Indigenous American Tourism Inspired by *Winnetou* and *Twilight*: Comparative Perspectives Between Europe and North America

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Contents

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Abstract: The Red Atlantic encompasses the transportation, physical or intellectual, of Indigenous Americans around the Atlantic. This thesis adds tourism to this conversation as it once again shows the significance of Indigenous American presence in societies that constitute the Atlantic world. It focusses on a comparison of Indigenous American popular culture tourism between Europe and North America, using the case studies of *Winnetou* and *Twilight*. In this these two cases, Indigenous people are involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction. However, because of the different locations of the tourism spaces and activities there are significant differences in terms of representation, agency, and authenticity of Indigenous Americans and their culture. *Winnetou* tourism in Germany relies heavily on stereotypical representations, while *Twilight* tourism in North America does not. *Twilight* tourists have the opportunity to experience actual authentic Indigenous American culture, while this is not the case for *Winnetou* tourists whom are met with staged authentic elements. In terms of agency of Indigenous Americans themselves within the tourism industries, it has become clear that they both exist within the ideological Western tourism ideals, causing them to have to adapt to this, while trying to maintain their own values at the same time. There is a significant national/continental differences in Indigenous American popular culture tourism between Europe and North America, that exist within the contexts of points of convergence and divergence in histories of appropriation and misrepresentation.

Thus they dwelt in perfect freedom,

Dearly loved their native shores,

Wiseley chose their Chiefs or Sachems,

Made their own peculiar laws.

But there came a paler nation

Noted for their skill and might,

They aroused the Red Man's hatred,

Robbed him of his native right.

-Olivia Ward Bush-Banks (from "On the Long Island Indian")

INTRODUCTION

Research object

The subject that this thesis concerns is "Indigenous American[1] tourism," where "Indigenous American tourism" is defined as tourism inspired by popular culture that leads tourists into spaces where they encounter (portrayals of) Indigenous North Americans. Important to note is that from here on out, the term "Indigenous American tourism" is thus used to refer to tourism spaces and activities where tourists encounter (portrayals of) Indigenous Americans, and thus not Indigenous Americans who are tourists themselves. Popular culture can inspire people to travel to places where pop culture stories are set, filmed, or commemorated. Sometimes this brings tourists into contact with (portrayals of) cultures other than their own, when these are portrayed in the popular culture they were inspired by to travel. In this case they come in contact with (portrayals of) Indigenous North American cultures. Non-Indigenous people seek to experience what they see on a screen or read in a book. Two case studies that have inspired Indigenous American tourism like this are German author Karl May's story world of *Winnetou* and North American writer Stephenie Meyer's *Twilight* saga.

The *Winnetou* series consists of three books, which first came out in 1863. Later on from 1962 onward, these were also made into movies. The series focusses on a fictionalized Apache tribe, of which a character named Winnetou is the Chief. The *Twilight* saga consists of five books, of which the first one came out in 2005. These books were also made into movies, starting in 2008. The Indigenous characters portrayed in the series are part of a fictionalized Quileute tribe, whom are portrayed as shape-shifting werewolves. In the case of *Twilight*, tourists from all over the world have flocked to Forks, Washington and its surrounding areas,

[1] Note on terminology: Where possible, it is preferred to use a specific tribal name. However, when making a general reference Indigenous American is generally the preferred term ("Terminology").

where the series is set. Tourists have thus also come to visit the actual Quileute reservation as part of their travel itinerary. *Winnetou* tourists, which are mainly German fans of the series, seek their experience closer to home, with annual Karl May festivals and performances in Bad Segeberg and a Karl May museum located in Radebeul, Germany.

This type of tourism raises ethical questions about representation and agency; both the *Winnetou* and *Twilight* series have been criticised on their representation of Indigenous Americans, which is something that is possibly visible in the tourism spaces and activities as well. Moreover, in the framework of marginalisation of minorities, one wonders what the role of the Indigenous Americans themselves is in this tourism. It was inspired by wrongful representations of themselves, but tourists still seek to get into their physical spaces and connect with their "real" culture. The reason that these two case studies were selected is that one writer was a Catholic raised white German male, while the other is a Mormon woman author from North America. Like the writers' location, the respective popular culture tourism is also located on two different sides of the Atlantic. This is significant, because *Twilight* tourism is located where the fictionally portrayed Indigenous people, the Quileute, call home, while *Winnetou* tourism is not (primarily) located on Apache lands. This brings a comparative dimension to the front, with potential differences in representation and agency, and with that the tourists' experience.

Status questionis

In the general research field of popular culture tourism, authors have written about the connection between popular culture and tourism from various perspectives. In their chapter from *The Sage Handbook of Tourism Studies* titled "Tourism, Popular Culture and the Media" Philip Long and Mike Robinson explore the relation between tourism, popular culture and the media. In terms of popular culture tourism, they stress that the relation is twofold: aspects of

popular culture contribute to the shaping of contemporary tourism, while tourism itself is seen as a form of popular culture. The relationship plays out through both the production and the consumption of tourism. Important is the role of media in both a communicative sense and as a form of entertainment and enjoyment fuelling the development of tourism (Long and Robinson 98).

Clearly popular culture plays a big part in the development of many tourist destinations. Because of this, tourist have certain expectations about what they will encounter from what they have seen represented about other cultures in the media. Self-representation by Indigenous Americans in tourism gets complicated because of these expectations. Alex Celeste Bunten explores this in her text called "Indigenous tourism: the paradox of gaze and resistance," where she uses the case study of Indigenous Alaskan and Maori cultural tourism to explore "the paradox of representation" that Indigenous tour guides face. Essentially, they are commoditizing their own living cultures and with that themselves (Bunten, "Indigenous Tourism" 51). The paradox is that the industry is governed by Western representations and consumers thus desire a product that is in line with what they expect (51). At the same time tour guides want to confront these stereotypes that exist in popular culture, while still making profit (which is not only counted in money, but also education, preservation, and spirituality) (Bunten, "Indigenous Tourism" 52). The Indigenous tourism professionals thus put themselves in this paradoxical position by commodifying themselves: guests want to know what is going to take place and expect their interactions to take place within the dominant frameworks they are familiar with, while tour guides wish to represent their culture according to local values and rules, while in order to make profit they must adapt to the tourism universals (Bunten, "Indigenous Tourism" 52). If tourism workers do not find a careful balance in this paradox where they meet the expectations drawn from popular culture, while

keeping their own values, they will not make enough money to make the job worthwhile (Bunten, “Indigenous Tourism” 53).

The expectations drawn from popular culture have to do with the representation of, in this case, Indigenous peoples in these popular culture products. Representation of Indigenous Americans in popular culture is often based on stereotypes. Through these stereotypes, non-Indigenous people have a certain conception of what Indigenous people look and act like. Historian Robert F. Berkhofer has typified this perception of Indigenous Americans as the “White Man’s Indian” (Berkhofer 3-4). There was, and still is, no singular definition of “an Indigenous American,” as by modern estimates they consisted of at least two thousand cultures and societies. These all had and have different lifestyles, beliefs, customs, languages, and so on. There is no singular “Indigenous American.” Through this reasoning, Berkhofer concluded that the “Indian” as an image that non-Indigenous people have is a White invention, a stereotype. It is a reduction of a variety of cultures and societies into a single stereotypical entity that is used for description and analysis (Berkhofer 3).

For White people the Indigenous American as a single entity is what they perceive as real, even though this stereotype is a product of ideology and imagination. In light of Christianity and ideologies of civilization, a comparison was made by the settlers between themselves and the Indigenous inhabitants and a conclusion was drawn that lead to Indigenous Americans being classified as “savages” (Berkhofer 13). According to the Christian religious values of the settlers, the Indigenous had no religion, which means they had no god, and if they had no god, they had no soul. If one had no soul, they were considered non-humans; Indigenous Americans were seen as animal-like (Grosfoguel 81). Settlers measured the Indigenous American as a general category against their own beliefs, values, and institutions. The physical appearance, morality, habits, and religion of the Indigenous was

different from them, proving their own superiority over these "savages" (Berkhofer 27). However, the settlers did not exclusively see negative characteristics, which led to a contradiction that is still the most prevalent stereotype of Indigenous Americans to this day: the "Noble Savage." In the White imagery, the Indigenous man appears friendly, courteous and hospitable. He is brave, proud, and tender. He enjoys nature's gift and has a great physique. In short, the "Noble" refers the Indigenous man as living in liberty, simplicity, and innocence. On the other side there is the "Savage," which reproduces characteristics of the animal-like. Of nakedness, sexual perverseness, constant warfare, filthiness. Liberty is licence, simplicity is harshness and innocence is dissimulation and deceit (Berkhofer 28).

One of the earliest introductions of this image can be found in the literature of American writer James Fenimore Cooper, who famously wrote *The Last of the Mohicans* in 1826. In light of American Romanticism the Noble Savage made an ideal subject for high culture in terms of nature, the "exotic", mystery , and emotions. Cooper used the stereotype of the Noble Savage to depict the Indigenous Americans as people of the past; as the "dying Indian." Even the American authors that now also depicted the nobility of the "Indian", agreed that both the "good" and the "bad" had the same fate in terms of the destiny of the United States (Berkhofer 86-93).[2] This destiny was based on the ideology of settler colonialism and stereotypes were a tool to establish this ideology: destroy to replace. This phrase originated in Patrick Wolfe's theory of the "logic of elimination" (Wolfe 388). Settler colonialism does not only seek domination, but it also seeks to replace the original population of the territory that they colonize with a new society of settlers (LeFevre 1). The use of

[2] This conviction of the "vanishing Indian" was also reflected in photography at that time. Most notably photographs by Edward S. Curtis resulted in a twenty-volume magazine opus, *The North American Indian*, where he tried to capture the "Indian" who was fated to disappear (Fowler 9). Some argue that in staging photographs, and by adding props or accessories, representations became inaccurate because White notions of Indigenous American appearances and culture were reinforced (Sharp).

stereotypes to represent someone else creates a feeling of superiority, as well as the ability to remove them from reality: reducing Indigenous Americans to stereotypes provides the opportunity to destroy and replace. The "Noble Savage" is a persisting dual image of general deficiency, which entails most stereotypical traits ascribed to Indigenous Americans (Berkhofer 28).[3]

Next to having to exist within the tourism business according to these tourist expectations of stereotypes, there are other differences in values that Indigenous Americans deal with existing within the hegemonic Western tourism industry. Bunten further discusses this about the Indigenous tourism businesses in an article titled "More like Ourselves: Indigenous Capitalism through Tourism". She discusses them through the lens of "Indigenous capitalism", which is defined as "a distinct strategy to achieve ethical, culturally appropriate, and successful Indigenous participation within the global economy" (Bunten, "More like Ourselves" 285). Indigenous tourism businesses have the great responsibility over cultural, material, and spiritual resources, that comes with the commodification of one's culture (Bunten, "More like Ourselves 288). They try to uphold these standards in their economic attitudes as well, which are distinct from those inherent to Western capitalism (288). Western approaches to the growth of tourism can be in direct conflict with traditional protocols, which is why this article explores "the innovative solutions that Indigenous leaders have developed to participate in the Western capitalist economy on their own terms" (Bunten, "More like Ourselves" 289). Most importantly, many Indigenous communities will go the extra mile to ensure that cultural relations are maintained even if it means sacrificing some profits or

[3] Racist stereotypes have severe impacts on Indigenous people. Tulalip psychologist Stephanie A. Fryberg has examined for example the consequences of American Indian mascots and other representations on aspects of the self-concept for Indigenous youths. In the text tiled "Of Warrior Chiefs and Indian Princesses: The Psychological Consequences of American Indian Mascots" it is argued that "American Indian mascots are harmful because they remind American Indians of the limited ways others see them and, in this way constrain how they can see themselves" (Fryberg, et al.).

efficiency (Bunten, “More like Ourselves” 297). The basic elements to ensure the upholding of Indigenous standards in their attitudes towards tourism are collective leadership, stewardship of land and natural resources, cultural perpetuation, and building understanding through education (Bunten, “More like Ourselves” 301).

