Lenses of Safari: Postcolonialism, Wildlife Tourism, and Lack of Representation of Skilled Tanzanians in Western Photography and Narrative

Krista Simonis

Follow this and additional works at: http://pilotscholars.up.edu/etd

Part of the Communication Commons

Recommended Citation
http://pilotscholars.up.edu/etd/13

This Master Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Pilot Scholars. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of Pilot Scholars. For more information, please contact library@up.edu.
Lenses of Safari:
Post-colonialism, Wildlife Tourism, and Lack of Representation of Skilled Tanzanians in Western Photography and Narrative

Krista Simonis
M.A. Candidate, University of Portland 2016

Thesis submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for a degree of Master of Arts in Communication Studies

© Krista Simonis
April 15, 2016
Abstract
This project consists of qualitative interviews with 26 safari guides in Tanzania, and investigates the relationship between colonial framing of Africa and the impact the ‘single story’ of Africa has had on safari guides and the perception of their skills by Western tourists. This project is an attempt to challenge the dominant ‘single story’ of Africa that has been partially flattened, I argue, through the touristic gaze, wildlife photography and Western (mis)representations. Beginning with the interpretive-critical assumption that there is no objective truth and guided by post-colonial theory, qualitative interviews, crystallization and arts-informed methods help answer questions about three main topics. One: the impact of the single story on guides (including the misperceptions of guests and the idea of ambassadors), two: the role of servitude in relation to skills (reviewing what skills guides have before discussing the recognition of those skills), and three: the effects of tourism and the Western gaze on Tanzania. My primary aim in this exploration is to make further sense of the essential role of safari guides and reveal how their role as “others” has affected their ability to receive credit for their knowledge and skills. In addition to this manuscript, this project also consists of a 20-minute documentary film that attempts to show multiple facets of Tanzanians, specifically the safari guides who make touristic experiences possible.

Keywords: photography, tourism, postcolonial theory, neocolonialism, metaphor, representation, scholartistry, crystallization
Table of Contents

**Introduction** ..................................................................................................................7
- Definitions of Key Terms ..........................................................................................10
- Rationale .................................................................................................................11
- Background Data on Tanzania & Tourism .................................................................12
- Theoretical Lenses ....................................................................................................15
  - Epideictic Rhetoric .................................................................................................15
  - “The West and the Rest” .......................................................................................15
  - Framing Theory .......................................................................................................16
- Format .........................................................................................................................17

**Literature Review** .........................................................................................................19
- The “Dark” Continent of Africa ................................................................................20
  - Media and Literature Portrayal ..............................................................................20
  - The Metaphor of Dark ............................................................................................22
- The Continuing Influence of Imperialism .................................................................26
  - Postcolonial Theory ...............................................................................................26
  - Neo-Colonialism .....................................................................................................29
  - Tanzania’s Monetary Ties .......................................................................................31
  - Tourism as Neocolonialism ....................................................................................32
- Photography .............................................................................................................34
  - Politics of Looking .................................................................................................35
  - Wildlife Photography ..............................................................................................36
- Justification ................................................................................................................38
- Research Questions ...................................................................................................38

**Methods** ....................................................................................................................39
- Methodology .............................................................................................................39
  - Scholartistry ...........................................................................................................40
  - Crystallization .........................................................................................................41
- Participants ...............................................................................................................43
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Procedures</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrument: Interview Protocol</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Results</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Researcher Reflection</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guides and the Single Story of Africa</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misperceptions of Tourists</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassadors</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role of Servitude in Relation to Skills</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guiding Skills</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognition of skills</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effects of Tourism and the Western Gaze on Tanzania</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westernized Clothing</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Support for Orphanages</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary of Results</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discussion</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theoretical Implications</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodological Implications</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Practical Implications</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future Directions</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgement

I would like to express my sincere thanks to everyone who has helped me throughout this project. First and foremost to the guides who agreed to speak with me and be a part of this research. Secondly, to the people I met in Tanzania who helped me throughout my time there, including my AirBnb hosts, my taxi driver, Irene and everyone at Green Horizon Safaris, and Mama. Thirdly, to my family and friends who have supported me throughout this process, making sure I remained human and ate food every once in a while. I also wish to extend a thank you to the University of Portland’s digital lab for assisting me with technical details and camera equipment. Finally, my sincere thanks goes to my thesis advisor, Dr. Vail Fletcher for her invaluable assistance and continuing guidance despite her busy schedule.
I had no idea what to expect when visiting Tanzania for the first time. Like any good tourist, I'd packed the essentials, including sunscreen and a camera. But this was Africa. A place closer to the sun, adventure, dangerous animals, and mosquitoes that were to be feared for more than just their bite. I went to REI. I bought shirts that would protect me from ultraviolet light, khaki pants, bug spray, Malarone, a solar powered phone charger, special hiking shoes, socks that would let my feet breathe, biodegradable soap, and a 128GB memory card. I left my cell phone at home and prepared to enter a new world. I arrived in Tanzania. The memory card wouldn't fit into my camera, I wore flip flops most of the time, and some days never put on sunscreen. I got more mosquito bites in my backyard in California, and a worse sunburn when I visited my parents in Palm Springs. In many ways, adventure camping in Africa was the same as the camping I had done in California- we were surrounded by a landscape that begged for rain. In Tanzania, Acacia trees replace Oaks, and you're more likely to have to chase off a hyena in the middle of the night than a raccoon. [- Researcher Vignette, Spring 2015]

**Introduction**

I've stopped taking pictures when I go on vacation in the United States. I've stopped taking pictures altogether. I no longer feel the need to commemorate occasions through photos, partly because, like many others, I feel I am not truly present when looking at the world through a camera lens. Photography often has the effect of distancing the viewer (Jenkins, 2014); I feel the act of photography separates me from my experience and removes me from the environment. There is a power dimension inherent in the voyeurism of photography, as the person doing the looking I hold power over the landscape or person that is being looked upon (Frosh, 2001; Adams, 2014). However, I took photographs during my trip to March 2015 Tanzania. I was traveling almost 10,000 miles to a place so mystical and misunderstood it is often referred to as...
an entire continent (i.e., “Africa”). After ten days in Tanzania, our group of 14 had taken well over 10,000 photographs and videos. Every hush that descended on our group at the sight of yet another animal was simultaneously filled with the sound of a shutter, capturing the image. Our photographs seemed to act as proof, even to ourselves, that we had been to Africa and experienced it (Garrod, 2008). As most tourists do, we took photographs to “remember our experience.” Still, I have found that what I want to remember about Tanzania is not what can be captured in a photograph. It seems that I can not sum up an experience in an image, just as I can not sum up a continent with a word. My trip to Tanzania was full of air. It blew with dust, rang of sunshine, and whispered of laughter. It smelled of rotting elephant, and flatulent hippo, and campfire, and Konyagi, and sunscreen. Using photography, my group took these images home — in this case, to the Global North — and thus our stories were flattened. The many stories of my time there make it challenging to tell just one, but that is often the effect many photographs and media portrayals have on Africa.

The idea of a single story comes from Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie's Ted talk, “The Danger of a Single Story” of Africa; her main premise is that when a singular story is heard or shared, it is assumed to be the representative truth. Returning from my first trip to Tanzania, I realized the story I was telling of my time there was incomplete. As a white woman raised in the Western world, I was crafting the only part of the story that is listened to, and I was often leaving out the guides who made my stories possible. Too often, privileged members of society become desensitized to their own positionality and fail to pay attention to the needs and stories of others.

1 Throughout this paper, I often refer to the continent of Africa as “Africa.” This paper only addresses Tanzania, however much of the literature and discourse has represented the continent as a whole, thus when addressing stereotypes, these are stereotypes that are relevant to the entire continent.
In this project, I aim to add multi-faceted stories, and in the process, contribute to challenging the ‘single story.’ Through documentary, my goal with this thesis is to act as a guide for a thought process and experience that presents alternate views and stories of travel in Tanzania.

During my visit to Tanzania, I saw the golden eyes of a leopard survey the grasslands that wrapped like a stretch around the copi. I saw lions, lazily engaged in an afternoon of fornication, and the slowly blinking eyelashes of baby elephants. But these are stories of animals. Our safari guide, Hashim, often said, “there are no fences in Africa.” From what I could tell, there are no road signs either. Our driver, Nico, knew where to find the leopard, where to find the lions, and how to navigate back to camp. Our cook, Martin, knew how to scare off hyenas, and the baboon that stole our gingersnaps. When I returned home and told my stories and showed the thousands of photographs I had taken on safari, these are the people and stories who were often left out. The people who are not in any of my photographs, the people who, without this project, would have been merely background characters in many of my stories. These are the people whose skills and knowledge seem forgotten and not spoken of.

This research captures some of the narratives of safari drivers and guides whose stories have often been ignored as one modern result of colonialism. Throughout the paper, I rely on framing theory to guide my interpretation of the existing story of Africa, and I take the viewpoint espoused under postcolonial theory; that of the subjugated other. I also rely on rhetorical scholarship to analyze the terminology and presentation of Africa through metaphor and imagery. In the introduction, I first discuss key terms for the project, present my rationale, provide background on tourism in Tanzania, and present some key theories. In the Literature Review, I review selected literature to discuss the “Dark” Continent of Africa, the Continuing Influence of
Imperialism, and Photography. In the Methods section, I expound on my methodological choices, including why I feel qualitative interviews and documentary film may be critical for capturing and making sense of the stories. The Results section is an overview of selected themes that emerged through the data, including: Guides and the Single Story of Africa, the Role of Servitude in Relation to Skills, and the Effects of Tourism and the Western gaze on Tanzania. Finally, in the Discussion, I offer a complete review of the paper as well as implications, limitations, and future directions for this research.

Definitions of Key Terms

Wherever possible in this paper, terms are contextually defined. However, here I give a brief overview of terms that will be used throughout this paper, namely Western, Global North and Global South, postcolonial, postcolonialism, and neocolonialism.

When referring to the Western world or perspective, I mean the countries primarily in Europe and North America that represent the perspective dominated by Ancient Greek philosophies. Often these are the same countries that would be categorized as Global North countries due to their industrialization and role as colonizers (Kegley, 2008, p. 133). The Global North constitutes countries that are often referred to as “First World” countries, and Global South countries are typically former “Third World” countries (Kegley, 2008, p. 133). The newer distinction as Global North and South refers to the economic and cultural divide that exists between many former imperialist nations and their territories, as well as the geographic location of most of the countries in the Global North and South respectively (Australia being a notable exception of a Global North country that is in the Southern Hemisphere), (Kegley, 2008, p. 133).
Global South countries typically were colonized at one point by countries in the Global North and have on average 80% of the world’s population but 20% of its wealth (Kegley, 2008, p. 134). As I use the terms throughout this paper, postcolonialism refers to the theory that attempts to place the story of the subjugated first, ‘postcolonial’ literally means a world or state following de-colonization, while neocolonialism refers to the continuation of colonial control through economic or political means, while local nation-states ostensibly maintain individual sovereignty.

**Rationale**

_A woman laughed. “No,” she said. “Naong ko pung.” “Nang cow pung,” I said. She shook her head again and laughed at me. We were standing in the center of a ring of small huts made of mud and thatch. This was the women’s center, a place where the women of the local Maasai tribe spent their days in craft. The sun was dappling through the Acacia trees and my teacher stood proud surrounded by her handiwork and her people-rows upon rows of tiny beads imported from Kenya strung onto wire necklaces worn by each of the women who followed her. “Naong ko pung,” she said again. “Naong ko pung,” I repeated, this time correctly. “Naong ko pung, kan cat jung,” she said, grasping my hands in both of her own. “Naong ko pung, kan cat jung,” I said, still not knowing what it was I was saying. But she seemed pleased at my pronunciation, her shaved head nodded, jangling her earrings. She continued, “Naong ko pung, kan cat jung, kidwa aniu angi.” I repeated once more, and she smiled as the women around her tittered, laughing at my pronunciation as well as my modest success._

_“Nan ko pung kan kat jung kidua ainu angi,”_2 roughly translated means “We can see each other if God wills it.” I wish everyone could see as I have: standing in the sun clasping hands with a stranger who is a friend. By experiencing things as close to firsthand as possible, in this case through documentary film, I hope to encourage others to “see” and form unique perspectives. Here, I am briefly sharing my reasoning behind this methodological choice. I do

---

2 This represents the phonetic spelling I used when in Tanzania, as well as a native speaker’s translation as given to me. It is not reflective of standard linguistic practices and does not capture all the intricacies of the language. The Maa language has 9 vowels to our 5, however Dr. Doris L. Payne, Professor of Linguistics and Maa Specialist at the University of Oregon was able to verify “God,” “instance/times,” and “we can see.” (Email Correspondence)
this later, as well, but I wanted to center this methodological choice upfront so as to position it in
the context of the broader literature discussion. I am hoping to create a counter-narrative about
how media and visual images created by Westerners are often preferred to those created by the
“Other.” I do this by allowing those who have a role in creating wildlife photos to speak directly
to the viewer, thus I employ a variation of the photographic medium I am simultaneously
critiquing. Visual arguments are able to engage the audience emotionally, they are more
persuasive and they leave meanings open to multiple interpretations (Alcolea-Banegas, 2008). I
chose to use documentary film as opposed to photography because while photography flattens,
film adds dimension and allows for “...A range of interpretative possibilities (that) can be
inferred from the external or internal contextual clues” (Alcolea-Banegas, 2008, p. 263).
Additionally, my lens for this project is not pointed at the animals of Africa but instead aims to
act with the people integral to the process of wildlife photography.

Background Data on Tanzania & Tourism

Tanzania is located in East Africa, bordering Kenya, Mozambique, and the Indian Ocean
(Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Slightly larger than twice the size of California, it includes
the island of Zanzibar, which is governed semi-autonomously (Central Intelligence Agency,
2015). The region was part of German East Africa, however following WWI the British became
the administrators of the Tanganyika region (Coulson, 2013, p. 74). Under the mandate of the
League of Nations, the British were purported to rule with the interests of the local people in
mind, however there was no clear time frame for when local governance would be re-established
(Coulson, 2013, p.74). In December of 1961 Tanganyika was granted independence from the
United Kingdom, Zanzibar became independent in December of 1963, and the two united in
1964 and were renamed the United Republic of Tanzania (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). The official language is Swahili, and the population is approximately 51 million (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Most of the population is young (median age of 17), and the life expectancy is relatively low (61.71 years) (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Approximately 75% of males over 15 can read and write, while 65% of females can (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Reflective of the legacy of Nyere’s socialist policies, all of the land in Tanzania is owned by the government, however leases of 99 years are permitted (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). While at the moment, Tanzania is one of the poorest countries in terms of per capita income, the GDP growth from 2009-2014 was between 6-7% (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Home to Mt. Kilimanjaro, the tallest peak on the Continent, the country has incredible biodiversity with temperatures that vary from tropical to temperate (Central Intelligence Agency, 2015). Because of this biodiversity, and the high concentration of many of the “Big Five” animals (lion, elephant, buffalo, leopard, and rhinoceros), it is a popular tourist destination.

Tourism is interconnected economically with many other sectors of the economy, namely food and beverage, fishing and hunting, staple food and wholesale and retail trade, (Kweka, Morrissey, Blake, 2003). In their 2013 report, the World Bank lists tourism as contributing 5.5% to East Africa’s overall GDP (Christie et al., 2013). In Tanzania, tourism made up 14% of GDP in 2014 (for both direct and indirect contributions) and is expected to rise (Travel & Tourism, 2015). As of 2013, the national website lists tourism as one of the “fastest growing sectors in Tanzania and leading in terms of GDP contribution,” (Tourism, 2013). The United Nations World Trade Organization predicts 77 million tourism arrivals in Africa by 2020, more than double the
30 million received in 2010 (Christie et al., 2013). Tourism may have an outsized influence on the economy; while direct employment numbers for sub-saharan Africa are 5.3 million, tourism touches all sectors of the economy thus indirectly employs 12.8 million people (Christie et al., 2013). However, foreign ownership of tourism companies is common; Tanzania export earnings from tourism exceeded those of gold and agriculture, the latter of which makes up over one-quarter of the annual GDP for the country, (Christie et al., 2013; Central Intelligence Agency, 2015).

These economic ties represent a significant relationship between Tanzania’s economy and Westerners, showing that although the government may function autonomously from Western powers, there is a monetary dependence upon Westerners through tourism that has had an impact upon Tanzania. This dependence could be conceptualized as an ongoing neocolonial relationship. I do not intend to make a value statement as to whether this ongoing neocolonial relationship is good or bad, however I feel that in order to understand the current negative framing of Africa, it is important to recognize that existing relationships with the region are often tainted with the consequences of imperialism. In this paper, I assert that the gaze of Westerners upon the continent uses a lens that has been framed by colonial relationships and rhetoric that indoctrinated the perspective of Africans as being unskilled and primitive. In contrast, I aim to employ postcolonial theory in an attempt to reframe this view, specifically by exposing the economic ties of tourism that constitute neocolonialism. Essentially, my intention is to add dimension to this salient issue. Since documentary film is uniquely suited to both reframing and offering further dimension, I use this medium to add to the conversation.
Theoretical Lenses

Epideictic Rhetoric

Condit discusses epideictic rhetoric and its role in shaping communities (1985). Every community must define itself and come together, often we use language to create these identities (Condit, 1985). This idea of community definition becomes the basis for the creation of the “Other.” It is through the exclusion of the “Other” that individual communities are formed. Additionally, “The community renews its conception of itself and of what is good by explaining what it has previously held to be good and by working through the relationships of those past values and beliefs to new situations,” (Condit, 1985, p. 289). Thus in the case of Africa and the Western World, as Westerners were introduced to new values and information through exploration, the West redefined itself by its existing values, rejecting those of newly discovered places as less desirable. Any time great change occurs, such as during the period of Colonialism, communities need redefinition; often this occurs by placing one group in contrast or at odds with the other (Condit, 1985). Condit says this explicitly with, “Definitions of community are often advanced by contrast with “others” outside of the community,” (Condit, 1985, p. 289).

