Representations of Africa through Photography

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Abstract

Processes in the Global North often dictates the way that the Global South is represented, especially through photographs. While in Tanzania, I took photographs of indigenous peoples, landscapes, and scenes that intentionally did or did not fit the scope of popular representations of African countries. In response to issues of misrepresentation and incomplete narratives promoted by Americans, my study seeks to assess how people think about Africa and react to images taken in Tanzania. These photos were the main tools that I used in the study to assess how people react to images that do or, more importantly, do not adhere to their common views of and conceptions about Africa. This research project aims to add to our understanding of issues of representing African countries, people, and landscapes by illuminating how photographs can enhance or solidify Americans' pre-existing ideas. This project may also demonstrate how photography can be used as a tool to foster a broader, more complete view of Africa and its peoples.

Key Words: representation, Africa, photography, exoticizing, counter-reporting

1 Introduction

Photography is often regarded as a truthful and educational tool when it comes to representing another culture or place. People of the Global North rely heavily on photographs, along with other visual media such as films and blogs, when they form an idea about what another place is like. Oftentimes, photographs create narrow, single-sided representations and are especially problematic when painting a representation of certain areas. There are many critical and ethical issues in regard to Americans photographing and representing the nature and people of other countries, especially those of the Global South. Photographers often misrepresent them or cater to an existing narrative that perpetuates one-sided stories and views. The ways that Americans tend to think of and depict African peoples is often directed toward a focus on a single theme or idea. However, while this is a common problem in the realm of photography, people fail to challenge the images they see, accepting them as the whole story, or at least a more important part of it. There has been an increasing amount of commentary on this issue, but many of the ideas and theories within the research seem largely unknown to those outside the niche fields of art history and the politics between photography and human geography. One common trope is focusing on famished women and children in desolate villages, while another revolves around magnificent landscape scenery and majestic wild animals, usually with the absence of people. Others may include “tribal” men dressed fully in unique robes considered different and exotic or bare-breasted women with paint and beads adorning their bodies. Media and sources such as *National Geographic* hold such images in high regard, often promoting them as the whole truth and the only story. For instance, Kevin Carter’s famous image of a starving Sudanese girl with a vulture hovering nearby was viewed as an image that not only stood in as the story for the famine in Sudan, but as a narrative for all of Africa in the eyes of those in the

Global North ("Starving Child and Vulture," n.d.). No matter what trope the photos cater to, they often serve to perpetuate stereotypes that are frequently negative and even harmful.

Afro-pessimism, the idea that "'nothing good ever happens in Africa'; that her peoples possess nothing of value for the advancement of humanity" is all too often the lens through which the people are viewed and the common narrative forms a bleak outlook (Enwezor, 2006). Not only do conceptions of the African continent tend to be negative, but they are often extremely general as well. Africa is often depicted as "the Dark Continent", with the land mass as one entity that suffers from the same problems. Seeing and referring to Africa as a generalized whole strips the peoples and cultures of any individuality, fails to recognize the unique regions, countries, and borders across the continent, and leads to a somewhat dismissive mindset towards the area. Popular representations of Africa narrow Americans' views, hindering their acceptance of a comprehensive, perhaps more positive and less helpless idea of Africa and its people (Adichie, 2008).

My study aims to tackle a very small part of what I have just discussed. It aims to assess university student and faculties' initial reactions to images taken in Tanzania, both that fit into "boxes" as Enwezor mentioned as well as ones that go against the common perceptions and typical images. The pictures show mostly people, living spaces, and daily activities and I expected that they would likely elicit different emotions and reactions depending on the viewers' experiences and preconceived notions of life in African countries.

2 Background and Literature Review

2.1 Portrayal of Africa and its Consequences

Representations of Africa that are generated by the Global North tend to portray the entire continent as a single, generalized whole, failing to indicate that, in reality, Africa is made up of 54 very unique countries, accounting for one-fifth of the earth's land (Ferguson, 2006). This view can date back as far as the 1800's, if not even earlier, with the spread of the "Dark Continent Myth" which made it difficult for people of the Global North to imagine any positive rendering of the primitive African (Keim, 2008). As Erin Haney asserts, "modernist and contemporary artists have long been wrestling with the received wisdoms of monolithic 'Africanness' as it is currently posed within the remit of world history and present-day creativity. What's more, the geographic expanse of the continent should deter any attempts towards a cohesive 'African' narrative…" (2010, p. 7).

The Westernized narrative of Africa is overwhelmingly grim. People of the Global North tend to have an Afro-pessimistic lens through which they view the continent, which should come as no surprise. The United States and many European countries have a racist and exploitive history that would serve to perpetuate these ideas, seeing as negative thoughts towards Africa were considered "acceptable" for much of their history (Keim, 2008). This history is the pretense for how people of the Global North view, talk about, think about, write about, and photograph Africa, further developing and maintaining the narrative surrounding it. In a sense, Africa in its entirety has become the poster child for starvation, famine, and poverty, and at the same time, these problems have also come to define Africa (Enwezor, 2006).

In failing to challenge the general rhetoric and narratives promoting knowledge of Africa, consumers of such narratives develop notions that in turn are harmful to the true, more complex

existence of these aspects. Perhaps the most predictable consequence is the development and continuation of stereotypes. This may seem rather benign when put in such general and vague terms, but stereotypes can in fact be detrimental to those they are about and work to suppress. As Chimamanda Adichie notes, "the single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story..." (2008). She continues to assert that the consequence is that the single story denies people of their dignity and that "it makes our recognition of our equal humanity difficult. It emphasizes how we are different rather than how we are similar" (Adichie, 2008). This consistent emphasis on differences can be detrimental by developing stereotypes that not only create ideas that are continually perpetuated, but that also foster racism, hierarchical arrangements of status and power, and limited opportunities for those who are viewed in negative ways.

Stereotypes are not inherently bad; in fact "it's natural for the human brain to use stereotypes in an effort to understand something;" however, these "mental models" that we occasionally (or even often) rely on are limiting and can become "offensive, dangerous, or ridiculous" (Keim, 2008, p. 7). Eventually, the stereotypes perpetuate racism and acts against those who are viewed as the stereotyped "other." Keim asserts that stereotypes and negative ideas

> reflect on what our civilization does to us. They serve as critiques of ongoing racism and, for some, as focal points for efforts to build self-respect and community. But although such myths are understandable in the American context, they are problematic for Africa. They put 'real Africa' in an idyllic past or an isolated village. The real Africa is *neither* savage nor idyllic, and it is not isolated from urban Africa or from us (2008, p. 81).