The first case study discussed that is concerned with these issues is the *Winnetou* tourism. In her text called “Revisiting Winnetou: The Karl May Museum, Cultural Appropriation, and Indigenous Self-Representation,” Lisa Michelle King discusses the Indigenous American exhibit at the Karl May museum in Villa Bärenfett in detail in terms of representation (King 29). She comes to the conclusion that in the museum, Indigenous peoples are generally objectified for the pleasure of tourists. The exhibition is accessed through the lens of the popular *Winnetou*, depicting Indigenous Americans as the “tragic, noble and vanishing ‘Indian’” (King 34). The emphasis on *Winnetou* continues to rest on stereotypes and fantasies (King 48). People who visit the museum know that May’s ‘Indians’ were not real, but they desire to keep their symbolic worth and do so by appropriating Indigenous cultures (King 38-39). Lastly, King gives advice for the museum and the most important factor to take away from that is that it should attempt an actual partnership with Indigenous American peoples, not just the colonial fantasy of them (King 48). Nancy Reagin also discusses *Winnetou* tourism in the bigger picture of German hobbyists. In her text called “Dances With Worlds: Karl May, ‘Indian’ hobbyists, and German fans of the American West since 1912,” she delves deeper into these German hobbyist who engage with their interpretations of the American West (Reagin 553). She also reiterates that May’s novels are set in a heavily fictionalized American West, which is extremely mythologized (Reagin 554). The type of tourism Reagin talks about are the fan gatherings and in particular the annual open air Karl May festival in Bad Segeberg, where visitors are less interested in historical

"authenticity," but rather in the May canon (Reagin 555). She uses approaches from fan studies scholarship to look at the Karl May festivals, as well as the museum discussed above (Reagin 556, 562). At the festivals, Germans drew upon their collective ethnographic intelligence regarding Indigenous cultures to create this performative consumption (Reagin 566-567). Tourists would go so far as to even spend their entire vacation at a single festival (Reagin 573). German fans even started a fan "pilgrimage" to the American West, as well as filming locations of the 1960s (Reagin 572).

The *Twilight* saga, the second case study, has also been discussed in terms of problems presented within Indigenous American tourism. In her text called "The Twilight Saga and the Quileute Indian Tribe: Opportunity or Cultural Exploitation," Barbara Leigh Smith explores the impact of the *Twilight* saga's tourism on the Quileute people. She talks about the forms of tourism that can be found around Forks, like Stephenie Meyer Day and the stores that sell merchandise and crafts (Smith 1-3). The direct involvement of the Quileutes is found in handmade Indigenous art for example (Smith 3). It is difficult to manoeuvre this type of tourism and its impact on traditional cultures. Some argue that it supports local cultural revival, while others argue that it disrupts traditional cultures (Smith 6). This impact on traditional cultures and local Indigenous communities is discussed by Christine Lundberg and Kristina N. Lindström in their article titled "Sustainable Management of Popular Culture Tourism Destinations: A Critical Evaluation of the Twilight Saga Servicescapes". Here they illustrate how popular culture tourism destinations are made up of constructed realities that "transform local communities into fictional servicescapes" and use this concept to show how *Twilight* tourism spaces can be transitioned into a sustainable destination (Lundberg and Lindström 1). A servicescape is a design of buying environments that encourages purchase probability by producing specific emotional effects in the buyer (Lundberg and Lindström 2-

3). They specifically mention La Push, which is the home of the Quileute people, as a destination. They discuss how the development of this place is sensitive because of the Indigenous community and how arrangements were made to protect and involve the Quileute people. Lastly, there are also changes suggested to improve tourism for the Quileutes. In their article Daniel Wright et al. suggests a post-film tourism future scenario for the destination of Forks (Wright et al. 1). The town's tourism before *Twilight* was mainly based on natural resources and outdoor activities. The popular culture series provided this new tourism image, but according to the text, this cannot last forever (Wright et al. 4-5). A suggestion is made to make a shift towards cultural heritage and wellness, as the town has unique cultural and natural characteristics. This form of tourism would be more sustainable and also support the Quileutes fairly (Wright et al. 1). At first, the Quileutes did not profit from the newfound wealth of Forks. However, Wright et al. believe that the shift in tourism offers an opportunity for the Quileute people. Granted they have ownership and control over the process, they could feed into culture and nature based tourism, offering tourist an authentic experience (Wright et al. 12).

Research questions

The *Twilight* and *Winnetou* tourism case studies are interesting in and of itself, but because they are located on two different continents, North America and Europe, a comparison of the two is something that may give new insights. Therefore, the main research question of this thesis is: "In what ways does Indigenous American tourism inspired by *Winnetou* and *Twilight* compare in terms of representation, agency, and authenticity?"

The comparison between Indigenous American tourism inspired by popular culture from Europe and North America, will be made through analysing three aspects of the *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism activities and spaces. The first question is: "In what ways are

the representations of Indigenous Americans in both *Winnetou* and *Twilight* reflected in their respective offered tourism activities and spaces?" The second question goes as follows: "To what extent do Indigenous Americans have agency in the tourism activities and spaces of both *Winnetou* and *Twilight*?" And lastly the third question: "To what extent can the tourism activities and spaces of both *Winnetou* and *Twilight* be considered authentic and how is this reflected in the tourists' experiences by how they interpret authenticity?"

The element of representation in the offered tourism activities and spaces provides insight into what tourists expect because of the popular culture they were inspired by and whether or not this is in line with what is offered to them. Tourists also have certain expectations for engaging with Indigenous Americans and their cultures because of this, which is where the agency of the Indigenous Americans comes in. Both representation and agency come together in the element of authenticity (in terms of experiencing "Indigenous American culture); tourists have certain expectations because of representations they know, and Indigenous Americans do or do not play a role in realizing this. These factors determine whether or not tourists can have a, what they may believe to be, authentic experience.

Theoretical Framework

The overarching theory that plays in the background of the comparison between Europe and North America is the concept of the Red Atlantic, which was coined by Jace Weaver in 2014. The concept is not a central part in the analysis, but rather it defines why this work is relevant. His point of departure is the critique by scholars of Indigenous Americans on the Atlantic approach to the study of the early modern and nineteenth-century past. These scholars argue that "Atlanticists" undermine the contribution of Indigenous Americans to the societies that constituted the Atlantic world (Weaver 1-30). To include the contribution of Indigenous Americans, the Red Atlantic was coined. It encompasses the transportation, physical or

intellectual, of Indigenous Americans around the Atlantic, material aspects, as well as technological aspects that have all shaped the "Atlantic world" as we know it (Weaver 24-30).

The transatlantic contact between Europeans and Indigenous Americans is a starting point to compare Europe and North America in terms of Indigenous American tourism inspired by popular culture. Colonists compared themselves to the image of the Indigenous "Other" and defined themselves by positioning the "Self" against this "Other. A key element of this was literature, which is where German Karl May's case study connects (Weaver 30-31). Germans have a long-standing, one sided, infatuation with Indigenous peoples and cultures of North America, which found its origins way back in colonial times. Hartmut Lutz has coined the term "Indianthusiasm," which manifests in general romanticisation and fascination, and for example a significant hobbyist scene (3). Christian F. Feest has also argued extensively about the fascination that Europeans have with Indigenous North American cultures and finds the expression of this factor in popular culture perhaps the most important (1). The comparison between *Winnetou* and *Twilight* offers this transatlantic perspective, which according to Lutz "elucidates, complicates and interrogates points of convergence and divergence in European and North American histories of appropriation and misrepresentation" (5). Looking at similar phenomena on two different sides of the Atlantic will provide these differences and/or similarities.

To come to an accurate comparison of European and North American histories of popular culture tourism centred on Indigenous Americans, a post-colonial theoretical framework is of use, specifically when focussing on representation. Theories of cultural studies concerning the "Other" can serve to analyse underlying structures and practices of representation. Stuart Hall has written about representation in his essays called "The Spectacle of the "Other"" and "The Work of Representation". These texts focus on signifying practices

in the creation of the "Other" (Hall, "The Spectacle of the "Other"" and Hall, "The Work of Representation"). In terms of agency, Alexis Bunten's concept of the "paradox of representation" reflects the role of Indigenous Americans in the two case studies and the extent to which they are able to have agency in how they are represented (Bunten, "Indigenous Tourism"). Lastly, to bring this together, Dean MacCannell's concept of "staged authenticity" is applied to the tourist experiences. MacCannell bases his conceptualization of authenticity in tourism on Erving Goffman's "front stage" and "back stage" in how people present themselves in everyday life. MacCannell's staged authenticity applies the front and back region to the tourist experience and he argues that there is a "staged back region," which feigns authenticity that tourists desire (MacCannell). Using these theories, the three sub questions will be answered.

Methodology

To analyse representation the method is critical discourse analysis. Websites will be analysed to get a full understanding of what is offered tourism-wise in the cases of *Twilight* and *Winnetou* and how Indigenous Americans are represented here. Through discourse analysis certain trends in narratives within the popular culture products will be revealed, as well as how in line the tourism that is offered is with these narratives. The book *How To Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction* by David Machin and Andrea Mayr, gives a guidance on how to perform critical discourse analysis on various media. Specifically, the chapter on representing people provides tools to analyse representations both visually and linguistically (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People"). For the element of agency, the websites and a documentary are analysed to find out the role of Indigenous Americans. To these findings, theory on the paradox of representation is applied to interpret them. This is similar for the analysis focussed on authenticity. Websites and a documentary are used to

define whether tourists experiences can be authentic or not. Then, looking at actual tourist experiences (documentary and YouTube vlogs) an interpretation is given on how the tourists actually experience this.

Structure

This thesis is structured according to the three sub-questions presented above. The first chapter focusses on the aspect of representation, the second chapter focusses on agency, and the third chapter focuses on authenticity. In the conclusion that follows, the three sub-questions will be answered in order to provide an answer to the main research question. Lastly, suggestions for further research on this topic are provided.

CHAPTER 1 REPRESENTATIONS OF INDIGENOUS AMERICANS IN THE OFFERED TOURISM ACTIVITIES AND SPACES OF WINNETOU AND TWILIGHT

The tourism activities and spaces inspired by *Winnetou* and *Twilight* find their roots within popular culture. This is also where the representation of Indigenous Americans within these tourism industries truly starts. Within the popular culture products of *Winnetou* and *Twilight*, Indigenous Americans are represented in certain ways, which creates expectations for tourists in terms of whom they will encounter and in what ways. Both Karl May and Stephenie Meyer have been criticized for how they have represented Indigenous Americans within their works (Connolly; Vassar). This makes one wonder if the contested representation of Indigenous Americans is carried on outside of the story worlds, within the popular culture tourism. Moreover, May and Meyer are from two different sides of the Atlantic, as stated before, and *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism are also located on those two different continents, Europe and North America respectively, which adds a comparative dimension of how Indigenous Americans have been represented in popular culture and in its related tourism.

