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Animal Rights Contradictions in the South African Safari Industry

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I'd like to dedicate this paper to my father, who is unfortunately no longer with us in a physical form but who is with me in every single step I take. You were my rock, and you still are my rock.

Plagiarism Declaration

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Introduction/Rationale:

The role and rights of animals is a highly contested one in South Africa, as well as across the entire world. In this report however I will be focusing on situations observed in South Africa, in the Limpopo province, in Hoedspruit near the Kruger National Park. On the one hand we have the beauty of the bushveld and the animal life that represents this country. Many people, mainly white middle class people, living in South Africa and international tourists coming into South Africa buy into the naturalized idea of the bushveld. With rhino poaching and the canned lion hunting industry disrupting and threatening this sense of idyllic beauty, these people (tourists and mainly white South Africans) have taken up arms to stand by the rights of the wildlife that so handsomely represents our idea of the untouched wilderness.

On the other hand, it is a country marked by huge inequalities and injustices where people live in abject conditions (often not far from these five star lodges), which rob them of any possibility to live a dignified life. This raises the question of how one could even bother about the rights of animals if basic human rights are not even fulfilled. From this perspective, caring for animals while allowing the conditions of inequality to continue unabated is a cynical mockery of the value of people's lives. The exaggerated care and romantisation of animals is highly problematic in a South African context because the amount of human suffering still prevalent in this country is so great. And yet again, we know that globally the survival of our planet is threatened, and in the light of global warming and the Anthropocene, people have written about the importance of how we have to recognize that we are not above nature but very much part of nature, and that we live in a multispecies world, encouraging us to seek our affinity with animals and other creatures.

To explore this tension and the relevance of the multispecies turn as propagated for by Donna Haraway (2003), for South Africa, I would like to look at safari guides, especially black safari guides. The position of safari guides in this context is unique. Many of them come from places where life is precarious about survival, and providing for their families is their main priority. In fact many of them have been recruited from communities, whose impoverishment is due to the fact that their parents and families were expelled from the land on which then the nature parks were erected during apartheid. If any, their relationship

to the animals (in the park and otherwise) has often been one of sustenance and (illegal) hunting (Mavhunga 2008). Yet, taking on and being trained in the job of a safari guide, they are now the ones that mediate to local and international tourists the idea of the archaic and untouched bushveld with its idyllic animal life. Their lives supposedly embody this tension and so I would like to understand better how they negotiate through these various avenues.

What is interesting for this research is how these guides coming from neighboring communities around national parks are included in being trained with opportunities to become guides or trackers and are pulled into a world of the spectacle to create capitalism. This is where they frame a particular image of Africa and wild African animals for tourists. This is a frame that I believe in many ways relies on leaving out where they come from; a frame which from a perspective of social justice implies that their lives and that of their compatriots are of less value than their own life.

The question of this research then is, how are black safari guides coming into the system of wildlife and eco-tourism from a potentially poor, underprivileged background and potentially dehumanizing living conditions and how do they deal with all these structural tensions that exist within and between what is shown to the public? How are they dealing or operating in the world of capitalist, romanticised, ideologies? How do they live that tension, and whether or not that tension is of relevance to their lives? One can identify these tensions by looking at any resistance or unwillingness to comply with the system. These are the questions that will be driving my inquiry.

A relevant conceptual idea, which frames this question, is about happiness and how do these safari guides create happiness through a spectacle for tourists? The happiness of tourists is central to safari guides, but in this report the understanding of where and how safari guides create their own happiness is central. The type of happiness that is linked to the movement of capital, is a concept that I will be tackling in this research as it is directly associated with a safari and wild animal encounter. Bringing this back into a humanitarian frame (Ticktin 2015), it is easy to see how a romanticised idea of Africa and its people by safari guides is problematic because of the suffering and mistreatment of South Africans that still continues today (Garland 2008). Related to this is also the theme of sentimentality

through the use of story telling by safari guides, and how do they bring in this topic of sentimentality through their work as it is clearly linked to the more complex theoretical framework around happiness? A chapter dedicated to the advertisement of the safari industry is key in understanding how happiness is sought after, through the spectacle of what one can witness and experience whilst being on safari. The way Africa, or rather the African wilderness is portrayed to the rest of the world through travel agents, online media posts and by their friends and family is one side of this conflictual space in which I find myself situated. The game reserves are in the Timbavati region, Manyeleti and the Sabi Sands, all situated in the Greater Kruger National Park.

Research question:

How do guides, who from projects funded by big game reserves, which choose people from surrounding communities as a way of integrating them into safari life, but whose lives in the first place suffered under the building of the parks, experience being brought back into these parks and reserves and how do they negotiate that contradiction? In light of this, how do safari guides frame nature for tourists, either local or international, against this backdrop of contradictions?

Literature review:

The Spectacle: A journey of happiness:

Safari guides frame a particular image of nature and animals for tourists coming into South Africa by putting on a spectacle that resonates deeply with any animal or nature lover. Sara Ahmed (2010) in her book 'The Promise of Happiness' says that we create happiness around that which we deem to be good or morally ethical. Conservation is a supposedly morally ethical way of giving back to nature and protecting endangered animals. By contributing to a cause which has been so greatly emphasized in the media today, many people will feel as though going on a safari where conservation is taking place, may add to the help or funding of such initiatives. This type of activity allows people to live their lives believing that they are doing the right thing, by coming to Africa or the bush and experiencing or contributing to that 'system' which is so prominently portrayed in the media. The problem with this is that there are still so many starving, destitute people living

in South Africa who being left out of the humanitarian frame. The question for all of us is what sorts of things do we endure on a moral level that enables us to achieve this happiness? Are we living in a false sense of security? Downes (2012) explains Ahmed's "understanding of the promise of happiness as a process of concealment that hides inequalities and justifies the oppression of 'others' under the rubric of the 'good life'". This explanation thus explains that 'the promise of happiness' is at the expense and misfortune of others who are not involved or made invisible by the system, which is there to create happiness for those who are willing to be normalized by the society they are in. The forms that "the oppression of 'others'" takes would be the forceful movement of local people off their homelands and onto new land, which may be infertile for their crops or for the grasses their animals eat.

Happiness is created through spectacular experiences, and Guy Debord (2002) argues that all relationships are mediated in a way that creates this experience. Creating a spectacular experience of a particular situation such as a safari one, and the capitalism it has surrounding it shows how these sets of feelings become created. Debord (2002: 7) explains the spectacle as "not a collection of images, rather it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images". These images are used in a capitalist driven society, where false images, false consciousness and false aspirations are created to capture the spectacle (Debord 2002: 8). Debord's (2002: 47) theory is ultimately one of urbanism where the- "modern method for solving the ongoing problem of safeguarding class power by atomizing workers who have been dangerously brought together by the conditions of urban production" is playing itself out. This creates an interesting tension when applying this theory to what is seemingly the non-urban – the nature away from human settlement. It will allow me to read the urban into nature, as well as the spectacularised nature into the urban. The interesting aspect of this theory for me is understanding why people come to experience the bush, many times it is to escape the urban life we are all chained down to, but at the same time safari lodges bring this urbanism into their own spaces because they create this flow of capital and experience.

A book called 'Legendary Safari Guides' by Susie Cazenove (2014) explores the romanticised part of safari experiences in the wilderness as an adventure many people live for and look forward to in their lives. People from all over the globe pack up their best

Khaki[1] gear in the hopes of having an experience like no other, one filled with African sunsets and big game viewing accompanied by a qualified safari guide. I have encountered this same narrative countless times having been on safari with people from all over the world. Safari guides and cultural guides are the main focus here: they are the eyes, ears and interpreters of the African bushveld[2] for the keen safari enthusiasts coming from all over the world as well as bushveld enthusiastic South Africans. For many South Africans the bushveld is a place of tranquility and peace so I imagine. An escape or repose from the realities of the urban life that many of us experience day-in day-out. Cazenove (2014) introduces the reader to twenty-six safari guides who she claims are all "truly extraordinary" (Cazenove, 2014: 345). The guides in her book come from all over Southern Africa, ranging from the brothers who began Londolozi in the Greater Kruger National Park to guides up in the most remote parts of Namibia in the Sossusvlei desert (Cazenove 2014). The Greater Kruger National Park consists of all the reserves, which border the Kruger National Park like the Timbavati reserve, the Sabi Sands or Thorny Bush game reserve. This book was the inspiration for my research topic but after my inquiry into the framed experiences that safari guides give their guests, a question was raised as to whether these stories are covering bigger and more serious issues that go on inside and outside this frame. In this book there are no instances of tension mentioned from the safari guides which Cazenove (2014) so admirably describes; this is important to understand that what might be portrayed to guests about their lives as safari guides is possibly an acted out performance.

Miriam Ticktin (2015) adds to the theory expressed by Sara Ahmed (2010) and Guy Debord (2002), on morality and creating happiness through spectacular experiences by standing up for animal rights, and exploring the similarities between human and animal suffering through a humanitarian project. Ticktin (2015: 49-50) wants to know why some forms of suffering are rendered visible and knowable by some technologies? There has been a large public shift from the humanitarian work done for humans to becoming more inclusive of animals and the different ways they are suffering in the world. Organisations such as PETA, The Humane Society of the United States, etc. are all animal welfare protectors, looking out for animal abuse, suffering or mistreatment, and practice

[1] Khaki: a dull greenish or brownish-yellow colour. – Google definition

[2] Bushveld: a region in the hot dry North-East of South African and adjoining countries. –Google definition

'humanitarianism' towards animals, I can not help to imagine where humans fit into this new found spectrum of 'humanitarianism'. The victims of suffering are especially important because they resemble those at the heart of humanitarian narratives for example: starving children and innocent women (Ticktin 2015: 51). Animals fall under this category of 'most innocent sufferer' because they have no voice or ability to speak up for themselves, thus putting them on the same level as starving children and innocent women (Ticktin 2015: 51).

Research has been done over the years by biologists and zoologists on the behaviour and experiences of animals, and the results have been astonishing to some. Elephants are a great example of this because it has been observed that they show signs of PTSD if they have been exposed to instances where members of their family have been murdered in times of war for food (Ticktin 2015: 57). They too have been observed mourning their dead, years after a member of the family has passed away (Ticktin 2015: 57). Most animals are therefore sentient beings that feel emotions such as pain, anger, despair, joy, and thankfully from this research humans are now taking better care of their animals or wild animals. But what happens to the animals that pose a threat to us or animals such as cows, chickens and pigs that are slaughtered to provide us with food? What happens to the animals and people who are forgotten about or made invisible? This brings us back to the theory of framing the spectacle by using particular sets of technologies that makes certain suffering visible and certain suffering invisible. The relationship we have to particular non-human things, in other words animals, will determine the level of suffering which is shown to us in the media. There are animals used for human enjoyment and pleasure, animals used to provide us with company and love, and animals that provide us with food and sustenance. Through this technological framing, Ticktin (2015: 51) also brings up images of sentimentality in her paper by examining cases of animal abuse that the publics in America have been enraged by, for example, a female pit bull that was set alight in Baltimore. But Ticktin (2015: 66) also expresses "We do not see animals in industrial slaughterhouses because these are not animals suffering or dying as individuals, or even as populations, but as commodities, part of larger supply chains and lifestyles." When a non-human animal is valued more or less by society, the greater the sentimentality attached to it if images appear of it being abused or killed.

Environmental Injustice - Taking the land:

There is something critical about our relationship with the bushveld. The injustice of the environment travels back in time to colonial projects and the act of forcing people off their land and onto plots where they have become over crowded and poverty is rife (Mavhunga 2008: 416). It is easy to criticise the romance that the bush presents to us because of the post-apartheid situation many people are still facing. The tensions between what safari guides frame for tourists and what is outside of that frame, comes from analyzing this disjuncture between human and animal rights contradictions in South Africa.

Maano Ramutsindela (2004, 41) argues in chapter 3 of his book 'Parks and People in Postcolonial Societies,' that national parks are a product of old colonial policies. The need to conserve wildlife began around the same time that hunting laws were put in place, because animals were being hunted to the point of extinction (Ramutsindela 2004). The purpose of national parks was to keep the wildlife inside, and local communities on the outside (Ramutsindela 2004). Kruger National Park is a prime example of this and possibly one of the very first colonial national park projects in South Africa that caused tension and turmoil, lasting until today (Ramutsindela 2004). This park represents years and years of injustice and inequality aimed at the local residences because they were seen as being destructive to the natural environment and wildlife (Ramutsindela 2004). The obsession with the protection of wildlife is a question that only white South Africans can answer because it was under their supervision that people were taken off their land only to preserve specific animal species (Ramutsindela 2004). The suffering under the construction of these parks led to the demise of skills and knowledge that many local people were able to acquire, because they lived in an area where they needed to know how to track certain animals for food or safety.

Ramutsindela (2004, 45) makes the following statement "Even more energy has gone into highlighting the negative effects of parks on people, mainly because of the struggle against human injustice. While nature conservationists overemphasised the negative effects of local communities on nature and highlighted the need to protect nature against such communities, social scientists aimed to show the negative consequences of parks on people." This is important to highlight because it has allowed the negativity around parks to be understood by the people that have been affected by it. It has also shifted the focus of

the negative impacts on the environment to soil erosion and flooding compared to African people causing a negative impact on the environment (Ramutsindela 2004).

Disempowerment around national parks has become a preconditioned experience because of South Africa's colonial and apartheid histories. European Colonists who came to South Africa during the gold rush, sought out pieces of land in provinces like Limpopo and Kwazulu-Natal for their own personal use, displacing many thousands, if not millions of people from their home lands (Mavhunga 2008: 440). Many of these pieces of land were turned into game parks for hunters and then later on for viewing purposes and photographic safaris like the Varty brothers of Londolozi (Cazenove 2014: 6). Because the guides working at these hunting lodges only knew and practiced hunting, the owners of such lodges began to understand the local knowledge the villagers had of the surrounding areas and have since been employed at the major nature reserves as either tracker's for hunters hunting big five animals or at luxurious safari camps (Cazenove 2014: 6). At the same time after apartheid was abolished many of these relocated communities demanded their land be given back, however in the mean time, these previous homelands had become National parks, world heritage sites and areas that are no longer inhabitable for the people that previously lived there (Hill, Nel and Trotter 2006: 164).

