

Towards grim voyeurism: the poetics of the gaze on Africa

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Abstract

In literature as well as in the press, television and the cinema, voyeurism is an attitude which is very typical to the Western gaze on Africa. By definition, the voyeur is in a morally inferior position. This is the connotation we wish to give the touristic attitude inclined to enjoy the misfortune of the other. Concerning the case in point in this paper, it is grim tourism.

The motif of tourism will be theoretically tackled from the point of view of minimum definition as movement to another place, as proposed by Jafar Jafari. Whenever it is a question of curiosity offered by Africa to Western tourists, they automatically become voyeurs since the product presented to their eyes is indecent: death from starvation, disease, war and since recently, illegal immigration in the Mediterranean Sea.

Moreover, voyeurism finds support in the conceptual gains of tourism like John Urry's approach. We are going to track the movement of this gaze, from Chateaubriand, founder of modern voyeurism which already at that time indicated special attraction by death, to the Humanitarianism, a form of biased tourism (since it compounds traveling and paid job) which ironically benefits from the bad situation of forced travelers, and of refugees of African wars and disasters.

Philippe Hamon's analytical model of the "proper gaze"⁶² will be precious in the reading of an emblematic work about the gazer tourist (Monenémbo, *L'aîné des orphelins*) to identify the ideology that goes with the competence and performance of the gaze. The camera is in this instance doubly emblematic and the functional extension of the gaze.

Key words: Africa, voyeurism, tourism, genocide.

⁶² Translates Philip Hamon's concept "savoir voir"

1. Introduction

During the last decade of the twentieth century, the Western World appropriated the right of inspection on behalf of usual humanism. It is a gaze on the continent's misfortunes. In the face of African tragedy, this gaze becomes voyeur and seeks the spectacle of death even to the point of indecency. Contrary to the medic gaze that is analytical, this gaze is simply contemplative and seeks emotion. In this quality, it creates the tourist figure, grim tourism in this particular case. Extremely thematised and in solidarity with necrology and of course with cannibalism – since it concerns the consumption of death by means of the tourist industry among others, this gaze which mediatizes death turns it into the emblematic image of the black continent. It is in this way that the gaze becomes a key semiotic function since, as a type of gaze originated the medicine as shown by Michel Foucault, the very gaze creates semiotic figures like the medic, the tourist, the forensic pathologist, the cannibal, as many positions through which the West contemplates Africa.

This paper is to be placed in the context of studies on the concept of Afro-pessimism (a discourse that makes all the evils of Africa fashionable) and its very complex rhetoric. For a better understanding of this discourse, we wish to extricate ourselves from its topological frame and look at it from the periphery, the gaze and its stakes, while sometimes running the risk of adopting the opposite viewpoint: Afro-centrism.

2. Notional tools and methodological approach

John Urry,⁶³ whose research in the area of tourism has the merit to be among the most elaborate, has entitled his major book *The Tourist Gaze*. Of all the senses involved in the process and practice of tourism, it is the gaze which Urry considers carefully, as specifically typical of tourist experience. He asserts that tourism owes its specificity to the especial quality of the subject that attracts the gaze, one that of a must has to be strange to its daily environment.

The specificity of the gaze at stake cannot of course be severed from the whole tourist process, especially professionals who structure, adjust and foster this gaze. Be it with the information they give on the object to be gazed at or the way the information is given, these tourist professions structure and delineate the meaning of the observed object. This meaning accepted by the tourist visit having all the skills of staging,

⁶³ In his substantial theoretical study, like Michel Foucault whose *Naissance de la Clinique* he quotes as an epigraph, John Urry wants to study the changes and the developments of the tourist gaze in different societies or social groups, and through different historical periods.

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actually shows only those aspects of reality that are in solidarity with it, the ultimate goal being to reinforce the dominant ideology. From Urry's viewpoint, the issue will be to know which hegemony underlies the gaze that contemplates Africa under the paradigm of death and more specifically, how and by whom this gaze is set.