“The West and the Rest”

This idea of “Others” is what has come to define anyone not seen as being “Western” (Hall, 1996). Based on Foucault’s theories regarding discourse and power, Hall writes in “The West and the Rest” that the identity of the Western world was created in part to contrast with the new worlds Europeans were “discovering” (Hall, 1996). This description of “Other” (Hall refers to as the “Rest,” I often use “Global South” in much the same way
throughout this paper), has lead to a stereotyped and flattened descriptive for much of the world (Hall, 1996). This descriptive representation is problematic because, “The language (discourse) has real effects in practice: the description becomes ‘true,’” (Hall, 1996, p. 293). Thus, these systems of language have created a discourse we interpret as being the representative truth when in reality it is merely a reflection of power. These discursive definitions of identity have led to a stereotyped image of Africa that does not respect or acknowledge the skills and mastery of safari guides in Tanzania.

**Framing Theory**

Together, epideictic rhetoric and the idea of discursive representation help to explain why the current stereotyped representation of Africa was created. As a result of this stereotyped representation, a systematic framing of the African continent has occurred. Framing theory is one way of explaining how issues can be viewed according to multiple perspectives, and this perspective shapes opinion (Chong and Druckman, 2007). As the West sought to define its identity in contrast to the “other,” popular opinion and news media began to reflect this narrative, further enforcing it. For both visual and narrative information, Scheufele (1999) identifies two types of frames: audience frames which affect how thinking about events by “guide(ing) individuals’ processing of information,” and media frames which provide a centralized storyline or perspective, (Scheufele, 1999, p. 107). Both types of frames can be conceptualized as a common thread or lens through which events can be viewed. In the case of Africa, the discussion of continent in the media and in historical literature has affected the way individuals think and feel about the continent today (Scheufele, 1999). The creation of media frames relies upon the ideologies and organizational pressures of society; the original framing of Africa in historical
media and literature is rooted in imperial ideals which led to a view of Africa as “a center of evil, a part of the world possessed by a demonic ‘darkness’ or barbarism,” (Brantlinger, 1985, p. 175). This creation of a media frame affects audience frames, thus the individual’s perception of Africa was affected by these early frames (Scheufele, 1999; Hickey and Wylie, 1993, p. 93). The effects of this frame can be seen in attitudes and discourse still today; many people when hearing I was visiting the continent of Africa expressed concerns for my safety that were based on their perception rather than facts. Additional common misperceptions of Africa are reviewed in the results section since many of the stories guides’ shared address this issue. The direction of my camera lens with this project can be conceptualized as the framing for this thesis: I am attempting to reframe the narrative, ameliorating centuries of epideictic discursive definitions of identity that have collapsed the idea of Africa into one scary, dark, unknown territory. In this narrative, there is no room for lightness or skilled workers.

Format

Documentary film is one way to create or alter the framing of an issue. In “Fixing Feminism: Women’s Liberation and the Rhetoric of Television Documentary,” Dow argues that the narrator can serve as a voice which shapes the interpretation and platform upon which to talk about issues (Dow, 2004). My goal is to provide a re-framing of the current perception of Africa, using the lens of postcolonial theory as an entry point into this tangled conversation. “Postcolonialism as a political philosophy means first and foremost the right to autonomous self-government of those who still find themselves in a situation of being controlled politically and administratively by a foreign power,” (Young, 2003, p. 113). Often the voices of those in the Global South have been dominated by the more economically wealthy, and therefore the often
more powerful voices of Westerners (those in the Global North). This is reflected in Western framing: our discourse, our tourism, and our stories have flattened the perspective of the Global South. Postcolonial theory takes a critical position on the current global power structures; it attempts to take the position of the marginalized other and expose ignored perspectives. The purpose of documentary film in general is to engage viewers in a critical viewpoint, to “illuminate the dark corners of society and make visible the underprivileged and unsightly in order to prick the conscience of the powerful,” (Frosh, 2001, p. 46). Using documentary film that reflects a critical postcolonial viewpoint, I conducted qualitative interviews with the Tanzanian safari guides in an effort to support the emergence of a diversity of narratives about the African continent.

Storytelling teaches us about the world and enables human connection (Molyneaux, O'Donnell, Kakekaspan, Walmark, Budka, and Gibson, 2014). The documentary filmmaker Daniel Junge describes how as filmmakers, “we’re compelled to tell stories and connect our viewers emotionally and viscerally rather than just inform,” (as cited in Piturro, 2014, p. 27). Visual representations through documentary film “incorporate the audience in argument construction,” (Bloomfield and Sangalang, 2014). I believe in encouraging people to think about and engage from multiple viewpoints; in documentary film the role of the audience is an active one, which fits with my desire for people to think critically about their role in the stories that are created about Africa.

When I first traveled to Tanzania, I quickly realized my expectations did not match with the place itself. My photographic and touristic gaze and mindset had been shaped by the framing and presentation of stories that had come before, mainly from Western Media sources. Therefore,
a simplified rationale for undertaking this project is to attempt to partially address this single
story issue, specifically by telling a story through documentary film that is open to multiple
interpretations.

In order to begin to understand the existing framing of Africa and the relationship
between Westerners and skilled Tanzanians, like Hashim, I first undertake a review of the
existing literature on this topic.

**Literature Review**

While not an exhaustive literature review, in the following section, I highlight selected
literature in order to present background and historical scholarship on this topic. I begin by
discussing the metaphor of the “Dark Continent” and its rhetorical role in shaping Western
framing. I then discuss the continuing influence of imperialism in Tanzanian and Western
thought. Finally, I address photography as a reflection of power. My attempt to reframe the
current metaphorical viewpoint of Africa begins with a review of the creation of the phrase
“Dark Continent.” The basis for the postcolonial portrayal of Africa relies on historical and
current presentations. Using rhetorical scholarship, I examine why this metaphor can be so
pervasive and destructive. The metaphor reflects the media framing of Africa, and in order to
encourage more critical thought from the perspective of the other, I review the concept of
postcolonial theory before applying an analysis of Tanzania’s current economy to demonstrate
how tourism is reflective of neocolonialism. Finally, I specifically tackle photography within
tourism, unpacking it as a mechanism of power. By grounding this project in pre-existing
literature, I hope to add a more complex, human dimension that reflects how neocolonialism
affects Tanzanians, and in turn how audience frames have affected particularly Western thinking about Africa.

**The “Dark” Continent of Africa**

Since the explorer Henry Morton Stanley published his book, *Through the Dark Continent*, in 1878, Africa has been consistently referred to as “the Dark Continent” (Hickey and Wylie, 1993, p. 7). This may have referred to the physical darkness of Africa, the skin color of the people of Africa, or the sense of mystery and exoticism early European explorers felt regarding the continent. Regardless, the use of the metaphor is important because the presentation of ideas is often as vital as the idea itself, since framing can alter or reorient public perception (Chong and Druckman, 2007). When discussing the “Dark Continent,” I first look at the historical media and literature portrayals of Africa, before reviewing the metaphor itself.

**Media and Literature Portrayal**

Hall points to “Traveller’s Tales” as one of the “most fertile sources of information,” for constructing a discourse about the “other,” in this case Africa (Hall, 1996, p. 298). The first media portrayals of Africa were that of the abolitionists, whose advocacy for humanitarianism was intertwined with the culture of imperialism (Scheufele, 1999; Brantlinger, 1985). These writings reflected a viewpoint that was “refracted through an imperialist ideology,” (Brantlinger, 1985, p. 166). From this early portrayal, the idea of a “Dark” continent began to emerge. This framing continued throughout historical literature, through works by authors such as Maugham, Kipling, and Burroughs; and perhaps no place more so than in Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* (Brantlinger, 1985). Both by its narrative and its name, *Heart of Darkness* suggests that
Africa is a place of savagery where “man's vaunted intelligence and refinement are finally mocked by triumphant bestiality,” (Hickey and Wylie, 1993, p. 179; Achebe, 1977, p. 783). This literature reflected “a dramatic and distorted picture of the continent” —as a place of “hidden evil,” with “the profound darkness of its heart,” (Hickey and Wylie, 1993, p. 7; Conrad, 1950, p. 102).

Unfortunately these early framings of Africa as a “dark” continent have not abated. Following WWII, references to Africa as the “dark” continent grew prevalent in economics (Jarosz, 1992). In 1997, The Economist published an article about American investment in the continent titled “The Not-So-Dark Continent,” (1997, April 24). More recently, references of darkness have appeared in literature regarding the fight against AIDS in Africa (Jarosz, 1992). In 2008, National Public Radio (NPR) apologized for using the term “dark continent” in a news broadcast, although many listeners felt the apology was unnecessary (Shepard, 2008).

Scholarship on this type of extended metaphor posits that as use of the metaphor is echoed through audience and media, a justification of the metaphor can occur on a near-systematic basis (Oswald and Rihs, 2014). Today the justification for the use of the term refers to the lack of electricity in much of Africa, which means that it looks dark when viewed from space (Shepard, 2008). While the journalist in question at NPR acknowledged the phrase as “antiquated and pejorative,” the NPR ombudsman’s article on the incident implied the problem was merely one of adjectives (Shepard, 2008). However, referring to Africa as the “dark” continent is not merely a problem of adjectives. This perception of dark has been “shaped by political and economic pressures and also by the psychology of blaming the victim,” (Brantlinger, 1985, p. 198). It is a further example of the reflective loop of imperialism in framing, which is based on “the
circulation of a highly stereotyped and oppressive portrayal of Africa,” (Scheufele, 1999; Ayisi and Brylla, 2013, p. 126). Documentary film can facilitate a discussion of this hegemonic viewpoint, specifically by bringing the alternative stories of Africa to as many people as possible. Historical literature may have contributed to early framing of Africa, but even today, tourists are often encouraged to visit “frontier” countries like those in East Africa based on marketing that uses similar strange/savage themes to encourage tourism by portraying locals in tribal dress and framing tourists as adventurers (Echtner and Prasad, 2003). In the modern world, often a fear of the unknown is emphasized by the pervasive use of the word “dark,” creating a metaphor that “homogenizes and flattens places and people…” (Jarosz, 1992). Next, I specifically examine this metaphor using rhetorical analysis.

The Metaphor of Dark

Any metaphor, like “dark continent,” relies on two parts, the metaphrand (or the item being compared), and the metaphier (or the item that is doing the comparison) (Jaynes, 2000). Africa as a continent is functioning as the metaphrand, while the darkness functions as the metaphier. Functionally, metaphors map certain characteristics, or paraphiers, of the metaphier onto the metaphrand (Pierce, 2003). Thus impressions about Africa are created through considering its darkness. For tourists traveling to Africa, any image or feeling associated with darkness: fear, unknown, bleak, dangerous, or sad, is then mapped onto the touristic conception of Africa. Tourism marketing in Kenya (which borders Tanzania and shares tourist attractions such as the Serengeti) relies on a modernized myth of the paraphiers “unknown” and “dangerous” to promote tourism (Echtner and Prasad, 2003). In Echtner and Prasad’s examination of “third world tourism marketing,” Kenya, Namibia and Ecuador follow a
“frontier” marketing theme that has an atmosphere of “pristine, strange” and casts tourists as “adventurers, explorers,” (2003). This is a modern representation of the metaphor of darkness as it is used to attract additional tourism to countries similar to Tanzania. Darkness has served to function as an archetypal metaphor which is “immune to changes wrought by time” and has cross-cultural appeal (Osborn, 1967). Archetypal metaphors are based upon epideictic understanding, meaning that they function emotionally and rely on the shared response of community members (Chesebro, Bertelsen, and Gencarelli, 1990). Archetypal metaphors conceive universal images in the minds of the listener, which is part of why they are so pervasive and effective (Chesebro et al., 1990).

In the case of “Dark Africa,” darkness functions in contrast to light and carries negative associations about good/evil, survival, and warmth (Osborn, 1967). Placed in contrast to metaphors involving light, this archetypal metaphor is able to “express intense value judgements,” and reinforce the inevitability of an event (Osborn, 1967). In this case, referring to Africa as dark reinforces the necessity and inevitability of European intervention in the continent. Osborn argues that this is due to the invisible axiom that “material conditions follow from moral causes;” thus if Africa is in the dark, it is because Africans are less moral than Europeans, therefore it is the right and duty of Europeans to become involved (Osborn, 1967, p. 119). Chesebro et al. point out that all archetypes, such as light/dark, are “based upon a principle of reduction,” which simplifies “these very different situations to one commonly shared characteristic,” (Chesebro, et al., p. 261). While it may be conceptually easier to simplify Africa into one concept of “dark,” the metaphor has added to the flattening of the story of Africa, impacting tourist’ conceptions of the place. Unfortunately, the repetition of this archetypal
metaphor has only further increased its persuasiveness, since “extended metaphors carry self-validating claims that increase the chances of their content being accepted,” (Oswald, and Rihs, 2014). Analyzing this metaphor demonstrates that its very nature contributes to imperial ideology, the idea that Africans are inferior and not able to help themselves.

This idea of incapability and the metaphor of “dark” demonstrates echoes of colonial framing which “was aimed at elevating the colonizer’s race as superior, while systematically making the colonized’s race appear inferior,” (Obeng-Odoom, 2015, p. 39). Kenneth Burke states that language use not only orients us to the situation, it also offers us ways to manage the situation (Burke, 1966). Through the metaphor of “dark,” Western colonizers systematically made the colonized seem inferior; in the minds of the American public Africa is scary, wild, poor, desolate, desperate, and above all dark. “Public and popular cultures in the West tend to represent Africa in terms of absences, delinquencies, or alienness,” (Harrison, 2010, p. 2). This may help explain why when Westerners return from safaris, they often present photos and stories of animals and strangeness, leaving out the people. The satirical essay, “How to Write about Africa” points out this rhetoric of absence with disheartening accuracy. “Always use the word ‘Africa’ or ‘darkness’ or ‘Safari’ in your title…treat Africa as if it were one country,” (Wainana, 2005, p. 92). Indeed, the absurdity of the collapse of this narrative in fiction is best seen through an analogy— imagine writing about Europe as if all the countries contained within were akin to Southern Italy. The flattening of so many countries into a solitary continent, a dark one at that, has created a single story of Africa that reflects “a kind of patronizing, well-meaning pity,” (Adichie, 2009).
In October of 2014, news reports referred to this flattening as an “epidemic of ignorance,” (DiBlasio, 2014). The outbreak of Ebola in West Africa in 2014 caused new safari inquiries for East Africa countries like Kenya and Tanzania to drop as much as 70% (Stone, 2014). Africa is larger than the U.S., Europe, and China combined, but Ebola fears accentuated the view of Africa as a single place (Stone, 2014). For my own experience, due to the outbreak of Ebola I had to allay the fears of my parents about my first trip to Tanzania, promising not to come into contact with any infected bodily fluids, and to cancel my trip if the Center for Disease Control (CDC) were to change its warning level for the country. These assurances seem especially ridiculous in light of the fact that the Ebola cases in New York and Texas were far closer to my home in Oregon than I would be to West Africa while in Tanzania. This is an exemplary anecdote of how the single story of Africa negatively impacted the lives of Africans, in terms of revenue from tourism and public perception. Africa is a large continent, and it is not as scary or in need of assistance as many Westerners may believe. Through philanthropic efforts, Western ideals and money are thrust upon countries suffering from problems that in many cases the Western world has created (Buffet, 2013). Indeed, the desire of Westerners to ‘fix’ Africa can be seen as a continuation of imperialism. Historically, framing and metaphor have relied on colonial ideologies and represented Africa as a place where life is dark in addition to being “poor, nasty, brutish, and short,” (Hobbes and Curley, 1994, p. 76). Through providing additional frames of reference, this project aims to challenge the idea of Africa that the metaphor of dark has had a direct role in creating. Documentary film allows the voices of safari drivers and guides to join the conversation on what Africa is, and provides different vantages from which to consider our role there.
The Continuing Influence of Imperialism

The media framing of Africa under colonialism represented in the “Dark Continent” did not end when colonial powers withdrew. Colonial texts emerged from the confluence of imperial laws and “the assault of the dark unruly spaces of the earth,” that constituted Global South regions (Bhabha, 1995, p. 32). The historical media framing of Africa has affected audience framing and the entire Western relationship with the continent. While there were many factors at play when colonial powers began to allow de-colonization in Africa in the 1960’s, the repetition of “dark” ensured Westerners still perceived Africa as a place in need of Western help and influence. As a result, the new governments that emerged in places like Tanzania were still under the influence of Western involvement, through economic and civil practices which constituted neocolonialism. In this section, I first review postcolonial theory, which guides my perspective, and then discuss neocolonialism.

Postcolonial Theory

Postcolonial theory asserts “the right of all people on this earth to the same material and cultural well-being,” (Young, 2003, p. 2). Focusing on the legacy of imperialism around the globe, postcolonial theory attempts to identify ethnocentric biases that impact the view of the ‘other’ (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 2013). Colonialism can be conceptualized as a mechanism of control, as such it has had the effect of shaping identities for people and countries in the Global South. Under colonial rule, the colonizers had the “right of representation” over the colonized “other,” which is reproduced as a hybrid or bastardization of the original colony (Bhabha, 1995, p. 34). Edward Said, in his 1979 text, Orientalism, critiqued the representation of
the “Orient” by Western scholars, concluding that Western writings “were not accounts of
different peoples and societies, but a projection of European fears and desires masquerading as
Postcolonial theory seeks to challenge the dominant hegemonic force of imperialism and give
voice to communities that were marginalized under their colonizer’s governance. Thus, part of
the analysis of postcolonial theory involves a reflection on the identity of nations and their
peoples, and how much the reclaiming of culture and country is tainted by the colonialism that
came before.