In the Timbavati region, where I will be conducting my fieldwork, there is a community population of around eleven thousand two hundred and forty people (1999 census) and of that population around three hundred and fourteen people were interviewed for the research done in 'Nature-based Tourism and Environmental Sustainability in South Africa' by Anna Spenceley (2005). This paper addresses the environmental sustainability of four tourism enterprises in South Africa that are prime locations for viewing the big five and other African mammals (Spenceley 2005: 136), but what this paper lacks are the discussions surrounding the injustice local communities faced during the period when these safari lodges took over the land on which they occupy today.

The Human Development Index from 2003 shows South Africa to be ranked one hundred and eleventh on their list, indicating the prevailing unequal parts of our society that this country still faces (Human Development Report 2003). This further pulls out the tension between people displaced by game reserves and nature reserves as they have been positioned unfairly by the society in which they live. People live in such completely

disposed situations where it is hard for them to build good functioning relationship with others, it is unfair to say these people have no relationships with animals but those are archives of a different time which link to hunting and have been illegalised by the very systems which disposed them in the first place (Mavhunga 2008).

Human-animal conflicts:

Conflict between humans and animals has been an issue for many years gone by. In more recent years the encroachment into wild areas, destruction of habitats for crops and the killing of endangered animals for personal gain has escalated to an immense level that we are slowly seeing the conflict between the two species raising even further (Warner 2008). The aim of this segment is to break through into the realm of what it means to have a big five game reserve in an area where conflict has been managed in uncertain ways. These reserves still oppress animals as well as people due to their particular geographical-historical positioning. This segment also looks at how the movement of animal rights is often more of a pressing issue, in certain instances than human rights, especially in areas where the poor and the super rich meet (Warner 2008). The papers that engage in altercations, which have been studied throughout Africa, show people in conflict with elephants, rural communities attitudes towards game reserves, the bushmeat trade, and illegal poaching in South African game reserves. They also discuss how these observed conflicts could potentially have a large impact on the safari industry regarding the people that work for this industry, neighbouring communities and the animals who are at the centre of these disputes. What is interesting will be to look at how posthuman theory and multispecies ethnography can be encapsulated into this theme of conflict between humans and animals.

Peter Andrew Lindsey *et al* (2013) discusses how conflict and war in African countries has been a persistent driving force for the decline of animal species due to the increase in bushmeat trade. This conflict has surmounted in certain places because of the increase in big five game reserves, but at the same time there is a persistent decline of animal species (Lindsey *et al* 2013). The reason for much of the decline in specific animal species around the Kruger National Park is due to the high rise in poaching for the demand in endangered animal body parts or bushmeat (Lindsey *et al* 2013). The loss of habitat in specific parts of the park is due to erosion and the encroachment of people from the neighbouring

communities (Lindsey *et al* 2013). Conflict between people happens often in this scenario because villagers need to bring home food to feed their families and landowners are left with a loss in a particular prey species (Lindsey *et al* 2013). The effects of apartheid can be shown in this small part of South Africa. Current game parks owned by the government as well as very rich white foreigners and South Africans, exist where once villages and chiefdoms stood (Warchol and Johnson 2009). Many of the papers that deal with this conflict show how it has affected animals and the environment in particular, not focusing on how the past affected or still affects the people that once lived there (Warchol and Johnson 2009). It is an issue I believe needs to be addressed in this thesis, throughout the various chapters, because it is a factor that has brought all these varying people together from all walks of life with one main mission in mind: to save what is left of this natural environment.

The papers explore tensions between the will to save animals and the environment, and the local people who inhabit a specific area but want to benefit from living there and can't. An example of this is would be the bushmeat trade in Southern Africa. One of the papers that are mentioned above is by Greg Warchol and Brian Johnson (2009) called 'Wildlife Crime in the Game Reserves of South Africa: A Research Note'. Their paper discusses the illegal hunting of wildlife in South African game reserves, and helps to provide recommendations and solutions for policy makers. The other papers on the bushmeat trade are about the actual trading of meats, skins, bones etc. One paper is fascinatingly about the role women play in the bushmeat trade in Tanzania and Ethiopia by Asanterabi Lowassa, Degu Tadie, and Anke Fischer (2012). Another paper by Mark Infield (1988) focuses on the attitudes of the local rural communities towards conservation in the Hluhluwe/Umfolozi Natal game reserves, in South Africa.

Zoë M. Warner (2008) writes about the conflicts facing elephants and humans in the Sub-Saharan region of Zambia, The Okavango Delta and South Africa, for her master's paper in Environmental Studies. The main focus of Warner's (2008) paper is around elephant and environment conservation in areas where said elephants raid crop farms. It looks at what types of measurements are being taken to combat these raids, and focuses on the socio-economic implications for the people owning these crop and fruit fields (Warner 2008). This paper is a fascinating piece creating a lens to see into the kinds of conflicts arising

from wildlife-human encounters between South African parks and the homelands where people now live. They were initially thrown off the land during the apartheid regime, but are trying with their best efforts to reclaim parts of their land by buying an area and planting crops and other sustainable products (Warner 2008). In the argument that she makes about caring for animals such as elephants and rhinos, she says that one has to hold a position of privilege and luxury, because a farmer that experiences crop raiding from elephants every night is very unlikely to be caring towards them (Warner 2008). The above argument relates to this paper because across all animal welfare initiatives such as 'Save The Rhino: Rhino Conservation,' and the safari industry in general, are all owned and supported by privileged people. The people that will feel the negative impact of the safari industry and organisations like the one mentioned above are the marginalised poorer people that were taken off their homelands. Warner (2008) tries to distinguish between the various coping methods to prevent elephant raids from happening, but at the end of the day both animals and people suffer on.

Conflict between humans and animals exists today because of the over population of humans over the past couple of hundred years due to industrialization and urbanization (Dunlap & Jorgenson 2012). Humans have been the driving force of what we now call climate change, and with climate change what we are seeing is a loss of habitat and therefore and encroachment between wild animals and humans (Dunlap & Jorgenson 2012); the story is never ending. What would be interesting to note is how the effects of these conflicts as well as climate change have affected the Kruger National Park and other private reserves around the periphery of the park, therefore affecting the safari industry? The parks that surround the Kruger National Park are mostly privately owned and deal with their own environmental issues independently to the government owned parks (Spenceley 2005). There is certainly more or less concern about the environment and money available to help preserve and create jobs for local communities in private game reserves (Spenceley 2005).

Finding out whether or not animal rights conversations is taking place in South Africa is a concern because it links together with the conflict surrounding humans and animals, especially in areas such as Hoedspruit, but in many others across the African continent as well (Akama, Maingi and Camargo 2011). These parks were once unfenced, open land

where rural villages were erected many hundreds of years ago but they were taken down once the parks were established (Akama, Maingi and Camargo 2011). This issue with the conflict of rights between humans and animals is a clear one tome at least, but unfortunately the reality is that none of the people in the safari industry have the same viewpoint. These conversations will be discussed later on, but it is important to note here from the previous shorts paragraphs, that the people involved in the industry should address the issues surrounding animal rights and human rights conflicts.

The posthuman theory helps to place this theme of 'conflict' in its theoretical framework. It brings back the topic of contradictions between human rights and animal rights in the safari industry into the field of anthropology. It is an important and necessary part to my literature because it is a reminder of how necessary the field of environmental anthropology and the posthuman are to the new way of conducting anthropological studies. As climate change and global warming are becoming far more prevalent, it is imperative for us to remember why we take these chosen paths of discovery and research, and to educate people on the moral decisions we make that will affect the world we live in.

The posthuman/multispecies ethnography:

The global literature on animal rights will not receive as much attention in a South African context as long as they are contradicting or threatening to overshadow a concern for human rights. However In terms of safari guides it would be interesting to see how people who were previously disadvantaged, but with knowledge of the bush being their homes from childhood and taking to working in an environment, which focuses most, but not all, of its attention on animals and the environment. Posthumanism, the Anthropocene, and the multispecies ethnography are revolutionizing the way we think about ourselves in relation to the world and all its inhabitants.

I would like to point out that there is a gap in the literature about this type of observation mentioned above. So I would like to take on the challenge of asking these questions to knowledgeable safari guides, so that the literature and theories of Donna Haraway (2003) and other posthuman theories can be tested in a South African context. Haraway (2003) has an understanding of the other, but is her theories really commensurable with a social justice literature, which is far more human centered, and a more relevant stand of how people

interact. A question that has come up from the literature which could contest the theory of the posthuman, is whether or not the posthumanist theory is really able to address the issue about what is happening in South Africa from a social justice position on human rights?

'The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness' by Donna Haraway (2003) is a feminist approach to a very animated or animalistic centered piece that exudes instances of the posthuman which will be used as a backdrop onto which a contrast or relatedness to a South African context can be made. Many of the examples Haraway (2003) shares with her audience in her book comes from a very privileged, American, white middle class position that is at times challenging to write about in a South African context. Her posthuman theories are as relevant as they are to her positionality as a writer so in order for this paper to find a position whereby this theory will be better understood, her posthuman theory must be tested in a South African context. I agree with Juanita Sundberg (2014: 35) in her worries about posthuman theory being a Eurocentric one because Europeans or Americans that "presume there is a universal thought on nature and culture" are writing about it. This is where the challenge lies in a Sub-Saharan Africa because it comes into question whether or not these theories are universally applicable. I still hold posthumanism on a high pedestal because of the ideology that we should think of ourselves as thinking outside of being only human, in other words that we should think of humans as being more than what we are, almost like cyborgs, as Donna Haraway expresses in her book 'A Cyborg Manifesto' (1991).

Posthumanism (Haraway 2003) is a theory that many scholars and theorists are moving away from because there is a belief that "more-than-human approaches to interspecies relations have often presented 'cozy' versions of conviviality (Whatmore 2002; Haraway 2008; Hinchliffe 2010)" found in 'Compost Politics: Experimenting with Togetherness in Vermicomposting' by Sebastian Abrahamsson and Filippo Bertoni (2014: 125). Whether this is true or not could be debated but it seems as though Haraway (2015) in 'Anthropocene, Capitalocene, Plantationocene, Chthulucene: Making Kin' is diverting her work in the same direction because she goes on to say "I am a compost-ist, not a posthuman-ist: we are all compost, not posthuman" (Haraway 2015: 161). To understand this concept we need to think about an actual compost bin, filled with earthworms going about their job of decomposing and breaking down food and waste matter (Abrahamsson and Bertoni 2014: 126), and through this image an understanding of a particular

relationship can exist between human and nature. It is the most fascinating relationship because the theme of togetherness brings both detachment and engagement onto a level where they share duties in vermicomposting, which is where we see this relationship play out (Abrahamsson and Bertoni 2014: 127). Yet this could be problematic because many South Africans would be offended by being presented with this idea of a human being one with 'compost' as they struggle so hard for their right to dignity, which is often challenged by exactly undignified living conditions.

Many South Africans are still unfortunate to be living in conditions where compost is a big part of life and poverty is rife within communities neighbouring national parks (Mavhunga 2008: 416). Togetherness in this framework means the coming together of two separate or individual beings that share a space and work together to create something that is sustainable in an environment where the Anthropocene is taking over (Abrahamsson and Bertoni 2014). The issue I seek to address is that of togetherness in the bushveld, of safari guides, their guests and the natural platform they use to create images and possibly tell stories and educate people on the plight of the natural world.

The current reaction to global warming around the world is quite astonishing, peace agreements are being made, and policies are being put in place to help combat it and so forth. But the result from years of careless consumption and waste is showing up on our doorsteps. The droughts throughout South Africa over the past year have been such results, the over consumption of animal products throughout this country and the mistreatment of the land for mining and waste dumping purposes. We are starting to recognise the problems and the recognition of our connectedness brings about this reaction to global warming and the Anthropocene movement (Haraway 2003). This is a movement in which Haraway (2003) emphasizes that we should be 'loving across otherness' which in the context of my research plays a vital role because it shows how the relationships between humans and non-humans are shifting into a humanitarian frame. Haraway (2003) tries to recover the idea that there is something enlightening and emancipatory in this relationship played out between humans and non-humans. Haraway (2003) explains that loving an animal is not only situated in a white middle class society, but rather there is something at the core of these relationships which is hugely emancipatory, as it is about understanding the other without forcing the other to become like only you, it must be mutual.

Methodology:

The methodological approach for this research was a fairly straightforward. The approaches taken to gain the data needed for this research paper included the likes of a very classical Malinowskian approach: participant observation (Malinowski 1922: 8). The way I achieved this was by spending time with the guides at the lodges I visited in June of 2017. We spent time drinking coffee together as well as talking about their life histories, some animal stories, and previous guests. This method was hugely important because it is was how I got to know the safari guides individually and it allowed them to tell me their stories from a position within this particular system about their journey to becoming a guide and what sorts of experiences they have now. Questioning the guides about their training was important in finding out what happened during their training process and what kinds of knowledge they had about the bush before going into their training. Coming from neighbouring communities and learning how to handle tourists once in the domain of the framed experience, paired with a previous understanding of the bush, allowed some guides to alter their safaris.

Researching what was inside the frame and what was outside of the frame was challenging because most of the time the two merge into one another. The most important method I utilized was that of visual and audio aid such as my cellphone, a photographic camera and a note pad to capture the interactions I witnessed. The note pad was used very scarcely because it was close to impossible for to constantly take down notes while driving through the bush in a land cruiser.