Anthropologists even say that many representations, in media and elsewhere, and the policies surrounding what can or cannot be shown are in fact racist in and of themselves (Ferguson,

2006). Stereotypes and racism go hand-in-hand, creating a vicious cycle in which they perpetuate one another.

In their representations of Africa, photographers, journalists, humanitarian workers, and sometimes even politicians of the Global North can create an "other" that is lesser; less developed, less educated, and therefore less powerful. In doing this, these people within the Global North can maintain their power and put themselves at the top of the global hierarchy. This hierarchy is problematic, limiting those that stand at the lower tiers. To further this idea, Catherine Lutz explains how "understandings or strategies for describing human differences have helped create and reproduce social hierarchies. At the least, those hierarchies have created small humiliations and rejections, and have lessened opportunities" (Lutz, 1993, p. 3). These "opportunities" can be diverse and varied in what they have to offer. One example is that of foreign investment. Under-investment is one consequence of the negative perceptions of and associations with Africa (Ferguson, 2006). This is due to the fact that "even successful [African] countries suffer from negative information about the continent as a whole: 'potential investors lump [successful countries] together with other countries, as part of a continent that is considered not to be attractive" (referenced in Ferguson, 2006, p. 7). As Bruner asserts in his assessments of the tourism industry, those involved in the industry manipulate aspects to meet expectations upheld by consumers in the Global North and favor the political agendas of those with power (2001).

The problem of "othering" is extremely prevalent in the way that Africa is represented (Lutz, 1993). A common theme in narratives of Africa is the emphasis on differences (both negative or positive) rather than similarities (Keim, 2008). Not only does this create an "us versus them" dichotomy but it maintains and perpetuates ideas that African peoples are exotic

and an "other." Africa as a whole has been described as a place of imaginative absence, an area that is "an idea, a concept, [that] has historically served, and continues to serve, as a polemical argument for the West's desperate desire to assert its difference from the rest of the world" (Achille Mbembe as quoted by Ferguson, 2006, p. 2). In this, it is suggested that the "difference" is found in comparing aspects of "civilization, enlightenment, progress, development, modernity, and...history" (Ferguson, 2006, p. 2). In these comparisons, the Global North can look to Africa as a stark example of the "lesser" of all these aspects to which the "superior" can be compared (Ferguson, 2006).

This habit of "othering" is a historical phenomenon that has proved harmful to more than Africa. Perhaps the most prominent example and extensive analysis of this process is found in Edward Said's *Orientalism*. Although his work focuses on the U.S. and Europe (the "Occident") and their power over and "othering of" the Orient, the concepts are applicable to the way that photographers in the Global North have framed, and mostly "created", the idea of Africa (Ferguson, 2006; Said, 1978). This creation is, as Said explains, a "universal practice of designating in one's mind a familiar space which is 'ours' and an unfamiliar space beyond 'ours' which is 'theirs' as a way of making geographical distinctions that *can be* entirely arbitrary" (1978, p. 54). In this, he explains that onlookers assign roles and meanings to "relatively uncommon things like foreigners, mutants, or 'abnormal' behavior" (1978, p. 54). This is exactly what has been done unto Africa through photographic narratives. That which has been viewed as "uncommon" has been assigned a meaning that puts it in a generalized "box". In the case of Africa, it has been largely generalized as a "Dark Continent" due to its unfamiliarity, and the assumption that it will not produce anything good. In fact, "'Africa' continues to be described through a series of lacks and absences, failings and problems, plagues and catastrophes", making

it into the Dark Continent that is more of a void than a physical place (Ferguson, 2006, p. 2). Said would argue that this is also an effect of the way that "cultures have always been inclined to impose complete transformations on other cultures, receiving these other cultures not as they are but as, for the benefit of the receiver, they ought to be" (1978, p. 67). In this case, Africa serves as the "other" that the Global North can view in opposition to itself (Ferguson, 2006). All of this highlights the process of "othering" that the people, places, and ways of life in Africa have suffered from as the Global North seeks out differences and controls the narrative about them through an Orientalist discourse supported by photographs.

2.2 The Power of Photography

Africa has been represented (or perhaps discursively constructed, to be more accurate) and portrayed through many platforms in the Global North ranging from television to movies, blogs to news sources, books and magazines to theatrical plays, and even school curriculums and popular textbooks (Keim, 2008). All of these tend to portray Africa in a similar, problematic, and particular way. For example, movies often show an Africa that is largely undefined in geographic space and is "remote, exotic, and full of violence and disease" (Keim, 2008, p. 25). Television shows and movies, such as *The Gods Must Be Crazy*, rely on stereotypes, such as the rural, remote, disconnected, primitive African, to create supposedly familiar, yet mindless content (Keim, 2008). Photography is a largely studied source that has historically worked in creating such representations (Ferguson, 2006; Haney, 2010). It can be generally understood, perhaps, that "text is one form of reinforcing and/or challenging cultural ideas and/or differences, but photographs do this to a similar if not greater extent, but are often not as obvious in how they affect people's understandings and notions" (Lutz, 1993, p. 2).

Photographs are some of the most accessible, widely spread, and generally accepted works that can portray someone or something from what seems like worlds away. As Erin Haney puts it, “photography’s apparent realism [makes] it perhaps a particularly enticing and approachable medium for uninitiated audiences” (Haney, 2010, p. 8). This realism and wide accessibility is somewhat problematic when photography is used as a discourse to create apparent “truths” about a given place and its peoples. Consumers of such photographs will believe what they see in photos because of their presumed raw and unaltered nature. In constantly recreating the images that they do, Americans “encounter American cultural content that represents an American image of African culture” (Bruner, 2001, p. 893). Photographs are so widely dispersed, especially in the modern technological time we live in now, that people are inundated with such images on a daily basis. When this stage is set, other sources then also “rely on narratives that anthropologists readily recognize as misleading, factually incorrect, and often racist” (Ferguson, 2006, p. 3). So, if all of these images are of the same things, sending the same message, then those viewing the images and reading the texts will accept the stories they tell, with no reason to challenge what they see and therefore believe. They are comforted by what they know and find familiar, which is perhaps why there is such a rut in the ways of representation (Bruner, 2001). As Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie says “show a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again, and that is what they become” (2008). In fact, some argue that photographs are so ingrained in today’s society that images and films are considered the primary educational source as opposed to written texts (Lutz, 1993). It has even been said that “no medium has been more instrumental in creating a great deal of the visual fictions of the African continent than photography” (Haney, 2010, p. 8). Unfortunately, photographs can only convey so much information to begin with and then when the photographers pick and choose

what they photograph, they create a very narrow, selective, and unvaried narrative. Just as it has been said that "ethnographers, as those who write, control how culture is represented", the same can be said for those who photograph (Bruner, 2001, p. 899).

