

The background of the cover is a photograph of a savanna landscape. In the foreground on the left, the back and neck of a giraffe are visible, showing its characteristic orange and brown spotted pattern. In the middle ground on the right, a kudu antelope stands facing left. The background features several acacia trees and a hazy horizon under a pale sky. Two small, semi-transparent orange circles are overlaid on the image, one near the top center and another slightly below and to the left of it.

CRITICAL
GREEN
ENGAGEMENTS

Jim Igoe

The Nature of Spectacle

On Images, Money, and Conserving Capitalism

THE NATURE OF SPECTACLE

CRITICAL GREEN ENGAGEMENTS

Investigating the Green Economy and Its Alternatives

*Jim Igoe, Molly Doane, Dan Brockington, Tracey Heatherington,
Bram Büscher, and Melissa Checker*

SERIES EDITORS

JIM IGOE

THE NATURE OF SPECTACLE

On Images, Money, and Conserving Capitalism



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*In memory of Jim Igoe, Annie Igoe,
Charles Comes Killing, Moringe Parkipuny, and
Edward Lengai.*

*Congratulations Edward Loure.
Sometimes it takes some time.*



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PREFACE

I HAVE BEEN WRITING THIS BOOK FOR SOME TIME NOW, and much has changed since I began. It strikes me as odd, therefore, but also appropriate, that many readers will begin with my last words on nature spectacle. One reason this has taken so long is that this is an ambitious book that seeks to make connections between diverse times and places. The penultimate version of this preface was an elaborate account of all the research, writing, thinking, and talking I have undertaken over the past twenty years to do with the human side of transnational nature conservation. In retrospect, however, I have concluded that such an exhaustive account would have been a distraction to most readers without adding a great deal of value to the discussions and analysis presented in the chapters that follow.

Let me therefore provide a more modest account of the background to this book. My first book, *Conservation and Globalization* (2004), describes my early research into conflicts between indigenous people and nature parks in Tanzania's world-famous northern tourist circuit. I followed up this original research, which I did in the mid-1990s, with another year of field research a decade later. It was during this second stint that I noticed the prominence of discourses about capitalism and markets in conservation interventions. These had previously emphasized community-based conservation (Igoe and Brockington 2007; Igoe and Croucher 2007). This began a further seven years of collaborative research, writing, and event organizing on conservation and capitalism (Igoe and

Sullivan 2008; Brockington and Duffy 2011) that has produced, among other things, the Critical Green Engagement Series (see Büscher, Dressler, and Fletcher 2014), of which the book you are reading is a part.

This book, as the title suggests, is about nature spectacle, which refers most basically to a kind of nature that is heavily mediated by mass-produced and -disseminated images. My focus on this kind of nature began shortly after returning to the United States following my second stint of field research. By early 2007, I had noticed the appearance of digital photographs and images on the Internet that depicted the very communities and landscapes in which I had recently conducted research. What struck me about these images was that they were true without being accurate. That is, the images faithfully portrayed actual animals, people, and places, all of which exist within the broader geographies that they claim to represent; however, they zoom in on selected fragments of space and time (i.e., very specific places and very specific events) and present them in ways that make them appear to correspond to much larger and encompassing territories. As I began to track these visual representations, I realized they were part of a wider profusion of similar visual representations produced by diverse entities from diverse times and places.

This realization prompted me to reexplore Guy Debord's (1995) book *Society of the Spectacle*. Debord was a French filmmaker and activist, and *Society of the Spectacle* is his treatise on moving-image culture and capitalist modernity. Debord wrote *Society of the Spectacle* in the months leading up to the Paris uprisings of 1968. Many of the book's theses were operationalized by activists seeking to undo ways consumer capitalism—and its attendant images—had estranged them from their everyday experiences. By the 1990s, *Society of the Spectacle* had become a cult classic, one of several written works that seemed to pervade the urban collectives and infoshops I frequented in the early 1990s. Twenty years later, it struck me that the book might have significant relevance to contemporary nature conservation, and I have found it to be most generative indeed.

My article, "Spectacle of Nature in the Global Economy of Appearances" (Igoe 2010), engages Debord's formulations of spectacle in relation to what Anna Tsing (2005) has called "spectacular accumulation." In short, this involves using images and performance to conjure desired future realities, giving them the appearance of having already been achieved. If successful, such strategies inspire investors and supporters to bring forth the funds by which the conjured realities are actually brought into existence. As I suggested in that article, and elaborate in this book, this kind of conjuring prefigures how nature conserva-

tion actually gets done. It generates images and discourses of a global green capitalist policy zeitgeist, green consumer appeals, and the widespread cultural experience of a world that seems animated through capitalist exchange value: exchangeable things, experiences, and nature in general.

While writing this book, I have continued engaging synergies between the ideas of Guy Debord and those of Anna Tsing. The two have written about spectacle in different times, places, and situations, but in ways that are immensely generative for understandings of commodifying nature. To generalize, it would be fair to say that Debord tended to emphasize alienating effects while Tsing has tended to emphasize emergent possibilities. However, this distinction does not always apply. Tsing (2015: 263) describes the alienating potential of images in relation to the figure of the Japanese *hikikomori*, young (usually male) people who refuse to leave their room and who retreat into “a world of images that leaves them free of embodied sociality.” “There is a little bit of *hikikomori* in all of us,” she admits. And Debord (1955: 1), from his point of view, proclaims, “Of all the affairs we participate in, with or without interest, the groping search for a new way of life is the only aspect still impassioning.” For me, however, the most productive complementarity is between Tsing’s emphasis on emergent encounters and the necessary diversity that they make and what Debord can help us understand about arrangements that tend to thwart such encounters, but more importantly the potential for vibrant alternative relationships and realities amid of what Tsing (2015) calls “capitalist ruins.”

Debord was one of the leading lights of the Situationists, an international movement concerned with how social alienation (the estrangement of people from directly lived realities) and commodity fetishism (the appearance of money’s exchange value as a force of nature) had become part of everyday life and culture. While they paid tremendous attention to capitalism as a cultural form, their aim was always to discover how it could be undone, so that it could be redone in other ways. They wanted to reawaken what they saw as authentic desires and relationships.

Early Situationists, in the 1950s and prior to explosions of spectacle, were especially interested in the influences of space on people’s emotions and behavior, a field of enquiry known as psychogeography (Debord 1955). Situationist methods for psychogeography involve carefully noticing the ways environments are designed to control human movements and limit human perceptions while also noticing the abundant possibilities they present for experiencing and making alternative situations, and by extension, alternative worlds. In my work

on conservation, and in life in general, I often deploy variations on a technique described by Debord (1956) of noticing arrangements (particularly subtle ones) that determine “entry into or exit from certain zones.” How do we feel, and what seems to happen, when we move through and across zones in ways they were not designed to be moved through or across? This approach informs much of my insights into the circuits of space and their relationships to nature, images, and money, which I describe and analyze in this book.

This book is connected to so many people, memories, and collaborations that it is hard to know where to begin. Indeed, I have written many stories for this book, only to take them out later because they wound up wandering too far from the central arguments and themes. One in particular that I would like to revive in this preface has to do with my childhood in St. Louis, Missouri. I spent much of my childhood in front of the television and at the neighborhood movie theater, which screened (among other things) reruns of Disney nature films from the 1950s (it was the 1970s by then). But I also spent a lot of time outdoors. St. Louis is a city that was built up by industrial capital in the late nineteenth century. It is full of parks, gardens, gazebos, mazes, and tunnels, all of which were wonderful for children to explore. Forest Park and the St. Louis Zoo were built for the 1904 World’s Fair and are an example of the influential modernist commodity exhibits that will come into play in later chapters of this book.

While I am critical of these spaces, I also have a great deal of nostalgia for them, since they shaped my understandings of nature and general orientations to space, and also of psychogeography. I learned techniques of relating to space from my Uncle Jim, a beatnik Buddhist explorer, who spent most of his adult life hitchhiking back and forth between St. Louis and San Francisco. Jim took me to the zoo, gardens, and amusement parks, and the observation platform at Lambert Field to watch planes taking off and landing. He also took me exploring on railroad tracks, abandoned warehouses, tunnels, and derelict barges. Sometimes we explored these different kinds of spaces in a random sequence. Jim always encouraged me to pay attention to what was going on around me, how different spaces felt and looked, when persimmons were getting ripe, and why pigeons flocked to some abandoned spaces and not others. He taught me to notice unintended connections and flow within and between different spaces. He also nurtured my love of reading and for scholarly pursuits in general. I have been similarly influenced by my mother, Carol Igoe, who encouraged me to read eclectically and also taught me that intellectual pursuits should be valued according to whether or not they are interesting.

No doubt this kind of learning underpins my unorthodox approach to research and writing, and I am grateful to my numerous collaborators for their patience in this particular area. As mentioned above, this book is a product of several overlapping collaborations. The first was a workshop sponsored by Wenner-Gren called “Problematising Neoliberal Conservation: Displaced and Disobedient Knowledge,” which I co-organized with Sian Sullivan back in 2008. Dan Brockington and Rosaleen Duffy organized a conference the same year called “Conservation and Capitalism,” which resulted in a special issue of *Antipode* (Brockington and Duffy 2010) by the same title. Katja Neves and I organized a lively triple panel at the 2009 meetings of the American Anthropological Association called Neoliberal Conservation and the End of Neoliberalism. Rob Fletcher and I organized a similarly lively double panel on conservation finance at the 2010 meetings of the Society for Conservation Biology. The same year I was part of a collaborative event on ethnography on the Wildscreen International Film Festival, in Bristol, United Kingdom, organized by Dan Brockington and Mike Goodman in relation to the Spectacular Environmentalisms Project. In 2011, Bram Büscher spearheaded the Nature Inc. Conference, which incubated the first book in this series, the edited collection *Nature Inc.: Environmental Conservation in a Neoliberal Age*. In 2012–13, I was part of the Manchester Centre for the Study of Value, organized by Sarah Bracking. In addition to those already mentioned above, I have had the good fortune of working with and learning from an extraordinary group of scholars during these overlapping collaborations, including Scott Prudham, Ken MacDonald, Catherine Corson, Paige West, James Carrier, Melissa Checker, Mac Chapin, Crystal Fortwangler, Rosaleen Duffy, James Fairhead, Boone Shear, and Brian Burke.

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THE NATURE OF SPECTACLE

INTRODUCTION

The Spectacle of Nature and Circuits of Capitalism

NATURE, MONEY, AND IMAGES

NATURE IS A REMARKABLE THING. It does not exactly exist, yet it is all around us, shaping our realities and giving meaning to our lives. Raymond Williams (1976: 219) found that one of the most common senses in which the word “nature” is used in English is in reference to “the material world itself, taken as including or not including human beings.” For human beings, however, there is no material world that precedes meaning-making. “If we can talk about nature,” writes Eduardo Kohn (2015: 315), “it is only as culture.” Perceptions that material realities constitute a gigantic object called nature are not universal but are common in capitalist modernity (Smith 1984; Harvey 1996; Latour 2004; Moore 2015). In situations of capitalist modernity, nature is “brought into being through processes of abstraction—ways of cognitively imagining one’s surroundings as existing in particular ways, for particular reasons, so that they can be acted upon towards particular ends” (MacDonald and Corson 2012: 160; see also Smith 1984; Harvey 1996).

Money, like nature, is also an abstraction derived from material realities and relationships. Indeed, it is an abstraction that directs material realities and relationships, a seemingly universal means by which our surroundings can be acted upon towards particular ends. In this, money resembles a second common meaning of nature documented by Williams (1976: 219): “the inherent force that directs

either the world, human beings, or both.” And this is only part of the story. Money, as Karl Marx ([1867] 1978: 105) would have it, is “the external common faculty for *turning an image into reality and reality into mere image*” (emphasis in the original).

In that passage, Marx seems to be referring mostly to cognitive imaginings, a picture in someone’s head of something they would like to have or do, which money will make happen. With the advent of photography, television, and handheld media devices, however, it no longer makes much sense to speak of *mere* images as though images are somehow less real than actually lived realities. Mass-produced and -disseminated images seem to be everywhere now, circulating through the material warp and woof of our most quotidian experiences. Not only are spectacular images an abstract medium by which cognitive imaginings seem to become external reality, they take the form of pervasive spectacle that often seems like a reality unto itself.

In his treatise on moving image culture, *The Society of the Spectacle*, Debord (1995: th. 4) defined spectacle as the mediation of relationships by images.¹ Debord’s formulations of spectacle in these terms are derived in large part from Marx’s ([1867] 1976) discussion of nature and money in *Capital Volume One*. At the outset of this discussion Marx (176) notes that nature is consistently mistaken as an objective source of capitalist exchange value. Money, by this way of thinking, apparently comes from nature. At the same time, money itself seems like a kind of nature in the third common meaning identified by Williams (1976: 219): “the essential quality or character of something.” Exchange value (i.e., price) appears as an inherent quality of things (i.e., commodities) and takes its most natural form in the commodity called money. “What appears to happen,” Marx ([1867] 1976: 187) elaborated, “is not that a particular commodity becomes money because all other commodities express their value in it, but, on the contrary, that all other commodities universally express their values in a particular commodity because it is money.” At the risk of putting too fine a point on it, this is the nature of money.

For Marx, the apparent power of money to render all things exchangeable is a stunning mystification that depends on erasing the conditions and relationships by which things are produced and circulated. Money is thereby experienced as an invisible force that organizes people’s activities and relationships, a force that expresses itself in the apparent self-movement of commodities. Appearing without reference to the relationships and conditions that produced them and caused them to circulate, commodities seem animated by an exchange

value that is their inherent quality. “The riddle of the money fetish,” Marx writes, “is therefore the riddle of the commodity fetish, now become visible and dazzling to our eyes.”

Marx’s poetic statement is a crucial inspiration for Debord’s formulations of spectacle. Spectacle, as conceptualized by Debord (1995: th. 2), corresponds to accumulations of images that seemingly represent any imaginable activity, relationship, or thing. Much more visibly than money, spectacular images seem to possess powers of self-movement, so much so that they can simulate the relationships and realities they portray. They move, “visible and dazzling to our eyes,” through a multitude of digital interfaces that seem to confront us everywhere we look. And in their highly visible movements, spectacular images are readily and continuously substituted for each other. This combination of apparent autonomy and visual exchangeability makes accumulated spectacular images a compelling visual complement of exchange value logic (Debord 1995: th. 49). They appear repeatedly in our lives, relentlessly directing our attention and desires to a virtual cornucopia of things that we might have or do.

In such spectacular movements, moreover, the abstractions (the images) by which we imagine our surroundings are materially confounded with those surroundings through whatever material medium they are projected. So, while material surroundings almost certainly are always acting on the human beings who are acting on them, surroundings inundated with spectacle do so in particular ways. In spectacular situations, human imagination appears as some autonomously existing force rather than as something that we are, actively and creatively, doing and producing. Our cognitive imaginings are continuously intervened on by moving images that do not seem to have been made by us or by anyone else for that matter.

This book is concerned with how these qualities of nature, money, and image affect popular portrayals and perceptions of nature, and vice versa. If we accept that nature is produced and reproduced through ongoing processes of abstraction and action, then it matters a great deal that nature is pervasively represented in the form of dramatic panoramas. Nature as panorama is familiar to anyone who has ever looked out from a scenic overview. It is, moreover, readily abstracted into spectacular images and simulated in a profusion of themed environments. Panoramic views are also iconic of nature as a priceless and pristine realm, unsullied by human activities in general and capitalist value-making in particular. In colloquial terms, these familiar phenomena are popularly short-handed as the spectacle of nature.

Popular associations of nature and spectacle relate to a genealogy of techniques, imaginaries, and narratives that largely have been coproduced along with modern nature conservation. Their origins and operations can thus be seen in the well-known and interconnected conservation spaces that we will explore in this book. Their productions happen in specific places and through specific events. But they also circulate widely, mediating imaginaries of the environment, environmental problems, and potential solutions to problems. These circulating forms illuminate a common ground of spectacle and nature in which it seems possible to reach out to nature without ever touching and spoiling it. Pristine nature can be made to seem priceless and exchangeable, and money is cast as the medium of our planetary salvation.

A COMMON GROUND OF SEPARATION

Via the power of spectacular images, we can see realities that we could never perceive through embodied experience unaided by visual technology (Debord 1995: th. 17). The mediation of realities by images, moreover, fosters holistic perceptions of the world. We can contemplate an image of the Earth from space and imagine that it encompasses our lived realities and is in unity with all the other lived realities that we can practically imagine. We can contemplate animated images of carbon molecules and believe that they exist, even though we cannot see them directly. We can also imagine that these unseen molecules are circulating in our planetary atmosphere. Finally, we can contemplate images of polar bears endangered by the melting of distant arctic ice flows, and we can imagine that these polar bears are connected to our everyday lives. Each time we drive or switch on a light, we contribute a little to the peril of those distant bears. By the same logic of visualization, technically enhanced modes of buying and giving appear as a way we can reach out to those bears as benevolent benefactors of their arctic habitat.

Paradoxically, however, all this visual connection depends on continuous separation. Our vision of connection is made possible by images, which are separated from the realities they portray and which are customarily contemplated at an appropriate distance. Separation, to paraphrase Debord (1995), becomes the means of unification. Remarkably similar dynamics figure in popular perceptions of nature. Ideas and images of separate nature have been crucial to environmental thought and action, as they have been with entertainment and consumerism,

throughout the twentieth century. They continue to figure in a host of postmillennium consumer appeals, as illustrated in the polar bear story above, and to proliferating environmental initiatives.

Many of these initiatives are part of an intensifying green capitalist policy zeitgeist, which apparently inverts celebrated paradigms of priceless, pristine nature. In the animating vision of this spirit, nature is portrayed as full of hidden, or at least unappreciated, economic values that should ideally be made visible as expeditiously as possible (Sullivan 2009, 2013a; MacDonald and Corson 2012; Büscher 2014; Büscher, Dressler, and Fletcher 2014; Dempsey 2016). Green capitalism also turns on a strengthening agreement that we have reached “the end of nature” (McKibben 2006) as an autonomous realm unto itself. Indeed, the term *Anthropocene* may well prove to be a keyword for our time as a proposed name of an epoch in which humanity, it seems, defines our planetary ecology.² Paul Crutzen, who coined the term, summarizes its implications: “It is no longer us against nature. It is we who decide what nature is and what it shall be” (Schwägerl 2011).³

What is immediately striking about this green capitalism is that, despite proclamations that “nature is over,”⁴ nature continues being produced. Processes of abstraction are explicitly deployed—nature has values that will be made visible—and they are designed to inform people how they should imagine and act on their surroundings (see MacDonald and Corson 2012). A separate object called nature continues to be invoked, but such separation no longer implies actual independence from humans. These transmutations have been the subject of significant celebration and critique, and both responses have a great deal to teach us about green capitalism. Understandings of this zeitgeist can be enhanced, moreover, by considering the wider cultural realities and longer historical genealogies that underpin and facilitate its productions. These are the subjects of the following chapters, all of which are oriented to nature conservation. As a long-standing and prominent area of environmental thought and practice dedicated to the protection of nature, conservation turns on identifiable techniques and technologies of separation through which any nature can be produced. As a preview to those presentations, I shall highlight three facets of separation at play throughout this book: dissociation, control, and commodification.

In “The Trouble with Wilderness,” William Cronon (1996) notes that experiences of nature as wilderness turn on the separation of visual distancing (see Hughes 2010). For Cronon (1996: 81), this amounts to “giving ourselves permission to evade responsibility for the lives we actually lead.” Doing this

involves dissociation: we divide ourselves, holding one part aloof (the true self that belongs in pristine nature) from the (inauthentic) part that inhabits the messy realities of modernity. In *Whiteness in Zimbabwe*, David Hughes (2010) describes how these dissociative experiences of nature have been essential to white belonging in Africa, Oceania, and North America. As Europeans settled in these parts of the world, Hughes explains, they made nature function as a protective medium between themselves and the people they encountered. They learned to belong by relating to landscapes, and this often began with forced removals of local people (see Cronon 1996; Neumann 1998; Spence 1999; Igoe 2004; Dowie 2009).

Nature thus presents a refuge from legacies of violent encounter where privileged subjects may withdraw to refresh and redeem themselves. But elements of these legacies are also selectively presented. Many parks are celebrated as realms of recovery for decimated wildlife herds (e.g., bison and elephants). Parks are also often spaces of encounter between tourists and the descendants of colonized peoples (Spence 1999; Igoe 2004; West and Carrier 2004; Brockington, Duffy, and Igoe 2009; Dowie 2009). Such arrangements do admit historical atrocities and environmental harm. For the most part, however, visitors encounter these from a seemingly innocent “position of relative safety” (Outka 2008: 23).⁵ They are thus able to contemplate the enormity of these problems without feeling directly implicated or threatened.

We will explore how versions of this position have been produced in nature parks and related touristic spaces and elaborated and intensified through spectacular images. The polar bear example, for instance, turns on this position. Through specialized mediations, which we will encounter in chapter 5, consumers see images of themselves moving among the imperiled bears from the safety of a museum exhibit. This visually mediated experience shares key things in common with a host of similar ones. First, it cuts through the bewildering contradictions of exploitative systems that simultaneously benefit and worry consumers. Second, it seems to extend each consumer’s own capacity to repair a damaged world without compromising their “position of relative safety,” which would require them to grapple with their own entanglements in continuing histories and relationships of exploitation and harm.

The perception that consumers might reach out and change the world is in turn related to control as a facet of separation. Detached contemplation is best achieved from a position that is not only safe, but commanding, like a scenic

overview at Grand Canyon National Park. Perspectives of these positions are enhanced and mobilized through spectacular productions of many varieties. The epic film *Out of Africa*, for instance, features panoramic sequences of African nature shot from the commanding position of a low-flying aircraft. These sequences romantically depict ways white settlers in Africa used small aircraft to become familiar with landscapes that they imagined they controlled (Hughes 2010: 2–3, 83–86). As we shall see in chapter 1, aerial wildlife surveys in post-WWII Africa became essential instruments for the management of people and wildlife, as well as the stuff of spectacular entertainment.

The middle chapters of this book are concerned with an increasingly elaborate nexus of conservation and tourism, which produces nature for contemplation and control. Views and encounters within actual spaces of this nexus are elaborated and proliferated through spectacular images. As such, they can combine with other abstract modes of representation—such as maps, charts, diagrams, and calculative frameworks—to produce an idealized form of nature in which economy and ecology appear to harmonize. This eco-functional nature is still wondrous to behold, but it also appears amenable to technocratic interventions that will putatively optimize economic growth and ecosystem health (Igoe 2014; see also Luke 1999). Experts and technology, appearing as explicit mediators of nature since the mid-twentieth century, have taken on more complex, diverse, and prominent roles in the visual frameworks of eco-functional nature.

Visual productions of nature that appear increasingly eco-functional bring us to commodification as our final aspect of separation. The most succinct explanation with which I am familiar comes from Tsing (2015: 5), who describes alienation as the result of techniques by which “people and things become mobile assets . . . removed from their lifeworlds in distance defying transport to be exchanged with other assets, from other lifeworlds, elsewhere.” The modes of nature conservation addressed in this book involve alienation, but they are more abstractly complex. They entail something like still alienation (more on which in the following section): separating nature from its own lifeworlds by fixing it in space (Igoe 2014; Sullivan 2014). Exchangeability is generated by ostensibly not moving underlying natural assets (Büscher 2010, 2014). This involves transformations that affirm Marx’s ([1867] 1978: 105) formulation of money as the mediator of image and reality. In ways that we will explore at length, actual spaces of nature are transformed into images, which in turn are transformed into money, which can be used to fix and transform actual spaces of nature and

produce more images. As demand for these spaces and images grows over time, these looping transformations often intensify and perpetuate over time.

With these kinds of transformations in view, seemingly abrupt and recent imperatives to price priceless nature can be seen to have deeper roots. Chapter 1 presents the story of how imagined nonuse of pristine nature in the Serengeti was configured as the key to Tanzania's economic growth at the turn of the 1960s. Then as now, accompanying conflicts and contradictions have been managed and represented through separation and abstraction. As contradictions and conflicts have intensified and become more visible over time, techniques for their management and representation have been refined accordingly. For example, recent research collaborations on green capitalist expansion points to an emerging global "economy of repair" in which "the repair of damaged nature and efforts to price the downside of growth" are opening new realms for profitable investment. While rarely rendered so explicitly in official representations, imaginaries of this economy turn on a vision in which profits generated by unsustainable uses of nature in some contexts are invested in new ventures to make nature healthy in others (Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones 2012: 242; see also Dempsey 2016: 58).⁶

The many contradictions of this logic will be engaged through the case studies that follow. Suffice it to say for now that they are most readily elided in elaborate abstractions, such as policy frameworks for accounting balances of harm and health (Sullivan 2013b: 82–83) and green marketing appeals (Igoe 2013). These operate primarily in contexts that seem removed from spaces that would be popularly recognized as nature: high-profile policy arenas and consumer spaces. But they also shape and are shaped by people's encounters with actual spaces, which we will explore in chapter 3. Broadly speaking, this is similar to most human interactions with nature: abstractions inform how people imagine and act on their surroundings. What sets these transformations apart, however, is that they are pervaded by the kinds of techniques outlined in this section: specialized mediations that produce the appearance and experiences of holistic unity, which repress associated contradictions and are popularly associated with spaces of spectacular nature.

SPACE, SPECTACLE, AND SPECTACULARIZATION

Spectacle and space entail each other. There can be no spectacle without space, and space is imagined by means of spectacle. Before the advent of mass-produced

images, in fact, mediations of human perceptions by images were achieved almost exclusively in arrangements of actual space. Indeed, Henri Lefebvre (1991) identifies spectacularization, à la Debord, as a process essential to the production of space. What happens through spectacularization, Lefebvre (286) explains, is that “a part of the object and what it offers comes to be taken for the whole.” This is complemented by Slater’s (2002: 220) formulation of gigantification as a process of exaggeration “whereby a selected fragment comes not just to represent, but to erase the larger whole to which it belongs.” Or to borrow a metaphor from Paige West (2006: 27), space is produced “through a process that is like a balloon being blown up.”

In her ethnography, *Conservation is Our Government Now*, West (2006) engages Lefebvre’s (1991) *The Production of Space*, to read New Guinea’s Crater Mountain Wildlife Management Area as a space that has been produced through encounters between Western conservationists (and formerly colonial officials) and Gimi people. Her analysis elaborates and qualifies Lefebvre’s (26) insight that space, once produced, “becomes a means of control, and hence domination, of power, and yet it escapes, in part, from those who would make use of it.” Productions of Crater Mountain, West demonstrates, are derived not only from official representations (e.g., maps and discourse), but also from the imaginaries and actions of Gimi people, who have long inhabited and shaped the officially conserved landscape.

My own field experiences in Tanzania also focused on encounters between Western conservationists and indigenous communities living around (and some formerly in) Tanzania’s Tarangire National Park. During my dissertation fieldwork in the mid-1990s, encounters between conservationists and Maasai communities, to the east of the park, were especially contentious, inflected by past experiences of several similar and related encounters. As described in detail in chapter 2, Maasai elders read conservationists’ official representations of space as portending new incursions into Maasai territory and as historically constituted, in part by colonial state-making projects (Hodgson 2001). When I returned to the field a decade later, conservationists were busily working to establish a community-based wildlife management area on the western side of the park (Igoe and Croucher 2007). These and related efforts were depicted in online photographs and videos, which subsequently diversified and proliferated.

My early attempts to understand these images, and their (dis)connections to the field encounters I had participated in, led me to a reexploration of *Society of the Spectacle*. What struck me about those images is that they were clearly

meant to mediate relationships, but not primarily those between conservationists and Maasai. Rather, conservationists and Maasai were depicted in public visual representations circulating via the Internet. During this time, moreover, there was a general proliferation of similar visual representations on the Internet, depicting nature conservation at diverse and far-flung locales. Although these appeared to be completely uncoordinated, they turned on remarkably similar kinds of images and narratives. I speculated that these similarities were related to value-making in what Tsing (2005) has called “a global economy of appearances,” particularly as an element of nongovernmental organization (NGO) fundraising and green consumer appeals, but also in relation to widening perceptions that unabated economic growth is profoundly implicated in present and future environmental catastrophe (Igoe 2010).

What has struck me about these arrangements is the extent to which control of specialized spaces is used to not only exclude people, but also to elide conflict and eschew competing imaginaries. The spaces are also often designed to facilitate orchestrated encounters that frequently take the form of commodified touristic experiences (West and Carrier 2004; West, Igoe, and Brockington 2006). Consumerism and tourism, as we shall see, are not only complexly intertwined with novel varieties of conservation spaces, but also connected to the elaborate transnational venues of conservation policy-making. Touristic spaces, almost by definition, are spaces that are produced to be read, which for Lefebvre (1991: 143) meant they are the “most tricked up imaginable” because “the graphic impression of readability is a sort of *trompe l’oeil* concealing strategic intentions and actions.”

Touristic spaces and their readability are often produced through still alienation, as briefly described in the previous section. Rather than objects being taken out of their lifeworlds, select elements of spaces are materially and visually separated from their lifeworlds to produce exchangeable values. In touristic spaces this often takes the form of “intrinsic narratives of place,” in which select elements of space are accentuated and exaggerated—perhaps even gigantified—to “make the message clear and unambiguous” and “imprinted in the consciousness of visitors” (Bryman 2004: 46; see also Norton 1996). More elaborately, these kinds of techniques figure in what Tsing (2005: 75) calls “spectacular accumulation,” in which imagined possibilities are conjured, motivating an audience of potential supporters to make those possibilities real. In touristic spaces, moreover, supporters themselves may become participants in conjuring the visions they support.

The project of bringing forth the Serengeti as a globally recognized space of timeless African nature (Adams and McShane 1992: xii; Neumann 1995 and 1998: ch. 4) turned on exaggerated representations of selected elements, particularly the now-iconic wildebeest migrations (Lekan 2011), and systematic exclusions of others (Bonner 1994; Shetler 2007). As these representations were achieved through productions of spectacular images, they circulated in more “globally ramifying” forms (Garland 2008: 62) and were taken up in an extraordinary diversity of value-making projects. For instance, to distinguish Tanzania as a world-class tourist destination among many competing options, the Tanzania Tourist Board has branded the country as “The Land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar, and the Serengeti.”⁷ Representational elements of the Serengeti and Kilimanjaro are moreover incorporated into spectacles and themed spaces in a wide variety of improbable contexts. In Disney’s Animal Kingdom theme park, for instance, they are inscribed onto the now-drained wetlands of central Florida (Bryman 2004: 42).⁸

Disney theme parks, and the techniques of their production, will be engaged at some length in later chapters. Here I merely wish to outline what they suggest about complementarities between Lefebvre’s (1991) formulations of “representational space” and Augé’s (2009) formulations of “non-places.” Lefebvre (1991: 39) describes representational space as “space that is directly lived through associated images and symbols. . . . It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects . . . [and thus] tends toward more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.”⁹ By direct contrast, Augé (2009) characterizes non-places as spaces that people do not inhabit, but simply move through. “If place is relational and historical,” he argues, “then a space that cannot be defined as relational or historical . . . is a non-place” (63). Non-place is alienated space in the terms outlined above; that is, space that has been separated from its associated lifeworlds.

Of course, efforts to banish evidence of history and social relationships from selected spaces are ever incomplete and open to contestation. However, the more meticulously environments can be controlled, the more elaborately such effects can be achieved. Disney techniques begin with evacuating places of their ecological, historical, and social relationships. They also overlay these spaces with decontextualized themes, fastidiously coherent imaginaries, and narratives—e.g., Frontierland (a sanitized past), Tomorrowland (a sanitized future), and Fantasyland (a timeless escape from the present). These are explicitly presented as spaces that people do not inhabit, but simply move through. The

themes, and their related consumptive experiences, are achieved through pathways designed to orchestrate the movement of visitors and all their encounters. These are intertwined with labyrinths of underground tunnels for the systematic concealment of people, objects, and relationships, all of which are essential to making themes but inconsistent with their representations (Wilson 1992; Bryman 2004).

Nature parks and tourist safaris are important precursors to Disney techniques (Bryman 2004: 46–47), along with many related representational arrangements that we will explore. I am particularly interested in spaces of circulation and consumption that Augé (2009: 64) calls “empirical non-places” and which he describes as including transport infrastructure, means of transport (i.e., cabins of planes, trains, and automobiles), hotels, parks, shopping centers, entertainment complexes, and “networks that mobilize extraterrestrial space for the purposes of communication.” Disney theme parks creatively transform these kinds of spaces to produce exciting consumptive experiences and to represent the world in very particular ways. By extension, these far-reaching circuits of space are amenable to similar—though rarely such thoroughly controlled—techniques for representing reality in and through space.

Tanzania’s tourist economy, for instance, relies on enclaves of controlled space interconnected by circuits of what Augé would call empirical non-place. The circuits incorporate key elements of what Lefebvre calls representational spaces. Tourist enclaves, especially, use physical space to produce highly specific representations of culture, nature, and history (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994; Igoe 2004; Carrier and Macleod 2005; Salazar 2012; Gardner 2016). However, they are rarely spaces that people inhabit. Rather, their representational order is commonly experienced through controlled motion in safari vehicles. They cater to consumptive tourist desires, but have also become increasingly significant to the management of people, wildlife, and related modes of development. Moreover, they circulate further, informing our current green capitalist policy zeitgeist and green consumer appeals.

These circulations are effected through abstraction into money, images, and related forms of representations of space (particularly expert modes of representation like maps, charts, diagrams, accounting matrixes, etc.). But they also operate through, and are co-constituted by, circuits of space that connect through disconnection—stretching over, under, and around undesirable spaces and relationships to draw connections between selections of desirable destinations. These circuits mimic and facilitate movement of capital, which James Ferguson

(2006: 38) points out “does not cover the globe, but . . . connects discrete points on it.”¹⁰ Notably, such movement is also often amenable to spectacularization and gigantification. Select elements are exaggerated in ways that elide and represent the larger realities from which they were selected. In following and facilitating seemingly autonomous movements of capital, in other words, such circuits provide grounds for corresponding spectacles of nature, and of course many other spectacles besides. This book traces, sketches, and analyzes some of these circuits and their spectacles.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS AND THEIR ARGUMENTS

Much of the analysis presented in this book is derived from my experiences and research in and around Tanzania’s northern safari circuit. Indeed, the circuitry metaphor with which I ended the previous section is inspired by the country’s tourist circuits, through which the vast and varied territory of Tanzania is represented as a selection of doable destinations. The northern circuit is a circuit in all the following meanings. It is an established route that starts and finishes at the same place. It is also an established itinerary of events and venues (like a theater circuit), followed via a closed path (like an electrical circuit). More specifically, it consists of specialized enclaves (i.e., parks, cultural villages, and luxury camps) circuited together by infrastructure and technology, captured in spectacular images, and frequently gigantified.

Tanzania’s northern circuit is a poignant example of how material nature is rendered both experientially and monetarily exchangeable. Though it almost goes without saying, the entire arrangement depends on foreign tourists spending money for embodied experiences of an imagined African nature that they have previously only encountered as images. As they travel the circuit, tourists must choose how they will allocate their monetary resources between the encounters and experiences on offer. Should they visit both Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks, with their abundant elephant populations, or should they only visit one so that they can press on quickly to see rhinos in the Ngorongoro Crater? Should they go off the beaten path to visit Lake Natron and climb an active volcano that Maasai people call Oldoinyo Lengai (The Mountain of God)? Can they afford to stay at the Manyara Conservancy to enjoy an experience forbidden in the national parks: viewing wildlife from horseback?

Of all the experiences on offer in the northern circuit, however, the Serengeti is the most likely to stand out on almost any visitor's bucket list. In addition to the renderings of the Serengeti already described above, the Serengeti wildebeest migrations have been featured by the BBC on *Nature's Great Events* (2009).¹¹ They also figure in the dramatic IMAX film, *Africa: The Serengeti* (1994). This film is narrated by James Earl Jones, who is also the voice of Mustafa, the father of Simba, in Disney's *The Lion King* (1994). This animated epic opens with a visual mash-up of Victoria Falls, Mt. Kilimanjaro, and the Serengeti. It took "Hakuna Matata," the slogan of East African tourism, and made it a worldwide household phenomenon.