This chapter aims to illustrate in what ways the representations of Indigenous Americans in both *Winnetou* and *Twilight* are reflected in their respective offered tourism activities and spaces. Firstly, an illustration of the representations and stereotypes within *Winnetou* and *Twilight* is given. Hereafter, Critical Discourse Analysis will be applied to the main websites that offer Indigenous American tourism inspired by *Winnetou* and *Twilight*, to analyse if the representations within the popular culture products are reproduced outside of the story world, in the reality of tourism. Lastly, a comparison will be made between German *Winnetou* tourism and North American *Twilight* tourism to illustrate differences and similarities and what this connotes.

1.1 Indigenous American representations and stereotypes

Popular culture continually reproduces stereotypical images and creates a "reality" for people who come into contact with this; so do both *Winnetou* and *Twilight*. As previously seen, the most prevalent stereotype used to depict Indigenous North Americans is the persisting dual image of the Noble Savage. This Indigenous American represents liberty, simplicity and innocence, while at the same time representing licence, harshness, dissimulation, and deceit. This stereotype poses the Indigenous American as a single entity that is used to compare them to the colonizer as the "Other" (Berkhofer 13, 28). Lastly, it also removes them from reality, as they are portrayed as people from the past, as the "dying Indian" (Berkhofer 86).

As mentioned before, both case studies have received backlash over the way in which they have represented Indigenous American characters, which falls back on the fact that these stereotypes are deployed. At the end of 2022, German publisher Ravensburger Verlag decided to withdraw two new books about the fictional character Winnetou, as they faced "accusations of racism and cultural appropriation" (Connolly). These books were set to accompany a new movie titled "The Young Chief Winnetou." The movie played in Germany, regardless of backlash ("German pulls Winnetou books"). However, it was not shown in Switzerland, for example, because of this backlash ("After Criticism"). In the case of *Twilight*, the representation of Indigenous Americans has been criticized in terms of harmful portrayals and inaccurate casting of the characters in the movies; the main Indigenous character is played by a non-Indigenous actor. Next to this, the Quileute Nation was not financially compensated and not asked for permission in the portrayal and fictionalization of their people (Vassar). In terms of representation, the Indigenous characters in both *Winnetou* and *Twilight* possess characteristics of the stereotype of the Nobel Savage in the discourse of the White Man's Indian.

1.1.1 Winnetou

In *Winnetou* there are elements of both "savage" and "noble" elements of the stereotype. Starting off with the "savage" elements, first and foremost the constant warfare among the Indigenous themselves becomes prominent. In May's stories, the fictionalized Apache were the most peaceful tribe, who were suffering attacks from the warlike fictionalized Sioux tribes (Berkhofer 101). The storyline is largely centred around constant battles, murders and revenge (Feilitzsch 174). The Indigenous characters in *Winnetou* are also defined by their affinity with nature; they are skilled in hunting and many other survival techniques (Feilitzsch 174). This touches upon both sides of the coin, the "noble" and the "savage," it is a gift, but also brings one closer to being animal-like. In terms of "noble", Winnetou fights against "evil" signified by White people in the Wild West (Feilitzsch 174). He does so together with the main character and these two have an extremely loyal relationship (King 32). Lastly, the Indigenous characters in *Winnetou* are also associated with great physical beauty and strength.

1.1.2 Twilight

Even though *Twilight* seems different, as it is a teenage romance story and not a Western, the Indigenous characters share similar characteristics with Winnetou, and with that the stereotype of the Noble Savage. The Indigenous *Twilight* characters are shape-shifting werewolves of the fictionalized Quileute tribe, which symbolically puts them back in the role of the "savage"; they are literally portrayed as non-humans, they are closer to animals. They are short-tempered, resulting in aggressivity in various ways throughout the story and, characteristically, they are often shirtless (de Caluwé 26-27). This relates to the "savage" element of nakedness, but at the same time to the "noble" element of having great physique. They are exoticized through and through, leaving their bodies up for consumption (Burke 211). Also characterized as "noble," the fictionalized Quileute werewolves are extremely

loyal to and protective over each other. They are literally a (wolf) pack, with a leader and a following hierarchical structure. They have a shared secret that they need to keep from the world and they rely on each other to do so and as a consequence rely on each other for their safety (Wilson 63).

1.1.3 "Othering" in Winnetou and Twilight

The duality of the Noble Savage shines through in the Indigenous American characters of both *Winnetou* and *Twilight*. Even though the actual stories are so different, one being a story about the Old Wild West and the other about teenage romance, there are clearly similarities. In both stories the supposedly Indigenous characters share traits, both physical and mental, that are very similar to each other. Clearly, both rely on stereotypes that were discussed above. They both exemplify characteristics that fit the "noble" as well as the "savage." Another similarity is that both stories rely on the contrast between the "Self" and the "Other." In *Winnetou* the two main characters reflect this binary: the "Self" is the White man, and the "Other" is the Indigenous man. In *Twilight* this is extremely similar between the two love interests of the main character. The "Other" Indigenous werewolf is contrasted against the "Self," the vampire who is the essence of being White; he is extremely pale-skinned, wealthy, comes from a stable family and has extreme self-control (de Caluwé 23-24). This binary is based on stereotypes, which help reinforce the hegemonic power of the "Self" (Hall, "The Spectacle of the 'Other'" 258). Both May and Meyer grasped onto the stereotype of the Noble Savage, which is widely recognizable about Indigenous Americans. In writing these stories they have once again reinforced the hegemonic social order of placing the "Self" above the "Other" throughout the story that they tell; the White man above the Indigenous man (Hall, "The Spectacle of the 'Other'" 258). They are in a position to reproduce stereotypes and thus power relations of superiority. A difference is marked through these stereotypes, which

ensures that the "Other" stays in their appointed place and role in society, within the power dimensions that were already in place (Hall, "The Spectacle of the 'Other'" 236).

1.2 Representations within tourism offerings

The expectations that tourists who seek out Indigenous American popular culture tourism have, are based on these stereotypes that are present within the stories of *Winnetou* and *Twilight*. Tourism based on popular culture takes the narrative outside of the story world and into reality. Because of the criticism on stereotypical portrayals of Indigenous Americans within the story world, one wonders whether it is confined to this as it is "not real" or whether tourism as reality blatantly takes over these stereotypical portrayals and bases its supply on this. The Indigenous American representation within the tourism industries starts where potential tourists first encounter potential activities and spaces, which are the websites. These are information websites for regions where stories were set or filmed, for museums based on the popular culture products, and for other activities related to *Winnetou* and *Twilight*.

Through Critical Discourse Analysis, these websites can be analysed in terms of how Indigenous Americans are represented in what is offered within the Indigenous American popular culture tourism, and thus if the stereotypical portrayals in the case studies are carried on outside of the story world. Critical Discourse Analysis exposes strategies that appear neutral on the surface, but may in fact be ideological and seek to shape representation for particular ends. Power relations can be transmitted through certain discourses, which is the main repercussion of stereotypes (Machin and Mayr, "Introduction" 4-5). David Machin and Andrea Mayr have identified different ways in which people can be represented, both visually and linguistically. The communicator, in this case the supplier of certain tourism products, has a range of choices available to them for how they decide to represent individuals or groups of people. Through their choices they place the Indigenous people that they represent in the

social world and they are able to highlight certain aspects of identity they wish to draw attention to or to omit. Choices in representation can connote sets of ideas and values, which are not necessarily overtly articulated (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People" 77).

Representing people has both a linguistic and a visual element. Linguistically, choices can be made to classify social actors: personalisation and impersonalisation, individualisation versus collectivisation, specification and genericization, nomination or functionalisation, use of honorifics, objectivation, anonymisation, aggregation, pronoun versus noun, and suppression (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People" 79-85). Visually, similar choices can be made: distance, angle, individualisation and collectivisation in terms of individuals and groups, generic and specific depictions, as well as exclusion (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People" 96-102). Applying Critical Discourse Analysis in terms of representing people linguistically and visually to the tourism websites that concern *Winnetou* and *Twilight*, will expose choices that were made in the process of representing Indigenous Americans and what the bigger connotation is of the narrative that is created and whether the stereotypes are present in these narratives. Important to note is that the communicator is not always aware of the underlying ideologies, no conclusions can be made about the intentions of the communicators or the how the observers will receive the discourse.

1.2.1 Winnetou

In the case of *Winnetou*, there are three main websites that offer tourism activities or spaces: the website for the Karl May museum, the website for the Karl May festival, and lastly the website for the Karl May performances. Utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis, there are firstly the linguistic choices made on how to represent Indigenous Americans on these websites. On all three websites, the choice was made to name the activities and spaces after the writer, Karl May, and not after the title(s) of the books and/or movies, or main characters: "Karl May

Museum," "Karl May Festtage," and "Karl May Spiele" ("Welcome to the Karl May Museum"; "30. Karl-May-Festtage"; "Winnetou Erleben?"). This can indicate the discursive tactic of suppression, which is where what is missing from a text is just as important as what is in it (Machin and Mayer, "Representing People" 85). In these names of activities and spaces, Indigenous American representation is missing, which could be a telling choice. On a connotative level, this may give away something about value systems of society (Hall, "The Work of Representation" 38-39). This linguistic choice possibly indicates the importance that Germans attach to the arts in general and to Karl May. They value and remember the writer's world-wide success through this, possibly more than the stories that were written and the central role that fictionalized Indigenous Americans played in these.

The second significant linguistic choice made in the representation of Indigenous Americans on these websites is that the term "Indians" (or "Indianer" in German) is used on all three of them to describe Indigenous Americans ("Welcome to the Karl May Museum"; "30. Karl-May-Festtage"; "Winnetou Erleben?"). Next to this being considered an outdated and offensive term as it is rooted in colonial conquest, it also a form of collectivisation and genericisation ("Terminology"). This is firstly an example of genericisation, which is the opposite of specification; the term creates a generic type (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People" 80-81). As discussed previously, there is no "one" Indigenous American, as this image is merely a stereotypical creation, and using the term "Indian" generalizes all these different peoples. It reduces them to the stereotypical idea that people have of Indigenous Americans, it reduces and essentializes people (Hall, "The Spectacle of the Other" 258). Through the use of the term "Indian(er)," they are collectivised in text into one group, which is the opposite of individualizing them. Individualization would add a humanizing element, while collectivisation does not (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People" 80). A section on

the website for the Karl May festival counters this, by specifying the actual Indigenous American guests who visit, in terms of their tribes. The Kwakwaka'wakw, Lakota, Menominee, and Navajo are specifically named ("30. Karl-May-Festtage"). This is the preferred way of linguistically representing Indigenous Americans and counters collectivisation and generalization ("Terminology").

Then, there are the visual choices made in representing Indigenous Americans on the tourism websites. The Karl May Museum website has one specific image on it, which is telling in various ways; it is an image of the faces of both Karl May and an Indigenous man (see fig. 1). Firstly, there is the discursive strategy of the angle. The Indigenous American man is positioned on a side on angle, which represents detachedness and closeness at the same time. If we see a photograph of a person side-on, but very close-up, this can connote a close alignment and sharedness of position (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People" 98-99). The man is also positioned next to May, their images overlap even. This discursively created feeling of closeness possibly connotes a wider cultural meaning (Hall, "The Work of Representation" 39). As conceptualized in the notion of "Indianthusiasm," Germans have historically identified themselves with Indigenous peoples of North America through their fascination, romanticisation, and idolization (Lutz et al. 12-15). However, in the angle and composition, May is looking towards the observer, while the Indigenous American man is looking away. This possible plays into the detachedness of the side angle, and the "you" and "we" this creates. The viewer, "you," is visually addressed by Karl May, which creates a "we" connection, and not by the Indigenous Man (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People" 98-99). This plays into the stereotypical portrayal of Indigenous Americans, where the "Self" is contrasted against the "Other."