2.3 Photography as Part of the Hegemonic Process

In many ways, photographs could be seen as what Catherine Lutz calls "production sites" in her assertion that hegemony is "not so much a *structure,* but a *process* [where] cultural products have complex production sites" (Lutz, 1993, p. 11; italics added). If we view photographs as these sites and also as an authoritative (whether rightfully so or not) discourse we are then better equipped to see the role that they play in creating strongly held beliefs about the representation of Africa. Okwui Enwezor sums up the idea and appeal of photographs filling this role in his statement that

> we are interested in exploring photography's specular and blasphemous enterprise and the visual narratives that drive it, particularly if we are to interrogate the way it shapes images of Africa and uses them to telegraph reports which the global public absorbs as the events of life "over there" (2006, n.p.).

This happens through many different sources, but it is common for images to appear in television news and magazines, most notably *National Geographic*, that are especially influential to the perceptions of Africa. To begin, in the news, the stories that catch the media's attention are those that cater to stereotypes and viewers' emotions, not so much the all-encompassing images or the thought-provoking ones that challenge standing views (Keim, 2008). These stories are almost always framed in one of two ways: trouble in Africa, or curiosities from Africa, both of which highlight the negative and different aspects of the continent. The media is more likely to talk about African failure than success. Ferguson highlights this idea in his assertion that, in the few times Africa is acknowledged in the news, it is with a focus on a recent "war, coup, drought,

famine, flood, epidemic, or accident" (2006, p. 21). This makes sense in part if one is only to look at all the entities that benefit from such ideas, such as missionaries, aid workers, and bureaucrats. In maintaining a structured negative view of Africa, they can justify continuing the work that they do (Keim, 2008). As for *National Geographic,* a highly regarded magazine that is accepted as a "scientific" and educational source, the magazine has a policy for its photographs, saying that they must only show things of "kindly nature" (Keim,2008). As Africa was gradually viewed in increasingly complex ways, and developed a more complicated history, it became increasingly difficult to view it in a way that still adhered to the mantra. In effect, rather than change the mantra, *National Geographic* instead just started showing fewer, more similar things that were still of "kindly nature" - mostly beautiful landscapes and "safe" subject matter. While articles now may focus on things that are less than "kindly" in nature, there is often an air in the stories of hopelessness and they end with notes of dilemma and failure to solve the problems discussed. One such story highlights the issues local people face that stem from oil extraction yet ends with the punctuating statement that there are "no answers in sight" (Ferguson, 2006, p. 22).

This overall aura surrounding *National Geographic* led to a more homogenized representation from one of the most widely accepted and highly regarded magazines in modern day. There's a creation of a "mass culture" that comes from showing the same types and styles of images time and again (Lutz, 1993). By being constantly inundated with such images, the witnesses of the photos come to assume that there is no other reality than that which they have already been exposed to so consistently. This may lead us to beg the same question that Edward Said asked decades ago: "Isn't there an obvious danger of distortion (of precisely the kind that academic Orientalism has always been prone to) if either too general or too specific a level of description is maintained systematically?" (1978, p. 8)

When an American person thinks of images of Africa they likely have myriad National Geographic-esque pictures flood into their mind. Perhaps the scene has a black-skinned child with bare feet standing in the dirt of a desolate landscape. Maybe it is a nude, dark-skinned woman sitting outside a small clay hut or a man in a red robe holding a long spear. The problem with many images of Africa is that they tend to paint the same picture; they exoticize the people, depict them as poor and needy, and, ultimately, create the African "other". Given that everyday citizens of the Global North commonly imagine such similar things almost immediately when they hear "Africa" suggests too that the general definition is rather homogenized and all too narrow. This is the consequence that has come from representations of the African continent.

2.4 Exoticizing

Photographs of Africans rarely show them in any type of Western clothing, even though it is not uncommon in many African countries. Instead, native Africans are depicted in their traditional attire. For example, Maasai men are usually shown wearing long, red and black robes, often carrying spears and wearing minimal or no shoes (Bruner, 2001). This look caters to the idea of the male Maasai warrior that is so often associated with the Maasai people and, when they are depicted so often in this way, photographs fail to represent these men with any other identity (Bruner, 2001). Maasai and other "tribal people" are subjected to distorted and romanticized views; standing in as representatives of "African natives", frozen in the past, and being stripped of their most basic trait— their humanity (Bruner, 2001). Furthermore, women and children are often shown in domestic settings and are exoticized by a lack of clothing. Both of these cater to tropes of the "primitive" African. In showing women without clothing, the common trope of women being closer to nature is further perpetuated as well which furthers

notions of Africa and African people being “undeveloped” (Lutz, 1993). There is a common theme in photographers capturing images of African people that are “‘uncorrupted’ by the west”, meaning, in part, that people of the Global North then have less interest in Africans that are “modern or urban” and who fail to fit the images that they find to be “true” and familiar (Keim, 2008).

Forms of exoticizing do not stop at the differences in clothing. People of the Global North would likely find any significant difference in lifestyle “exotic”, whether it be living in a one room mud hut, cooking a goat, drinking its blood, and eating all parts of it for multiple meals, or carrying well water in large buckets on one’s head. As Okwui Enwezor asserts, the photographs of Africa throughout history have emphasized differences so much that people view the continent as “a wasteland of the bizarre and outrageous” (2006, n.p.). As the photographic archive surrounding the continent has grown, people of the Global North have been intrigued by the differences and trained to see them as “exotic.” Americans tend to even associate “exotic” concepts and words with Africa and the people that live there. One study, albeit conducted in 1996, highlights some of the words and ideas that people associated with Africa and it is likely that many of the findings are relevant today. In this study people used words such as “tribe”, “primitive”, “cannibals”, and “savages” when describing Africans, clearly having a skewed idea of the continent, its diversity, and it’s more modern state (Keim, 2008). People often tend to hold this outdated view of Africa, thinking of it in “traditional”, as opposed to “modern”, contexts (Bruner, 2001).