Chapter 1 focuses on the Serengeti as a key representational space of the aforementioned arrangements and representations, and of course many other similar ones. In the years following WWII, an Austrian conservationist named Bernhard Grzimek travelled with his son Michael to the Serengeti plains, where they undertook an aerial survey of the wildebeest migrations. The pair documented their work in a film called *Serengeti Shall Not Die!*, an international blockbuster that won the Academy Award for best documentary in 1959. In the 1960s, Grzimek used his wildly popular television show, *A Place for Wild Animals*, to undertake what historian Thomas Lekan (2011: 224) has called "the greatest bluff in German media history." Grzimek encouraged his millions of viewers to purchase inexpensive package safaris to experience directly the wondrous nature they saw on his program. The only catch was that the safaris did not exist. However, Grzimek wagered that tour companies would create them in response to the resulting outpouring of demand, and he was correct. At the same time, he and others were lobbying leaders of newly independent East African countries to retain colonial parks, since nature tourism would be a crucial driver of economic development. Today, tourism is one of Tanzania's biggest foreign-revenue earners, generating a billion dollars annually.

Not only have colonial parks been maintained, but new ones continue to be created along with a growing number of private reserves. Money is used to transform more landscapes so they conform to the aesthetics of spectacular images, which in turn provide the material ground to produce more spectacular images. More tourists come and spend more money, driving the transformation of more landscapes, and so on. Much of northern Tanzania has been spatially reordered around productions of exchangeable nature, and the country has now created a southern circuit to keep up with the demand and presumably to generate more.

Not surprisingly, such transformations have generated significant conflicts and contradictions, which are addressed in chapter 2, but these have been greatly mitigated by controlled circuits of space and sophisticated mobile media technology. Images of selected spaces celebrate state- and NGO-sponsored conservation efforts while also inspiring investors, philanthropists, celebrities, student volunteers—and of course regular tourists—to participate in the protection and reproduction of African nature. In the process, these actors participate in the production of remarkably detailed visual stories about economic growth, prosperous communities, and happy wildlife. Significantly, these stories are derived from established modes of tourist encounters and experiences. However, they are used to make explicit claims about win-win synergies between capitalism and conservation (see Igoe and Brockington 2007), highlighting the potential of nature to generate money and money to make nature healthy. The details of these dynamics are the central concern of chapter 3.

Moving beyond the confines of northern Tanzania, chapter 4 explores transformations in conservation and development related to the green capitalist policy zeitgeist. This chapter explores how old-fashioned images of priceless nature are incorporated into elaborate mechanisms for pricing nature. It also engages with the intricate arrangements of image and space in global policy forums and how these support a dominant vision of nature as capital. Chapter 5 turns to ways spectacular images mediate people's experiences of green consumerism. Through spectacle, it has become possible to imagine that using a particular credit card or buying a particular kind of chocolate can help protect elephants in northern Tanzania. In fact, elaborate assemblages of technology, images, and money appear to magically enhance the power of individual consumers. These days the push of a virtual button appears to initiate a chain of events that ends with the safety of baby polar bears in the Arctic or a jaguar in the tropics (Igoe 2013). People engaged in this online activity are "prosuming"—simultaneously producing and consuming—a spectacular nature that appears savable precisely because it is exchangeable (for details, see Büscher and Igoe 2013).

This book's conclusion relates these circuits and their abstractions to what critical Marxist scholars describe as the unevenness of globalizing capitalist development (Smith 1984; Harvey 2006) and what Tsing (2015: 5) describes as its patchiness. As capitalism suppresses its own contradictions by attenuating them in space (Lefebvre 1973: 21) while leaving behind a hodgepodge of ruins in its wake (Tsing 2015: 6), the circuits we will explore in this book are essential to understanding these processes and how they might be otherwise. In addition to

facilitating connections and maintaining separations, they are a crucial medium through which powerful stories and visions are produced in continuous movements. They must thus also hold significant potential for imagining and actualizing diverse futures. Such potential is the final consideration of this book. Let's begin by considering some stories from the Serengeti plains.

1

MAKING, MANAGING, AND MARKETING EAST AFRICAN NATURE

INTRODUCTION: THE LAND OF KILIMANJARO, ZANZIBAR, AND SERENGETI

IN SEPTEMBER 2007, Tanzanian President Jakaya Kikwete attended a gala reception at the palatial Tavern on the Green in New York City's Central Park. The gala launched a new slogan for the East African nation—"The Land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar, and the Serengeti"—supported by a television ad campaign targeting upper-middle-class and wealthy Americans. Just over a year later I was interviewed by filmmakers producing a documentary on conservation conflict in Tanzania. The resulting film, *A Place Without People*, includes footage of Kikwete speaking at a similar gala event in Tanzania. "As you know," says the president, "tourism, which is very much buttressed by wildlife conservation, is now the number one foreign exchange earner for the country. So you can see how important is the work we are trying to do today."¹

Contrasting *A Place Without People* and "The Land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar, and the Serengeti" is instructive. The film opens with an American television commercial from the early 1960s, a lion's roar, followed by rapid drumming and crescendoing violins. A commanding male voice narrates in the cultivated, urgent style of a movie newsreel:

Book your air passage to East Africa! Three thousand dollars and you'll hear the sounds of native drums! See their exciting exotic dances! Three thousand dollars to hunt the wild beasts of the Dark Continent! Safari! In Africa!

The 2012 television commercial, by stark contrast, is positively serene. Its music is ethereal, with the sound of waves, lightly trilling flutes, flowing synthesizers, and muted kettledrums. It feels much more like the “circle of life” at the beginning of *The Lion King*. A mellow, sonorous female voice intones in rich East African English,

It's not important how you came to be here. I want to know what feats you have conquered, and if you can feel small without feeling insignificant. It's not important how old you are. I want to know if you can look into the eyes of a soul so different from your own and still feel a connection. I want to know if you can sit silently and let nature take its course. I want to know if you can find peace in the rich earth and the turquoise blue sea. And at the end of your stay, I want to know if you leave here a bit more complete than when you came. Tanzania: The Land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar, and the Serengeti.²

It is, of course, easy enough to see the differences in these presentations. One promises the high action of shooting a hippo, the other promises the relaxation of drinking tea while hippos float calmly nearby. More fundamentally, however, both celebrate conquest and exotic encounters with an exotic “other.” Each in its own way also celebrates the commanding power of exchange value. As this chapter will show, the earlier rough-and-tumble presentations of Euro-American encounters with wild Africa paved the way for the more refined and serene presentations that brand Tanzania as “The Land of Zanzibar, Kilimanjaro, and the Serengeti.”

These transformations were achieved through interconnected processes of making, managing, and marketing nature. All these processes have been deeply informed by Euro-American imaginaries of nature, which were influenced by English country estates, American national parks, landscape painting, picture postcards, and later, nature films and theme parks (Adams and McShane 1992; Neumann 1998; Igoe 2004; Hughes 2010). The first step usually involved taming people and places in accordance with these imaginaries, though usually also in the interest of some sort of profitable extraction. In many Eastern and Southern African contexts, nature served as a buffer between European settlers and

local people. Indeed, settlers gained a sense of belonging in Africa by relating to landscapes rather than people (Hughes 2010).

Relative to nature parks, pacification involved removing and controlling local people to make nature safe for tourists to visit (Spence 1999). In *A Place Without People*, a Maasai elder describes how British administrators burned their homes in the Serengeti to turn it into “a farm of the Queen, the woman who was the leader of the British.” The elder’s choice of the word “farm” is revealing, as it describes a productive landscape transformed by human labor. In Euro-American nature fantasies, by contrast, all evidence of humans is excluded from the landscape. Instead, nature appears as a place of leisure, where people refresh their souls (Cronon 1996).

The next step therefore involved reintroducing local people as controlled elements of commoditized leisure (Bruner 2001; West and Carrier 2004; West, Igoe, and Brockington 2006). Cultural villages, with traditional dancers and handicrafts shops, are now a standard element of the global tourist industry. These in turn are part of larger infrastructures that mediate tourist encounters with African nature. The thrill of taming the wild (John Wayne chasing down a rhino in a Land Rover in the 1962 box office blockbuster *Hatari*) gives way to the wonder of self-actualization (a woman doing yoga meditation by a reflecting pool overlooking the Serengeti).³ Elements of excitement are retained lest African nature appear too tame and, of course, actual and potential dangers must still be managed. Making, managing, and marketing nature go together.

The Serengeti story, which is crucial to the analysis in this chapter, highlights the central role of marketing in popularizing African nature. It begins with work of Bernhard Grzimek, the Austrian director of Frankfurt Zoological, who came to Serengeti in the 1950s and produced the acclaimed documentary *Serengeti Shall Not Die!* Since then, turning nature into images, and turning images into money, has been essential not only to the East African tourism economy but also to generating political support for conservation causes and making landscapes that can produce increasingly refined and sophisticated imaginaries of nature. These landscapes are not only places of adventure where people go to refresh their spirits, they are also material grounds for the productions of imaginaries in which nature functions in the service of capitalist growth and reciprocally in the service of happy people and healthy nature. This chapter explores the history of these landscapes and their related imaginaries of nature, from early efforts to make and manage nature in the Serengeti to more recent productions of a conservation landscape called the Maasai Steppe Heartland.

SEEKING REFUGE IN A PLACE WHERE THE GREAT HERDS RUN FREE

When I first viewed the Serengeti Plains I was deeply moved by the galloping herds of wildebeest and zebra, stretching out to the horizon in all directions. I immediately thought to myself, “I am seeing the American prairies back in 1840s.” Another American in our vehicle turned his head and said almost exactly the same thing to his travelling companion. Two aspects of this moment linger in my memory. I was well aware that this living panorama was produced in response to the postcolonial realities of contemporary Tanzania, yet I was still quick to experience it as a landscape out of time. Secondly, there was little of the personal about my seemingly personal insight. My sensation of Serengeti as a reincarnation of the great American wilderness is articulated by actor James Earl Jones in the opening moments of *Africa: The Serengeti*: “There is a place on Earth where it is still the morning of life and the great herds run free!” Jones is also the voice of King Mustafa in Disney’s animated epic, *The Lion King*.

Here again is the nature beyond price, discussed at the outset of this book, along with the related Romantic imperative of getting back to nature to discover one’s true, authentic self. The Serengeti is marketed as one of the last remaining portals into this timeless realm, a claim that is bound up in the making and managing of nature within its boundaries. The activities of Bernhard and Michael Grzimek in the 1950s and 60s established the enduring link between the Frankfurt Zoological Society and the Serengeti. Today, the Society maintains a regional headquarters and visitor’s center inside the park, funded in part by proceeds from *Serengeti Shall Not Die!* (Bonner 1994).⁴ In *A Place Without People*, Markus Borner of the Frankfurt Zoological Society offers this statement from within the Serengeti: “We as people still need places that are wild, so that we can go and refresh our souls somewhere.” Since the early 1980s, Borner has continued Grzimek’s legacy of monitoring wildebeest migrations. “When they start moving and you fly over them,” he states, “it’s just the most amazing kind of experience you can have.”⁵

These combined tropes of migration and transcendence are hallmarks of the Serengeti as part of a Tanzania brand that encourages visitors “to leave here a bit more complete than when you came.” This vision of promised wholeness depends on concentrating people’s attention on selected views and images till they gain the appearance of total reality. Such modes of directing attention not

only figure in the escape from modernity's unpleasant disenchantments, but also, and more insidiously, in the disavowal of its seldom-spoken horrors. Elements of these horrors are sometimes strategically admitted, but in ways that inoculate us from the depth of their trauma, a trauma in which we ourselves are implicated (Rosaldo 1993; Taussig 1999; Outka 2008; Fletcher 2012). When we associate the Serengeti with the great American wilderness, for instance, we are at some level admitting to the nineteenth-century bison exterminations we hope will not be repeated in these landscapes. We are unlikely to dwell on the horrors of those exterminations, and particularly not their connection to genocides against Native American peoples. We are even less likely to dwell on connections to the Holocaust and related wartime propaganda. But all of these are part of the creation of the Serengeti.

Early advocacy for the Serengeti came from the FPS (Fauna Preservation Society), which in 1921 began pressing colonial authorities in Tanganyika to transform what was then the Serengeti Game Reserve into a national park on the Yellowstone model (Lekan 2011: 236).⁶ Founders of the FPS, formerly known as the SPWFE (Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire) were popularly known and lampooned as “penitent butchers” because of their penchant for big game hunting. While the “penitent butchers” designation was immediately disavowed in the pages of SPWFE's journal, it nevertheless became the title of the book commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of the organization (Fitter and Scott 1978).

A detailed engagement with the “penitent butchers” is beyond the scope of this book, but is illuminated by the intertwined biographies of Fredrick Selous and Teddy Roosevelt, both iconic figures in conservation history. Selous was a member of the SPWFE, and is buried in Tanzania's Selous Game Reserve near where he was killed in a firefight with German troops during WWI. Roosevelt was a friend of John Muir, a leading proponent of American national parks and an honorary member of the SPWFE. Both Selous and Roosevelt were big game hunters; they met during Roosevelt's East Africa safari in 1909. Both provided taxidermy specimens to museums in their home countries, and both are commemorated by statues near entrances of those museums (Selous in the main hall of the Natural History Museum in London and Roosevelt outside the Museum of Natural History in New York) (see also Haraway 1989).⁷

Roosevelt, his statue, and his taxidermy animals will return in later chapters. Here I am interested in how both Selous and Roosevelt could shoot so many animals while simultaneously expressing dismay at the disappearance of

big game in their favorite hunting grounds (Adams and McShane 1992: 27; Johnston 2003: 152). In the words of historian Ian Tyrrell (2013), theirs was a campaign of “saving nature by killing it.” Memorialized as cadavers, museum specimens would stand in mute testimony to the “follies of the human race that allowed such total extermination” (7). In brief, the endeavors of these world-famous hunters were a kind of salvage slaughter. As Adams and McShane (1992: 27) aptly note, the contradictions of salvage slaughter called for “a complex psychology” that continues to operate in more refined renditions of nature as a realm of self-realization without contradiction.

Industrial slaughter of wildlife in North America and South Africa, home to Roosevelt and Selous, respectively, were tied to clearing land for large-scale commercial ranching schemes (MacKenzie 1988; Cronon 1996). Although both men were products of these modernizing projects, they were also Romantics who proclaimed their love of nature and made a distinction between their manly approach to hunting and the “unsportsmanlike” mass killings that opened the way for modern farming and ranching. While both men paid homage to indigenous hunters, they still celebrated the inexorable march of modernity to which indigenous cultures and their hunting traditions would have to give way.

The creation of the Serengeti was in large part a response to “unsportsmanlike hunting” in the 1920s (Shetler 2007: 205–6), and it was spurred by white hunters in an effort to present themselves as enlightened lovers of nature. By the time the Serengeti National Park was officially gazetted in 1952, many of the indigenous East Africans who lived and hunted there had been decimated by the diseases and violent conflicts that accompanied the arrival of Europeans into East Africa in the late nineteenth century, remembered throughout the region as “the time of disaster.”⁸ Colonial administrators and Western conservationists portrayed as marauding poachers the realigned concentrations of hunting people displaced from the Serengeti. Anti-poaching campaigns in the mid-1950s, taken up by the European media, suggested incorrectly that game-meat hunting had resulted in the destruction of “a full tenth of the park’s animals” (Shetler 2007: 210). Serengeti’s warden, Myles Turner, called the reporting “good propaganda for wildlife conservation.”

Warden Turner’s explicit and celebratory invocation of propaganda merits highlighting here. This was shortly after the end of WWII, during which propaganda had proven itself unimaginably effective at mobilizing masses of people in support of totalitarian national causes.⁹ Bernhard Grzimek arrived in

the Serengeti during this same period, and he had recently experienced this wartime propaganda. If Roosevelt had public relations experts to spin his safari to Africa (Tyrrell 2013), Grzimek needed none: he was a seasoned showman. He had used theater, opera, and circus performances to attract visitors to the bombed-out Frankfurt Zoological Gardens, which he inherited at the close of the war in 1945 (Lekan 2011: 248). In the coming decades he would “raise conservation propaganda to a high art,” expanding and refining his talents to making nature, marketing tourism, and defining the development trajectories of several African countries (Adams and McShane 1992: 50).¹⁰

Like the penitent butchers before him, Grzimek’s spectacular search for belonging in timeless African nature obscured his own connection to the horrors of modernity from which he sought refuge. For him, the call to protect nature transcended all other human struggles, which would be forgotten quickly. “Only nature is eternal,” he opined, “unless we senselessly destroy it” (Grzimek 1959: 234). This included his own struggles with recent historical events. As historian Thomas Lekan (2011: 247) notes, “Grzimek found in Africa an ideal refuge from lingering questions about Nazi guilt.”¹¹ But this African refuge was itself embroiled in similar modern horrors. The declared state of emergency in Kenya (1952–60), which entailed mass internment, torture, and killing of Kikuyu people by British colonial authorities, was a pivotal event in the formation of Serengeti National Park.¹² Anticolonial unrest in neighboring Kenya did not bode well for the planned forced removals of Maasai from the Serengeti in the 1950s. Fearing the spread of such uprisings to Tanganyika, British authorities de-gazetted the eastern end of Serengeti to create the multiuse Ngorongoro Conservation Area in 1959 (Bonner 1994).

Bernhard Grzimek and his son Michael were staunchly opposed to this move. They tried to use the proceeds from their first film, *No Room for Wild Animals* (1956),¹³ to purchase the Serengeti outright from the British. While colonial officials declined the purchase, they did invite the pair to undertake the aerial wildebeest survey that would be enshrined in *Serengeti Shall Not Die!* (Grzimek 1959: 20). Both the book and the film by this title expunge the intensely violent moment of colonial disintegration surrounding the creation of the Serengeti.¹⁴ Instead, they invoke the specter of modernizing Africans, portraying them as despoilers of African nature. They also paint traditional Maasai people as the irrational keepers of more cattle than the Serengeti ecosystem could support: people who should be evicted accordingly (Grzimek 1959: 245–46).¹⁵ Maasai herds could not be the undoing of the free-running wildebeest herds.

SERENGETI SHALL NOT DIE!

While it is tempting to view Bernhard Grzimek's disavowals and omissions as purely personal, the mass appeal and abiding legacy of his work strongly suggests that they had wider cultural resonance. *No Room for Wild Animals* came into direct competition with Disney Studios. The film was viewed by millions of people in sixty-three countries and produced enough revenue to fund his survey of wildlife in the Serengeti plains, which became the basis of his next film, *Serengeti Shall Not Die!* That film won the 1959 Oscar for best documentary and was an international blockbuster (Bonner 1994). Grzimek's television program *A Place for Animals* was tremendously successful in Germany, running from the 1960s through the 1980s and at times commanding viewer shares of 70 percent (Boes 2013: 44). His books have been translated into twenty-seven languages (Lekan 2011: 225). Royalties from Grzimek's endeavors established his employer, the Frankfurt Zoological Society, as an economically self-sufficient and internationally recognized conservation organization with a permanent presence in Serengeti.¹⁶

Grzimek created a new synergy, fusing entertainment and marketing with the management of wildlife and people in ways that are now indispensable to African conservation, NGO fundraising, green consumer appeals, and global environmental policy. His aerial wildlife survey has since become a standard of both scientific wildlife management and nature entertainment. Survey data were used in an attempt to convince colonial authorities that any reduction in the size of the park would spell doom for the spectacular wildebeest migrations that remain its signature attraction. As for the film, Grzimek's (1959: 18) goals were clear:

We wanted to impress millions in Europe and America with the fact that lions, elephants, rhinoceroses, and giraffes are steadily dying out, and that their refuges—National Parks—are constantly growing smaller. The only way to get in touch with millions of people is by films, television, or the illustrated weekly paper.

While Grzimek failed in his immediate goal of preventing the partitioning of the Serengeti, he was wildly successful in transforming public awareness of African conservation and environmental causes in general (Lekan 2011). With televised advertising still in its infancy, his main point of reference for this en-

deavor was wartime propaganda. Indeed, one of his earliest influences was the controversial filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl, who attained early fame as a producer of Nazi propaganda films, most notably *Triumph of the Will* (Boes 2013: 43).¹⁷ But Grzimek's propaganda was propaganda with a twist: it promised a sublime panhuman endeavor that would transcend all national and ethnic differences. It nevertheless incorporated propaganda techniques worth noting here, since they have endured and continue to be refined in the making, managing, and marketing of nature in Tanzania and beyond.

Like wartime propaganda, *Serengeti Shall Not Die!* invokes a looming threat to a common future, which we must all unite to defeat. The film's promise of redemption was a prominent theme in German wartime propaganda but would have resonated with audiences of many nationalities in the wake of WWII. As conservation fundraisers in the United Kingdom discovered, survivors of the Blitz generously opened their hearts and their pocketbooks in response to images of animals shot and killed in Africa (Bonner 1994). The subtitle of Grzimek's film, *367,000 Animals in Search of a State*, invokes the humanitarian challenges of post-Holocaust Europe while drawing "affective attention away from independence struggles that were waged by various ethnic groups in close proximity to the Serengeti Steppe" (Boes 2013: 46). This theme—promises of redemption—remains salient in contemporary fundraising and marketing campaigns.

A second key propaganda element in *Serengeti Shall Not Die!* is the presence of a seemingly omnipotent authority figure: Grzimek himself. His authority is enhanced by aerial perspectives, deployed in wartime propaganda to invoke "technocratic mastery" and "scopic control" (Boes 2013: 50). For Europeans in Africa, aerial technology and its associated perspectives provided a simultaneous experience of distance and familiarity, obscuring the social and political realities that could stand in the way of this mastery (Hughes 2010: 20–21).

In Grzimek's conservation propaganda, the figure with this commanding view is no longer the stalwart head of state.¹⁸ It is a more accessible figure, one to whom the viewer can relate, but who still possesses sufficient authority to instill meaning and order on what might otherwise appear frighteningly chaotic. I call this figure the expert-interlocutor. As expert-interlocutor, Grzimek invites viewers on an aerial journey from war-torn Europe to the refuge of the Serengeti. There he orchestrates an aerial game-count survey, complete with perspectives from inside the cockpit, through which "the viewer participates in a quite literal fashion in the 'discovery' of the east African herds as a previously invisible conceptual entity" (Boes 2013: 47).

Linked to the expert-interlocutor's mediation of the viewer's "discovery" of panoramic nature is the central place of surveillance in *Serengeti Shall Not Die!* Here again we can recognize clear connections to wartime propaganda, in which the scopic control of aerial photography sees and defines *enemies* (those who should be bombed, strafed, captured, and controlled); *the protected* (those who must *not* be bombed, strafed, captured, and controlled, so they can continue to live the lives they—and by implied extension we—hold dear); and *the protectors* (those who will see, define, bomb, strafe, capture, and control). Bernhard and Michael Grzimek are cast in the ultimate role of protector, supported by white colonial authorities in command of black African game guards. Their commanding gaze both sees and protects wildlife and sees and captures African hunters.

Grzimek's experiments with propaganda demonstrated the power of these techniques to mobilize popular sentiment and material support for nature conservation at a distance. It soon became clear, however, that much more was possible. Commanding views of stunning landscapes and teeming wildlife were not only the stuff of Euro-belonging and surveillance, they were a hot commodity in a rapidly expanding global economy. As the horrors of WWII faded and consumer prosperity flourished, the concomitant advent of jet travel made it possible for Western consumers to actually join the adventures in which they were already virtually partaking via the telescreens that had become a household fixture in their world. Consumerism, marketing, and tourism would prove indispensable to postcolonial nature conservation in Tanzania.

A PLACE FOR TOURISTS

By the turn of the 1960s, East African colonies were clearly headed toward independence, and Western conservationists feared that newly independent states would not take up the task of protecting nature. Their uneasiness was not misplaced. Ascending African leaders like Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya held national development as their imperative. Their concern for wildlife went as far as its potential contribution to economic growth. To promote the value of wildlife to these newly powerful players, Western conservationists needed to convince them that nature conservation would be integral to postindependence prosperity.¹⁹ This promise turned on a vision in which legions of foreign tourists would spend millions in hard currency for the privilege of experiencing African nature.

Unfortunately, package tours to East Africa were practically nonexistent, and colonial conservationists therefore faced a double bind. If they could not convince African leaders to retain colonial nature parks—and, even better, gazette some more—then they wouldn't be able to convince tourists to visit East Africa. And if they could not convince tourists to visit East Africa, then they wouldn't be able to convince African leaders to retain colonial nature parks, let alone create more. Each scenario depended on the other, and both would need to happen simultaneously. Indeed, the emergence of postcolonial conservation in East Africa is closely tied to a move Lekan (2011: 224) describes as “the greatest bluff in German media history,” which took place in 1960. What was the nature of this bluff? With television as his platform this time, Grzimek once again demonstrated the conjuring power of spectacle (Lekan 2011: 224):

Convinced that tourist money could provide financial incentives that newly independent African nations needed to protect their wildlife, Grzimek requested his thirty-five million viewers to book three-week package tours to Tanganyika for a mere DM 2100 [approx. US \$500], so they could view close-up the magnificent lions, rhinoceroses, giraffes, elephants, wildebeest, and zebras that so often appeared on his monthly programme. Grzimek knew that no German tour operator offered such inexpensive packages, but predicted the result: travel agencies were so flooded with enquiries that several companies scrambled to meet the demand of “photo safaris” in the East African bush.²⁰

While it would be an exaggeration to assert that Grzimek single-handedly brought mass tourism to East Africa, this was clearly a pivotal event in what today is a multibillion-dollar industry and a mainstay of East African economies. It is also notable that Grzimek's media stunt came hot on the heels of the creation of TANAPA (Tanzania National Parks) in 1959 and in the midst of the IUCN's (International Union for the Conservation of Nature) Special Africa Project, launched in 1960 at a meeting in Arusha that also launched the AWF (African Wildlife Foundation) and WWF (World Wildlife Fund) (Neumann 1998: 140). TANAPA is the government agency that today oversees Tanzania's fifteen national parks and for which “nature-based tourism is the main source of income that is ploughed back for management, regulation, and fulfilment of all organizational mandates in national parks.”²¹ This move bears many of the marks of what Tsing (2005: 57) calls “spectacular accumulation.” “In speculative enterprise,” she writes, “the possibility of economic performance must be

conjured like a spirit to draw an audience of potential investors.” Grzimek’s conjuring act was more complex and far reaching than simple accumulation. He conjured a vision of nature for an audience of consumers and channeled their buying power to conjure a vision of economic performance for an audience of African officials and global policy makers. Grzimek and his collaborators had harnessed marketing as a means for making and managing African nature, a dynamic that would be refined over the coming decades in Tanzania’s northern tourist circuit.

Before turning to these refinements, however, let us briefly address the interplay of experiential exchangeability and monetary exchangeability on which they depend. The main challenge for Grzimek was moving spectators of spectacle from contemplation to action to bring the imaginary into the actual. His efforts to do so present a poignant demonstration of Marx’s (1978: 103) characterization of money as “the external common faculty” for turning image into reality and vice versa. As alienated human capacity, money seems to extend the power of its possessor to get things and to do things. “It converts my wishes from something in the realm of imagination [and] . . . translates them into their *sensuous, actual* existence” (Marx 1978: 103, emphasis in the original). In Western Germany in the early 1960s, *A Place for Wild Animals* was one of many spectacular presentations from which consumers were continuously invited to choose. Its popularity showed that consumers especially enjoyed contemplating spectacular images of nature. If you like contemplating this nature, Grzimek told them, then imagine what it would be like to really be part of the action. Your money gives you the power to do this. Pick up your phone, call your travel agent, and be on your way. The mediating image will soon be sensuous, actual reality!

In the process of self-actualizing through escape and adventure, these consumers also helped actualize a larger vision of postcolonial conservation. This connection was not explicit in Grzimek’s appeal. Over time, however, the links between different realms of promised actualization have been rendered much more explicit. Imagined possibilities of tourism have been elaborated and extended, with tourists cast as celebrities, celebrities cast as tourists, and both cast as active figures in nature conservation and economic development. Today such imagined possibilities, opportunities to participate in philanthropic activities, are often part of the appeal of nature experiences that tourists choose between and that they capture as spectacular images. We are now in a place where we can turn to the links between consumers’ choices of experiences and related alterations to nature over time.

CHANNELING CHOICES FOR CHANGE

Grzimek's spectacular media bluff turned on a basic exchange: distinctive East African safari experiences could be had for a stipulated sum of money. With the rise of the global tourist industry, however, the distinctiveness of these experiences became increasingly overshadowed by their exchangeability. As one of "nature's greatest spectacles," the Serengeti wildebeest migrations are a distinctive element of a supposedly unique Tanzanian tourist experience. Versions of these experiences, or something reasonably similar, can be simulated in more convenient and sanitized environments, such as Disneyworld and the like. Little wonder that the Tanzanian tourist board went to the extent of hiring a private marketing firm to capitalize on the Serengeti's experiences with the slogan, "The Land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar, and the Serengeti."

With the liberalization of the Tanzanian economy toward the turn of the twenty-first century, new imperatives emerged to increase and distribute the flow of tourists within the circuit. The longer tourists stayed in the circuit, the more foreign exchange they would spend in Tanzania; the more places they stopped in the circuit, the more widely distributed would be the benefits of that foreign exchange. Or so went the story of the UN Millennium Development Goals. Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks were accordingly promoted as integral to the Tanzanian nature experience. Private camps and lodges, and private conservancies, abounded.

Since the 1990s, foreign aid to Tanzania had been provided on the condition of government promotion of a vibrant nonprofit sector (Igoe and Kelsall 2005). This resulted in the proliferation of Tanzanian nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) along with the increased influence of foreign conservation NGOs (Igoe 2004; Sachedina 2008). We will engage the details of these transformations throughout the rest of the book. Here, I am interested in three specific elements. The first is that intensifying competition between NGOs was marked by a wide variety of spectacular marketing strategies (see Kapoor 2013: 84–88). The second is that these strategies often highlighted the role of conservation NGOs in managing nature in particular landscapes. The third is that they also employ visually mediated choosing by consumers. Such marketing strategies seek not only to sway public opinion or sell something, but also to entice consumer-spectators to participate vicariously in simulated conservation interventions.

Antecedents to these techniques can be seen in visually mediated NGO fundraising appeals in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Notable among these were child sponsorship ads in which television viewers were invited to alleviate the misery of a suffering Third World child for less than a dollar a day. Journalist Michael Maren (1997: 23) describes the effects as follows:

The charity provides this narrow portal into the world of hunger, a way to reach through the dark distances of space and culture to touch the child. This is real interactive TV. Pick up the phone. The deed is done. The child is healed before the viewer's eyes.

During this same period, global conservation produced a wide range of similarly graphic appeals, reinvolving the horrors of animal slaughters that had moved "the penitent butchers" and sparked the emergence of modern conservation. Once again, entire herds of charismatic animals were being systematically slaughtered. This time it was elephants, and with automatic weapons. Readers old enough to remember this period are likely to recall the grisly images of the faceless and bullet-riddled corpses of once majestic pachyderms covered with flies and rotting in the sun.

As with the child sponsorship ads, save-the-elephant campaigns cut through contradiction and distance to go straight to the hearts of potential contributors. Many people felt a deep connection to this intelligent and socially complex creature and were chagrined and saddened by images of mutilated elephant corpses.²² NGOs at the forefront of the ivory question were experiencing unprecedented success: "When AWF launched its elephant campaign in 1988 with [an] urgent memorandum and press conference, it was not well known outside a small circle of African wildlife aficionados and struggling financially. Within a year its membership had nearly doubled and AWF became a major player in the conservation game" (Bonner 1994: 120).

Other conservation NGOs quickly followed suit in a flurry of competitive fundraising. Appeals included personalized letters written "on behalf of the elephant," and graphic print media ads beseeching businesses and consumers to stop selling and buying ivory (Bonner 1994: 120–21).

Mainstream conservation lined up in favor of the ivory ban, which was ultimately implemented. While the effects of the ban were uneven, it almost certainly facilitated the dramatic recovery of the herds of the northern tourist circuit.²³ By 2010 the elephant conservation page of the AWF website celebrated the

success of the ivory ban and related measures but also noted that the recovery meant “some regions of Africa now have more elephants than populated areas can support.” Consequently “the twenty-first century brings an entirely different challenge to elephant conservation—land use.” The page outlines the complex interventions it will take to meet this millennial challenge: documenting elephant behavior and monitoring their movements; identifying corridors and habitats outside of protected areas and protecting those as well; and creating economic incentives for local people to enroll in elephant conservation.²⁴

AWF couched their invitations in words and a style reminiscent of earlier direct-connect fundraising appeals, but with a significant positive twist. “Save the Children” sponsorship appeals netted consumer-spectators and benefactors for the suffering children, benefactors and children for whom the NGO would mediate long-term relationships of continuing dependency. These new appeals, on the other hand, invited consumer-spectators to become part of solutions offering sustainable prosperity for rural Tanzanians and the sustainable prospering of elephants. Whereas the ivory campaign enjoined consumer-spectators to *not* consume (by refraining from purchasing ivory), these new appeals encouraged consumer-spectators to consume *more* and promised that their consuming would support the kinds of solutions they were being invited to join.

For example, consumer-spectators were invited to “adopt” an African animal. This entailed purchasing gourmet chocolate and a plush toy representing the animal of their choice, and in turn they received a certificate of adoption and AWF membership.²⁵ One of the animals available for adoption in 2012 was Oltupai the Elephant. Presumed killed by Kenyan poachers, he resurfaced in Tanzania.²⁶ He is among the ten elephants who has been collared and monitored by the AWF elephant specialist, Alfred Kikoti, who is credited for the photograph of Oltupai that appeared on the AWF Adoption Center page. In addition to “adopting” Oltupai, consumer-spectators were invited for a time to “join AWF’s Conservation Research Project” and to make sure its team has adequate resources through making direct donations.²⁷

Following my fieldwork in the Maasai Steppe (2007–09), African conservation professionals, like Kikoti, were frequently framed as expert-interlocutors in online blogs and promotional videos. Like Bernhard Grzimek’s and Markus Borner, they invited viewers to virtually join them on adventures, to track and tag wildlife, and to record and interpret their behavior. They offered the prospect of continued survival for these animals. Consumers were invited to support their efforts through donations and targeted purchases. Over time, however, expert-interlocutors faded

into the background and tourists took the foreground. These were not regular tourists, but filmmakers, celebrities, politicians, philanthropists, and corporate volunteers. While occasionally appearing with expert-interlocutors, these high-profile tourists mostly bear witness to win-win capitalist scenarios that seem to unfold of their own accord in selected spaces of the Maasai Steppe.

CONCLUSION

Today we witness modes of mainstream conservation in which nature increasingly appears as an ecofunctional medium for optimizing economic growth and ecosystem health (Igoe 2014). This ecofunctional medium is at play in myriad capitalist conservation stories articulated by spectacular images in a global economy of appearances. Ultimately, however, such stories are fundamentally constrained by preexisting conditions and relationships. As Lefebvre (1991: 230–31) argues, there is nothing new in space without that which has already been spatially inscribed:

Pre-existing space underpins not only durable spatial arrangements, but also representational spaces and their attendant imagery and mythic narratives—i.e. what are also called cultural models; although the term “culture” gives rise to a good deal of confusion. . . . “Our” space thus remains qualified (and qualifying) beneath the sediments left behind by history, by accumulation, by quantification.