Then, there is the discursive choice that the Indigenous American man is dressed in full regalia, which is also the case for images on the two other websites, which is connected to the discursive strategy of generic depictions ("Welcome to the Karl May Museum"; "30. Karl-May-Festtage"; "Winnetou Erleben?"). A generic depiction is achieved through stereotypical representations of dress, hairstyle, and grooming, and/or selected (and often exaggerated) physical features. The effect is that the individuality of people disappears behind the elements that categorize them and the actual variety of a group is not allowed to be depicted (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People" 101). The image of the Indigenous man dressed like this, is the image that non-Indigenous Americans have, because of stereotypical depictions they are familiar with; this reduction makes the person easily recognizable to them (Hall, "The Spectacle of the Other" 258). This ties into the contrasting depiction of May, who is dressed in everyday clothes, while regalia is not daily wear. The Indigenous man is not depicted as a modern human, whereas May is, which puts him once again the category of the "Other." Indigenous Americans are often depicted as the "Vanishing Indian," a dying race, they are not thought of as modern humans, which is the stereotype that the regalia opposed to daily wear depicts (Berkhofer 88).

Fig. 1 The front picture on the website of the Karl May Museum ("Welcome to the Karl May Museum").

Focussing in on the stereotype of the Noble Savage that is present in Karl May's books and movies about Winnetou, there are some elements of this which are reflected through these visual and linguistic discursive choices in what is actually offered to the tourist. Both the Karl May festival and the Karl May performances really focus in on the tropes of nature and of fighting and warfare. The festival focusses on activities in nature, with animals, and on experiencing adventures ("30. Karl-May-Festtage"). The performances offers excitement, stunts, and re-enactments of battles ("Winnetou Erleben?"). The Karl May festival also brings visitors in contact with real Indigenous Americans, whom they call representatives, which connotes friendliness, courteousness, and hospitability. These elements once again reflect the duality of the Noble Savage stereotype.

1.2.2 Twilight

For the case of Indigenous American popular culture tourism based on the *Twilight* saga, there are two prominent websites that offer tourism activities and spaces for fans of the series. The first website is the tourism website for the city of Forks, where the story is set and was partially filmed. They have a special *Twilight* section on their website ("Twilight"). The second website is that of the Olympic Peninsula, which offers *Twilight* tourism in terms of drives and road trips that people can take ("Twilight: Drive The Loop"; "Twilight: Road Trips"). Using Critical Discourse Analysis again, there are firstly linguistic choices made in the representation of Indigenous Americans.

What stands out is that on both websites there are nearly no linguistic representations of Indigenous Americans, which relates to the discursive choice of suppression ("Twilight"; "Twilight: Drive The Loop"; "Twilight: Road Trips"). This means that what is missing from a text is often just as important as what is actually in the text (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People" 85). This possibly connotes two cultural values (Hall, "The Work on Representation"

39). Firstly, this may mean that the people who offer *Twilight* tourism on these websites, have deemed the fictionalized Indigenous characters and their role in the story as less important than the other, White side of the story. However, this is difficult to judge, as no conclusions can be made about the decision of the narrative that the communicators try to bring across (Machin and Mayr, "Introduction" 9-10). Moreover, this suppression and thus partial exclusion is possibly a positive, well thought-through decision. The Indigenous tourism business is complicated, as it relies on commodification of cultures and comes with great responsibility over cultural, material, and spiritual resources (Bunten, "Indigenous Tourism" 51; Bunten, "More like Ourselves 288). The critique on Indigenous representation in the *Twilight* saga is something that needs to be taken into consideration here, chances are that the Quileutes have consciously decided to take distance from the *Twilight* tourists in order to not be involved in this as much anymore.

What is mentioned in terms of Indigenous Americans is thus minimal, but what is offered within *Twilight* tourism is the possibility to visit the seaside in La Push, on the actual Quileute reservation ("Twilight: Drive The Loop"; "Twilight: Road Trips"). The Quileutes are specifically mentioned, which relates to the discursive strategy of individualisation and specification; it adds a humanizing element and does not create an image of "one" Indigenous American, it does not adhere to this stereotype (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People" 80-81). Once again, this is the preferred way of linguistically representing Indigenous Americans and counters collectivisation and generalization ("Terminology").

Next, there are the visual choices made to create a certain discourse on these websites. The first image is the one that accompanies the Road Trip itinerary on the website of the Olympic Peninsula and is interesting in terms of the choice of angle (see fig. 2). As the description says, the image depicts Quileute Tribal Members. However, the image that was

chosen has a very distant angle. The viewer watches the action from a distance, which could mean that they are not involved (Machin and Mayr, "Representing People" 98). This could possibly connote disconnectedness of the onlooker, between the "Self" and the "Other", however with the tourists already in the picture itself this becomes a contradictive statement. It could even be argued that because it is an image of a mixed group, it actually connotes the connectedness between the two groups, reducing the stereotype of the "Self" versus the "Other."

Fig. 2 The image of La Push in the itinerary for *Twilight* road trips ("Twilight: Road Trips").

The second image is that of a fictional "treaty line" where, like in the story, the grounds of the werewolves and the vampires are separated (see fig. 3). Here, the linguistic and visual choices intersect. The linguistic and visual representation of a "treaty line" creates and brings the separation of werewolves (Indigenous Americans) and vampires (White men) into the real world. It creates a contrasted boundary of the "Self" and the "Other," within this representation power allows to mark, assign, and classify (Hall, "The Spectacle of the Other" 259). The signage of the fictional treaty line assigns Indigenous Americans in a certain place, they are separated from the rest, from the White people. Echoing the actual treaties, it assigns them to a small part of their homelands.

Fig. 3 The image of the marking of the fictional treaty line (“Twilight: Road Trips”).

In terms of the stereotype of the Noble Savage, there are some elements of linguistic choices specifically, that possibly confirm this stereotypical narrative. The activities and spaces offered in *Twilight* tourism that involve Indigenous American land or people, relies heavily on nature. As mentioned before, this is both part of the “noble” and the “savage”, as it is animal-like but the romanticised connectedness to nature at the same time. On the websites of the Olympic Peninsula, they offer a “sandy beach,” “surfing,” and “whale watching” (“Twilight: Drive The Loop”; “Twilight: Road Trips”). However, this argument is impaired, because the Olympic Peninsula tourism (and Forks tourism specifically) relies heavily on their impressive nature as their attraction. They have “Natures Wonders,” hikes, and beaches as their main points of attraction (“Natural Wonders”). The focus on nature and exploring is thus not exclusive to the Quileute reservation. Quileute tourism is thus very similar to other destinations in the area, and less *Twilight* specific. However, it can be argued that they use *Twilight* to lure tourists in, to choose their offered tourism above other similar possibilities. For example on the website for the road trips, there is a focus on Jacob, the main Indigenous American character in the saga, being a werewolf (“Twilight: Road Trips”).

1.3 Comparing representations in offered Winnetou and Twilight tourism.

Strictly looking at what the discussed websites offer in terms of *Winnetou* and *Twilight* Indigenous American tourism, it has become clear that they *Winnetou* tourism relies more heavily on the well-known representations and stereotypes of Indigenous Americans, than *Twilight* tourism does. As discussed before, the stories of *Winnetou* and *Twilight* both engage with the stereotypical image of the Noble Savage, and both stories create a contrast between the "Self" (the White man) and the "Other" (the Indigenous American man).

In terms of the tourism offered for *Winnetou* on these websites, one finds that these representations of Indigenous Americans, and with that stereotypes and "othering" practices have continued from the story world into the real world, into tourism. The Indigenous American is again reduced to "the Indian." Both linguistically and visually they are mainly collectivised and genericised, overlooking the vast cultural diversity of Indigenous Americans. The term "Indian" is outdated and puts them back into a stereotype, which is strengthened by the easily recognizable image of the Indigenous man in full regalia. Next to this, the Noble Savage is implemented in the depictions and activities of fighting, war, adventure, and nature, friendliness, courteousness, and hospitability. The stereotypical representation continuous in the contrast that is created between the depiction of the Indigenous man and Karl May, who looks more modern. The Indigenous man is taken out of modern reality, he is a "vanishing race." The composition further establishes an "us" versus "them," as the viewer is engaged with May, but detached from the Indigenous man.

In the tourism offered for *Twilight* on the respective websites, the representation and stereotyping of Indigenous Americans is not as present. There arguably are elements of the discursive strategy of suppression. However this can also be seen as a decision on the positive conscious choice for the Quileutes to not get that involved, as their representation in *Twilight*

was not morally right and this commodification of their culture is possibly not something that they want to partake in, in the traditional way. On the *Twilight* websites, there is the linguistic choice of never using generalized terms, but rather the preferred terminology; the Quileutes. This individualizes them and specifies them as a people. In terms of the stereotype of the Noble Savage, there are some arguments to be made that the representation within tourism relies on this stereotype. There is a great engagement with nature and adventure, however this is not exclusive to the tourism going to the Quileutes, as it is the most important part of the tourism industry on the Olympic Peninsula. One of the websites does rely on the representation of the "Self" versus the "Other," within the referral to the treaty line between the White man and the Indigenous Man.

Clearly, *Winnetou* tourism relies more heavily on stereotypical narratives within the representation of Indigenous Americans than *Twilight* does. Critical Discourse Analysis has exposed these on the surface level neutral strategies, however they have ideological implications (Machin and Meyer, "Introduction" 5). Possibly, the focus on the "Self" versus the "Other" through stereotypical representations is more present in May's writings, as the people represented are from the other side of the Atlantic. For Meyer's *Twilight*, Indigenous Americans may be more real, as they are present on the same continent (not saying that there are no Indigenous peoples on other continents). In the case of *Twilight* tourism, Indigenous Americans are a daily reality. While for *Winnetou* tourism, they are a sort of novelty, they mainly know the fictionalized version. To conclude, offered *Winnetou* tourism in its representation of Indigenous Americans adheres clearly to the stereotypes that are also visible in the popular culture products themselves. In *Twilight* the same stereotypes are present in the books and movies, but these are not as significantly carried through in the offered tourism. However, representational choices are not always made by non-Indigenous people within the

tourism industry, as Indigenous Americans themselves can also play a role in the tourism industries that essentially concern themselves. Therefore, the following chapter focusses on the agency that Indigenous Americans have in the tourism industries of *Winnetou* and *Twilight*.

CHAPTER 2 AGENCY OF INDIGENOUS AMERICANS IN THE TOURISM INDUSTRIES OF WINNETOU AND TWILIGHT

The possible role that Indigenous Americans play themselves within the tourism industries based on stories where others have represented fictionalized versions of them, has everything to do with agency. As seen in the previous chapter, on the websites that offer *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism Indigenous Americans get represented by others, which has been shown to, to an extent, rely on stereotypical representations and discursive strategies of "othering." The degree of agency they have themselves within the actual tourism industries, is thus significant within the bigger narrative of marginalization, oppression, and erasure of Indigenous American peoples. There is a difference in being represented and representing oneself. Agency refers to "the ability to take action or to choose what action to take" ("Agency"). Whether or not Indigenous Americans are able, and willing, to be involved in the way that they represent themselves and are represented within the Indigenous American popular culture tourism industries, can determine, and change or reinforce, the image that non-Indigenous people have of them. This poses the question if Indigenous Americans themselves (can) play a role within the tourism industries of *Winnetou* and *Twilight*, and how this determines the narrative created around Indigenous Americans.