If Africa is not depicted in these narrow, exoticized ways, then it is romanticized in a way that shows no humans or traces of them. For instance, landscapes are shown as untouched, “original”, and “unpolluted” (Bruner, 2001). As suggested by Enwezor, if a photo does not

depict a suffering person, it shows the other extreme of unparalleled natural beauty that is untouched by any human (2006). He argues that all images fit into one category or another and they can differ from the "grotesque [and] despot" to the "wild, undisturbed beauty of primeval forests full of animals" (Enwezor, 2006, n.p.). No matter what box they fit into, the photographs of Africa do indeed fit into one of very few, familiar, and limited "boxes".

2.5 Ways of Action

It is clear that many problems stem from the Western representations of Africa, especially those that are constructed through photography. It has been said that 'there is no description of Africa that does not involve destructive and mendacious functions" (Ferguson, 2006, p. 6). Given the complex nature of the representations and the nuances that add to the overall beliefs held by many people of the Global North, offering any single solution to the problem would seem to trivialize and dismiss the issues and their consequences. However, that is not to say that solutions should not be proposed to help break down smaller intricacies of the problems that add to misrepresentation as a greater whole.

Many scholars have formed calls to action in regards to one part of the field or another. Ferguson, for example, discusses the stereotypes and "mental models" that people use to think and understand. In regards to this, he suggests that we (namely average citizens of the Global North) must make our mental models as accurate as possible (2006, p. 7). This calls for a broader, more in depth understanding of the African continent, its peoples, landscapes, internal borders, and ways of life from both the past and modern day. To combine this sentiment with Enwezor's call to action, he says this should be done through "visual practices that recognize coevalness [or the same timeframe], that reach beyond the stock images that have endured until

now as the iconography of the 'abandoned' continent" (2008). This is only a small part of Enwezor's call to action, which is both ethical and epistemological in nature, arguing that "An ethical commitment to Africa requires the recognition of the complexity of each situation, seeing and writing about what is at hand in any given context as part of a larger world and not merely as a series of disjointed fragmentary narratives" (Enwezor, 2006). It is important to note that broadening the discourse and representations of Africa does not mean that there is a call for a *reversal* of the way the continent and its peoples are portrayed; but rather a more comprehensive narrative of all that Africa, with its individual countries and unique people, has to offer (Ferguson, 2006, p. 12). This could likely be done through what Enwezor calls "counter reporting" which is writing and photographing Africa in an "informed, balanced" way, creating images that are not necessarily typical nor entirely agreeable, but that promote a new and different perspective (Enwezor, 2006).

This is important because people of the Global North have become too comfortable and complacent with their views of Africa and, with this, end up subconsciously perpetuating all of the problems that come with this mindset. Too often "we learn what we want to learn and we like our picture of Africa the way it is now" (Keim, 2008, p. 18). Therefore, there is a need to raise awareness of the narrow ways people view the African continent and to educate them through more balanced, fluid, and less rigid representations that give an accurate narrative to the African story. In doing this, people would have a more well-rounded notion of Africa, its countries, and their peoples and hopefully gain an understanding that helps decrease racism, senses of unfair power dynamics, and, ultimately, undermines the idea of Africa as the "Dark Continent".

3 Case Study: Tanzania

In the summer of 2018 I traveled to Tanzania for three weeks with a study abroad program. While there, I focused on taking photographs with very specific intentions. I purposefully took some images that catered to and followed the common tropes that have already been discussed, but I also took some that purposefully challenged and countered those tropes as well. Tanzania was a good place to draw photographs from for several reasons. One reason was that I could take my own photos for this project. I was intentional about what photos I took and chose what type of "representation" I wanted to create. I deliberately took some photos that looked like the "typical" images of Africa, but I also took others that were in contrast to these ones, and challenged the notions of what "Africa" is like. Additionally, Tanzania is often the poster child for stereotyped and romanticized versions of Africa that are promoted and well known in the Global North. Tanzania is home to many safari parks that provide the "untouched" landscapes full of charismatic megafauna as well as home to many indigenous groups that are often regarded as the "traditional" African people, namely the Maasai. While this is all true, Tanzania also boasts many areas that are more "modern" or "developed" than typical photographs might suggest. Arusha has colorful open-air markets with fresh produce and newly cut meat, but also has a very Western looking supermarket, complete with a playground and signs written in English. The Maasai would often dress in their black and red robes as they herded cattle across open land, but they would also sit in their bomas (Maasai communities) holding a cell phone and listening to music through their Beats headphones. For these reasons, Tanzania provided a host of various scenes and subject matter that served well in photographs to be used for this study.

3.1 Methods

Most participants for this study were drawn from the University of Colorado at Boulder through classes and links advertising the study on social media. The majority of the participants were recruited via email and asked by their professors to take the survey either during or outside of class. People were not offered any reward for taking the survey. Two participants, who were also recruited indirectly via email, were military officers from the U.S. Air Force Academy and a handful were faculty members at CU Boulder.

All participants were individually shown 13 photographs taken in Tanzania that included subjects such as landscape, wildlife, local people, cityscapes, housing, and daily and cultural activities. The photos were displayed through an online survey created and conducted on Qualtrics software. They were then asked to respond to questions related to each photo. The questions assessed their reactions to this imagery in order to illuminate their perceptions and attitudes towards the content.

The instructions given to the subjects were as follows: “This study aims to look at the perceptions held by people that live in the U.S. of foreign places depicted through photographs. You will be shown a variety of photos and asked a series of questions to assess your reaction to each individual photo.” They were asked the following questions for each image, some of which were open ended, requiring a written response, others of which asked them to rate different qualities on a scale of one (1) to five (5): What words would you use to describe the people in this photo? Where (on what continent and/or in what country) do you think this picture was taken? What in the photo are you basing this on? How lucky/unlucky, privileged/unprivileged, healthy/unhealthy, educated/uneducated do you think the people in the photo are (on a scale of one to five)? How likely do you think they are to speak English/ own a car/ be happy/ be content

with their lifestyle/ need financial assistance/ want assistance from the U.S. (on a scale of one to five)? And in what important ways are these people similar and different to you?". The full survey can be found in Appendix B. These questions aimed to assess if people thought that the more "stereotypical" images were from Africa and if they thought the same or differently about the other images that were not necessarily taken in accordance with "typical" images of the continent. Additionally, a lot of qualitative data was collected to see if people relied on stereotypes or biases about Africa when answering questions and assessing the photographs. After collecting all of the data, I found that three questions seemed to be the most interesting and provided the most insightful and useful responses. Therefore, in my results and analysis, I mainly focused on the answers to the questions: "What words would you use to describe the people in this photo? Why do you use these words?" (If there were no people shown in the image, the wording was changed to "What words would you use to describe the people that you think live here?") "Where (on which continent and/or in which country) do you think this picture was taken? What in the photo are you basing this off of?", and "In what important ways are these people different from you?" I focused on these because people gave reasoning behind their answers (unlike in the quantitative data) and they had the most detail. For example, the question "In what important ways are these people similar to you?" respondents would often answer "they are people", "they need to meet basic needs for survival", or "they deserve to be happy", all of which did not give much detail or provide insight into why respondents thought the things they did.

