white chalk markings on their faces” (33) (fig. 88). The accompanying text explains that this type of body transformation with the use of chalk is “used to draw special protective designs on the face, legs, or torso of certain ritual participants” (32). The use of white colour is because the Maasai believe in Eng’ai Naibor, the “White God”. The photographs in Hodgson’s work illustrate these distinctive ethnic characteristics of Maasai culture, so most photographs are taken in such a way that it demonstrates the various body alterations that are discussed in Hodgson’s text. There is no elaborate posing of any kind: the facial expressions are neutral and so is their posture (figs. 90, 92).

The captions in Bruner’s articles are shorter and describe situations rather than external appearances, such as “Maasai at Mayers dancing and chanting” (Bruner, “The Maasai and the Lion King” 885) (fig. 83), “Dancing for tourists” (Bruner, “Maasai on the Lawn” 452) (fig. 84), and “Handicrafts for sale” (Bruner, Maasai on the Lawn” 453) (fig. 81). The photographs were taken during performances and various situations that occurred during tourist visits, such as dance performances or interactions with tourists. The distinction between tourist and Maasai is very clear in these photographs. Bruner’s article explains in detail a visit of tourists to the Mayer’s Ranch. These visits start with dance performances by Maasai Warriors, which are a “carefully constructed combination of tribalism and colonialism” (Bruner, “Maasai and the Lion King” 885). Photos that illustrate his findings about these performances indeed show us a situation in which tourists are seated together while watching the performance of Maasai (fig. 83). The photographs show Maasai men holding spears, shields, and acting as “19th-century tribesmen”, which is what the tourists want to see (Bruner, “Maasai and the Lion King” 885). The Maasai look “authentic” and according to Bruner, tourists found the performances fascinating and romantic (“Maasai and the Lion King” 885). Bruner’s work continues by elaborating on the rest of the visit, during which the Maasai transform from primitive tribesmen and warriors to amicable friends: “gone is the wildness, or the illusion of wildness, or the

performance of wildness, to be replaced by a benign and safe African tribesman” (“Maasai and the Lion King” 892). In one particular photograph, of which the caption reads “The Sundowner Setting” (“Maasai and the Lion King” 891), the tourists are sitting in comfortable chairs, their body in an obviously relaxed position, watching how the Maasai dance and jump around them (fig. 84). The tourists are watching, laughing and having fun. In some pictures, it seems that the Maasai have invited the tourists to dance with them and join them in their festivities, to which the tourists gladly oblige. Some people seem uncomfortable dancing with the Maasai, but the boundaries between Maasai and Westerners seem to have disappeared: “the two spaces have merged – there is no separation between the Maasai and the tourists, but only one performance space in where the two intermingle” (“Maasai and the Lion King” 892). Bruner refers to the performance on the lawn during which Maasai reinforced the colonial, primitive image that tourists expected. During this performance, tourists were separated from the Maasai by being an audience and not participating.

Bruner does not leave out the tourist in his narrative, nor in his pictures, which might be because his article is fully based on the experience that is created for tourists at Mayer’s Ranch. Sometimes, the tourist can be seen in the background, photographing, while the focus is on Maasai (fig. 79). Bruner makes no effort to “leave out” the tourist from the narrative. In Hodgson’s and Chico’s work, however, there are no signs of tourists anywhere, nor is there of the author of the work. Interestingly, Bruner has also included a picture of himself and his fellow researchers in his article *Maasai on the Lawn*. It is captioned “Interviewing the Maasai” (466). In this picture, it is clear that Bruner and his company are the odd ones out amongst the Maasai: they are, as much as every other Westerner, a tourist (fig. 78). They saw the Maasai performances from the side, and seemingly did not join in the dances and ceremonies, but they *were* spectators and took photographs, just like the other tourists did. It is also due to the caption that the photo clearly does not show a ‘normal’ situation at Mayer’s Ranch, but it might as well have been. Similar to other photos, Bruner and his colleagues are sitting down with the Maasai while talking to them, just like other tourists do.