The goal of this chapter is to determine the extent to which Indigenous Americans have agency within the tourism activities and spaces of both *Winnetou* and *Twilight* and what this implies within the bigger cultural narrative and power structures. Firstly, the involvement of Indigenous Americans will be illustrated within the *Winnetou* tourism industry, namely the Karl May museum, the Karl May festival, and the Karl May performances. Hereafter, the same will be done for the *Twilight* tourism industry, which in terms of Indigenous American tourism are the possibilities to visit the actual Quileute reservation and the surrounding areas.

Next, these findings will be analysed using the concept of the paradox of representation to determine the implications of self-commodification of Indigenous Americans involved in the *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism industries.

2.1 The involvement of Indigenous Americans in the tourism industries of Winnetou and Twilight

In both the Indigenous American popular culture tourism industries of *Winnetou* and *Twilight*, Indigenous Americans themselves play a role and are involved in ways besides being an object of representation. By definition the Indigenous tourism industries concern "tourism activity in which Indigenous people are involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction" (Butler and Hinch, qtd. in Curtin and Bird 462). However, in some spaces and activities, there is little to no involvement, which is just as telling as their involvement. Their (non-)involvement, and whether or not this is by choice, reveals the extent to which Indigenous Americans have agency within these tourism industries. In the case of *Winnetou*, the focus is on the Karl May museum and the Karl May festival. In the case of *Twilight*, the focus is on the possibility for tourists to visit the Quileute reservation.

2.1.1 Winnetou

Within the Karl May museum in Radebeul, Germany, there is "Villa Bärenfett," which focusses exclusively on Indigenous Americans. Other parts of the museum display the life of Karl May and his successful career as a writer. Lisa Michelle King has extensively written about what visitors encounter in "Villa Bärenfett" and from this it becomes clear that the involvement of Indigenous Americans in the Karl May museum is minimal. King points to just a single point of visible cooperation with contemporary Indigenous American

contributors, which is encountered towards the end of the Little Bighorn exhibit in "Villa Bärenfett." The museum has a display on the history of the Battle of the Little Bighorn. In this display, there is a nineteenth century "plains-style" narrative painting of the battlefield, titled *Custers Letzter Kampf*. The Indigenous American involvement herein is that the painting was recognized by an Indigenous visitor in 2002, as a painting made by his great grandfather. After this finding, the museum altered its description of provenance accordingly (King 42). The rest of the pieces and artifacts in "Villa Bärenfett" are not accompanied by Indigenous voices, nor is there any other direct involvement of Indigenous Americans within the Karl May museum's exhibitions.

The yearly Karl May festival, where thousands of German hobbyists gather to re-enact and "live" like Indigenous North Americans for a week, knows some involvement of Indigenous Americans within the German organized space and activities. In the documentary *Searching For Winnetou*, Indigenous Métis writer Drew Hayden Taylor experiences the festival first hand and thereby also illustrates parts of this involvement. The first encounter is with a German man who calls himself "Hunting Wolf." This man has a shop that sells "Indianwear" and he explains how he has genuine Indigenous merchandise imported from Canada and America. He mentions that he is friends with the people who make these things, thus assumingly these people are aware of their indirect involvement in the *Winnetou* tourism industry ("Searching For Winnetou" 14:25). Next to this, there are three Indigenous Americans who visit the festival yearly and who contribute to the activities that take place. These people are Wesley Cleland from Niagara Falls, New York, Tracy Recolle from Manitoulin Ontario, Canada, and Lowery Begay from Navajo Reserve, New York. They make this trip regularly, to dance, craft, and share their culture. The three Indigenous Americans see

this as a cultural exchange through dance and the opportunity to do a question-and-answer session ("Searching For Winnetou" 35:17).

2.1.2 Twilight

In the case of *Twilight*'s Indigenous American tourism spaces and activities, the involvement of Indigenous Americans takes on a different form. As seen in the previous chapter, the Indigenous American tourism related to *Twilight* focusses on the possibility for tourists to visit locations within the Quileute reservation. Places like La Push get promoted, because these are places that are mentioned and shown in the books and movies. La Push is home to the Quileute people and it used to be known for touristic activities like whale watching, hiking, fishing, and surfing. Following the release of the *Twilight* saga, a guide company got the rights to offer visiting La Push to tourists to experience the area (Lundberg 5). The desire for tourists to visit La Push led to the involvement of the Indigenous American Quileutes. Together with the Forks Visitor centre, they outlined codes of conduct for tour operators to adhere to, and they worked to communicate the local heritage rather than the *Twilight* narrative (Lundberg 11).

To this day, the decision by the Quileutes to stray away from the *Twilight* narrative within the Quileute's tourism industry is visible. An entire tourism business has been developed, which mentions *Twilight* only briefly. The biggest asset is the Quileute Oceanside Resort, which is located near First Beach. On the website it is said that "The Quileute Nation invites you to share in the bounty of their land, and explore their rich history and vibrant culture – a culture which still thrives in their daily lives" ("Quileute Oceanside Resort"). A short mention of *Twilight* is made, when they say that the resort is perfect for fans of the series to "find their bliss" ("Quileute Oceanside Resort"). The Quileute people further their own authority in their tourism business, whether or not with a focus of *Twilight*, by having strong

policies. Firstly, they have a media and video policy, strictly forbidding commercial use and documentation of certain events, to ensure that the "cultural rights of all Quileute People – past, present and future – are protected" ("Policy"). Secondly, on the website of the Quileute Nation, they have published basic procedures of conduct, that they ask their visitors to follow to help them protect their culture ("Indian Country Etiquette").

Next to the agency the Quileute people have in organizing the tourism on their reservation, and the policies they therein provide for their visitors, there are/were also some traces of involvement of Indigenous Americans in the *Twilight* tourism industry outside of the reservation, in Forks and other surrounding cities in which the series was set. There are, or used to be, as this is difficult to tell from the provided information, stores that sold *Twilight* products: Chinook Pharmacy and Native To Twilight. Indigenous Americans were involved as handmade Native art from Quileute, Hoh, and Makah people was sold there, as well as books on history and culture (Smith 3). From August 2010 to August 2011, there was also an exhibition in the Seattle Art Museum, in the Quileutes were involved. It was at the urging of elders, after the misrepresentation in the *Twilight* saga, that something would be done to show the world part of the real Quileute culture. The tribal council passed a resolution authorizing Barbara Brotherton, curator of Native American art at the museum, to work with the tribe to curate the exhibition titled "Behind the Scenes: The Real Story of the Quileute Wolves" (Smith 8).

2.2 Self-commodification and the paradox of representation

As it appears, both Indigenous American *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism have a degree of involvement of Indigenous Americans. They have a chance to represent themselves how they desire and to decide what they want to communicate towards non-Indigenous people. However, even though on the surface it appears this way, they often do not have full agency in their role within these tourism industries, if they want to be profitable at the same time. They have to adapt how they organize their tourism industries in order to satisfy their "customers," which is often not fully in line with their own values and desires. This is because generally, the tourism industry is structured according to hegemonic Western tourism ideals, and the discussed tourism practices exist within this industry. Delivering an appealing product, which is staying in line with the Western tourist desires, while at the same time adhering to their own values makes for a complex situation for Indigenous people involved in the tourism industry, which is called the "paradox of representation" (Bunten, "Indigenous Tourism" 51).

The tourism at hand is cultural tourism, and central to this is that guests want to know what is going to take place during the encounter with the Indigenous people. Their expectations for interactions are shaped within a Western framework that has certain paradigms for interaction; they anticipate how their interaction will go according to their expectations that are formed by the popular culture products they were inspired by to travel. They expect a degree of engagement, openness, and hospitality (Bunten, "Indigenous Tourism" 52). This puts the Indigenous Americans who are part of the tourism industry in a paradoxical position: they wish to present and communicate their cultures according to their local values and rules for interaction, but if they want to make profit within the industry they must adapt to the industries' universal Western values (Bunten, "Indigenous Tourism" 51). Tribal leaders are aware of the potential political, financial, and cultural benefits of

participating in the tourism industry, but they are also wary of the cultural degradation that can result from this. Approaches to the growth of tourism can be in direct conflict with traditional protocols employed by communities to "survive generations of physical and cultural genocide." These protocols are in place to govern cultural resources, intellectual property, and secrecy. Growth of tourism requires sharing elements of these cultural resources and intellectual property, which could breach secrecy, as this type of "connecting" interaction is what Western tourists expect (Bunten, "More like Ourselves" 289). These Western expectations about cultural exchange in Indigenous American tourism in contrast with the traditional values of the Indigenous is one way they are in the paradox of representation

The other element of the paradox of representation that is rooted in having to adapt to Western expectations of tourists in order for Indigenous Americans to be successful participants in the tourism industry has to do with how they represent themselves and their culture. The previous element of the paradox of representation focusses on what they offer, as in how far they are involved and willing to share their culture. This element extends the paradox of commodifying their culture onto the factor of representation. To be successful in the Western tourism industry, which means delivering a product that tourists desire and expect, it is inevitable that they reference Western paradigms of representation in popular culture, because this is where the expectations of tourists about who they will encounter are formed (Bunten, "Indigenous Tourism" 51). As seen in the previous chapter, the representation of Indigenous Americans in *Winnetou* and *Twilight* relies on the stereotype of the Noble Savage, and on the contrasting between the "Self" and the "Other." The paradox of representation is once again reinforced through this commodification of the self; Indigenous Americans in the tourism industry are pressured to deliver a competitive product that appeals to the expectations of the consumer, while also wanting to show resistance to and confront the

stereotypes that are present in the popular culture products. The Indigenous Americans are at risk of alienating themselves, as the tourism industry is a way for economic gain and a way to choose how they commodify their identity, but the way they choose to do so affects the market value of the commodity (Bunten, "Indigenous Tourism" 51-53). This means that because of the Western paradigms at play, Indigenous Americans to an extent need to adhere to the stereotypical representations present in popular culture, in order to satisfy the consumers' desires and thus be profitable. This means that they are at risk of alienating themselves by commodifying their culture.

The duality for Indigenous Americans within the *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism industries is thus to find a balance in making themselves and their product attractive for the consumer, the tourist who exists in the Western tourism paradigms, while at the same time adhering to their cultural values and possibly even using tourism as a way to of resistance and dispelling inaccuracies. It is an opportunity to make a powerful statement that they can and will control their representation, what remains in secrecy, and what they will share. These practices are covert resistance and they challenge the tourist gaze while remaining hospitable: they have the power to shift the definition of Indigenous identity from a hegemonic perspective to an Indigenous one. If the Indigenous people involved in the tourism industries have a certain degree of agency, they have an opportunity to present their own narrative to tourist. Hospitality and likeable individuality is key to establish relations across cross-cultural boundaries and make the job worthwhile (Bunten, "More like Ourselves" 301; Bunten "Indigenous Tourism" 51-53). This paradox of representation in the agency that Indigenous Americans have within popular culture tourism destinations, is relevant in the bigger cultural narrative that is created and the dominant power structures that are (not) adhered to, so is the case for *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism.