I spent between three to four weeks at the two various field sites, which consisted of permanent/free lance safari guides. My interactions with the guides happened on occasion, sometimes between three to four days apart, which was not ideal for me but I had to make it work. Lodge X*[3] and Lodge H*[4] are both situated in the Greater Kruger National Park are where I spent most of my time observing and chatting. The camps are situated on reserves in the Limpopo province, which is one of the countries richest, most diverse areas for wildlife viewing. I was able to go on the daily safari drives and walks with the guides and their guests. Joining in on the two activities allowed me to gain access to a space of

[3] *Lodge X was used as a pseudonym to hide the lodge's identity.
[4] *Lodge H was used as a pseudonym to hide the lodge's identity.

communication and story telling, where I could clearly see what is going on in this frame. I did not succeed in doing as many interviews as I had hoped, because gaining access to private game lodges is not easy task. There were many roadblocks preventing me from gaining the access I needed at a specific lodge in order to conduct two interviews with guides. The Mpumalanga Parks board was one of the roadblocks I encountered, thankfully the lodge was willing to have me there but waiting to hear back from the board stunted my research period. One of my concerns was the imposition of my questions onto people like safari guides who are generally only concerned with animals and not so much with humans, but it turned out that most people found my research very interesting and were more than willing to speak about humans.

I have an affinity to what is framed by the images I am researching, but in saying that I forced myself to deconstruct this frame by diving into what was outside of it. I am aware of the tension inside this frame and my own racial positionality that represents the tension I am talking about. By being quite sensitive to this tension and what was outside the frame, I believe truly showed in the outcome of this research. I also did not want to present my assumptions to any of the participants that there are tensions within the system, because I did not want to create internal tension for myself if I did not find any tension in the field. The question of this tension is an interesting one because the responses I had from safari guides were very different and generally opposite to what I had in mind. I am still unsure if that is because they were trying to keep up with the image they were paid to portray but never the less this was the way my research turned out.

To truly explore whether or not Donna Haraway's (2003) posthuman/compost theory shall work in this South African post-apartheid, conflictual safari setting, one should engage with the theory in the field. Posing questions to the safari guides about this topic was difficult to put in motion because the only interview I did was a short thirty-minute one. In the thirty minutes I did not manage to come around to the posthuman theory I so badly wanted the answer to. The Posthuman theory is as much of a theory in this context as it will ever be, because it sounds fantastic on paper but to bring it across into this field is a challenge that requires my participants to read and understand what the posthuman is. This would have taken too long, but academically speaking it makes a lot of sense.

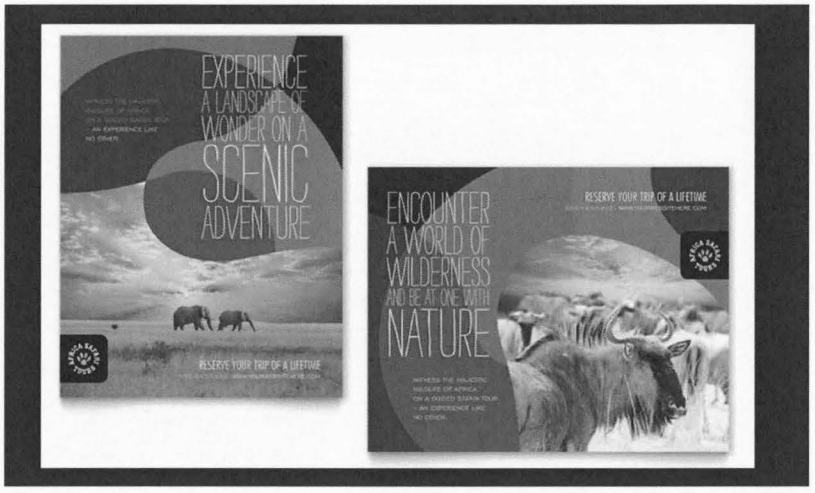
I have decided to use the 'Ethical Guidelines and Principles of Conduct for Anthropologists', Anthropology Southern Africa (2005) and University of the Witwatersrand 'Guidelines for Human Research Ethics Clearance Application (non-medical)' as a guide for my own ethical dilemmas in my research. Issues will arise and have already arisen to the fact that I am a white female body wanting to research the lives and experiences of both black and white safari guides in a space that is not normally researched from a humanitarian point of view.

My experiences in the bush are quite extensive because as a child, teenager, and young adult my family and I would frequent the bushveld often. Obviously my knowledge is not nearly as extensive as the safari guides I encountered because this is their livelihood, but my basic knowledge of the bushveld did come into use a few times. Some of the guides I encountered have indeed been gifted with the knowledge of the bush like no other and this needs to be dealt with much respect. By this I mean they were born into the rural areas of the Limpopo province, where they grew up being around wild animals and the bushveld. I interviewed a total of five safari guides for this paper, and retrieved information presented by a guide called James Hendry off of YouTube on a page called SafariLive. Consent by the general managers or owners of the lodge was given to me either verbally or written in order for me to conduct my fieldwork at their lodges. Consent by the managers and safari guides was given to me either verbally or written so that I could conduct the interview with them and go with them on daily drives. Permission for this fieldwork was key because without it access will be most difficult, and as I mentioned before came into affect when I did not hear back from the Mpumalanga parks board with permission to conduct interviews at one specific lodge.

A large ethical concern of mine was keeping my own emotional involvement in animal rights movements out of this paper. My honours paper was conducted around similar issues and I kept my emotions out of the picture in many occasions, because it was my duty to do so and I believe I did the same for this paper. It was harder however as I am more involved emotionally on this topic but in saying so, for me to put some emotional feeling into such a paper could resound in a more intensive look at the topic which I have chosen. This meant also possibly using my emotions as an analytical tool for my research.

The option of providing a pseudonym for my research participants and the place where I worked was put into effect because a few people requested it. If a research participant felt as though they are uncomfortable with the research or questions they were able to, without obligation, have the option to pull out from the study. In saying all of this, it was key for me to remember and never loose focus of the theoretical literature I proposed at the very beginning because it is my framework for the paper and it will lead me through the research more thoroughly. Ethically I was also very aware of the fact that I did not want to be in anyway patronising to any one of my research participants because of my racial and economic status, and in saying this sensitivity and respect were a really big part of how I conducted this research. The biggest challenge for this research was access to specific spaces just based on the fact that government institutions take a long time to get back to you with confirmation and consent.

Chapter 1: 'The Tourist Gaze: Searching for Happiness'



The image presented on the left hand side is a flyer/poster describing the type of African safari tours one can venture on if you are a first time visitor to Africa. The flyer is a template for a safari company that wishes to create a platform to advertise its adventures. The eye-catching part about this flyer is the bright and deep colours surrounding images of animals. The images of the animals are also photographed in such a way to represent the broad spectrum of animals found in the African bush. By chosing an image of two elephants following one another with a sunset in the background, shows how in harmony they could be with one another. They could be a mother and daughter or son, or a couple with the smaller one being a female and bigger one being a male. The advert paints such a pristine picture of the African wilderness, from the wide-open landscapes, the open blue sky, orange hues of the sunset, and the absence of humans. It represents every bit of what Africa is supposed be like. The image on the right hand side captures a herd of wildebeest going about their daily grazing, but they are represented in a way that makes them appear unique and completely unperturbed by what is around them. The photographs or rather the content of the photographs are pictured right in the centre of each flyer, and this is done purposefully to attract the attention of a reader or adventurer.

Ahmed (2010) would suggest that this flyer is a typical example of how adverts try to capture a happy spectacle. There is a serene calmness about the images and the emotive words such as "wonder," "adventure," and "wilderness." This could be compared to the happy 'norm' that Ahmed (2010) enlightens us about. The animals are the ultimate representatives of the African bushveld. The language used, the bright colours, and the images of African wildlife pulls at the hearts of its spectators, because it implies that anything attached to natural spaces awakens particular spiritual feelings such as fear, wisdom, gratitude, and many others. The poster essentially captures what is going on inside

of the safari frame. The image projected by the frame is that of the untouched pureness of wild animals in their natural environment. The emotive sentences such as "Reserve your trip of a lifetime," and "Witness the majestic wildlife of Africa on a guided safari tour – An experience like no other" alongside the images helps boost what the frame is trying to capture. It captures what the industry looks like from the inside, the quality moments, picturesque scenes and peaceful animals that look as if they have never encountered another animal or human being in their lifetime.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse and critique examples of advertisements with content that represents what a 'tourist gaze' appears to be. This chapter will focus closely on Sara Ahmed's (2010) theory around happiness in her book "The Promise of Happiness," because I want to centre my argument on the presumption that happiness is sold as a commodity in the safari industry through various ways of advertisement. Another paper I will be using in this chapter is "The Gaze, Spectacle and Ecotourism" by Chris Ryan, Karen Hughes and Sharon Chirgwin (1999), as it discusses an interesting analogy of the tourist gazing at the spectacle through a preferential funneled lens. This chapter will also discuss how spending a lot of money to go on safari can alter the spectacle of the safari. The money spent on a lavish safari experience brings about nostalgic and happy feelings especially if the safari companies express their involvement in nature and community conservation. The thought of the natural environment being this 'untouched paradise,' where nature meets luxury, is fascinating because it is a censored image that portrays only the good side of the industry. This is understandable for the company, but what about the people whose lives have suffered under the building of this 'untouched paradise'?

Advertisements for tourism have to play along with the creation of a 'happy' spectacle because they need to attract attention from foreign tourists. In South Africa for instance the tourism market is so popular that many people, 4.4% of the population (from Stats SA) makes their living from it. Tourists seeking out safari adventures constitute the biggest percentage of the total tourism and in each province there are at least one or two game parks where specific animals, birds and plants can be viewed. In order to be sure that an environment is kept in its 'natural' state, extra initiatives such as conservation and ethical ways of practicing tourism are produced under the healing of ecotourism. Chris Ryan, Karen Hughes and Sharon Chirgwin (1999) state that ecotourism brings about feelings of happiness and pleasure to those who are lucky enough to travel to countries where the

natural environment is a popular tourist destination (Ryan, Hughes and Chirgwin 1999). The spectacle that is created through these pleasurable and happy experiences is said to come from the 'tourist gazing' at the natural environment, and this is going to be discussed further.

'The Gaze, Spectacle and Ecotourism' by Chris Ryan, Karen Hughes and Sharon Chirgwin (2010, 159-160) explains the 'tourist gaze' as being "both partial and holistic". They explain what they mean by "partial and holistic" in this quote: "It is partial because it ignores the complex interaction between history (of the people in the area), flora, and fauna that make up the site. It is holistic because it deals with a sense of timelessness of those things natural. But it is simplistic because it does not generate a spirit of inquiry into the nature of relationships" (2010, 159). What they are saying is that the 'tourist gaze' has a very one sided view of nature and the natural environment with regards to the well-being of the animals, plants and spaces that make up these natural places (Ryan, Hughes & Chirgwin 2010). The idea that tourists are seen to be partial, holistic and simplistic to particular parts of the natural environment, goes hand in hand with the notion that whatever is consumed, such as the vistas, fauna, and flora, is in fact a commodity (Ryan, Hughes & Chirgwin 2010, 150). This paper along with a couple of online adverts and books on the tourism industry will be used to analyse whose 'gaze' this type of tourism focuses on in order to sell its product.

The importance of analysing the advertisements of safari lodges is to show where the focus is put on: the big five, and luxury safari travel. Advertisements, judging from the conversations I had with various tourists and looking up online sites such a Tripadvisor, play a massive role in influencing tourists to feel a particular way about a certain place or environment. Each lodge caters for specific needs and wants, ranging from R1, 500 a night all the way up to R20, 000 per person per night where the service, food and accommodation is promised to be of the highest standard. The higher end lodges set their sights on creating the ultimate experience of what they assume to be 'western' ideals of pleasure. The measures taken to ensure that guests are having memorable experiences spent at a lodge is done in the hopes that they will return or better yet encourage their friends and families to visit. The reason I say this is because guides and managers from the various lodges I visited have asked me to "please write about us on Tripadvisor, and don't forget to tell your family and friends about our lodge. See you again soon."

The second edition of John Urry's "The Tourist Gaze" (2002) was of immense importance to my understanding of the 'tourist gaze'. This book describes and defines what it means to be a consumer of the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 2002). It opens up new avenues to explain how the 'tourist gaze' in the safari industry is in constant construction. Urry (2002) uses a previously employed concept such as the 'medical gaze,' but in this chapter his theory will be used to explain how the 'tourist gaze' is put to practice in real life instances of tourist engagements with a landscape or an urban environment (Urry 2002, 3). His paper journeys through the historical creation of the modern tourist (2002). The way in which a tourist is represented in it is important for what it means to travel to a country with a socio-political and historical setting like South Africa where there are still differences between various ethnic groups, religions and classes of people. This book is of relevance to this chapter because it argues that when people travel they encounter different cultures, objects and images that have been projected through a historical frame. These different layers of tourism ultimately produce feelings of pleasure and happiness, and this is what Urry (2002) aims to achieve through his analysis of the modern tourist.

The final book I will be using to analyse this chapter is "The Promise of Happiness" by Sara Ahmed (2010). This book has been the driving force behind this chapter because in it Ahmed (2010) discusses a clear and concise understanding of what it really means to be happy in today's society. Ahmed (2010) says that happiness, as we know it, comes from conforming to the 'norm,' which in many instances is actually the reason why most of us are in fact unhappy. The idea is that to be a happy person yourself, you need to make others happy first. However when that happiness is challenged through friction amongst social norms with activism such as antiracism, feminism, and queer bodies, there is an unbalance in normal social relationships (Ahmed 2010). The book plays an important role in discovering what exactly is being left out of the frame or, in this chapter, the 'tourist gaze'. The aim is to decipher how tourists are influenced into buying into this happiness through advertisements, which portray a 'happy' spectacle, but leave out other pieces of information, such as inequalities in society. It is also important to discover what makes Sara Ahmed's (2010) understanding of happiness relevant to the happiness created in the safari industry. I will also explore where and why this happiness is created for tourists.

Where does this happiness originate?