To conclude, the photographs of the Maasai seem to be mainly used to illustrate various concepts from the articles such as body and facial painting and the dynamics between tourists and the Maasai. Interesting is the presence of the tourist in Bruner’s narrative: he is, as much as everyone else, a tourist and does not try to leave this out.

The photos of the Kazakh in the anthropological discourse were mainly found in articles that discussed the hunting practices of the Kazakh culture. This is the reason for the photographs being mostly taken outside while hunting. A few photographs were taken at the Golden Eagle

Festival, and a few other photographs were taken inside (figs. 101, 106-108). The authors of the articles that were used for this discourse are not in the photographs, nor are there any tourists in any of the photographs. Even the photographs taken at the Golden Eagle Festival (which is stated in the articles) do not portray any tourists: they were (deliberately) left out of the photographs, even though the presence of tourists is mentioned in the articles. The photographs taken inside, which show the viewer a family gathering and celebration, are photographs taken in an informal setting. It is obvious that the people photographed knew that they were: they are posing together, giving it the looks of a family picture (fig. 106). Not everyone is laughing, but they are standing relatively close to each other and all look directly into the camera. The other picture, taken at a similar gathering, is taken of people seated at a table (fig. 107). The photographs were probably taken to memorise and capture the moment and the festivities, and afterwards used in this article.

The photographs that were taken outside, used to illustrate several hunting practices, show both similarities and differences with the touristic and artistic discourse: the men are dressed in the same type of clothing, but the clothing is not always coordinated to their horse, which was an important aspect of Nelson's photographs. The colours of the clothing that the Kazakh wear seem to have been randomly chosen. Of course, the colours of the clothing are still earthy-toned colours such as black, brown, white and grey. This is necessary for Kazakh hunters as they have to transform into something that blends in with the landscape in order to camouflage themselves. The overall focus of the photographs is much less on the faces of the Kazakh men, but more on body movement and certain ways of behaving themselves in relation to their hunting practices. This also is evident when reading the captions, which say things like "A skilled falconer in hunting operation" (fig. 95), or "S-11 (right) and S-22 (left) on the hill searching for prey" (fig. 98) (Soma, "Eagle Hunters in Action" 16). Similar to Bruner's photographs, the pictures used to illustrate Soma's articles are pictures taken of situations in the field, rather than to show specific bodily features of the Kazakh, which was the case for Hodgson's photographs.

To summarize, the photographs of the Kazakh in the artistic discourse mostly illustrate various hunting practices, which is why the focus is much more on the body of these hunters. The portraits do not show any tourists, not even at the Golden Eagle Festival. The focus lies on the Kazakh people.

Conclusion

Body positioning, adornment and transformation is something that occurs in all societies. Differences between the various types of especially alteration and transformation are conspicuous. By researching the position and state of the body in these photographs, it has become clear that there are differences between especially the Kazakh and the Maasai as a people, but also between the various discourses. Furthermore, the position of the body was something worth researching: an image can reinforce particular ways of seeing the world, and it can even limit and transmit people, nations, genders and sexes into particular mind-sets (Morgan and Pritchard 6). Because Nelson's photographs were heavily staged, his subjects also posed in specific ways that Nelson preferred.

Nelson's photographs of the Maasai show various types of body transformation: scarification, marks made with chalk or other materials, and wearing (beaded) jewellery. Especially the portraits that he made show close-ups of scars and chalk markings. Next to this, the Maasai are adorned with their own, hand-made, jewellery. By imaging all these types of body alterations, Nelson reinforces the idea of the "savage", especially the portraits in which the Maasai men are captured with their spears. Furthermore, Nelson creates an even stronger image of the Other by using certain objects and placing them in between the Maasai and the camera, such as shields or other weaponry. Nelson focuses on faces in the Kazakh series: many shots are close up shots that give the viewer a clear view of the face. The photographs of the Kazakh did not show body alterations and transformations as much as the Maasai photographs did.