A total of 49 people took the survey, though it is important to note that not all participants answered every question; in fact, only 13 people completed the entire survey start to finish. This could be due to the length of the survey, as it was expected to take about 20 to 30 minutes to

complete, but many reports suggest it took longer than this for some people (even over an hour recorded for some participants, but this does not account for if it was in one sitting or if they left and came back to the survey later). Additionally, some participants could not see or access all of the images, which was likely a fault of the software or of the device they were trying to take the survey on. Despite these difficulties and inconsistencies, there was still interesting and telling data collected from the survey results that were completed.

Of the 44 respondents who indicated their race/ethnicity at the beginning of the survey, about 82% identified as 'white', about 7% indicated they were 'Asian American', 2% identified as 'black/African American', 2% as 'Hispanic/Latino, 2% as 'International', and about 5% of participants preferred not to answer. The gender demographics of the 44 respondents that chose to answer were divided with about 70% identifying as 'female', 27% as 'male', and 2% as 'other.' Majority of the participants were full time students (mainly undergraduates, but a few who were MA or PhD students), with some exceptions such as two military officers, two full time employees, one of whom stated they were taking online university classes.

Furthermore, information about where people had traveled was collected with the intention of omitting responses of those who had traveled to Tanzania and/or other African countries. However, after reviewing the information and answers that these people provided, it was more interesting and enlightening to leave their answers in the study than to omit them. These people's answers provide some interesting insight into how everyone, even those who have traveled, is affected by stereotypes and assumed narratives.

For this paper, I did not focus on or include the responses for all 13 photographs that were included in the survey. I chose to analyze a select few that I thought had the richest, most

detailed responses and that were the strongest photos for helping answer my study questions. For these reasons, I mainly focused on photos numbered 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 11 (these images and the others used for the survey can be viewed in Appendix A). Some images were omitted because they did not yield helpful results in that they neither supported nor challenged the concepts in the background research. For example, people seemed confused by or unsure about how to answer questions for some photos and would simply answer "N/A" or "there's not enough information to answer this question".

3.2 Results

Results are presented with one set of three images, another set of two images, followed by three individual photos. The first and second set of photos are grouped based on the opposing subject matter between the pictures in each group and the close proximity in which they were taken to one another. For example, the first set of images under the "shopping" section were all taken on the same block, just across the street from one another. The images in the second set ("Maasai") were both within the same boma, a Maasai community consisting of mud and wood houses, community areas, and a central kraal. The individual photos were selected because they had particularly interesting results that highlighted specific themes and concepts addressed in the "background" section of this paper.

It is important to note that the results should be interpreted with caution. The subject pool was drawn primarily from the University of Colorado at Boulder with a majority of the respondents identifying as female. Additionally, as highlighted above, there was little diversity in the way of race/ethnicity and age, both of which could also influence the results.

Overall, much of what I found in the results from the survey did align with the background research. There were common instances of generalization and relying on stereotypes to inform respondents' ideas about particular images and many people responded in ways that reflected Afro-pessimistic views. However, there were some comments that countered the negative stereotypes, but they tended to generalize broadly if they did. It was also interesting to see that those who had traveled a lot, even to parts of Africa, often did not have answers that were distinguishable from people who had not traveled to Africa or at all.

Shopping

These results compared responses to images 1, 2 and 7 (each of which depicts shopping scenes). Notably, although they all appear very different, these pictures were taken of places that were all just across the street from one another.

Responses to image 1 of the open air market included words such as "hard working" and "industrious" to describe the people in the scene. Many responses alluded to the people being less privileged or in a lower class because there was dirt on the ground and the market lacked brand-name labels. Some discussed that it seemed like an average "day-in-the-life" type of scene with people working and shopping to provide for their families. Further descriptors included: "impoverished", "working class", "undeveloped", "third world", and "developing world". One particular respondent stated that they thought the photo was taken in a place other than the Americas, Europe, or Asia "because the clothing, skin color, and vegetation imply a location outside of North and South America, Europe, and Asia— and I think of the other options as being at least slightly less [privileged] areas of the globe." Of the 19 responses, ten people (52%) thought that this image was taken somewhere in Africa, with many simply saying "Africa"

without any further specifications. However, one person guessed Uganda while another said South Africa, and one said they thought it was taken in sub-Saharan Africa, but unsure of which country.

When asked about how the people in the image seemed different from the participant ("In what important way are these people different from you?") common responses included their culture, financial status, privilege, social status and social norms, and their freedom. This last part, of freedom, was both in relation to how much they had to work and the opportunities they had in relation to their job as well as freedom in regards to them presumably having what the respondent referred to as "an unstable government" (notably, though, there was no reference to a government in the photo). Other comments related to themes such as these were common throughout the survey and people's descriptions of other photos later on.

In the supermarket photograph (image 2), which depicts people walking toward a large convenience store, participants used words like "normal" and "average" to describe the people depicted. It is important to note that this image was taken of American tourists in an area of Arusha that is largely catered to tourists more so than locals. Note again that this image was taken just across the street from the first image of the open air market and therefore provides an interesting comparison between the scenes.

Study participants presumed the people in this image were consumers and suburban, guessing that they belonged to anywhere between lower-middle class and upper class. Only three responses (about 19% of 16 responses) indicated that this photo could have been taken somewhere in Africa, and some stated that they thought it was more likely to be in South Africa because "that is where the white people are".

The next image (image 7) was taken in the same area as that of the supermarket (image 2) and the open air market in Arusha (image 1). In fact, the parking lot in this picture was the one people used for the supermarket in image 2. This is important to note because people have vastly different answers between these three images, about where they think they were taken, and the general affluence of the people that live in the area. For this image, respondents saw this area as "affluent", "developed", and "urban" or "suburban". Some thought it was a traveler or tourist destination while others viewed it more as a lower-class area where blue-collar workers would be employed. In two of the responses, people referred to the scene/ people that would live in this area as "normal". They stated that this was their "gut reaction" to the photo and that there was nothing distinctive about the image. This is interesting in that it highlights the American-centric perspective from which the respondents viewed the image. It probably seems "normal" because it is a familiar strip mall set up with a Mexican restaurant and signs written in English. Only two people (14% of respondents for this question) thought that this image may have been taken in Africa and one of them stated other possibilities as well, such as the United States, Mexico, North and South America, and the Philippines.