Happiness is a feeling long sought after because all of us have been taught that the only way to get through life is to be happy, and in order to achieve happiness we need to adhere to the rules and regulations set out for us by our families, friends and institutions (Ahmed 2010). The aim of our happiness is to make others happy. This being said the safari industry does just that, safari guides, and general staff all aim to please guests and create a 'happy' and pleasurable environment. The kinds of interactions I observed during my fieldwork in the bushveld were fascinating to me because I had never understood the real reasons why tourists enjoyed being on safari so much. Some might say that analyzing this industry and the tourist affect is slightly unwarranted, but in my opinion it is important to explore and describe these reasons because of the effect this industry has on local communities, both positive and negative, and on the environment with all its animals. Why are tourists, local and international, seemingly so enthralled by seeing the big five in real life and not merely on a television screen? The thrill of seeking out wild and dangerous animals is one way of advertising an experience, but there are other more prehistoric nuances that give this natural space an alternative adventure. Seeking out tranquility and calm away from a busy life, away from other human beings, is a major selling point for many lodges.

The safari industry creates this requited representation of the happy spectacle. If you are willing to pay this amount to stay at a luxurious lodge, then they will provide you with this life changing experience. But it is the spectacle upon which tourists can turn their gaze, that draws people to go on safari and encounter animal's first hand during activities such as game drives and bushwalks. These encounters are advertised in magazines, on the television with documentaries about the African wilderness, online sites such as Tripadvisor and Bushbreaks, and social media platforms such as Instagram and Facebook.

Advertising such as this promises a particular spectacle; an example of this comes from a YouTube channel called SafariLive where one can watch a live safari with real guides and presenters from the Sabi Sands near the Kruger National Park and the Masai Mara in Kenya. One of the presenters said and I quote "Both of these areas are havens for this continents inspiring wildlife" (James Hendry 6 February 2017). The choice of words used to describe Africa's wild animals and its landscape is undoubtedly enticing to someone who has never visited those nature reserves or this continent before. Thousands of people watch

SafariLive everyday, and many of their loyal viewers go to Djuma in the Sabi Sands where it is filmed and they visit the presenters and animals that they have come to know so well. This particular platform has been utilized perfectly by the show, because they create a world away from home, which is representative of a life before cities, chaos, and stress. The show takes you on a morning or sunrise safari and an afternoon or sunset safari, which lasts for about three hours each. The presenters try and keep the show as natural as possible, showing its viewers all kinds of scenarios. If there happens to be a carcass or a kill on the live safari, they will warn the viewers of the sensitive content. There is only one animal that they are not allowed to show on their live drives and this animal is the white rhinoceros. They have to comply with this because they are not allowed to give away the position of their rhinos to potential poachers who are still attacking the Sabi Sands and the Kruger National Park. What they are portraying on their channel is an experience of passionate travel, extraordinary wilderness, thrill seeking adventures, and calm sunsets.

This 'happy' spectacle has many platforms such as the ones I mentioned above that portray what the safari industry is supposedly meant to be. My research portrays an interesting turn in the spectacle because it looks at how this space could in fact be a product of a long historical conflict between lodge owners and the local villagers, but this will be discussed in following chapters. This is where the 'happiness' Ahmed (2010) writes about is challenged.

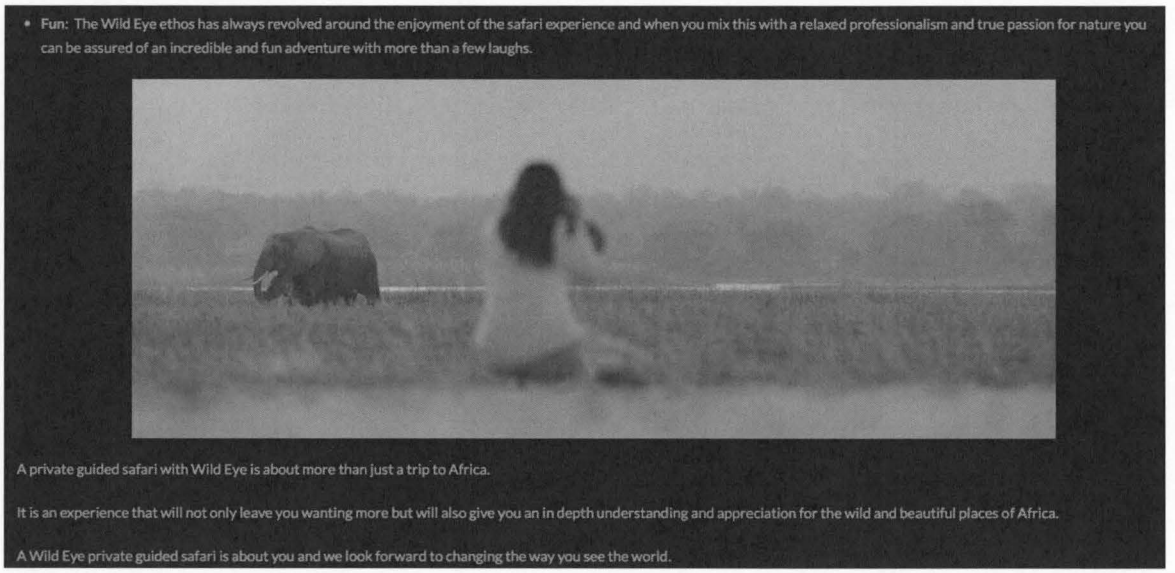
Ahmed (2010, 4-5) introduces us to a man called Richard Layard, who was known as the "happiness Tsar" because he made the statement that "the best society is the happiest society". He took the lead in the happiness theory where he describes what a 'perfect' societies goal should look like (Ahmed 2010, 5). This perspective can be seen to apply to western societies such as rich Americans, the British, the Nordic countries, most of Europe and a few other countries around the world, but unfortunately not in Africa. How is it possible that one should measure happiness by whether your society is growing and achieving when most of the worlds societies are impoverished and dealing with corrupt governments, mainly due to colonialism which made the rich countries rich? But in the largely African based safari industry, happiness is sold mainly through images projected about animals, the landscapes and the overall experiences and adventures at a lodge. The initial advertisement of this chapter portrays the rolling landscape with the iconic animals attached to it. The vast open spaces with herds of antelope and elephants, brings to mind

images of childhoods books and animated movies, and reminiscing about the time when this planet was as it is being portrayed in these images (Garland 2008).

Buying into the ideal safari adventure is about a feel good experience where the rustic bush meets luxury. The ingenious idea to create a space where tourists can spend a lot of money, and are made to feel detached from reality is simply another way that westerners can conform to an unrealistic ideal of a 'pure and untouched' landscape. This brings me back to the 'tourist gaze' (Ryan, Hughes & Chirgwin 2010). These landscapes are somewhat known for being tranquil and relaxing places for tourists, local and international, to spend time in the rustic or rather untouched bushveld (Urry 2002). An important quote by Urry (2002, 3) goes: "Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered." Although this quote is a simple statement it confirms how tourism and the experience of being a tourist, is about pleasure and fantasy within the places that are being gazed at. The safari industry is one of those important places to witness this 'tourist gaze (Urry 2002).

It is also no surprise that websites such as Tripadvisor exist for the sole purpose of recreating this framed image of the African wilderness. Many travellers give their own accounts of their "Relaxing yet wonderful connection with nature" (a review by moodleysaras24 on Tripadvisor about their stay at Kapama River lodge) on these websites. My own experience at various lodges confirms this, because as you are about to leave, staff members ask, "please won't you review us on Tripadvisor, thank you, and see you again, goodbye"- the stock standard send off in many lodges. Tripadvisor is one of the most popular travel sites because of the helpfulness of reviews and personal images of a location, but because these reviews are only captured after a person's safari experience so they will not be discussed at large in this chapter.

A niche market:



Tourists coming on safari typically spend a generous amount of money on travel, lodges, food and beverages, and on the many available activities. Many companies make money off tourists wanting to do specialized and private tours in specific areas or to see specific animals, and one such company is called *Wild Eye* (pictured above). This company specializes in photographic safaris around the majority of South Africa's game reserves and parks, but also to other African countries that are big in safari adventures. The image above is an obvious one - a woman, on foot, holding her camera pointed at one of the most famous big five members, the African elephant. The image is a screenshot of the company's website advertising their photographic safaris, through a series of pointers on what one can experience while on a privately guided tour. This company uses emotive language in their sentences such as the satisfying feeling of excitement, passion, and a sort of *joie de vivre,* and we can see this in the following examples: "in depth understanding and appreciation for the wild," and "You can be assured of an incredible and fun adventure." Their safaris also come along with a hefty price tag, ranging from thirty-two thousand Rand per person for a six-day photographic tour in a private game reserve. In many people's eyes this amount is worth every penny as if the above advertisement suggests, "we look forward to changing the way you see the world".

The advert pictured above caters for a very niche market in the industry. The type of genre that it is aiming at is a photographic safari. Very specific and very exclusive because the

safaris only include around two to five people, and these people are only on safari to take photographs alongside you. The kind of experience that is promised by this company is solidarity with nature because you are all alone and intimate with the wilderness. The idea of being able to get personal and intimate with animals as shown in the advert is a thrilling and daring one, because it would make you feel like a real wildlife filmmaker.

This advertisement highlights the important argument that I am trying to make with regards to the creation of a feel good experience. The creative positioning of the woman with her camera in the centre of the picture and the elephant just off centre indicating the woman is in charge of the image. The rather convincing language tops off the anticipation of a 'happy' experience with words like "professionalism," "passion," and "appreciation". Ahmed's (2010) theory about the production of happiness being a product of privilege is very clearly projected in this advert – available to the rich only. Downes (2012, 232) suggests that the production of privilege in this advert speaks to the many structures that have been "undone and remade in the light of the production of a neoliberal world". What she means by being "undone and remade in a neoliberal world" is that through a privileged lens the advert is able to recreate itself, and project an image that speaks to a niche market that are in favour of free-market liberal capitalism (Downes 2012, 232). After all "A private guided safari with *Wild Eye* is more than just a trip to Africa, it is an experience that will not only leave you wanting more but will also give you an in depth understanding and appreciation for the wild and beautiful places of Africa."

Two ends of the spectrum:

The other way in which safari lodges create a 'happy' spectacle is through the advertisement of conservation strategies. Many of the privately owned lodges are situated deep in the bushveld, creating a sense of a remote, untouched wilderness. Companies advertise bushwalks and walking trail safaris instead of the mundane game drive experience. What this does to a person going on safari is the sense that you are causing the least amount of damage to the environment than if you were driving around the bush. For those tourists who feel more obliged to contribute towards the conservation of land and animals, this would be the perfect fit for them. It makes them feel good about themselves, allows them to feel as though they made the right decision in chosing a walking trail safari

instead of the stock standard safari on a vehicle. But the way that conservation of the local people, their livelihoods, and the environment is advertised is a key factor in prompting persons from overseas to go on safari with a specific company.



The image to the left hand side is screenshot of an Instagram post by a safari company called *&Beyond*. This company is renowned for its exceptional service and commitment to its clients around the world. They have over 25 lodges throughout Africa and overseas in other wilderness areas. The post was eye-catching because of the interaction between the African woman and the white woman pictured above the writing, but also what was important in this post was the use of emotive phrasing such as "Be a traveller, not a tourist". You can see that the interaction between the two women is an amiable one, but the image is a striking one because we see an interaction between two people that were most likely never to have an interaction such as this if it were not for the company that organizes these types of tours in villages. Underneath the image are concise and to the point sentences about the need to learn another culture's language, and of course supporting a really great cause by "adding to the value of these poor peoples lives".

Although the post is not directly about conservation, there is an underpinning emphasis on the need or want to help the people whose land you are visiting, and this is primarily about conservation. It is an ingenious strategy because what the lodge is trying to do is make you feel good about your contribution to the land, the people and the animals that you will encounter, while spending your money to stay at their lodge, and this is important for the

advertisement of a safari company. This advertisement actually shows some of the issues, which have been kept outside the frame compared to the previous set of adverts that portrayed unpopulated landscapes and sunsets, that are being included into the frame of the safari gaze- however they enter the frame only in so far as they are able to still produce but not upset the happiness of the experience.

Urry (2002, 3) suggests that because we look for the 'unordinary' in all of our tourist experiences, it creates a gaze that can be pleasurable but at the same time beneficially reproduced over and over again. This is what the above image does to its viewers, constantly reproducing a 'happy' spectacle that allows people to feel good about themselves while contributing to the system. It is an easy way to pull at the heartstrings of people who are in need of feeling good, of wanting a memorable experience coupled with doing something that could potentially benefit the lives of others. Downes (2012, 232) discussing Ahmed reminds us that: "Ahmed turns the situation around to understand the promise of happiness as a process of concealment that hides inequalities and justifies the oppression of 'others' under the rubric of the 'good life'". This statement couldn't be truer for the image presented above, because it clearly marks out the 'good life' of the tourist/traveller. The portrayal of the white woman and the African woman highlights underlying injustices of what the African woman may still be facing today because of the colour of her skin or the country she lives in. I am not suggesting that this was the intention of the post when it was posted, but one has to look deeper into the meaning and underlying issues that come along with it.

Going back to the tourist gaze, it brings in ideals about where the tourists choose to situate their gaze depending on what they prefer. The gaze is always focused on particular things at different times in various places. It is always changing, but the one thing that remains the same in this instance is that tourists still want to see all of the Big Five when they go on safari. The main selling point of any lodge in a game reserve is the Big five. The reason for this is because they are creatures out of the ordinary (Urry 2002, 3). The will to conserve these animals is another major selling point for lodges with the Big Five, especially the black and white rhinoceros. There is a particular gaze in this spectacle and that is of the conservationist/environmentalist and the consumer/tourist, and each person can represent both or either one of these gazes. The happy spectacle and tourist gaze are ways in which the safari industry sells its product. As much as we will try to convince ourselves that we

are not part of modern consumerism or conforming to the normality of the industry, once you book and pay for your safari adventure you have been grasped by its tenterhooks of pleasure, relaxation, and the treasure trove that is the African bushveld.