The idea of a nation-state and of nationalism itself is a creation of Western nations; this
internal structure and sense-making was foisted onto geographic regions that may not have had
strong linguistic or cultural ties. Fanon notes that nationalism creates a national bourgeois that
“frequently takes over the hegemonic control of the imperial power, thus replicating the
conditions it rises up to combat,” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, 1995, p. 151). The imperial
power implemented a system of government and wealth production that is replicated by the
newly formed nation-state. Thus, “Postcolonial analysis is not only about colonialism, but also
about capitalism and how it has been moulded by colonial and neocolonial structures,” (Odeng-
Odoom, 2015, p. 38). The system of capitalism becomes instituted as the primary economic
order for developing countries. Even countries such as Tanzania which embraced socialist
policies following their decolonization were still plagued by the national bourgeois that “does not
share its profits with the people,” (Fanon, 1995, p. 157).

Thus, partly due to imperialism, capitalism has become the dominant world order.

Hegemony is the ability to lead in world politics by promoting a particular worldview and ruling
over international economics and policies (Kegley, 2007, p. 309). For example, the U.S.’s position as a global hegemon means it has the power to promote capitalistic views on a global scale. Gramsci referred to this as “cultural hegemony,” which addresses the relation between culture and power under capitalism (Lears, 1985). Like postcolonial theory, cultural hegemony refers to the enforcement of dominant ideologies and the flow of ideas. Thus in Tanzania, as in most of the world, capitalism (through money) reigns as the ultimate power. The economic structure is by necessity set up to reward wealth production. This cultural hegemony is indicative of the culture and power of the colonizer, and not necessarily the priorities of the original people.

Based on many theories of colonial power, including Edward Said, Slemon proposed a model that attempts to explain the myriad of ways, including cultural hegemony, in which colonial power is enforced (Slemon, 1995, p. 46). Both directly through political force, and indirectly through apparatuses such as education and scholarship, colonialism has sought to “possess the terrain of its Others,” (Slemon, 1995, p. 48). The definitions for Africa provided in Western thought constitute attempts of the West to flatten and own the ‘other’ that is Africa. Through qualitative interviewing and documentary film, I attempt to provide a voice for the colonized other in order to provide an opportunity for reclaiming the power of ownership and definition.

However, I find it important to note that I am attempting to conduct these interviews with as much of a ‘tabula rasa’ as possible. I am not expecting specific answers from participants, nor is my goal to “save” anyone in Africa or challenge the knowledge of those I interview. Rather, my goal is to take this conversation about power and representation to the Western world, encouraging a critical exchange of ideas and a challenging of assumptions in my academic and social circles.
This review of postcolonial theory-sets the stage for a discussion on how colonial influence has continued to be a factor in Tanzania. Next, I review the concept of neocolonialism, as well as how Tanzania's current economic ties to the West may contribute to neocolonialism.

**Neo-Colonialism**

During the period of de-colonization following WWII, the major global powers did not change (Young, 2003, p. 3). Young points out that, “in many ways this [de-colonization] represented only a beginning, a relatively minor move from direct rule to indirect rule,” (Young, 2003, p. 3). Global North influence did not cease with de-colonization, for example, in the 1950's the democratically elected Iranian Prime Minister was ousted by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and British military forces for attempting to nationalize the oil industry (Krishna, 2009, p. 37). The Soviet Union and the U.S. were waging ideological (and in some cases proxy) war on each other, prompting African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah to pursue a policy of non-alignment (Krishna, 2009, p. 38; Nkrumah, 1965, p. x). Rather than choose between capitalism and communism, many African nations attempted to opt out, however one of the lasting impacts of colonialism has been the “commodification of life” in Africa, that resulted from the indelible link between capitalism and modernity (Obeng-Odoom, 2015, p. 41). I do not wish to over-generalize when speaking of the realities for individual nation-states during the period following de-colonization. Each state has its own agency and autonomy, that resulted in individual experiences with post-colonial capitalism. However in order to discuss the idea of neocolonialism, I engage in a broad discussion of monetary entanglement as it has been referred to with regards to the entire continent.
The cultural hegemony of the imperialist nations instituted a system of capitalism; inherent to capitalism is its dependency on wealth production. In many cases, newly established nation-states relied on foreign aid and investment in order to achieve wealth production; in 1965 Nkrumah coined the term neocolonialism to represent a nation-state which is seemingly independent but is controlled politically and economically by foreign powers (Nkrumah, 1965, p. ix). His contention was that the newly independent nation-states of Africa were still subject to the influence of foreign capital which “is used for the exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world,” (Nkrumah, 1965, p. x). Essentially, although African nations had achieved independence from colonial powers, many were still being controlled indirectly through neocolonial monetary influences. While an overstatement, the perception of neocolonialism is that money has replaced direct colonial rule as the new mechanism of control. In 1967, Julius Nyere, the former Chief Minister of Tanzania, recognized this tie and hoped to pursue a more socialist and independent agenda for his country. In the Arusha Declaration, he stated, “How can we depend upon foreign governments and companies for the major part of our development without giving to those governments and countries a great part of our freedom to act as we please?” (Nyere, 1967). In order to develop greater autonomy, Tanzania steered contracts away from British firms, with foreign investments decreasing from 1950-1979 (Maekawa, 2015). However, this goal has not been wholly realized, as Tanzania’s economy is still heavily reliant on many Global North countries; reflected in the relationship Tanzania has with the West through tourism and foreign aid. Arusha Times reported in 2007 that “Foreign companies account for 90 percent of the total tourism revenue in the country,” (Selasini and Nkwame, 2007). Many safari companies, while located in Tanzania, sell their safaris at a fixed
price to international companies which then sell to tourists in their communities for a higher price. Since returning from Tanzania, two different tour operators have contacted me asking for assistance in finding a travel agent or agency to contract with, further underscoring the complex monetary relationship between the West and Tanzania. While a neocolonial relationship exists, many Westerners, tourists and aid workers alike, approach Tanzania with audience frames that have emphasized the dependency and darkness of Africa. This disallows the perspective and ability of Tanzanians themselves. This project helps address this narrow viewpoint, by interviewing guides directly and increasing the number and diversity of stories Westerners hear about Africa.

**Tanzania’s Monetary Ties**

The view of Africa as dependent upon Western wealth is not wholly inaccurate. Africa as a continent may lag globally in terms of foreign investment, but this does not indicate a lack of dependency upon foreigners for monetary assistance (Calderisi, 2006, p. 5). In 1978, Canada forgave $80 million in debt, and in 1981 Tanzania almost went into default on its loans from the World Bank (Calderisi, 2006, p. 110). Through monetary means, Tanzania is explicitly linked to the Western world. In 1998, Julius Nyere visited the World Bank and said, “We’ve had our faults, but you [the World Bank and the IMF] have been running Africa for the last 10-15 years—not literally, but essentially,” (as cited in Calderisi, 2006, p 113). Currently, Tanzania has received a loan from the World Bank for $8,015,107,773.66, $2 billion of which remains to be disbursed (World Bank, 2015). For comparison, the United Kingdom has given a combined total of $16.6 billion to the World Bank since 2006 and receives 3.96% of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) votes to Tanzania’s 0.09% (World Bank, 2015). This
unequal voice is a unique problem, but perhaps worse is the practice of foreign aid wherein “Donors also persist in their habit of making development assistance ‘tied’ to the donors for their benefit, such as requiring purchases from the donors,” (Kegley, 2008, p. 159). As a condition of receiving aid, many struggling nation-states are required to purchase goods and services from wealthy countries Global North countries, often the same countries that were oppressing them under colonialism. This tactic is reminiscent of a sailing trip my parents took to the Caribbean; pirates cut off their anchor and then made them buy it back. This is the offense Western nations are committing through foreign aid. Thus not only does foreign aid increase dependency, but the ‘colony’ still acts as a source of income. For the safari industry, the work and logistics for safaris are often planned in Tanzania directly, relying on locally employed workers. Yet the profits are largely collected by overseas offices in places like Europe and the U.S., demonstrating a colonial relationship.

**Tourism as Neocolonialism**

Former colonies are used as more than a source of income, often these countries are also used as sources of entertainment. In Bandyopadhyay’s 2011 photo ethnography, Bandyopadhyay notes the designation of different beaches according to various imperialist powers (Bandyopadhyay, 2011). The ethnography especially points out how the tourist perspective takes for granted the servitude of the native population, affording Westerners a chance to feel benevolent instead of guilty for bringing their extraordinary wealth into the country and allowing locals the opportunity for work (Bandyopadhyay, 2011). From India to Antigua, the dependency of former colonies on the income derived from service to their former colonizers erodes postcolonial autonomy (Bandyopadhyay and Morais, 2005). In Manning’s 1978 article on
Carnival in Antigua, the conclusion is made that “Reliance on an economic system based on capital, management, and tourists coming chiefly from white metropolitan countries…erodes the sense of autonomy by tending to relegate the native population to a role of servitude and parasitism,” (Manning, 1978, p. 198).

Across Sub-Saharan Africa, 5.3 million people are directly employed in tourism, most of which are service positions, (Christie, Fernandes, Messerlie, and Twining-Ward, 2013, p. 42; Hall and Tucker, 2004, p. 157). As a former employee of a hotel restaurant, I can anecdotally attest that the desire of tourists for service is not unique to tourists visiting Global South countries, however as a white woman working in an affluent boutique hotel, my servitude was not charged with centuries of imperialist history that stagnated my development of a unique cultural identity. Working as a server in an upscale restaurant, I made an average of $150 a night. During my first visit to Tanzania, it was reluctantly shared that most of the employees on our safari tour were making less than $6 a day. Although the cost of living is lower, this amount is drastically different than the cost paid by the tourist. For example, safaris listed on Thomson Safari's website begin at $4,690 for ten days, averaging to $469 a day (Thomson Safari, 2015). Due to this economic disparity, “these forms of international tourism development accentuate the economic structure of dependency on external market demand,” (Hall and Tucker, 2004, p. 155). This creates a tangible economic and cultural barrier because cultural influences from tourism are not allowed to flow in both directions. Hall problematizes the discourse of ‘the West and the Rest’ because the two parties are not equal (Hall, 1996, p. 294). As a server in California, I could still interact with any of my guests outside of the restaurant without incurring the role of servitude. For many skilled Tanzanians, that is not the case. This disparity in income and social
standing disadvantages workers and continues to perpetuate the narrative of the single story. The perspective of the West has continued to dominate the discourse on Africa, further problematizing the inequitable situation of servitude. By highlighting the stories of safari guides, the stereotypes of the “Dark Continent” are exposed to alternative perspectives. When engaging with people about this project, I aim to interact with Westerners in a way that encourages recognition of the continent’s framing and starts a dialogue about the impact and reality of this single story.

Photography

The neocolonial relationship of Tanzania with its tourists does not exist in a vacuum. Tourists represent the personification of Western framing of Africa. The stories they tell and the images they bring home that represent their trip can serve to further define Africa and either reinforce or challenge stereotypes. Photography itself has become an essential part of the touristic gaze, thus in order to discuss the relationship of tourists with Tanzania, it is integral to talk about the use and capture of images by tourists. My first trip to Tanzania as a tourist, nearly everyone in our group was concerned with what photography equipment to bring. I brought my camera and an extra large memory card, other people borrowed cameras from parents and relatives in order to best capture the experience. Each photo we took would be a representation of our time there, meaning “A single instant of travel could then become the visual metonym of the entire holiday,” (Landau and Kaspin, 2002, p. 149). Our group was not alone, anecdotally nearly every other safari vehicle contained cameras that in some instances photographed our safari vehicle as well as the animals. Many safari companies, like Thomson Safaris, offer specialized photographic safaris, and 8 companies based in Arusha registered themselves as
Photographic/Photografic Safari/s (Tanzanian Tourist Board). This prevalence makes it an important topic, and I first review the politics behind photography and looking before examining wildlife photography specifically.

**Politics of Looking**

The desire of tourists to document the experience and wildlife of Africa sounds demure, but is problematic when viewed through the lens of Foucault. Foucault defines “panopticism” as a type of supervisory power that controls, corrects, and molds norms (Foucault, 1994, p. 70). Under panopticism, the mechanisms of control for society have become implicit; as individuals we control our behavior because we are always aware we are being watched. Taking this definition for power and applying it to photography, photography is not only a means of surveillance, it is a way of capturing and idolizing the wilderness of Africa- yet another means of flattening the story. Building on this idea of the power of surveillance, Heather Adams’ rhetorical analysis on Nell Brinkley’s cartoons regarding womanhood discuss the politics of looking (Adams, 2014). She argues that those who look upon others in society are the ones who have the power; as Brinkley recast her female subjects as ‘lookers’ instead of the ‘looked upon,’ they gained the agency to challenge the objectification of women (Adams, 2014). In much the same way, the Western gaze upon Africa is representative of a similar power structure; Western nations are able to see and judge African nations, yet African nations have been stagnated in their ability to do the same. This is beginning to change, August writes how stories of Europe’s misfortune are becoming popular in African media (2013). While this demonstrates that some power of representation is being transferred to the other, there is no global loudspeaker available to African nations who wish to shape international perceptions (Adekoya, 2013). Thus, there is still
a multi-dimensionality that occurs: those who are being looked upon are always aware of the
gaze of the other- whether that is Western power structures or male dominance. Ellingson writes
about the effect this has upon a person, “I want to shout at the woman that I am not an object,
that I see her seeing me,” (Ellingson, 2009, p. 169). The Western gaze, through historical
representations in literature and present-day representations in tourism and photography has the
effect of objectifying an entire continent and its people.

Wildlife Photography

This objectification can be seen as a flattening of the story, a way in which photography
and tourism marketing has removed dimension and reality from the stories of Africa. In both
Kenya and Tanzania, representations of native groups often feature the Maasai, “notwithstanding
the fact that Kenya is made up of more than 40 ethnic communities with diverse cultures and
historical experiences,” (Hall and Tucker, 2004, p. 163). Tanzania has more than 120 ethnic
groups (the largest being the Sukuma with a population of about 5 million), yet when looking
through paintings of native peoples for a souvenir, I was nearly unable to find any painting
featuring representations of people that were not Maasai warriors (East Africa Living
Encyclopedia). “ Scenes of the Maasai dressed in red ochre shuka and/or traditional regalia are
juxtaposed with the ‘Big Five’ and are promoted as ideal African tourist attractions,” (Hall and
Tucker, 2004, p. 163). Many Maasai have reacted against the use of their image in marketing and
tourism and photography is not allowed without payment. Visual images can influence our
perception of the world around us and rhetorically persuade; images of the Maasai and the ‘Big
Five’ have created an idolized notion of Africa (Cox, 2013, p. 69). This framing has resulted in
the perception of Tanzania having one dominant ethnic group, a framing that does not reflect
Having seen the idolized pictures of Africa, tourists want to re-create these images, as close as possible to what has been presented in the media (Jenkins, 2003). Photographic safaris provide the ideal opportunity for this, but all safaris focus heavily on photography. The language of photography and hunting share many similarities, “shooting, aiming, loading,” show the link between the two both linguistically and conceptually, (Landau and Kaspin, 2002, p. 147). Initial tourism into East Africa was for big game hunting, in the early Victorian era big game hunters were “perceived as a major symbol of European dominance over nature in particular and society in general,” (Hall and Tucker, 2004, p. 156). This symbol of dominance has been transformed into symbols of conservationism, which may still reflect imposed Western priorities (Beinart and McKeown, 2009). While conservation may be beneficial for animals, it downplays the role and necessity of the native population in wildlife management as well as the link between photography and hunting. Westerners travel to Africa and stare at the landscape through a barrel, whether it be camera lens or rifle. When returning home, most modern Westerners display the pictures they have taken, similarly to the way Victorians displayed the carcasses of animals they had killed. “The photograph was attributed to the shooter, just as paid safaris gave the trophy to the rifleman with the first clean shot,” (Landau and Kaspin, 2002, p. 149). This attribution is inherently problematic because not only does it contribute to the surveillance mechanism of control, it marginalizes the role of skilled Tanzanians who guide and care for Westerners. “…The skilled aid behind the scenes and the political and economic context for both projects were obscured,” (Landau and Kaspin, 2002, p. 149).
Justification

On my first trip to Tanzania I was struck by how utterly useless our group would have been on its own. Although some of us were experienced campers and hikers, we would not have been able to navigate through the Serengeti plains without the help of guides. Every tourist was accompanied by an experienced driver and guide (in some cases the same person) who was the only reason any of us saw our first zebra, let alone a rhinoceros. For those who go to Africa with the primary purpose of photographing the wildlife, the photographs they take do not tell the stories of how they got there, and the people that made the journey possible. The images of Africa that represent beauty, majesty, and mysticism are attributed to Western photographers without recognition of the people who make the photographs possible. This is why I feel the need to interview and document the people whose skills are making this journey and these images possible. I find it distasteful for this role to continue to go unacknowledged simply due to neocolonial relationships that continue to take for granted the local citizens in places like Tanzania. The purpose of my project is to expose these stories and add dimension to the current single story of Africa. Based on the preceding literature, the following research questions are designed to address the effects of the single story upon guides.

Research Questions

RQ1: How do guides perceive the single story of Africa ("stereotyped and oppressive portrayal of Africa") and their role in that story?

RQ2: How does photography help alleviate or contribute to the single story?

RQ3: How does the relationship of tourists and guides affect the perception of skills?
RQ4: How is the Western gaze/tourist shaping Tanzania?