2.2.1 Winnetou

In having agency, there is thus a level of balancing communicating one's culture according to one's values of interaction and secrecy, while at the same time adhering to universal Western values about interaction in the tourism space to still make profit (which is not only assessed in monetary value, but also in educative value for example). In the case of *Winnetou* tourism, and specifically the Karl May festival, the three Indigenous Americans who are guests at the festival are at risk of this alienation of their values to make profit. Because of Karl May's stories, tourists at the festival have a certain expectation of how they will interact with these people. They expect a certain openness, hospitality and willingness to interaction, because that is what they know from the stories, which is based on the values ascribed to the Noble Savage as seen in the previous chapter. The guests find a balance in this, because by being there they take back the agency to tell something about their own culture and thus educating people on their own terms: they decide what to tell and what not to tell, what dances to perform, and what crafts to teach. In the "Searching For Winnetou" documentary, Lowery Begay mentions that he is willing to share his culture, as he feels that the Germans are not coming from a place of racism or disrespect. He would rather have them learn the proper way, which is why he chooses to educate on them ton his own terms; he has agency in this to a certain degree ("Searching For Winnetou" 38.17).

However, there is also the balancing act in self-commodification of how to represent themselves as people, while not fully adhering to the popular culture stereotypes that are illustrated in May's stories. For the three guests at the May festival this is a nuanced act, because they visit as performers to a fictionalized version of "their world." They choose to represent themselves in their regalia, which today is not daily wear, it is typically worn for social and ceremonial occasions. Representations of Indigenous Americans only in regalia can

suggest they only exist in the past (“Native American Cultures and Clothing”). It can be argued that they put themselves in the role of the “dying Indian,” as non-modern people. However, their ultimate goal at the festival is to educate, so representing their culture physically is part and parcel of that. You can say that they draw from popular images of the “Other,” of the generalized “Indian,” but on the other hand they are visiting a performance and not living their daily lives. Visiting the Karl May festival can be seen as part of a social occasion, where the Indigenous visitors do choose to wear their regalia then.

By existing within the paradox of representation, the Indigenous guests at the Karl May festival perform an act of covert resistance. They represent their culture and educate on their terms, while still adhering to expectations of hospitability and likeable individuality. They offer a new perspective to tourists of actual Indigenous Americans, in a space full of fictionalization. All three guests mention that they would rather have the tourists and hobbyists learn from them properly and they truly feel like the Germans are not coming from a place of hate and ignorance, but from excitement and curiosity (“Searching For Winnetou”). In doing so, they are connecting with the visitors of the Karl May festival. For Indigenous American tourism connecting is a practice where hosts meet visitors where they are at, and they find a common ground with their visitors. They find shared interests and experiences, like dancing and beadwork for example. This is an opportunity for the Indigenous Americans who have agency in *Winnetou* tourism to create empathy (Curtin and Bird 473; “Searching For Winnetou” 36.15).

2.2.2 Twilight

For the Quileute people who deal with *Twilight* tourists, and tourists in general, there is also this balancing act of presenting their culture to outsiders with Western tourism values, while remaining honourable of their own cultural values of sharing and secrecy. In the case of the Quileutes, they are the host and people come into their space, they are at risk that their cultural values of what they share and what they choose to have remain secret are affected by the tourists. To prevent clashing with their own values, but still uphold the Western standards of interaction between hosts and tourist on which they are dependent to have a successful tourism industry, they have created a space that stands for their values as a community; as noted above, the Quileute tourism industry does not rely heavily on the *Twilight* narrative anymore, but rather on inviting people to enjoy nature and experience culture. To do this in a way that honours their cultural values, they have put policies in place to protect their culture, traditions, and natural resources handed down from their ancestors. In this way, they prevent misappropriation and misrepresentation of the tribal culture ("Quileute Oceanside Resort"). The tribe itself has the agency to decide what is the best balance between community and tradition, while providing tourists with enjoyable experiences in accordance with their expectations through their Western tourism values. In their own words, their "people are hospitable and generous in nature. However, spiritual teachings, sacred ceremonies, and burial grounds are not openly shared with the public" ("Indian Country Etiquette"). This reflects the paradoxical position they are in, they adhere to the Western expectations, but try to find a careful balance with their own values.

Then, in the way that they represent themselves physically and intellectually, they become the modern Indigenous man, not someone of the past. They invite tourists in their contemporary spaces, where the tourist thus encounters something other than the stereotype

they are used to seeing, that are used in *Twilight* as seen in the previous chapter. They step away from the image of the "Other" who only exists in the past. It is stressed by themselves that their culture still thrives there in their daily lives, and invite tourists to share this with them ("Quileute Oceanside Resort"). In terms of the paradox of representation in the element of representing themselves they seem to have found a way to exist profitable in this paradox. They give the experience of nature and such that tourists expect from *Twilight*, but they put themselves as human beings above this stereotype of the Noble Savage who only exists in the past.

The Quileutes' position in the paradox of representation is also a performance of the an act of covert resistance. By inviting tourists into their contemporary spaces, they dispel inaccuracies in representation and show hospitality and individual likability. But, like is desired in this resistance, they do so on their own terms. Having policies on documentation and codes of conduct on how to behave is a form of education of the non-Indigenous tourists in a way, it shows that another person's culture is not to be accessed and appropriated on the visitors' terms, but rather in a way that is condoned and respectful. For Indigenous Americans involved in the tourism industry, hosting is a means to have visitors abide by their practices, which is an expression of authority and thus agency. They have the opportunity to set the scene for culturally safe interactions with their visitors (Curtin and Bird 473).

2.3 Comparing the agency of Indigenous Americans in the Winnetou and Twilight tourism industries

The biggest difference in the involvement of Indigenous Americans in the popular culture tourism industries of *Winnetou* and *Twilight*, is that in the former the Indigenous are guest, while in the latter they are the host. For *Winnetou* they travel to Germany, while in the case of *Twilight*, tourists travel to the Indigenous people. However, this does not mean that their

agency in their involvement greatly differs. Looking at the paradox of representation, both cases find a balance between their own cultural values and the expected Western values of the tourism industry. Indigenous people involved in both examples have found a way to balance what they share, and what they do not, to keep their own agency in this; for *Winnetou* they decide what to teach the tourist and in what way, the same goes for *Twilight*, where they have guidelines and policies to ensure this.

In terms of representation the Indigenous self, there are difference between the host and the guest roles. Indigenous Americans visiting Germany, are taken out of their daily lives and are now part of a fictionalized performance of culture. They dress recognizably, which is in line with stereotypical portrayals in popular culture, but this does not necessarily put them in the category of the "dying Indian." They are not their everyday life and not their home, it is a special occasion. Because this is the other way around for *Twilight*, as tourists are guests there, they get put in the narrative of the Indigenous man as a modern man, as part of daily life. Receiving guests in their home, the Quileutes actively dispel stereotypical portrayals that are present in *Twilight*.

Lastly, both cases of agency in the tourism industries are part of covert resistance. They offer educative value which is expected by tourists, but do it on their own terms, as they have the agency in what to share and what not to share. In that way they educate people, show likeability, and hospitality. Through educating tourists, they play an active role in dispelling misrepresentations, misunderstanding, and stereotypes.

It can be argued that, to an extent, Indigenous Americans in the tourism industries of *Winnetou* and *Twilight* have a sense of agency. In both cases they have a chance to share their culture how they want to, and represent themselves how they want to. However, the still exist within this paradox of representation. It is a complex situation with limitations as the tourism

industries are structured according to Western hegemonic tourism ideals. These Western ideals have created expectations, largely shaped by popular culture, about encounters with Indigenous Americans. For Indigenous Americans to exist profitably, they have to adhere to these ideals to an extent. The paradox of their situation is to do this in a way that does not completely clash with their own values. This chapter has focussed on how Indigenous Americans play a role in creating the tourism industries of *Winnetou* and *Twilight* in order to meet the expectations of the popular culture tourists. Therefore, the next chapter focusses on the experiences of these tourists, and specifically on how authentic their experiences can be, keeping their expectations and the involvement of Indigenous Americans in mind.

CHAPTER 3 THE TOURIST'S EXPERIENCE OF AUTHENTICITY OF INDIGENOUS AMERICAN CULTURE IN WINNETOU AND TWILIGHT TOURISM

Both representation and the agency of Indigenous Americans shape the experiences that tourists have in the tourist spaces and activities of *Winnetou* and *Twilight*. How and why people engage with tourism, and with that, the experiences that they do or do not enjoy, are largely socially and culturally determined (Sharpley 3). Previously, it has become clear that the enjoyment of tourists in the two cases of Indigenous American popular culture tourism is determined by these factors: tourists' satisfaction is based on if their determined Western ideals of Indigenous Americans about engagement and representation are met. Stereotypical representations in *Winnetou* and *Twilight* have determined the expectations that tourists have in terms of what the Indigenous Americans they encounter look and act like. An important factor to determine if a tourist's experience is satisfactory, is the concept of authenticity. Authenticity entails "the quality of being real or true," and is increasingly applied to assess the tourist experience ("Authenticity"). Authenticity is mainly relevant in ethnic, historical, or cultural tourism, as it involves the representation of the so-called Other or the past. Indigenous American tourism of *Winnetou* and *Twilight* fall under this category specifically, as both originate in popular culture representations of the Indigenous American as the Other, as discussed in the introduction. The determining factors for whether something is described as "authentic" or "inauthentic" depend on whether the tourism products are made or enacted "by local people according to custom or tradition," as "authenticity connotes traditional culture and origin, a sense of the genuine, the real, or the unique" (Wang 350-351). Indigenous American tourism existing within the paradox of representation causes the real customs and traditions the be adapted in order to both satisfy the tourists, and to retain their own values. This poses the issue of how authentic the Indigenous American tourism offered

can actually be. At the same time, it also raises the discussion of how the tourists experience this, as their concept of authentic Indigenous American culture is influenced by popular culture.

Because of its relevance to tourism which involves the representation of the Other and the past, this chapter will analyse to what extent the tourism activities and spaces of both *Winnetou* and *Twilight* can be considered authentic, and how this is reflected in the way that tourists experience them. To do so, the concept of staged authenticity is introduced, which serves to analyse if the tourism spaces and activities of *Winnetou* and *Twilight* are by definition authentic or not. Hereafter, the ambiguity of the concept of authenticity is discussed in relation to the two cases, in order to evaluate if (regardless of if the spaces and activities are by definition authentic) the tourists experience a degree of authenticity. Lastly, German *Winnetou* tourism and North-American *Twilight* tourism will be compared in order to illustrate differences and/or similarities in authenticity and the experiences thereof.

3.1 Staged authenticity

To consider how authentic the tourism spaces and activities of both *Winnetou* and *Twilight* can be, keeping in mind that the Indigenous Americans involved are embedded in the paradox of representation, Dean MacCannell's concept of "staged authenticity" is relevant. In short, the term refers to the staging of culture to create an impression of authenticity for the tourist. In modern society, tourists have the urgent desire to share the real life of the places they visit, or at least to see life as it is really lived. These experiences are valued and therefore there are social structural arrangements that are encouraged to produce these (MacCannell 96, 98). As previously discussed, Indigenous American actors in the tourism industry adapt what they share about themselves and their culture, not only to protect their own values, but also to meet the desires of the tourist. One way to satisfy cultural tourists, is thus to create an impression of

authenticity. It can be argued, that the Indigenous Americans involved in *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism create a form of staged authenticity in order to obtain these goals.