One of South Africa's, and probably Africa's, most renowned safari companies is *Singita*. This brand has some of the most expensive lodges in the business because of their uniquely built and extraordinarily serviced safari experiences. Besides the fact that their lodges boast some of the most beautiful architecture in the African bush, they also claim to be solely about conservation. The image on the left hand side clearly points this out, as it is the opening statement. There is no picture to accompany the text because it is a snapshot from their website, underneath all the information about the different camps, images of the accommodation, the food and beverages, and the different activities one can do while at these lodges. This mission statement comes as an afterword to the more important information about the lodges. The reason I believe why they do this is to advertise the lodge itself first and then advertise that they are a conservation company, so as to make their guests feel better about where their money is going. Once again the words used in the description of the advertisement are so inspiring and emotive that it would be a difficult task to simply ignore what they are trying to accomplish.



I find it most fascinating that in the above image and in the previous image both companies use the word 'traveller' as opposed to the word 'tourist' to describe the experience. According to my Apple dictionary the word 'tourist' means "someone who travels for pleasure," and the word 'traveller' as "someone who is travelling or travels often". Therefore replacing 'tourist' with 'traveller' adds to the sensation that when visiting these lodges you are not only there to experience pleasurable things, but you are there as someone who has experience and knows what they want out of their travel escapade. Urry

(2002, 7) adds to this argument through his discussion of the 'mass produced tourist,' explaining that before modern travel men were only 'travellers,' and the concept of a 'tourist' came later on through increased access to modern forms of travel. This created 'the mass society tourist,' which is why companies such as *Singita* and *&Beyond* use the term 'traveller' instead of 'tourist'. It signifies the return of the lone adventurer or the discoverer of all things natural and untouched.

One of the ways to interpret how the safari industry is advertised as a 'happy spectacle' was to ask and listen to what the tourists expected before their planned safari and what they actually encountered? These two important questions could pave the way for a spectacular safari experience in the eyes of the tourist, but something that tour operators tend to do is over exaggerate what kinds of animals they will see, what kinds of people they will meet and the areas that they will be visiting. Other sources of information such as television channels like 'National Geographic' and 'Animal Planet' have a role to play in what is expected by international tourists from a safari vacation. They act as secondary adverts in that they entice people to visit these African wilderness areas. But what is portrayed in these television shows is often not what guests would normally encounter on a day-to-day basis on safari. All the National Geographic programs and various shows about Africa and the rest of the world's wilderness areas, take months, even years to be filmed in order to obtain the best material to be made into a series or documentary. This analysis of information gained by tourists will be of better use later on in the following chapters, but it is something to keep in mind when thinking about what ideas and images they already have about nature before they go on their first adventure.

The dilemmas presented here in this chapter, and throughout the following two chapters, are going to be discussed at large, for example the unjustified movement of Africans from their homelands to create natural spaces, to the frontstage and backstage activity around a lodge. But to conclude this chapter it is important to piece together what I am constructing out of the analysis of various kinds of advertisements presented. The answer to that question is simple - for me to show how the safari industry uses the tourist gaze - to paint a picture of the most 'pristine, pure, untouched, and majestic' wilderness areas of South African game reserves. What this chapter has also done is to show that going on safari in a wilderness area such as the Big Five game reserves has many of its own problems. These problems are especially present when it comes down to whether or not tourists are leaving a negative impact on the environment and the animals surviving off the land. The other problem, which will be discussed in a later chapter, is the inequality of the people involved in creating the safari experience, but how creating a 'happy tourist gaze' in this spectacle can take away any bad feelings (Urry 2002). The 'tourist gaze' is supposed to be about pleasure and adventure, which is exactly what the safari industry does while still situating itself in an area that has long historical injustices. This being said it is clear that this chapter has attempted to discuss what it means to be a tourist in Africa, with the socio-economic and political dilemmas, that warrant a gaze such as the one in the safari industry: an unrealistic one. Sara Ahmed's (2010) challenge of the age-old notion of 'Happiness' has been instrumental in the development of this chapter because the safari industry creates a happy, yet contradictory space for tourists. There is no doubt that Ahmed (2010) has been the most influential in the understanding of where happiness is created and why. In conjunction with the various advertisements mentioned in this chapter, Ahmed's (2010) book allows 'Happiness' in the safari industry to make more sense, because of the spectacle it creates for its guests while they are in the African wilderness and all the issues that are being left outside the frame that would necessarily upset the image and the experience.

Chapter 2: 'Maestros of the Bush'

The safari guide that accompanies paying guests on their safari adventures are what I would consider to be one of the most important people to tourists' experiences in the bush. I chose an influential book called 'Legendary Safari Guides' written by Susie Cazenove (2014), for this chapter, to discuss the importance of having a brilliant guide take you on safari, as they are the ones creating one part of the spectacle. This book shows how particular stories told by safari guides about nature and the animals encountered on safari can change the way tourists perceive their environment, thus changing their experiences by creating a 'happy' spectacle. This particular chapter will be looking at the differences between black and white safari guides' stories of the bushveld and how they put forward particular images of the animals they are showing off to their guests. What I hope to achieve with this information is to argue the fact that safari guides use marketing strategies, like on social media, as ways of conducting their safaris. In conjunction with Cazenove's (2014) book I will bring in instances of my own observed fieldwork conducted while on safari with guides and their guests, and the kinds of interactions they had together. Guides always ask their guests what kinds of animals they are expecting to see, or particular scenarios they wish to encounter on their game drive, and this is a space I would like to look into for this chapter, as it is important in bringing in the 'tourist gaze' because it forms part of why guides are so willing to create these scenarios. Together with ethnographic material and the YouTube channel SafariLive, I will journey across the influence that safari guides have on the industry.

The safari guide is an integral part of the wildlife experience that tourists encounter while they are on safari in the wilderness of the African bushveld. This 'incredible and majestic' place as many have called it is home to an array of different fauna and flora that is well known to every safari guide. The training that guides receive is rigorous, lengthy, and intense with many various fields of expertise such as gun and rifle handling, a required PDP license, how to handle big five encounters and which birdcalls belong to which birds. But a guides two most important jobs are to protect and entertain the guests that he has on his vehicle with him until they leave to go home or onto their next bushveld experience. On every game drive that I was allowed to take part in during my fieldwork, I observed each guide alerting their guests to the safety precautions that they must remember while in the vehicle and outside the vehicle. The guides are required to take first aid courses as part of

their training, and they are taught how to handle a rifle in dangerous situations with big five animals. I was fortunate enough to observe this training during the fieldwork I conducted for my honours paper in 2016. However, the main objective for this chapter is to analyse and argue the point that African and white safari guides tell different stories of the bushveld and the animals within this habitat. The difference being that white guides are more likely to talk about the facts of a particular animal and black guides are more likely to focus on the cultural significance of a particular animal. I make this statement because I have witnessed these differences first hand both in my weeks of research and as a tourist myself over the years. In conjunction with this chapter and its ethnographic data, the non-fiction novel called 'Legendary Safari Guides' by Susie Cazenove (2014), Erving Goffman's (1969) 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life,' and a few smaller articles, will argue that safari guides create a framed image of nature, based on their role as a guide driving around their guests for a specific safari lodge.

This chapter is an important one for the insight into how safari guides create fantastical scenarios for their guests' pleasure while on drive and on walk through the bushveld. Whether it is to take guests on an adventurous walk down to the local watering hole with a sunset in the background or to a leopard kill sighting in a large Leadwood tree, both of these experiences are conducted in order to create a 'happy' spectacle for the paying guests, expecting to see fantastic things. To a local tourist the sunset or the waterhole may not be as spectacular as the leopard sighting but to the foreign guests the sunsets may be the perfect place for them, as they have never witnessed a 'perfect' African sunset in the bush before. It is about choice and about reading your guests, which is what Cazenove (2014) relates to in her book about showing certain guests particular things, and then showing other guests everything because their experiences in the African bushveld are limited. Lodges teaches their guides how to create this kind of experience for their guests by speaking to particular marketing and social media cues based around that lodge, and the supposed effect this has on guests is 'happiness' and 'peace of mind' knowing that by being at this lodge they have done the right thing.

The aim of the argument in this chapter is to show how safari guides perform the role of an active player inside the frame (the frame being the safari industry), and telling stories of the bush to create a happy spectacle. What kinds of framed experiences are they projecting?

Are they projecting ideas about animal's behaviours? The more cultural and economic uses of such wild animals? Particular animal stories they themselves or their co-workers have experienced while being a guide? Or before their guests arrive are they screened on what kinds of things they can say? This is an incredible strategy to secure the return of some guests, as well as recommendations of the lodge to family and friends overseas and within South Africa. Some more luxurious lodges go to enormous lengths to secure the return and recommendation of their lodge because it will create more revenue and jobs for all those involved, especially for the lodge owners.

I would also like to take the opportunity in this chapter to discuss how the safari industry is constantly being filtered through a very fine sieve. What I mean by this is that from what is shown and seen on social platforms, the advertising of a lodge or park is often not what is happening at ground level. Further discussion of this will be done in the following chapter but in order to kick-start the discussion I will be using Goffman's (1969) theory to look at how the frontstage and backstage of the safari industry plays itself out. We can see this from the disempowerment of the people living in the parks due to historical events, the lack of respect for existing local guides and trackers, to the secretive culling and hunting that happens while tourists are not around on many private and government owned parks. Hunting is a topic that will be lightly touched on, because it is not a main focus and a subject that is quite sensitive to many, I will not be discussing it with more than just a mere sentence or two. This theory Goffman (1969) introduces in his book of frontstage and backstage behaviours, was used to examine how the restaurant staff's behaviours in a hotel on the Shetland Islands, changed from being on the floor, serving customers versus in the kitchen behind the doors and walls, in other words the backstage (Tanner and Timmons 2000). This is why I have chosen Goffman's (1969) theories to examine in this chapter and the following chapter, it relates to my observation of how safari guides behave in front of their guests versus behind the scenes when they get time off, in the lodge kitchen, or while they are relaxing with their colleagues.

It is important to address the issue of race here, because it questions the kind of consequences that African safari guides suffered under the building of these game reserves. Having a job as a safari guide means something completely different to an African guide, because they come from different socio-economic backgrounds. What I discovered was that

being a guide to them was far more significant and meaningful than being a white guide that has come from the city, and the reason for that is because of the historical consequences that apartheid had on African guides. They have been able to reclaim a position that was once denied to them because of their race. What will be most interesting for this chapter is to see whether or not safari guides do indeed tell different stories between racial groups, and if this makes a difference in guest's reactions and experiences of being in the bush for the first time and/or after many experiences in the bush.

The Conductors:

The 'Maestros of the Bush' comes from my understanding of the safari guide acting as a conductor of the bushveld, more particularly of the safari experience that guests enjoy. The passion for this understanding comes from the book 'Legendary Safari Guides' by Susie Cazenove (2014), in which she revisits the many safari guides she has experienced over her years traveling through the African bushveld. Cazenove's (2014) book was the inspiration for this paper, her explanation of how a guide can either 'make or break' your safari experience speaks worlds of truth, because as an avid safari goer myself I have come to realise the same truth. Diving head first into the stories told by particular guides I encountered during my fieldwork in the bushveld, around the area of Hoedspruit which is a town approximately 60 kilometers away from the Kruger National Park, I will try to understand more about who these men and women are, where they come from, why they chose to become safari guides and what their stance is on matters such as the human and animal rights contradictions I am arguing for?

The conductor is the person in charge of the position that he or she is in, be it the conductor of an orchestra, the conductor of a train, and in this instance the safari guide. The reason I call the safari guide a 'Maestro' or conductor is because they control and direct their vehicle, their language, and their sightings to suit that of the observers, in other words the guests on the vehicle. The reason why this analogy is so valuable to this chapter and the safari industry as a whole is because it allows for the ethnographic data to enhance the argument that safari guides do matter, a lot to the industry, and can create the best or worst reviews for a lodge that solely makes its money from guests. Cazenove's (2014) book clearly agrees with this statement because the entire piece is about promoting these guides,

the lodges and areas where they work. The book also mentions where the guides themselves come from, and what hardships in life they had to overcome in order to be a guide and work at the specific lodges where they found their jobs. Understanding where a guide comes from, their socio-economic and political upbringing also comes into play because it is important to make sense of the different stories they tell about animals and the lives that they live inside of the frame.

The first safari lodge, where ethnographic data and field work was collected, I called Lodge X in order to protect the name as well as that of the participants that agreed to take me on game drives. The guides working at Lodge X were all African men that resided in the nearby villages; the only white people working at Lodge X were the managers and front desk reception personnel. This dynamic in itself is an interesting but not unique one, because we see these power relations play out in many other instances, for example at restaurants, clothing shops or grocery shops in malls, and of course in most if not all hotels across South Africa. I have not yet read a paper that examines these power relations in a South African context before and more specifically the safari industry, so what will be interesting is to see how that plays out for each person I encounter.

The first game drive with Lodge X takes place on a large part of wilderness land called the Manyeleti Game Reserve, which forms part of the Kruger National Park, and is about thirty kilometers down the road from the lodge. On the vehicle is an older white South African couple with their mother and a white German lady of around twenty-eight years of age, by herself, and then of course was me sitting in the middle of the cruiser with my photography camera and cellphone on my lap ready for some fieldwork and wildlife action. This ethnographic piece taken from my observation of the beginning of the drive will open up the floor for my own gaze into the stories and images presented to us by our guide Goodman*[5] (an African guide):

> Goodman begins to describe to us the various details of the reserve and the other lodges on the property. He then asks us all if we have any expectations for the drive, and the South African lady goes "seeing all animals tonight," and the German lady goes "the big five, please like elephants and lions," Goodman responds with "ya, you

[5] *Goodman is a pseudonym to protect this guide's identity.