Methods

Methodology

I used an interpretative-critical research paradigm when researching and constructing arguments. This paradigm asserts that all knowledge claims are partial, as a researcher I acknowledge my interdependence with my subject and seek a deeper understanding of how meaning is attributed in society. This paradigm is an interpretive one, that allows researchers to “reflect(s) on the ethical and political dimensions of their research activities,” (Lindlof and Taylor, 1995, p. 11-12). Additionally I work within the paradigm of postmodern critical theory, in that I am interested in the postcolonial world, my work embraces “marginalized cultural voices,” (Lindlof and Taylor, 1995, p. 51). Said proclaimed that when discussing Western involvement in other countries it is imperative for researchers not to “ignore or disclaim its author’s involvement as a human subject in his own circumstances,” (Said, 1979, p. 11). Within a postmodern critical paradigm, as a researcher I seek to “politicize social problems by situating them in historical and cultural contexts,” (Lindlof and Taylor, 1995, p. 52). I am a part of the story I tell, and I have a responsibility to make sure other stories are not left out of my own narrative because “To refuse to advocate or to assist is to reinforce power relations,” (Ellingson, 2009, p. 178). I cannot ethically condone the flattening of the stories of Africans. I cannot allow an inaccurate story, fraught with misconceptions based in colonial power tensions, to remain the hegemonic point of view for so many in the Western world. This is why I must use an art form that is distributable as mass media; art has the ability to connect with an audience that extends
beyond the realm of the academic and stretches into popular culture. Additionally, an artistic means of expression affords my research the ability to capture a story that is not representative of a single truth- one that is more persuasive due to its emotionality, and one that allows viewers to empathize with my experiences (Ellingson, 2009, p. 62).

My experience is unique, no qualitative research is replicable; each researcher leaves a distinct fingerprint through which research is shown (Ellingson, 2009, p. 185). The study I engage in is one in which I engage in using a grounded perspective (i.e., building theory from observation), namely I attempt to form inductive conclusions from my immersion in the data and project (Ellingson, 2009, p. 54). This approach centers heavily on arts-based inquiry, two examples of which, crystallization theory and scholartistry, are discussed below.

**Scholartistry**

Scholartistry is a method of scholarship which views the arts as an integrated whole with traditional scholarship; it is a way of representing and engaging in research that recognizes the subjective nature of knowledge and represents research through art such as painting, poetry, and plays (Knowles and Promislow and Cole, 2008). Arts-informed research allows art to inspire and guide both the process and presentation of the final product, it recognizes that the need for a project and the story it tells may be part of a whole that develops and changes to reflect its input. Previous examples of theses that rely on scholartistry include Carole Roy’s book, “The Raging Grannies: Meddlesome crones, humor, daring, and education,” which is in bookstores and for sale on Amazon (Roy, 2008). Roy describes the process of creating her thesis and book, how she incorporated interviews, photographs, painting, mask-making, and graphic design into her final
thesis that is a more nuanced representation of the stories of the “grannies” she interviewed (Roy, 2008). Other arts-based theses take the forms of poetry or plays: Lynn Fels’ thesis, “in the wind clothes dance on a line: performative inquiry as a research methodology,” is told through performative writing that is structured similarly to a script for a play (Knowles et al., 2008, p. 51). These theses take into account alternative perspectives and ways of researching and knowing and attempt to create a whole that adds to the depth of understanding and recognizes the inherent subjective role of the researcher.

My time in Africa is as essential as the stories of the guides I interview, for it is through this lens that I present information to the audience. “It is important to present one’s work in a way that is befitting the study and the topic… Further what is ‘said’ (or shown or performed) must be communicated in such a way that it offers possibilities for making a difference in people’s lives,” (Sameshima and Promislow, 2008, p. 109). The point of my research is not to provide a purely academic discussion that then sits in a drawer or on a bookshelf, it is to breathe life into scholarship and present academic discourse in a way that is interesting and exposes ideas to a broader public audience that can potentially benefit from and be inspired by my work. The goal of challenging the narrative of Africa is to encourage the wider public to begin to question their own beliefs and stereotypes regarding the place and its people. If this work is to have any of those effects at all, it is through a wider reaching art form such as documentary film.

**Crystallization**

The arts-based approach of scholartistry is in line with Ellingson’s theories on crystallization; she reflects: “I wondered what good my argument would do if the only people
who could make sense of and apply it were those in my narrow scholarly community,” (Ellingson, 2009, p. 148). Crystallization involves integrating multiple perspectives into a deeper understanding that attempts to show more detail and recognizes the fact that there is no subjective truth, (Ellingson, 2009). For this project, my cursory analysis of the metaphor of dark continent constitutes a rhetorical lens, documentary film-making represents sense-making through art, postcolonial theory provides a political lens, and coding of qualitative interviews represents still another perspective. It is my intention to weave these disparate ways of knowing together in order to show the fragments of knowledge that make up the whole. Crystallization seeks depth of understanding and integrates various modes of analysis in order to blend art and science together and increase the accessibility of scholarly learning (Ellingson, 2009).

Crystallization theory acknowledges the subjective nature of knowing, and believes that subjectivity and qualitative data is a more accurate whole picture. Qualitative researchers like Gergen argue “Objectivity reflects a damaging myth, an unwarranted claim made by those who have enough power to reinforce their perspective as the correct/normative one,” (Gergen, 1999 as cited in Ellingson, 2009, p. 31). This is why this type of methodology is well-suited to the nature of documentary film, in which multiple viewpoints provide alternative possibilities to one concrete way of knowing (Alcolea-Banegas, 2008). I argue that the Western perspective is one that has been forced as the normative one in scholarship, the perspective that is reflective of the cultural hegemony of imperialism. Using postcolonial theory within crystallization allows for a reframing of what is true and known about East Africa and attempts to take into account differing perspectives.
Participants

This project was conducted through qualitative interviews with 26 safari guides in Arusha, Tanzania. Due to its location near Mt. Kilimanjaro, the Equator, and the unique presence of four distinct ecological biomes, 74% of registered Tanzanian safari companies are based in either Arusha or Kilimanjaro, which is the closest international airport (Tanzanian Tourist Board). The participants, i.e. guides, self-selected to be a part of this project, based on connections I made during my last visit, and word of mouth while I was visiting. About 10 participants made connections through Hashim, the safari guide for my first safari. About 5 participants were found through contacts my AirBnB hosts had. One interviewee recommended I visit the Kimihama building in Downtown Arusha, the remainder of the participants were found there, with the gracious help of the employees and owner of Green Horizon Safaris. The participants spoke English fluently as well as Swahili, so interviews were conducted in English. Most of the participants are employed at companies owned and operated by foreigners, companies who contract with foreigners for tourists, or are freelance guides. Most of the participants had at least a guiding certificate from a local college, while some had completed several credential and Bachelor’s degree programs at nearby Mweka College. On average, guides I spoke with were 38 years old and had 10 years of experience in the safari industry. All were male.

Procedures

The project was approved by the IRB, and was strictly voluntary for all involved. Any participant was free to stop the interview at any point, one was cut short due to the safari guide's
tourists being ready to leave. This interview was omitted from the data. Interviews were conducted in a neutral location, many were outside tourist shops, some were in the offices of Green Horizon Safari, and there were other scattered locations throughout. Unless the participant requested otherwise, all interviews were filmed and conducted by me. Following the collection of data, interviews were be woven into a narrative that reflects the arts-informed process and is structured similarly to other documentary films. Two tangible outcomes emerged from this project: (1) stand alone documentary film and (2) a manuscript length research paper, in which I qualitatively coded emergent themes from transcripts of the interviews. Arts-informed research is very much an intuitive method, and I felt the need to afford my work the variability of presentation that it demands as it changes and becomes deeper/richer.

**Instrument: Interview Protocol**

Interviews began with a sincere thank you and appreciation for the guide’s agreement to be a part of this study. I communicated that this study is for my graduate work at the University of Portland and told participant guides that it would consist of both qualitative interviews and a documentary film that explores some of the issues discussed in the interview. Some guides were more willing than others to share negative experiences, although I attempted to communicate my sincerity in being a vessel through which the guides I interviewed could speak honestly. I communicated that there was no right answer, and that I was solely interested in what the guides thought, aiming to engage in a discussion around these ideas through the use of guided questions. Seven questions were designed to facilitate this, and five demographic questions, including one that asked about the educational background of the interviewee. Sample questions include “How do you feel about people coming to Tanzania to take pictures?” as well as “What impacts have
foreign countries had in Tanzania? Can you think of an example that has directly impacted you or your family or your community?” After the first interview, wording of select questions was slightly altered to increase accessibility. The final open-ended questions were designed to guide conversation around interviewee’s feelings about neocolonialism, the tourism industry, and Western framing of Africa. For the full interview protocol, see Appendix A.

Analysis

For qualitative data collection such as I employ here, it is important to present a codified procedure for data analysis so as to lend my work additional legitimacy when it comes to my findings (Glaser, 1965). Based on Glaser's Constant Comparative Method of Qualitative Analysis, I will begin to analyze my data first by transcribing the interviews, then by looking for patterns that emerge within each interview (Glaser, 1965). As I continue transcribing, my coding has reflected the data and patterns I recognized in previous interviews; thus I compared each interview to the entire data set in order to come up with a theory that reflects the comprehensive whole (Glaser, 1965). Throughout, I continually reflected upon the process and the patterns I saw emerging through my coding (Glaser, 1965). This reflection is where crystallization and arts-informed research techniques will guide my contemplation. Rather than restrict myself to Glaser's suggested “memo” format, my introspection and rumination on theory may take the form of more artistic work such as poetry or drawing (Glaser, 1965). Through these processes and the use of documentary film construction to further review the data looking for commonalities between cases, I will review my data again to compare it to the theory I come up with. This aligns with Glaser's recommendations for the constant comparative method and provides a way to systematically analyze the data while allowing for a creative inductive process.
Results

Researcher Reflection

On my first full day in Arusha for data collection, I awoke to the realization that Friday was already here. I needed to meet my friend and former safari guide Hashim in Karatu, about two hours away by car. After a lackluster shower, I packed and went with my hosts to be dropped off at the central bus station in town.

The second I stepped out into the dusty square, clutching my bag with thousands of dollars in camera equipment, I was surrounded by men in suit jackets asking where I wanted to go. “Noah to Karatu” is what I had been taught to say, and I did.

“Ok, come with me,” one of them said.

I followed this group of about three men through the vans and buses preparing to leave, navigating behind them through the crowds as everyone stared at me. They took me out of the square, to an alley between two buildings where two women were working at a little window. “To where?” they asked the men. “Karatu,” was the answer both they and I gave. “28,000 shillings.” I only had shillings in 10,000 notes, the largest the exchange place had given me. I handed over three.

“Where’s my change?” I asked.

“What, no tip for helping you?”

I let it go. I followed them to a van, Toyota, nicknamed Noah for the model. They put me inside a full van, and as the ten of us in the van waited, people came by to sell us snacks, gum, holding their wares up to the windows.

We began the two hour drive to Karatu, navigating through Arusha, past the signs for Natural Gas that promised, “Does not explode.”

I got off on the second stop in Karatu, which turned out to be the central square. I got out of the van, turned around, and wandered toward the boda boda (motorcycles for hire) to look for Hashim. There were a few Range Rovers parked there, but none contained Hashim. I was now in Karatu. Two hours away from my Airbnb. In a country where I didn’t speak the language, and I stuck out like a sore thumb. I had also already been told a few times now that I had a “nice African figure,” by various men. I walked by the boda boda as the men shouted “Hey Mzungu!” at me, trying to get me to talk to them. I tried calling Hashim. I got a message from the phone company in Swahili I could not understand. I had no way to reach Hashim. No way to know if he was coming. Worse case scenario, I thought, I just get on another van back to Arusha and try to find my way back to the Airbnb from there.
Maybe, I thought, it was because my SIM card was for data only since I had gotten it for my iPad. I looked around the square for someplace that sold refill cards for Vodacom. I found a store and purchased a refill card which came on a scratch off ticket. I had no idea how to use it to refill my phone. I sat down and stared at it. Someone came over and scratched it off for me. I still just stared at it. All the instructions were in Swahili. So far, my Swahili was limited to “hello,” “thank you,” and “white person.”

I was able to text Hashim, and he finally called me and I was able to answer. “I’m standing in the middle of a square and I don’t know what to do,” I said.

“I got stuck in the mud. Find somewhere to sit.”

I bought a coke from the shop next door and sat down awkwardly, my purple bag still hanging off my body like an albatross as I perched on the edge of a red plastic chair. I sat in this restaurant, with the only electricity powering the fridge with the coke in it, sipping my coke and looking at the dusty square. There was another woman in the shop eating her lunch and she watched me as I watched everything around me. I had no idea how long Hashim would take to come get me, so even though I was starving, I was hesitant about ordering food. I was afraid of making him wait when he arrived, I knew we would be going for lunch, and I had no idea how the food had been prepared or where it had come from.

After twenty minutes I gave in to hunger and ordered a plate and gratefully ate my beans and rice. Nearly an hour after I arrived in Karatu, Hashim calls again and comes to find me in the little shop. I’m not sure how much I owe the woman for the beans and rice but I leave money for the coke plus more and leave with Hashim as they tell him I can come back anytime.

Hashim drives to a bar nearby, where they order ginger beer and fried chicken. It is literally just an entire half chicken that has been dropped into hot oil until even the oil is crying for mercy. I did my first interview there, awkwardly setting up the camera on the table (which would become standard procedure), and stumbling through my questions trying to evaluate how well they worked in the field.

After lunch, a nearly two hour affair, Hashim and I drove to the tourist shop about twenty minutes away. We asked the Indian proprietor if he would be comfortable if I interviewed guides while they are waiting for their tourists to shop. He gave his assent, and Hashim and I drove to the hotel where he booked us two rooms. I retreated to my room for my first and only decent shower in the country and some brief relaxation.
After a few hours, we went to dinner, where again there was meat that had been deep fried. Dinner took several hours. I was hungry, I was tired, the bar was loud and dark and full of flashing colorful lights.

We returned to the hotel and I crawled into my mosquito netted bed. I had been fighting the overwhelming urge to cry all day and now I finally did.

All of a sudden I realized how incapable I was. I am used to feeling competent, used to feeling in control of my life. All of a sudden I was incapable of basic communication. Everyone was staring at me as if I was some alien, which I was. I had become the other. I felt overwhelmed and alone and for perhaps the first time in my life, I had to admit that I had been scared. Earlier in the day I had been standing in the middle of a huge square and I had no idea what would happen and if I would be left there. It was hard to admit to myself, that I was scared, and that I had no power. No agency. Not only because I couldn’t communicate with people, but also because I was white, and a woman.

I couldn’t stop sobbing. Huge, hysterical sobs where I was gasping for breath. In Tanzania, the women don’t interact with the men. But because I am white, I had been interacting with men all day. All day I had been telling men not to talk to me. I didn’t want to hear that I had a good African figure. I wanted to feel safe.

All of a sudden, I didn’t know if I should even be there. I didn’t know if I could do anything, if guides cared about what I was doing, or if they even knew they weren’t getting credit for their work. I knew it would work out intellectually but I was so tired and overwhelmed and scared and I just wanted to hide. I didn’t know who I could trust. I was a very long way away from home and I was alone.

Eventually I fell asleep. But it wasn’t until the next day, when I spoke with “Mama” at the tourist shop in Manyara that I felt that things would be ok. She looked at me and together we seemed to understand that it wasn’t fair that things were unequal. It wasn’t fair that she makes $10 a day when the shop owners are selling millions in souvenirs. It wasn’t fair that her daughter was having trouble affording the $700 a semester fees. It wasn’t fair that most women in Tanzania didn’t work and weren’t treated as having agency.

And she looked at me and saw that I was feeling this way. And she called a friend to arrange a ride back. For 7000 shillings. I had paid more than 4 times the price of a ride the day before. But Mama arranged someone to pick me up in Manyara, right outside the shop. Instead of dropping me off at the bus station, he brought me all the way back to my Airbnb. And I spent the next day inside, recuperating.
I interviewed 26 guides (all men) during my eight day stay in Tanzania. One of the interviews was cut off in the recording, and one ended prior to the completion of the interview, preventing the collection of some demographic information. Single-spaced, this amounted to 150 pages of transcribed data, nearly 70,000 words. On average, guides I spoke with were 38 years old and had ten years of experience in the safari industry (see Table 2 for full demographics). 19 of the guides specified they had completed some form of higher education in wildlife or tourism, and worked for companies based in Arusha. One of the guides learned from the U.S. American owner of the safari company he worked for, and six of the guides did not specify what their educational background was. Some of the guides who indicated the headquarters for their company were in Arusha acknowledged that their company also worked with a U.S., or European based company on a contract basis to gain more business. All the participants I spoke to were very willing to participate in this research, at one point there was a line of guides in the hallway waiting to speak with me. While part of their willingness was likely due to my status as a foreigner with comparative wealth, and an additional part was due to me being a white female that was perceived as being attractive, the data collected indicates that guides are aware of the negative perceptions about Africa Western tourists have. For them, the opportunity to speak with me was also an opportunity for them to correct the misperceptions of the West they have perceived through interactions with tourists.

Below I outline the main themes that emerged as a result of the interviews, namely Guides and the Single Story of Africa, the Role of Servitude in Relation to Skills, and the Effects of Tourism and the Western Gaze on Tanzania. In each section, I first review the relevant
research question before using exemplars to discuss particular sub-themes that emerged in the data and how they help answer the relevant research question.

**Guides and the Single Story of Africa**

The metaphor of “Dark” and the current framing of Africa has contributed to a stereotyping of the continent. In the interviews, this was represented by how guides like Ndovu spoke tourists “are afraid of everything, you know. Just even the regular flies.” This is not the fault of the individual, this is a result of the single story of Africa and misinformation that has been presented since colonization; it is a practical consequence of the metaphor of “dark” that has presented the continent as a scary unknown. In the data, there are two main themes that speak to this effect: the Misperceptions of Tourists, and the idea of Ambassadors. Each of these two themes answers a research question, and is presented below using exemplars and discussion.