Maasai

These results compared responses to photos 8 (a young Maasai child standing outside in a dirt clearing of a boma) and 11 (a group of Maasai women dressed in colorful, traditional robes). The child in photo 8 wears a colorful dress and a patterned shawl with one foot in a sandal and the other bare. This image was taken in part to stand in juxtaposition with photo 11 of Maasai women performing a dance, in part to cater to a "traditional" trope within photographs of Africa. The landscape is partly desolate, a wood and mud hut is barely visible behind the girl, and her

clothes are dirty and colorfully patterned, she is also partly barefoot, as many people assume Africans to be (as shown through photos and some of the qualitative results for the survey).

One response to photo 8 stated that they thought the girl was African because she "has a wrap on and no shoes". Another person described it as fascinating because "African cultures are super interesting and inspire [their] imagination". This last statement was made simply on the assumption that the image was taken in an African country, because no information about the images was disclosed to the respondents upon taking the survey. Additionally, common words used to describe the girl were "impoverished", "rural", and "lower class". Every respondent guessed that this image was taken somewhere in Africa when asked "Where do you think this photo was taken?". They based this off the environment, the child's black skin, the clothing patterns, and, as one person stated, their "perception that there is not a lot of development in Africa".

Photograph 11 depicted a group of Maasai women dressed in colorful, traditional robes and dresses with beaded neck disks. This image was mentioned earlier as one that was used as a counter-image to the one of the young girl in the boma. Most responses (58%) to this photograph either used the words "happy" or "content" to describe the women shown. Other descriptive words included "tribal" and "traditional" and some responses commented on the unity or communal feeling of the group in the picture. However, despite these comments, the qualitative results suggest that respondents collectively thought that both the women (image 11) and the child (image 8) were still *less* lucky, privileged, healthy, content, and happy than the people in images that they thought were taken in places other than Africa (such as images 2 and 7). All of the respondents to this question (n=12) said they thought that the photograph was from Africa, though none were specific enough as to name a country.

Soft-drink signs

The next image in the survey (Image 5) was rather ambiguous, as it simply depicted a single wall of a somewhat run-down building with the logos for Coca-Cola, Fanta, and Sprite painted on the side. Responses indicated that people saw this area as one of lower socioeconomic status and that it was "colonized" (likely because of the American and/or European logos), that the people who lived there were likely poor, struggling, and of lower class. One response said that not much could be assumed from the photo because buildings with "graffiti" could exist anywhere. Another stated that they thought the people living there would probably be happy because the respondent's sister is in Africa (they did not specify where) "in a place that looks very much like [the photograph]. She is working with school children and every time she sends [] videos or pictures of them they look unbelievably happy, like they don't have a care in the world". As for the responses answering where people thought the photo was taken, some interesting answers emerged, with many guessing America because of the brand names and others guessing Mexico, South America, Asia, and Africa. However, when these other areas were guessed, it was based on the building style, the unpaved roads, or how they perceived the general weather and climate. Five of the 14 respondents (about 36%) had Africa listed as a guess for where it was taken. There were also five quessed for North America, four that guessed Mexico, and the remainder said South America, Asia, or "could be pretty much anywhere". Most respondents included more than one guess when answering this question for this particular image.

“Modern” building

Image number 4 was taken of a large, glass building hovering over a gas station where three men were walking across a dirt road/parking lot. This image was taken in attempts to show a more “modern” appearing component in the Arusha, Tanzania area. The building looked recently built, possibly not even in use yet, and the gas station looked like a rather mundane, nondescript station similar to those in other parts of Tanzania as well as those in the U.S. and Europe.

Upon looking at this image, people had a wide array of responses, some of which said the men looked like they were working and busy yet others that suggested the men were impoverished and “walking around with little direction”. Additionally, one response stated that they thought the men were guarding something because they were walking and one was holding a gun. This was said with certainty, when in reality the rather ambiguous object that the man is holding is an umbrella. For the others that thought the men were working, they assumed they were manual laborers, blue collar workers, or construction workers. One person stated they thought this because of one man’s hat and “because of their darker skin”. Some respondents seemed confused by the juxtaposition of the nicer, newer building with the gas station and dirt road. One response simply stated that they found it “odd” and said so “because of the dichotomy between the people and the buildings”. Of the 15 people that responded to the image, seven responses included Africa as one of the guesses for where the scene took place. Other answers ranged from the Caribbean to India and Asia to North, South, and Latin America. One respondent, who thought that the man was carrying a gun, said they thought it was taken in a

country in the Middle East because “there is a lot of vigilante justice that ...would allow for people to openly carry a weapon like that”.

Two men

The image of the two men, one on a motorcycle and one talking on a cell phone (image 9), received varied responses. Some participants treated the image as a fairly mundane, average scene while others discussed how busy the men seemed. Five of the responses commented on the men’s class and that they assumed they were likely middle or upper class citizens. This was usually due to the fact that they had nicer clothes on, seemed to be employed (with references to the man on the right as a ‘businessman’) and that they had nicer commodities such as a cellphone and a motorcycle. However, despite these more positive responses, people still assumed that the men in the image had different privileges, had to work harder to change their economic status, and had fewer opportunities in relation to themselves. Thirteen people responded to the question asking where they thought the picture was taken. Eight of the answers (about 62%) included “Africa” as a guess, but people often guessed more than one place, including places such as the United States, India, the Caribbean, and Southeast Asia.

3.3 Summary

Overall, the results highlight some interesting and important themes through patterns in the responses. Many of these themes relate to common concepts often discussed in African studies and the field of geography. By drawing these parallels, it is clear that there are still problems with the ways that people in the Global North view and think about Africa. The

patterns that I found support this and underscore the problems that single-sided stories (especially those perpetuated through photography) can add to.