In order to highlight the conceptual importance of the tourist gaze, the author puts it from the outset within the epistemological perspective of the medic gaze studied by Michel Foucault:⁶⁴ « When we go away we look at the environment with interest and curiosity. [...] we gaze at what we encounter. And this gaze is a socially organized and systematized as is the gaze of the medic» (1990: 1). However, with reserve that unlike the medic gaze having the support and legitimacy of the medical institution, the tourist gaze belongs to a totally different order since it is not the privilege of professionals who enjoy institutional legitimacy. Given this situation, tourism has of course its own personnel and its expertise that structures and develops the tourist gaze.

The methodological orientation adopted by Urry in the study of the gaze is particularly interesting in that it reverses the analyst's usual viewpoint: "Opening up the workings of the social world often requires the use of counter-intuitive and surprising methodologies, such as in this case the investigation of the 'departures' involved in the tourist gaze" (2). So, the nature of this gaze and the perception of the "typical object" inform more on the gazing subject than on the object itself. Urry achieves this observation using the notions of "deviance" and "difference" which support that otherness is deviant for the tourist (which turns it into something extraordinary), since normality is on the side of the subject of the quest of the extraordinary. The ensuing argument is that, though the best way to study "normal" society which produces the tourist is to appeal to its gaze on the Other, the study of Afro-pessimism had better examine the ins and outs of the discourses which give greater importance to this perception of Africa.

3. Naïve voyeurism, another tourist practice

Since some time before the American military and humanitarian operation in Somalia ("Restaure Hope" in December 1992), some new curiosity about Africa has developed. The lion (tourist symbol of Africa) having stopped to be eventful, interest has shifted to another show, the dreadful beauty of Africa as revealed on the pictures of scrawny children touring the world, or in the horror of bodies mutilated in fratricide violence. The sense of detail and especially the avidity for the sight that are typical to this kind

⁶⁴ *Naissance de la clinique*, 1963.

of images induce to thinking, if we compare them to the atmosphere of decency that usually prevails around the dead in the Western world. Closer to us, let us remember for example the bodies of the victims of “September 11” or the indignation unanimously expressed by the so-called “civilized” world when a television channel from Qatar dared show the American prisoners in the hands of Iraqi army in June 2003. To come back to Africa, the images of these misfortunes enrich the covers of Western magazines almost on a daily basis. This is evidence that a new exoticism was born a few years ago, one that is based on the feeling of strangeness in the face of horror and necromania. Whether it is a question of exhibiting death (the living dead included, skinny due to hunger or disease) or of theorizing death in Africa, both activities converge towards one single end: making death in Africa fashionable. This is the attitude that defines the concept of Afro-pessimism.

The consumption of horror, which in this case is death, may be viewed as a kind of entertainment, a perception which is related to the analysis made by Ruth Amossy on the industrialization of fear accounting for the unprecedented fortune made by the cinema of horror in particular. In *La sémiologie du stéréotype*, the author defines the denial of banality and its correlative, stereotype, as typical to the modern spirit. It is along these lines that one should understand the proliferation (“automatic reproduction” – “stereotype” in the primary sense of the term which belongs in the printing framework – according to Ruth Amossy), both literary and media, of the dreadful beauty Africa has come to represent. Besides, the intellectual enjoyment of this particular image of Africa might be the counterpart, more subtle and “politically correct,” of the same first degree sight. Indeed, when speculating on the death of Africa or death in Africa, when examining its causes, its effects and consequences within a pathological perspective, the intellectual mind also participates in the structuring of Afro-pessimistic discourse.⁶⁵

The concept of the gazer who enjoys the indecent sight of African death may be achieved through the figure of the tourist. What is tourism? André Bergson (Nadeau 17) has attempted an answer to this apparently easy question. The truth is that this activity presents unsuspected complexity. Contrary to a widespread opinion, tourism is not only devoted to pleasure. Rather, strong emotion seems to be the feeling sought by this activity that brings a person to leave his territory to conquer the territory of the other. This means that, in a way, each tourism has a conquering nature. The weapon that makes the

⁶⁵ It is not an overstatement to remind of the role of the school as an institution in the transmission and consolidation of the ideology. For Joseph Sumpf (*Langages no 55*, p.6), “the hegemonic function of ideology is the reproduction of manpower, that is, it ensures a steady and adapted flow of workers entering in production. The mechanism that makes this function possible is essentially the school.”

appropriation of the other and his territory possible is the camera. This is the reason why for many primitive peoples, a camera shot of someone is considered stealing his spirit. We shall come back to this perfectly cannibalistic act later.