> are in the right place, but I cannot promise anything, all I can do is try my best. Good luck and enjoy the safari." We drive off some five hundred meters down the dirt road to the right of the gate and into the Manyeleti; we immediately see around thirty to forty female impalas and one male on the right hand side of the road all moving in unison towards the road in front of us. Goodman immediately starts telling us about the roll of the impala males in their herds and how the strongest ones compete for dominance over the right to mate with females are particular harems. He tells us that "females give birth to lambs around September and when they do they move away from the herds to allow time to imprint on each other so that they do not lose their moms." He also says "impalas are very interesting animals because if there is a drought in the area, mothers can prolong their birth dates for a month longer so that their babies can grow to be healthy, but if there is not food around the mother can keep the baby for longer in her stomach until the baby dies and then comes out and gets put back into the soil." He goes on to say, "even though these animals are predated on by all the predators in the park they are the most abundant, and they are very tasty. If you haven't tried them, you can try them. This is one of the local favourites, their meat is lovely," everyone has a chuckle at this. We are about to leave when Goodman spots a pair of warthogs kneeling down on their haunches to eat some grass, and he again immediately starts telling us about the males and the role they have in protecting their female from other warthogs and predators. He knew the collective name for warthogs and gave us more facts about what their warts are used for, where they sleep and what they eat, and also that females only give birth to four piglets because she only has four teats. Goodman then says "this is also one of the ugly five animals, as well as the wildebeest we saw when we first came inside," and everyone has a giggle on the vehicle including myself because we were not expecting him to say that.

This ethnographic piece highlights the guide's interactions and comments about the specific animals he comes across on safari with his guests, both local and international. The reactions from the guests also highlight what kind of experiences they are looking forward to and when Goodman specifically asks them what they would like to see. It is evident that difference between the local and international tourists is important here relating to what they ask to be shown as this is an indication of what ideas about the bush they have been

given or seen before going on safari. What is fascinating to me was how clear it was that Goodman's job as the safari guide is to entertain with humor and enlighten his guests on the animal's behaviours as well as extra information about them that we may have not known, like the fact that impala females can hold back their birth dates for a month incase of severe drought and shortage of food.

Asking guests about their expectations and hopes before a safari is a risky business because what might ensue is that the requested animals may not be seen that night or over their entire safari getaway. Doing this could potentially contradict a statement that might have been uploaded to a social media page or the World Wide Web from previous guests adventures. But in saying this, a guide's responsibility is to ensure that his guests' fantasies are somewhat met during their safari adventure. This includes showing them the big five and other animals that have been requested by guests, so in order to make sure this is the experience they take away from their safari adventure many lodges make sure they know where at least one of the big five animals are situated in their reserve. And of course the guides must go and seek these animals out during the day while the guests are relaxing at the lodge; this is an indication that the guides have to buy into this image of the bush that I am trying to establish through these ethnographic pieces. Goodman's case is a unique one because Lodge X is not situated on its own game reserve; it is a small fenced off piece of land next to the Kruger National Park without any free roaming big five animals. Every game drive is done either in the Kruger National Park or the Manyeleti reserve; it is therefore not possible to go out during the day looking for any animals. The guides from Lodge X communicate with the guides from the lodges in the Manyeleti and get help in that way, or they must find animals without previous sightings.

The distinct images that are produced by safari guides about the animals and nature, which surrounds them in their daily lives, is important in understanding what is inside of the frame they produce for tourists. Whether a guide prefers to talk about the behavioural patterns of a specific animal or they tell stories about an animal that is important in their local culture for various reasons, there is an image produced that a tourist will remember forever about that specific animal. And the interesting part about these images is that some animals will be regarded more important or valuable than others. The reason why I make this statement will be obvious from the next ethnographic piece taken from a sunset safari

with our guide Franz*[6], an African man around forty years of age:

> As the night went on there was not too much to see except pitch-blackness all around us. But as we were bumbling along one of the many dirt roads in the Manyeleti, we come across a spotted hyena running along the road in front of us. Distinctive with its hunched back and awkward, blunder it galloped through the night, and we followed it down the road with the cars headlights and our flashlight. Surprising to me, Franz's comment about the animal was "in our culture we believe that the tail of the hyena is meant to bring us good luck and good fortune," not the fact that they are nocturnal and diurnal animals or that they prefer to run down their prey in order to tire it out unlike the cats. The excitement of the guests was evident in their "oohs" and "ahhs" as well as from Franz who was eager to keep up with it as it ran along. Eventually the hyena ran off into the bushes on the right hand side of the vehicle, and to our disappointment disappeared into the night without a trace. The cool wind of the winter night rushes through the vehicle and we are forced to put on our heavy jackets. This does not deter Franz as he continues down the road, but all of a sudden slams on breaks and, with his spotlight shines the strong beams into a large tree on the right hand side of the road. He yells "LEOPARD". In the very top branches of the tree was the leopard feasting on a kill that was dangling off the side of the branch it was wedged into. We hear something run past us in the darkness. Underneath the tree are growls and hissing sounds that sound as if a deadly battle was about to occur. We drove through the dense bush, just barely missing a few stray branches, and watched as another young leopard jumped up into the tree out of harms way. The growling did not cease, and what we found on the ground near the base of the tree, was the mother leopard of the two that were already in the tree. The growling came from the mother leopard that was trying to deter the hyena away from her babies. She seemed unscathed by the incident, but the hyena came around the tree towards the vehicle, and the one young boy sitting next to me says "look at his ear, his ear is gone." The female, protecting her cubs, must have done this. Franz radios the other vehicle from Lodge X to come into this sighting. But he then turns to us and says "we cannot stay here for long because we are not allowed to go off road in this part of the Manyeleti, and if someone sees us we will get in trouble." Franz turns vehicle around so we can

[6] *Franz is a pseudonym to protect this guide's identity.

> take our last photos and then rushes out of the bush, blindly, without any lights for fear that another safari vehicle will spot us. We make it back onto the road and all of a sudden we break out into excited chatter about the events that just occurred. Franz's excitement does not go unnoticed, and says "wow, me I have never seen that before, you are very lucky tonight."

This experience was one that I will never forget, let alone for the other guests who were on the vehicle. It was something out of national geographic, and so perfectly timed that we managed to see all the action in a short space of five minutes. It was the perfect African bush safari experience, and because our guide went out of his way to show us the action, it sums up perfectly how a guide will try to fulfill the fantasies and wishes of his guests at any cost. In this scenario the image being framed is representative of how those in the safari industry aim to please their guests, even when they understand the consequences. This evidently shows how safari guides buy into the idea of creating a spectacular experience in order to generate more money for him. What it also shows is the reality of how frontstage and backstage works in the lives of the guides who unfortunately do not earn enough money from their profession (Goffman 1969).

Happiness is created inside the frame and allows people to feel good about them, but outside the frame lies a different story completely and this will be discussed at large in the next chapter. But before that I must bring to attention an important piece of information from the ethnographic installation above: Franz refers to the traditional importance of keeping a hyena tail to bring good fortune and good luck. This valuable statement also proves my theory that African safari guides tell different stories about the natural environment compared to white safari guides. The white guide that was interviewed for this paper (Anthony)*[7] agree that African guides have knowledge about the animals and nature that is different to the stories they tell, because of their upbringing in the bush. However they both stand up to the fact that their acquired knowledge of animal behaviour and qualities is stronger because of their theory training through FGASA (Field Guides Association of Southern Africa), and rigorous field training. The African guides I mention throughout this paper did not receive FGASA training like the two white guides mentioned above, because they are expensive courses and the African guides were unable to afford

[7] *Anthony is a pseudonym to protect these guides's identity.

this type of training. This shapes what kinds of image guides portray. It is not to say that they get different training but FGASA training is very detailed about the behaviours of the animals and it also allows guides to do walking safaris, for which there is a huge market in the industry. All the high-end lodges require their guides to have at least level 2 FGASA training, and this is where the African guides I mention in this paper are at a disadvantage. There are guides, who have been sponsored by companies to train through FGASA, and this has benefitted many people but it still leaves out many others. The white guides that come from the cities take many years to perfect their tracking skills, because it is an art that can only be learned through practice (Liebenberg 1990). Whereas many, if not most, of the African guides that have lived in the neighbouring villages to these wilderness areas, have been tracking their animals such as cattle and goats for many more years (Liebenberg 1990). Therefore an African guide that has had FGASA training couple with his years of tracking experience could provide a safari experience unlike any other.

Soul food:

It is important to understand that tourists are willing to pay top dollar for all kinds of interactions. Whether it is visiting a local school in the nearby village or physically riding on the back of an elephant to view other game species, it must therefore be said that people working in the industry buy into these ploys as well. Take for instance an encounter I witnessed during my fieldwork last year at Lodge X in the Timbavati region of the Kruger National Park:

> We finally pull back into the entrance area at the lodge after a long, hot, tiring day out in the Kruger National Park. The land cruiser takes her final breath as Franz kills her engine and parks her at the entrance door by the reception area and we all clamber out of the vehicle one sluggish foot at a time. As we were pulling into the lodge gate I noticed some children from the small village across the road, come running out from their homes and into the busy Orpen road that connects Hoedspruit, Bushbuck Ridge and Acornhoek to the park. I am convinced it is because they have had previous interactions with foreign guests. Once each of us had gotten off the cruiser, Franz stood by the car and said to us "thank you very much for coming on safari with me today," his stance slightly awkward as he gazed over us all. The two white elder

> American ladies, who were sat next to me on the safari drive, were elated at the fact that the children were running towards us as we pulled into the lodge. The lady that was sat right next to me, a blonde American woman with a heavy southern accent, dressed in the typical khaki safari gear, told me that she and her friend brought with them colouring in books and colouring pencils with them from Johannesburg. I am really not surprised at this as I think to myself "typical of westerners to think that they need to educate, teach, and help the poor black African children of the desolate village". This is of course a cynical thing for me to be thinking, because of course what these ladies (in their minds of course) are doing is bring a bit of colour and light into their possibly dull and mundane lives. Watching this scenario play out in front of me I think to myself, I do not criticise these women for doing what they are doing, but I do feel sick to my stomach that these children are being conditioned into behaving like this when they see white tourists from foreign places. The two ladies run inside the lodge and disappear for a few minutes, in the mean time I go to the toilet. I come back to the entrance to find the American ladies busy sorting through bags full of books and stationary to give away to these children. I jump back into my own car and start it so that I can make my way back to my bush home, and as I take off down the tar road, I have a glimpse of the two ladies making their way across the road, and being surrounded by little children, all wanting a share of the prize.

There was no resistance from the guides or from the manager Kim*[8], because they have come to acknowledge how much these tourists enjoy and take pleasure in trying to 'help' the children whom they see fit. The staff allows such events to take place because what they are creating is a space for these tourists to feel good about themselves. This is important to market their lodge as one that cares for its community thus creating a framed possibly frontstage experience.

It is also understandable that a guide's job is to sell the safari experience, because they are part of the marketing strategy. This means that one must project particular images of what is on offer, but when tourists visit lodges in big five areas, they have very definite ideas of what they want to see. James Hendry a white safari guide (20 August 2016) from SafariLive, the interactive safari YouTube channel, had this to say about an interaction with

[8] *Kim is a pseudonym to protect this manager's identity.

one set of guests:

> "This chap looked at me, he was the kind of fellow who you immediately dislike on site because he looks at you as if you are his servant, which I suppose guides are in some ways, but you know by and large people are quite interested in what you have to say because you take the time and trouble to come to a safari lodge. Anyway this guy looks me up and down once, he says, he was right from the east of London, he says 'is you our new driver?' So I said 'uh well I'm your new guide, yes', he says 'I come here, I come here to see a kill, right? I seen kills on the TV, I came here to see a kill. I told my guide and I said: look here I wanna see a kill. The guide says that he'll do his best to find a kill, that's right. Did he find the kill? He didn't so I come back here and I wanna know where is the kill? Why didn't he show us a kill?' Well he says 'this is totally unacceptable, I pay all this money and now I wanna see a kill, I bring my girlfriend here, she also wants to see a kill and we ain't seen a kill, we seen nothing here. All we seen are some elephants, some rhino, couple of buffalo and some lions lying on the ground. I wanna see a kill.' So I look at this fellow and I said to him 'well I have been in the bush now for close on ten years and I've seen a kill three or four times.' He said 'don't gimme your stories, I don't care, I wanna see a kill.' And his girlfriend at this point who has got more make-up painted on her face than the sort of average house, so she's also, I think she probably had early botox because it wasn't the rage all back then, she's had quite a lot of the early form, so her face was completely immobile she was unable to move through these lips that our Lord did not give her. She said through these tiny lips 'I also wanna see a kill, I came here to see a kill, we wanna see a kill.' So I thought I understood what she meant and I said 'well we will do what we can in the morning.' This was after their evening game drive. So off we went in the morning and it was beastly hot, we saw one steenbok, one duiker, and that was all, in four and a half hours of game drive. Well the red faced, angry irritated east ender I think left the lodge, if I'm not mistaken that very day, complaining deeply."

This interaction between James Hendry and his guests is a confirmation that televised advertising, any advertising for that matter, can be falsely leading many people who do not understand how complicated and lengthily it is to film documentaries that follow a kill.

Where are the lines drawn in a situation like this? What are the repercussions of this kind of situation? It is possible that the couple from the story might go and write a bad review of the lodge on Tripadvisor. The staff, or rather the guides, suffer the most from a situation such as this because they are merely doing a job that is requested of them on a day-to-day basis, and guests such as these can make your life particularly difficult especially when you are not getting tipped at the end of the day, which is where most guides make their money.

An interesting comparison would be to look at how the incident with the leopard sighting I experienced with Franz, compares to the incident above with James Hendry's guests. The leopard sighting was a scene out of a National Geographic documentary, it does not happen often, but James Hendry's guests had only ever watched National Geographic and therefore wanted to witness what they had seen on the television. The fact that Franz's reaction was of utter shock and surprise proved to me that the images portrayed of the African bushveld are sometimes warped with unrealistic expectations. Franz hardly believed what he saw that night, that he risked his job for a once in a lifetime sighting. The question lies in what kind of moral duties do we still have to look up to at the end of the day, from the guide's point of view, to the guests going on safari. To be able to go on safari, while down the road, a couple of kilometers away there are impoverished families and communities who struggle to get by each day. The moral duty of human beings is to recognise when another human is being immorally treated by the very institutions that say are helping, is shaded by the idea that a safari vacation can bring happiness to one person through a gaze which is so particular and singular.