4 Discussion

Many of the themes that showed up throughout the survey responses exemplified the othering and Afro-pessimism addressed in the literature. These varied responses were telling of some ideas that the participants held about Africa in general as well as about its people, cultures, environments, and ways of life. In particular, respondents commented on the importance of financial stability and/or economic status, assumptions based on people's skin color (such as what jobs people might hold), the state of the government, and people's level of happiness. These were consistently mentioned when respondents guessed that the images were taken in Africa as well. People also seemed to assume more negative things about images that were, in reality, very neutral. Additionally, there was a common theme of American-centric comparisons between life in the U.S. versus the place in the photographs. While not directly addressed in the literature review, two other prominent themes emerged from the survey responses; environmental determinism and story-building. Many of these patterns indicate that people maintain rather biased and narrow views about places that appear to be quintessentially "African" and use stereotypes and biases in identifying and inferring about a given place.

Othering and American-centrism

In several responses people would refer to scenes with more Westernized elements (such as Western clothing, white skin, etc) as "normal" or "average". This exhibits the American

perspective from which the respondents were viewing the images, but it also effectively normalized American culture while implying that anything different (in this case Tanzanian or African culture) is abnormal. As a consequence, an American "us" and African "them" is created through highlighting differences. Some people were so caught up in their Americanized view that one person even referred to the young girls in image 8 as "African-American" even though the respondent believed the photograph to be taken somewhere in Africa.

Afro-pessimism

People would often draw very negative views based on a photo that was generally neutral. Participants assumed that people would "most likely never be able to change or improve their situation", even when the photograph was relatively objective and unbiased in nature. In some cases, people jumped to even more extreme conclusions such as assuming that people were lower-class workers because of their dark skin or that a man was carrying a gun (when it was in fact, only an umbrella). In the latter case, one participant thought that the ambiguous object in a man's hand was a gun and this thought dictated what they answered for all of the questions that followed. One cannot help but wonder what this person may have thought the object was if the photograph was taken in a different setting or was being held by a person with skin of a lighter color. All of these examples highlight the Afro-pessimistic views that Americans can be guilty of due to the stories perpetuated through photos and news reports about Africa. These negative views also stem from generalizations and the habit of building stories based on a single image. In my research, it was clear that people would build stories from a photograph based on stereotypes and assumptions. For example, participants would express, from a single picture, that they thought the people depicted would practice a different religion, that they have no choice in

whether or not they work because it is presumably their only option for survival, that they live under a bad and/or corrupt government, and that they have to "deal with more danger in their lives." Many of these are broad, generalizing assumptions that have negative undertones, and were not in any way actually shown in the photograph.

However, there were also some instances that countered Afro-pessimistic notions as well. The most prominent examples being those of the Maasai women in image 11 and the young girl in image 8. People generally reported that the women looked happy and content and one respondent thought that the little girl was happy because their experiences led them to believe that African children are generally happy. However, in general, the quantitative data for these images still suggested that respondents thought that the luck, privilege, and health of the people in these pictures was lower than that of the people in images that they thought were taken in places other than Africa.

Story-building

Generalizing based on stereotypes can also lead to people building stories based off images that do not have any information to suggest such stories are true or, in some cases, to even suggest where the story came from. For instance, respondents would assume that the expectations for people in the images were different (in relation to their jobs or how they would move up in society). They might also conclude that the people lived under a "bad" or "less stable" government and this was simply based on image 1, of people in a market place, and image 8, the young girl standing in a Maasai boma. Neither of these pictures showed signs of the government at all, let alone signs of corruption or instability. This respondent likely just built these stories up based on stereotypes about African countries. One response to image 8 even addressed the fact

that they were relying on stereotypes to create their answer to “What words would you use to describe the people in this photo?”, stating, “impoverished, rural, family-oriented, farmers (sadly, stereotypes I’ve learned about African cultures”.)

Not all of the responses that generalized so broadly were necessarily negative, however. One participant suggested that their sister was currently in Africa and any photos or videos she sent showed happy children. Therefore, whenever this respondent saw an image that looked comparable to a setting or group of people that her sister had sent footage of, this person would assume that the people there were happy. This respondent included comments such as “I would say this kid is happy. I think this because all African kids I’ve seen in videos have been happy.” This displays the power of photographs and video, as people rely on them so heavily for information that they will accept just a few as providing a larger, entire truth.

Environmental determinism

Environmental determinism was one such theme that was woven throughout people’s responses to many of the images. People often assumed that because someone in a photograph appeared to live in a different climate, they lived a different lifestyle and had a different culture. This is exhibited by comments such as the people in this photo “probably have a different culture than me because of climate” and “they live in a different climate so they probably have different perceptions of life than me.” While these assumptions seem to be based simply in naivete, the roots of thoughts such as this are problematic and historically harmful. Originally, theories of environmental determinism suggested that those that lived near the tropics were lazy and lacked the intelligence and forethought that Europeans prided themselves in. This racist framing gave

the Europeans justification to colonize such societies as it dehumanized those that they conquered (Moseley, 2009).

The pattern of environmental determinism showing up throughout the survey responses was an unanticipated finding and would be an interesting area to focus on for further research. It could also be interesting to further delve into the American-centric perspective that so many people viewed the images with and revealed in their comments as well as studying the habit people had of storybuilding based on simple images. One assumption is that people with more travel experience would be less likely to have these American-centric views. However, this does not seem to be the case based on results from this study, but further investigation would need to be done to make a more certain comparison.

4.1 Limitations

This study had some limitations that may have hindered more accurate or specific data collection. One of the limitations was that not everyone that started the survey completed it. As mentioned before, 49 people started the study, but only 13 finished it. Some respondents did not answer all of the questions and this could have been by choice, because of time limitations, or because of technical difficulties that prevented some participants from seeing the photographs in the survey. Another limitation was that the survey was not conducted in person. This is a limiting factor in that people's immediate reactions and facial expressions cannot be gauged. These might be telling factors if they could be noted in an in-person survey or interview. With the online survey, one can only speculate on why a question went unanswered, but in person it may be easier to tell if someone is simply confused or if they have other reasons for not responding. Additionally, all respondents were current Colorado residents and were involved with a

university either through employment or as students. This means that the demographic was not very diverse and cannot provide a strong representation for the United States or the Global North as a whole.

5 Conclusion

The results that I gathered provided many examples that aligned with the background research, while others countered parts of it, and yet others were unexpected altogether. These unexpected areas would be interesting to research further and include the results relating to environmental determinism and the concept of story building. It may be beneficial to the field of art history and human geography to look at the ways that ideas of environmental determinism persist today and how they are perpetuated through photographs. I would be interested in further delving into why respondents thought that people's living conditions, such as climate, so strongly affected their culture and lifestyle. It would also be interesting to see how this compares to the history of environmental determinism and whether or not people's responses and reactions were based in the origins of this concept. Additionally, story building would also be an interesting topic to explore further in order to better understand how and why people drew the conclusions and assumptions that they did. The way that respondents gave answers that were often not based on strictly the visual information provided suggested that they were perhaps relying on stereotypes and other comparable images they had seen to inform their ideas about the scene before them. It would be helpful to know where their story building stemmed from and why they thought it was applicable to images in the survey.