In the touristic discourse, the connection between the Maasai and tourists was especially noticeable: whereas the tourist is completely left out the artistic discourse, the touristic discourse naturally has a significant focus on the tourist and their position in the Maasai society. They were welcomed, taken in, invited to take part in celebrations and rituals. This discourse shows many similarities with Nelson's work. Whether they imitated Nelson's famous shots is not certain; however, the similarities are undeniable. In some cases, photos almost seem to be exact replicas that mirror the same positions of Kazakh men on their horses, with the eagle close to their face. A difference, though, is the element of movement that occurs in both the touristic and the anthropological discourse. This creates more dynamic photographs, of a kind that are not apparent in Nelson's shots. Photographs of the Golden Eagle festival show men riding their horses, holding on to them while seemingly almost falling off, and men in the middle of a hunting act and throwing their eagles into the air.

In the anthropological discourse, the tourist is present in Bruner's photographs, however, not in Hodgson's. Hodgson's focus was more put on the body alterations rather than

encounters or situations with tourists, which is why her photographs were primarily taken in close-up form or with the Maasai standing straight with a neutral facial expression. Bruner focussed on the dynamics between the Maasai and the tourist, which is why these photographs show wide shots in which both are present.

Conclusion

This thesis has researched the visual representations of the Maasai and Kazakh in three different discourses: an artistic, a touristic, and an anthropological discourse. For each discourse, various photographs were used. The artistic discourse in this thesis was represented by photos taken from the document *Before They Pass Away*. The touristic discourse relied on photographs that were taken from websites that promoted tours to the Maasai and Kazakh, but also on photographs taken from blog posts from tourists that had been to either the Maasai or Kazakh. The anthropological discourse relied on photographs from the works of Edward Bruner, Dorothy Hodgson, Saniya Edelbay, Takuya Soma and Jennifer Post. Altogether, this thesis has analysed 109 photographs to determine the similarities and differences between these discourses. This conclusion will answer the research question of this thesis: In what ways do the artistic, touristic and anthropological discourses on the Maasai from Africa and the Kazakh from Asia differ from or resemble each other as far as photographs are concerned? The research conducted in this thesis has examined the visual representation of the Maasai and Kazakh through three different aspects: clothing and attributes, surroundings, and the position of the body. These three different aspects were divided into separate chapters. Through systematic analysis, I have discovered both similarities and differences between the three discourses.

Chapter one relied on the work of Patrizia Calefato, *The Clothed Body*, and established that in terms of clothing and attributes, there were several conspicuous differences. Calefato's work helped determining the possible meanings behind colour and traditional folk costume, as her work elaborates on a wide range of aspects tied to clothes. The most notable were the differences between the photographs of the Maasai in the various discourses. It was striking that, in the touristic discourse, weaponry was overall lacking. Spears and shields were present in both the artistic and anthropological discourse, but in the touristic discourse these were nowhere to be found. A possible explanation for leaving these out of the touristic narrative is that this might attract fewer tourists. Weaponry is associated with danger and violence, and nowadays, in a troubled world where terrorism assaults are no stranger to tourists, this is no crowd-pleaser. Furthermore, research on the photographs in the anthropological discourse shows that some elements of the traditional lifestyles of the Maasai and Kazakh are maintained for the sake of tourism: for the Maasai, this are their weapons and elaborate attire such as enkuraru's. In the photographs of the Kazakh, modern elements are left out whereas these are present in the anthropological discourse (elements such as fleece vests, jeans, cars, and signs of modern civilization). Interesting as well was the connection between the Kazakh and their animals, which seemed evident in each discourse. Almost no Kazakh was photographed without

an animal in the same shot, whether it was alive or lifeless. These animals were mostly horses and eagles, which are used for falconry practices. In some cases, the Kazakh and their animals even became one due to photographic techniques such as the use of silhouettes.