According to MacCannell, structural arrangements in tourist settings shape staged authenticity. The tourist setting can be divided into a front region and a back region, as sociologist Erving Goffman has defined. The front region is where hosts and guests meet, or also customers and service persons. The back region is the place "where members of the home team retire between performances to relax and prepare" (MacCannell 92). There are architectural arrangements that support this division. However it is mainly a social one that is based on the type of "performance" that is staged in that specific place. Social roles are established in these settings, that keep the division between the front and back region intact (MacCannell 92). A back region is generally closed to the audience, to sustain a sense of mystification, which is designed to generate a sense of reality that is not really the reality (MacCannell 93).

The penetration of strangers into back regions is a source of social concern, as it is often not desired by the host. However, tourists (believe they) desire to be let into the back regions, as it is supposedly more intimate and real as opposed to a show. Being in the back regions is what some tourists desire in their search for authenticity, as it reflects truth and intimacy. Having permission to share the back regions with "them," being the supposed Other that they know from popular culture, is like being "one of them" or "one with them," which is as authentic as it could get for tourists (MacCannell 93-94). It must be noted already that not all tourists share this desire for authenticity and being let into the back regions, for some they are just obtrusive (MacCannell 96).

Host often attempt to meet the desire of tourist to have an authentic experience and be allowed in the back regions of a social setting in order to be profitable. Tourists, for example,

often take guided tours that provide access to ordinarily closed off settings or performances (MacCannell 98). However, this is where staged authenticity comes in. Tourists may believe that they are moving in the direction of authenticity, but they are often unaware that their "entry into a back region" is more often than not entry into a front region staged as a back region in advance, specifically for touristic visitation. What is shown to the tourist is, by Goffman's definition not the so-called institutional back stage, but rather a staged back region (MacCannell 99, 101). The settings that tourists thus encounter are staged as being authentic and they are copies or replicas of real-life situations (MacCannell 102). The authenticity that tourists seek in *Winnetou* and *Twilight* is concerned with the seeking to experience Indigenous American culture. However, Indigenous Americans in both cases play a role in how they present their culture themselves. Therefore, it is interesting to analyse in how far both tourism industries offer a staging of authenticity, or real authenticity, to their visitors in the experience of Indigeneity that they offer. The concept of staged authenticity will help define whether or not the experiences of tourists can be authentic

3.1.1 Authenticity of Indigenous American culture in Winnetou tourism

For *Winnetou* tourism, it is very interesting that the authenticity of Indigenous American culture is not sought out in North America, as might appear logical, but rather in Germany. This immediately alludes to the fact that the tourism spaces and activities are especially focussed on the front region of the social division, and that there is no actual authenticity. At the Karl May festival, there are elements of all stages of the front region, it is very clear that this is a touristic setting. It is a festival, where people go to participate in their hobby, which already takes away a big part of actual authenticity, but it does not try to disguise this. This is characteristic of the front region, as defined by MacCannell. It is a performance and hobbyism, rather than actual cultural tourism.

However, there are indeed certain choices to create an appearance of authenticity, and with that an illusion of an entrance into the back region. One attempt that creates the feeling of an authentic experience, is inviting the Indigenous guests. The visiting Indigenous Americans create a feeling of authenticity, as the tourists encounter actual Indigenous Americans. By being there and sharing their culture, allowing questions and answers, they symbolically open a door to a back region (away from their actual institutional back region, which is what motivates the tourist, but what is not shared with them) in order to give tourists a feeling of authenticity. However, because of the agency that the Indigenous Americans themselves have in this, the symbolic back region that they create away from home in Germany, is staged. It is a set up back region for the tourist, as they are allowed a glimpse in, creating a feeling of authenticity, but in reality they do not have an authentic experience (MacCannell 102). In this supposedly authentic interaction, the Indigenous Americans decide what to share, what to look like, and how to act. And, arguably most importantly, the tourists are not the guest that the Indigenous Americans receive, rather the Indigenous American visitors become the guest. This means that the visitors of the festival are not even close to the institutional back region of Indigenous Americans. The feeling of authenticity created at the Karl May festival, is thus staged authenticity, because the tourists are confronted with a staged back region.

3.1.2 Authenticity of Indigenous American culture in Twilight tourism

In the case of *Twilight* tourism, the search for Indigenous American authenticity is located in the eminent place, North America. The current tourism is not so much focussed on the *Twilight* saga anymore, but rather on the tourism the Quileute people have created for themselves. Through their main website, as well as the Oceanside Resort website, it becomes clear that, in terms of authenticity, there are two major tourism activities and spaces where

one can search for authenticity. These are the opportunity to stay on the reservation, in the Oceanside Resort, and the opportunity to attend Quileute community events. In this case, the Indigenous Americans are the hosts for tourists who are in search of authenticity, allowing for a clearer distinction between a front and a back region in the social spaces. Again, the front stages are the ones that tourists attempt to overcome (MacCannell 101). The Oceanside Resort is clearly a touristic front stage. The resort offers deluxe cabins, motel units, campground, and RV parks. This was built with the sole purpose of attracting and accommodating tourists. The buildings that are part of the Oceanside Resort are surrounded by normal houses and clearly exclusively built for tourism purposes; it is the front stage. However, on the website of the resort they state that "all units feature full kitchens or mini-kitchens, and are tastefully appointed in an authentic Native American style" ("Quileute Oceanside Resort").

The term "authentic" is the keyword in this sentence, and this is where the front and back regions blend, which is stressed by Goffman as well. The back and front are sometimes transformed by one into the other, which is the case here (MacCannell 95-96). The Quileutes have decorated part of the front region to look like a back region giving the impression of authenticity and even stressing this: they have created a staged back . The transformation of a front region and back region into one another that Goffman illustrates becomes clear here. The Oceanside Resort is so clearly a front stage, but through little things an element of the staged back region is still created, hinting at an experience of authenticity. A move further into the back regions is made with the activities tourists can attend during their stay on the Quileute reservation. There are for example the "Quileute Days," where people can observe traditional dances, buy authentic merchandise, eat traditional food, etc. It is a community event, where the Quileutes come together to celebrate. Visitors from other tribes join them as well, and tourists are thus also invited ("Quileute Days 2023). Tourists actually have the

opportunity to surpass the staged back region and experience the actual institutional back region, meaning an actual authentic experience of Indigenous American culture.

3.2 Tourist motivations and experiences related to authenticity

Authenticity within tourism knows two parts; tourist experiences and toured objects (Wang 351). As a concept, authenticity has mainly been applied to the museum, but it has also been extended to broader tourism (Wang 350). The element of toured objects can thus be extended to tourist spaces and activities. In the cases of *Winnetou* and *Twilight*, there is a difference in the degree of authenticity in the in the activities and spaces where Indigenous Americans are involved. The other element, that of the tourist experience has been increasingly researched in the last four decades (Sharpley 3)

The concept of authenticity within the tourism industry is ambiguous, this also goes for the experiences and expectations that tourists have in terms of what they desire and deem to be authentic (Wang 349) It is an ambiguous and limited concept, because the conventional definition of authenticity is not encompassing and validating of many tourist motivations and experiences. Something may appear authentic to one, but inauthentic to another (Wang 349). However, there are various approaches that are useful in determining whether or not an experience or an object is perceived as authentic by the tourists themselves. The concept of authenticity is individually or collectively constructed in terms of point of view, beliefs, perspectives, or power. It is relative, negotiable, contextually determined and even ideological. The expectations for authenticity can be a projection of one's dreams, stereotyped images, and other expectations (Wang 351).

Within tourism, the tourist's quest can also be considered for symbolic authenticity. People can feel like they are having an authentic experience, simply because they are doing

something other than living their ordinary lives. To them, his means that they are "living authentically." They are having an experience which is authentic, because they are more self-expressed than they are in everyday life (Wang 351-352). To evaluate if an experience or space has symbolic authenticity, the ideal can be characterized by the notions of nostalgia and romanticism. It is nostalgic as it idealizes the ways of life in which people were freer, more spontaneous, more innocent, purer, and true to themselves. They want to relive this through tourism. They are nostalgic about their ways of life, particularly about their childhood. It is romantic because their search for authenticity accentuates naturalness and feelings in response to the constraints of modernity. Authenticity can thus also be a way of self-making, tourists want to reach their authentic selves, which they cannot do in their daily lives (Wang 360, 363). The ambiguity of the authenticity of the tourist experience can be illustrated to evaluate if the *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourists feel like they had an authentic experience or not, even though the tourism activities and spaces are not always factually authentic.

3.2.1 Tourists experience of authenticity in Winnetou tourism

In the case of the Karl May festival, it has been illustrated that what is generally happening there is not authentic. It is a performance for hobbyists and a form of entertainment for these "Indianthusiasts." However, the expectations that they have of authentic Indigenous American culture were both ideologically and culturally formed. As has become clear through the discussion of "Indianthusiasm," Germans have for long identified themselves with Indigenous peoples of North America (Lutz et al. 12-15). Culturally, their view of authenticity in terms of Indigenous Americans has been formed through stereotypical images, particularly through the works of Karl May. The stereotyped ideal of Indigenous Americans is considered by them to represent an authentic reality, as most of them have never met an Indigenous person (until they come to the festival, perhaps). The visitors are aware to an extent that what they are

experiencing is not authentic, as is illustrated by one visitor's comments in *Searching For Winnetou*. The tourist says that he is at the festival to "play Indian" ("Searching For Winnetou" 19:46). Interestingly, another visitor says he is strictly against how inauthentic the festival is, but then he points towards what he claims to be (and it is called this way) "the authentic area." For this visitor, he believes that this is authentic, even though by definition it is not ("Searching For Winnetou"). This shows is authenticity as a social/cultural construct, what is authentic to one, is not authentic to the other (Wang 349).

This reflects on the interpretation of authenticity in which people can have an experience that is authentic to them personally, symbolic authenticity. They search for, and find this in the festival, an experience in which they can be their "authentic self." They have certain feelings of nostalgia and romanticised ideals connected to Indigenous Americans. *Winnetou* is for many Germans part of their childhood. Visitors state that they "grew up with Native, with *Winnetou*" and they were "fascinated as a child, as a young boy." ("Searching For Winnetou" 18:38 ; 18:47). By visiting a festival like this, they are chasing their childhood. They romanticise Indigenous Americans as a response to the constraints of modernity. One visitor states that "people are drawn here because they are spiritual seekers" and another stresses that to him, "Native is freeness." ("Searching For Winnetou" 17:20 ; 18:47). Through their stereotyped ideals, they feel like Indigenous Americans represent this freedom, this connection to the past. "Playing Indian" is a way for them to reach existential authenticity.

3.2.2 Tourist experience of authenticity in Twilight tourism

For *Twilight* tourism it has been shown that there is staged authenticity of Indigenous American culture in the tourism activities and spaces, but that there is also an opportunity for visitors to experience actual authenticity, they can have access to the institutional back region. To evaluate the *Twilight* tourists experience in terms of authenticity of Indigenous American

culture, three travel vlogs from YouTube are analysed.[4] All three vlogs have *Twilight* in the title, which is pointer that people are in search of *Twilight* tourism and that visiting La Push is one element of this ("Visiting Twilight Locations in Real Life"; "Twilight Trip: Forks, Washington"; "Our First Time in Washington!: Twilight's Forks, La Push, Olympic National Park"). This is the first indication the experience people are looking for is not related to the tourism that the Quileutes themselves, who offer the opportunity to have an authentic experience, want to push forward. As has been indicated before, the Quileutes have strayed away from the *Twilight* narrative in their tourism industry, but the visitors in the vlogs still only experience La Push in relation to the series. In none of the vlogs, is there a mention of the Quileutes, not even of Indigenous Americans ("Visiting Twilight Locations in Real Life"; "Twilight Trip: Forks, Washington"; "Our First Time in Washington!: Twilight's Forks, La Push, Olympic National Park"). Even though tourists who visit La Push and the Quileutes are offered to have an authentic experience and enter the institutional back stage (like the community events), these selected videos suggest that this is not what visitors are looking for. They are looking to experience *Twilight* and are not in search of something other than that, like authentic Indigenous American culture.