The aim of this chapter was to show how safari guides from various races can and do create different experiences for their local and international guests. Guides that come from privileged backgrounds tell particular stories about animals based on their training with access to much more behavioural information, and those from underprivileged backgrounds rely more on their traditional and cultural stories about animals to tell stories about them. This is an analogy made obvious to me from the ethnographic material presented here in the chapter above, but more importantly it is a fact that most guides will acknowledge themselves. Coupled together with the need to generate a good enough income, guides are roped into using the marketing strategies of a lodge such as good conservation efforts and showing off animals at any cost. The fact of the matter and thanks to Cazenove (2014) for

enlightening me is that safari guides, no matter their colour, are crucial members of the industry, because they can create a moment in time that will never be forgotten by their guests. Making sense of this important fact could alter the way a person going on safari interacts with their guide, and allow for greater appreciation of the acquired knowledge and skills they have from their training, but more importantly from their traditional backgrounds.

Chapter 3: 'Behind the Scenes'

The aim of this chapter is to distinguish how safari guides, primarily African guides, are bridging the gap between contradictions of being previously removed from their homelands and their current experiences as storytellers in the safari industry being run in their former homelands. The safari industry as we know it today was born from hunting parties, which colonizers would go on in their colonized countries as an extra curricula sport (Akama, Maingi and Camargo 2011). As most of us know there has been a long history of injustice in African countries for countless centuries before us, but unfortunately this problem persists today (Akama, Maingi and Camargo 2011). The postcolonial effect is still prevalent in each African country that practices wildlife tourism, as Akama, Maingi and Camargo (2011) argue in their paper "Wildlife Conservation, Safari Tourism and the Role of Tourism Certification in Kenya: A Postcolonial Critique". The paper was written to focus on the Kenyan safari industry, but because there are many relevant and helpful mentions about the rest of Africa, I will be using it as a point of reference for this chapter. The discussion and argument for this chapter will be to use some of the important information on safari tourism from the above paper, in conjunction with ethnographic data collected during my fieldwork.

I do believe that the safari industry still leaves out certain people from the frame they want to produce. I do not blame them for wanting to create a holistic and peaceful image for the safari that they are promoting, but where is the justice for the people whose lives have been negatively affected by the industry? This is where my fieldwork and interviews with safari guides that I encountered, plays an important role in understanding whether or not there is still an injustice from their standpoint. The industry does paint a very well oiled picture of the involvement of the lodges in their neighbouring communities, and promoting community conservation, but it can't mask the many issues still prevalent today. Two of the guides (both African men) whose stories will be used in this chapter are from the neighbouring communities surrounding the lodges they work at, and the other two guides (one African and one white) are from other parts of the country. The stories and life histories that were sketched out for me by these four particular safari guides are going to be most beneficial in shaping the outcome of the chapter and the paper as a whole. Each one of these men has an important and special role to play in the creation of the safari frame, but

what happens outside of the frame is the most important in understanding the way guides tell stories about animals and nature and ultimately about their own lives.

This chapter will also look at how safari guides make sense of working in an environment that provides a passion driven job, but fails to pay its staff as well as it should. The guides are, in my opinion, the most important and influential part of any safari because they create the entertainment for the guests, but they also protect and keep the guests safe from harm. This fact alone should be a good enough reason to pay safari guides double of what they actually earn, and one of the guides in this chapter speaks about how unreasonable the industry is. This topic is never discussed with outsiders because it is seen as unethical by the lodge where they are working; this shows how the guides are constantly self-censoring their stories. This applies to both white and black guides, as both are under paid; there is differentiation here. It also shows how they are being made aware to not disturb the frame and therefore not bother the tourist with an unhappy image. This will be discussed at a later stage, but it is important to take note of it now as it is of great consequence to the dynamics between white and African safari guides. The question is do these guides feel the contradiction or not or is this feeling being overridden by a different rational, namely the importance of having a job, or is it simply being silenced?

The reason why this chapter needs to touch on the history of how game reserves came about, is because it plays an important role in understanding why some of the African safari guides work in that environment. Elizabeth Garland (2008) reminds us that when colonisers first came to Africa they exploited much of the land, the animals, and as we have all learned the people as well. Garland's (2008) paper focuses on the "structural inequalities that characterize the position of Africans within the global symbolic and political economies of African wildlife conservation". What she also tries to do in the paper is distinguish the inequalities in order to move beyond the notion that conservation be simply linked to colonisation or a neocolonial stance. The paper discusses how western ideals have created this imagery of the African wilderness that perpetuates a pre-modern way of living in need of preservation. Unfortunately it now falls on African governments to prioritise this goal of preservation (Garland 2008). A goal that was in fact primarily prioritised by western countries, due to the way in which the Western world measured itself against it's colonised African countries (Garland 2008). This paper is important because it allows my argument, suggesting that African people were subject to forced removals from land, and

consumption of conservation, to have meaning and hope for those who have been at the hands of this injustice.

To simply assume that the people involved in my research feel these contradictions would be unfair and unreasonable, which is why the question of this contradiction must remain open-ended. As much as the structural condition prevails I have to recognise that I am a white South African academic who is bringing these ideas into the frame, and I do not wish to force my opinions of the industry onto the people whose lives depend on it. Most of these safari guides take pride and care in what they do, and tarnishing that image that they have created for themselves would be disrespectful as much as it seems wrong to ignore the contradictions on which the safari industry is built. This chapter is thus simply going to discuss and analyse the conversations, as well as the observations made throughout my fieldwork. I will be taking great care to be concise and personally detached as much as possible. Even though this chapter is an emotional one for me, I do believe that bringing in some aspects of my own encounters with previous safari guides will be helpful, but also keeping in mind that a nonjudgmental approach to the industry is best.

Emotions are powerful phenomena that allow me to analyse the reasoning behind the contradictions between human rights and animal rights. How and why do animals slot into a more important position than people in many cases of African conservation? Garland (2008) believes that emotions are a powerful tool the west has demarcated to African landscapes and animals. The emotions felt by outsiders range from pleasure and cheerfulness to pain, anger, and discomfort, leaving Africa in a position sitting on either end of the emotional spectrum. The problem with the above statement is with the word 'outsiders,' because for so long Africa has been at the mercy of the Western gaze. That western gaze has today transgressed into the 'tourist gaze' (Urry 2002), and this is evident from the amount of white middle class to upper class travelers who visit Africa all year round. This is an observation I have made time and time again at various lodges surrounding and within the Kruger National Park. This observation was made at three different lodges near the western border of the Park: Lodge X from the previous chapter, Lodge H, and Lodge T. At each lodge I gained insightful information for the ethnographic evidence and analysis that will be used to answer my main research question.

The additional piece that will be of use to this chapter is Erving Goffman's (1969) theory of the 'backstage performance'. The previous chapter looked at his 'frontstage performance'

theory where his first observation is conducted in a hotel (Tanner and Timmons 2000). He observes the difference in staff movements, actions, and behaviours from the lobby and restaurant floor, to the kitchen and lay areas where staff is able to have normal conversations with other staff members (Tanner and Timmons 2000). These interactions are important for me to understand how safari guides perform their role in front of their guests, but also what they take away from those interactions behind the scenes. What kinds of relationships do they form outside of the frame? And ultimately what lies outside of the frame that safari guides portray to us?

Where it began:

The background story to a person's life is important for me to understand what kind of interaction I am going to have with that person, but also how they navigate through life itself. The journey through my fieldwork allowed me to encounter many people with fascinating backgrounds, whose stories I am about to share. The following narrative is taken from an encounter with my guide Franz*[9] whom I had the pleasure of driving with at Lodge X:

> Franz stops the car on the side of the dirt road. On the right hand side next to us is a huge dam that is only half filled with water and the other half empty, but covered in lush green grasses. Franz turns around to face us and says that we can get out of the vehicle now because are going to stop for sundowner drinks in this very spot. I can see why he decided to stop here because the views are breathtaking on both sides. I clamber out of the car and step down on the hard soil that is the African bushveld. Myself and the other guests gather around the back of the vehicle while Franz sets up the sundowner drinks by laying out a table and on top a table cloth. The tablecloth is designed with African animals that resemble rock art paintings that one would normally find in caves, but it is a relevant here because it marks the beginning of my story about Franz. While the other guests enjoy their beers and wine, I take my chance to engage with Franz in a one-on-one conversation about his background. I manage to ask him some questions about his life before being a guide and as a current guide. He lives in a nearby village that is not far from Lodge X, with his wife and three kids. Before Franz became a safari guide he was a mechanical engineer working

[9] *Franz is a pseudonym to protect this guide's identity.

> for someone in Johannesburg, but he eventually decided to quit his job and follow his passion of becoming a safari guide. "The benefits," he said "are important because I can be with my family, but in the beginning it was not so easy". Franz started a guiding course at a lodge down in the most southern area of the Kruger National Park, which is called Malelane. "Every single day I commuted up and down to Malelane which is about four hours of driving, but I found a job there after my training so I did this for about three years. Soon my wife and I agreed that I could not keep driving there every day and now I have this job doing freelance guiding and I am also the part time mechanic at the lodge". I ask him about the options that he has as a guide and he tells me "I would look for a better job in a better paying reserve but I don't have my FGASA training as it costs too much to go and do it without funding. I could become a field ranger which is much cheaper but I want to be a guide taking guests on walks". He goes on to say, "Without my FGASA training the knowledge on the individual behaviours of animals is limited and this stops me from finding a job at a better lodge".

The above narrative is a short but descriptive look into the life of a guide who was thrust into the field through a series of events. These events may not appear to be related to one another but in fact if Franz had been given the opportunity to become a guide through funding, he would have had his FGASA training already. He would not have had to become a mechanic, and he would be ultimately making more money at a different lodge. However this is an unrealistic solution because Franz is currently living the former reality. For me to assume that his life would have been better off in a different reality defeats the purpose entirely, because of the socio-political history of his homeland and by the pure foolishness that anyone should pity anyone else's life. This conversation with Franz brought to my attention the way guides tell their stories to guests, what is left out and what is included. Which parts are more important or relevant to a guest than other parts?

The industry does not include individual stories such as Franz's in their mission statement because it takes away from the [utopian] frame that is supposed to persuade tourists to visit Africa. These stories are important to bring to the surface because they allow an inside view into the lives of the people who suffer under the prejudices of their historical circumstances. I speak in the present tense because many of the social injustices imposed on locals are still around today. An example of this social injustice would be that the

majority, if not all, the lodge and landowners are Caucasian (white) men (Akama, Maingi and Camargo 2011) who have either inherited their land or they are wealthy western investors. The above situation is problematic because Franz, I assume, is meant to put forward ideas of nature and his 'peaceful' life as a guide, but giving away this information about his personal circumstances to someone who is not involved in the industry could potentially jeopardize this image. Lodges that claim to help their communities through employment and funding towards their schools and hospitals, never give information about individual cases of people who need help. It would be interesting to know why this never happens, because surely foreigners would be more willing to help people with very specific problems and stories. Ahmed (2010) would suggest that these individual stories which show the contradictions and sacrifice might upset the happiness of the moment. A safari guide talking about his own unhappiness could spoil the fun for his guests.

The frame is created by the safari industry through media and social contexts, but the behaviour of the guides is epitomised in the 'frontstage' and 'backstage' critique that is made by Goffman (1969) in 'The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life'. Franz is bringing his 'backstage' behaviour into what should be the 'frontstage' behaviour of his interaction with a guest, and this is most fascinating because it shows that he does not distinguish between the two behaviours. Franz showed me through our interaction that Goffman's (1969) 'frontstage' and 'backstage' theories are there to be critiqued and should be critiqued, because we live in a time where the two can often merge into one. A critique of the entire system needs to be made in order for people like Franz to be able to tell their stories without being shamed or condemned.

Franz's narrative on his four-hour trip to and from work plays an important role in understanding the tension found between the inside and the outside of the industry. This kind of travelling can make it impossible for someone like Franz to concentrate on his training or work, which can result in a lack of communication and reduced interactivity with his guests. The lack of interaction could lead to his demise, because guests are unwilling to tip someone that has not given them the ultimate safari experience nor given them all of the attention they feel they pay for. This tension symbolises the historical placement of local people like Franz and their families with modern day coping mechanisms such as the ability to travel and the ability to work in any environment. However it is still a tension because there has been no real improvement in the issues

mentioned above: people must still travel enormous distances in order to obtain a well paying job, and the funding for such excursions as well as the training is immeasurable.

The lived experiences of safari guides does not necessarily reflect the kind of tensions that are mentioned above, but what is important to keep in mind is that through this type of storytelling Franz can build an image of himself as someone who is strong willed and determined to be the best guide. He comes across as a proud and humble person that enjoys what he does, but his reaction could also be a tactic by the industry to encourage guides to feel proud of their jobs, which could enhance the experience they organise for their guests. The real question of course is whether or not Franz can afford to feel this tension? I believe that he does have the liberty to do so, but whether or not he actually has questioned his situation in the same way that I have is a different story all together.

The following narrative is a conversation I had with a different safari guide, whom I am going to call Excellent*[10], from Lodge H one night after our sunset game drive. Our conversation started when I began to ask him about where he came from and why he decided to become a guide. Excellent's answers were quite shocking to me at first, but only because I had not had the opportunity yet to understand his perspective on the circumstances that led him to become a safari guide. The lodge where Excellent works is situated in an area not too far from Lodge X, giving me the opportunity to understand the history and situation of the areas. This conversation occurred at the dinner table after the sunset safari:

> I made sure I was sitting right next to Excellent tonight because I didn't want to yell across the table while asking him personal questions. Around the big dining table sat my sister, my mom, an elderly South African couple, an Afrikaans family, Excellent, and me. It was a chilly evening so we were all wrapped up in big coats with our scarves and blankets that were given to us by the lodge before we sat down. We all took up our positions around the table and began to discuss the evenings adventures. While we chatted about which sightings were our favourites, the waitresses brought to the table some bread with olive oil and vinegar, as well as our dinner menus and drinks menu. The air was buzzing with chatter from our table and from the table next to us, mixed with the sounds of the bushveld and the blazing bond fire behind us. The

[10] *Excellent is a pseudonym to protect this guide's identity.