Chapter two researched the similarities and differences in surroundings. For this research, I relied upon the works *Landscape and Power*, the most notable book concerned with landscape, with contributions from a wide range of scholars from various fields. I also used *Land Matters* by Liz Wells, who specifically dealt with the presence of landscape in photography in this work, which made it especially relevant for this thesis. Both the artistic and touristic discourse rely heavily on the effects of landscape and background to create a grand impression on the viewer. It is a tool that is used to impress and to create a feeling of awe. The sublime reoccurs in these photographs, especially in those of the Kazakh, in which Mongolia's landscape creates a breath-taking backdrop. The anthropological discourse, however, does not so much rely on landscape and does not consciously include this in the photographs. The photographs in this discourse were often used to illustrate habits of dress or concepts related to falconry, which is why the focus is much more on the people rather than on the landscape. Photographs taken inside show an interesting merge between Kazakh traditional culture and Western culture, which is visible in housing and decoration. This might be due to increasing globalisation and the penetration of Western culture into the Kazakh traditional celebrations and ceremonies. Landscape in the photographs of the Maasai seems to focus mostly on vast savannahs, expedient for the canonical image of Africa that most tourists and Western people are often familiar with. Next to this, photographs of the Maasai in the anthropological discourse show much more vegetation, in contrary to the photographs in the other two discourses. The artistic discourse appears eager to show the viewer how different the Maasai life is from Western culture: there is no focus on modern civilisation in those photographs. Where the photographs from the touristic discourse are colourful and bright, the photographs in the artistic discourse are less cheerful and more dramatic, due to the monochrome colour palette. Conspicuous is the juxtaposition of the dynamics between tourists and Maasai in both the touristic and anthropological discourse: there are clear distinctions between areas designated for tourists, and areas designated for the Maasai.

In chapter three, the transformation and position of the body was analysed. I used John Pultz' *The Body and the Lens: Photography 1839 to the Present* to determine the importance of the body and its position in photographs. I also used the article "Concept Analysis: The Clarification of Body Adornment" by Colleen Maykut, which researched the various ways African indigenous peoples use to adorn their body. This was especially relevant for the research on the Maasai. I established that especially the Maasai are adherent to various types of

body transformation and adornment, and that this was evident in all discourses. In contrary, this was not something conspicuous in the photographs of the Kazakh. Nelson used body transformation and adornment to reinforce the idea of the “savage” to the spectator. Nelson also opted to only photograph younger Maasai. He hereby reinforces the Western image of the “other”: the strong, male warrior. This can be connected to the image of so-called beach boys, who dress and look a certain way to appeal to their target group: rich, female Westerners. The image they present to the outside world is thus created for a specific purpose and it is an image that Nelson recreates in some of his photographs of the Maasai. Next to this, Nelson also cleverly made use of objects placed in between the Maasai and the camera, such as shields and weaponry, to enhance the idea of the “Other”. He also deliberately chose to only include one woman in his Kazakh series, which emphasizes and reinforces the idea that the nomadic lifestyle is primarily masculine and that the men are the ones capable of providing families with primary necessities of life. The transformation of the body is something that reoccurs in especially the anthropological discourse, where photographs are used to illustrate cultural phenomena such as scarification, chalk markings and jewellery. A conspicuous difference between the touristic discourse and the other two is the presence of the tourist. The tourist is entirely left out in the artistic discourse, but the touristic discourse naturally has a huge focus on the tourist and their position in the Maasai and Kazakh society. They are welcomed, invited to join, and taken in. Many tourists pose happily with especially the Maasai, and attempt to transform into one by wearing the same clothing, jewellery and by joining their ceremonial performances. The tourists join in various rituals of the Maasai, and become part of the group. This was less evident in the photographs of the Kazakh, but there were still tourists visible in the photographs and in some shots, a similar situation was happening. Tourists joined the Kazakh in their homes and during their meals, similar to the Maasai photographs. The photographs of the Kazakh in this discourse also heavily focused on dynamics, especially those taken at the Golden Eagle Festival where sports, horse riding and eagle hunting are centralized.

The findings of this study will redound to a more comprehensive understanding of the visual representation of the Maasai and Kazakh and the dynamics between the three discourses that were researched for this thesis. The findings on each discourse are of social relevance, as they provide a thorough understanding of the representations that emanate from these photographs and the effect that this might have on the viewer. As stated in the introduction, research similar to this one has never been carried out before. Therefore, this research is also relevant due to its methodological profit: the new research method that was implemented for this thesis can be used in future research of photographs. By comparing three different

discourses with each other, the dynamics and the differences and similarities between these discourses become more evident.