The results gathered from this study showed the power that photographs have in representing a place and its people. It is evident that people make many assumptions when

provided with visual information and oftentimes these assumptions are based in generalizations, stereotypes, and misinformation that guide people to think incorrectly about a photograph and its subject matter. This phenomenon can be problematic in creating a single story or an incorrect story altogether. In the instance of my research, it was not uncommon for respondents to see Africa through stereotypes and an American-centric lense. This often led them to think that images showing more "typical" African scenes were indeed from Africa, but that other, "counter" images were not necessarily from Africa. Many single stories were created through the responses, some indicating that African people had fewer opportunities to improve their life situations and others stating that all African kids are probably happy. No matter what the story was, it is important to realize that it was incomplete. This is the problem with relying so heavily on photographs as a discourse.

It is important to raise an awareness of how powerful photos are in representing people and forming narratives. This project has worked in part to do exactly that and to show the ways that people think about photos and presumably foreign places. With this awareness comes a call to action for a type of "counter-reporting" that provides a more complete story of the African continent. Counter reports could be built in a variety of ways, one of which might be doing what I did for this study and focusing on making images that counter the common narrative. Photographers could provide a more complete and cohesive view if they were to show the positive sides of the African continent along with the negative ones that have already been the large focus. Looking at how native African people represent themselves is another approach. In doing this, voices besides those of the photographers and journalists of the Global North would be present and thus present a new, different, and perhaps more accurate representation. Through this method of counter reporting through photography, not only will there be a more accurate

representation of Africa, but also a more complex one. This complex view is important to show that the continent is multi-faceted including negative processes such as war and famine, but also with very positive stories, a rich history, and influential inventions. Counter reporting could work to prevent the perpetual representation of Africa as the “Dark Continent” that it is so often made out to be.

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Appendix A

Image 1

Image 2

Image 3

Image 4

Image 5

Image 6

Image 7

Image 8

Image 9

Image 10

Image 11

Image 12

 *Image 13*

Appendix B

Survey

Purpose of the Study:
The purpose of this study is to record and assess people's thoughts about and reactions to a variety of photographs depicting an array of subject matter. You will be shown a collection of images, one at a time, and asked a series of questions in relation to each one. You should answer questions honestly, reporting your initial impressions and what first comes to mind.
Explanation of Procedures:
This study only requires that the participants complete an online survey. The survey will last about 20 minutes. You will view a series of photographs, one at a time, and answer questions in relation to each of the photos. Upon the conclusion of the survey you will be provided with a more complete explanation of the purpose of the study, and have the opportunity to ask questions about the scope of the research. Please do not discuss the study in any way outside of the survey window. This is to ensure that all participants have the same knowledge of the study before they are surveyed.
Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:
Whether or not you take part in this research is your choice. You can leave the research at any time and it will not be held against you. If you stop being in the research, already collected data may not be removed from the study database. If you are a CU Boulder student or employee, taking part in this research is not part of your class work or duties. You can refuse to enroll, or withdraw after enrolling at any time, with no effect on your class standing, grades, or job at CU Boulder. You will not be offered or receive any special consideration if you take part in this research.
Risks and Discomforts:
There are no anticipated risks or discomforts with this research. The study does require that you sit for the duration of about 20 minutes if you are to complete the survey in its entirety.
Potential Benefits:
I cannot promise any benefits from your participation in this study. No monetary compensation can be provided for your participation. If you are from the SONA program, your compensation has been decided through your program and I am not responsible nor affiliated with that benefit. However, possible benefits from your participation could include learning about the nature of and stories behind the images you are shown. If you would like to know the study results upon the completion of all research, you can request the information at the end of your session.
Confidentiality:
The information from this research may be published for scientific purposes; however, all participants will remain anonymous, with no personal information collected or recorded.
Questions:
If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, talk to the researcher, Rylee McCone, at 719-246-7203 or email her at rylee.mccone@colorado.edu.

This research has been reviewed and approved by an Institutional Review Board (IRB). You may talk to them at (303) 735-3702 or irbadmin@colorado.edu if:
• Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
• You cannot reach the research team.
• You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
• You have questions about your rights as a research subject.
• You want to get information or provide input about this research.

By clicking "next" you are consenting to participate in this survey and will be taken to the first question. If you do not consent, you may exit the survey.

This study aims to look at Americans' perceptions of foreign places depicted through photographs. You will be shown a collection of photos depicting people, landscapes, villages, and animals among other things and be asked a series of questions to assess your reaction to each individual photo.

Q1 - Please indicate your race/ethnicity:

- **American Indian**
- **Asian American**
- **Black/ African American**
- **Hispanic/Latino**
- **Pacific Islander**
- **White**
- **International**
- **Unknown**
- **Prefer not to answer**

Q2 - Please indicate the gender you identify with:

- **Male**
- **Female**
- **Other _____**

- **Prefer not to answer**

Q3 - How long have you lived in the U.S.?

Q4 - How long have you lived in Colorado?

-Q5 - What is your student/employment status?

-Q6 - Please mark which of these classes you have taken or taught at CU Boulder (if any)

- **GEOG 3862**
- **ARTH 3929**
- **ARTH 1709**
- **ANTH 4020 (GSTZ)**
- **None of the above**

<u>For each of the 13 photographs, participants were asked the following six questions:</u>

- What words would you use to describe the people in this photo? Why do you use these words?

- Where (on which continent and/or in which country) do you think this picture was taken? What in the photo are you basing this off of?

- Based on the photo, what is your impression of the people who live there compared to yourself, in regard to: (on a scale of 1 to 10)

- **Luck**
- **Privilege**
- **Health**

- How likely are the people that live here to:

(on a seven point scale of extremely likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, neither likely nor unlikely, slightly unlikely, moderately unlikely, extremely unlikely)

- **Speak English**
- **Own a car**
- **Be generally happy**
- **Be content with their lifestyle**
- **Need financial assistance for basic necessities**
- **Want financial assistance**

- In what important ways are these people similar to you?

- In what important ways are they different?

Q106 - Please list places you have traveled outside of the United States