**Misperceptions of Tourists**

*RQ1: How do guides perceive the single story of Africa and their role in that story?*

In an effort to uncover how guides perceived the misrepresentation of Africa, I asked guides what they thought tourists were surprised by when arriving in Tanzania. Many guides recognize that media coverage of Africa has been dominated with stories of war and sickness—they told me how their tourists often expect Tanzania to be like Somalia, full of “war, problem, sickness.” Guides told me not to read the news or pay attention to the media, indicating that they recognize the role media framing has had in the creation of the single story of Africa. They also emphasized how large Africa is, saying they could only speak for their own country. This emphasis on the size of Africa is lacking in Western discourse, as is directly evidenced by the
safari cancellations in light of the Ebola epidemic (Stone, 2014). Additionally (as previously mentioned), the outbreak of Ebola in West Africa in 2014 caused new safari inquiries to drop as much as 70% (Stone, 2014). Kicheche told me of his frustrations with this when I asked if there was anything else he wanted me to know.

*Interviewee:* Yeah I want, what I want other peoples to know, especially those people who are the clients, I want them to know that Africa is not one country. And whatever they here about Africa, they, this news makers they only, they always say bad thing about Africa but its, Africa is a nice place. Is a peaceful country to visit... Yeah, I'm so frustrated with that because like, the other time when there is Ebola in, in ahh Africa, it was really far, far from Tanzania. It is more close to America than from, than to Tanzania. That side of Africa. But still people from America or whatever they think because Ebola is in Africa, they don't visit our countries. They fright to visit other countries, but they should know that Africa is a very big continent with so many countries inside. Yeah.

Several guides spoke about their frustration with cancellations that occurred as a result of Ebola and subsequent media coverage, and more emphasized the fact that Africa is not a single country. While many tourists likely know this intellectually, the framing and conceptualization of Africa causes generalizations in thinking that what is true in one place like Somalia is true for Tanzania, Kenya, Burundi, Uganda… This idea is what may cause tourists to arrive in Tanzania with “duffel bags” full of snacks because they are afraid they will not have good food.

Tourists who do decide to visit may think they are journeying into the unknown, dark, wilderness that the current framing of Africa has reinforced. Guides indicated they were aware that their country is one of the many that is mistakenly perceived in a negative light, with tourists’ expectations being extremely low. I spoke with Ngiri, a guide who, like me, was about

---

1 Safari guides referred to tourists as clients, however in order to maintain consistency and highlight the servitudinal relationship, I use tourist throughout this paper.
to graduate college. I asked him what he thought people knew about Tanzania before coming on safari.

*Ah, according to experience, most of people they have got negative mind. Because they think whenever they go to Tanzania, whenever they coming to Africa it is like they are going somewhere really really, in the bush. There's not even cars, there's no like, they're kind of somewhat surprised to see people dressing nice clothes, having the cars, the life is like growing standard. They thought is like really bush men place. So when they come is like a big surprise to them, they can find those facilities running, not like back at home, but something equivalent to so...*

Guides’ exemplars revealed Western tourists who go to Tanzania not expecting to find plumbing, electricity, or food. Kima shared that tourists who come are “surprised uhh to have uh good food, some of the people they think they never get good food. Some they come with some few snacks with them, they bring them and they think that they won't get good food.” The framing of Africa using the metaphor of “dark” has left lingering paraphiers of “danger” and “unknown” impacting Western conceptions of the continent.

On my return trip, I spoke with Timothy in the airport in Kilimanjaro. He told me he had come to “Africa” on a voluntourism trip to make sure the organization he volunteered with would be a safe one for his 16 year old female cousin to volunteer with in Uganda. Not only had he come to Tanzania instead of Uganda, he repeatedly told me he had come to “Africa” to “see if I would die.” The perception of Africa as a single, dark continent has permeated the Western world to such an extent that Timothy believed Africa was dangerous as a whole. Timothy is an extreme example of the stereotypes inherent in the current popular framing of Africa. He is not representative of the whole population, especially not an educated or academic population that is aware of these issues.
While Timothy’s story is true, he should not be considered a representative of the types of tourists who visit Tanzania. Not all guides felt that tourists were overly negative or misguided about the country. Ngurue spoke of how tourists educate themselves before coming on safari, often through documentaries or guidebooks.

Ahhh....I think you can know it before coming on safari through some, ahh documentaries which have been taken with the previous clients who visited Tanzania. But still you can know Tanzania through guidebooks and something like that before you, you arrive here.

Tourists have exposure to more information about Tanzania through guidebooks and documentary, which offers earlier opportunities to counteract some of the negative stereotyping of previous media representations of Africa. Mbega spoke of how people know Tanzania through the internet, and the media. “You know ahh what I know people know through the internet, through the media.” Fisi echoed this idea in his interview that he feels tourists are actually better educated about the country since the advent of the internet, especially due to globalization and increased access to information.

Ahh nowadays the world is globalized, most of the things they get them on internet but before people didn't know much about Tanzania. They didn't know about the flora and fauna and all this. So they had a different opinion, but since now the world is globalized I think most of the people who come and even if you are a tourist, you'll be curious to know wherever you are going so you'll be checking the internet.

While previously, Africa may have been framed as a scary, dark place, Fisi sees modern tourists as more curious about the places they are visiting. The internet provides opportunities for tourists to educate themselves about Tanzania prior to visiting, perhaps affording the chance to counteract negative stereotypes. Fisi, like many guides, did not see tourists as part of the problem.
of the single story of Africa, but rather as intelligent individuals who can act to be part of the solution.

I am attempting to be part of the solution, yet when discussing my thesis, I have frequently said “Africa” instead of Tanzania. While this is often an attempt on my part to skip over questions such as “Where is Tanzania?,” I have contributed to the flattening of a continent with my representations. This project does not speak to all of Africa, to whether or not it is a dangerous or prosperous place, a place welcoming to Westerners, a place with an educated populace or not. Like the guides I interviewed, I can only speak about this one segment of the population in this one country. All of these issues are complex and multi-layered. Just as guides like Fisi and Kicheche disagreed about how tourists think about Africa, tourists themselves arrive with different ideas and opinions that shape their experiences. While I may be attempting to encourage discourse about Africa as a whole, that is wildly inaccurate. I can only speak about these particular safari guides in Tanzania, acting wherever possible as an ambassador to counteract the misperceptions many tourists have about Tanzania.

Ambassadors

*RQ1: How do guides perceive the single story of Africa and their role in that story?*

The above theme, discussing the misperceptions of guests as perceived by safari guides, addresses the first half of RQ1, how guides perceive the single story of Africa, by relating examples that were shared in the interview process. The second half of the research question, how do guides perceive their role in that story, is addressed through the idea of ambassadors, in the following section.
The repetition of the idea “ambassadors” was one of the first patterns that emerged from the data. Not only did it indicate guides were aware of the misperceptions about Africa and Tanzania that have resulted due to colonialism, it indicated a desire for those misperceptions to be changed through interpersonal experiences and actions. By the end of my second day interviewing, I had heard the word directly mentioned twice by guides. The word “ambassadors” would continue to be reiterated, along with a general concept that people and photography could help change the dark story of Africa and Tanzania. There were three main “ambassadors” guides indicated could help alleviate misperceptions: tourists, guides, and photos.

**Tourists**

Six separate guides asked me to be an ambassador for them, requesting I tell people upon my return about my time in Tanzania in order to alter the way potential tourists think about the country and continent. There was a genuine desire for the positive experience of tourists to have an effect on the broader Western world, which was why it was so important to guides to ensure their tourists have a memorable and enjoyable experience. Mbuzi said it was important to make sure tourists were guided safely so that “they get what they are expecting, doing safaris in a very peace way, when they go back, they are going to be our, ah good ambassadors. Tell people who are still having a bad impression about Africa.” For Mbuzi and other guides, the way to combat the negative impressions of Africa was through personal experience and the word of mouth of those who had previously visited.
**Guides**

Many guides also thought of themselves as ambassadors. Because the role of the guide is such a public facing role, interacting with tourists sometimes over 12 hours a day for ten days, they control the experience the tourists have and want to make sure that they create a favorable impression of their country. As Popo, a guide with 16 years of experience said, “I mean to me the guides who are really our, the ambassador of this country.” Guides control the whole of the guest experience, from the moment tourists are picked up to at the airport, to the time they spend on safari. From the interviews I conducted, it seems guides recognized their role in this, and their ability to affect change in the way their tourists perceive the country.

**Photos**

*RQ2: How does photography help alleviate or contribute to the single story?*

In addition to playing the role of ambassadors themselves, and believing tourists to do the same upon their return home, interviews indicated that the photos tourists took home were conceptualized as visual ambassadors. Not only do guides recognize that many tourists take photos as mementos, there was also a belief that the photos, when shown to friends and family in their own countries, are more representative of real life. Mbwa stated, “Pictures carries the real life of the place other than news without pictures.” Sontag conceptualizes photographs as things that “furnish evidence,” (Sontag, 1977, p. 3). Compared to wildlife photography or documentaries, guides viewed the individual photos of tourists as evidence - an opportunity for friends and family to realize the diversity and beauty of Tanzania. Guides like Kiboko indicated that the pictures tourists took were advertisements for the country, a convincing metonym that
was representative of the truth of the experience in Tanzania and helped tell truths about the continent. Kicheche said, “they are taking that photo but at the end of the day, that is going to be an advertisement. It's gonna bring many people to come to see that thing.” Even if photographs only address Tanzania as a beautiful country full of wildlife, Mbuzi felt these photos could help ameliorate the negative image of Africa, saying:

*Ahhh, I think it, after coming here, this photos they can help to change the image of Africa and Tanzania, because there are some people who are still ehh believing that Africa is not a safe place to visit, because of the, what they are, getting from their own news. As I told you that people they know much about Africa, about the what happening in the political situation like in Burundi, Somalia, and...Nigeria and that's what people they know, mat, because that is very ehh, more advertised, to the international news. That than the about the good things we have. So by taking photos when people they go back to tell their friends, telling their people that who have been to Tanzania who made safaris there, so we call it this photos and other things, we think it...it it helps to change the image of Africa.*

In this exemplar, Mbuzi speaks of the media framing of Africa, representing it as problematic and contributing to stereotyping. From his perspective, the photos tourists take of the natural beauty and animals in Tanzania help to “change the image of Africa.”

Many of the guides echoed the sentiment of Tandala, that “they make more, more people thinking about come to Tanzania, yeah. After seeing that…Because it’s…some of them they don’t believe that…they think about the zoo, but they don’t know about the national park that you can see the animal free by themself.” For guides, the publicity of photos and word of mouth is an invaluable part of tourism, both to increase income, and to help fight the misperceptions created by colonialism.

**Role of Servitude in Relation to Skills**

*RQ3: How does the relationship of tourists and guides affect the perception of skills?*
The safari industry is a tourism industry, one that exists to serve the needs of tourists who visit. Tourism and the idea of servitude is not unique to Global South countries, many occupations exist in some way to “serve” the needs of the public, be it doctor or lawyer, or airplane pilot. However, in the Western world many of these positions of servitude such as doctor, lawyer, or airplane pilot, are recognized and thanked for their servitude by both their income and their titling (MD/Doctor, JD, Captain, etc.). For Tanzanians interacting with Westerners, there is no equality of income, and no titling, since most guides are referred to by their first names only. Tanzanian guides do not have the same voice outside of their servitude as those serving in service industries in the Global North. This inequality in income and agency is the underlying problem with the servitude of native populations since cultural influences, money, and power are not allowed to flow in both directions (Hall, 1996, p. 294). When I worked in restaurants during my undergraduate years, I regained my power in society upon the ending of my shift. For tourism industries in Global South countries, Manning posits that “a role of servitude” is created for the native population (Manning, 1978, p. 198). Colonial forces bleed into this role in a way unique to tourism in Global South countries, through “tourists’ imperial travel and conquest,” there is the recreation of a colonial relationship since the workers in the industry have no voice and no agency as members of the “other,” (Bandyopadhyay, 2010, p. 716). Bandyopadhyay points this out, saying that in Goa, the servitude relationship meant that “the power remains in the hand of the tourists as ‘the subalterns cannot speak!'” (Bandyopadhyay, 2010, p. 716).

This lack of voice is why the role of servitude is exacerbated; my aim for this project was to expose the skills behind that servitude, and investigate the role of recognition within the single
story narrative colonialism created. The data collected indicates the depth and breadth of guides’
skills, and begins to indicate whether or not guides are being recognized for those skills, or if the
role of servitude impairs their ability to receive credit. In order to explore this idea, I first review
guiding skills. I focus on Language, Safety, Animal Knowledge, Driving Skills, and
Photographic Skills as separate examples of the types of skills guides have. After reviewing the
skills used by guides, the second section (Recognition of Skills) discusses whether or not guides
feel their skills are being recognized by tourists. Throughout both sections, I reflect on how the
role of servitude and colonial relationships may be contributing to the recognition (or lack
thereof) of skills for safari guides.

Guiding Skills

In order to discuss how the role of servitude has affected the perception of skills, I
initially overview the skills required to be a safari guide. Here, the definition of skills is a
particular ability or expertise, thus this section overviews selected abilities/expertise as presented
thematically through the data. Since the narrative regarding Africa has been shaped by a collapse
of the people and stories into a “dark” image, each of these skills is reviewed separately to give a
broad understanding of some of the components of being a safari guide, as presented through the
interview data. During the data collection process, many participants seemed to be confused by
the idea of skills, often asking me to repeat and reframe the question as to one that asked about
knowledge in addition to skills. Essentially, guides seemed to be aware that they had knowledge
as a result of their experience and education, yet they did not conceptualize that knowledge as a
skill. Below I discuss Language, Safety, Animal Knowledge, Driving Skills, and Photographic
Skills, as some of the emergent thematic abilities or expertise I perceived through the interviews.
Language

The Tanzanian school system educates in Swahili, yet all the interviews conducted were in English. In addition to gaining English fluency, guides often learn multiple languages in order to converse with a variety of tourists. Seven guides shared how they had completed courses or were fluent in German, French, or Spanish (often some combination of the three in addition to English). Ngurue told a story of being on safari with a French and German couple concurrently, “And I was speaking French and German, so sometime I speak German to the people who are speaking French, and later I find like ah oh, I just confuse!” The demonstration of his skills, as someone who is quadrilingual, instead was utilized as an example of how he had failed. This depiction belies the underlying idea that the skills of guides are often not recognized. Mbega spoke of how tourists are often surprised at his ability to speak German.

Yeah maybe, you know I'm, I'm, I worked with ah German people, I do speak German. So sometimes when they came and then they wonder, the time when I'm just ah telling them the names of something in German you see. Even to explain something in German you see. Sometime they do wonder because they know that, we don't know the others language in case of Swahili and English you see. And they, if they sometimes I do explain about the they incubation period of the certain animal you see so, they do, they do surprise.

Mbega’s shares how his ability to explain scientific facts in another language was surprising for his tourists. For him, the ability to converse in German is a necessity, and not necessarily something he perceives as a skill. Some guides like Mbwa, who told me he spoke German several times, did seem proud of their language skills, but other guides like Ngurue, Punda, and Kifaru mentioned it as a matter of course, sometimes apologizing that their knowledge of other languages made their English less excellent. The role of English in regards to colonialism is discussed later in the paper, however the necessity of learning multiple languages
is a clear relic of colonial relationships. Instead of being proud of their language abilities, the requisite languages are seen as essential yet prosaic.

_Safety_

Ensuring the safety of the tourists and animals was another skill that guides spoke of, discussing the need to clearly communicate the rules of the park in order to maintain safety. Guides consistently spoke of how they were responsible for animals and tourists. Each park has specific rules that must be followed: about how late you may stay out, rules against feeding the birds, and about getting out of the car. During training, guides must learn these rules which they then enforce while on safari. Kuro emphasized the necessity of rules when he spoke of tourists who come without guides.

*We have also some regulations so they need also to know sometimes they can do this when its not allowed by the park, so they need to be with the guides if they are wanting to do this, the guides maybe will give them an explain oh this is not allowed so we have to do this so. That's a very very big necessary.*

Tourists are required to follow regulations of the park in order to maintain their safety and the safety of the animals. Those without guides do not have anyone to explain these rules to them. Often, the frustrating or negative experiences guides shared were stories of times when tourists refused to follow park rules, even after guides had explained them. This is represented in the exemplar from Kiboko as he shared his frustrations.

*I know the rules of all national parks so maybe the ranger can ask if you know the rules, why you allow your client to feed animal- to feed bird? But other they not understand but eh, its my job, its part of my job so just explain for them very well cool, no shout, so either they understanding or not understanding.*
This sentiment was echoed by other guides who indicated they felt responsible for their tourists following rules and sometimes struggled with communicating the necessity of doing so. Through the idea of safety, and ensuring tourists follow the rules, additional facets of guiding skills, such as communication skills, are revealed by the data. In addition to knowing the rules of the parks, guides also must be able to communicate these rules in such a way that ensures tourists will follow them, even if tourists do not want to or understand why initially.

The refusal of some tourists to follow the rules as told to them by their guides insinuates a lack of respect for the authority of guides. Kiboko continued speaking on this topic, adding that “maybe you thinking maybe, I'm just lying oh about that. So when the ranger explain, ahh oh good, ok ok now I'm understanding.” These particular tourists, represented in the exemplars from guides, rejected the expertise of their guides. This rejection may be a consequence of the role servitude, or its impact upon historical colonial relationships and mindsets. Rangers, as armed governmental authority figures, are respected by tourists as enforcers of regulations in the park. However, the examples of Kiboko and other guides indicate this same respect does not always translate to guides.