Had there been more time to conduct this research, more theories could have been used to elaborate the research. In chapter two, theories on the panoramic landscape could have been used to substantiate practical findings, which would have elaborated the research even more. A reference for this could be the article “Panoramic View and National Identity” by Germán Hidalgo Hermosilla. Next to this, in chapter three, the works *Tourism and Gender: Embodiment, Sensuality and Experience* by Annette Pritchard and *Tourism and Australian Beach Cultures: Revealing Bodies* could have been used (more) to elaborate on the concept of “the body” in relation to tourism. Furthermore, I have limited the discourses that I researched in this thesis to a certain number of photographs. Due to time-related restrictions, I was not able to elaborate on more photographs whereas of course, there are a lot more photographs part of these three discourses.

Further research could focus on the exploration of further discourses: are there more discourses that could be relevant to this research? I have focused on only three, but the chances are that the Maasai and Kazakh are represented in more discourses. How are they represented in a literary discourse, for example? The focus in such a research project could be on the semiotic representation of indigenous people. Furthermore, the representation of the Kazakh and the Maasai in film might be worthy of research. Such a project could analyse not only clothing, landscape, and the body but also other aspects that are part of film such as music and script. And what happens when photographs of indigenous people are placed in a different context, such as museums or exhibitions? It might be of relevance to research the way context influences these photographs and perception as well, by ways of exhibiting or marketing, for example. Furthermore, I have focused on the Maasai and Kazakh for various reasons, but these are not the only indigenous peoples that are represented visually in various discourses. The visual representations of other indigenous peoples such as the Aboriginals in Australia, the Huli in Papua New-Guinea or the Gauchos in Argentina could also be researched. Another question that I have not answered but that arose while conducting my research, is whether or not the three discourses have influenced each other. Especially the touristic and artistic discourse showed similarities on various aspects, which might be because one was influenced by the other.

This research has shown that the narrative on the “savage” is kept alive partially through visual representation. In many photographs, the Other was personified as a savage, a wildling, most of all primitive and untouched by Western civilization. An image that these indigenous peoples themselves had no saying in, but that was created, reproduced and promoted anyway.

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Appendix

Artistic Discourse

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Fig. 1. Maasai man.

Fig. 2. Maasai men.

Fig. 3. Maasai men.

Fig. 4. Maasai men.

Fig. 5. Maasai men.

Fig. 6. Maasai men.

Fig. 7. Portrait Maasai woman.

Fig. 8. Portrait Maasai man.

Fig. 9. Portrait Maasai man.

Fig. 10. Portrait Maasai man.

Fig. 11. Portrait Maasai woman.

Fig. 12. Portrait Maasai woman.

Fig. 13. Portrait Maasai woman.

Fig. 14. Kazakh men in the landscape.

Fig. 15. Kazakh men in the landscape.

Fig. 16. Kazakh men in the landscape.

Fig. 17. Kazakh man and his eagle.

Fig. 18. Kazakh men in the landscape.

Fig. 19. Kazakh men in the landscape.

Fig. 20. Kazakh man in the landscape.

Fig. 21. Kazakh men riding their horses.

Fig. 22. Kazakh men in the landscape.

Fig. 23. Kazakh men in the landscape.

Fig. 24. Portrait Kazakh man.

Fig. 25. Portrait Kazakh woman.

Fig. 26. Portrait Kazakh children.

Fig. 27. Portrait Kazakh man.

Fig. 28. A Kazakh man on horseback with his eagle.

Fig. 29. Kazakh men riding their horses.

Fig. 30. Portrait of a man with his eagle.

Fig. 31. A Kazakh man on horseback with his eagle.

Fig. 32. Group portrait.

Fig. 33. A portrait of a man with his eagle.

Touristic Discourse

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Fig. 34. Tourists engaged with the Maasai.

Fig. 35. A Maasai posing for his home.

Fig. 36. Maasai dancing.

Fig. 37. Beaded jewellery for sale.

Fig. 38. A Maasai “Boma”.

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Fig. 39. Tourists engaged in traditional Maasai dances.

Fig. 40. A tourist posing in a Maasai home.

Fig. 41. Tourist posing with a Maasai man.

Fig. 42. Tourists and Maasai engaged in conversation.

Fig. 43. Tourists joining the Maasai in rituals.