> waitresses came around to each of us to take our orders and while they did the head chef came out from the kitchen to explain each of the meals. Once the chef is done she goes back into the kitchen and I immediately turn to Excellent who is on my left, and ask him "so how did you become a guide?" His answer came as a surprise to me "I live in the village next to the reserve, and when I was a young man, my friends and I would climb through the fences to look for food. We wanted to hunt impala or bushbuck to bring back to our village, but we had to sneak into the reserve in the late afternoon and camp out at night in the bush with our friends until the morning. There was no other way for us to get this food legally so we did it almost every three weeks. This one night my friend turned to me while we walked through the veld and said in Shangaan 'brother I don't feel comfortable, something seems wrong,' but I told him to relax. We found a bush to sleep underneath, away from the dangerous animals, but before we climbed under the tree there was a loud bang close to us. White men started shouting at us from behind the bushes and they forced us out the bush we were under. They held guns to us and shouted at us to put our weapons away, so we did and then they made us lie down on the floor. I was very scared because I was thinking they were going to shoot us or take us to the police, but they checked our pockets for any weapons and loaded us onto their trucks. The men took us to a training camp to learn about the bush, the nature and all the animals. This was about twenty-five years ago and today I am guiding full time, no more hunting for the bushmeat."

I was stunned to say the least, how is it that this man's life took such a turn? Was it fate? Or was it something that was bound to happen eventually? Excellent's journey to becoming a safari guide is tainted with the deeply oppressed, historical regime of the area of that time. There is something to say in that: how did he manage to build a passion for what he does when he was forced into it? There are so many problematic points in the above narrative because as I said before, he was forced into loving nature and being passionate about his job, and no doubt he certainly is, but why would he be if his passion is only for the benefit of his gazers: the tourist. His life has been benefitted greatly I am sure, but there are so many ethical dilemmas in this narrative that overshadow the good parts.

Akama, Maingi and Camargo (2011, 283) would argue that Excellent's situation is a pure example of the "postcolonial critique that is concerned with the perpetuation of colonial practices, influence and power in the postcolony through tourism". There is no power to the

people or community conservation in that. Yes this incident did happen during apartheid, and Excellent was one of the unfortunate people to have had to be subject to its regime, but in saying that, he himself is grateful for how his life turned out, and I quote: "This life is better for me, it is better for my family, and it is better for the animals. The animals are safe in this reserve from poachers because they are protected, and this is the best thing about my job knowing that the animals are safe. My family was pushed off the land and they were sad back in those days, but they see how it has changed my life for the better." His backstage behaviour allows him to be enthusiastic and positive in his frontstage behaviour. But still the dilemma remains, and it is reminiscent of the unequal gap between wealthy and rich safari goers, and the poorer previously displaced safari guides. As much as Excellent's story is a heartbreaking about his struggle during his early years, the story is still scripted in such a way that it has a happy ending which overlaps the conservation claim many lodges put forward. In this way it can indeed enter into the front stage, leaving the ugliness of his situation in the past.

Excellent epitomizes what the industry sells in its image, but he does so in his own unique way. Each safari guide has a different way of telling stories, as shown in the previous chapter, but the difference lies in what kinds of stories are told based on the background of each guide. Some of the guides, more so the white guides, give behavioural traits of the animals they are showing their guests whereas the African guides are telling more stories about animals and the traditional uses of animals to their guests. An example of this difference was given in the previous chapter where we encountered a hyena walking on the road in front of us, and Franz claimed that the tail of the hyena brings a person good luck and good fortune. A white guide would not have this kind of knowledge because their upbringings are so different, even if he was born to a family that lives out in the bushveld, it would be close to impossible to have this insight. The passing on of such information could be an example of what Goffman (1969) would call 'backstage' theory, because this type of exchange would most likely happen behind closed doors and where guests are not allowed. This detachment of 'frontstage' and 'backstage' is also intriguing because a lot can be said and done in between the two spaces that will determine what kind of experience is laid out for a guest (Tanner and Timmons 2000).

Not according to plan:

The safari guides I encountered on my journey of discovery were from all different walks of life. Some were local African men that had grown up in the veld, herding their family's cattle and, some white men that were both born in the big city of Johannesburg and made their way to the bush or happened to be the sons of farm owners. Growing up in a city or on a privately owned farm is somewhat relatively different than growing up in a rural village because the lifestyle is so different. This information plays a role in determining who gets to play the character of the safari guide and the tracker, which are designated according to formal training and guiding or tracking experience. One of my interviewees is a pure example of one of those men that grew up in the bustling city of Johannesburg, and then left to pursue what he thought was a lifelong dream of working in the bush. It's funny to think that these city living men have this burning desire to live out in the bushveld, wearing khaki all day long, and tracking animals, whereas many if not most of the African men become guides because it is a job they know they will be consistently good at and bring in good money. I had the enormous privilege of having one of these magnificent African guides on one of my safaris to the Sabi Sands. John*[11] has been guiding for almost forty years in the Sabi Sands, but comes from an area further away from this one. It is important to understand that the following ethnographic data provided below from the interview I conducted with the white safari guide, Anthony*[12], shows how his situation has allowed him to feel a different kind of contradiction to that of John.

Anthony worked at a private game lodge in the same Greater Kruger Park area, which is close to Lodge X and Lodge H respectively. The lodge where Anthony worked is well known for their Big Five sightings and close proximity to the animals that are encountered But what most people and especially tourists do not know is that safari guides and trackers are under paid and ill-treated. Anthony made it very obvious throughout the interview that he was very unhappy where he was working because of the bad pay, the unfriendly staff, the unruly and ignorant guests, and the ridiculous ways in which they were sometimes treated by head staff. Anthony became a guide through his passion of the bush and the animals of the bush, but what he did not expect from this journey was to eventually dislike his position so much that he eventually resigned.

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11 * John is a pseudonym to protect this guide's identity.
12 *Anthony is a pseudonym to protect this guide's identity

The conversation we had about his expectations of becoming a guide was interesting because he says "A lot of us get into it cause it's not about the money but cause we love the bush. I've never been worried about money but it's come to the stage where it's becoming like work for me and it's not nice. I feel like when I'm leaving Joburg I got to come on leave and sometimes I actually like cry cause I got to leave tomorrow. My mom and them they don't make it easier like 'aww we will see you in 3 weeks.' I'm supposed to be excited going back to the bush and 'I'll see you guys later,' but sometimes it's really like I'm in tears and I don't want to leave, I have to go back for work. You know it takes 1-2 days I get back into routine but then the worst is going to Joburg for a week and coming back to work and everything's like unbalanced." It is clear that he dislikes where he is from this excerpt, but it is a personal dislike towards the place of work and not so much the system. His unwillingness to go back to work, even though it is in the environment that he loves the most, is shaded by the fact that work is becoming like a chore and is no longer a pleasure in his life. Many people working in the safari industry do not have the luxury of finding work to satisfy their life long dreams, but someone like Anthony does and when his plans do not go accordingly he blames the industry. His critique of the industry makes the critique of the spectacle that much more interesting.

I wanted to understand from Anthony's point of view why it is important for them to carry over the industry's image of the bush into their guiding and he had this to say "It's all about money, the thing at the end there are very few purists these days. Conservationists that care about conservation and don't care about their pockets, I mean for 95% of the people it's all about money. Conserving this area it's just so we can have big 5 in the area." Not many people will admit to this reality because they are afraid of the repercussions it may have on their name in the industry, but Anthony was clearly unhappy. What I found most fascinating from the interview I had with him was that his displeasure in the industry came from his own personal experiences of being under paid, over worked, and underappreciated. Anthony can afford to leave his unsatisfying job because of his position of privilege in the system. Others like Franz and Excellent may not have that same privilege because of the "structural inequalities that characterize the position of African people within the global symbolic and political economies of African wildlife conservation" (Garland 2008).

The interview I had with Anthony brought to light an important part of my curiosity on

whether or not African guides tell different stories of the bush compared to white guides. And the answer to this burning question is yes, because listening to Franz, Excellent, and Goodman tell stories is different in the way that they put themselves across in a very humble and appreciative way, compared to Anthony that put himself across as unsatisfied and felt unappreciated. I quote Anthony saying "All the local guys, definitely they I mean they are from these areas it's just more, it comes off as more genuine. Their English is normally not very good, but it's just more for me, it's more genuine; the stories they have I mean they know the bush better. They just know the bush. So a lot of the guys they, especially the white guys that are coming from Joburg they think they know everything but the trackers, I know my tracker. I know he knows a hundred times that I can get a PhD, but I know he knows everyday he'll teach me a new track, a new tree. So yea." Here is a typical example of how white men patronize their African co-workers. Even though Anthony is unhappy with his situation he plays the white man who is generous enough to extend a hand to the African man- but ultimately he knows the differentiation is safe. I think because of what Anthony suggested, that he may have an inferiority complex about his lack of ability to know the bush as well as his tracker, but this does not mean he values his partner any less.

John on the other hand seemed to be happier about his position as a safari guide. More often than not one can tell from a person's body language whether they are being truthful about a particular topic or not, and to me John seemed at ease talking about his life as a safari guide over the past forty years. I was unable to connect with him on a more personal level because I did not spend much time at this lodge, therefore I did not gage whether or not he was truly satisfied with his current situation. What I did notice was his enthusiasm, charisma and playfulness throughout our safari expedition with him as our guide. I was however, able to learn that John initially became a guide because his entire immediate family were involved in the hospitality industry, specifically the safari industry. John made it clear to me that he was initially very skeptical about becoming a safari guide because he wished to pursue other avenues, but he grew up at a time in South Africa when the colour of his skin prevented him from living a normal life. It was easier for him to follow in the shoes of the rest of his hospitality family, and his father was well connected inside the industry, which allowed John to get a job fairly quickly after his training. I believe this man to have had very little, if any, luxury in feeling the contradiction that his job could have posed him. This is because of his race, his ethnicity, and his skin colour. If John had the

luxury of being allowed to feel his inner contradiction to the safari industry, he most certainly would have not be been a guide.

To conclude this chapter it must be said from the evidence above, that African and white guides tell very different stories about nature based on where and how they were brought up. The skills that are passed on to African guides through generations of cattle herding and guiding can benefit the industry in so many ways. I can deduce from the guides mentioned in this chapter that the industry needs to re-evaluate how highly they value their African safari guides. The stories they tell based on where they come from is unparalleled compared to the stories by white safari guides, and this is important for the industry to keep in mind while moving forward in its quest for community conservation. Inside the industry there is still a loophole in the way it portrays itself in the media and online versus what happens behind the scenes when guests are not around. It is a process which puts people into positions that they then have to carry out in a certain job. It is also clear to see that what happens to the 'backstage' behaviour can have an impact on the 'frontstage' behaviour, and this has a lasting effect on the image that the safari industry portrays. Inside and outside the safari frame is an image of pride and satisfaction for the majority of all guides, because of the belief that they are contributing to conservation and preservation of the animals and the land on which they work. This is indicative that even safari guides are buying into the framed image that is portrayed by the safari industry.

Conclusion:

To conclude this paper, I need to bring together all the relevant themes and ideas that were discussed throughout, in order to make a concise statement on the outcome of my research. The themes discussed were: the happy spectacle, environmental injustice, conflict, and the posthuman theory. Each one of these themes brings out the layers of diversification in the safari industry, and more specifically my own ethnographic fieldwork. The themes relate to one another because they each share a place in the geographical-historical area where my fieldwork was situated.

Sara Ahmed (2010), John Urry (2002), and Miriam Ticktin (2015) assisted in the development of the 'happy' spectacle within the natural environment, and this showed how we could create happiness out of a specific 'gaze'. Maano Ramustindela (2004) and Clapperton Chakanesta Mavhunga (2008) explore the historical affects of the conflicts and tensions in the region where my research was situated. Their discussions on how the Limpopo province was greatly affected by the apartheid regime, allowed me to understand where my research participants came from, their backgrounds, and the struggles that many of them had to deal with or had to witness growing up. Donna Haraway's (2003) posthuman theory had a significant role to play in my paper because it allowed me to position this thesis in an anthropological setting. Her theories centre on the importance of developing relationships within nature and with animals, because she believes there is so much we can still learn from them (Haraway 2003). The theory is an approach to try and stop the age-old notion of 'othering,' and instead to live in harmony with one another (Haraway 2003). The problem with Haraway's (2003) theory in the context of my paper is that her findings and theory are situated in a white, middle class, American context. The theory is still relevant for particular aspects of this paper: mainly the need to conserve and protect the environment, but not as much regarding the safari guides. All the literature in this paper has a role to play situating my research in the anthropological academic arena.

To answer my initial research question it must be said that safari guides, particularly African guides, negotiate the contradiction of working in a space that had once displaced them and their families by attaining jobs in the industry and thus being able to create a better life for themselves. I must also add that the contradiction I was so longing to find in the field, was often not there. Most of the African guides showed great pride in the jobs that they had, it was really only the white guide I interviewed that was unhappy about his

situation. The image that safari guides portray to their guests- and this is all guides- is an untouched, majestic, very natural wilderness system. Images such as the tenderness of mothers looking out for their babies, to the killing of prey species by predators such as hyenas, lions and leopards. As most guides will say "it is all apart of the natural process". I sincerely believe that the research conducted in this paper could have the potential to open up new avenues in this field for other researchers. It is important to understand the dynamics of the safari industry, because being a passive recipient to the historical inequalities of this industry would be an even greater injustice.

> "We patronize them for their incompleteness, for their tragic fate of having taken form so far below ourselves and therein we err and greatly err.
>
> For the animals shall not be measured by man, in a world older and more complete than ours they move finished and complete, gifted with extension of the senses we have lost or never attained, living by voices we shall never hear.
>
> They are not brethren, they are not underlings, they are other nations caught with ourselves in the net of life and time, fellow prisoners of the splendor and travail of earth"
>
> Henry Beston.

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