In one video, the tourist actually does not visit La Push/First Beach, which is the location that is present in the books, but rather visits Cannon Beach in Oregon, where the movies were filmed (Wolfinsohn). In the video she puts a side by side of the movie scene and her own video of the location ("Visiting Twilight Locations in Real Life" 04:50-05:40). It shows how the chosen experiences of the tourists are really led by popular culture. Concluding from these three videos specifically, it can be noted that tourists visiting La Push

[4] The search term "Visiting La Push" was used as this is where *Twilight* tourists go if they want to experience Indigenous American culture. The vlogs were selected using the "relevance" search filter, as this ensures that the results are in line with the search term. The first three results were selected.

because of *Twilight* do not seek to experience authentic Indigenous American culture. However, taking the broader approach of authenticity, where it is constructed through different perspectives and is dependent on context, *Twilight* tourism as portrayed in the vlog is still in a way authentic to the visitor. What they know through popular culture is what they want to experience in their tourism activities and spaces (Wang 351). To them, they have the authentic *Twilight* experience, as they know from the books and the movies.

3.3 Comparison of authenticity, and the experiences thereof, in Winnetou and Twilight tourism

In terms of how authentic Indigenous American culture that tourists come into contact with in *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism, is different for the two cases. *Winnetou* tourism, specifically the Karl May festival, is a clear front region. As a festival, it is a clear touristic setting where "Indianthusiasts" come together to perform their hobby, rather than a place to experience actual Indigenous American culture. However, there is a staged back region in place, which is formed through inviting the Indigenous American guests. The tourists get a chance to glimpse into the back region, where authenticity can be found, but the Indigenous American visitors still have agency in what they share and how they present themselves: they stage authenticity. *Twilight* tourism to La Push also has a clear front region, a touristic setting, namely the Quileute Oceanside Resort. It was made for tourists specifically. Then, there is also an element of a staged back region there: for example the decorations in authentic Indigenous American style. Tourists in search of authentically experiencing Indigenous American culture actually get a chance to do so in the activities that are offered tourism. Tourist have a the chance to attend community events, which gives them access to the institutaional back region. They have an opportunity to experience authentic Quileute culture.

Even though Indigenous American culture in *Winnetou* tourism is not authentic by definition, tourists still experience a degree of authenticity as it is a social and cultural construct. To the visitors of the Karl May festival, what they are having is still an authentic experience. To them, stereotypical images of Indigenous American culture they encounter in popular culture are authentic, as these representations shapes their beliefs. It is also authentic for visitors in the sense that they can experience symbolic authenticity of nostalgia to their youth and the romanticising of Indigenous American culture as connoting freedom. In the actual experience of the twilight tourists it has become clear that, based on the information in the videos, tourists do not seek to experience authentic Indigenous American culture even though they have the chance to do so. They want to experience what they see in the popular culture products of *Twilight*. They seek to have an authentic *Twilight* experience, not necessarily an authentic Indigenous American experience.

There thus is a difference in authenticity of Indigenous American culture in the cases of *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism. Both have elements of staged authenticity, but for *Twilight* there is an extra layer of true authenticity because the visitors are invited into the institutional back regions of the Quileutes. However, tourists do not seek out or experience this as such, they seek to have an authentic *Twilight* experience. *Winnetou* tourists do seek authentically to experience Indigenous American culture, be it their own construct of it.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this research has been to compare Indigenous American popular culture tourism on two different continents, where tourists are inspired by the stories from popular culture to travel to places where the stories are set, filmed, or commemorated. This type of tourism sometimes brings tourists into contact with (portrayals of) cultures other than their own, when these are portrayed in the stories they were inspired by to travel. *Winnetou* and *Twilight* both portray Indigenous Americans, namely the fictionalized Apache and the fictionalized Quileutes respectively, and the tourism that was inspired by these examples is located in Germany and North America (mostly in the state of Washington). The two case studies were compared on the basis of three different elements, namely representation, agency and authenticity.

Answering the research question

To answer the main research question, "In what ways does Indigenous American tourism inspired by *Winnetou* and *Twilight* compare in terms of representation, agency, and authenticity?," the three elements were analysed in how they compare through the case studies between Germany and North America.

The first element of comparison is the representation of Indigenous Americans in the tourism that is offered for *Winnetou* and *Twilight*. Both the stories of *Winnetou* and *Twilight* rely on stereotypes to portray the Indigenous American characters. Particularly, they use the stereotype of the Noble Savage and employ discursive strategies of "Othering." Through Critical Discourse Analysis applied to the websites, it has become clear that within the tourism that is offered for the two cases, *Winnetou* tourism relies heavily on these well-known stereotypes, while *Twilight* tourism does not. Discursively, for *Winnetou* tourism the

Indigenous American is reduced to the singular "White Man's Indian" that exists in the past. For *Twilight* tourism, this is not the case. Discursively, the portrayal of the Quileutes is specified and not reduced to a singular entity that relies on stereotypes. So, even though the portrayals of Indigenous Americans in *Winnetou* and *Twilight* both rely on stereotypes, this is only transferred onto offered tourism for the case of *Winnetou*.

The second element is the agency that Indigenous Americans have in the tourism activities and spaces of *Winnetou* and *Twilight*. In both cases, Indigenous Americans are involved in the tourism industries. The big difference however, is that for *Winnetou* tourism they are the guest, while for *Twilight* tourism they are the host. For *Winnetou* tourism, Indigenous Americans travel to Germany, while for *Twilight* tourism, the tourists travel to the Quileutes. This does not mean however, that the agency they have within their involvement largely differs. Using the concept of the paradox of representation, it has become clear that in both cases the Indigenous people involved in the tourism industries need to find a balance between the hegemonic Western tourism ideals, and their own values and rules when it comes to the sharing of culture. The Indigenous attempt to find a careful balance between this, in order to make their involvement profitable. Within this paradox, they have agency to a certain extent. They can decide what to share with tourists, what to keep secret, and how to present themselves. However, they both still need to adapt to the Western expectations that tourists have in terms of interaction and how they present themselves, which are largely shaped by popular culture.

The third, and last, element of comparison is the authenticity of Indigenous American culture that tourists can experience. The degree of authenticity of Indigenous American culture that *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourists can experience differs. However, both cases do have an element of staged authenticity, because a staged back region is deployed. In the case

of *Winnetou*, by inviting the Indigenous American guests, the tourists get a glimpse into the back region of real Indigenous American culture. This is staged however, because of the agency that the visitors have in what they present to the tourists. The visitors are not encountering the Indigenous people in their daily lives. Staged authenticity within *Twilight* tourism is found when tourists visit the Quileutes on their own land, specifically the Oceanside Resort adds elements to create a feeling of authenticity. However, the difference with *Winnetou* tourism is that people who visit the Quileutes have an opportunity to experience true authenticity by joining community events. This allows them entry into the institutional back region. In terms of how tourists actually experience authenticity of the (interpretations of) Indigenous American culture they are presented with, there are also difference. To the visitors of the Karl May festival, what they are having is still an authentic experience. To them, stereotypical images of Indigenous American culture they encounter in popular culture are authentic, as these representations shape their beliefs. In the actual experience of the *Twilight* tourists it has become clear that tourists do not seek to experience authentic Indigenous American culture, even though they have the chance to do so. They seek to have an authentic *Twilight* experience, not necessarily an authentic Indigenous American experience.

By comparing Indigenous American tourism inspired by popular culture through the cases of *Winnetou* and *Twilight* in terms of representation, agency, and authenticity, it has become clear that in the current state of this type of tourism there is quite a national/continental difference between North America and Europe. The comparison between *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism offers a transatlantic perspective, which, according to Hartmut Lutz “elucidates, complicates and interrogates points of convergence and divergence in European and North American histories of appropriation and misrepresentation” (5). The big

difference in the tourism industries falls back on the way that the two continents view appropriation and misrepresentation of cultures. The significant divergence in representation in the offered tourism shows those different viewpoints. The discussion about cultural appropriation of Indigenous American culture is more prevalent in North America than in Germany, because it is rooted in there. In the current cultural/social climate, tourism like *Winnetou*, where White people dress up as Indigenous people, would not be generally accepted in North America. The difference of authenticity is arguably also location bound. Not only because of the possibility to actually be in a location where Indigenous people reside, but also because misrepresentation has caused certain expectations. What Germans "know" about Indigenous cultures is based on stereotypical representations, they likely have not actually encountered these cultures. However, North Americans possibly know more about Indigenous American culture, because they most likely have encountered it in reality. In terms of agency, the notion of host versus guest is also location bound. However, there is convergence after all in that both tourism industries of *Winnetou* and *Twilight* exist within the hegemonic Western ideals about tourism, which leads to Indigenous Americans never possibly having full agency in the commodification of their own culture. To conclude, the comparison of representation, agency, and authenticity in *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism reflect location bound divergences between North America and Europe in terms of Indigenous American popular culture tourism.

Reflection

The comparison between *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism has offered a transatlantic perspective of Indigenous American popular culture tourism. In the context of the contribution of Indigenous Americans to the Atlantic world, the Red Atlantic, this research has added the new dimension of tourism to this conversation. The Red Atlantic encompasses the

transportation, physical or intellectual, of Indigenous Americans around the Atlantic (Weaver 24-30). Indigenous American popular culture tourism shows the presence of Indigenous Americans around the Atlantic; they are involved in the German *Winnetou* tourism industry across the Atlantic, as well as the *Twilight* tourism industry in North America itself. Making tourism part of the conversation surrounding the concept of the Red Atlantic, has once again shown the significance of Indigenous American presence and contribution to the societies that constitute the Atlantic world.

Suggestions for further research

Now that it has been shown that a comparison of *Winnetou* and *Twilight* tourism reflects location bound divergences between North America and Europe in terms of Indigenous American popular culture tourism, there are elements that could be researched more extensively in order to see if the results remain the same. To fit in the scope of this research, the tourist experiences in relation to authenticity discussed were quite limited. A possibly interesting approach would be to broaden this by either taking a bigger sample, or by conducting a form of data collection specifically for this research, like a survey for example.

The next suggestion for further research builds upon the role of the different cultural/social climates in Europe and North America. As mentioned above, tourism like *Winnetou*, where White people dress up as Indigenous people, would not generally be accepted in North America. An interesting approach to this aspect would be to investigate the role of social movements, like Indigenous Activist movements, in the debate about cultural appropriation and misrepresentation in order to see the role of these in the continental/national difference of the representation of Indigenous Americans in popular culture tourism.

The last suggestion is to conduct the model from this research in relation to other case studies. This does not necessarily have to be with the Red Atlantic and a comparison in mind, but rather to use the factors of representation, agency, and authenticity to assess Indigenous American popular culture tourism. The movie *Smoke Signals* from 1998 for example, was filmed on a reservation, which also attracts tourism. The three factors could be used to assess the Indigenous American tourism there. Moreover, staying within the scope of *Winnetou* tourism, the movies were filmed in Croatia, which is another element that could be researched that does have the comparative dimension between Europe and North America.

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