In the next chapter I turn my attention to the preexisting spatial arrangements underpinning ecofunctional conservation stories in northern Tanzania. Fundamentally these are stories of encounters: between tourists and wildlife, and between tourists and local people. The ecofunctional possibilities conveyed through these encounters are ones in which increased circulations of wildlife will attract increased circulations of tourists, resulting in increased circulations of money. The resulting economic growth can help train wildlife experts, fund research, support antipoaching enforcement, and incentivize local people to care for wildlife—or so it seems. But these stories are set in spaces that are rooted not only in conservation, but also colonial administration, labor deployment, and resource extraction, with their attendant connections and exclusions. Our explorations of these spaces will reveal significant continuities and consistencies between colonial systems of control and contemporary nature tourism.

2

A LANDSCAPE THAT FUNCTIONS ECOLOGICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY?

INTRODUCTION: ELEPHANT TALES

MY WIFE, GLADNESS, grew up near a place called Msitu wa Tembo (Forest of Elephants). For her, that was only a name: there were no elephants or forest. But as a child Gladness listened to elders recalling the days when elephants actually inhabited that forest. One needed to be careful around those animals. They were so big that if you came upon one at night, you might mistake it for a house and try to knock on the door. For Gladness this was all very amusing, but also improbable. She was certain they were exaggerating, or “adding salt,” as they say in Swahili.

Gladness finally saw an elephant in 1996, when some elephant researchers drove us through Tarangire National Park. After driving through dense brush for an hour, we rounded a sharp curve and came face-to-face with a big bull. He stood his ground momentarily and trumpeted before running into the trees. Gladness sat stunned, with her hand over her mouth. Then she spoke in an awe-struck voice: “Huyu mnyama akoje [how is this animal fashioned]? Hana nywele masakini [he has no hair the poor baby]!” The car erupted with the excited laughter of people who have just shared a deeply moving experience. And this was just the first of the many elephants we would encounter during that wonderfully memorable day.

Enchanting elephant encounters are a staple of Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks, specialized representational spaces that cater to well-established imaginaries of elephants in the wild and of African nature in general. For many rural Tanzanians living nearby, however, elephant encounters are anything but enchanting. When I returned to Tanzania in 2005, I spent time with farmers in the villages between the two parks who claimed that the presence of so many elephants made their lives untenable. These farmers had many elephant tales to tell.

Often their stories featured a protagonist named Tembo John, a wily bull elephant, who was said to have lost one of his tusks. Farmers claimed that when conservationists established protected wildlife corridors in the 1990s, Tembo John used them as staging grounds for strategic raids on their farms. When they tried to chase him away with their slingshots, he adapted by walking backward so that the projectiles bounced harmlessly off his rump. Tembo John is also fabled to have noticed that the farmers stored harvested crops inside their houses, and to have begun opening the roofs to see what he could find. And as if this wasn't all bad enough, these stories often concluded, Tembo John taught every trick he knew to every other elephant in the Tarangire herd, so although he was finally dead and gone, these kinds of behaviors had continued and proliferated. As for Tembo John's demise, farmers claimed that happened on the day he took the roof off one house too many, and the angry farmer inside took up his spear and stabbed him between the eyes. Tembo John then made his way to the Tarangire entrance gate, where he laid down and died. Or so the Tembo John story goes.

Whatever the truth behind this story, humans and elephants in this part of Tanzania are clearly in a difficult situation. Farmers resettled from the slopes of nearby Mt. Meru during the early 1970s now occupy an area where herd recoveries, post-ivory ban, have been particularly dramatic. A proposed solution to this dilemma is to use exchange value to mediate relationships between people and wildlife. Substantial revenues generated by tourism in the area, combined with development aid and philanthropic gifts, can be used to help people become less dependent on land-based livelihoods. Money from tourism can incentivize people to move out of the way of wildlife and train them for careers in the global economy.

These exchange-value solutions are directly related to the current green capitalist zeitgeist, in which economic growth is imagined to serve ecosystem health and vice versa. As highly visible and charismatic animals, elephants are at the forefront of ecofunctional stories in this part of Tanzania. But they are, of course,

only one element of that story, though admittedly a particularly gigantic one. Another gigantic element is the colorful Maasai people, who loom large in popular imaginaries of traditional African culture.

This chapter begins to explore how visual narratives of the Maasai Steppe Heartland emerge from a selection of spaces and images brought forth from preexisting spatial arrangements. The first part outlines the representational order of the Maasai Steppe Heartland as an ecofunctional landscape derived from selected spaces and their associated spectacles. The following sections address the older colonial geographies underpinning the representational spaces of the Maasai Steppe Heartland, the elements of that story that they bring into view, and the kinds of realities and relationships that are often concealed and suppressed in the process.

LANDSCAPES CALLED HEARTLANDS

During my dissertation fieldwork in the middle 1990s I studied a conservation landscape known as the Tarangire-Simanjiro Ecosystem. This designation highlighted conservationist concerns that Tarangire National Park was becoming an “ecological island” and that the neighboring Simanjiro Plains contained crucial breeding grounds and wet-season pasture for wildlife in this part of Tanzania (Borner 1985; Igoe 2002, 2004). When I returned in 2005, Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks were being recast as “ecological anchors” of a larger conservation area called the Maasai Steppe Heartland and “mainstays of Tanzania’s tourist economy.” The African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), which promoted this fifteen-thousand-square-kilometer landscape (AWF 2001: 12), described it as “the vast plains of Northern Tanzania, where Maasai and wildlife live side by side.”¹ As part of the AWF’s Heartlands Program, it was also framed as one of several “vast landscapes that function ecologically and economically.”²

The Heartlands vision combined an endorsement of previous concerns that official protected areas, in themselves, fall short of protecting expansive biodiversity, with refined elaborations of Grzimek’s promise that African nature should be a source of economic growth. Here it is worth quoting at length from AWF’s Heartlands Report (Muruthi 2005: 2–3):

Connectivity is crucial to key habitats that have become increasingly isolated and further removed from any wildlife that could move in from outside, as the areas

around are either clear-cut, overgrazed, or colonized by settlements and agriculture. The land set aside is only a small fragment of natural habitat that is being converted to agriculture or harvested for timber. . . . African governments need to marshal scarce resources, and to make use of any local assets that can provide an advantage in a competitive global environment. Many parts of Africa have been blessed with abundant and globally significant natural heritage, wildlife and pristine habitats that provide an important economic, as well as environmental, resource.

In more popularly accessible terms, the AWF website described Heartlands as follows:

All of Africa's lands sustain life. But certain key landscapes are absolutely essential to conservation—thanks to their unmatched concentrations of wildlife and their potential to sustain viable populations for centuries to come. AWF has done the hard work of identifying those landscapes. They are the AWF African Heartlands. Far larger than any park or reserve, an African Heartland combines national parks and local villages, government lands and private lands into a large, cohesive conservation landscape that often spans international borders.³

The AWF has never claimed to administer these (relatively) giant landscapes, but only to facilitate cooperative efforts (e.g., between government agencies, safari companies, and rural communities) and occasionally to facilitate strategic acquisitions of conservation land.⁴ My discussion and analysis below highlights one such strategic parcel, and its important role in translating a concentrated assemblage of modest interventions into “a vision big enough for Africa.” To do so they draw from, and on, a palimpsest of colonial and postcolonial space-making projects, which are reinvigorated through touristic encounters. We now turn to the spaces, people, and animals underpinning the symbolic landscape of Tanzania's Maasai Steppe.

WHERE WILDLIFE AND MAASAI PEOPLE LIVE SIDE BY SIDE

The Maasai Steppe vision grounds abstract and unfamiliar discourses of optimized ecological and economic function in the familiar imaginary of “the vast

plains of northern Tanzania, where wildlife and Maasai people live side by side.”⁵ This imaginary draws from firmly established ideas and images of a stable amalgamation of people, place, and animals historically rooted in interactions between colonial administrators and Maa-speaking people in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁶ “One of the most enduring achievements of the British during the pre-WWII period,” Hodgson (2001: 51) argues, “was the constitution of ‘Maasailand’ as a place and the reconstitution of ‘the Maasai’ as a tribe.” Control and containment of Maa-speaking people by colonial regimes (German till WWI and British thereafter) was also essential to the creation of national parks and the promotion of ecotourism (Bonner 1994; Adams and McShane 1992; Neumann 1998; Igoe 2004).⁷ Almost all Tanzania’s northern parks lay within what was Maasai Reserve, later Maasai District (Igoe and Brockington 1999).⁸ As spaces that exemplify “how Africa should look” (Neumann 1998: 1), they are another enduring achievement of the British, along with conservation organizations that emerged during the transition to independence in the 1950s and 1960s, as outlined in chapter 1.

Wild nature and traditional Maasai endure as an iconic package deal by which Westerners recognize and imagine Africa. Since Western audiences get their “first taste of Africa” from nature programs that “return over and over again to the same images of East Africa,” Adams and McShane (1992: xiii) maintain that “it is hardly surprising that in the popular mind, Africa consists entirely of wide grassy plains and wild animals.” Particular images of Maasai people have become similarly iconic. “Everyone knows the Maasai,” writes Spear (1993: 1), “men wearing red capes . . . gazing out over semi-arid plains stretching endlessly to the horizon, or women heavily bedecked in beads stare out at us from endless coffee table books and tourist snapshots.” The two, moreover, just seem to go together. “A lion never appears,” writes Latour (2004: 165–66) “without its Maasai.” It is also fair to say that a tourist never appears without her Maasai, or at least that most tourists, at some point on their East African safari, will have their picture taken with some Maasai (Bruner 2001; Igoe 2004).⁹

This potent triad of tourist, wildlife, and Maasai is essential to the Maasai Steppe imaginary. Images of wildlife represent conservation, while images of Maasai represent rural communities that have prospered from wildlife conservation. Images of tourists, including some who are famous and powerful, seem to provide the crucial connection, with tourist revenues represented as the key to successful wildlife conservation, in turn the key to economic development, in turn the key to local prosperity. With such a potent and popular imaginary,

the Maasai Steppe was one of the most successful Heartlands (Sachedina 2008: 327) and was heralded as “a success story that is a model for new landscape initiatives throughout the African Heartlands.”¹⁰

There is much that is missing from this picture, of course. While a lion may never appear without its Maasai, an Arusha farmer hardly ever appears in a cultural village or tourist resort, at least not without dressing up as a Maasai. Meanwhile, not one but many elephants often appear in the fields of Arusha farmers, eating and trampling their crops. An elephant that appears in an Arusha farmer’s house at night may get stabbed between the eyes with a spear, as may an elephant that tramples a Maasai cow at a watering hole (see Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010). Tourists, for their part, never appear without carbon emissions and solid waste. Safari vehicles never appear without disturbing wildlife or prompting some Maasai women to dance for tourists.

These are just a few of the ecopolitical complexities that accompany conservation and development in this part of Tanzania and which are for the most part excluded from the Maasai Steppe imaginary. I am less concerned, however, with the conditions and relationships this imaginary conceals than the ones that it conjures, and how such conjuring is achieved. This requires engaging the fragments of space that have been used to make spectacular representations of the Maasai Steppe and its ecofunctional vision.

SPACE, SPECTACLE, AND THE MAASAI STEPPE IMAGINARY

In the chapter 1, we saw how the Grzimeks and others worked to produce the Serengeti into a space of pristine African nature. Spectacular representations of the Serengeti have circulated far and wide, informing popular tourist imaginaries and supporting the continued production of the Serengeti as a representational space of African nature. As noted in the introduction, however, there are important aspects of the Serengeti that set it apart from Lefebvre’s (1991: 39) formulations of representational space. Most notably, the Serengeti is a space that is officially uninhabited, although some wildlife officials and NGO representatives do live inside its boundaries. Local people have been forcefully excluded, and tourists are temporary visitors who experience its spaces mostly through designated pathways of controlled motion.

Of course, the Serengeti vision is contested, and much of this contestation takes place just beyond its boundaries. Maasai activists, in the adjoining ward of

Loliondo, have turned tourist spaces into sites of material and symbolic struggle and tourism itself as a potential medium for conveying representations of their rights to land and cultural self-determination (Gardner 2016). As described in more detail below, similar dynamics of contested representation have been consistently at play in landscapes surrounding Tarangire National Park, though rarely within the boundaries of Tarangire itself, which is one of the vital spaces of the Maasai Steppe imaginary.

In the following sections, I will show how Tarangire and related spaces have figured in a uniquely singular vision of nature from the contested realities of the Maasai Steppe. This vision is derived from spaces that are inflected by tourism and designed to deliver standardized experiences and encounters. These largely depend on alienation because, to be standardized, they must eschew the diversity and uncertainty of local lifeworlds. At the same time, however, they cannot operate like Disney theme parks, evacuated of ecology and history, to impose preselected themes onto space. Rather, they depend on continued, though carefully controlled, connections to their lifeworlds. In Tsing's (2015: 62) terms, they can be considered as spaces of translation through which elements of diverse lifeworlds are turned into circulating and exchangeable forms of representation. Such translations, as Lefebvre (1991: 231) would note, must draw from preexisting spaces and "their attendant imagery and mythic narratives." This is the story of the Maasai Steppe.

THE MAASAI STEPPE

The Maasai Steppe was named by late-nineteenth-century German explorers and later incorporated into the Maasai Reserve, which was created by British administrators in 1923 as an official homeland for what they imagined to be "the Maasai Tribe" (Hodgson 2001). As Hodgson (13) explains, "the British did not invent Maasai identity, so much as they manipulated and heightened distinctions among categories of relationality that were already present." In short, this involved taking censuses of people who were deemed, and claimed, to be "pure Maasai," restricting those people (as far as possible) to a space imagined to correspond to the traditional territory of "pure Maasai," and of excluding others—those deemed not to be "pure Maasai."¹¹

While some Maa-speaking people initially resisted these moves, over time many became advocates of Maasailand as a means of protecting their land, livelihoods, and way of life (Hodgson 2001: 51; see also Hughes 2006). My research

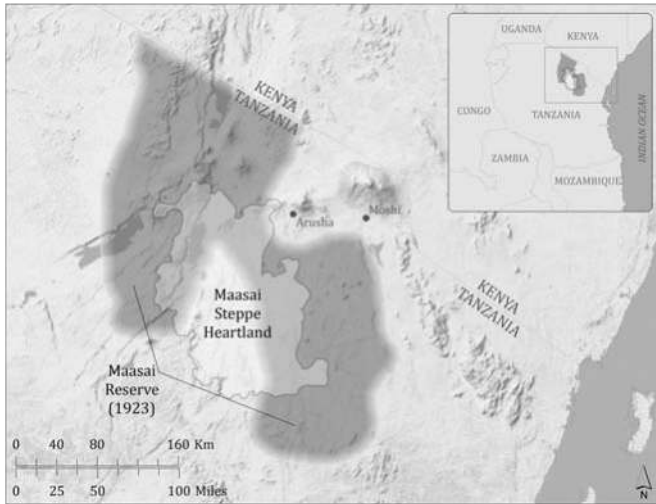


FIGURE 1. Map of the Maasai Steppe Heartland (circa 2000) in comparison to the Maasai Reserve (1923). Produced by Jonathan Chipman, who referenced Sachedina (2008), Hodgson (2001), and ESRI (<http://www.esri.com>).

in the 1990s, for instance, focused on several villages in the Maasai Steppe as sites of an emergent land-rights movement that included some grassroots NGOs (Igoe 2000, 2003, and 2004). These movements revived ethnic identities and territories that the Tanzanian government had strongly discouraged throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Their leaders pioneered a national indigenous people's movement with links to the global indigenous people's movement (Hodgson 2001 and 2009; Igoe 2006). Some also called on the government to reestablish the Maasai reserve for the protection of both Maasai culture and wildlife (Igoe 2004; Hodgson and Schroeder 2002; Hodgson 2011).¹²

Maasai demands for an ethnic reserve, now being reconfigured around collective land-tenure rights, invokes the familiar vision of "Maasai people and wildlife living side by side." A common assertion from Maasai activists and their allies is that Maasai do not traditionally hunt wild animals, with the occasional exception of marauding carnivores,¹³ nor do they eat game meat. More elaborately, activists argue that traditional Maasai herding regimes are highly compatible with wildlife conservation, so the two should be allowed to coexist. These arguments are supported by ecological and social-science research, which

indicates that transhumant grazing regimes promote and maintain assemblages of savanna vegetation that are favorable to wild grazing ungulates (Homewood and Rodgers 1991; Western and Gichohi 1993).

The idea of win-win relationships between wildlife conservation and live-stock herding, and between conservation and communities in general, is a big part of the Maasai Steppe imaginary. What this idea often eschews, however, are the continuing legacies of enforced material separation. We have seen how the Maasai Reserve materially separated certain Maa-speaking people from others who were seen not to be authentically Maasai. These separations, to which we will return below, helped refine the criteria for “pure Maasai people,” imagined as “living side-by-side with wildlife” in the Maasai Steppe Heartland imaginary.

THE HEARTLAND

The Maasai Steppe Heartland web page featured an image of an elephant family, mothers and babies, strolling tranquilly across an African savanna. A caption accompanying the picture reads, “Elephants pass through the baobab tree-studded landscape of Tarangire National Park in Northern Tanzania.” An accompanying invitation, to “support Tanzania’s National Parks,” describes Tarangire and nearby Lake Manyara National Park as “not only the ecological anchors of the Maasai Steppe Landscape but also mainstays of Tanzania’s tourist economy.”¹⁴

But where are the Maasai who supposedly live side-by-side with these elephants? The position of Tarangire National Park in relation to the Maasai Reserve (see figure 2) would seem to indicate that they are not far away. In fact, Tarangire sits nestled in a crook of the former Maasai Reserve, sharing a common boundary with its southern segment. On this map the Tarangire National Park and the Maasai Reserve appear to exist side-by-side, as they did from when Tarangire was first established as a game reserve in 1955 until the Maasai Reserve was dissolved at independence in 1961. And although the official Maasai reserve is now more than half a century gone, and Tarangire has since been made a park, this initial arrangement catalyzed a pattern of relationships and interactions that continues to matter.

The creation of the Maasai Reserve, as we have seen, incorporated and reproduced a prevalent ideal of “pure” traditional Maasai culture. Tarangire expands to fill the other side of this big, two-parted imaginary as a realm of “pure” unmo-lested wildlife. Just as these arrangements required an apartheid-like separation

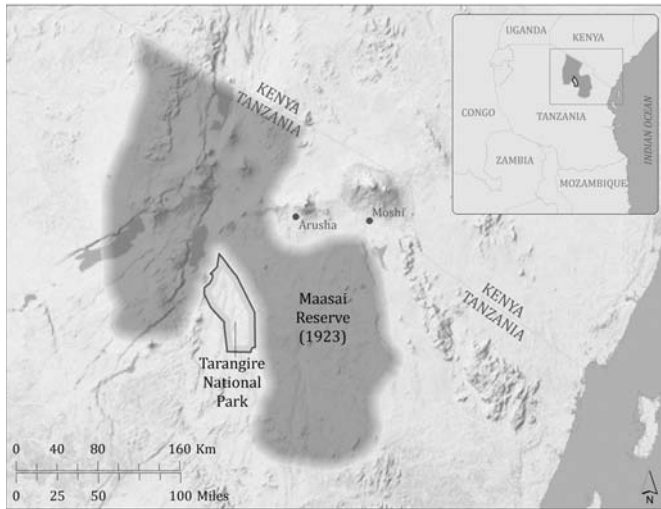


FIGURE 2. Map showing the location of Tarangire National Park (present day) in comparison to the Maasai Reserve (1923). Produced by Jonathan Chipman, who referenced Hodgson (2001) and ESRI (<http://www.esri.com>).

of Maasai and non-Maasai people, it also has required a kind of interspecies apartheid. This produced exclusive territories that existed side-by-side but always in separation—on one side an ethnic reserve of Maasai and their livestock, on the other side a nature reserve of wildlife and conservationists.

Between 1996 and 1997 I conducted field research in a cluster of villages in the Simanjiro Plains (labeled “Eastern villages” in figure 3). During this time a team of conservationists was conducting aerial surveys of wildebeest migrations out of Tarangire National Park into the Simanjiro Plains. They were accompanied by a social scientist researching local livelihoods. At the same time, representatives of the AWF were visiting these and neighboring villages, inviting people to participate in Ujirani Mwema (Good Neighborliness), a program designed to ensure they would benefit from wildlife (Igoe 2004).

Local people were highly suspicious of these activities, which they often described as a ploy to expand the boundaries of Tarangire eastward. When I asked how they knew, they responded that there had been similar attempts in the past, but that they had always managed to stop them. Finally, a village leader provided me with a document dating to the middle-1980s, which did indeed outline such

a plan (Igoe 2004).¹⁵ Its main recommendation was the creation of a conservation area to the east of Tarangire, where some people would be allowed to live according to a permit system and with significant restrictions on their livelihood activities. The document also included a map of the proposed conservation area (figure 4).

Knowing the kinds of restrictions imposed on Maasai living in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, after which the proposed Simanjiro Conservation Area was explicitly modeled, local people were understandably alarmed by the proposal and accompanying map. Their response, as they described to me, was to organize a body of elders called The Simanjiro Anti-Conservation Committee, which lobbied the necessary government officials to stop the plan. Elders involved in the committee claimed it was they who stopped the plan. Conservationists and higher government officials claimed that the plan never had much of a chance regardless of local peoples' advocacy activities. In any case, this much was clear: the plan never materialized, but it did become a focal point to local resistance to conservation (Igoe 2004).

These conflicts I learned about in the 1990s are rooted in systematic separations of Maasai and wildlife during the late colonial period. In her historical

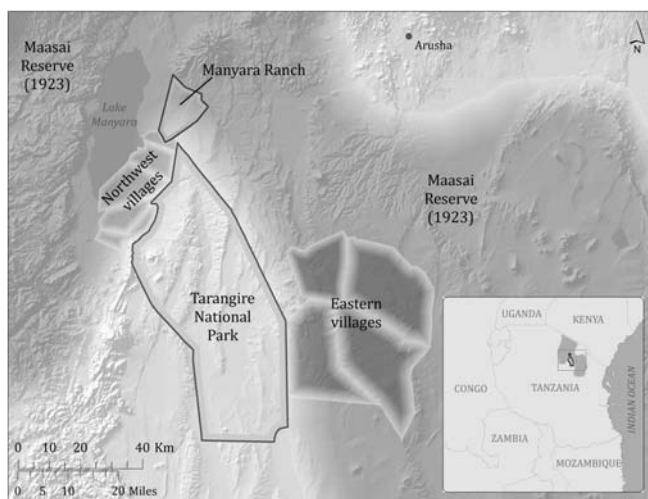


FIGURE 3. Map showing the location of Tarangire National Park, villages northwest and east of the park, and Manyara Ranch in comparison to the Maasai Reserve (1923). Produced by Jonathan Chipman, who referenced Igoe and Croucher (2007), Hodgson (2001) and ESRI (<http://www.esri.com>).

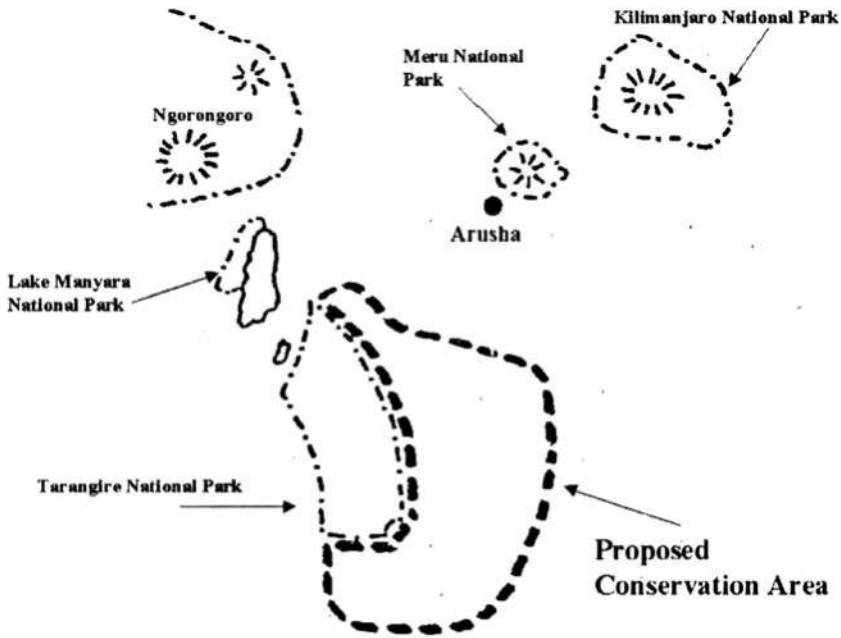


Figure Three-Extent of Proposed Simanjiro Conservation Area

FIGURE 4. Map showing extent of proposed Simanjiro Conservation Area (circa 1986) from a mimeo of an unpublished document provided by a Tanzanian official.

study of Tarangire, Camilla Årlin (2011: 187) shows that the creation of the Tarangire Game Reserve in the mid-1950s turned on an agreement between Maasai leaders and British administrators that game in the Simanjiro Plains would be driven and contained into the reserve. This, administrators reasoned, would be a happy arrangement for both Maasai and wildlife. It would “increase the stock carrying capacity of the Simanjiro plains” while conserving wildlife in the tsetse-infested Tarangire, an environment hostile to Maasai and their cattle.

Following Hodgson (2001), Årlin (2011) explains why Maasai would have been suspicious of such arrangements. The clearance of tsetse flies and the provision of improved water sources in the Simanjiro Plains in the years following WWII never lived up to the promises of colonial administrators. Colonial development projects in the Maasai District thus came to resemble insidious land

grabs as improvements were often promised as compensation following exclusion of Maasai from water and pasture resources to which they had previously enjoyed access. The Tarangire Game Reserve, for instance, enclosed important water resources, most notably the Tarangire River and a wetland called Silalo (Igoe 2004: 60).

Årlin's (2011: 186) research indicates that negotiations about access to these resources, and the related setting of boundaries between Tarangire and the Maasai Reserve, were protracted and highly contested. While the Maasai District commissioner's position on the relative merits of wildlife conservation and livestock development is not accessible through the archive, it is clear from contemporaneous speeches held throughout Maasai District and documented in the district book that the district commissioner was pressed by the situation in Maasailand and the conflicts surrounding other game reserves and Serengeti National Park (which as we saw in chapter 1 was itself compounded by the state of emergency in neighboring Kenya during this period).

The commissioner's report on all these interactions concludes that "the Maasai were not against the game reserve, per se, but that they are unwilling to accept reserves that include lands which they had shown to be part of their landscape." His statement reflects attempts by conservationists to include a significant portion of the Maasai Reserve inside the Tarangire Reserve just as the Grzimeks and others were advocating for Serengeti to incorporate Ngorongoro during this period. As a consequence, Tarangire was demarcated according to the boundaries of the Maasai Reserve (see figure 2; see also Årlin 2011: 187).

Several aspects of this outcome merit highlighting here. First, as noted above, spatial arrangements designed to actualize imaginaries of Maasai and wildlife were ultimately achieved by demarcating an enforceable border between the two. Although Maasai continued to enjoy informal access to water and pasture inside Tarangire throughout the 1960s, this access was ultimately prohibited when Tarangire was upgraded into a park in 1971 (Igoe 2004: chapter 2). The justification for these removals was based in part on arguments that Maasai inside Tarangire were outside of their territory, although Maasai elders in the 1940s had stridently asserted that crucial areas inside the park were part of their traditional territory (Årlin 2011: 188) and the idea of an official Maasai territory declined following independence.

Wildlife, for their part, never agreed to be contained inside Tarangire and continued their annual migrations out to their breeding grounds in the Simanjoro Plains (aka the Maasai Steppe). Realizing in the 1980s that these migrations

were at risk, conservationists proposed the Simanjiro Conservation Area. Local people, of course, were quick to resist potential incursions into land they had fought to keep for the last forty years. The proposal was unsuccessful; however, people perceived subsequent conservation activities in Simanjiro to be a ploy to annex Maasai territory into Tarangire not only because of the locations of the proposed conservation areas, but also because of local knowledge: the creators of Tarangire had indeed intended the park to encompass precisely the areas that now were their villages (compare the maps in figures 1–4).

The consequences, as I describe in *Conservation and Globalization* (2004: 27–29, ch. 3), were that village-level meetings organized by the AWF were continuously disrupted by Maasai NGO leaders and local people who refused to cooperate with community-based conservation. Conflicts continued throughout the turn of the millennium, sometimes resulting in community schisms, and they often were directed at foreign researchers and the AWF (Sachedina 2008: 70). The mood of these conflicts was even felt at the 2004 World Conservation Congress in Bangkok, where Maasai activist Martin Saning’o addressed conservationists in the following terms:

More than one hundred thousand Maasai pastoralists have been displaced from their traditional homeland, which once ranged from what is now northern Kenya to the Serengeti Plains in northern Tanzania. We were the original conservationists. Now you have made us enemies of conservation. (quoted in Dowie 2009: xv; I was also present at the event in Bangkok and heard this statement as it was made)

Notably, even this statement invokes an imaginary in which Maasai people and wildlife live side-by-side. At the same time, however, it echoes conditions, sentiments, and relationships that made it exceedingly difficult to undertake conservation activities east of Tarangire because it undermined portrayals of Maasai as happy beneficiaries of Western conservation. These difficulties were compounded by the fact that the Simanjiro Plains had begun to attract land-hungry farmers displaced from neighboring districts and that many Maasai were also beginning to farm (Igoe and Brockington 1999; Igoe 2004). Research by Sachedina and Nelson (2011: 152) indicates that subdividing village land into farms was part of an intentional strategy to reduce further conservation incursions because “land that is plowed [in contrast to open rangeland] is seen as owned by someone and is also less valuable to conservation.” Farming, unlike

herding, physically obstructs wildlife migration routes and encloses breeding areas.

Manyara Ranch, on the other side of Tarangire National Park, was relatively free of these kinds of problems. As a historically designated livestock ranch, it contained no farms or human communities. Moreover, it lay along another important wildlife migration route, one that connected Tarangire National Park in the east to Lake Manyara National Park in the west. By all these criteria it had all the makings of a good, though relatively small, conservation space.

This relative smallness, as it turned out, made it a serviceable space of translation. While images of free-roaming wildlife are captured easily enough in the nearby national parks, the ranch enables productions of more closely specified visual representations, particularly those connecting wildlife conservation to economic development as refracted through an image of happy and prosperous communities. Although surrounded by a significant population of non-Maasai people, the ranch itself is historically connected to an almost exclusively Maasai community whose members frequently appear in its spaces. And while there are significant historical conflicts on this side of Tarangire, their signs are unlikely to be visible to outside visitors to the ranch. They are, however, quite visible in contiguous spaces.

WEST SIDE STORY

In 2005–06, I conducted a second stint of research that focused on communities designated as “Northwest villages” in figure 3. Even more so than the villages of Simanjiro, these villages are clearly squeezed by conservation, bounded on three sides by a park, a conservancy (the Manyara Ranch), and a lake, and overrun (at least from the villagers’ point of view) by elephants moving between Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks (see figure 4; see also Igoe and Croucher 2007: 543). Although they claimed little contact with people in Simanjiro, villagers on this side of Tarangire are similarly suspicious of conservation (see also Goldman 2003).

Several local elders spoke of a plan forwarded around 1970 to make Tarangire and Manyara into a single park. The plan, as they described it, was proposed by a group of Europeans (and perhaps an American) who tried to convince the Tanzanian government to relocate the people living between the parks. Although I was unable to verify it to my satisfaction, I heard the same basic

narrative on three separate occasions from three different groups of elders, all of whom recalled hearing a radio announcement that they would not be relocated. These elders also claimed that the plan ran afoul of government-sanctioned relocations of Arusha agriculturalists from the slopes of Mt. Meru to between the Tarangire Game Reserve and the shores of Lake Manyara. Whatever the historical veracity of this narrative, it reflects a pattern of discourse and experiences that have consistently been part of rural people's lives in this part of Tanzania. With respect to Tarangire in the 1950s, Årlin (2011: 190–91) writes,

It was only groups represented by native authorities—Gorowa, Mbugwe, and Maasai, whose possible rights in the area were investigated. Claims to land or resources by Dorobo hunters . . . Barabaig [herders] and fishermen of varying backgrounds who relied on the Tarangire River and water pools for their subsistence, were not explored or even referenced in these proceedings. Likewise, the newly constructed villages, charged with waging war on tsetse and consisting of “alien” peoples were not considered. Once again, the establishment of delineated tribal spaces played an active role in who was included in the processes at hand, and who was not.

Gorowa and Mbugwe people made no claims to Tarangire at the time but have subsequently found their homes and farms squeezed by the park. Barabaig herders, displaced from their homelands to the south, continue to exist as best they can on the margins of village pastureland. Particularly notable in this description are the “alien” peoples in “newly constructed” villages, relocated laborers from all over British East Africa and even the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (contemporary Malawi, Zambia, and Zimbabwe). The legacy of these and similar historical processes has been the proliferation of landless (or near landless), ethnically mixed, and displaced communities (Igoe 2006: 411). Often still regarded as “aliens,”¹⁶ such people are not readily accommodated by an imaginary of vast plains where wildlife and Maasai people live side-by-side, though occasionally they appear as shadowy threats to nature. As such, they are easily and often displaced from village conservation areas, development projects, local voting rosters, and land allocations by village governments.

Arusha people in this area have a different history and status. Arusha are farming people who share a common language and cultural heritage with Maasai. Historically they inhabited the slopes of nearby Mt. Meru, from where they began to be displaced following WWII. They were displaced by coffee and tea

plantations and Arusha National Park, and population growth also contributed (Spear 1997; Neumann 1998; Igoe and Brockington 1999). Most Arusha elders we interviewed said that the government of the day had encouraged them to settle and farm in the area (the “Northwest villages” in figure 3). At the time, wildlife did not present them with kinds of problems that they do now. Farmers we interviewed overwhelmingly associated the elephant herd recovery of the 1990s with their intensifying struggle to make a living. Like other ethnic groups in the area, Arusha farmers do not fit well within the Maasai Steppe Heartland imaginary. In contrast to these other groups, however, they are more substantial in number and control most village governments. Indeed, members of marginal multiethnic communities often blamed Arusha officials for their plight.

Historical relationships between Arusha and Maasai have been at once cordial and antagonistic. The two groups trade agricultural produce and livestock, and intermarriage between them is common (usually Maasai men marrying Arusha women). Maasai elders who practice farming frequently report having learned the practice from their Arusha in-laws. However, members of the two groups frequently fight over cattle and land, particularly when Maasai cattle harm Arusha farms. It was for this reason, both Arusha and Maasai elders explained, that a socialist government rigorously segregated the two groups in the late 1960s or early 1970s. The dividing line, though no longer officially enforced, is still evident. It runs just a few miles south of Manyara Ranch and the historical boundaries of the Maasai Reserve.

These historical segregations are largely why the Manyara Ranch is situated near multiethnic communities but is still an almost exclusively Maasai landscape. According to oral histories, a group of Maasai elders leased the ranch to some German settlers in the 1950s, understanding this would be a temporary arrangement. However, the Germans stayed for longer than expected, and a government entity called the National Ranching Corporation took over the ranch in the mid-1970s. With the end of socialism in the 1980s and the rise of opposition parties in the 1990s, local hope for the return of the ranch was renewed. Instead, ranch management passed to the Tanzania Land Conservation Trust. An AWF working paper describes this arrangement as follows (Sumba, Bergin, and Jones 2005: 4–5):

Various options existed for the Government during this time concerning the disposal of Manyara Ranch. Firstly, there was the option of declaring it a national park and annexing it to Lake Manyara National Park. . . . This option was

deemed unacceptable . . . because it would reintroduce animosities that arise with the alienation of land or state protection. The second option involved handing the ranch back to the community to use as they would see fit . . . [it was] deemed unacceptable because there was possibility that the community would use the land for livestock grazing and expanded agriculture . . . leading to fragmentation and blockage of wildlife movement. This third option involved selling the ranch and all its assets to the private sector for use as either of livestock or wildlife ranch. This meant that the ranch would have to be fenced . . . [which would] have blocked wildlife movements . . . and . . . excluded communities from using the ranch.