Animal Knowledge

During data collection, all guides spoke to me of the need to know about the flora, fauna, birds, and geography. For animals, they must know where they are found, what they eat, mating habits, gestation period, scientific names, and safety practices. They must know information about birds, including identification and habitat. They must know about geography, politics, history, tribal practices, etymology of names, and insects.
I should know all concern about safari things. Everything like um my country history ah environmental, geographical, you know, politics, all this I have to know when I'm on safari. -Mbega

Ah you need to know actually the wildlife in general, like to know about the animals, the birds, the botanic, you know botanic? Ah plant. Some flowers, and ehh history and they also you need to know the geography which is this help you to do this. -Tandala

Guides must have a wide range of knowledge about the environment in order to cater to their tourists’ wishes. All guides spoke of making sure that they customize the safari to their tourist’s needs, trying to ensure that those looking for leopards get to see leopards, and those looking for birds, get to see birds. For many guides, this knowledge and ability to cater to the tourists’ wishes directly contributes to how they measure recognition, as discussed later.

**Driving Skills**

Oh um skills, first of all, you have to know where you are going. You know, you have to have a brain GPS. -Bweha

One of the ways in which guides can customize the experience for tourists, is through their driving and geographical knowledge. By knowing not only how to get around inside the park, but also where animals are likely to be, they demonstrate incredible driving skill and knowledge of maneuvering vehicles along unmarked dirt roads.

Oh when I'm driving around its just ahh looking for some animals. But it depends on time when the clients are interested for. It's a birds, animals, trees. But I'm trying to deliver what they want, ah personally like possibility. -Mbogo

The importance of these skills in locating the animals and ensuring that tourists were returned safely to their hotels at the end of the day was particularly emphasized when guides responded to the question “What do you think of people who visit without guides?” Tourists traveling without guides does happen, perhaps more so in places like Kruger National Park in South Africa, but
still occasionally in Tanzania (Kugel, 2014). Guides like Mbwa spoke of their disapproval of this phenomenon because jobs are taken away from trained guides, saying “visiting without a guide is like trying to reduce the number of employment. It's like, 20% of the young men they are not employed. So if you visit with a guide then you give more chances to the community.” However, most guides focused on the problems that occur when people of people try to visit the parks themselves, emphasizing getting lost and having flat tires.

And these people they get like, car broken over there and you know, you cannot leave them, we tried to help them, so they get really main problem down over there 'cause when you talking about Serengeti you talking about 14,763 sq. km. It's about the country, and you just come by yourself expect I mean the map that will help you? We do have our sign which is the topographical features, that's not gonna work if you can just come by yourself, that's a hard, that's a hard, yeah.

-Swala

Tourists who try to visit the parks without guides often rely on guides who pass by for directions. During my time on safari, I did not see many marked roads, our guides relied on topographical features and their experience in order to navigate the National Parks. Even for those tourists who do manage to drive through the “endless plains” of the Serengeti without getting lost, guides perceived that the experience would not be enjoyable or relaxing.

There is a possibility of missing a lot of good stuffs. Because having a guide umm, a professional guide, from Tanzania, it helps 'cause he or she knows a lot of stuffs, a lot of things, a lot of areas to visit, and not only the areas, good areas to to visit, you see rather than driving on your own, yeah its fine you an do that but, still you won't enjoy. You won't enjoy because also you'll be doing two, three things at while at your own. Driving, looking for the animals, you know, thinking on where to pass, thinking on where should I go to get this, if you could have a guide, yeah. Then it helps.. -Pofu

Many tourists may be abstaining from using tour companies because they recognize the inequities in the system and are attempting to eliminate support for neocolonialism and the subjugation of the other. However, some tourists are arrogant and betray this arrogance by
thinking they can navigate the Serengeti without a guide. Those who believe they can navigate the 14,763 sq. km of the Serengeti without a guide are often mistaken. The need for guides is quite acute, thinking otherwise may indicate a mindset that does not recognize the skills of locals in Global South countries. The skills and knowledge of guides are quite necessary in order to successfully navigate the country, and it is imperative for tourists to recognize this. While many do, through the use of guides, and the tipping of their guides, the more the skills of guides are publicized, the greater chance these skills will be acknowledged.

Photographic Skills

In addition to knowing where to locate the animals for viewing, many guides also spoke to me of how they are a part of the picture taking process, speaking of the considerations they make when parking the vehicle to ensure that tourists get good pictures of the animals. Swala shared, “I'm the one I mean who taking them I mean all the way down over there and he...parking the jeep in the correct, I mean parking so he can get a good picture.” Guides must park the safari vehicles so that the shadow of the vehicle is not in the picture, making sure they are always focusing on how to frame the picture for the tourist to take.

Many of the guides I interviewed have taken professional photographers out on safari, including four guides who had taken photographers for National Geographic on safari. Most of them also take pictures in the field when they see something they have not seen before. They have better access to the animals than most of the Western photographers, yet it seemed as if there were few trained photographers among them, and none of the people I spoke with sell their photographs. Swala shared how he went to school for journalism and photography in Nairobi,
Kenya, before having to withdraw after the death of his father. He told me he does take pictures while out on safari, and I asked what he did with them.

_Actually I don't have any place to put them. But, to be honest I like taking pictures a lot. It's like wow, my dad have not do better than me. But even when I'm driving my clients, you know same like this one, they're not really professional, you know? parking my car in a professional manner and trying to tell them, this is a good pictures. You know, its happen come to my heart, sometimes I can make a stop and its like, this is a good picture guys, but its not me, its not them, its me, and sometime I feel sorry because I cannot carry my camera always with me, but sometimes I feel sorry when I get some good pictures ahh, its like, I know which is a good picture and which is a bad picture._

Swala, a professional safari guide has been trained in photography and journalism. He is someone who has learned about animals, knows where to find them, and has access to the National Parks on a regular basis. The pictures he takes, he does not know what to do with. But the National Geographic photographer Swala takes out on a game drive not only has a place to put his pictures, he is paid Western wages for them. This inequity is not the fault of the Western photographer, yet echoes of colonialism have contributed to an incorrect framing of Africa for most of the Western world. Another guide, Mbwa, was eager to take and share photos, both of me interviewing him, and his time in the parks. He shared with me some of these photographs through email. His photos, as well as those Tandala, Paa, and Inzi shared with me, are in Appendix B.

Guides often receive pictures or letters via email from their tourists, and many spoke of how these photographs help validate their skills, letting them know that they did a good job. Bweha said, “they're all going back happy and they're always sending me emails say, please could you come and visit us, so that's also one of thing that shows me.” From the pictures Mbwa and other guides have sent to me through email and whatsapp, I can see how important it is for
them to document their experiences on safari, especially as a way of attracting more tourists. While guides do not have the training or technical equipment most professional photographers have, they have the access to the animals on a frequent basis. Additionally, guides who spoke of the need to position their vehicle for the sunlight, etc. demonstrated an awareness of the composition of photographs. These two components suggest that many guides have interest and have or could learn the requisite photographic skills necessary for professional wildlife photography. Yet many of these guides are acting in servile roles to photographers from places like National Geographic, demonstrating the West’s preference for privileging the voice of the Westerner over the voice of the other.

**Recognition of skills**

*RQ3: How does the relationship of tourists and guides affect the perception of skills?*

Having addressed in the previous section the skills of guides, this section reviews whether or not guides feel their skills are being recognized by tourists. While guides’ skills are innumerable and essential for safaris, the impulse of some tourists to attempt self-guided safaris indicates they may not always be recognized by tourists. Nauru shared the following example when, as part of the interview protocol, I asked guides to tell me what they thought tourists were surprised by when they got to Tanzania.

*...They surprised to find that they meet people who are well knowledgable, they can be able to handle and help them to find the solution of what they need.*

Nauru perceived that tourists were surprised he was knowledgable about his country. This may be related to Nauru’s position as a member of the Global South, or to the reality that as someone in a servile position, he was not expected to have equal knowledge to those he serves.
While in Tanzania, I was completely dependent upon the people around me: for directions, safety, etc. This was a situation I was not prepared for, and Ngurue's example speaks to other tourists like me who perhaps are not expecting this dependency upon the skills of guides. Because of this unforeseen necessity for dependency, I asked as part of this research if guides felt their skills were recognized. This recognition, or lack thereof, begins to address the way skills are perceived by tourists, providing a theoretical framework for discussing the impact the role of servitude may have upon this recognition and perception. There were two main themes in how they measure recognition or credit: Information Seeking and Guest Happiness. After reviewing these two themes, I then discuss who gets credit, and whether or not guides felt the payment they received was fair.

**Information Seeking**

The first theme, information seeking, is represented in how guides felt their skills were recognized when tourists ask them questions and they provide accurate information immediately.

*It's like, nearly 90% of my skills they are recognized because sometimes you still, you can explain the moment that you find the animals, you can explain to them then, suddenly the activity is going to be done. For example you can explain them about the lions mating. When the lion mating ceremony start like they normally do their mating like in 20 to 30 minutes. So just tell them and after some minutes they see it happen is like, its great when what you tell is approved. -Mbwa*

Mbwa’s exemplar indicates he feels his skills are recognized, that he is getting credit for his knowledge and expertise. However, in this example, his knowledge must be vindicated by the animal world. Those with power do not allow him to know things unless it is validated by another source. This occurs in a story from Mbuizi, whose tourist really wanted to see a leopard. He shared what happened when he found a leopard.
So the leopard is is, it was eh sleeping, so not shaking, so we spent the time there. After seeing that say “oooh kay, its a leopard. But do you think that is a real leopard?” So I was bit surprised and a little bit upset. Because eh, I told her; that is the leopard. “Are you sure?” So I said ok, let's wait to see, because later this animals will move. It will make a kind of movement. So I spent a time there and later after 10-15 minutes, the leopard ehh, just turned around the edge and later just stand up, trying to st, stretch itself or so. “Ok now I trust.” But later she told me why she was eh, ahh bit worried about if it was a real leopard. She told me that there are some stories in some countries, I don’t know where, that they have been trying to, in order to encourage tourists, they put the fake leopards on the trees, but they put in the distance, you see. That the clients, they cannot get so close and, so that’s why she was a bit worried to to trust me.

Mbuzi’s tourist did not trust him, or the information he possesses. In this example, it was because she had heard negative stories about another country’s tourism industry. Tumbriri shared how sometimes tourists must validate information with their own eyes.

for example, you drive, you know some people don't have ahh good eyesight, and then you drive in the park, and then you show your client maybe that's a leopard over there, and then he tell you no, that's not a leopard. And then you wait, give him the binoculars and then he take a look say, ok, yes, is a leopard. Some they think they know better than you, it happens a lot of time. -Tumbiri

In this exemplar, Tumbiri speaks of how tourists “think they know better than you.” While this is not a comprehensive exemplar that applies to every tourist, this reluctance to trust the knowledge of guides may contribute to why guides spoke of how they feel that tourists asking them questions is a recognition of their skills. It was important to guides to be able to provide information about the country and the animals, plants, and people that live within it. Ndovu was clearly proud of his knowledge, and how tourists had recognized it, mentioning that his tourists had asked him to write a book about what he knew.

Even, there is a guy just came recently to Tanzania and ah, you know, say that um, he need me to write a book. And then, not only that, just yesterday, we on a trip now and there's a woman also ask me to write a book. So, why they ask me to write a book,
because they see something inside me, something good inside me. Did I went to school for that? No.

Guides indicated they took pride in knowing the animals and the land, mentioning that if you did not have this knowledge, you were not a “good guide.” Bweha shared, “in order to become a good guide or I mean a perfect, you have to go to these uh uh college.” The idea of being a perfect guide was also echoed by Kuro who felt that, “you really have to be perfect in the wild, the wild animals and both sides, fauna and floras.” The worth of a guide was measured by how much they knew about their environment and their level of experience. When tourists ask questions, engaging in information seeking, it demonstrates a level of respect and recognition for that safari guide.

**Guest Happiness**

The second theme, Guest Happiness, was the need to make tourists happy. For one guide, this meant that as long as guests were not complaining, he was doing a good job. For another, recommendations to other tourists showed his skills were recognized. Pimbi, with 25 years of experience in the safari industry said “I can tell who is not happy, who is happy, so I can tell.” This theme of measuring success through tourist happiness was reiterated throughout the interviews. Happiness may be measured indirectly by the amount of tips guides receive at the end of the safari. Popo, explicitly mentioned tips when I asked about recognition.

_As well as, you know, through even the talk, you exchange your ideas and some people they will tell you, oh, you are good. You are giving a good, you know, information on this, so in one way that's a recognition of my skills, you know, and they know that I'm good as well. Yeah. And then, at the end actually, we're getting tips as well, and some times the tip goes up at the end._ -Popo
Popo’s example demonstrates how when guides are able to satisfy tourists’ information seeking needs, they are often monetarily rewarded through the use of tips. However, tipping is often inconsistent, especially across cultures, as Bweha explained.

_So they're some nationalities they don't know about tipping, or their companies trying to tell them and advise them at the end of the safari, you know, there will be a tip to your guide, although there's a salary, but uhhm, according to how hard of the work we do, you, is fair to get, money or get tip_

Bweha viewed tips as a recognition of the hard work he had put in, but recognized that the amount of the tip may be dependent on other factors. Regardless, the use of tips in the industry indicates that there is financial incentive as well as personal pride in ensuring tourists are happy at the end of the safari.

**Who Gets Credit**

Tipping also relates to the idea of credit, and who should get credit for the photographs that are produced on safari. I asked guides this question and received a few different answers. The majority answer came from the ten guides who explicitly said they should receive the credit for the pictures tourists take. One guide, Chui, changed his answer from tourists to guides.

_Q: Um. When tourists take pictures, who do you think should get the credit?_
_A: Is a tourist_
_Q: The tourist? Why?_
_A: Ahhh I think because they're a customer, their reputation, their comment depending on...their happiness, their achievement of the picture, quality of picture, yeah and it could be me by answering. It could be my get the credit yeah so, I'm just...switching to that_
_Q: Oh so you're switching, you're saying you think guides should get the credit?_
_A: Yeah yeah_
_Q: How come?_
_A: It's just because if you know where to park and direction of the light and and those kind of thing that you have to know._
_Q: What made you change your answer?
A: Ah its just because through the answer ahh, because I'm driving the car, and I'm assessing the situation. I'm reading the direction of the sun and sun rays direction of the light and so on so its me, probably in my gonna be both of us because sometimes you might get in the wrong direction and you might get a combination from the clients.

Chui started out recognizing that the customer’s reputation was dependent on the pictures, before realizing that it was his skills in finding the animals and parking the car that went into the production of that picture. Four guides thought guides and tourists should share credit for the photos, three guides thought tourists should receive tourists, and three guides recommended that recognition be given to the Tanzanian people and government (see Table 2 for further data). As Ndovu said, “Tanzania should get a credit. Because they're the one who keep all this stuff, you know for us today. Our grand-grand parents, they should get credit for this, and then our government. you know.”

Although the majority of guides agreed that they should be receiving credit, it is not clear what that credit should be, or if they are already receiving it. From a Western perspective, I initially thought of credit as a byline or notation on the photograph, especially for professional photographers, letting the public know who had located the animal and been the guide. However, this conception of credit was not shared. Some spoke of credit as tourists thanking them, some spoke of receiving the pictures later though email, and some spoke of receiving credit as a notation if the pictures are posted to a website. Some of this inconsistency may be due again to the indirect nature of communication and their unwillingness to discuss their tips as a form of credit. Some guides felt that they were already receiving the credit, while others did not. There was no consensus on what credit was, how it was received, and whether or not this was happening.
Is Payment Fair?

There was also little consensus on whether or not the method of payment guides receive was fair. Guides typically receive a salary from the company they work for, and rely on tips on top of that. The amount of tips they receive is not standard, and varies from company to company depending on recommendations companies give to tourists (if at all). Many guides said that the system was fair for them, but recognized that it may not be fair to others. They spoke of how the system is a free market, and the amount of money guides make is based on their skills. If it were not fair, guides shared, they would not be working. Two guides emphasized the need for tips in order to make it fair, and some told me the system was not fair at all. While most guides felt they could negotiate with their employers, many said it was difficult and not welcomed by all companies.

The amount of money guides make by salary is extremely low compared to both how much Westerners are paying for safaris, and the importance of guides in the process. For example, when I was on safari, our guide made $6 a day. At the end of the 10 days, our group of 14 tipped the guide $1800. Based on current exchange rates and the minimum wage in Tanzania according to WageIndicator.org, the average monthly wage is $52. This disparity means that monetarily speaking, the power still resides in the hands of the tourists, even though guides are the ones who are responsible for tourists on safari. This is how the role of servitude is created, the monetary power of Westerners means guides are dependent on tourists for validation of their knowledge and skills.

Effects of Tourism and the Western Gaze on Tanzania

RQ4: How is the Western gaze/tourist shaping Tanzania?
As globalization and Western influences continue to affect Tanzania, the touristic gaze is changing the traditional culture of Tanzania. These cultural changes represent the continuing force of colonialism and neocolonialism as well as globalization. This idea of Western influence was represented in the interviews in three main themes, Westernized Clothing, the English Language, and Support for Orphanages.

**Westernized Clothing**

*Many of the tourists are coming from Europe, America, they have, the way of wearing is different to ours. So we, some of the people adopt on how wearing, and nowadays we have even, the guys who have got like, earrings...and that's not our traditions.* - Ngurue

Guides spoke often of how they can measure the changes in their culture by the increase in Westernized clothing. The guides I spoke with generally seemed to think of this culture change in a negative light, focusing instead of wanting to preserve their traditions, similar to what the Maasai have done. Often, these comments about clothing referred specifically to women’s clothing—how women now can wear pants instead of skirts.

*originally I come from Zanzibar. Yeah. And so in Zanzibar, for the women, they had to cover, and you know and you guys when you go down over there, just like you, & wow.* - Swala

However, it should be noted that all of the guides I spoke to were men. I have no data on how women feel about their increased ability to wear “trousers.”