Fig. 44. A tourist dressed in traditional Maasai clothes.

Fig. 45. Tourists posing in Maasai homes.

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Fig. 46. The "typical" African landscape.

Fig. 47. Tourists walking with the Maasai.

Fig. 48. Maasai posing and smiling.

Fig. 49. Tourists posing with the Maasai.

Fig. 50. Tourists talking to Maasai.

Fig. 51. A part of a Maasai "boma".

Fig. 52. Tourists posing with Maasai children.

Fig. 53. Tourists holding hands with Maasai children.

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Fig. 54. Maasai posing in front of their home.

Fig. 55. Maasai sitting in the shade.

Fig. 56. A tourist dressed in traditional Maasai clothing.

Fig. 57. Maasai men making a fire.

Fig. 58. A tourist posing with Maasai children.

Fig. 59. Tourists joining the Maasai dance.

Fig. 60. A tourist posing with a Maasai man in a Maasai home.

Fig. 61. A tourist posing with Maasai.

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Fig. 62. A tourist posing in front of the landscape.

Fig. 63. A Kazakh eagle hunter.

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Fig. 64. The Golden Eagle Festival.

Fig. 65. A Kazakh and his eagle.

Fig. 66. A Kazakh eagle hunter.

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Fig. 67. A young child in front of a yurt.

Fig. 68. A Kazakh woman making tea.

Fig. 69. A tourist drinking tea with a Kazakh family.

Fig. 70. A Kazakh family.

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Fig. 71. The Golden Eagle Festival.

Fig. 72. A tourist listening to Kazakhs making music.

Fig. 73. The Golden Eagle Festival.

Fig. 74. The Golden Eagle Festival.

Fig. 75. The Golden Eagle Festival.

Fig. 76. The Golden Eagle Festival.

Fig. 77. The Golden Eagle Festival.

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Bruner, Edward M. "Maasai on the Lawn: Tourist Realism in East Africa". *Cultural Anthropology* 9.4 (1994): 435-470.

- Fig. 78. Bruner interviewing tourists.
- Fig. 79. Maasai girls, tourist in the background.
- Fig. 80. Maasai performing for tourists.
- Fig. 81. Maasai women selling jewellery.
- Fig. 82. A Maasai man posing with himself on a polaroid.

Bruner, Edward M. "The Maasai and the Lion King: Authenticity, Nationalism, and Globalization in African Tourism." *American Ethnologist* 28.4 (2001): 881-908.

- Fig. 83. Maasai performing.
- Fig. 84. Maasai performing for tourists.
- Fig. 85. Maasai performing for tourists.
- Fig. 86. Maasai performing for tourists.

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- Fig. 87. Maasai posing in front of a tree.
- Fig. 88. Maasai women with chalk markings on their face.
- Fig. 89. Maasai women.
- Fig. 90. Maasai women with chalk markings on their face.
- Fig. 91. Maasai.
- Fig. 92. Maasai women.

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- Fig. 93. Maasai man wearing an enkuraru.

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Fig. 94. A Kazakh eagle hunter.

Fig. 95. A Kazakh eagle hunter.

Fig. 96. The Golden Eagle Festival.

Fig. 97. The Golden Eagle Festival.

Takuya Soma. "Eagle Hunters in Action: Hunting practice of Altaic Kazakh Falconers in

Western Mongolia." *Falco* 44.4 (2014): 16-20.

Fig. 98. A Kazakh eagle hunter.

Fig. 99. A Kazakh eagle hunter in the landscape.

Fig. 100. A hunting field.

Fig. 101. A Kazakh eagle hunter posing with his prey.

Fig. 102. A Kazakh eagle hunter.

Fig. 103. A Kazakh eagle hunter.

Takuya Soma. "Ethnographic Study of Altaic Kazakh Falconers." *Falco* 41.1 (2013): 10-14.

Fig. 104. Kazakh eagle hunters.

Fig. 105. The Golden Eagle Festival.

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Fig. 106. Kazakh family at a celebration.

Fig. 107. Kazakh family at a celebration.

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Fig. 108. A Kazakh man playing the dombra.

Fig. 109. Kazakh men playing the dombra.