The creation of a trust was thus offered as a compromise option, one that would allow wildlife to pass freely, manage human use, and produce economic benefits that would be distributed to local stakeholders. My purpose here is not to discuss whether these objectives have been achieved; to varying degrees they certainly have (but see Goldman 2011).¹⁷ Rather I am interested in the representational processes that have allowed them to appear at all and to be framed in such apparently achievable terms. Such framings depend on spatial zones that privilege certain relationships and minimize complexity. From spaces within Tarangire, happy elephant families can appear without revealing that local farms have become their increasingly preferred source of food. From spaces within Manyara Ranch, important elements of successful large landscape conservation can appear together: wildlife roaming freely in wide-open spaces, singing Maasai women and smiling Maasai schoolchildren, and the tourists whose presence bears witness to, and ideally facilitates, successful conservation and prosperous communities.

CONCLUSION

That such a vision can be conjured from the parameters and infrastructure of a colonial-turned-socialist livestock ranch is remarkable. As I have shown throughout this chapter, this is in large part a historical coincidence of its location relative to historical space-making projects in this part of Tanzania: at the edge but squarely within the historical boundaries of the former Maasai Reserve and nestled between Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks.

Manyara Ranch is also fortuitously situated in relation to the northern safari circuit. Tourists travelling the circuit are likely to crisscross this area, and

possibly several times over. The relative smallness of the ranch, as previously noted, enhances management of people and wildlife and the opportunities for controlled encounters between them.

In November 2007, for instance, then U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Henry Paulson visited Manyara Ranch. Along with his wife Wendy, Secretary Paulson posed for pictures while receiving gifts from Maasai elders and with children at the refurbished primary school. A quote from Paulson accompanies these images in a press release from the U.S. embassy:

Yesterday I visited Manyara Ranch and saw an innovative example of how Africa can both preserve its natural heritage and create economic opportunities for its people. The ranch is a critical migratory corridor for a broad range of species from nearby parks, and it is also important for the cattle-raising activities of the local Maasai tribes. The AWF, with support from USAID (United States Agency for International Development), has set up a land trust that seeks to make ranching commercially viable through tourism and beef sales, with a plan to use the proceeds to protect these valuable tribal lands.¹⁸

Through these visual and discursive representations, abstract formulations of economic and ecological function—supported by a popular imaginary of Maasai and wildlife living side-by-side—begins to gain specificity. From the messy and contested realities of the wider Maasai Steppe emerges a clear vision of capitalism, culture, and ecology happily assembled. As chapter 3 will show, repeated mediated encounters in these and similar spaces coalesce in a view of the world that is capacious enough to support many different agendas and purposes, but always infused with the spirit of capitalism. Through these mediations, as we shall see, present reality and future possibility are continuously conflated. A vision of a world in which economic growth and ecosystem health could and should be optimized resolves in a view of the world in which it seems that they already happily have.

3

SEEING THE WORLD TO SAVE THE WORLD

INTRODUCTION

THIS CHAPTER CONTINUES TO ELABORATE on the ways capitalism, conservation, and tourism are materially and symbolically intertwined in northern Tanzania. In chapter 1 we saw that postcolonial conservation in Tanzania emerged alongside both tourism and a story wrapped around nature: that nature is a mainstay of national economic growth and that development will be achieved through the putative nonuse of protected landscapes. We also began to see how more complex versions of this story were being brought forth, and this is a central concern of the present chapter. In chapter 2 we explored the dynamics of the colonial-era geographies underpinning selected spaces of translation in the contemporary Maasai Steppe, and some ways these evolved from competing claims to landscapes and associated modes of representation. In this chapter, we will zoom in on those selected spaces, in which elements of diverse lifeworlds are translated into representations of exchangeable nature. We will see how techniques for directing “the tourist gaze” (Urry and Larsen 2011) intertwine with techniques for managing people and nature and related productions of particular views as images.

These views are organized around the perspectives of an emerging class of high-profile tourists who also participate in the production of detailed stories

about economic growth and ecosystem health. We begin with connections between tourism and the kinds of colonial geographies that we explored in chapter 2. We then turn to the connections between tourism and development and the new kinds of tourists now appearing in this landscape. The heart of this chapter engages the detail of the views that are being produced, and the final part turns to the broader implications of these views as they circulate beyond their sites of production.

CIRCUITS OF CONTROL, CONSUMPTION, AND CONTEMPLATION

Tourism turns on particular kinds of space, as outlined in the introduction of this book, incorporating elements of “non-place” (Augé 2009) and “representational space” (Lefebvre 1991). In keeping with Lefebvre’s (39) formulations of representational space, tourist spaces “overlay physical space, making symbolic use of its objects [and thus] tend toward more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs.” At least in terms of its design, however, this is space that is not meant to be directly inhabited. Rather, in keeping with Augé’s formulations of non-place, it is space that people are meant to move through.

The most sophisticated versions of this kind of space, as previously noted, have been created in highly controlled consumer environments, like Disney theme parks. Laying the ground for such environments begins with de-placing space, as Augé (2009) would have it: enclosing and controlling selected space and evacuating it—as nearly as possible—of visible signs of its ecological, historical, and social relationships. Once the ground has been laid in these terms, the next step entails inscribing this space with elaborately coherent systems of both verbal and nonverbal symbols and signs. The goals of this enterprise, in other words, are less to make use of the symbolic objects of (at least proximate) material space than to turn space into an exchangeable medium through which an array of standardized stories can be orchestrated.

Of course, such thorough effacements of preexisting space are not possible in the Maasai Steppe. It is thus necessary, as we have done in chapter 2, to attend to the preexisting spatial arrangements underpinning the touristic spaces that are the central concern of this chapter. At the same time, it is necessary to highlight the arrangements and techniques that create spaces that people only

move through, which are also made representational of imagined lifeworlds and further translated into abstract imaginaries of an economic growth and ecosystem health.

A few important points bear highlighting here. First, as we saw in chapter 2, the spatial arrangements outlined in this chapter are derived from legacies of colonial control, as concisely outlined in this passage from Mbembe's (2003: 25–26) "Necropolitics":

Colonial occupation was a matter of seizing, delimiting, and asserting control over a physical geographic area—of writing on the ground a new set of social and geographic relationships. The writing of new spatial relationships (territorialization) was ultimately tantamount to the production of boundaries and hierarchies, zones and enclaves; the subversion of existing property arrangements; the classification of peoples according to different categories; resource extraction; and, finally, the manufacturing of a large reservoir of cultural imaginaries. These imaginaries gave meaning to the enactment of different rights, to different categories of people, in the same space.

Next, tourism in northern Tanzania recycles and refines aspects of colonial territorialization, romanticizing imaginaries of control (Rosaldo 1993; Fletcher 2010) and infusing them with monetary value in the process. Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994: 435) illuminate this basic insight through an ethnographic study of cultural tourism associated with Maasai communities in neighboring Kenya:

Tourism gives tribalism and colonialism a second life by bringing them back as representations of themselves, circulating in an economy of performance. Mass tourism routinely recycles . . . dead sites, past colonial relations, and abandoned ethnographic tropes . . . [and] stages fantasy not only in hermetic theme parks, located anywhere in the world, but also within geographically specific historical sites and lifeworlds.

Tanzania's northern circuit turns on such specialized enclaves. These are spaces that can be closely controlled, which encompass valuable representational elements, and which are moreover open to being reinscribed with new ones. These kinds of spaces are circuited together with the view of maximizing predictable encounters and experiences. Tourists on their way from the city of

Arusha to Tarangire National Park, for example, will probably begin their day with an elaborate breakfast before boarding their safari vehicles. The first part of their journey is over paved road, and they will have commanding but fleeting views of people and places passed at 70 mph. About an hour later, they will turn onto a graded gravel road, and their vehicle will slow down. Not much farther along they will encounter a group of singing Maasai women. A few more minutes will bring them to a lot full of similar vehicles, where their driver will settle their entrance fees while they climb a viewing platform to look for elephants. Even if they don't see any, they shouldn't be disappointed for long. Their driver will open the viewing roof, assuring them that they will see some before they get to the lodge. Half an hour later they will be lounging by the swimming pool. Some elephants may come by for a drink (of water from the pool).

The first part of this journey is the longest in terms of geographic distance, but the least significant from the tourist point of view. Its arrangements invert the logic of Disney theming, in which large themed spaces are foregrounded. Everything that does not fit their themes, but is essential to their functioning, is relegated to offstage circuits of space (Wilson 1992: 176–77). In the in-between parts of Tanzania's northern tourist circuit, by contrast, the wider realities of Tanzania are backgrounded while the narrow path of the tourist is privileged by anticipation of the wonders ahead, infrastructure, and the air-conditioned comfort of a late-model safari vehicle.

Once ensconced at a lodge in Tarangire, however, tourists have access to a wide selection of specialized tourist spaces. Parks like Tarangire and Lake Manyara are amenable to a kind of proto-theming, called "intrinsic narratives of place," which brings out "inherent features of the place in question . . . [which are] already there, but need to be imprinted on the consciousness of the visitor, and in many cases exaggerated in order to make the message clearer and unambiguous" (Bryman 2004: 46). Intrinsic narratives of Tarangire and Manyara are wide-open plains where Maasai people and wildlife exist side-by-side, or, to quote the promotional website of the Manyara Ranch Conservancy: "This is typical Maasailand and open savannah, as one imagines Africa to be."¹ More specific intrinsic narratives of this landscape focus on elephants and baobabs, both of which distinguish it as a must-see destination of the circuit.

A crucial technique of "intrinsic narratives" theming is to organize tourists' movements to improve the likelihood of preferred encounters and experiences. For instance, tourists are encouraged to visit Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks during the dry season, when wildlife are most likely to be

concentrated within their boundaries. Safari drivers working in these parks apprise one another of the last spotted locations of animals known to be high on tourists' check lists (many tourists literally keep such lists). This not only allows drivers to make sure that their clients find these animals, but also to coordinate their movements to avoid crowding. So if a pride of lions is known to be basking in the sun near a side loop, drivers can use text messages to coordinate their movements around that loop, keeping space between their vehicles so that each group of tourists can enjoy the experience of "discovering" the lions themselves. Such coordination is an inexact science, often undermined by competition between drivers. When done well, however, it brings "intrinsic narratives" to life in a replicable encounter between people and lions that feels like a once-in-a-lifetime experience.

The northern circuit also incorporates a variety of smaller and more controllable spaces, where standardized experiences can be almost guaranteed. Maasai performances of their traditional songs and dances happen in what MacCannell (1973) calls spaces of "staged authenticity," such as lodges, luxury camps, and "cultural villages." The Maasai women who appear on the road just outside Tarangire gate are associated with a cultural village and crafts cooperative. One of their strategies for attracting tourists is to begin dancing beside the road the moment they hear a vehicle approaching, in the effort to create the impression that the dancing is a spontaneous traditional celebration. Tourists who stop are invited to enjoy more dances, buy traditional handicrafts, and pay to take pictures of, and with, the women. Not only do these techniques influence how visitors view these selected spaces, but also how they themselves are to be viewed within them—where and when to pose for pictures and videos.

While encounters within spaces of staged authenticity typically turn on established archetypes and tropes, Bruner (2001) emphasizes the importance of attending to the particular stories they are being used to tell and the different settings in which those stories are being told.² These days, spaces of staged authenticity are increasingly associated with selected spaces of conservation and development. Within these spaces, archetypes and tropes of Maasai and nature underpin stories of positive synergies between tourism, nature, and economic growth. Recently tourism has dramatically transformed as tourists seek to move from a stance of passive contemplation to one of active engagement. This transformation includes the use of more mobile and interactive media technologies by a wider variety of actors in a wider variety of spaces. Previous

exchanges of spectacular images and spaces are enhanced as tourists are able to convey personal, nuanced stories about seeing the world to save the world.

CURRENT CONVERGENCES OF TOURISMS AND TOURISTS

True to the vision of Bernhard Grzimek and his contemporaries, Tanzania's northern circuit is now visited by a million-plus tourists each year.³ And tourists are continuously invited to support conservation and development through charitable gifts and targeted purchases. Many are so moved by their experience that they join the swelling ranks of foreign volunteers—aka “voluntourists”—each driven by an aspiration to change the world for the better.⁴ These trends are mirrored and magnified in the activities of celebrities, philanthropists, and dignitaries, who visit Tanzania as both high-end tourists and as high-profile supporters of conservation and development.⁵ These well-known people play an essential role in actualizing particular visions through performance (see Brockington 2009). But regular tourists and volunteers also have access to technologies and views that allow them to perform, capture, and disseminate their experiences of seeing the world to change the world as they move through the northern safari circuit.

In this chapter I am especially interested in how recent trends in regular tourism interact with longer-standing arrangements that Chambers (1983: 10) calls “rural development tourism.” As a sociologist immersed in international development in the 1970s, Chambers noted the near-universal reliance of urban-based development professionals on brief visits to rural projects for their information gathering. Time constraints, combined with their dependence on modern transport infrastructure, made it likely that these professionals would repeatedly and routinely move through the same spaces and interact with the same people. Their orchestrated movements would both seek out and support “islands of atypical activity, which [consequently] attract repeated and mutually reinforcing attention” (16).

Over time, Chambers (16–17) elaborates, feedback loops of attention and support tend to produce “showpiece” projects that vividly demonstrate what the success of a particular approach should look like. Showpiece projects are usually accessible from an urban center but also remote enough to feel authentically

rural. They are frequently visited by diverse interested outsiders, from government officials to foreign researchers, and, as such, they place a significant emphasis on public-relations activities. They are staffed by “well-briefed members” or resident experts who receive visitors and take them through “a standard route and standard routine.” Finally, showpiece projects depend on continued infusions of outside funding and technology, raising sticky questions about sustainability and replicability.⁶

Since Chambers wrote about showpiece projects in the early 1980s, increased liberalization of development and conservation has brought public relations and marketing to the fore in many global projects (as discussed in chapter 2), particularly since the advent of integrated conservation and development in the 1990s. Before these changes, mainstream conservation could focus almost exclusively on protecting wilderness and specific endangered animals. As conservation and development agendas have become more explicitly related, however, it has become necessary to tell stories that are more complex about how these previously separate global projects are supposed to interact. Chambers’ showpiece projects are crucial to this kind of storytelling. Such projects not only demonstrate the success of particular interventions but also serve as spaces of translation for larger world-changing imaginaries (e.g., sustainable development, integrated public health, and community-based conservation).

What we have in the case of the northern safari circuit is a milieu in which spaces of tourism, conservation, and development are intermixing while their synergies are being rendered explicitly visible and represented as a benefit to both the economy and to nature. Development professionals, foreign dignitaries, researchers, and volunteers appear in these spaces along with celebrities and philanthropists. In the Maasai Steppe, filmmakers and contest winners also come to look and experience. Of course, all these categories tend to blur: some filmmakers are also philanthropists, some philanthropists are foreign dignitaries, and so on.

An important effect of these arrangements is that touristic spaces of passive contemplation are being recast as crucial sites of transformative action. However, distinguished visitors are rarely portrayed as undertaking the transformative action themselves. Instead, they perform experiences, encounters, and views that affirm the transformative actions of others. Some of these visitors are filmmakers and photographers who actively capture views and events. Others provide spoken and written narratives to go along with these circulating images.

But all are cast primarily as consumers and translators of the Maasai Steppe and its lifeworlds.

REPRESENTATIONAL TRACES OF REPRESENTATIONAL SPACES

My interest in spectacular representations of the Maasai Steppe began in early 2007, when it struck me that a version of rural development tourism was being reproduced on the World Wide Web. The same people, places, and situations were appearing repeatedly in support of a story that hardly varied in its main themes and tropes. One image-trope that jumped out at me, and which I have since encountered on several occasions,⁷ was of a local expert pointing to a large and elaborate Maasai Steppe map. I had encountered a replica of the represented map, or perhaps even the very same map, on two occasions during the previous year. Both times it had been used as a visual aid in educational presentations I attended with students from the College of African Wildlife Management. The first was at the AWF offices in the city of Arusha, and the second was at Manyara Ranch itself. The latter presentation was part of a ranch tour we undertook as part of a field trip on conservation and conflict in the Maasai Steppe.

When we visited Manyara Ranch that time, an outreach person led us through a standard visit itinerary: the old ranch headquarters, the old ranch school, and the old livestock improvement facilities. We met with wildlife experts who were training local rangers to map wildlife migrations with GIS. We met with teachers who explained that their school was dilapidated (as we could see) and situated in the middle of a wildlife migration corridor, and thus in urgent need of relocation. We saw a group of Maasai taking their cattle to drink at an artificial watering hole. Our tour ended at a circle of chairs in a shaded area near ranch headquarters, where the outreach person made a formal presentation with the aforementioned map. All the presentations we attended, both on and off the ranch, followed an overarching Maasai Steppe narrative: the need to protect the migration corridors between the parks, the land trust as a compromise between a variety of competing interests, tourist revenues as an incentive for local people to support conservation, and the need for education, outreach, and the enhancement of local conservation capacity (see Sumba, Bergin, and Jones 2005: 3–5).⁸

These experiences reignited my interest in Chamber's formulations of rural development tourism, which I had not read since a development anthropology graduate seminar back in 1988. Of course, I do not know precisely the extent to which such staged arrangements shaped the experiences of distinguished visitors to the Maasai Steppe, whose representations I have been monitoring and analyzing over the past eight years. Rather than speculating, however, I will focus instead on the representations of space in which these visitors appear. It is certainly possible that they moved outside the spatial circuits described in this chapter and that they experienced spontaneous encounters that flipped their received script on hegemonic Maasai Steppe imaginaries. But if such is the case, I could find practically no evidence of it in the images and related representations of space in which they appear.

As we view photographs and videos of distinguished visitors to the Maasai Steppe, and read their online accounts, we find ourselves accompanying them repeatedly to the same selection of spaces. These include Tarangire National Park and the new Manyara Ranch School, rebuilt close to the northern edge of the ranch and outside the main wildlife migration corridors. It also includes the Esilalei Women's Cultural Boma, a community-based enterprise on the road between Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks. In addition to buying traditional Maasai handicrafts, visitors to the Boma are invited to experience traditional Maasai dances and visit traditional Maasai homes.⁹ Other sites that occasionally appear are the livestock-improvement facilities within Manyara Ranch and the Manyara Conservancy luxury tented camps.

In representations of these spaces, we repeatedly encounter the same people, or at least the same categories of people: schoolchildren, Maasai women, Maasai warriors, Maasai elders, conservation and development experts, and occasionally tour operators and rangers. And the people we encounter always seem to be doing the same things: the schoolchildren smile, wave, ham-it-up for the camera, and say, "Good morning, Teacher!"; the Maasai women sing; the Maasai warriors leap into the air; the Maasai elders herd cattle; the experts point to maps and charts, give information, and occasionally invite visitors to help with their important research; tour operators talk about the local economy; and rangers stand by with guns and occasionally act as guides. The distinguished visitors themselves appear in remarkably similar poses and offer strikingly similar narratives. The same basic facts, figures, and stories are regularly repeated.

My aim here is not to question the efficacy of these and related projects. I believe that the interventions described in this chapter do protect some wildlife, do

improve some children's access to quality primary education and modern communication technology, and do help some Maasai raise exotic livestock breeds that fetch higher market prices than traditional varieties. Taking these outcomes as given, I am interested in how these projects are translated into larger stories about capitalism, conservation, and cultural preservation. Specifically, I will endeavor to show how circuited nodes of space delimit the experiences of distinguished visitors to the Maasai Steppe. Particular kinds of encounters and views, within particular spaces, are repeatedly captured in images that are remarkably similar in appearance and perspective, and they are accompanied by strikingly similar narratives told by the distinguished visitors cast as their central protagonists.

VIRTUAL POSTCARDS FROM THE MAASAI STEPPE

Spectacular representations of the Maasai Steppe are produced for high-profile visits by distinguished guests and disseminated through the World Wide Web. While many of these representations are directly sponsored by the AWF, they do not accumulate in some centralized archive; they exist in a wide variety of seemingly unrelated virtual contexts—from news releases disseminated by the U.S. embassy in Dar es Salaam to the pages of the *Huffington Post*. When collected together, however, there is a high degree of agreement between them. Even as their details change over time, their main stories stay remarkably consistent.

Most of the images and narratives of the Maasai Steppe I found in the early part of my research were promotional material produced by AWF. This material was supported by press releases from the U.S. State Department. USAID (U.S. Agency for International Development) was (and remains) a vital supporter of conservation and development in the Maasai Steppe. A press release from 2008 carries the headline “More Animals, More Money at Manyara Ranch” and describes how USAID is supporting livestock-improvement facilities that will allow Maasai herders to keep smaller herds of large cattle, thus reducing conflict with wildlife. The resulting recovery of wildlife, the press release continues, is making the ranch a desirable location for a “high-end tourist lodge.” The release is accompanied by an image of the USAID mission director posing on a Massey Ferguson tractor (a gift from the people of the United States) with a Maasai spiritual leader.¹⁰ Another press release carries the statement from

Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson, with which I concluded chapter 2, along with a photo of Paulson and his wife Wendy posing with children at the newly relocated and rebuilt Manyara Ranch School.¹¹

Another significant media representation from this period comes from (what was then) a start-up media company called the Green Living Project, which produced a video on the Manyara Ranch during its 2007 African tour. The video takes us on a tour mediated by Tanzanian professionals. At the improved Manyara Ranch School, a young man in a khaki AWF shirt acts as translator for the aging headmaster. He explains that the school was moved away from the wildlife migration corridor and relocated in a modern facility at the edge of the ranch. At the feedlot and abattoir, the ranch manager explains how improved cattle varieties fetch a higher price at market, which helps support local prosperity, and thus conservation. At the Esilalei Women's Cultural Boma, a young Maasai man describes how handicraft sales are supporting the livelihoods of local women. These presentations are situated through establishing shots of wide-open spaces, elephants, and Maasai warriors. The video concludes with Maasai women singing at the Esilalei Cultural Boma and a voice over expressing the hope that local people will learn to see the economic value of wildlife so they will want to protect them.¹²

This video, more than any other representation that I could find, systematically displays all the important spaces of translation and related imagery that together constitute the Maasai Steppe imaginary. It also features Tanzanian professionals as its main interlocutors. Indeed, no Westerners appear in the film, although they are always near at hand—behind the camera, choosing the frames and providing the perspective. Tanzanians with a speaking role are mostly absent from subsequent representations of the Maasai Steppe, with the main exception a segment in the “AWF 50th Anniversary Video,” released in 2011.¹³ Nonspeaking Tanzanians, on the other hand, abound: singing Maasai women, smiling Maasai schoolchildren, stoic Maasai warriors, and the very occasional group of non-Maasai.¹⁴ Representations of nonspeaking locals appear repeatedly as background to the central narration of Western protagonists, often juxtaposed with images of resident wildlife.

The earliest example I could find of this sort of representation is from Explore, a philanthropic media organization associated with the Annenberg Foundation. In a video on Explore's website, philanthropist Paul Annenberg Weingarten, in conversation with wildlife biologist Craig Sholley, invites viewers to “join in on Explore's first ever philanthropic journey, the efforts to build a school

for the Maasai tribe in Tanzania.” The two explain how dilapidated the old school was, with “elephants on the playground and lions in the soccer field.”¹⁵ Accompanying images emphasize migrating wildlife and Maasai dances. These are accompanied by footage of Maasai schoolchildren and images that contrast the dilapidated old school with the modern new school. The only other narration in the Explore videos is an English voiceover of a Maasai elder blessing Weingarten at the groundbreaking ceremony.¹⁶

Shortly after the new school opened, another high-profile visitor entered the Manyara Ranch scene: supermodel Veronica Verekova. In 2008 Verekova summited Mt. Kilimanjaro. She then went on to visit Tarangire National Park, where she spent time with AWF lion researcher Bernard Kissui as he tracked the movements of radio-collared lions. Inspired by this encounter, she visited Craig Sholley in Washington, D.C., and agreed to become an AWF goodwill ambassador. An AWF promotional video depicts her first official visit to Africa in 2009. The segment about Verekova’s time in the Maasai Steppe opens with a fast-motion shot through the windscreen of a moving Land Rover, which quickly resolves to a shot of Verekova at the Esilalei Woman’s Cultural Boma surrounded by Maasai women in their finest regalia. We then see her visiting the empty remains of the old Manyara Ranch School, followed by a photograph taken as she poses with Maasai schoolchildren in front of the new Manyara Ranch School.¹⁷

The same year Verekova climbed Mt. Kilimanjaro and visited Tarangire, an inaugural team of IBM Corporate Service Corps volunteers was also in Tanzania.¹⁸ Among the various assignments for IBM Team Tanzania was a partnership with AWF in relation to the Maasai Steppe Heartland.¹⁹ Members of the team documented their experiences in blogs and video presentations, including one of the team’s visit to Manyara Ranch. The American volunteer narrating the video describes “their mission: to develop a business plan that balances the needs of conservation with those of the local Maasai community. The extensive animal population and interesting local Maasai culture will surely be two wonderful reasons to include the ranch in your next safari.”²⁰ The video concludes with a traditional dance by Maasai women.

The year 2009 appears as a significant moment in the online archive of the Maasai Steppe. According to AWF’s fiftieth anniversary timeline, this was the year the organization “concluded its first ever capital campaign—the Campaign to Save Africa’s Heartlands.”²¹ It was also the year that AWF submitted its closeout report to USAID on lessons learned from the Maasai Steppe

Heartland. In 2010 a “semi-permanent tented camp was opened at the edge of a picturesque clearing near the Conservancy’s center.”²² By 2011 the Manyara Ranch Conservancy had been launched and was being marketed as “35,000 acres of exclusive wilderness between Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks—a wilderness exclusively for you.”²³ An early brochure for the conservancy explicitly highlights some of my points from earlier in this chapter: the luxury tented camp at the center of this exclusive wilderness is one hour from Arusha, two hours from Kilimanjaro International Airport, half an hour from Tarangire National Park, and forty minutes to Lake Manyara National Park.²⁴ The Conservancy website places its main emphasis on images of tourists encountering wildlife in a variety of exclusive situations (e.g., horseback safaris, night drives, and sundowners at watering holes), traditional Maasai elders and women, and children at the new Manyara Ranch School.²⁵

Virtual representations posted by distinguished visitors to the Maasai Steppe dwindled during this period but have reemerged. AWF’s 2013 Serengeti Safari Sweepstakes winner, Leslie Wainger, provides an exemplary account of the circuits we have covered in this section.²⁶ Her first entry describes arriving at Kilimanjaro International Airport, two restful days at a nearby mountain lodge, and a brief stop in Arusha, all with plenty of time for a picnic lunch at the main gate of Tarangire National Park with AWF lion researcher Bernard Kissui.²⁷ Wainger reports taking more than five thousand photographs during her safari, and some of these accompany her reports on the AWF website. However, the blogs mostly contain detailed and descriptive writing,²⁸ like this account of her third day in Tarangire:

Day 3 was the Powerball jackpot of elephants. It seemed that every five minutes we saw more of them. At one point in the afternoon I asked Hashim how many elephants live in the park and he said about 5,000. I joked that I felt we had seen at least half, then laughed and said I knew I was exaggerating but I was sure that we had seen hundreds. But then at dinner that night Stephen said that we had seen about half the elephants in the park in two and a half days. . . . We drove up on one herd that had staked out the middle of the road, and had no intention of moving, so finally we had to four wheel it onto the verge and circle around them. . . . And then there was the big bull who stood in the road blocking our passage and staring at us. We were all standing and looking out the pop top when he decided to angle past us. . . . I’m not exaggerating when I say that if I’d have been a fool, I could have reached out and touched him as he passed.²⁹

The following day the safari departed Tarangire for the Ngorongoro Conservation Area via the Manyara Ranch. Here is an excerpt from Wainger's blog about that experience:

Honestly there was no such thing as a clean getaway from Tarangire, because the wildlife just would not be denied. . . . We saw elephants and had to wait for one herd to cross the road, because they were just not interested in the fact that we had places to go and people to see. And I don't think any of us minded being delayed by elephants, because really . . . they were elephants! And we were seeing them in Africa! In the wild! (Yes, it was the kind of trip that inspired exclamation points.) . . . Just driving through the ranch on our way to the school we saw more zebra than I could count, giraffe, impala, eland, and a leopard tortoise. . . . As we drove through the ranch we passed abandoned buildings that comprised the original primary school, which are now tumbling into decay. At some point in the relatively recent past the school was relocated from inside the ranch to outside it, both to keep the children safe from wildlife and to provide amenities like electricity and water. . . . We got to meet some of the students and teachers, as well as the administrators, and though it was very different from an American school in some ways, it was also very familiar, because, let's face it, little kids at school all have pretty much the same wonderful mixture of shyness and pride when visitors come by.

Just a few months later Tarangire was visited by its most famous blogger to date: Chelsea Clinton. In August of 2013, Clinton visited Tanzania with her father, former U.S. President Bill Clinton, on a tour of Clinton Foundation projects in Africa. Her visit to Tarangire helped launch an \$80 million Clinton Foundation initiative to save Africa's elephants, announced by Chelsea Clinton's mother, former U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, in early September 2013.³⁰ Chelsea Clinton's visit also came just a few weeks after President Obama's visit to Tanzania, during which he announced the U.S. government's plan to stop wildlife trafficking in Africa.³¹ All these initiatives responded to an alarming resurgence in elephant poaching. Global media coverage of this resurgence emphasizes its links to China's rise as a superpower operating in Africa, African civil wars, organized crime, and terrorism.³² A recent *National Geographic* (2015) retrospective of Clinton's 2013 African tour explains that she chose Tarangire as an elephant conservation success story that could serve as a model for all of Africa.³³ Representations of Clinton's visit show her interacting

with Tanzanian wildlife officials and viewing elephants.³⁴ A large photograph of Clinton gazing from a pop-up roof at a group of Tarangire elephants accompanies her Clinton Foundation blog post, “How We Can End the Elephant Poaching Crisis.” The accompanying essay describes ivory poaching as both an “economic disaster,” for its negative impacts on the tourist economy, and a “national security threat,” due to its connections to militia groups and terrorist organizations.³⁵

Along with intensified concerns about ivory poaching, the renewed imperative of optimal landscape management is articulated in the more recent representations of space from the Maasai Steppe. In November 2013, the Maasai Steppe became a featured landscape within the Landscapes for People, Food and Nature network, a consortium organized “to create and sustain integrated agricultural landscapes worldwide.”³⁶ Representations of the Maasai Steppe in this context focus on a stakeholder dialogue organized by the consortium. Their specific recommendations include community-based monitoring of poaching; minimizing human-wildlife conflict by optimizing locations of grazing land and local farms; helping herders keep small herds of large cattle; and helping farmers intensify production to grow more food on less land. Benefit sharing and teaching people to value wildlife were also listed as priorities.

The main source for virtual representations of the Maasai Steppe’s potential to become an integrated agricultural landscape is Chris Planicka, a project manager for an organization called EcoAgricultural Partners, which coordinates Landscapes for People, Food and Nature. Planicka’s writing and photographs appear both on official web sources and his own personal blog. While a few of his photographs show an urban stakeholder workshop, most were taken at sites in Manyara Ranch, including the headquarters (with elephants in the foreground), the livestock-improvement facility, and various open spaces inhabited by wildlife.³⁷ An entry from Planicka’s personal blog begins with a photograph of an open savanna with a lagoon of water shimmering in the background. The caption simply reads, “Manyara Ranch.” In the entry, Planicka reiterates the official Manyara Ranch story, stating that livestock and local farms had previously overrun the ranch, and that the Tanzanian Land Conservation Trust is now seeking ways to “find a balance between the local community’s needs and those of the wildlife roaming the corridor.” In the photos and narrative, the ranch again becomes representative of the need to coordinate human activities across the entire Maasai Steppe. Planicka concludes that this “should be an interesting journey for the Manyara Ranch and the greater landscape as a whole.”³⁸

Finally, images from crucial spaces of the Maasai Steppe are now part of a short online film called *The Corridor*, which debuted at the 2015 Sun Valley Film Festival. The film's producer, Dan Duran, was the winner of the first Wild to Inspire film competition, cosponsored by the AWF and Nat Geo Wild (the National Geographic online video channel). The photos accompanying Duran's blog posts to the AWF website visually recapitulate the circuits that have been the central focus of this chapter: entry 1, the paved road from Arusha to Taran-gire through the windscreen of a moving vehicle; entry 2, children at the Manyara Ranch school; entry 3, Duran and his Tanzanian guide jumping for joy with Lake Manyara in the background; entry 4, rays of sunshine breaking through the clouds over Manyara Ranch.³⁹ Duran's online teaser for *The Corridor* is a 122-second montage. It opens with a fast-motion shot of clouds rolling across the open savanna before switching to a series of slow-motion shots: elephants walking among baobabs; a zebra majestically shaking its mane; uniformed rangers, armed with automatic weapons, in the back of a passing pick-up; a mother hippo and her baby; and ostriches gracefully craning and looping their necks. A Maasai warrior leaps exuberantly against a clear blue sky, and Maasai schoolboys leap together on the playground of the new Manyara Ranch School. A group of Maasai elders herd their cattle into a kraal, a group of young, ethnically ambiguous farmers hoe the ground in unison, and a uniformed ranger patrols on foot accompanied by an antipoaching dog. At the end, rays of sunshine stream down through a break in the clouds and the words "The Corridor" appear in the sky over the Manyara Ranch Conservancy before the teaser finally fades to black.

The sequence incorporates all the essential elements of the Maasai Steppe vision while explicitly introducing two that are not commonly seen: armed men in military uniforms and small-scale farmers. If recent interventions are anything to go by, these are aspects of the Maasai Steppe that must now be visually acknowledged. Even as they appear, however, they are briefly interspersed between more traditional images. Set in slow motion and to a mesmerizing score of cello and harp, they seem to be part of a flowing order of things: the mother hippo protecting her baby and the men with guns protecting them both; the hoes arching down to the ground like the graceful descent of leaping Maasai warriors; Maasai elders tending their livestock while a ranger and his Alsatian tend the wildlife. Everything is seamlessly interwoven into a harmonious holistic vision, which as the film's title emphasizes, is all about connection. Assembled fragments of space and time appear as all there is to see of the Maasai Steppe.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have tried to show how a selection of views has come to constitute a seemingly singular vision. This vision is not false or even misrepresentative. Rather, it is highly selective. The spaces from which its images are derived are essential to wildlife conservation, especially elephant conservation, in this part of Tanzania. They also contain important symbolic objects, which are highlighted through intrinsic narratives of space and in relation to performances of staged authenticity. Situated at intersections of tourism, conservation, and development, these spaces are crucial sites of translation through which diverse lifeworlds are turned into exchangeable and circulating forms of representation. In the process, assembled fragments are gigantified, as defined by Slater (2002: 220), so that they both represent and visually displace the wider realities from which they were selected. At the least, they appear to be views of all there is to see of the Maasai Steppe, since nothing else is seen.

The Maasai Steppe imaginary cannot exist separately in either the spaces or the images, but is only reproduced via the interplay of the two. Its stories are built around specific views of specific actors in specific spaces. The presence of well-known people imbues these views with authenticity and specificity. Each view appears as the unique embodied perspective of a particular someone in a distinctive somewhere. The spaces of translation, through which the Maasai Steppe story gains experiential and visual specificity, in turn lend themselves to a variety of other specific stories. Some are mostly personal: an adventurer-philanthropist, a fashion model, and an aspiring filmmaker present their own Maasai Steppe adventures while reproducing essential elements of the Maasai Steppe story (education, women's empowerment, and ecological connectivity). Corporate volunteers and a young development professional tell stories of corporate social responsibility and ecologically integrated agriculture, also in keeping with the Maasai Steppe story. Different parts of the Maasai Steppe story can be emphasized (e.g., private enterprise or the need to manage people, land, and animals), and certain new elements can be added (e.g., non-Maasai farmers and armed rangers) without much disruption to the frame. Many different stories coexist, and thanks to many shared reference points, each feels as if it fits with the others.