Guides also told me of how tourists expect “bushmen” not to be dressed, often that image is part of what plays into stereotypical images of Africa, but it is considered by many guides to be a traditional part of the culture. Ngiri spoke both of how tourists were surprised to have these
stereotypes disproven upon arriving in Tanzania, and of his feelings that bushmen wearing
clothes was a disadvantage of tourism.

...They’re kind of somewhat surprised to see people dressing nice clothes, having the
cars, the life is like growing standard. They thought is like really bush men place. -
Ngiri

So when you introduce tourism, it has changed some some traditions, for example.
Ahh, I will take an example of, let’s say the Maasai people, or the Bushmen see,
Azabe in Lake [unclear]. Those people, they have never dressed. But nowadays they
put on pants, they put on shirts. They forgot their tradition, way of living...So that is
the main impact of tourism. To the local community. But, it causing good way mostly,
but a little bit in the negative way. -Ngiri

One guide I spoke to, Pofu, was a self-described former bushmen. While he did not speak
of clothing specifically, he told me he was “healthwise” “good and ok.” He was dressed in a polo
shirt with a large watch, and he was one of the only guides with longer hair, which he kept in
dreadlocks. While no explicit data exists on how he, as a former bushmen, felt about the spread
of western clothing, anecdotally from his attitude and dress, it did not appear as if he objected to
leaving traditions behind. The spread of westernized culture and clothing has affected everyone,
yet based on Pofu’s example, I am curious if those, like women and bushmen, who suddenly
have more agency in clothing choice feel the same nostalgia for tradition as many of the safari
guides seemed to indicate.

**English Language**

Yeah yeah me and my family we have an example because we, I will say be able to
take the kids into the, quality English medium school which everybody think that they
better education, provide a better education, that is an example. -Kima

The majority of the guides I spoke with emphasized how proud they were to be able to
pay for an education for their children as a result of their employment as safari guides. They
were especially proud that they could send their children to private schools that taught in English because they are perceived as better.

*I have a children, and my children now are in the private school, which mostly we believe that the private school they give a good education. And ah, if you are not working you don't really take your children to go the private school. Usually you take to the government school. But now my children are in a private school, and ah, I'm proud of that because I can pay.* -Popo

Unlike Kenya, whose schools primarily teach English, since 1961, Tanzanian schools educate primarily in Swahili for primary school (Mohammed, 2015). Because private schools generally educate in English, many Tanzanians perceive these schools as better; they are increasing in popularity as more people are able to afford them. Paka, who pays for his children to go to private boarding school said, “there are more and more private schools because people can afford it to pay for it.” The preference for English represents the necessity of the language in a neocolonialist system, in which the economy as opposed to the government is dictating the changes in culture. As previously quoted, Slemon points out that these apparatuses of education and scholarship serve as a mechanism for Western culture to “possess the terrain of its Others,” (Slemon, 1995, p. 48).

The preference for English, specifically U.S. American English, was also evident during my ethnographic interview with Sirani, the local operations manager for a major American tour company. Sirani speaks excellent English with an American accent that is very unlike the Swahili accent commonly heard in Tanzania. Most tourists she meets first speak with her on the phone and assume she is American, and white. However, Sirani is a native Tanzanian has lived in Tanzania or neighboring Kenya nearly all her life- her accent, she told me, comes from having gone to American schools as a child. With a Bachelors degree in history, she spoke to me about
how her accent has become cool over time. Under colonialism, wealthy Africans educated their children in the language or country of the colonizer, since that was perceived as better. During the Cold War, many Africans, especially in socialist Tanzania, viewed America as the capitalist bogeyman. Since the fall of Communism and the stepping down of socialist leader Julius Nyere, capitalism and the tourism industry has dominated the culture in Tanzania. American culture is being exported, so that now what is seen as cool, is also what is American (Crothers, 2014). This, Sirani explained, is how her accent has come to be seen as “cool,” so much so that sometimes she is even accused of faking it.

Popo, echoed this idea, saying

...People talk like American now. [laughs] They never talk like Tanzanian anymore sometimes. For those who are working with the touristy.

These exemplars indicate that many Tanzanians are preferring English, specifically American English. Theoretically, this could be the result of the influence of Westerners who continue to bring their culture and money into the country. Perhaps it is the hegemonic nature of capitalism which has increased the perception that things that are American are ideal. Capitalism could enforce these preferences since it tends to act in a “colonialist or neocolonialist fashion,” (Schirato and Webb, 2003, p. 92).

**Support for Orphanages**

The impact of money and Western ideals is keenly felt when discussing orphanages in Tanzania. UNICEF cites the number of orphans in Tanzania as being 3.1 million as of 2013 (UNICEF.org). This is 13% of Tanzania’s approximately 22 million children under 14 overall (Central Intelligence Agency, 2016). While this is a high number, especially compared to many
Western countries, Urassa, Boerma, Ng’weshemi, Isingo, Schapink, and Kumogola, found in their research in 1997 that “Virtually all orphans and foster-children were cared for by members of the extended family,” (Urassa et al., 1997). Despite these facts though, many tourists still feel the need to provide assistance to orphans. My interview with Irene, who works in the American office of a major tour company told me how often, tourists who go to Tanzania often come back wanting to help through charity and donations. She cited an example of how after a group of tourists said they wished to help, the safari company’s charitable organization went to a local village asking what they needed. The village requested new windows for the school, and Irene returned to the tourists with the information about the request. Instead of agreeing to help financially with this needed and requested donation, the tourists said, “Oh, but we wanted to donate to an orphanage.”

This is representative of the kind of pull orphanages have for Western visitors. Wanting to help, many Westerners unwittingly become part of the “orphan industrial complex,” that commoditizes orphanhood (Cheney and Rotabi, 2015; Walker and Hartley, 2013). Ndovu expressed his frustrations with this phenomenon in Tanzania, complaining of how orphanages are more prevalent in popular tourist destinations.

Right now if you go to Arusha, you can count orphanages. One, two, three. In my area, no orphanage, at all! You know? And in Arusha you can go around and around without finding a single orphanage. But if you go to Karatu, they're like hundred orphanages. It means, thats where only place that the kids are abandoned? Why is there? Why not Arusha? Why not out of Arusha? Why this orphanage they tend to be in tourism area only? Because tourists, tourists are passing by. They see, they feel, oh, we should help. They go, they help. But sometime those kids are not even live there.
As in Uganda, many orphans in Tanzania are taken care of by extended family members (Cheney and Rotabi, 2015). Orphanages can actually contain children who have at least one living parent (Walker and Hartley, 2013). Cheney and Rotabi cite Riley, who explains a few reasons why people start orphanages, “One is, they actually care, but they just don’t know what the right thing to do is. The second is money. It’s become an easy way of making money in Uganda because people just love giving money to orphans. The third is ego: possibly more Westerners are ego-driven...because they can save orphans, and that makes them a hero. So it’s colonization all over again,” (as cited in Cheney and Rotabi, 2015). The prevalence of orphanages is indicative of Western colonialism in which Westerners seek to “fix” “impoverished” countries.

While Ndovu expressed his frustration with this phenomenon, other guides instead wanted me to know that they too were helping orphans.

_Sometime when I get amount of money I buy maybe something, I went somewhere to visit those orphanage center in order to help them. So its good for me its good because I'm, when I'm right now I'm able to help different different people._ -Kiboko

When interviewing, I did not ask guides about orphanages at all, but several explicitly brought up how they or their companies attempt to help in this manner. The emphasis on helping and giving back by supporting orphanages seems to be a reflection of Western priorities. There was no need for guides to tell me how they are helping at orphanages; providing this information seems to have been a way for them to express their benevolence and increase their standing in my Western perspective. Thus the focus on orphanages is yet another indicator of how Western culture and values is affecting Tanzania. Guides are aligning themselves as often as possible with
Western values, perhaps as a result of an increase in cultural exchanges and the globalization of cultures, and perhaps as a means to attract more money into the economy.

**Summary of Results**

This results section has overviewed some of the main themes that emerged from the data, specifically regarding Guides and the Single Story of Africa, the Role of Servitude in Relation to Skills, and the Effects of Tourism and the Western Gaze on Tanzania. Many of the themes in this paper focus on the negative aspects of tourism and the framing of Africa, however it should be made explicit that the guides I spoke with were overwhelmingly in favor of increased tourism. Paka stated, “people get employment, a lot of local people also, get up into the business, opening up small companies.” Increased tourism in the area has increased quality of life, affording guides the ability to pay for basic needs and education for their children. Pofu and other guides wanted to encourage tourists to visit Tanzania, “You know, people needs to come and see, and see how Tanzanians citizens are very kind and good.” Guides were proud of their country, and their people. Tandala stated, “I think that's true to tell the people from Europe and over there the country to come to visit our country. They will enjoy it much than they think, because you we really have a very beautiful country here which ehh is very nice for the guest to come here.” My experience in the country was overwhelmingly positive, and confirms the sentiment expressed by Ngurue that “Tanzania is peaceful, in Tanzania you can meet everyone is charming, is friendly.”

On an individual level, the exchange between tourist and guide is one characterized by interpersonal connection and often a willingness to share on both sides. Funo shared: “I think it's good for people to travel. For people to learn and to maybe challenge what they thought was
true.” The relationships between guides and tourists are often fulfilling and long lasting, and the positives of interacting with people may obscure negative structural problems in terms of power relations between tourists and guides. The relationship between the invisible hand of money and power and individuals experiencing a safari is complicated and messy. Thus while there are problems with historical representations of Africa, tourists should be encouraged to visit Tanzania for the beauty of its landscape and people.
Discussion

The goal of this project was always to highlight the role of safari guides in Tanzania; to give them credit as skilled workers whose education and experience deserves recognition and respect. The review of selected existing literature helps situate the role and recognition of these safari guides within the larger narrative of colonialism, grounding it in postcolonial and framing theory. Through the use of interviews, I attempted to increase the diversity of the narrative about Africa, asking guides what they themselves thought, and attempting to interpret with a postcolonial mindset. Using other theories, the analysis and themes would likely have produced a completely different result, reflecting the crystallization idea that there is no objective truth. The experiences I have, and the perspective I have taken for this project has shaped my interpretation of the results. This is in no way a conclusive paper that represents the truth about ‘Africa’ or even Tanzania. Rather, this paper represents one possible truth that is my best reflection of the data I collected. Based on the 26 interviews, safari guides are aware of the current stereotyping of Africa, and how that stereotyping diminishes the legitimacy of their knowledge. My assertion is that this result is due to colonial rhetoric, thus the lack of credit for skilled safari guides is a direct manifestation of historical, rhetorical, media, and audience frames of the continent. The Western gaze upon Africa is through a lens of colonial construction, which has proselytized the idea that Tanzanians have no knowledge or skills.

Summary

Centuries of colonial framing of Africa as a single country, and a “dark” and savage place. has lead to media representations that are often gross misperceptions of the continent. The
image of Africa that exists in the minds of many Westerners has been collapsed and thus often flattens Africa into a place represented in images of animals and metaphors describing it as “dark.” The interviews with guides suggest that the media representation of Africa, from colonial times to current news, has enforced the representation of Tanzania as a “bushmen” place in the Western mind. However, as travel and globalization increase the amount of reflexivity and exposure possible for tourists, these stereotypes are beginning to be broken down. The metaphor of “dark” has contributed to colonial framing and the perceptions of Westerners, which is reflected in interviews with guides. Guides report not only an awareness of Western perceptions, but also a desire to change them, through the use of ambassadors (i.e., themselves, tourists, and photography).

The idea of ambassador is also reflective of the metonymic nature of photography, where a single photo becomes the representation for an entire safari or an entire country. Guides were clearly aware of this in interviews, and were hopeful of using the photographic gaze of tourists as a positive way of correcting misperceptions. The desire of some tourists to experience “real Africa,” is often something that begins with a false expectation. As Fisi told me, “for a tourist come and he thinks that, whatever he sees in the wild is like in the zoo in Europe,” can instead lead to tourists thinking more positively about Tanzania and Africa. Guides indicated photography helps to validate Africa as a tourist destination, increasing the chances of additional tourism.

As exposure to “real Africa” changes many of the stereotypes of tourists, the Western gaze upon the country is changing the priorities and culture of Tanzania. The neocolonial-esque relationship tourism creates allows for a place in which the cultural hegemony of capitalism can
flourish. Guides spoke of this manifesting in changes to clothing, and the preference for schools that teach in English. Additionally, the rise in orphanages may be reflective of a neocolonial relationship that gives tourists what they want. Like Mbuzi’s story of guides putting fake leopards into trees, the need to fill Western expectations in order to make a living wage appears to lead to a change in cultures and attitudes. Guides attempt to fulfill Western expectations wherever possible, especially by finding animals to photograph. With photography, the language of shooting still dominates, underscoring the idea that, though guides feel they should receive the credit for photos, the photo becomes a trophy for tourists. This brings up a larger question of who deserves and who receives credit in any instance. Guides like Ndovu who “feel like I have three degrees or four” are not recognized as such through salaries and recognition. Despite the fact that no guides could explicate what recognition was, it is often not occurring.

**Implications**

Hall states, “It is power, rather than facts about reality, which make things ‘true,’” (Hall, 1996, p. 293). The stories we have been telling about Africa have shaped the reality of the place. When we are repeatedly exposed to a single story of Africa that paints the continent as one whole, and a dangerous whole, it damages our ability to detect the many truths that make up a place or people. The perception that Africa is dangerous and a country instead of a continent has likely contributed to decreased tourism (Ebola) and potentially decreased investment, further exacerbating the poverty of the place that then feeds back into framing in a cyclical loop. By recognizing the skills of guides, we can begin to challenge the single story and recognize the diversity of a continent and its people. First, I review Theoretical Implications, including:
Privileging of Voice, Combatting the Dark Metaphor, and Neocolonial Effects. Secondly, I review Methodological Implications, and finally Practical Implications.

Theoretical Implications

Postcolonial theory encourages the researcher to take into account the viewpoint of the “Other.” This allows for a lens that attempts to diminish the inherent power dynamic between the “West and the Rest” that has been created over the centuries. This project attempts to challenge the existing framing that has been created through discursive definitions of identity based on epideictic rhetoric. The theoretical implications can be broken into three main sections: Combatting the Dark Metaphor, the Privileging of Voice, and Neocolonial Effects.

Combatting the Dark Metaphor

As a metaphor, “Dark Continent” is both insidiousness and pervasive. It is both archetypal and extended, providing negative associations that permeate through the discourse. The darkness of the metaphor serves as a value judgement that suggests to tourists that Africa is everything associated with dark: scary, unknown, etc. The data suggests that pictures and photography have added to the discourse about Africa; when combined with the photographers themselves; tourists’ stories and pictures are beginning to challenge some of the stereotypes this dark metaphor has created. Ambassadors, conceptualized as people or items (such as photographs) which can change public perception, help combat the historical framing of Africa as a continent.

Sontag states that “photographs alter and enlarge our notions of what is worth looking at and what we have a right to observe,” (Sontag, 1977, p. 2). Photographs which focus on animals,
send a subtle message that what has worth in Tanzania is the animals, not the people. Many tourists have the expectation that they will see the Big Five (represented in stories from guides whose tourists wanted to see “cats” as well as literature I received), thus those animals are implicitly the ones worth looking at. Thus, photos that focus on animals are representative of the dominant discourse, and of the Westerners who built and continue to unintentionally undergird that discourse. There is a duality here, a sort of Catch-22, in that a photographic focus on only people would likewise demonstrate an objectification and flattening of the people as trophies or prizes that ignored the native beauty of the country. Additionally, tourists who photograph locals such as the Maasai are expressing an implicit belief that they have a “right to observe” the local people, often without asking permission to do so. Therefore many of the photographs that act as ambassadors to help combat the single story of Africa are still focusing on the “otherness” of the place. Whether the focus on photos is animals or people, the image has become the trophy, much as the possession of the land was in colonial times. In order for photographs to theoretically act as ambassadors combatting the single story of Africa, they must be representative of the whole. It is not enough for photos to represent only animals, or only people, or even be seen as the sole representation. Images of Africa need to be diverse and need to be combined with videos and stories that provide alternative perspectives of the place.

Instead of ameliorating the power difference between “the West and the Rest,” the current emphasis on photographic representation theoretically further separates Tanzania from the Western world. The Western gaze via photography can reinforce colonial framing. The desire of guides to access Western monetary power strengthens neocolonialism as well, since it shapes the
image of Africa into one that is pleasant for Westerners, one that meets expectations and fails to challenge assumptions.

Privileging of Voice

When tourists come primarily from Global North countries, it can erode the agency of the local population by emphasizing “servitude and parasitism,” (Manning, 1978, p. 198). Stories from guides about guests being surprised by their knowledge indicate that the role of servitude and historical colonialism privileges the voice of the Westerner over the voice of the “Other.” Skilled Tanzanians are still routinely disregarded in favor of Westerners. What’s Up Africa, a satirical news show on BBC points this out, “Yes, African journalists reporting on the South Sudanese conflict can say ‘Adios’ to their professions. Because the only news people really need to know is obviously from Daniel Howden, the first Western journalist into South Sudan,” (Azuike, 2014, emphasis in video). We are still allowing ourselves, as Westerners, to prefer those voices that speak with our same face, not recognizing that others not only deserve the agency, but have more right, more knowledge, and more authority to speak.

Neocolonial Effects

Neocolonialism asserts that control over countries is maintained through fiscal as opposed to political means. In Tanzania, specifically Northern Tanzania, the dependency on tourism for income has had effects on the culture and priorities of the area. Themes reflected a change in clothing styles, an increased priority on English, and an increase in the importance of orphanages. These changes in culture are due to guides’ dependency upon the fiscal capital of
Western tourists. In order to increase the amount of money they receive, guides are aligning themselves as often as possible with Western values.