When presented in such vividly detailed images and performances, the Maasai Steppe story infuses excitement and vitality into a technocratic vision of a

landscape that functions ecologically and economically. Charts, diagrams, maps, and other visual aids for projecting monetary value into nature are decidedly disenchanting modes of representation. The idea of turning nature into a medium for mitigating the environmental ills of capitalism is, likewise, a disenchanting vision. While these ways of looking at and managing things are important to policy-making, investment, and NGO fundraising, they require adventurous personas and spectacular nature as the “indispensable decoration” to what is essentially a disenchanting technocratic rationale (Debord 1995: th. 15).

Adventurous personas—like Roosevelt and Grzimek—have been at the forefront of mainstream transnational conservation since its inception at the end of the nineteenth century. Tourism and mass media are established sources of spectacular nature, often presented in support of transnational conservation. In recent decades, as this chapter has shown, these various projects have become more tightly intertwined. Mainstream conservation works to produce what Brockington (2009: 132–36) calls “a mediagenic world,” which is attractive to celebrities and other adventurous personas who lend their support to its causes. These actors highlight the “mediagenic qualities” of selected spaces, people, and encounters and help turn them into spectacular image-objects that circulate far beyond the original sites of their production.

The views of powerful, wealthy, and famous individuals are prominent among those who make this imagined world visible. As Brockington has shown, such celebrated people play a crucial role in the reproduction of elite social networks. They are the movers and shakers of both conservation and development. As we shall see in chapter 4, they also play a crucial role in performing visions of capitalist nature at transnational policy forums, often in the midst of elaborate spectacle. Their performances are often buttressed, moreover, by stage sets and scripts remarkably similar to the touristic techniques described in this chapter: different actors move through circuits of space organized into preselected themes.

Increasing opportunities for everyday people to mimic the celebrated and powerful have become an important component of the kinds of green marketing appeals that we will explore in chapter 5. This sort of marketing pitch offers to extend people’s capacities to reach out and change the world. Views like those presented in this chapter are continuously and massively produced and disseminated by tourists on vacation (Salazar 2012), students on study-abroad programs (Catton and Santos 2009), and volunteers working with NGOs from Tanzania to Thailand (Mostafanezhad 2013). They are also continuously reproduced and redisseminated by modern consumers from their armchairs at home.

Considered as such, the Maasai Steppe story appears indicative of much larger transformations. The distinctive views of adventurous personas are readily captured and circulated by sophisticated handheld media devices, in circuits of spaces, that now proliferate in relation to a diversity of interlocking global projects (e.g., tourism, conservation, development, corporate social responsibility, ethical entrepreneurship, service learning, and volunteerism, to name a few). When considered in aggregate abstraction, these seemingly distinctive views take on a notably fungible and generic appearance. A limited selection of situations and spaces stands out as a seemingly coherent vision of the world, which is not only “media-genic” but also appears amenable to interventions that will, at least putatively, optimize economic growth and ecosystem health. We now turn to the wider circuits through which this world has come into view.

4

WISE EXCHANGE, CONVENTION SPACE, AND TRANSNATIONAL TOURNAMENTS OF VALUE

INTRODUCTION

THIS CHAPTER IS CONCERNED with the wider institutional and policy transformations of which the Maasai Steppe story is part. It begins with the “neoliberalization” of transnational conservation at the end of the twentieth century and the rise of conservation BINGOs (big nongovernmental organizations). This first phase involves the transformation in U.S. support for transnational conservation and its connections to the iconic figure of Teddy Roosevelt, who is remembered as—among other things—the original proponent of the “wise use” of nature. This philosophy, which will be addressed in detail below, invokes possibilities for using nature in ways that will ensure its availability and viability for future generations. By contrast, current trends in transnational conservation and development turn on a vision of “wise exchange,” exchanging nature in ways that will ensure its availability and viability for future generations. The middle of this chapter focuses on how these complementary visions are performed into existence using policy forums. This part of the chapter highlights the role of adventurous personas and spectacle in conjuring nature’s exchange values in these contexts, and it explores the deployment of theming techniques to manage perspectives and conversations related to this conjuring. The final part of the chapter addresses these events and techniques in relation to what Appadurai (1986: 21) calls “tournaments of

value,” which are not only about the “status, rank, [or] fame . . . of actors but [also] the dispositions of the central tokens of value.” Specifically, this section will speak to contests related to competing visions of how nature should be valued.

NEOLIBERAL CONSERVATION, WISE USE, AND WISE EXCHANGE

Much has been written since the turn of the millennium about neoliberalism, neoliberalization, and neoliberal conservation. While a thorough discussion of this literature is beyond the scope of this chapter, some of its larger points merit outlining here.¹ Whereas liberalism saw both nature and markets as realms that should be deregulated, that is, left to their own devices as far as possible (see especially Foucault 2007: ch. 2), neoliberalism sees them both as realms that need to be reregulated (Castree 2008), that is, intensively managed with the aim of maximizing economic growth, deploying technocratic interventions to ensure that this growth is channeled into an optimal state of affairs (Igoe and Brockington 2007; Fletcher 2010).² Two further points are important to note. First, not everything about neoliberalism is new. In fact, there is significant historical continuity between relatively recent modes of neoliberal conservation and older configurations of conservation and capitalism with roots in the nineteenth-century Euro-American westward expansions (Tsing 2005; Brockington, Duffy, and Igoe 2009). I will attend to these continuities in the course of this chapter. Second, neoliberalism, including neoliberal conservation, is neither automatic nor total. Like any other hegemonic formation, it is partial and always potentially unstable, so it must be actively and continuously reproduced in the face of contestation and resistance. Spectacle plays a crucial role in imbuing hegemonic neoliberalism with the appearance of totality (Igoe, Neves, and Brockington 2010; Igoe 2014). With these continuities and contestations in mind, it is significant that neoliberal conservation produces discourses and practices that are so similar to each other and so pervasive. An especially far-reaching transformation has been the scaling back of direct state spending, even as state involvement in regulating nature has been intensifying (Brockington, Duffy, and Igoe 2009). Consequently, a great deal of responsibility for conservation has been outsourced to NGOs. A related element of neoliberal conservation has been the increased involvement of corporate actors and a prominent rise in partnerships

between conservation NGOs and corporations. The discourses and spectacles of neoliberal conservation downplay contradictions and conflicts in favor of win-win scenarios in which both people and the environment benefit from economic growth (see Igoe and Brockington 2007).

Relative to the recent dynamics of the Maasai Steppe case, Corson (2010) has documented the neoliberalization of U.S. support for transnational conservation across the turn of the millennium (see also Corson 2016). During the 1990s, as she explains, the downsizing of USAID corresponded with congressional mandates for the agency to outsource its biodiversity work via funding to conservation NGOs (Corson 2010: 588–89). This was part of a larger shift, described by Chapin (2004: 22), in which a small group of conservation NGOs, now known as BINGOs, came to dominate conservation funding and global conservation agendas.³ A significant element of this shift has been the creation of branded “landscapes” by conservation NGOs, as exemplified by the African Heartlands (Sachedina 2010). The logic of this approach, Chapin (2004: 22–23) explains, is that it will concentrate scarce conservation funding on especially valuable tracts of nature while managing landscapes large enough to support more holistic approaches to major environmental problems. Managing these larger landscapes would require large conservation NGOs with adequate funding and capacity for the tasks at hand (see also Sachedina 2010).⁴

In the early 2000s, four of the largest conservation NGOs formed a congressional advisory group called the International Conservation Partnership,⁵ inspiring the formation of the International Conservation Caucus (ICC) in the U.S. Congress, which was supported by a related nonprofit group called the International Conservation Caucus Foundation (ICCF) (Corson 2010: 591–92). Among many other things, the ICCF sponsors trips by members of the U.S. Congress to vital conservation areas. In 2004, it sponsored a congressional fact-finding safari to Tanzania’s northern tourist circuit (AWF 2004), including a stop at the Esilalei Cultural Boma (Sachedina 2008: 23). Shortly before his visit to the Manyara Ranch in 2007, Treasury Secretary Henry Paulson co-hosted the annual ICCF gala with his wife Wendy in Washington, D.C.⁶

My point here again is that productions of the Maasai Steppe as a realm of ecofunctional nature should be understood as part of the wider neoliberal transformations outlined above. USAID funding to AWF in the first decade of the millennium was essential to securing important spaces of the Maasai Steppe Heartland (Sachedina 2010), while the formation of the ICCF, of which AWF is a conservation partner (ICCF 2007), brought together U.S. officials and related

actors who participated in producing the Maasai Steppe vision at a crucial moment in its formation. Along with similar performances and productions—occurring at many different interconnected scales and locales—these have been taken up in larger conservation visions.

Here also is where we see important continuity to older configurations of conservation and capitalism. In many respects, the idea of a landscape that functions both ecologically and economically is a distinctively neoliberal one. It is difficult to imagine a more naturalized version of a win-win scenario in which capitalist market dynamics are put in the service of nature and vice versa. In relation to the ICC and the ICCF, however, this vision is recognizable as belonging to an older genealogy of nature ideology going back to the figure of Teddy Roosevelt and the United States as a leader in “fostering a more prosperous, peaceful, stable, and inspirational world.”⁷

The ICCF website articulates this vision as “The Teddy Roosevelt Approach,” invoking his celebrated “Conservation as a National Duty” speech, addressed in 1908 to a conference of state governors at the White House. In the passage quoted on the ICCF website, Roosevelt states that we should protect pristine nature, but adds, “Man can improve upon nature by compelling resources to renew and even reconstruct themselves in such a manner as to serve increasingly beneficial uses.”⁸ As Haraway (1989: 22) notes in “Teddy Bear Patriarchy,” Roosevelt’s persona and worldview present a “critical union” of mystery and utilitarianism: nature as a realm of sublime inspiration and nature as a realm of improvement and commodification.

This “critical union” addresses the contradiction of capitalist nature with which I opened this book. On the one hand, we have nature unsullied by modernization and capitalist value-making, which is available for contemplation only. On the other, we have nature that must be compelled to generate increasingly beneficial commodities for the good of society and the future of civilization. However, as Smith (1984: 77–78) reminds us, in capitalist systems “the appropriation of nature is accomplished not for the fulfillment of needs in general, but for the fulfillment of one need in particular: profit.”

In relation to neoliberal celebrations of economic growth as the “one true and fundamental social policy” (Foucault 2008: 144), there is less apparent contradiction between profit motives and social needs in general. Neoliberal modes of regulation, moreover, valorize technocratic interventions eschewed in romantic visions of nature. While neoliberal conservation still turns on images of awe-inspiring pristine nature, these are increasingly incorporated in a vision of na-

ture that can be “disassembled, recombined, and subject to the disciplinary design of expert management” (Luke 1999: 142).

This logic is readily visible in the Maasai Steppe Heartland vision, in which spectacular views of pristine nature continue to be the most valued. But here we also see the “critical union” that Haraway talks about. Techniques for monitoring and managing wildlife are explicitly visible in this vision, as is their potential to enhance the monetary value of spectacular nature, attracting tourists, investors, and policy interventions that will further support the management of the wildlife and its environs. This is all highly consistent with Roosevelt’s imperative to “improve upon nature . . . to serve increasingly beneficial uses.” What is neoliberal about this vision is the harnessing of exchange value as a management tool. Not only will economic growth and development help with the technocratic management of the environment, growth and aid will also help local people appreciate the real value of nature, incentivizing them to scale back unsustainable land-based activities and to refrain from harming the wildlife in their midst.

A similar logic can be discerned in the natural capital policy zeitgeist described in the introduction of this book. In the opening pages of her multisited ethnography on the economization and financialization of nature, Dempsey (2016: 2–3) distills the ideas of the prominent proponents of natural capital, who explain that people do not appreciate the value of nature in general, and biodiversity in particular. The people in question in this case, however, are investors, policy makers, and consumers, most of whom live lives both geographically and emotionally distant from the nature they should be caring about. Demonstrating nature’s economic value, this logic goes, will illuminate why it matters so much to people’s lives, thereby inspiring investments and policies that will support healthy ecosystems (see also Sullivan 2013a).

These discourses echo again a vital element of “the Roosevelt approach”: enhancing nature’s societal utility. However, nature’s utility is now expressed in terms of services—such as the provisioning of clean air, clean water, leisure, and entertainment—that policy makers can support and consumers can purchase. A great deal of emphasis is likewise placed on revealing nature’s hidden exchange value as a global utility undervalued to the tune of trillions of dollars. Much work is being done to translate ecological data into economic value (Sullivan 2009: 19; Dempsey 2016: 3), to the point that transnational institutional networks are being dramatically realigned vis-à-vis this imperative (MacDonald and Corson 2012).

These efforts to align nature and capital at global scales have proven challenging to say the least. Nature hasn't produced the kinds of financial returns that attract investors looking to make large profits in a hurry (Büscher 2014). This has prompted a new kind of search, for something called "patient capital" (Dempsey 2016: 172). On the other hand, the mechanisms by which exchange value will actually be turned into healthy ecosystem functions has proven elusive (Sullivan 2009). Reflecting on four years of multisited research, Dempsey (2016: 3) concludes that these efforts and their discourses "remain by and large on the margins of policy making and capital flows." And, at the same time, there are many proponents of natural capital who eschew neoliberal mantras of growth (Muniz and Cruz 2015) and many others in global conservation who contest and resist alignments of nature and capital altogether.

These realities notwithstanding, discourses and visions of nature aligned with capital continue to intensify, and global conservation is the crucible for these intensifications. This can be seen in the performances and pronouncements of high-profile figures: conservationists, economists, corporate leaders, and politicians who promote natural capital frameworks and variously describe markets as "a force of nature," nature as a bank, nature as a company, and nature as a factory (MacDonald 2010a; Sullivan 2013a). If any of them will be remembered one day as a champion of something like wise-exchange, it is likely to be environmental economist Pavan Sukhdev, architect of TEEB (The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity), a "global initiative focused on making nature's values visible" (see also Dempsey 2016: 130).⁹

Like Roosevelt, Sukhdev emphasizes that nature cannot simply be locked away and protected. It needs to be managed in ways that increase its benefits to society. Whereas Roosevelt envisioned improving nature's utility, however, Sukhdev envisions enhancing its exchange values. This is not strictly a neoliberal vision, since part of Sukhdev's aim in pricing nature is to facilitate accounting distinctions between private investment/costs and public investment/costs. It does, however, consistently privilege capitalist-centric metaphors of nature. It also emphasizes that humans are motivated by the prospect of economic gain and that pricing is thus an especially effective—though, of course, not the only—way of valuing nature. Finally, this vision also helps resolve apparent contradictions between neoliberal growth imperatives and socioecological concerns—though Sukhdev allows that growth is not always necessary.¹⁰

But demonstrating and capturing nature's economic values is the purview of experts whose modes of representation are long on technical language, charts, diagrams, and calculative matrixes. What of Roosevelt's "critical union" of utility

and mystery? How are we to imagine a world that is inspiring as well as prosperous? In the case of the Maasai Steppe Heartland, we have already seen how conservation legacies of adventurous persona and images of sublime nature are refined to animate the utilitarian imperative to leverage nature into capitalist markets. And this should be understood as part of the larger transformations I have been describing in this section. The rise of conservation BINGOs has turned on partnerships between conservation and big business (Chapin 2004; Sullivan 2009; MacDonald 2010b); intensifications of celebrity in the business of conservation (Brockington 2009); and proliferations of high-profile events and elaborate conservation spectacles related to both (Igoe 2010). These arrangements provide the mystique and inspiration that fill out the “critical union” of capitalist nature (see Sullivan 2011).

The following section addresses how these transformations unfold through transnational events that MacDonald (2010a) calls “the new fields of conservation.” These are sites and moments in transnational conservation in which normally diffuse actors and ideas are brought together in actual space, presenting rare opportunities for concentrated theater and spectacle. My analysis focuses on the “marketplace of ideas,” that is, the World Conservation Forum within the World Conservation Congress.¹¹ As in the Maasai Steppe case, I am interested in the ways that movements of people through the Forum are organized through circuits of space, and in the service of telling particular stories about reality.

FIELDS, SPACES, AND JOURNEYS OF TRANSNATIONAL CONSERVATION

The World Conservation Forum is the more open and visible segment of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) World Conservation Congress, which also consists of a more exclusive members’ assembly, in which binding decisions are made by official members of the IUCN, with nonmembers invited to observe. Brosius and Campbell (2010: 14) aptly characterize the 2008 forum in Barcelona as “part trade show and part conference” (see also Sullivan 2009). Fletcher’s (2014: 332) description of the 2012 forum in Jeju, Korea, adds illuminating detail to this insight:

Participants were shuttled to and from numerous hotels dispersed throughout the island every morning and evening according to a bewildering bus schedule that, despite the provision of a glossy pictorial brochure, took an army of support

staff to decipher. Upon arrival at the convention center, perched on a bluff above the ocean . . . participants queued up to pass through a series of metal detectors and placed their bags on conveyer belts to be run through X-ray scanners. Then they emerged into a spacious lobby in which stood a number of pavilions representing different themes [of the Congress].

Disorientingly elaborate architecture, themed pavilions, shuttles, hotels, and hubbub are all elements not only of trade shows, but a variety of intermixed consumerist spaces. Such arrangements are rooted in late-nineteenth-century world exhibitions and fairs. These elaborate consumerist environments were designed to induce detachment and passive spectatorship: enormous glass buildings that presented “an unending perspective fading to the horizon” (Brain 1993: 39), gigantic machines that could only be contemplated from elevated walkways, (Brain 1993: 48), and panoramas that moved past stationary observers to simulate impossible journeys (Brain 1993: 65). These displays in world exhibitions elaborated insights from the economists of the day: that objects can gain value simply by virtue of their appearance (Connerton 2009: 58–59). World exhibitions featured visually saturated environments of generalized exchangeable surplus that often overwhelmed the appearance of particular commodity objects. To quote Benjamin’s (1999: 7) reflections on world exhibitions in his *Arcades Project*,

World exhibitions glorify the exchange value of the commodity. They create a framework in which its use value recedes into the background. They open a phantasmagoria, which a person enters in order to be distracted. The entertainment industry makes this easier by elevating the person to the level of the commodity. He surrenders to its manipulation, while enjoying its alienation from himself and others.

World exhibitions were immersive environments in which inanimate objects appeared animated as if by magic, thus projecting “a commodity character onto the universe” (7). Visitors were invited to go with the commodity flow, to bask in the wealth of exchangeable experiences made possible by these seemingly magical environments. But what of the visitors themselves? What might it mean to say that they have been elevated to the level of a commodity? Experiential exchangeability is not just a matter of choosing between magically animated experiences on offer but also being exchanged between them, sometimes literally like commodities on a conveyer belt (as in a factory or in a

supermarket). And not only are visitors exchanged along with everything else, they also add value to what is being exchanged, an especially important role in any marketplace of ideas.

Elements of the arrangements that Benjamin describes are reproduced and refined in the kinds of convention spaces where global conservation events are convened. Consider, for instance, Jeju Island, Korea, which hosted the 2012 World Conservation Congress, and is marketed as an integrated environment of “stunning nature and tourist attractions, with state-of-the art convention facilities.”¹² The sweeping glass edifice of the Jeju International Convention Center is connected to nearby hotels by underground shopping arcades, inside a UNESCO World Heritage Site, between a towering dormant volcano and panoramic expanses of Pacific coast. A cornucopia of entertainment, shopping, nature, and cultural tourism awaits every visitor.

Jeju exemplifies what sociologist Alan Bryman (2004: 57) calls “hybrid consumption,” in which boundaries between different realms of consumption are blurred and previously distinct kinds of consumption are brought together in innovative ways. He is particularly interested in hybrid consumption as a part of theming techniques pioneered by Disney Corporation’s venues, to which world’s fairs and exhibitions were significant historical precursors (Wilson 1992; Bryman 2004). Rather than just letting spaces of consumption jumble into each other, theming combines representations of space (whimsical maps and images) and representational spaces (infused with meaning and stories) to create hybrid consumption experiences that turn on particular imagined orders (elaborating on the dioramic representations so much in vogue in the nineteenth century). Along these lines, the Korean Tourist Organization has organized the cartography of Jeju Island into three themed regions: nature (a world heritage tour course), culture (history and culture tour course), and entertainment and leisure (a designated tourist complex, including the convention center).¹³

As noted in chapter 3, this kind of theming focuses on “intrinsic narratives of place,” which highlight—and sometimes exaggerate—“inherent features of the place in question . . . to make the message clearer and more unambiguous” (e.g., “Tanzania: The Land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar, and the Serengeti”). In more-controlled spaces, more kinds of theming are possible. Controlled spaces are apparently evacuated of cultural, historical, and ecological content (to become nonplaces), presenting (as nearly as possible) a blank slate waiting to be reinscribed with a selection of images, motifs, and stories—in a word, themes. In Disney theme parks this process revolves around imagined lands (e.g.,

Frontierland, Tomorrowland, Fantasyland). “Thematic discontinuities are minimized,” Bryman (2004: 20) explains, “by shielding lands from one another.” This entails placing barriers between lands, directing visitor attention with strategically placed attractions, and controlling the paths people can follow.

The kinds of convention spaces in which global conservation events take place are amenable to similar techniques. To become “world class” (i.e., comparable to any other high-profile convention space), wherever they may be, they are evacuated of cultural and historical content and organized around more-or-less standardized built environments, amenities, and menus. Selected local elements may be reintroduced, but never in ways that might disconcert conventioners. Because they host many different kinds of people and events, convention spaces must be radically flexible. Retractable walls make rooms larger or smaller according to attendance, and canvas dividers can even be introduced at a pinch. While convention spaces are necessarily too flexible for durable themed lands, they can facilitate coordinated movements of people through the same spaces on different themed journeys.

“Barcelona is going to be big,” announced the IUCN website in 2008, “[so] we’ve come up with twelve thematic journeys to help you through the maze.”¹⁴ As with the other modes of theming, the “themed journeys” cut through complexity (all the diverse agendas and interests of people who self-identify as conservationists) to tell selected stories more clearly. “The journeys will not only help you make sense of what will be a hectic week,” explains the website, “but will also make connections and draw analysis from events on similar topics.”¹⁵ The journeys are articulated representations of space consisting of an online journey description, maps for “travelers” to follow, schedules of events for travelers to attend, and “rest stops” for meeting with “fellow travelers” (similarly-oriented attendees) and “travel guides” (journey coordinators).

During the 2008 Congress, I remained in a large conference room through several events. By not moving, I inadvertently crossed between the Bio-Cultural Diversity and Indigenous Peoples Journey and the Markets and Business Journey events. The aesthetic and cultural differences were dramatic. Attendees in the earlier sessions favored jeans and diverse non-Western attire. They expressed concern about the damaging effects of capitalism on the environment and proclaimed people’s rights to cultural self-determination. Attendees at the later sessions favored business attire. They expressed concern about the undervaluation of nature and proclaimed people’s rights to capitalist development. The IUCN director general officially encourages “creative collisions”

between the different journeys. And in liberal models of civil society, such collisions of difference are imagined to generate creative solutions to pressing social problems. However, I observed no creative collisions in that room on that day.

Based on his ethnographic field research at the 2008 Congress, MacDonald (2010a) argues that journey structures significantly hindered creative collisions. Some included color-coded buttons fellow travelers could wear to recognize one another on sight. "Following and observing the Markets and Business Journey," MacDonald (266) relates, "I consistently found myself in the room with many of the same people, as they followed the journey programme from session to session. In the sessions I attended there were little to any contentious comments." In his ethnographic study at the 2012 Congress, Fletcher (2014: 213) tracked World Business Council–endorsed events, such as Business at the IUCN World Conservation Congress, from within, during which he encountered little in the way of competing perspectives. Through their participation in a themed journey in a marketplace of ideas, attendees provide discourses, performances, images, maps, and related modes of representation, all of which help to make the various themes of the Congress both legible and lively. It is important to note, however, that not all themes are created equal. And at recent Congresses a dominant theme has been the central role of big business and capitalist markets in protecting nature and promoting sustainability. As Fletcher (2014: 333) puts it, "there is nothing conspiratorial" in these transformations. Members of the IUCN secretariat, business leaders, and other high-profile personas regularly and openly celebrate convergences of conservation and capitalism in the most public, and media-covered, parts of the proceedings.¹⁶ What is more remarkable, he suggests, is the extent to which these celebrated convergences appear as a *fait accompli* despite their numerous contradictions and extensive contestation and resistance.

Here again we find important Disney analogues, specifically what Bryman (2004: 135) describes as techniques designed to control visitor imagination. The key to these techniques is spectatorship, consigning visitors to "a state of passivity . . . whereby they become onlookers . . . rather than active participants." Controlled environments and spectacular representations are used to present visitors with "simplified and predigested versions" of stories in which "emphasis is continuously being placed on certain key themes" while consistently eschewing "undesirable features." A particularly poignant example relative to the discussion at hand is "extolling the virtues of industry and the corporation while simultaneously ignoring the damage they do to the environment (or if this issue is addressed, it is in terms of how industry has, can or will overcome the

problem).” The take-home message of the opening plenary of the 2008 Congress is “business is part of the problem and part of the solution” (MacDonald 2010a: 280).

Wilson’s (1992: 190) description and analysis of the modernist vision of Disney’s Epcot Center and its antecedents (i.e., world exhibitions and fairs) reveals an “ideology of growth and development” that is immediately familiar to this chapter: “increased productive capacity, along with the free flow of inventions and careful management of the Earth’s resources” are the primary means of achieving a peaceful and prosperous global society. More emancipatory visions of the future, he argues, can only be put forward “by a society willing to debate its own survival.” Unfortunately, he concludes, “contemporary world’s fairs [i.e., the themed environments described in this chapter] stand in the way of those debates.”

At events like World Conservation Congresses, however, difference and debate are an important part of the story. For one thing, there are very real debates and differences continuously at play in the diffuse networks of global conservation (Brockington, Duffy, and Igoe 2009: 8–9) and at “new fields” events like the Congress (MacDonald 2010a). Official representations of these kinds of events frequently celebrate difference and debate. The official website of the 2016 World Conservation Congress in Hawai‘i, for instance, describes the forum as “a hub of debate, bringing together people from all walks of life.” On the same site, however, the Congress is described as “a place to put aside differences . . . engaging all parts of society to share both the responsibilities and the benefits of conservation.”¹⁷

Potential contradictions and tensions in this vision are attenuated by a variety of techniques for managing difference and dissent. Conservation journeys, as we have already seen, present diverse perspectives and values as legible and lively themes within the Congress while dampening potential for significant clashes and disruptions (MacDonald 2010a). As Fletcher (2014: 333) further observed of the 2012 Congress, events that promised the greatest possibility of dissent from an apparent neoliberal consensus tended to be tucked away in spaces not generally visible to the larger event, whereas themes of corporate partnerships and natural capital were heralded in highly visible spaces and events (e.g., high-profile evening receptions and events at the Business and Economics Pavilion, the most prominent themed pavilion).

Of particular note were opening and closing ceremonies, fantastic performances of desired planetary futures that not only claim to define the main terms of related debates but also portray advocates of various predefined positions

within those debates. The opening ceremony of the 2008 Congress, as described by MacDonald (2010a: 279), featured “players [professional actors] planted in the audience, who magically appeared . . . to ‘debate’ different ideological approaches to what one of them called ‘the environmental crisis that we all face.’” At the closing session of the 2012 Congress, as described by Fletcher (2014: 336), IUCN Director General Marton-Lefevre proclaimed, “Governments, business, NGOs, and media can talk to each other and agree on what is needed for a sustainable future.” At the end, “triumphant music filled the air . . . [and] cannons spewed paper butterflies over the crowd . . . [who] exited . . . through a gauntlet of young ushers, cheering wildly” (333).

These are no mere one-sided ideological performances. “Players” outside the fourth wall of the stage appear to be speaking on behalf of the assembled spectators. Spectators are unexpectedly transformed into “players” coming out onto the “field” (of conservation) amid echoes of cannon fire and adoring cheers from their supporters. But the seemingly interactive nature of these spectacles is largely performative. Debates are mostly scripted and perspectives are carefully managed. Players are still players and spectators are still spectators.

As I have argued throughout this section, these kinds of techniques for the management of discourses and perspectives (for more, see Fletcher 2014) turn on essential elements of exhibition values and hybrid consumption.¹⁸ Themed journeys and elaborately performed debates are set in the midst of surreal consumerist environments of generalized experiential exchangeability in which people and ideas are heralded as virtuous commodities. Such arrangements define the fields of ideological struggles and tournaments of value between clashing and competing visions of nature and how it should be valued.

TRANSNATIONAL TOURNAMENTS OF VALUE

The new fields of transnational conservation as outlined in the previous section are important sites and moments of global conservation and environmental policy-making. They are, as MacDonald (2010a: 259) argues, “spaces in which contestation over conservation policy becomes clear.” They are moments in which institutional and ideological realignments gain visibility and the potential for durability (MacDonald 2010a: 271). Their fleeting appearances of consensus and consent are captured as images, represented on websites, and reported in media accounts celebrating convergences of capital, technology, and nature. They are where and when binding agreements are forged, official proclamations are

issued, and natural capital frameworks are launched and “rolled out” into the “wider world” (MacDonald and Corson 2012).

As such these fields are both the sites and the stakes of ideological struggles within and between shifting alignments of dominant and marginal groups of people, to invoke Althusser (1971). The new fields of conservation are also an important realm of what Appadurai (1986: 21) calls “tournaments of value.” This distinction is an important one, for it highlights that these struggles are simultaneously about cultural values and monetary ones. Appadurai (1986) is centrally concerned with the sites and moments in which things are commodified, and also de-commodified. He is also concerned with how corresponding cultural values are articulated, contested and debated, and which ones manage to gain prominence in one situation or another.

The rise of conservation BINGOs around the turn of the millennium was met with mounting opposition from indigenous and local people, who asserted that nature conservation was systematically displacing their communities and in the process devaluing their ways of caring for and relating to other-than-human environments (Chapin 2004; Dowie 2009). On one level, these struggles pitted myriad indigenous lifeworlds against universalizing abstractions of nature as a pristine realm where people could go to refresh their spirits. But something more was afoot: the neoliberal transformations outlined in the first section of this chapter were defined by intensifying relationships between mainstream conservation and profit-making enterprises.

Of course, close relationships to big business have been consistently important to conservation since the opening of American parks in the nineteenth century (Spence 1999; Tsing 2005). While such relationships have been cultivated and celebrated in exclusive, elite spaces throughout the twentieth century (Bonner 1994: 66–70), they have rarely figured in public and popular conservation stories. Indeed, conservation has featured in the popular imagination as a bulwark against the ravaging effects of contemporary capitalism on wild animals and wild places (Brockington, Duffy, and Igoe 2009: 1). Until the end of the twentieth century, as MacDonald (2010a: 257) notes, open alliances with corporations would have seriously compromised the reputations of conservation organizations (see Dowie 1996). As we have seen, however, alliances between conservation and capitalism are openly celebrated these days in the new fields of conservation.

For observers at the turn of the millennium, this was not a foregone conclusion. Criticism of mainstream conservation was mounting and value contests were prominently visible in transnational conservation forums. The 2003 World

Parks Congress in Durban, South Africa, is perhaps the most notable example. Representatives of indigenous and local communities were highly visible at this event (including during plenary sessions) challenging, as Brosius (2004: 609) put it, “conservation as usual.” The 2003 World Parks Congress was also the site of vocal protests against partnerships between conservation and the mining industry, which ended with microphones being shut off so that protesters could no longer be heard (MacDonald 2010a: 269–70). Debates surrounding these matters were further enflamed by Chapin’s (2004) *World Watch* article, “A Challenge to Conservationists,” which not only decried the negative effects of mainstream conservation on indigenous peoples but also the rising influence of corporate money on mainstream conservation. In light of these developments, many (including myself) expected that the 2004 World Conservation Congress in Bangkok would be a politically contentious event.

A certain amount of confrontation and conflict continued in Durban. Indeed, journalist Mark Dowie (2009: xv) opens his book *Conservation Refugees* with a poignant account of a moment in which Maasai activist Martin Saning’o told a gathering of Western conservationists that they had turned indigenous peoples into “enemies of conservation” by failing to appreciate and support the care they take of the environment. Opposition to corporate conservation also continued at Bangkok (MacDonald 2010a), including in conjunction with indigenous activism. However, confrontations were generally excised from the most visible moments and spaces. Even in small and separate events, participants were instructed to write down remarks on paper rather than speaking out loud. Such arrangements and techniques, as we have already seen, were further refined and elaborated at subsequent World Conservation Congresses.

CONCLUSION: ONE MORE TIME AROUND THE HISTORIC BLOC

What seems to have happened in the contexts we’ve been tracking is that high-profile value contests appear to have been dissolved and resolved in favor of commodity nature. “Appear” is the operative word here, since such contestations obviously continue even when they are not prominently visible. And high-profile struggles still continue in other policy contexts.

For instance, Goodman and Salleh (2013) argue that the World Social Forum People’s Summit presented a parallel “counter-position” to the UN Rio+20 Summit in June 2012, just a few months prior to that year’s World Conservation

Congress in Jeju, Korea. The contest, as they describe it, is between competing visions of the future. One is a hegemonic vision of “intensified extraction and corresponding social and environmental debt.” The other is a counterhegemonic vision of “global justice, environmental sustainability and bio-civilization.”

This analysis invokes a Gramscian historic bloc framework, which I and colleagues have previously applied to the 2008 World Conservation Congress in Barcelona (Igoe, Neves, and Brockington 2010). The historic bloc, in Gramscian terms, describes a period in which groups who share a particular interest come together to form a distinctly dominant class. In that article we build on Sklair’s (2001: 8) argument that our present moment is “the sustainable development historic bloc,” which purports to offer easy, consumption-based solutions to pressing environmental problems (more on which in chapter 5) and turns on a vision in which economic growth and technical management hold the best hopes for our planetary future.

In that article (Igoe, Neves, and Brockington 2010: 490) we highlighted two aspects of the Gramsci’s (2000: 192) formulations most germane to our analysis. The first is that the ideologies (and we add spectacles) of a historic bloc present a “naturalized view” of the extractive and exploitative hierarchies of its prevailing relationships. Second, this naturalized view smoothes over the contradictions and irreconcilable differences that characterize these prevailing relationships. We also argued that spectacle is essential to this naturalized view.

As we add more experiences and insights to these conversations, we can begin to discern important differences in the fields of ideological struggle with which we are concerned. In some contexts, like RIO +20 and the People’s Summit, we may be seeing the emergence of a competing historic bloc capable of articulating increasingly sophisticated and nuanced versions of futures that challenge prevailing neoliberal versions on numerous interlocking fronts (Goodman and Salleh 2013). In other contexts, like the World Conservation Forum, increasingly sophisticated and nuanced techniques are being brought to bear on ideological struggles, gigantifying hegemonic visions of the future and managing competing ones. I concur with Fletcher (2014: 341) that more systematic maps, schemas, and comparisons of these interconnected situations could greatly enhance our understandings of these struggles.

In this chapter, I have sought to make a small contribution to that project (see also Igoe 2014) by delving into the orchestrated and managed moments of the World Conservation Forum. It is worth highlighting here that many of the techniques described in this chapter bear a striking resemblance to techniques

described in chapter 3. They consist of controlled movements of people through selected circuits of space, which are at the same time voluntary and enjoyable, or at least consistently represented as such. They facilitate particular experiences, perspectives, and encounters while severely limiting others, resulting in distinct and remarkably consistent stories about nature, capitalism, and supposedly sustainable futures.

Moreover, the World Conservation Forum and similar events are sites of what Debord (1998: ch. 4) called “concentrated spectacle,” a densely ideological form of spectacle targeting selected groups of people assembled together at a controlled location. Concentrated spectacle goes hand-in-hand with “tournaments of value,” conspicuous and contested moments in “the social lives of things” (Appadurai 1986) during which they may actually move from one category to another. Art auctions, for example, are events in which expert discourses (i.e., appraisals) and competitive bidding combine to transform noncomparable masterpieces into tradable (thus, by definition, comparable) commodities (Appadurai 1986).¹⁹

As part of broader ideological struggles in the new fields of conservation, various tournaments of value have constituted nature as an explicitly exchangeable thing. In contexts like the World Conservation Forum, these kinds of contests appear to be resolved by a general consensus that capitalist markets are indispensable to the protection of nature and that nature therefore needs to be a commodity, or at least possess significant features of commodity. This apparent consensus, in turn, facilitates developments of mechanisms for discerning nature’s commodity values in policy forums and the “wider world” (MacDonald and Corson 2012).

Recent contests in the new fields of conservation are derived and informed from longer and wider historical separations through which nature appears as an abstract object of contemplation. In this chapter, we have seen ways “contemplation becomes speculation” (Igoe 2014) and how the very abstractions that made priceless nature are likewise amenable to making “priceable nature” for the purposes of capitalist investment and future-making. While the expected investments have been slow to materialize (Büscher 2014; Dempsey 2016), chapter 5 will show that certain consumers are readily buying into the visions of these transformations. Consumerism is celebrating, and being celebrated through, the latest mechanisms for managing and valuing nature.

5

CONSUME, CONNECT, CONSERVE

INTRODUCTION: A DIFFERENT DAY IN A DIFFERENT PARK

YEARS AFTER MY WIFE GLADNESS saw her first elephant in Tarangire National Park, we visited New York's Central Park. On a beautiful Sunday in June 2010, we strolled up Broadway from Times Square with our sons. As we approached the southwest corner of the park, a group of young Malian men on pedal rickshaws began vying for our custom. Following a brief negotiation, we found ourselves travelling north on Central Park West. We passed the Tavern on the Green, where President Kikwete of Tanzania had launched his country's ecotourism slogan: "The Land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar, and the Serengeti." We then turned into the park and headlong into a stream of rickshaws headed in the opposite direction. As we could proceed no further, we alighted and were swept up in a throng of people headed to the Puerto Rico Day parade. Overwhelmed by the crowd, we looped back to Central Park West, where we encountered a statue of Teddy Roosevelt gazing proudly out over the park.

The statue stands outside the Central Park entrance to the American Museum of Natural History, and portrays young Roosevelt in his bison-hunting days. He is seated astride a stallion, armed with both a handgun and a rifle, and he towers over two other figures walking on foot either side of his horse. One

is clearly meant to be African and the other Native American. Both are men, both dressed in loosely flowing togas. The African wears sandals and the Native American wears moccasins. There can be no mistaking who is in charge. Like so many others who have passed this way, Gladness and our sons wondered how such a blatant celebration of conquest and racial hierarchy remains standing in the midst of such a diverse and cosmopolitan city.¹ After some conversation, we concluded that such things tend to get the pass when presented as heritage. Before much longer we had moved on to other attractions.

Inside the Central Park entrance is Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Hall, and just above on the second floor is the Theodore Roosevelt Rotunda, opening onto the Akeley Hall of African Mammals. The museum is exemplary of the kinds of consumptive exhibition spaces described in chapter 4, created during the late nineteenth century amid burgeoning world's fairs and exhibitions. Like other exhibitions of its day, the museum was designed to present an imagined order of nature for contemplation by urban consumers (Haraway 1989), a function that continues. As such, it is a point of connection to my discussion and analysis in the previous chapters and a point of departure for my discussion and analysis of green consumerism in this chapter.

This chapter begins with a celebrity gala at the Museum of Natural History, and then turns from the doings of particular celebrities to celebrity as abstract "styles of living and viewing," and how this figures in green consumer appeals. We will consider how styles of living and viewing interact with the power of money and technology to turn regular consumers into saviors of nature and redeemers of themselves. We will consider specific consumer appeals in which these promised connections become visible and the place of experts and capitalists in this glamorous vision of green consumerism. We will conclude by asking what courses of action these kinds of arrangements may actually offer consumers.

A NIGHT AT THE MUSEUM

One night in February 2010, celebrities and other notables were dropped by limousine and taxi outside the Central Park entrance of the Museum of Natural History. They made their way past the statue of Roosevelt and into the Roosevelt Memorial Hall, where they checked their coats, greeted one another, and posed for photographs. From there they made their way upstairs into the

Roosevelt Rotunda and the Hall of African Mammals. At the center stands a group of stuffed African elephants, one of which was shot by Roosevelt during his celebrated 1909 hunting safari.²

The gala was a fundraiser for the AWF and the launch for a designer watch called Big Bang Out of Africa, specially crafted by Hublot, a Swiss manufacturer of high-end timepieces.³ It was hosted by AWF goodwill ambassador and supermodel Veronika Verekova, who we previously encountered in the Maasai Steppe portion of this book. Verekova was joined by Jean-Claude Biver, CEO of Hublot. The Hublot video of the auction depicts guests mingling and gazing at Hublot watches displayed in glass cases. The South African dance troupe Juxtapower dances on a stage in front of a glass-fronted diorama of African lions. Verekova and Biver then auction Hublot watches from the same stage.⁴

According to Jean Claude Biver, “each watch sold will bring a contribution to the preservation of Africa’s wildlife.”⁵ A “worldwide campaign” features Verekova and “the art of fusion.” She is at once the ambassador of AWF and Hublot’s ladies’ collection, “a fusion of beauty and intelligence . . . [who] gives back to nature the benefits that nature gave to her.”⁶ In giving back, Verekova reproduces her own celebrity brand— “a taste for innovation and for adventure off the beaten track, and an awareness and respect for our environment.”⁷ Her association with Hublot also supports a powerful consumerist vision: what somebody gets apparently reflects and enhances their power to give, or to “give back.”

Of course not many people can afford a limited-edition Hublot watch, but many less-expensive options promise similar connections. Elsewhere I have written about Endangered Species Chocolate, which invites consumers to “Indulge in a Cause.” (Igoe 2013; Büscher and Igoe 2013).⁸ The company’s 10 percent Give-Back program supports Tanzanian elephant conservation and a general “wise-exchange” vision: “a win-win situation in which wildlife gets the habitat it needs, and communities are given payments for the ecosystem services it provides.”⁹ This exemplifies a proliferating vision of a future in which we can save the world and consume it, too.

THE MAGIC OF GETTING (AND GIVING)

Once an object becomes a commodity, Marx ([1867] 1976: 163–64) argued, it “changes into a thing that transcends sensuousness . . . to stand in relation to all

other commodities.” To illuminate the strangeness of this transformation, Marx invokes the figure of an ordinary wooden table that “begins dancing of its own free will.” Over the years since Marx wrote these words we have been so continuously bombarded by visual elaborations of commodities that we can scarcely bat an eye at a dancing table.¹⁰ Although tables can’t dance, we are nevertheless accustomed to talk of commodities that seem to possess impossible powers, for example, a luxury watch that can enhance our passion and love or that chocolate can make us healthy and happy. Like our dancing table, such claims barely warrant a bat of the eye in mass-marketing culture. What’s notable is that these claims now extend to the possibilities of making a better world or, as Endangered Species Chocolate has cleverly put it, “a delicious new way to spread some good” (in this case by spreading chocolate spread).¹¹

Celebrities like Vereikova play a particularly prominent role in representing these putative connections by acting out the global power of unfettered consumerism. To quote Debord (1995: th. 60) once again from *Society of the Spectacle*,

Celebrities exist to act out various styles of living and viewing society unfettered, free to express themselves globally. They embody the inaccessible result of social labor by dramatizing its by-products magically projected above as its goal: power and vacations, decisions and consumption, the beginning and the end of an undiscussed process . . . consumption gets elected as a pseudo-power over the living.

Celebrities have long personified this ideal type of consumer freedom, which according to Wilk (2010: 43) “is experienced bodily by escaping confinement or reaching a destination, acquiring a desired object, or performing a preferred action.” This freedom corresponds to the power to get. Celebrities always appear to have what they want, and they rarely appear to have much trouble getting it. Someone always seems to be handing them their beverage of choice, arranging a private clothes fitting, and driving them where they need to go. We rarely see them searching for a parking spot, taking off their shoes at airport security, or holding for customer service. Celebrities appear to get as though by magic.

Just as celebrities move effortlessly through the world to reach their fabulous vacation destinations, they now also appear to move effortlessly to destinations in need of their largesse, such as disaster areas, orphanages, and nature parks. In such contexts, as we have seen, they perform preferred actions in support of putatively world-changing interventions. Celebrities also appear to give

as though by magic. The idea of consumption as a kind of power over the living is thereby rendered explicit.

Now more than ever, we are told and shown that consumerism holds significant potential for not only enhancing the lives of consumers (as has long been the message of traditional marketing appeals) but also of enhancing life in general and making a better planet. As such representations correspond to abstract and widely circulating styles of living and viewing, they can be recognized and acted out even in the absence of actual people who we recognize as celebrities. With the rise of handheld media technology and social media, it has become increasingly possible, and apparently desirable, for everyday people to recognize and reproduce celebrity personas and perspectives, even without necessarily being directly interested in the doings of particular celebrities (see Brockington 2014).¹²

The styles of living and viewing that concerned Debord were related to more basic kinds of conspicuous consumption as promoted through the mass marketing of commodified objects and experiences. From the mid-twentieth century onward, clothes, cars, and houses became staple indicators of a person's status both in the United States and beyond (Schor 1998: ch. 2). In the 1950s, owning a television also became a mark of distinction, and people were increasingly bombarded with representations of actual people modeling styles of living and viewing. In 1955, American families gathered around their sets to witness the spectacle of celebrities and their families entering a brand new attraction called Disneyland.¹³ In the 1960s, German families gathered around their sets to watch *A Place for Wild Animals* to catch spectacular glimpses of the wilds of East Africa. The celebrity persona of Bernhard Grzimek modeled having adventures in these exotic places and enticed them to buy safaris to East Africa so they could do the same. In 1973 I was entranced by a television special called *Old Faithful*, which featured celebrities driving around Yellowstone in brand new Chevrolets.¹⁴ For days after, I pined for Yellowstone, and I unsuccessfully begged my parents to take us. When I finally visited Yellowstone thirty years later, the moment felt surprisingly redemptive.

As a television-obsessed child of the 1970s, what was most tantalizing for me was the knowledge that some of my friends and their families had a seemingly magic power to visit seemingly magic places, a power that I wished with all my heart could be bestowed upon my family. That this mysterious power was nothing other than the power of money is worth revisiting here as one of the central themes of this book. For me, my childhood longings for Yellowstone and

Disneyland are greatly illuminated by the following passage from Marx's *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (1978: 103–4):

The extent of the power of money is the extent of my power. . . . If I long for a particular dish or want to take the mail coach, money fetches me the dish or the mail coach: that is, it converts my wishes from something in the realm of the imagination, translates them from their mediated, imagined or willed existence into their *sensuous, actual* existence—from imagination to life, from imagined being to real being. In effecting this mediation, money is the only truly creative power.

In the terms I am using here, money is the power of both getting and giving. It is the basis of consumer culture: the means by which people get clothes, cars, and houses. It is also the magic medium that whisks select consumers away to Disneyland, Yellowstone, Tavern on the Green, or the Serengeti. Because this kind of consumption, as opposed to industrial production, has become the mainstay of modern economies, there has emerged a corresponding imperative for consumers to spend more and more. They need bigger and more elaborate imaginaries, and they need to turn those imaginaries into “sensuous, actual existence,” even if this requires living beyond their means. Accordingly, Americans and other consumers have taken on massive credit card debts over the past twenty-plus years (Schor 1998: 19).¹⁵ Credit cards not only enhance a consumer's abstract power to actualize imaginaries, they have, quite noticeably, a sensuous quality as well. All that spending power is condensed into a small plastic card (or even smaller chip), which we slide through (or wave at) machines to get what we want—like a passport to possibility.

But this is only part of the story, since those possibilities must also be rendered visible. Money, Marx (1978: 105) states, is “the external common faculty for turning *an image into reality and reality into mere image*” (emphasis in original). Spectacle, Debord (1995: th. 49) elaborates, is money for speculation only: the apparent totality of things we might get and styles of living and viewing we might emulate experienced through image. And when we combine the sensuous experience of spectacle with the sensuous power of credit cards, our power to get seems to extend to infinity. Through our media technology, we can see practically anything we might want, and with the push of a virtual button, whatever that may be will be delivered to our door, not quite instantly, but often so quickly that it seems instant. Like celebrities, anyone with a credit card can get what he or she wants with very little effort.

The sensual power of abstract credit and media technology also figures in the power of giving. In a world saturated by interactive media, the swipe of a plastic card or the push of a virtual button appears to initiate a chain of events resulting in the protection of polar bears on Arctic ice floes or elephants on African savannas. Such arrangements are also essential to ubiquitous styles of living and viewing whereby every consumer can aspire to become a mini-celebrity. The power of social media offers each of us the opportunity to brand and market our own virtual personas, collecting “likes” and “friends” in the process (see Bauman 2007; Nealon 2008). What we care about, of course, is a major part of our online distinctiveness: the products we buy and endorse, the events in which we participate, and the causes we support and recommend.

The hyper-visibility of this kind of activity, at least in the spatial circuits that concern us here, amount to a general cultural expression of what Boykoff and Goodman (2009) call “conspicuous redemption.” Their term describes how caring and helping have become part of the ostentatious persona of particular celebrities who are working to lend their fame to worthy causes. Here I would like to suggest a more literal interpretation of this term, with the emphasis on redemption.

To do this, let’s return for a moment to the celebrity gala in the Hall of African Mammals, which turned on a palpable theme of redemption. In “Teddy Bear Patriarchy” (1989: 24), Haraway likens the elephants in the center of the room to “a high altar in the nave of a great cathedral” and the dioramas lining each side of the room as “side altars,” which tell a part of a “salvation history.” In her account, the altars and cathedrals celebrate scientific knowledge, the salvation of African mammals for posterity through taxidermy, and the redemption of consumers who enter this space to “be received into a saved community” and in communion with nature. Through special kinds of consumption, the consumer is redeemed. The celebrity gala was a high celebration of this redemption in which deliberately ostentatious consumption, taking place among dead African mammals, became the means of salvation for living African mammals, and thus for consumerism itself. “Luxury,” after all, “has a responsibility to share.”

The exceptional visibility of this event clarifies a certain mode of redemption that I argue is a quotidian element of consumerism in a world where consumers are uncomfortably aware that their consumption is implicated in a host of environmental and social problems. In the following section, we turn to examples of how consumer redemption is mediated by spectacle. What all these examples have in common, as we shall see, is (at least one) visible connection between

consuming and conserving, an act of getting that is also an act of giving, such that the act of consumption entails redemption from being a consumer (Žižek 2009).

SOME ILLUMINATING EXAMPLES

HAPPY KIDS, HAPPY ANIMALS

In 2007, McDonalds Europe introduced environmental messaging to its Happy Meal, a themed children's meal in a festively decorated box with a small toy prize within. The pilot for this effort was an initiative called Bee Good to the Planet,¹⁶ launched in association with DreamWorks Entertainment and Conservation International. The campaign featured a new DreamWorks' *Bee Movie* Happy Meal. The messaging on the box included instructions: "For every third bite you take, thank a pollinator."¹⁷ In 2008, DreamWorks' *Kung Fu Panda* was also used for a Conservation International campaign, which featured a *Kung Fu Panda* Happy Meal and a promotional video by actor Jack Black (the voice of Po, the "Kung Fu Panda") encouraging kids to join Conservation International's Team Earth to help protect panda habitat and the entire planet.¹⁸ The campaign also featured "Panda Cams," designed to track the movement of pandas in the forests of south-west China, and invited young consumers to watch and learn.¹⁹

After the success of these Happy Meals, McDonald's Europe went to work with Conservation International to develop a conservation Happy Meal, identifying the animals and habitats that would be associated with this themed meal. Each meal box featured images of a species (e.g., gorilla, polar bear, tiger) and landscape (e.g., the Maiko-Tayna Landscape, Democratic Republic of Congo) and included stickers and games. There was also a premium package of plush toys representing the selected species, which are today traded online as collector's items.

A major goal of the campaign was "to drive consumers online to continue the experience,"²⁰ by engaging in interactive virtual adventures.²¹ The first step was to create a personalized passport, which would determine which kind of adventures the user would experience (there were different adventures or "mini-campaigns" corresponding to different European markets). Each adventure included various games and commitment pledges (promises to do something specific for the environment) centered on interactive maps of conservation landscapes. Scrolling over the maps caused images of endangered animals to pop up,

along with descriptions of the conservation landscapes they inhabited and the main threats to their survival. By interacting with this map, children could collect virtual animal stamps in their virtual passports. There was also an option for parents to visit a virtual Conservation International headquarters to learn more about the organization and opportunities to contribute.

WASH THOSE TROUBLES AWAY

Proctor and Gamble's Everyday Wildlife Champions is a marketing awareness and fundraising campaign playing up the material qualities of Dawn Dish Soap.²² It is based on the information that conservationists rescuing wildlife from oil spills have discovered Dawn's grease-cutting abilities: "Dawn's dishwashing liquid was a standout," says Jay Holcomb, director of the International Bird Rescue Center, "Oil seemed to fall off of the feathers. We did not see the irritated skin we encountered with previous detergent."²³ The official commercial for the campaign showed cute baby animals having oil washed off them, while Joe Purdy's "Wash Away" plays in the background: "I've got troubles, but not today / I'm going to wash them away / I'm going to wash them away." The video informed consumers that they could help save wildlife by buying Dawn with a special code on the label. By entering this code on a website, they could make a \$1 donation to the International Bird Rescue Center.²⁴

This special website now features a version of the Dawn logo incorporating two baby ducks; it also includes the logos of Dawn's conservation partners: the International Bird Rescue Center and the Marine Mammal Center. It explains that the program is no longer active or accepting codes but encourages visitors to find out how they can become Everyday Wildlife Champions by visiting Dawn's Facebook page and following Dawn on Twitter.²⁵ The Dawn Facebook page features an image of fluffy yellow ducklings nestled around a bottle of the aquamarine liquid as if it were their mother.²⁶ Although I could find no specific information as to how I could get involved, a link to the Marine Mammal Center did offer information about the Dawn Junior Wildlife Champions. This is a primary school curriculum launched by Dawn to educate children about oil spills (specifically the 2010 Gulf Oil Spill), related wildlife rehabilitation, and how "they can be personally responsible for wildlife."²⁷ Numerous videos on the site congratulate rescue volunteers and document their efforts, and a video called "Virtual Volunteer" invites viewers to "experience a duckling rescue" because "it can be difficult for many of us to rescue wildlife in person."²⁸

TEXT TREE

On Earth Day 2011, the Green World Campaign launched a yearlong initiative, Regreen the World, which grew a virtual forest in New York's Times Square. This was achieved by "dazzling animated graphics [that] swirl(ed) across jumbo screens day and night, inviting spectators to text TREE to 85944 and Regreen the World."²⁹ The launch included an interactive "tree-o-meter," a virtual tree that grew taller with each text received.³⁰ Those who texted TREE between 10:00 a.m. and 1:00 p.m. also got to see their names displayed on a giant Toshiba display. The campaign operated on a simple equation: five dollars equals five trees. Each text accordingly activated a five-dollar donation to the Green World Campaign. As described in a promotional statement, "the Green World Campaign makes it easy for anyone with a computer to click and fund tree planting, with results we'll be able to see. We are designing interactive dynamic maps to chart out real-time progress toward a greener world. Each contribution will be 'geo-tagged' (registered in the location it is planted), showing how trees are turning that area green—Regreening the world one tree at a time."³¹

KEEP IT COOL

Anthropometric polar bears first appeared in Coca-Cola's advertising in 1922, but they did not achieve significant fame till they were "brought to life" by computer animation in 1993. The artists and animators studied films of actual polar bears to learn exactly how these animals move. One of the earliest presentations of the animated bears was the commercial "Northern Lights," which opens with polar bears seated like an audience at a movie theater. The entertainment is the Aurora Borealis, which appears with a burst of music as if a movie were beginning. In unison, the bears tilt back their heads and take a long drink of Coca-Cola.³²

In 2012, the bears were part of a social-marketing experiment called the Polar Bowl, which happened at the same time as the Super Bowl. The campaign invited viewers to use their second screen to join the Coca-Cola Polar Bears' Super Bowl party. The virtual bears could be seen "reacting to the game [unfortunately the Chicago Bears were not playing], advertisements, consumer tweets, and Facebook messages in real time." From traffic at the Coca-Cola website, the company estimates that 9 million consumers dropped into the party, and each spent an average of twenty-eight minutes engaging with the bears.³³

Each RSVP to the Polar Bowl site also prompted a one-dollar donation to Coca-Cola's Arctic Home Campaign, marked by special-edition white polar bear cans.³⁴ Like Everyday Wildlife Champions, a special code was included, which when entered into a website made a one-dollar donation to help support an Arctic polar bear preserve in partnership with the WWF.³⁵ The Arctic Home website invited users to take part in live chats with WWF scientists and to track virtual representations of actual polar bears.³⁶ A mobile game was also part of the campaign. Called Snowball Effect, the game encouraged young consumers to spread the word by starting virtual snowball fights with their Facebook friends.³⁷

All these virtual platforms were enhanced by panoramic images from the IMAX film, *To the Arctic*, which tells the story of a family of polar bears struggling to survive in the face of climate change. The film screened at museums around the world, including a 2011 white-carpet premiere at the California Science Center in Los Angeles.³⁸ In January 2013, the film was incorporated into an augmented-reality experience at the Science Museum in London. As its name suggests, this emerging mode of visual entertainment enhances actual reality by overlaying it with virtual content, which can be achieved through the sensors of any smart mobile device. Viewers may see themselves represented in a breathtaking virtual backdrop, as described by a review of the London event: "Guests stood on a white patch of carpet and looked at a screen to see themselves on the ice with a polar bear family. A video of the London event captures the awestruck faces of guests watching images of themselves against 3D animation of a polar bear family on an ice floe. As the ice cracked, the family was split up, emphasizing the dangers that global warming poses to the animals."³⁹

A somewhat less visually stunning, but arguably more interactive, social experiment was the public exhibits of polar bear ice sculptures. One was displayed in front of the Copenhagen Planetarium in Denmark, where *To the Arctic* was also being screened.⁴⁰ Another was displayed in Carrefour Laval, an upscale "superregional" mall in the northern suburbs of Montreal, Quebec.⁴¹ The premise of these exhibits is summarized in a press release for the Canadian sculpture: "What if you could control the thermometer of the Arctic habitat?"⁴² Both sculptures were exhibited in temperature-controlled glass cases. Consumers "liked" the sculptures on Facebook, tweeted about them on Twitter, or registered a pledge to reduce their own carbon footprints. By doing so they helped lower the temperature inside the glass displays so that the ice polar bears would not melt. The point of these experiments was to demonstrate the power of branding and

social media to educate people and to visibly manifest material effect at the same time.⁴³

CONTAINING CONTRADICTIONS

These are but a handful of a profusion of similar initiatives designed to connect consumer acts to positive conservation outcomes. While the contradictions of such initiatives seem obvious, they merit mention here. Let us allow that it is possible to eliminate deforestation from fast food supply chains so they can be deforestation-free,⁴⁴ and that soft drink companies can produce their beverages without reducing access to clean drinking water, or perhaps even enhancing access.⁴⁵ None of this changes the reality that soft drinks and fast food are indispensable to a hyperconsumptive consumer culture, the continued existence of which depends on massive hydrocarbon emissions (e.g., Mintz 1986); nor does it reduce the ecological footprint of the electronic gadgets on which these consumer engagements depend.⁴⁶

My point here is not to provide an exhaustive account of the myriad contradictions related to these kinds of interventions. Whole books could be written on the matter. In fact, many have, and much remains to be said. My goal is rather to convey the breadth and depth of these kinds of contradictions, and I have accordingly selected what I see as particularly accessible and far-reaching examples. Even the most stunning of these contradictions are routinely acknowledged in the kinds of contexts and venues I analyze in this book. Bird Rescue Research Center Director Jay Holcomb, for instance, admits in the *New York Times* that washing oil-covered animals with Dawn is like “a Band-Aid to a gunshot wound to the heart.”⁴⁷ Systemic analysis of such a contradiction, however, is typically portrayed as counterproductive. What matters, ultimately, is finding solutions with tangible effects. These solutions cut through complexity like Dawn cuts through oil to produce results that can be seen: sea birds that were once oily and miserable now run gleefully to the ocean, a tree grows in Times Square, and a polar bear ice sculpture in a glass case is saved from the awful fate of melting into a pathetic puddle.

The kinds of radical simplification required for these solutions are remarkably similar to corporate branding strategies, designed to make a brand that stands out from myriad competing brands. Indeed, one of my goals in writing this chapter is to show how nature and environmental causes are entrained to precisely these

kinds of strategies. In this day and age, however, brands are associated with complex issues like climate change, deforestation, and species extinction. Stories must be told that highlight the positive elements of the brand, define problems in understandable terms, and engage consumers in ways that are fun, and thus not too disturbing or inconvenient. These are also opportunities for conservation NGOs to distinguish their brand in a highly competitive environment. A virtuous cycle appears: brand appears in the service of cause and cause appears in the service of brand.

Such ubiquitous win-win scenarios play on Debord's (1995: th. 12) proposition that spectacle "presents itself as something enormously positive, indisputable, and inaccessible . . . [saying] that which appears is good, that which is good appears." Here the proposition requires a bit of adjustment. Fast food, soft drinks, computers, corporate supply chains, cell phones, and taxidermy elephants may not be indisputably good, but they are indisputably present. They demand our acceptance, as Debord puts it, "by virtue of their monopoly of appearance." We must learn to minimize and mitigate their negative qualities and effects while enhancing their positive power. It's not only that we can scarcely do without these things in our everyday lives (well, we could probably do without the taxidermy elephants), but they also appear as the means by which we will extend our own power to participate in solving problems. In this sense, the appearances with which we interact will also seem less inaccessible than before.

Even if we take all these claims on faith, however, a troubling perplexity remains: how are simplified actions transformed into complex outcomes? Expensive watches and chocolate may be delightful and delicious, but by what means do they actually save elephants and gorillas? It is one thing to control the thermostat of a glass display with tweets and likes. It is another thing entirely to imagine that similar actions could have similar effects on the complex and multifaceted drivers of atmospheric warming and species extinction. Someone, somewhere, must know how these things work.

WE WANT TO CHALLENGE YOU

"It is no longer us against nature," proclaims atmospheric scientist Paul Crutzen (Walsh 2012), "instead it's we who decide what nature is and what it will be." "We need to act faster than ever before," declares transportation billionaire

Richard Branson, “and on a scale grander than any known.”⁴⁸ Crutzen coined and popularized the term *Anthropocene*, suggesting that we are currently in a geological epoch in which human activity is now a defining factor of the climate and ecology of our planet. Branson is a world-renowned transportation magnate who is also a self-proclaimed champion of climate mitigation and “Gaia Capitalism” (Klein 2014: 230–56).

The Branson quote in the previous paragraph is spoken in a promotional video in which he describes his work with Virgin Unite (the nonprofit arm of the Virgin Group of which Branson is CEO) and Conservation International to engage with the environmental challenge of our time. “The challenge calls on us to collaborate internationally,” he asserts, “mobilizing capital, expertise, and innovation at unprecedented speed and scale.” “This isn’t just about melting ice caps, polar bears,” he continues, “it’s about whether or not we have economic growth; it’s about whether we have clean air, fresh water, and enough food for us all” (for further analysis and description of this video, see Iggoe 2013: 19).⁴⁹

The Crutzen quote appears in a short *Time* article, “Nature Is Over” (Walsh 2012). One purpose of the article (and the issue) is clearly to make ideas like Crutzen’s accessible to a popular (mostly middle-class) audience so they can know what to expect of the future. However, the article moves quickly from its headline, “Nature Is Over,” to Crutzen’s assertion that we will decide what nature is and what it will be (in which case it is not over) before presenting specific examples of how we might implement those decisions. Examples include using genetically modified crops to grow more food on less land, thus freeing space for wildlife conservation; managing the risks of nuclear power, as “the biggest carbon-free utility”; and “consciously fiddling with the climate through geoengineering.”

Spun throughout these presentations is a significant interaction between pronouns. The idea that nature is over is changing your life, but “we will decide what nature will be.” “We need to move faster than ever before . . . we want to challenge you to do your part . . . how you spend, invest, and donate your resources all make a critical difference.”⁵⁰ At first glance, the “you” (whoever happens to be watching or reading) seems to be hailed as part of a larger “we” (the whole of humanity) who need to act quickly to decide what nature will be and figure out how to save it. On closer inspection, however, the “you” (middle-class consumer) is being called on to support the actions of the “we” (qualified and powerful experts). For no matter how “you” spend, invest, or donate, “you,”

will never “mobilize capital, expertise, and innovation” like Richard Branson. No matter what “you” decide nature will be, “you” will not be figuring out how to fiddle with the climate like Paul Crutzen.⁵¹

So who are “you” the consumer, and what might be your role in all of this? Perhaps the most poignant hailing of this consumer “you” comes from the humorous videos of the Rainforest Alliance. A recent video from the organization opens with the words, “You are a good person.” The middle-class, middle-aged, white male consumer standing-in for this “you” does all the things a good person should do: work, support a family, give money to charity, and ride a bike. “But there’s a part of you that tells yourself that you are not so good,” says the narrator as “you” looks at himself in the mirror, “that you could be doing more.” So now “you” wonder(s) what “you” are/is going to do. “Well,” responds the narrator, “this is what you are not going to do.” The video then launches into an improbable sequence in which “you” go(es) to Nicaragua to spearhead indigenous resistance to tropical deforestation, only to be defeated and humiliated and returning by foot to the United States to find that his carefully crafted “good” life is now in disarray.⁵² Any kind of redemption is conspicuously absent from this tale.

A large part of this video’s humor is derived from “you” being in over his head and out of his element, and thus ultimately ineffective as a direct agent of change. To stay out of such situations, the video suggests that “you” “just follow the frog.” By not “following the frog,” another video suggests, “you” are helping unleash disasters that threaten your way of life, even though “you” cannot see them. In this video, a man eats a banana and drinks a cup of coffee in his suburban kitchen, with each bite and sip causing a catastrophic event to occur in a rainforest that has mysteriously taken over the subdivision in which he lives.⁵³ Another video, “How to Shop Safely,” offers advice on how to protect “yourself” from catastrophes that harm us all in the process of deciding what to buy. “The frog” guides shoppers through the dangers of the grocery aisle, picking up commodities that will not harm them or others.⁵⁴

“The frog” in all of these video presentations is the logo of Rainforest Alliance Certified Products, “which ensures the future of the rainforest so you don’t have to do things you shouldn’t do anyway.”⁵⁵ Like other certification schemes, the logo promises to enhance consumers’ power of giving by getting. A comfortable good life can also be a virtuous good life, which supports sustainable and equitable business. You do something good by buying delicious gourmet coffee, a beautiful hardwood table to serve it on, and elegant cut flowers to decorate that table.⁵⁶ You can also work with certified hotels and tour companies to book a

vacation that “will enhance the well-being of local communities and make positive contributions to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage.”⁵⁷

Despite these opportunities, however, the consumer is always hailed as “you,” an individual who acts alone (see Maniates 2001). Cronon’s (1996) critique of nature still applies: the supposed environmental good of “your” actions consistently seems to accrue someplace distant and exotic. We can add that the actual action, as it were, consistently seems to be carried out by someone other than the consumer, a “we” of experts who, for a variety of pragmatic reasons, “you” cannot join directly (just as “you” cannot join indigenous struggles or similar social movements). “Your” prescribed role” in this scenario amounts to what Debord (1995: th. 96) described as “passive apprenticeship,” not in a proletariat revolution, as he envisioned, but in a new kind of capitalism, in which caring and kindness are bound up in consumerism.

CONCLUSION: FRAGMENTS OF A NATURE FIXING MACHINE

The good “you” realizes the limits and privilege of the circuits defining his life. In acting outside those circuits, however, he quickly realizes his own impotence. He loses two toes, takes up smoking, causes a devastating brush fire, and finds his wife living with his personal trainer.⁵⁸ The good “you” learns to make good choices. When she chooses the wrong kind of chocolate at the supermarket, she sadly realizes that “deforestation is not her style.” While this forlorn and repentant “you” is presented as a figure of light humor, the “style of living and viewing” that she seems to embody merits serious consideration. For the message conveyed to and by this “you” boils down to this: “you” are a competent consumer and worker; “you” thrive in a world of commodity objects. “We” can show “you” ways to apply your skills to making a positive difference in the world, but to dabble in realities and relationships beyond your realm of competence would be recklessly perilous. Use the tools at your disposal.

As consumers, the tools at our disposal are money and sophisticated digital machines, which are useful and mysterious in almost equal measure. To quote anthropologist Marshall Sahlins (2005: 26),

As technologically sophisticated as Western people are, at least as consumers, a great many are to the same extent alienated from the nature and workings of

the objects of their existence. Even in regard to the machinery of everyday life, most of us could not know less. Nor do the paradoxes end here, with the manual incompetence of the technologically endowed. There is an even greater irony in our sense of intimidation, insofar as it is conditioned by the purely matter-of-fact regard in which we hold things. On the one hand, they are just that, inanimate material things. On the other hand, as objects to our subjects, they are at once impenetrable, powerful and estranged from us, these material things would then act upon us from outside; they constrain us and make us respect them in ways that are reminiscent of the fear of God.

Sahlins' insights resonate fruitfully with Marx's "Fragments on the Machine," from the *Grundrisse* (1993: 691–707). In this passage, Marx argues that the intellectual labor of experts (i.e., scientific knowledge) had become bound or congealed in systems of industrial machinery. The resulting environments de-skilled everyday workers, turning them into living components of encompassing technoenvironments. Rather than people mastering technology, technology was mastering people. Industrial assembly lines were intentionally designed to define what workers could do and know. Each worker was reduced to a series of simple and repetitive movements at the behest of machinery, which simultaneously turned the use value of his or her labor into exchange value of profits and wages.

Nineteenth-century industrial workers were moreover enticed to spend their hard-earned wages on phantasmagoria (in which surrendering oneself to the power of machines and money was served up as an entertainingly exhilarating experience) and on exhibitions (which immersed consumers in spectacular representations of empire as natural history). Ritzer (2010) calls these spaces "cathedrals of consumption" because within them consumerism is performed as a kind of sacrament. This, I would argue, includes cultivating awe and wonder for technology and commodities.

So it is not only that we hold these objects and relationships in awe, as Sahlins correctly asserts, but we have learned to celebrate them in the process. Indeed, we have celebrities to celebrate them in styles of living and viewing that everyday people have learned to model for ourselves. And whereas systems of mechanical machines robbed nineteenth-century workers of their mastery and value, contemporary systems of digital machines seem to bestow new kinds of mastery and value on postindustrial consumers. When combined with the

power of money at the consumer's disposal, these machines seem to enhance the power of individuals both to get and to give, as though by magic.

But despite enhancing your powers till they appear as superstructural super-powers, the workings of this technology remain for the large part a mystery. A common attitude in the face of such mystery is expressed by Jay Holcomb about Dawn's bird-washing power: "Probably there are chemists who would love to know why . . . [but] I say, 'It works; I'm happy.'"⁵⁹ Holcomb's invocation of a chemist indicates an awareness of specialized knowledge and skills behind Dawn's secret patented grease-cutting formula (what Marx called "dead labor"). As a consumer of Dawn, however, those knowledge and skills are of little practical importance to him; they are already bound in a technology that enhances his capacity to do what he wants: wash birds, in this instance. Regular consumers are also likely aware that there are specialized knowledge and skills bound in technology that enhances their power to do what they want. If they ask Siri for directions, Siri will likely guide them to their destination. If they order a pizza, a pizza will arrive shortly. In such mundane actions, the expertise behind the technology operates to actually extend the consumer's power to get.