Methodological Implications

Using documentary as a way to guide the interpretation of the data has advantages for this specific project. One: the data and themes I collected are more easily shared with a broad range of people, including the safari guides I interviewed. Guides provided me with their emails and contact information, wanting to hear the outcome of this process. Additionally, since the goal of a critical viewpoint is to spur conversation, the use of documentary increases the accessibility of the data I collected. Perhaps most importantly, documentary is a way of giving voice directly to safari guides, who are able to speak for themselves on film. While I edit the documentary, my voice does not appear within it. By formatting the film as the story of guides’ lives chronologically, it further humanizes the issue, giving real faces to the safari guides I speak of in this paper.

The medium of video also provided additional advantages for this project, namely that it allowed the vocal inflections and nonverbal attitudes to come across to the viewer. Bloomfield and Sangalang argue that documentary film can “incorporate the audience in argument construction,” (Bloomfield and Sangalang, 2014). In the documentary portion of this project, the guides I interviewed are speaking directly to the camera, making eye contact directly with the viewer. The tone of voice indicated more positivity about tourism than comes across in much of this paper; although guides are frustrated with misperceptions of Africa, there is no resentment or
underlying blame, and a sense of positivity and “hakuna matata” (no worries). By providing video, guides voices and faces can be directly interpreted by the viewer.

The editing and crafting of a documentary forced me to review footage multiple times, transferring to visual processes Glaser’s suggested method of analysis. Additionally, since the goal was always to make a documentary that would be able to stand on its own without the paper, the way I thought about telling the story of the guides went through several iterations. I initially thought of including aspects of colonialism and framing in the film, before discarding that idea as too leading. I thought of framing the narrative through the idea of tourists who attempt to visit without guides, but discarded that approach as one that lacked a cohesive structure and focused too heavily on tourists. By forcing myself to think of how to present the stories of guides in a narrative format, I was forced to re-think and re-analyze the essential parts, the humanizing elements of the guides’ stories. This is why I settled on the current documentary format, one that tells of guides’ experiences and motivations in a more chronological way. The process of continuing to think about the data, in both written and visual form, altered my final interpretation, hopefully to a format that added additional agency to the role of the “other” and minimized my own involvement.

**Practical Implications**

This project has a larger utility for scholars, tourists, and global citizens since it provides a way to help combat stereotypes and reorient Western mindsets toward a postcolonial position of the “Other.” Even after visiting and studying Tanzania, my mind still tends to group the continent of Africa together as one country, one place. This thinking is an example of how media
frames have created audience frames, and it is this conceptual single story that I have been struggling with minimizing. Practically, this project aims to share some of the diversity and knowledge of guides. I encourage tourists to ask questions, to recognize one’s own fragility in exploring a place different than your own. It is hard to recognize your own helplessness, hard to accept that our Western power that has created this discourse about Africa means little when you are there alone. For a brief period of time, I became one of the people who is “looked upon,” instead of one who does the looking.

The documentary portion of this project is meant to encourage multiple perspectives, and to encourage potential scholars and visitors to recognize the humanity and expertise of people in places other than the West. I entreat people to question their own assumptions and critically engage with the idea that we know very little about the African continent, despite our representations of it. Think critically about Africa, questioning media representations of negative stories. Recognize that the continent is diverse in size, geography, and people. I appeal to tourists to ask questions of safari guides, ask questions of those who have been to Africa, and let the triple ambassadors of guides, photos, and tourists inform and challenge the perspective of Africa that colonialism has created. Respect the knowledge and agency of others, and wherever possible, ameliorate the wage differences through tipping.

**Limitations**

While I was in Tanzania, I stayed with two Western freelance journalists who were looking for stories to cover. They decided to cover the story of a Tanzanian scientist who used nanotechnology to build a water filtration system that could cheaply clean the water for drinking.
Instead of selling the machines and making profit, he rented the systems to communities so that people could affordably clean their own water. The two Western journalists were planning on covering this story, remarking on where they could film people drinking “dirty water,” and how great it was that a local Tanzanian was the one who had chosen to come back and help.

This should not be remarkable. We should not be surprised that Tanzanians are choosing to help themselves succeed when possible, but the narrative that has been created is that it is the Westerner who must go in and “save Africa.” “Africa has provided a space onto which white egos can conveniently be projected. It is a liberated space in which the usual rules do not apply: a nobody from America or Europe can go to Africa and become a godlike savior or, at the very least, have his or her emotional needs satisfied,” (Cole, 2012). By attempting this project, I am one of these nobodies who is attempting to be a “savior.”

There is an inherent struggle between wanting to tell the story authentically and being yet another Western academic who is interpreting and prone to generalization. I wish to recognize the agency of those guides I have interviewed and finally afford the “other” the chance to speak, yet by the nature of privilege, academia and data collection, the most I can do is act as the filter for the information. Since I am a Western academic, my ability to access data may have been impacted negatively. It is possible guides were more circumspect in wanting to share their frustrations. Additionally, because this project was limited to safari guides, the interviews do not take into account the perspectives and expertise of others in the safari industry. During my time researching this project, I spoke to people in safari offices both in the U.S. in Tanzania who should be included in any further study since their valuable insight could add further depth and perspective to this project.
**Future Directions**

This project looks at the perceptions of the West from the perspective of safari guides in Tanzania. Future directions should focus on researching the perceptions of the West from the perspective of the West, measuring colonial framing in a more concrete and less theoretical way. The data collected for this is also incredibly deep and the themes of culture change from neocolonialism and photos as ambassadors could also be explored more in future research projects. There is no single representative truth about this project, my time in Tanzania, or about the data I collected. Further studies could revisit the existing data with different perspectives, or look at new ways to engage with the data and the stories of guides. Each of us has many stories to tell, if someone stops to listen.
References


Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.


Appendix A

**Interview Protocol**

- Thank you for agreeing to interview
- Studying safari photography
- Qualitative study for thesis
- Recording for transcription and documentary

*Warmup question: What did you have for breakfast?*

1. Tell me what it is like to be a guide for a photographer. Can you describe a typical day/photographer?
2. What do you think people know about Tanzania before coming on safari? What do you think people are surprised by?
3. How do you feel about people coming to Tanzania to take pictures?
4. How has tourism changed Tanzania? How has it changed you and your family? Can you give an example.
5. In your opinion, do most guides feel they make enough money to support their family? Do you feel this is fair? Have you ever felt you could negotiate your wages?
6. What impacts have foreign countries had in Tanzania? Can you think of an example that has directly impacted you or your family or your community?
7. How would you feel if wildlife tourism stopped or slowed down dramatically here?

**Demographic Questions**

1. How old are you?
2. What kind of education do you have? What was it like for you to go to school?
3. How many people do you support?
4. What is your name?
5. What is your contact information?

**Closing Statement**

- Thank you for participating
Appendix B
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image11.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image12.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
<th>16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><img src="image14.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image15.png" alt="Image" /></td>
<td><img src="image16.png" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1

_Data Provided by the Tanzanian Tourist Board, List of Tour Operators_
_Complete File Available Upon Request_

Data Breakdown

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Tour Companies Total</th>
<th>501</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number Companies in Arusha</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Companies in Kilimanjaro</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Companies in Area</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage in area</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number Companies specifically for Photo Safari</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number photo safaris based in Arusha</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 - Safari Guide Interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>yrs experience</th>
<th>professional photographer</th>
<th>who gets credit for pics</th>
<th>how many people support</th>
<th>fair or not fair money</th>
<th>negotiates wages?</th>
<th>company location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ndovu</td>
<td>wildlife education</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>wife, kids, brother, sister</td>
<td>its fair because he’s working</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paka</td>
<td>Mweka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>80% to guides, 20 to clients</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>some companies</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kima</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>12+</td>
<td>not if there are no tips, not fair</td>
<td>yes but no bc of government</td>
<td>United States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popo</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>guides</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>very fair</td>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>Florida through Ranger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punda</td>
<td>college of professional tour guide</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>guide finds the best angle</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>if willing to support the particular guide</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Arusha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngiri</td>
<td>mweka, different certificates in wildlife, hunting, photography, leadership</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>client</td>
<td>6 plus self is 7</td>
<td>those who aren’t paid well its not fair</td>
<td>yeah and let things go</td>
<td>freelance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kicheche</td>
<td>tour guide college education</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>tourist and subject of photo</td>
<td>7ish</td>
<td>yes free market</td>
<td>some companies</td>
<td>Florida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbwa</td>
<td>Wildlife management course, also speaks german</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>guide</td>
<td>7ish</td>
<td>to me its fair</td>
<td>no. paid according to services offered</td>
<td>Moshi Maasai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudonym</td>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>yrs experience</td>
<td>Professional photographer</td>
<td>who gets credit for pics</td>
<td>how many people support</td>
<td>fair or not fair money</td>
<td>negotiate wages?</td>
<td>company location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swala</td>
<td>University and wildlife college</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>guide</td>
<td>no, but up to you</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Texas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paa</td>
<td>form four</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>companies are different</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>freelance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiboko</td>
<td>national park classes</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>both</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>fair for me</td>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>Arusha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisi</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>FALSE</td>
<td>natives, or subjects</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>yeah</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tandala</td>
<td>started as a porter on Kilimanjaro</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>tourists</td>
<td>6+</td>
<td>implicit, fair because of tipping maybe</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Arusha, South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chui</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>switched answer from client to guide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pimbi</td>
<td>learn from Rick Thomson</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>tanzanian people</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbega</td>
<td>form four specified</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>FALSE</td>
<td>guide</td>
<td>4+</td>
<td>fair but he complain s</td>
<td>a few times</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Funo</td>
<td>tourism college</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>clients</td>
<td>2 direct</td>
<td>yeah</td>
<td>freelanc e</td>
<td>freelance, Spain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kondoo</td>
<td>2 yrs tourism college</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>guide</td>
<td>not too many</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>difficult</td>
<td>freelance, canada, moshi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuro</td>
<td>tourism college</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>guide</td>
<td>10+</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>north america</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudonym</td>
<td>Education Level</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>yrs experience</td>
<td>professional photographer</td>
<td>who gets credit for pics</td>
<td>how many people support</td>
<td>fair or not fair money</td>
<td>negotiates wages?</td>
<td>company location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bweha</td>
<td>2 yrs tourism college</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>guide</td>
<td>20+</td>
<td>depends on tips</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>freelance, american and european companies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tumbiri</td>
<td>certificate of wildlife management</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>client</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>its not fair, depends on skills and is unequal</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Italy &amp; Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbuzi</td>
<td>oldegei certificate in wildlife, plans to continue</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>need more education, need to ask permission to photograph</td>
<td>big family</td>
<td>some is fair</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Arusha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pofu</td>
<td>diploma wildlife studies</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>FALSE</td>
<td>guide and client</td>
<td>mum, dad, and society - alot</td>
<td>depends on expenses</td>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>Arusha w/ tours in Uganda and Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbogo</td>
<td>certificate of tourism</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>FALSE</td>
<td>guide</td>
<td>himself, and education for cousin</td>
<td>not fair at all</td>
<td>sometimes</td>
<td>England?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngurue</td>
<td>diploma wildlife management</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>TRUE</td>
<td>guide and client</td>
<td>15+</td>
<td>fair because everyone is different</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>was Paris, now local</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kifaru</td>
<td>college-tourism?</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>FALSE</td>
<td>viewers congratulate photographer</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>tourism is good</td>
<td>not really</td>
<td>freelance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inzi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>FALSE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3- Tanzania Minimum Wage*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Minimum Wage per Hour</th>
<th>Minimum Wage per Day</th>
<th>Minimum Wage per Week</th>
<th>Minimum Wage per Fortnight</th>
<th>Minimum Wage per Month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Health Services</td>
<td></td>
<td>677.00</td>
<td>5,077.33</td>
<td>30,463.90</td>
<td>60,927.76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural Services</td>
<td></td>
<td>512.85</td>
<td>3,846.50</td>
<td>23,078.70</td>
<td>46,157.40</td>
<td>100,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade, Industries and Commercial Services</td>
<td>Trade, Industry and Commerce</td>
<td>589.80</td>
<td>4,423.40</td>
<td>26,540.50</td>
<td>53,081.00</td>
<td>115,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Financial Institutions</td>
<td>2,051.45</td>
<td>15,385.50</td>
<td>92,314.80</td>
<td>184,629.60</td>
<td>400,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication Services</td>
<td>Telecommunication Services</td>
<td>2,051.45</td>
<td>15,385.80</td>
<td>92,314.80</td>
<td>184,629.60</td>
<td>400,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication services</td>
<td>Broadcasting and Mass Media, Postal and Courier Services</td>
<td>769.30</td>
<td>5,769.70</td>
<td>34,618.05</td>
<td>69,236.10</td>
<td>150,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining</td>
<td>Mining and prospecting licenses</td>
<td>2,051.45</td>
<td>15,385.80</td>
<td>92,314.40</td>
<td>184,629.60</td>
<td>400,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Primary Mining Licences</td>
<td>1,025.80</td>
<td>7,692.90</td>
<td>46,157.40</td>
<td>91,314.80</td>
<td>200,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dealers licenses</td>
<td>2,367.10</td>
<td>11,539.35</td>
<td>69,236.10</td>
<td>138,472.20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brokers licenses</td>
<td>1,025.80</td>
<td>7,692.90</td>
<td>46,157.40</td>
<td>92,314.80</td>
<td>200,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private schools services (Nursery, Primary and Secondary schools)</td>
<td></td>
<td>718.00</td>
<td>5,385.02</td>
<td>32,310.15</td>
<td>64,620.35</td>
<td>140,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic and Hospital Services</td>
<td>Domestic Workers employed by Diplomats and Potential businessmen</td>
<td>769.30</td>
<td>5,769.70</td>
<td>34,618.05</td>
<td>69,236.10</td>
<td>150,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Domestic Workers employed by entitled officers</td>
<td>666.70</td>
<td>5,000.40</td>
<td>30,002.30</td>
<td>60,004.60</td>
<td>130,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sector</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Minimum Wage per Hour</td>
<td>Minimum Wage per Day</td>
<td>Minimum Wage per Week</td>
<td>Minimum Wage per Fortnight</td>
<td>Minimum Wage per Month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Workers other than those employed by diplomats and potential businessmen and entitled officers who are not residing in the household of the employer</td>
<td>410.30</td>
<td>3,077.15</td>
<td>18,463.00</td>
<td>36,925.90</td>
<td>80,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other domestic workers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Potential and Tourists hotel</td>
<td>1,282.15</td>
<td>9,616.10</td>
<td>57,696.75</td>
<td>115,393.50</td>
<td>250,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium Hotels</td>
<td>769.30</td>
<td>5,769.65</td>
<td>34,618.05</td>
<td>69,136.10</td>
<td>150,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restaurants, Guest Houses and Bars</td>
<td>666.70</td>
<td>5,000.40</td>
<td>30,002.30</td>
<td>115,393.50</td>
<td>130,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Security Services</td>
<td>International or potential security Companies</td>
<td>769.30</td>
<td>5,769.65</td>
<td>34,618.05</td>
<td>69,136.10</td>
<td>150,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small companies</td>
<td>512.85</td>
<td>3,846.50</td>
<td>23,078.70</td>
<td>46,157.40</td>
<td>100,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy Services</td>
<td>International Companies</td>
<td>2,051.45</td>
<td>15,385.80</td>
<td>92,314.80</td>
<td>184,629.60</td>
<td>400,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small companies</td>
<td>769.30</td>
<td>5,769.65</td>
<td>34,618.05</td>
<td>69,136.10</td>
<td>150,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport Services</td>
<td>Aviation Services</td>
<td>1,795.05</td>
<td>13,462.55</td>
<td>80,775.45</td>
<td>161,550.90</td>
<td>300,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clearing &amp; Forwarding</td>
<td>1,538.78</td>
<td>11,539.35</td>
<td>69,136.10</td>
<td>138,472.20</td>
<td>300,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inland Transport</td>
<td>1,025.80</td>
<td>7,174.00</td>
<td>46,157.40</td>
<td>92,314.80</td>
<td>200,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractor Class I</td>
<td>1,666.80</td>
<td>12,500.95</td>
<td>75,005.75</td>
<td>150,011.50</td>
<td>325,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractors Class II-IV</td>
<td>1,435.05</td>
<td>10,770.05</td>
<td>64,620.35</td>
<td>129,240.70</td>
<td>280,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contractors Class V-VII</td>
<td>1,282.15</td>
<td>9,616.10</td>
<td>5,769.75</td>
<td>115,393.50</td>
<td>250,000.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sector</td>
<td>Area</td>
<td>Minimum Wage per Hour</td>
<td>Minimum Wage per Day</td>
<td>Minimum Wage per Week</td>
<td>Minimum Wage per Fortnight</td>
<td>Minimum Wage per Month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing and Marine Services</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,025.80</td>
<td>7,692.90</td>
<td>46,157.40</td>
<td>92,314.80</td>
<td>200,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sectors not mentioned</td>
<td></td>
<td>512.85</td>
<td>38,446.45</td>
<td>23,078.70</td>
<td>46,157.40</td>
<td>100,000.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: “Tanzania Minimum Wage”
Figure 1
Institutional Regulators

The semiotic field
(‘textuality’)

**Line A** - Direct oppression through political and economic control

**Lines BC and DE** - Ideological regulation of colonial subjects and subordination through the manufacture of consent, using apparatuses such as education

**Line F** - Based on Said, the relationship between scholarly apparatuses that seek to name the ‘other’ of the Orient. “Orientalism manufactures the Orient and thus helps to regulate colonialist relations,” (Slemon, 1995, p. 47).

*Figure 1.* Recreation of Slemon’s model of postcolonial theories methods of influence (Slemon, 1995, p. 46).
Figure 2. Framing Model, (Scheufele, 1999, p. 115).