The problem, however, is that in these scenarios, getting is directly verifiable in a way that giving can never be. We know when a pizza arrives at our door or we arrive at our destination. We never know for sure if and how technically mediated exchange actually results in a positive environmental outcome. Images, expert pronouncements, and fleeting moments of participation (repeat as necessary) become the only available evidence for the promises of redemption and salvation on offer. In the process, however, individuals interacting with systems of digital machinery are consuming and producing elaborate scenarios in which urgent and pressing socioenvironmental problems are resolved by money, technology, and expertise. These scenarios resonate, and sometimes even interconnect, with narratives, performances, and visions of ecofunctional nature in places like the Maasai Steppe and a diversity of policy contexts.

What these arrangements share, in varying measures, are techniques of controlled separation and seemingly reunifying modes of mediation. The deep appeal of such arrangements is certainly understandable. They offer a certain kind of certainty in an increasingly uncertain world, assuring people that they can be part of the solution to problems that frighten them, with plenty of fun and adventure thrown into the mix. The trade-off is that the solutions on offer appear as part of a seemingly "omnipresent affirmation of choices already

made in production and its corollary consumption” (Debord 1995: th. 6). Green consumer appeals highlight ways these prevailing choices could be made to repair some of the damage they do while eschewing their deeper socioecological contradictions. In the process, they also downplay and devalue other possible solutions and visions. One of the central concerns of Guy Debord and the Situationists was to confound such spectacular separations by working and playing to reconnect myriad ways of being, knowing, and relating to each other and the world. And that commitment connects to and through the concluding chapter of this book.

6

SOME LAST(ING) STORIES AND REFLECTIONS

AS A TELEVISION-INFATUATED CHILD OF THE 1970S, my view of the world was thoroughly mediated by images. By the age of ten, I had developed a penchant for corporate-sponsored programming about national parks, theme parks, and real-action wildlife safaris. Each Sunday evening, across the dinner table, my family would tune into *Walt Disney Presents*, followed by *Mutual of Omaha's Wild Kingdom*. Occasionally, when my mom was putting my younger siblings to bed, I would sneak in some extra, post-primetime viewing. It was on one such occasion that I caught the musical special *Old Faithful*, which was essentially an extended Chevrolet commercial set among the geysers of Yellowstone. This early viewing whet my appetite for modernist, consumerist adventures. Both Yellowstone and Disneyland figured in my imagination as the most fantastic places I could ever visit. No doubt these also figured in my later calling to become an anthropologist and my related interests in nature parks and tourism.

By the age of twelve, however, I had largely abandoned commercial networks in favor of more edgy and erudite offerings on public television. My Sunday evenings were now taken up by reruns of a BBC series called *The Prisoner*, about a man who is kidnapped to a utopian enclave where everyone professes to be happy and from which there is no escape. *The Prisoner* was my gateway into dystopian illuminations of modernist conceit: books like Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and films like *Soylent Green*, *Dawn of the Dead*, *The Truman Show*,

and *The Matrix*. These works share a suspicion of escapist consumerism, the harm it does, and especially its illusions of certainty and fulfillment. They inform my fascination with Disney and spectacle; my critical engagement with conservation, development, and nature; my commitment to teaching; and much of the analysis I have presented in this book.

On one particular Sunday evening, *The Prisoner* was cancelled so that a special film could be broadcast in its place. My initial disappointment resolved into enchantment as I was drawn into the story of a black woman and a white man who had found one another in the wake of a nuclear holocaust. The story was neither utopian nor dystopian. The world in which the couple lived was not destroyed, but it was in significant disarray, and they were involved in making it a little more livable each day. This healing was done to the continuous refrain of the Beatles' ditty *With a Little Help from My Friends*. For reasons I no longer recall, I neglected to learn the title of that film. Later, when I was in college, I learned that it was a rendition of Ursula Le Guin's *Lathe of Heaven*, a book about a man whose subconscious alters both the past and the future as he dreams reality into existence. After much frustration, he learns to dream with a little help from his friends, weaving common ecologies that incorporate and heal the incoherent modernist ruination that entangles them all.

In *Lathe of Heaven*, technocratic attempts to control dreaming were derailed by surprising and unforeseen possibilities, which always seemed to happen and yet never registered in their designer's modernist conceit. Similarly, Tsing (2015: 1–5) invites us to consider the challenges of living in a world without “the hand-rails” of progress narratives, to explore indeterminacy and precarity. In the process, she argues, we will learn that no one survives alone. Collaborating with others, both human and nonhuman, entails myriad contaminations that “change who we are as we make way for others” and from which diverse mutual worlds may emerge. Many indeterminate possibilities for “collaborative survival” portend many ways forward in the place of a singular linear vision, deeply implicated in the very ruination that it promises to repair.

From the perspective of rationalist modernity, however, the foregoing is bound to appear as fantasy and storytelling. How can fantasy help us make pragmatic solutions to pressing environmental problems? One of the central arguments of this book, in fact, is that modernist approaches to conservation and development are not possible without fantasy and storytelling—from *Serengeti Shall Not Die!* and *The Lion King*, to the elaborate concentrated spectacles of

World Conservation Congresses, to white-carpet premiers of films like *To the Arctic* and watching the Super Bowl with the Coca-Cola Polar Bears. These fantastic stories and spectacles in turn intertwine with more seemingly pragmatic stories about how we might fix these problems using markets and science. After more than a decade of intensive research on conservation finance, however, Dempsey (2016: 49) concludes that these pragmatic-seeming stories are also utopian: a utopian vision “not of this world” but one that is hoped to be realized in an imagined world that may well never happen. “The world’s biological diversity,” Dempsey writes, “is being asked to reconcile the needs of all humanity for healthy ecosystems with diverse national and firm interests . . . and overarching economic growth and development imperatives.”

Other critical observers have pointed to the utopian (i.e., not of this world) nature of global policy forums and related realms of activity. Anthropologist Raymond Apthorpe (2013: 201) describes these realms as “another planet this planet has created.” Apthorpe (213) has coined the term *Aidland* in reference to this “other planet” of development workers and policy makers, a place that seems to be both everywhere and nowhere in particular while generating stories of itself and the world it is supposedly transforming.¹ Policy forums like the ones described in chapter 4 certainly fit this bill in many respects. Dempsey (2016: 113–17) describes how natural-capital policy models entail such a degree of simplification and abstraction to appeal to economists that they likewise float away from the realities they claim to represent and which they are supposedly designed to help repair. However, their vision of optimizing economic growth and ecosystem health so far has had little influence on global capitalism. It is “at once a totalizing mainstream discourse, and one that exists on the margins of political economic life, on the outside of many flows of goods, commodities, and state policies” (233).

We can say similar things of the green consumer appeals outlined in chapter 5. The solutions they offer are so simplified and fraught with contradiction that their potential for fixing environmental problems seems dubious, or at least pragmatically unverifiable (Brockington, Duffy and Igoe 2009: 197). Yet they have a powerful appeal because they allow consumers to make clear decisions—ones that appear to have positive effects on the world. It also bears noting, however, that these appeals target a limited demographic of consumers (usually white, urban, affluent, young, and politically aware) and very specific commodities (usually luxury items like coffee and hardwood furniture). We

can thus conclude that such appeals likewise exist on the margins of political-economic life and capital flows. This reality is satirically portrayed in the fair trade/green certification commercial featuring the rainforest frog logo, in which the protagonist has an epiphany concerning his own privilege and political ineffectiveness. And like a good consumer, he is offered two choices: a maelstrom of uncertainty and struggle or the reassuring magic of the commodity fetish. Despite this video's playful presentation, the choice is frightening: let go of everything that makes you feel like a good person or accept a troubling status quo. His ultimate embrace of the latter entails an act of faith in markets and technical expertise verified only by an animated frog.

As economically and politically marginal as these particular stories may be, however, they are part and parcel of the larger processes by which capitalist conditions and relationships are produced and reproduced or (with a nod to anthropologist Clifford Geertz) the stories that capitalism tells itself about itself. Time zones, stock markets, unilinear progress, and nature are all abstract imaginaries that are now almost as pragmatically real as possible (Merrifield 2011). Distinctions between naïve fantasy and pragmatic realism in such contexts are largely defined by how particular imaginaries and ideas have been repeatedly institutionalized and spatialized till they seem to become a reality unto themselves, till they profoundly shape how people perceive and act on their surroundings—surroundings that, in turn, are acting on them.

The challenge, it would seem, is to find ways to mix things up, to foster more emergent encounters, and introduce other stories in the process. The circuits of space and spectacle, which we have explored in the course of this book, have at least two qualities with potential for what we might call countermemory and alternative storytelling. First, they often gather people together, potentially in large numbers. Second, they are amenable to spectacularization to the extent that whichever stories manage to be told through these circuits are likely to be amplified and magnified. As we saw in chapter 4, policy forums intersect with anticapitalist and alterglobal activist networks (Goodman and Saleh 2013), and they are otherwise frequented by actors with diverse values, perspectives, and agendas. Even tournaments of value, though heavily rigged, may—once in a while—be susceptible to surprise upsets.

So here is another story. In April 2016, my longtime friend and research associate, Edward Loure, was awarded the prestigious Goldman Prize for environmental leadership. Shortly before he was born, Edward's family was evicted

from Tarangire when it became a national park in 1971. Today they still live just to the east of the park. Through his formative years, Edward experienced first-hand the political struggles described in chapter 2, and he grew up to become an effective advocate of indigenous environmental stewardship and community self-determination. The Goldman Prize recognizes his work to establish official legal recognition for community control of traditional territory. This arrangement provides indigenous Tanzanians with protection against land grabbing while also empowering them to manage resources collectively rather than for them by administrative fiat.²

The award ceremony, which took place at the International Trade Center in Washington, D.C., was an elaborate and image-saturated affair. It opened with a spectacular video, replete with images of panoramic nature. Videos also introduced each recipient, which lasted for longer than the recipient spoke. What was different about these videos was that they highlighted community suffering and political struggles against states and corporate interests.³ Edward's video acknowledged contradictions between mainstream conservation and indigenous environmental stewardship. In his acceptance speech, Edward emphasized that indigenous rights matter for justice and equality, but also for conservation. He called on governments around the world to protect indigenous land rights and indigenous communities, "fighting for their interests, and not against them." He ended by challenging governments to double formally recognized indigenous land by 2020.

Edward's call resonates with insights from Dempsey (2016: 242) about how conservationists could realign themselves around movements "refusing capitalist enclosures of land, water, and living things." She notes that mechanisms and technologies designed to map and quantify nature's values could be used to "garner political will and citizen awareness as part of an array of tactics to illustrate how elites and corporations continue to dominate the world's ecosystem services." Similarly, I would argue, they could also be used to strengthen calls for governments to return land to indigenous and local communities and to hold governments accountable for meeting and maintaining targets once they are set.

Imagining these kinds of possibilities, at least in these contexts, is facilitated through creative engagements with existing modes of representation—from spectacular images to charts, diagrams, and numbers. The effort to establish community land rights outside of Tarangire, for instance, turns on images similar to those described in chapter 3 while also emphasizing the ways conservation has

displaced local people and their livelihoods and the kinds of socioecological contradictions this has entailed. As such, they indicate a radical reimagining of mainstream conservation from being a limited project that turns on technocratic management of people, animals, and nature to being part of a movement that advocates for redistribution of power and wealth as necessary to our collective ecological future. And this is only one example of similarly creative reimaginings currently happening in global policy circuits (see Dempsey 2016: ch. 7, 8). For now, however, it still appears more pragmatic to imagine money as the means by which humans will achieve the most optimally satisfying relationship with nature.

The enduring power of this appearance, I believe, is derived in large part from the wider cultural and historical realities from which these policy circuits have been forged. I am referring here to the modernist milieus I described in the opening pages of this book, in which people's perceptions and relationships are thoroughly mediated by images and in which money seems like a kind of nature and nature seems like a kind of money. To be sure, these milieus are likewise open to representations of diverse stories and perspectives, particularly with the proliferation of handheld communication and media technology devices and the rise of interactive online platforms. Two notable examples are the Black Lives Matter movement and the protests against the Dakota Access Oil Pipeline at the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in North Dakota.⁴ These movements, and related ones, creatively deploy images and media to challenge and transform cultural imaginaries of democracy, development, what it means to be human, and what are proper human relationships to more-than-human realities. Black Lives Matter directs public attention and conversations to the pervasive, insidious, and insidiously blatant ways that black bodies are systematically devalued and destroyed in a society that claims to value human equality above all else. The slogans "water is life" and "water is sacred" emerging from the Standing Rock protests remind us that commodification deadens vital connections while at the same time affirming human relationships and our responsibility toward all the sacred entities with whom we are relatives.

These movements, and many others, point to ways images and media may become means of solidarity (a collective sense of purpose and responsibility). They also perhaps portend more a general awareness of the limits and harm imposed by milieus of modernity that separate people and hail them as individuals. This possibility is also clearly, though satirically, acknowledged in the rainforest frog video, in which the awaking of the consumer protagonist is prompted by

images of Occupy Wall Street and other antiglobalization protests. The protagonist suspects that his own way of life may be implicated in all of this, or at least that he could be doing more to make a difference. After trying his hand as an activist, however, he makes an informed decision to go back to being a consumer.

This story invokes a common trope of capitalist modernity: the desire to escape alienating situations is pitted against the easy allure of consumerism and its associated spaces and relationships. In every episode of *The Prisoner*, the protagonist, named Number Six, attempts to escape only to be captured by a giant bubble that returns him to his utopian community. In *Dawn of the Dead*, a group of people seek refuge from a worldwide zombie apocalypse in a shopping mall. There they live in relative luxury despite all the horrors just beyond their walls. After having his mind freed from the simulated world of the Matrix, in which he was a function of a giant machine, the character Cypher eventually decides he prefers having his brain tricked by a computer program to a hard life in the world outside the Matrix. "After nine years you know what I realize?" he asks, as he sits down to a simulated gourmet meal. "Ignorance is bliss!" he immediately answers himself, with his simulated mouth full of simulated steak.

Like the rainforest frog commercial, these cult fiction classics are onto something significant. Although culturally marginal to the dominant imaginaries of global capitalism, they reflect and refract its central illusion that we exist as individuals. Protagonists in all these stories, and many others like them, seek to escape their alienating worlds as individuals. But they find themselves unable to live outside those worlds, let alone to join any kind of collaboration once they have managed to put themselves outside. The only way they *can* live as individuals, they learn, is within the alienating arrangements they have recently abandoned. These not only provide comfort and nourishment, but certainty and control. While we are increasingly aware that these arrangements are unsustainable, they remain our immediate best bet for surviving and thriving as individuals. And for all the harm they may inflict, they also seem to extend our individual power to reach out and change the world.

Herein lies what I see as a central dilemma for people living and moving through these kinds of circuits. Circuits of space and technology may facilitate gatherings, and spectacular mediations may amplify alternative stories. But they also keep each of us moving and separated—from our surroundings and each other. They continuously hail us as individuals while managing gatherings in accordance with a singular sense of time (e.g., imposed schedules, deadlines, and sound bites) and perspectives (often represented and reinforced through productions

of spectacular images). Whatever happens in these circuits is almost always shaped by money (consumer spending and funding priorities) and arrangements of space that control people's movements, encounters, and perceptions.

For the past twenty years, I have sought to understand these kinds of disconnecting connections in relation to modern nature conservation, especially its most recent neoliberal manifestations. My explorations began with nature parks and related spaces, which connect tourists, wildlife, and cultural performers while disconnecting local people and landscapes along with related knowledge, memories, and values. Over time, however, I found that I could not ignore the central role of spectacle to imagining and making disconnecting connections. I found Guy Debord's propositions about fetishized images most fruitful for thinking and writing about spectacular conservation (see Iggoe 2010), and this in turn prompted my subsequent reflections on related circuits of space, as we have explored in the course of this book. I was particularly intrigued by Debord's proposition that spectacular mediations are materially constitutive of the realities they represent. This proposition, I believe, relates significantly to varied ecologies of human perception, which seem to share some basic processes in common. To paraphrase Kohn (2015: 318), this has to do with how human imaginaries and ontologies "realize possible worlds by selectively actualizing certain properties inherent to the world beyond human cognition." Or, to quote Tsing once again (2012: 506), "Conceptualizing the world and making the world are wrapped up in each other, at least for those with the privilege to turn their dreams into action."

The more I have learned of Debord and the Situationists, including their complicated collaborations with Henri Lefebvre,⁵ the more I am convinced that they were systematically engaged with the effects of alienation on this basic human dynamic. An international movement based primarily in Paris, the Situationists were concerned with how social alienation (the estrangement of people from directly lived realities) and commodity fetishism (the appearance of money's exchange value as a force of nature) had become part of everyday life; they also were focused on possibilities for reawakening what they saw as authentic desires and relationships.

The Situationists were engaged with same historic milieu that shaped my formative years as a television-infatuated child. Their writings, art, and films speak directly to the visual extravaganzas that were my first love: Disney films and nature programs. Their critiques illuminate the kinds of dystopian realities that modernist spectacles of the mid-twentieth century sought to conceal but

which were illuminated in books like *Brave New World* and films like *THX1138*, *Soylent Green*, *Logan's Run*, and many others. But it seems to me that they were also seeking ways to dream healing dreams together, as well as playing (since they foreswore work) at making those dreams reality. Their efforts highlighted what I consider to be a crucial problematic for our current historical moment. If nature and other realities are brought into existence—in part—through interplays of imagination and action, how do we contend with situations in which imagination has been appropriated, objectified, and represented as a force beyond our control and the related implications for collaborative living?

Considering that capital flows and related modes of power depend so much on these kinds of situations, and that these kinds of situations are circuited in ways that connect to many other situations, it seems to me that there is still much of value that we can learn from Situationist experiments and enquiry. What might we learn, for instance, when we cut across these situations in ways they were not intended to be cut across? Even when this is not possible, what can we learn about spaces, imaginaries, and epistemologies by critically exploring their boundaries? These kinds of questions have consistently informed my observations and analysis of nature spectacle for the past twenty years, as now written down in this book.

But there are (at least) two more very important questions that this book does not adequately address. First, what kinds of open-ended encounters might happen through Situationist-influenced experiments and enquiry and related modes of exploratory methodology? Second, what possibilities for collaborative living might we glimpse in the process? I have arrived to these questions and their possibilities through a variety of open-ended encounters I have experienced in the course of writing this book. That they are not the central focus of this current work reflects the temporal differences of writing, thinking, talking, and face-to-face collaborative living. That my writing lags behind my learning and thinking suggests it is time to bring this unfinished work to a close. I conclude with the hope that this book may connect, in some small but meaningful ways, to possibilities like the ones briefly outlined in this final chapter; to continued explorations of how images and spectacular spaces may facilitate encounters across difference and the ethics of shared responsibility while undoing arrangements and imaginaries that undermine the ability to respond; and to the connected lifeworlds that may emerge from these encounters and their diverse possibilities for continued creative and collaborative living.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Debord wrote *Society of the Spectacle* as a series of 221 theses, ranging in length from a single sentence to a short paragraph. The work has been reproduced so many times, including in a variety of freely accessible online versions. I therefore use thesis numbers rather than page numbers so that readers can easily consult the relevant passages to which I refer.
2. Keywords, according to Williams (1976: 15), are derived from our most general discussions. They indicate dominant meanings of words that are “inextricably bound up in the problems they are being used to discuss.” Moreover, these words are “not only ways of discussing but at another level *seeing* our most central experiences” (emphasis mine). This latter point has obvious implications for the central themes of this book.
3. A Nobel Prize–winning scientist, Crutzen’s ideas and pronouncements are highly influential in global environmental policy circles. From atmospheric science and geology, the Anthropocene concept has made its way into humanities and social science lexicons, as well as into popular discourses of nature and our planetary future.
4. “Nature Is Over” is the title of a thought essay published in a special issue of *Time* (Walsh 2012). The theme of the special issues was “Ten Ideas that are Changing Your Life.”

5. In *Race and Nature*, Paul Outka (2008: 23) highlights the dissociative aspects of such arrangements by contrasting sublimity and trauma. Trauma, Outka argues, results from terror so intense that it precludes the distancing necessary to the formation of experiences that can later be assimilated as memory. In sublimity, by contrast, awe and terror are experienced through voyeurism of trauma from “just outside of its emotional event horizon.”
6. This insight comes from the introduction of a special issue of the *Journal of Peasant Studies* (Fairhead, Leach, and Scoones 2012) on “green grabbing,” a new form of appropriation in which environmental justifications for appropriations of nature, rooted in colonial-era conservation, are being reworked in novel and complex forms of valuation and commodification. The detailed case studies assembled in this special issue illuminated the workings of the economy of repair at diverse and interconnected scales and locales. In her study of “green uranium,” Sullivan (2013b) outlines the mechanisms by which the contradictory logics of repair are worked out in abstractions.
7. For the publications of this initiative, see “Tanzania Tourism,” United Republic of Tanzania, accessed July 16, 2016, <https://issuu.com/tanzania-tourism/docs>.
8. Including African elephants, lions and rhinos, the Kilimanjaro Safari Ride, the Wild Africa Trek (a three-hour hike), and a simulated safari lodge, <https://disneyworld.disney.go.com/attractions/animal-kingdom/>, accessed June 29, 2016.
9. In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991) focuses on houses, town squares, churches, and cemeteries as lived spaces that are experienced as representative of particular values and lifeways (i.e., Christianity, bourgeoisie comfort, family, commerce, consumerism, etc.).
10. A useful metaphor for thinking about this argument is the old-fashioned telephone switchboard. An operator sits in front of a spaghetti-like assemblage of sockets and cables. While the surface of the board takes up a great deal of space, it matters little to the operator, who is singularly concerned with plugging and unplugging cables to forge and break connections between relevant sockets. The rest of the surface, though always near to those connections, is routinely passed over by them. Capital does not actually hop, as Ferguson (2006) puts it, but is conducted from point to point via roads, rails, flight paths, and, of course, telecommunication systems—of which the switchboard is the simplest imaginable example.
11. This is a BBC “documentary series looking at the most dramatic wildlife spectacles on our planet.” Among the events on offer are “The Great Melt” (of Arctic ice), “The Great Flood” (of the Okavango Delta), and “The Great Salmon

Run” (of the American Northwest). BBC, “Nature’s Great Events: Episodes,” accessed September 25, 2016, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/booht655/episodes/guide>.

CHAPTER 1

1. “A Place Without People—Trailer,” YouTube video, uploaded by “Yuri Averof,” October 18, 2009, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrEmUjNhwyo>.
2. You can view this video via the following link: “Tanzania Video: Tanzania—The land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar and The Serengeti,” online video, TripAdvisor, November 2012, <https://www.tripadvisor.com/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g293747-i52269673-Tanzania.html>.
3. *Hatari* (Swahili for “danger”) was shot on location on the southern border of what was then becoming Arusha National Park, at what is now Hatari Lodge.
4. Also see “Tanzania National Parks and the Frankfurt Zoological Society,” Frankfurt Zoological Society, accessed September 25, 2016, http://www.serengeti.org/fzs_ab.html.
5. This statement is from a biographical video produced in relation to Borner’s nomination for the 2012 Indianapolis Prize. The video features iconic footage of the wildebeest migrations, which a narrator describes as “one of the most spectacular migrations on the planet.” Footage of Borner viewing the migrations from a zebra-striped Cessna is clearly an homage to *Serengeti Shall Not Die!* “Indianapolis Prize 2012 Finalist—Markus Borner,” YouTube video, uploaded by “Indianapolis Zoo,” October 6, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SeXP5SwbE3I>.
6. Known today as FFI (Fauna and Flora International), the SPF is arguably the most influential organization in the history of modern conservation. Founded in 1903 by a small group of European elites, it went on to spin off the IUCN (International Union for the Conservation of Nature). The IUCN in turn spun off the World Wildlife Fund, launched in 1961 with the AWF (African Wildlife Foundation in Arusha, Tanzania). Along with the Nature Conservancy, Conservation International, and the Wildlife Conservation Society, these make up the largest institutional entities in conservation today (for details see Fitter and Scott 1978; Bonner 1994; Neumann 1998; and Chapin 2004).
7. Because Roosevelt’s 1909 African expedition was sponsored by the Smithsonian, the bulk of his collected specimens were sent to Washington, DC.

However, he did donate an elephant cow to the Museum of Natural History, which his father helped found. Roosevelt's son Kermit shot the calf of his father's kill, which also stands among the taxidermy herd at the center of the Akeley Hall of African Mammals. Michael Pollak, "Roosevelt's Elephant," *New York Times*, October 26, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/10/28/nyregion/theodore-roosevelts-elephant.html?_r=0.

8. Upheavals of the late nineteenth century were definitive of the encounters between Europeans and African communities throughout the region. Shetler's (2007) meticulous ecological history of the Serengeti illuminates how the disasters of the late nineteenth century played into European fantasies of an unpeopled landscape while disrupting long-standing relationships between multiethnic hunter-farmer groups, on the one hand, and Maasai herders on the other. Doctoral dissertations by Bernsten (1979) and Waller (1978) detail the effects of the disasters on Maasai and their encounters with Europeans. Spear (1997) connects the disasters to the Maa-speaking Arusha people's migrations to the slopes of Mt. Meru and their consequent identity formation relative to Meru people.
9. The transformation of wartime propaganda techniques into mass-marketing campaigns was of course a central concern of the Frankfurt School, particularly Theodor Adorno's (2001) collected essays on the culture industry. This topic is also taken up in Adam Curtis's documentary *The Century of Self*, which shows how wartime propaganda inspired Sigmund Freud's nephew Edward Bernays to use similar techniques in mass-marketing campaigns that would inflame and channel people's desires in support of a mass consumer culture, in which demand for the latest consumer goods would expand without limit. "The Century of Self (Full Documentary)," YouTube video, uploaded by "David Lessig," July 9, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eJ3RzGoQC4s>.
10. Michael Fay, of the Wildlife Conservation Society, used similar strategies to great effect in promoting the creation of national parks in Gabon at the turn of the millennium. Taking a page from Grzimek's playbook, Fay used showmanship and popular media to conjure a distinctive form of conservation governmentality (see Garland 2008 for details).
11. The denazification hearings at the end of WWII determined Grzimek to be a *Mitläufer* ("fellow traveler"). This category referred to someone who was not charged with Nazi crimes, but whose involvement with the party was significant enough that they could not be exonerated of the crimes of the Nazi regime. While the details of Grzimek's involvement are disputed, it appears

- that he saw the party as a means of self-promotion (for details, see Bonner 1994; Lekan 2011; Boes 2013).
12. In June 2013 the British Government finally admitted responsibility for the atrocities of the internment camps and agreed to compensate surviving victims. Ian Cobain, “Kenya: UK Expresses Regret over Abuse as Mau Promised Payout,” *The Guardian*, June 5, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/jun/05/kenyan-mau-mau-payout-uk-regret-abuse>.
 13. This film documented the decimation of wildlife by safari hunters in what was then the Belgian Congo and which is now the Democratic Republic of Congo.
 14. The only exception is a fleeting mention of Michael Grzimek reading a book on Mau during the Grzimeks’ time in Serengeti (Lekan 2011: 233).
 15. This assertion was eventually refuted by Homewood and Rodgers (1991) in their book *Maasailand Ecology*, which incorporated systematic research on the ecology of Maasai herding systems in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area.
 16. Alan Root, “Professor Dr. Bernhard Grzimek,” Serengeti National Park’s Official Website, 2000, http://www.serengeti.org/p_grzimek.html.
 17. Like Grzimek, Riefenstahl reinvented herself as a photographer-filmmaker in Africa. Whereas Grzimek’s work focused on putatively pristine African nature, however, her work focused on putatively pristine African people. The pair met in Congo during the shooting of *No Place for Wild Animals* and later co-produced the coffee-table book *Visions of Paradise* (1978).
 18. Boes (2013) suggests that some of the aerial camera techniques in *Serengeti Shall Not Die!* are directly influenced by opening sequences in Riefenstahl’s *Triumph of the Will*, in which Hitler gazes from a plane upon the masses of party members and soldiers who are gathering for the Nazi Party Congress in Nuremberg in 1934.
 19. Much has been written about the role of Western conservation in the East African transition to independence; I will not present an exhaustive account of that entire history. For fuller accounts see Adams and McShane 1992; Bonner 1994; Neumann 1998; Igwe 2004; and Lekan 2011).
 20. According to historical conversion tables, the exchange rate of Deutsche Marks to U.S. Dollars was approximately 4:1 in 1960. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Inflation Calculator, \$500 in 1960 would have had the same buying power as \$4,071 in 2016. Grzimek’s conjured package tours would still be an excellent deal in the present day. Harold Marcuse, “Historical Dollar-to-Marks Currency Conversion Page: Converting Value-then to Value-now:

- Inflation Calculators,” UC Santa Barbara, last updated February 9, 2013, <http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/projects/currency.htm#infcalc>; “CPI Inflation Calculator,” U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, accessed September 25, 2016, http://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm.
21. This quote is from TANAPA’s official website: <http://tanzaniaparks.go.tz/corporate-information.html>.
 22. I direct readers who would like to know more about the socioecological complexities of elephant conservation between Eastern and Southern Africa to Raymond Bonner’s (1994) journalistic exposé, *At the Hand of Man*. In brief, Bonner connects East African ivory poaching to Cold War politics and the related infusion of automatic weapons into regional conflicts by the Soviet Union. These weapons greatly facilitated the poaching of elephants by former combatants. Bonner also argues that while ivory poaching in Eastern Africa was wiping out Eastern African herds, herds in parts of Southern Africa were growing at rates that threatened the local ecosystems and thus the survival of wildlife in those areas.
 23. With a herd of 2,500 animals in 2006, the landscape in and around Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks boasted the highest density of elephants in Tanzania and among the highest for all of Africa (Foley and Foley 2006). Given a doubling rate of 7 percent per annum, as high as elephantly possible (Sachedina 2008), the herd was set to double once every decade.
 24. “Elephants,” African Wildlife Foundation, archived web page, January 7, 2007, <http://web.archive.org/web/20070103000752/http://www.awf.org/section/wildlife/elephants>.
 25. “AWF Adoption Collections,” Endangered Species Chocolate, archived web page, Internet Archive, November 3, 2011, <http://web.archive.org/web/20111103151622/http://chocolatebar.com/categories.php?category=Gift-Collections/AWF-Adoption-Collections>.
 26. “Adopt an Elephant Collections,” Endangered Species Chocolate, archived web page, Internet Archive, May 11, 2012, <http://web.archive.org/web/20120511035440/http://chocolatebar.com/categories.php?category=Gift-Collections/AWF-Adoption-Collections/Adopt-a-Elephant-Collections>.
 27. “Join AWF’s Elephant Conservation Research Project,” African Wildlife Foundation, archived web page, Internet Archive, February 4, 2007, <http://web.archive.org/web/20070204110026/http://www.awf.org/content/action/detail/3596>.

CHAPTER 2

1. The official Maasai Steppe Heartland map gives the total territory at 22,233 square kilometers.
2. Quoted from the promotional video, “A Campaign to Save Africa’s Heartland,” YouTube video, uploaded by “African Wildlife Foundation,” January 28, 2008, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w1HmLRFwtjo&index=4&list=PL33ADF1A24915BAF7>.
3. “The African Heartlands,” African Wildlife Foundation, archived web page, Internet Archive, July 8, 2007, <http://web.archive.org/web/20070708221252/http://www.awf.org/section/heartlands>.
4. In an official AWF report, Sumba, Bergin, and Jones (2005: 3) explain, “To bring land under conservation in Heartlands . . . AWF enters agreements with willing landowners to ensure sustainable land management on critical ecological lands. More recently AWF has worked with landowners and other partners to form versatile land conservation trusts to secure land for long-term conservation. A wide range of legal and economic tools—such as easements, direct purchase, management, and direct payments—exist to help bring land under conservation through these trusts. It is against this background that the Tanzanian Land Conservation Trust was formed to acquire the Manyara Ranch in the MSH [Maasai Steppe Heartland].”
5. “Supporting Tanzania’s National Parks,” African Wildlife Foundation, archived web page, Internet Archive, July 14, 2007, <http://web.archive.org/web/20070714210620/http://www.awf.org/content/solution/detail/3507>.
6. Maa is a Nilotic language spoken by people who identify as Maasai and by numerous other groups, including Njemps, Ndorobo, Wakwavi, Rendille, Arusha and others.
7. Following the colonial carve-up of Africa by European powers at the Berlin Conference of 1885, the area that is now mainland Tanzania became the German colony of Tanganyika. Germany surrendered its colonies at the close of WWI in 1918, and Tanganyika became a British protectorate till gaining independence in 1961. Finally, in 1964, Tanganyika joined a union with the island nation of Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanzania.
8. The only exceptions are Arusha and Kilimanjaro National Parks, at the peaks of Mt. Meru and Mt. Kilimanjaro, respectively. Although Maasai herders

sometimes used the lower slopes of these mountains as emergency pasture during droughts, they were not included in the Maasai reserve. The slopes of these mountains are inhabited by agricultural groups, including Maa-speaking Arusha people, who are closely related to the Maasai (for details, see Spear 1997; Hodgson 2001).

9. The cover of my first book, *Conservation and Globalization*, features a photograph of a white tourist, a middle-aged woman, dancing with a Maasai warrior, a young man. Thanks to Edward Bruner for sharing that photograph.
10. "Supporting Tanzania's National Parks."
11. In practice such restrictions were tricky, as it was often necessary to allow some "Swahili" people to live in the territory as laborers of public-works projects, such as bush clearance for tsetse eradication, in which Maasai living in the territory refused to participate (Hodgson 2001: 102). In general usage, "Swahili" usually refers to coastal and island peoples. Maasai in this part of Tanzania use the term "Swahili" to refer to a wide diversity of non-Maasai people, some from places as far-flung as Congo, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Several elders I interviewed in the 1990s claimed to have been relocated from such locales as laborers, first on sisal plantations and then on public works projects in the Maasai Reserve. Many Maasai I interviewed indicated that they needed "Swahili" people around to dig wells, build houses, and weed farms, and other labor-intensive activities. When asked why they needed "Swahili" for this kind of work, one of my key informants playfully responded, "Maasai mwenyewe hana hiyo hobi [A Maasai himself (he was referring to young male Maasai) does not have that hobby (i.e., manual labor)]."
12. For a particularly salient example of this kind of presentation, visit the website of the international group the Maasai Environmental Resource Coalition (MERC). While the website does not explicitly call for reestablishing the Maasai Reserve, it invokes Maasailand as "one of the world's last great refuges"—language very similar to that which conservation biologists use to describe the Serengeti. MERC—Maasai Education, Research, and Conservation Institute home, <http://www.maasaierc.org/>.
13. Traditionally young Maasai men have hunted lions to prove their prowess as part of their initiation into warrior age sets (Saitoti 1988). Recently a group of Western conservationists promoted an event called "The Maasai Olympics," in Kenya as an alternative to traditional Maasai lion-hunting. A recent (2014) article in the *Wall Street Journal* promises the event will be "a spectacle as thrilling as any safari. The Olympics promise to draw hundreds of Maasai decked out

in their finest. Government dignitaries and sports stars are expected. And, given that it all takes place in the Sidai Oleng Wildlife Sanctuary, spectators should also include zebra, giraffe and elephants.” George Rush, “At the Maasai Olympics, Leaps Take the Place of Lions,” *Wall Street Journal*, November 6, 2014, <http://www.wsj.com/articles/at-the-maasai-olympics-leaps-take-the-place-of-lion-killings-1415300961>.

14. “Supporting Tanzania’s National Parks.”
15. The document had no title or authors, but its arguments and figures bore a remarkable resemblance to an article by Frankfurt Zoological Society Director Markus Borner (1985) called “The Increasing Isolation of Tarangire National Park.” The American tour operators who provided it to local Maasai claimed they obtained it during a meeting between a group of Western conservationists and Tanzanian conservation officials.
16. Several Swahili terms are invoked in association with these people: *wageni* (“strangers,” even though they are often well known to the person who is speaking about them), *wasio wa hapa* (“who are not of here,” even though they may have been living in a place for three or four generations), and *waliofika* (“those who have arrived,” even though they have often been in an area for as long, and sometimes longer, than groups who claim a status of original belonging. *Waliofika* is a term that invokes colonial notions of autochthony.
17. Goldman’s long-term research, in and around Manyara Ranch, documents the complex histories and processes of inclusion, exclusion, representation, and wildlife conservation associated with this contested and palimpsest territory.
18. “U.S. Treasury Secretary Hank Paulson Visits Manyara Ranch,” archived web page, [archive-us-2012.com](http://www.archive-us-2012.com), archived November 2012, http://www.archive-us-2012.com/us/i/2012-11-01_576482_49/U-S-Treasury-Secretary-Hank-Paulson-Visits-Manyara-Ranch/.

CHAPTER 3

1. “Area Information,” Manyara Ranch Conservancy, accessed June 5, 2015, <http://manyararanch.com/area-information/>.
2. Bruner compares Maasai cultural performances in three different settings, which he labels postcolonial, postindependence, and postmodern. The first is Mayers Ranch, a white Kenyan homestead refurbished as a tourist attraction, in which Western tourists bask in colonial nostalgia. The second is Bomas of

Kenya, a state-sponsored entertainment complex, in which Maasai cultural performances are incorporated into a larger nationalist vision of a multicultural African nation state. The final is a sundowner in the Maasai Mara, where boundaries are blurred and tourists sip champagne and eat while intermixing and dancing with Maasai cultural performers.

3. In 2011, Tanzania received 1 million visitors for the first time. The Tanzania Tourist Board expected 2 million visitors in 2014. Elisha Mayallah, “Tanzania Cheerful on Tourism Growth,” AllAfrica, April 12, 2014, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201404140177.html>.
4. A Google search for “Tanzania + volunteer” yields dozens of pages of results and images of volunteers too numerous to count, illuminating both the scope of volunteer-abroad programs and the immense popularity of Tanzania as a volunteer hotspot.
5. These transformations reflect broader trends beyond the scope of the current conversation but which include the rise of “philanthrocapitalism” (Bishop and Green 2008; Richey and Ponte 2011; Munk 2013), celebrity conservation and humanitarianism (Brockington 2009 and 2014), “voluntourism” (Mostafanezhad 2014), overseas studies (Catton and Santos 2009); and global higher education (Handler 2013; Looser 2012).
6. Perhaps the most notable example is the Millennium Villages Project, which seeks to fulfill the UN Millennium Development Goals in a selection of villages across Africa. The idea is to infuse significant monetary resources into these villages to help them overcome a crucial set of interlocking poverty problems. A key assumption of this project, and one of the most debatable, is that the villages will be proving grounds for integrated development and that successes achieved in specific villages can be scaled up to achieve similar results at national and regional levels (Munk 2014).
7. The first image I encountered was from 2004, features a group of Tanzanian and Western wildlife professionals gathered around, and intently focused on another replica of this map at an unspecified location in the Maasai Steppe. “An Integrated Plan to Conserve the Kwakuchinja Corridor, N. Tanzania,” Whitley Fund for Nature, accessed August 1, 2016, <http://whitleyaward.org/winners/conserving-kwakuchinja-corridor-tanzania/>. In the promotional video, *About AWF* (at time signature 2:42–3:04), a former ranch manager can be seen performing a portion of the same presentation he made to us at the AWF offices (and probably around the same time). “About AWF,” YouTube video, uploaded by “African Wildlife Foundation,” August 30, 2007, <https://www.youtube.com>

/watch?v=P98NDWsUf3s. The cover of USAID's (2008) *Evaluation of the Global Conservation Program* features a photograph of another former ranch manager, standing with a similar map at an aesthetically similar spot. USAID, "Evaluation of the Global Conservation Program (GCP): Final Evaluation Program," May 2008, <http://www.brucebyersconsulting.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/07/GCP-Evaluation-Final-Report-2008.pdf>. My unverifiable but educated guess is that all of these images were captured at Manyara Ranch and in close time and space proximity to one another.

8. The AWF working paper on land conservation trusts is available online: Daudi Sumba, Patrick Bergin, and Clive Jones, "Land Conservation Trusts: A Case Study of Manyara Ranch, Tanzania," AWF Working Papers, August 2005, http://www.awf.org/sites/default/files/media/Resources/Books%20and%20Papers/TLCT_Manyara_Ranch_Paper.pdf.
9. The Boma was established with support from USAID and the AWF, <http://www.awf.org/projects/esilalei-women%E2%80%99s-cultural-boma>, accessed August 1, 2016.
10. "More Animals, More Money at Manyara Ranch," Embassy of the United States: Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, press release, May 7, 2008, http://tanzania.usembassy.gov/pr_05072008.html.
11. The visits of the congressional delegation and Secretary Paulson were closely related to major restructurings of U.S. (and thus USAID) support for global conservation. As Sachedina (2008: 20) explains, the congressional delegates were part of the newly created International Conservation Caucus, a congressional body that works closely with large conservation NGOs. The safari was underwritten by the hedge fund billionaire Paul Tudor Jones, who owns a luxury lodge to the west of Serengeti and has pledged to fund the Serengeti International Airport. Shortly before visiting the Manyara Ranch School, Hank and Wendy Paulson hosted the International Conservation Congress Foundation's Congressional International Conservation Gala in Washington, D.C. ("2007 U.S. Congressional International Conservation Gala," archived web page, Internet Archive, March 21, 2015, <http://web.archive.org/web/20150321073010/http://iccfoundation.us/what-we-do/awards/2007-US-international-conservation-gala.html>). The foundation is a nonprofit organization that supports the congressional caucus while working closely with major business leaders in forging a vision of conservation in which capitalism holds the solutions to the world's environmental crises. See for example, "ICCF Leadership in Business Award," archived web page, Internet Archive, March 4, 2016,

- http://web.archive.org/web/20160304025915/http://iccfoundation.us/what-we-do/awards/business_award.html. For details of these transformations, see Corson (2010).
12. “Manyara Ranch—Tanzania (African Wildlife Foundation),” YouTube video, uploaded by “GLP Films,” July 16, 2008, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oSog4Br2JhQ>. In 2009, this video toured REI and L.L. Bean stores throughout North America as part of a multimedia presentation supported by National Geographic Adventure. The event included in-store promotions, door prizes, and gear raffles from Timberland, Gregory, Keen Footwear, Lonely Planet, and ExOfficio, among others. National Geographic Adventure, “Sustainability Across Africa,” archived web page, Internet Archive, February 9, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20090209061813/http://www.greenlivingproject.com/events/>.
 13. “African Wildlife Foundation 50th Anniversary Video,” YouTube video, posted by “African Wildlife Foundation,” May 17, 2011, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9mr_fjeZPww, accessed February 10th, 2017. See also “About AWF,” YouTube video, posted by “African Wildlife Foundation,” August 31, 2007, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P98NDWsUf3s>.
 14. At the end of the Green Living Project video, Maasai Steppe Director Steven Kiruswa briefly mentions the Burunge Wildlife Management Area, and we see a quick shot of non-Maasai officials in a nearby Mwada village (5:25–5:33) as well as non-Maasai women at the Mshikamano Village Women’s Weaving Cooperative (5:33–5:41). Although the cooperative is frequently mentioned as the other AWF-supported women’s enterprise in the Maasai Steppe, images of Maasai women in traditional dress dominate visual representations of women’s enterprise in the Maasai Steppe.
 15. “Manyara School,” Explore, online video (1:18–1:21), accessed August 1, 2016, <http://explore.org/videos/player/manyara-school>. See also “An Unusual Request,” YouTube video, uploaded by “EXPLORE.org Films,” April 18, 2007, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KjT2HVCfQiQ>.
 16. Although the surrounding brush and savanna suggest that Weingarten and the elders are deep in the bush, the new school is located just a kilometer from the main paved road to Arusha. See the official Manyara Ranch map: “Manyara Ranch: Overview,” map, African Wildlife Foundation, April 2008, <http://manyararanch.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/02/Manyara-Ranch-Map.jpg>.
 17. “Veronica Verakova—AWF Goodwill Ambassador,” YouTube video, posted by “African Wildlife Foundation,” March 1, 2010 (2:01–2:45), <https://www>

- .youtube.com/watch?v=Km--lZ-Wkro. See also Varekova's *Safarious* post, August 6, 2012, <https://www.safarious.com/en/posts/1906>.
18. Launched in 2008, the Corporate Service Corps is designed to promote corporate social responsibility, expanding IBM's global market share while helping communities in emerging economies to solve their problems. "Corporate Service Corps," IBM, accessed August 1, 2016, <http://www.ibm.com/ibm/responsibility/corporateservicecorps/programdetails.html>.
 19. "IBM Manager's Financial Know-How Helps Protect Tanzanian Heartland," *IBM Global Careers Newsletter* 1, no. 1 (2009), https://www-03.ibm.com/employment/news/200901_volumerarti_tanzanian.html.
 20. "About the Program," online video, IBM (1:24–1:30), accessed June 10, 2015, <https://www-146.ibm.com/corporateservicecorps/node/837>.
 21. "Our History," African Wildlife Foundation, accessed June 12, 2015, <https://www.awf.org/about/history>.
 22. "Manyara Ranch Tented Camp," African Wildlife Foundation, accessed June 12, 2015, <https://www.awf.org/projects/manyara-ranch-tented-camp>.
 23. "Manyara Ranch Conservancy," promotional brochure, Manyara Ranch Conservancy, accessed October 11, 2016, <http://wetu.com/Resources/21283/Manyara%20Ranch%20Conservancy%20Brochure%202011.pdf>.
 24. Ibid.
 25. Manyara Ranch Conservancy homepage, accessed June 12, 2015, <http://manyararanch.com/>.
 26. Leslie Wainger is a professional editor and author of the book *Writing a Romance Novel for Dummies* (2004).
 27. Leslie Wainger, "Arrival and Tarangire," African Wildlife Foundation blog, March 5, 2013, <https://www.awf.org/blog/arrival-and-tarangire>.
 28. Wainger is a professional editor and author of the book *Writing a Romance Novel for Dummies* (2004).
 29. Leslie Wainger, "Elephants Galore," African Wildlife Foundation blog, April 5, 2013, <https://www.awf.org/blog/elephants-galore>.
 30. The initiative supports a consortium of large conservation NGOs, including the Wildlife Conservation Society, the African Wildlife Foundation, the International Fund for Animal Welfare, the Nature Conservancy, and Conservation International. "Partnership to Save Africa's Elephants," Clinton Global Initiative, accessed October 2, 2016, <https://www.clintonfoundation.org/clinton-global-initiative/featured-commitments/partnership-save-africas-elephants>.

31. Juliet Eilperin, “Obama Announces Initiative to Combat Wildlife Trafficking,” *Washington Post*, July 1, 2013, http://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/obama-announces-initiative-to-combat-wildlife-trafficking/2013/07/01/2c35d25e-e26f-11e2-aef3-339619eabo80_story.html.
32. For details see the *New York Times* topic page, “Elephants.” A *Times* article notes that 2011 was the worst year for African elephants since the global ivory ban was instituted in 1989. The U.S. paper of record carries regular coverage of elephant poaching from 2012 onward. “Elephants,” *New York Times*, accessed October 2, 2016, <http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/e/elephants/index.html>. An investigative report by the Elephant Action League claims ivory poaching is a major source of money for the Somali group al-Shabaab, which has reputed links to al-Qaeda. Following the al-Shabaab attacks on Nairobi’s Westgate Mall in September 2013, the report became the primary source for several news stories linking the attacks to ivory. See Laurel Neme, “Al Shabaab and the Human Toll of the African Ivory Trade,” *A Place for Elephants* (blog), October 3, 2013, hosted by National Geographic, <http://voices.nationalgeographic.com/2013/10/03/al-shabaab-and-the-human-toll-of-the-illegal-ivory-trade/>, accessed October 2, 2016. Eminent filmmaker Katherine Bigelow has also recently produced a short film called *Last Days of Ivory* (2014), which intersperses footage of the Westgate attacks with an animated portrayal of Somali poachers slaughtering elephants in Kenya. *Last Days of Ivory* homepage, Annapurna Pictures, 2017, <http://www.lastdaysofivory.com/>.
33. The article’s author, James Deutsch, was director of the Wildlife Conservation Society’s Africa program at the time of Clinton’s visit. The organization’s elephant conservation specialist, Douglas Foley, hosted Clinton during her time in Tarangire. The article, which coincides with a second Clinton Foundation tour of Africa (April 2015), describes northern Tanzania as a part of Africa that has bucked the trend of declining elephant populations. Wildlife Conservation Society, “For Africa’s Elephants, Bearing Witness Bears Fruit,” *A Voice for Elephants* (blog), May 5, 2015, hosted by National Geographic, <http://voices.nationalgeographic.com/2015/05/05/for-africas-elephants-bearing-witness-bears-fruit/>.
34. A Google search for “Chelsea Clinton + Tarangire National Park” returns links to sites from Tanzanian National Parks, the Wildlife Conservation Society, the Bronx Zoo, National Geographic, the Slate Foundation, the Escape Foundation, Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, Barbara Kinney (the photographer who accompanied Clinton), and of course the Clinton Foundation.

35. Chelsea Clinton, “How We Can End the Elephant Poaching Crisis,” Clinton Foundation blog, August 19, 2013, <https://www.clintonfoundation.org/main/clinton-foundation-blog.html/2013/08/19/how-we-can-end-the-elephant-poaching-crisis>.
36. “Maasai Steppe, Tanzania,” Landscapes for People, Food and Nature, accessed August 2, 2016, <http://peoplefoodandnature.org/landscape/maasai-steppe/>.
37. These photographs can be viewed online: “Maasai Steppe Focal Dialogue,” Flickr album, accessed October 2, 2016, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/ecoagriculture/sets/72157638645846833/>.
38. Chris Planicka, “Coordinating EcoAgriculture Efforts in the Maasai Steppe,” *Hurry Boy, It’s Waiting There For You . . .* (blog), December 2, 2013, <http://cplanicka.blogspot.com/2013/12/coordinating-ecoagriculture-efforts-in.html>.
39. “Posts by Dan Duran,” African Wildlife Foundation, accessed August 2, 2016, <https://www.awf.org/blog/author/danduran>. Additional images can be found on Duran’s Tumblr site, playfully titled “Danzania” (<http://dan-duran.tumblr.com/>). Duran stayed for two weeks inside Tarangire National Park and a further week at the Manyara Ranch conservancy. Follow links provided here for details.

CHAPTER 4

1. Staying mindful of two key critiques of scholarly engagements with neoliberalism is also important. As Castree (2008) notes, diverse scholars and practitioners use the terms *neoliberal* and *neoliberalism* to discuss a wide variety of phenomena and situations that are not necessarily comparable or even similar. Ferguson (2010) further argues that some scholars exhibit a “knee-jerk” reaction to neoliberalism, dismissing out of hand any kind of intervention that may have neoliberal elements without due consideration of its progressive possibilities. For a brief introduction to neoliberal conservation, see Igoe and Brockington (2007). For a synthesized critique of neoliberal conservation, see Büscher et al. (2012).
2. Fletcher (2010) provides a useful synthesis of Foucault’s understandings of neoliberalism in relation to nature conservation. He argues that neoliberal governmentality (techniques for managing people and nature) intervenes in environments to modify their variables according to preferred outcomes. If we assume, as neoliberal thinkers do, that individual humans are motivated by a drive for personal

gain, then the central challenge becomes how we might reorder the environment so that people's efforts to maximize gain can be channeled toward optimal outcomes. This insight is central to my formulations of ecofunctional nature.

3. The original BINGOs listed by Chapin are the Nature Conservancy, the World Wildlife Fund, and Conservation International. The list has since been expanded to include two relatively smaller organizations: the Wildlife Conservation Society and the African Wildlife Foundation (Dowie 2009). These organizations are at the heart of what Brockington, Duffy, and Igoe (2009: 5) call "mainstream conservation."
4. Others include Conservation International's Biodiversity Hotspots, the World Wildlife Fund's Ecoregions, and the Wildlife Conservation Society's Living Landscapes.
5. These were the Nature Conservancy, Conservation International, the Wildlife Conservation Society, and the World Wildlife Fund. The African Wildlife Foundation subsequently became a conservation partner of the International Conservation Caucus Foundation.
6. "U.S. Congressional International Conservation Gala," dinner program, International Conservation Caucus Foundation, September 18, 2007, <http://www.internationalconservation.org/publications/2007GalaProgram.pdf>.
7. ICC charter, accessed August 5, 2016, <http://royce.house.gov/internationalconservation/icc%20charter.pdf>.
8. "The Teddy Roosevelt Approach," ICCF, accessed October 4, 2016, <http://www.internationalconservation.org/the-teddy-roosevelt-approach>.
9. TEEB homepage, accessed October 4, 2016, <http://www.teebweb.org/>. Sukhdev is a former senior banker at Deutsch Bank and head of the United Nations Environment Programme's Green Economy Initiative.
10. A headline of an interview with Sukhdev in *The Ecologist* reads "Pavan Sukhdev: You Can Have Progress Without GDP-Led Growth." Tom Levitt, January 22, 2010, http://www.theecologist.org/Interviews/402389/pavan_sukhdev_you_can_have_progress_without_gdpled_growth.html.
11. To quote the official IUCN description of the World Conservation Congress. "Forum," IUCN World Conservation Congress: Hawai'i 2016, accessed October 4, 2016, <http://iucnworldconservationcongress.org/programme/forum>.
12. "Imagine Your Korea," Korea Tourism Organization, accessed October 4, 2016, http://asiaenglish.visitkorea.or.kr/ena/SI/SI_EN_3_6.jsp?cid=1633518. I cannot contemplate the sweeping glass façades and atriums of the Jeju International Conference Center, without envisioning London's Crystal Palace in its hey-

day. Both buildings are wonders of their time, full of sunlight, artwork, trees, stairways and balconies. Their grounds are carefully manicured and similarly elaborate, featuring gardens, sculptures, and fountains.

13. For information and maps visit “Travel Highlights,” Imagine Your Korea, June 30, 2016, http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/ATR/SI_EN_3_6.jsp?cid=2006849.
14. “Journeys through the Forum,” IUCN, archived web page, Internet Archive, March 18, 2015, https://web.archive.org/web/20150318220802/http://iucn.org/congress_08/forum/journeys. Journeys are offered again for the 2016 Congress in Hawai‘i. “Journeys,” IUCN World Conservation Congress: Hawai‘i 2016, accessed August 16, 2016, <http://www.iucnworldconservationcongress.org/programa/journeys>.
15. “Journeys through the Forum.”
16. I have observed this in the aesthetics and discourses of the Congresses I have attended, and it has been widely commented on by proponents and critics alike. Positive media coverage of this prominent theme is described repeatedly in academic publications (see Sullivan 2009; MacDonald 2010b; Igoe, Neves, and Brockington 2010; Fletcher 2014).
17. “About Congress,” IUCN World Conservation Congress: Hawai‘i 2016, accessed October 4, 2015, <http://www.iucnworldconservationcongress.org/about/about-congress>.
18. Fletcher (2014) outlines a bundle of integrated techniques as follows: staging consensus, synchronizing discourse, expanding alliances, disciplining dissent, appropriating radical, and cynical reason.
19. Debord was likewise interested in art appraisers as purveyors of value, but he saw them as exemplary of larger “networks of falsification” through which otherwise nonexistent monetary value is brought into the world, as summed up in the following statement from *Comments on the Society of the Spectacle* (1998: 50):

It suffices to hold onto the experts and appraisers, which is easy enough, to get things to go through, since in affairs of this kind, as in the others, it is the sale which authenticates all value. Afterwards, it is the collectors and museums, particularly in America, which, gorged on falsehood, will have an interest in upholding its good reputation, just as the International Monetary Fund maintains the fiction of a positive value in the huge debts of a hundred nations.

Significantly, Büscher (2014) also argues that experts and their opinions are indispensable to “fictitious conservation,” through which nature’s financial values are generated.

CHAPTER 5

1. I cannot encounter this statue without recalling a poignant scene from Tom Spanbauer's novel, *In the City of the Shy Hunters*. After holding forth on some of the finer racist details of the statue, the main character, True Shot, proceeds resolutely into the museum. Passing through the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Hall and maze of taxidermy animals, he reaches a diorama depicting a nineteenth-century Blackfeet family, where he weeps at the sight of his ancestors suspended in time behind glass. "It is this way," True Shot says between sobs, "I came, I saw, I conquered, I put it in a museum." Trueshot then urinates openly on the glass façade of the offending diorama (Spanbauer 2001: 151).
2. For details see the *New York Times* article called "Roosevelt's Elephant." Because the Smithsonian sponsored Roosevelt's 1909 expedition, most of the thousands of African animals he killed went to Washington. However, he did donate an elephant cow to the American Museum of Natural History, which his father helped to found in 1869. Roosevelt's son Kermit shot the calf of his father's kill, which also stands among the taxidermy herd at the center of the hall. Pollak, "Theodore Roosevelt's Elephant."
3. See "Hublot Designs 'Big Bang Out of Africa' Luxury Watch in Support of AWF," African Wildlife Foundation, press release, March 18, 2010, <http://www.awf.org/news/hublot-designs-big-bang-out-africa-luxury-watch-support-awf>; "Corporate Partners," African Wildlife Foundation, accessed August 22, 2016, <http://www.awf.org/about/partners/corporate-partners>.
4. Pollak, "Theodore Roosevelt's Elephant."
5. "Hublot Designs 'Big Bang Out of Africa' Luxury Watch in Support of AWF."
6. See "Big Bang Out of Africa," *The Watch Quote* (blog), March 27, 2010, http://www.thewatchquote.com/The-Hublot-Big-Bang-Out-of-Africa-promoting-the-African-Wildlife-Foundation-No_7659.htm.
7. As defined (or perhaps recognized) by marketers for Hublot. Ibid.
8. For a time, Endangered Species Chocolate was associated with a new defunct AWF Adoption Center and wildlife personas like Auntie Botlhe the lioness and Oltupai the elephant. "African Wildlife Adoption Center," African Wildlife Foundation, archived web page, Internet Archive, January 5, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110105113648/https://shop.awf.org/adopt/default.aspx>.

9. “10% Giveback Partner Report: 1st Half 2014,” Endangered Species Chocolate and the Xerxes Society for Invertebrate Conservation, http://www.chocolatebar.com/docs/doc_q1partner_report2014.pdf.
10. One of the highest-rated Superbowl commercials for 2015 featured dancing furniture, animated by the power of an energy drink. The National Football League’s Superbowl television commercials are a cultural phenomenon in the United States, receiving nearly as much public attention as the championship game itself. “From Flying Pigs to Dancing Furniture: A Recap of the Best Super Bowl 2015 Commercials,” News18.com, February 2, 2015, <http://www.ibnlive.com/news/buzz/from-flying-pigs-to-dancing-furniture-a-recap-of-the-best-super-bowl-2015-commercials-965210.html>.
11. “Endangered Species Chocolate Announces Its Entry Into the Chocolate Spread Market,” Endangered Species Chocolate, press release, April 14, 2015, http://www.chocolatebar.com/media/41415_spreads.html.
12. For instance, Angelina Jolie and Madonna are both associated with a “style of living and viewing” that involves posing with African children, which is routinely performed and captured in photographic images by young Western women volunteering in Africa. The ubiquity of such images is reflected in satirical websites that have gone viral at universities: Padráic, “Gurl Goes to Africa,” *Dear Toto* (blog), January 10, 2014, <https://deartoto.wordpress.com/2014/01/10/gurl-goes-to-africa/>, accessed February 10, 2017. The satirical newspaper *The Onion* recently rant this headline: “6-Day Visit to Rural African Village Completely Changes Woman’s Facebook Profile Picture,” January 28, 2014, <http://www.theonion.com/article/6-day-visit-to-rural-african-village-completely-ch-35083>.
13. The national broadcast on ABC, which introduced Americans to the famous theme park, can be watched on YouTube. “1955 Disneyland Opening Day [Complete ABC Broadcast],” YouTube video, posted by “Marcio Disney,” July 16, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JuzrZET-3Ew>.
14. In the ABC special, *Old Faithful*, sponsored by the Chevrolet Division of General Motors Company. “Old Faithful (1973),” Shock Cinema, accessed August 28, 2016, <http://www.shockcinemamagazine.com/oldfaithful.html>.
15. Per Federal Reserve statistics, the average American household owes \$7,327 in credit card debt (\$891 billion in total debt). Though total household debt has declined somewhat in recent years, this is because of default more than repayment. Erin El Issa, “2016 American Household Credit Card Debt Study,” Nerdwallet,

- accessed August 29, 2016, <http://www.nerdwallet.com/blog/credit-card-data/average-credit-card-debt-household/>.
16. “McDonald’s Launches DreamWorks’ *Bee Movie* Global Happy Meal,” Conservation International, press release, October 22, 2007, http://www.conservation.org/NewsRoom/pressreleases/Pages/102207_bee-good-to-the-planet.aspx.
 17. This information is from the website of Jason Anderson. “Case Study: Endangered Animals Happy Meal: A Partnership with McDonald’s Europe,” Jason W. Anderson, accessed August 24, 2016, <http://jasonwanderson.com/case-studies/mcdonalds-endangered-animals-happy-meal.html>. According to his CV, Anderson worked for Conservation International between 2001 and 2011 as director of marketing and communications in the Corporate Partnership Division and senior director of communication strategies and campaigns. “Senior Communications + Marketing Executive,” Jason W. Anderson, accessed August 24, 2016, <http://jasonwanderson.com/resume.html>.
 18. “Jack Black Speaks for Pandas—Conservation International (CI),” YouTube video, posted by “Conservation International,” November 7, 2008, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8s_YoSzWq-A.
 19. “McDonald’s and CI Team Up to Protect China’s Panda Habitats,” Conservation International, press release, June 10, 2008, http://www.conservation.org/NewsRoom/pressreleases/Pages/CI_McDonalds_team_up_for_China_pandas.aspx.
 20. “Endangered Animals Happy Meal Campaign,” Vimeo video, posted by “Jason W. Anderson,” July 2, 2011, <https://vimeo.com/25900968>.
 21. Although the platform is now deactivated, I visited it on several occasions when it was active.
 22. “Dawn Helps Save Wildlife,” Dawn, accessed August 24, 2014, <http://www.dawn-dish.com/us/dawn/savingwildlife>.
 23. “For Oiled Wildlife, Dawn Cleans Best: Page 2,” Discovery News, November 27, 2012, archived web page, Internet Archive, March 14, 2015, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150314044148/http://news.discovery.com/animals/endangered-species/dawn-detergent-oil-spills-animals1.htm>.
 24. “Dawn—Wash Away,” online video, posted by “Assembly Films,” September 3, 2014, <https://vimeo.com/105128627>.
 25. “Dawn Helps Save Wildlife.”
 26. The page now has 920,000 “likes,” double what it had when I last checked (Igoe 2013).

27. “Dawn Junior Wildlife Champions!,” Marine Mammal Center, accessed August 24, 2016, <http://www.marinemammalcenter.org/Get-Involved/awareness-campaigns/dawn-junior-wildlife.html?referrer=https://www.google.com/>.
28. “Dawn Helps Save Wildlife.”
29. “Happy Earth Day. Now Text TREE,” NextNow Collaboratory, April 22, 2011, <https://nextnowcollab.wordpress.com/2011/04/22/>.
30. “Green World Campaign: Regreen the World,” Creativity, April 22, 2011, <http://creativity-online.com/work/green-world-campaign-regreen-the-world/23022>.
31. “Green World Campaign,” EarthWays Foundation, <https://www.earthways.org/green-world-campaign/>.
32. Ted Ryan, “The Enduring History of Coca-Cola’s Polar Bears,” *Coca-Cola Journey* (blog), January 1, 2012, <http://www.coca-colacompany.com/holidays/the-enduring-history-of-coca-colas-polar-bears>.
33. “Coca-Cola Polar Bowl Engaged 9 Million People,” *Advertising Age*, May 09, 2012. <http://adage.com/article/special-report-social-tv-conference/coca-cola-polar-bowl-attracted-9-million-people/234645/>.
34. The white cans were promptly discontinued because they were confusing to consumers, who complained that they looked too much like the silver Diet Coke cans. Jacqui Goddard, “Coca Cola Drops ‘Polar Bear’ Cans Because Consumers Prefer to See Red,” *The Telegraph*, December 3, 2011, <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/foodanddrink/foodanddrinknews/8933476/Coca-Cola-drops-polar-bear-cans-because-consumers-prefer-to-see-red.html>, accessed August 24, 2016.
35. See “Arctic Home Campaign Fact Sheet,” Coca-Cola, press release, November 18, 2011, <http://www.coca-colacompany.com/press-center/arctic-home-campaign-fact-sheet>.
36. See Natalie Zmuda, “Coca-Cola Gets Real with Polar Bears,” *Ad Age*, October 25, 2011, <http://adage.com/article/cmo-strategy/coca-cola-real-polar-bears-wwf-promo/230632/>.
37. “Coca-Cola Snowball Effect Mobile Game,” YouTube video, posted by “Doug Bennet,” May 14, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WT5CA2stKdo>.
38. “Arctic Home White Carpet Party Backstage Pass,” YouTube video, posted by “One World One Ocean,” November 10, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Lr1rTIWxmA8>.
39. “WWF—Coca-Cola Arctic Home Campaign—Augmented Reality | WWF,” YouTube video, posted by “WWF International,” January 31, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h2Jg8ryVkrk>. For a written review of the event, see

- Louise Ridley, "Picture Gallery: Coca-Cola Launches Arctic Home at Science Museum," Event: Championing Brand Experiences, January 21, 2013, <http://www.eventmagazine.co.uk/picture-gallery-coca-cola-launches-arctic-home-science-museum/article/1167529>.
40. "Coco Cola Arctic Home," archives web page, Internet Archive, April 25, 2015, http://web.archive.org/web/20150425215459/http://industry.shortyawards.com/nominee/6th_annual/a8/coca-cola-arctic-home.
 41. "CF Carrefour Laval," Cadillac Fairview Corporation, accessed August 24, 2016, <https://www.cfshops.com/carrefour-laval.html>.
 42. "What If You Could Control the Thermometer of the Arctic Habitat?," Coca-Cola Canada, press release, February 26, 2013, <http://www.newswire.ca/en/story/1120557/what-if-you-could-control-the-thermometer-of-the-arctic-habitat>.
 43. "Coca-Cola Arctic Home," YouTube video, posted by "Essencius," March 11, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6RDKnshS4Pg>; "Coca-Cola Arctic Home: Canada," YouTube video, posted by "The Coca-Cola Co.," July 30, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Mh3imdCsNOg>.
 44. "Commitment on Deforestation," McDonalds, accessed August 24, 2016, <http://www.aboutmcdonalds.com/content/mcd/sustainability/sourcing/priority-products/commitment-on-deforestation.html>.
 45. One of Coke's sustainability goals is to "balance the water we use by 2020, [by] returning to communities and nature an amount of water equal to that used in our beverages." "Collaborating to Replenish the Water We Use," *Coca-Cola Journey* (blog), accessed August 24, 2016, <http://www.coca-colacompany.com/stories/collaborating-to-replenish-the-water-we-use>.
 46. A cell phone used to tweet about polar bear sculptures will burn the energy equivalent of thirty-two gallons of gasoline and emit 112 kilograms of carbon. Mark Kinver, "Do Mobile Phones Cost the Earth?," BBC News, December 1, 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/6174422.stm>. Moreover, all the electronic gadgets on which large-scale consumer engagement depends are ultimately consigned to landfills where they release toxins into the air and water. See John Vidal, "Toxic E-waste Dumped in Poor Nations, says United Nations," *The Guardian*, December 14, 2013, <http://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2013/dec/14/toxic-ewaste-illegal-dumping-developing-countries>. Numerous organizations offer online e-waste facts for the browsing.
 47. "Dawn's No. 1 Status for Oiled Bird Rescue Remains a Mystery," *New York Times*, June 15, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/gwire/2010/06/29/29greenwire-dawns-no-1-status-for-oiled-bird-rescue-remain-67949.html>.

48. “Richard Branson on Climate Change—Conservation International (CI),” YouTube video, posted by “Conservation International,” August 31, 2009, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8YhUVIoanXo>.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. In his 2006 editorial on the ethics of geoengineering, Crutzen suggests that injecting sulfur into the stratosphere could be an expedient solution to climate change relative to cultural and political solutions, which may never find solutions or only when it is already too late. He acknowledges that this is less than an ideal solution, but could at least buy time for longer and more complex processes. These arguments are now a starting point for many debates on climate change ethics.
52. “Follow the Frog English Version MP4,” YouTube video, posted by “Typhoon India,” April 20, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P5enZ6dvAUo>.
53. “Hidden Consequences,” YouTube video, posted by “Rainforest Alliance,” September 15, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QuqHJBWSPgs>.
54. “Rainforest Alliance—How to Shop Safely: Follow the Frog,” online video, posted by “Latte Creative,” accessed February 10, 2017, <http://www.adforum.com/creative-work/ad/player/34469503/how-to-shop-safely-follow-the-frog/rainforest-alliance>.
55. “Follow the Frog,” YouTube video, posted by “Rainforest Alliance,” September 16, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3iIkOi3srLo>.
56. “FSC® Certified by the Rainforest Alliance,” Century, accessed August 25, 2016, <https://www.centuryfurniture.com/sustainability.aspx?show=fsc>; “Find Certified Products,” Rainforest Alliance, accessed August 25, 2016, <http://www.rainforest-alliance.org/shopthefrog>.
57. “Sustainable Tourism,” archived web page, Internet Archive, June 21, 2015, <http://web.archive.org/web/20150621020433/http://sustainabletrip.org/tourism>.
58. “Follow the Frog English Version MP4.”
59. Elena Schor, “Dawn’s No. 1 Status for Bird Washing Remains a Mystery,” *New York Times*, June 29, 2010, <http://www.nytimes.com/gwire/2010/06/29/29greenwire-dawns-no-1-status-for-oiled-bird-rescue-remain-67949.html>.

CHAPTER 6

1. Critics have correctly noted that Apthorpe’s sweeping formulations of Aid-land also flattens the diversity of development workers and thus the messy and

contested ways development actually gets done. However, many social scientists have noted how development workers tend to create a world unto themselves, and the Aidland “allegory,” as Apthorpe (2013) calls it, has proven immensely generative for studies of development workers and how they make sense of the world (see Fechter and Hindman 2011).

2. John Vidal, “Tanzanian Land Rights Victory Earns Maasai Leader Goldman Prize,” *The Guardian*, April 17, 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2016/apr/18/tanzania-land-rights-victory-earns-masaai-leader-goldman-prize-edward-loure>.
3. “Introducing the 2016 Goldman Prize Winners,” the Goldman Environmental Prize, April 17, 2016, <http://www.goldmanprize.org/blog/introducing-the-2016-goldman-prize-winners/>.
4. I am assuming that most readers are familiar with these movements, and those who are not can readily learn something about them through online research. Two key sources are of course the websites of Black Lives Matter (<http://blacklivesmatter.com/>) and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (<http://standingrock.org/>). It is also important to note that while these movements began in the United States, they are both globally ramifying and are increasingly finding expression in many other contexts.
5. Guy Debord and Henri Lefebvre were compatriots in the Situationist movement at the turn of the 1960s, during which their mutual influence was so strong that it is difficult to discern where one man’s ideas ended and the other’s began (Jappe 1999: 77–91; Merrifield 2006: 31–38).

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jim Igoe is associate professor in the Anthropology Department at the University of Virginia. His work, broadly construed, concerns the history of nature in expanding world systems. Specifically, he has addressed conflicts between national parks and indigenous communities in East Africa and North America, the emergence of neoliberal conservation at the turn of the millennium, and the role of mass-produced images in mediating people's perceptions of, and relationships to, the environment. Igoe is the co-author of *Nature Unbound: Capitalism and the Future of Protected Areas* and *Conservation and Globalization: A Study of National Parks and Indigenous Communities from East Africa to South Dakota*.