To come back to tourism in its common form, the intention to undertake many trips is not leisure. In this category are visits to sacred sites the most representative of which are religious pilgrimages and certain historic sites that through the events that took place there, are automatically straddling the historical and the sacred. Auschwitz and Hiroshima have come to be a necessary tourist passage due to the horror evoked by these places. The underlying motivation to undertake trips to such sites may be of a “nostalgic” nature, the romantic⁶⁶ feature of tourism, but also a quest for “spiritual merit” (Shackley, 2001: 11).

The image of the tourist, as used in this paper, involves a modern meaning full of consequences with regard to the traditional traveler. Todorov makes a contrast between the definition and the attitude of both travelers in a chapter on exoticism:

Chateaubriand has invented a character: in his book, the modern tourist replaces the traditional traveler. The traveler had a favorable bias for peoples of far-off countries, and he sought to describe them for the benefit of his countrymen. [...], now, modern man is in a hurry. The tourist makes a different choice: things, rather than humans, are his choice object: landscapes, monuments, and ruins which “deserve a detour” or “are worth the trip”

Though the figure of the tourist⁶⁷ is two centuries old, it indicates in the essays and novels of the century’s transition a new reality whose frightening aspect rises from the very nature of this character, that is, the end of humanism. Man is not a concern for man any more. His interest is henceforth turned to objects and “camels” (337); and to rigor: when he condescends to be interested in humans, it is only when they are “dead.” Todorov rightly wonders: “are they still *peoples*, when their best representatives are dead persons?” (337). The attraction roused by camels’ ugliness announces both metaphorically and metonymically the avidity of today’s tourist for the African dead. The common feature is the paradox rendered through the fascination by ugliness or negativity.

⁶⁶ The romantic feeling that originated the tragic paintings of Watteau and Dalacroix, for example

⁶⁷ The word “tourist” appeared in the French language in 1803. This year coincides with Chateaubriand’s project to write what he called at that time “*mémoires de (sa) vie*”

Of course, Chateaubriand talks of the Greek dead as vestiges of a civilization. As one of the most tenacious myths of the Western world vis-à-vis Africa is one which relates the continent to nature (lack of civilization), it is out of question to seek civilization in this primitive area of the world. Indeed, where tourism is concerned, the African space is traditionally reserved for Safaris and to lion hunting; which reinforces the paradigm of nature. The tourist consuming the Greek death is not the same as one for Africa of recent years. The latter immortalizes the African death using his emblematic tool: the camera.

We need to recognize that there is today a widespread tendency with picture hunters to enrich themselves selling the misfortunes of others, with the complicity of media networks. The paparazzi figure is a meaningful expression of this phenomenon. Like the spy figure where the paparazzi belongs, the gazer enjoys a sight that is prohibited or improper. While he should turn his eyes away, he always finds a pretext, such as shooting a photo or collecting a testimony, to fully enjoy the sight:

The dead of Nyarubuye were beautiful, I am afraid. Absolutely beautiful. The skeleton is something beautiful. The random fitting of fallen forms, the strange calm of their cruel exhibition, the arm bent in a mysterious gesture – these things were beautiful and their beauty only reinforced the infamy of the place. It was impossible for me to decide which attitude to take: repulsion, fright, sadness, shame, lack of understanding – of course I felt all of that, but nothing was really adequate. I just looked on; and took photos, because I was not sure to really see what I was seeing at that moment – and I also needed some pretext to have a closer look (Gourevitch 29).

Here, it is a question of a tourist who is fascinated by “the beauty of death” when he visited a genocide site. Decent as he is, the tourist confesses the whole stratagem he was obliged to engage to satisfy his curiosity. With this confidence, (“I needed an excuse to have a closer look), the gazer tourist expresses his guilty conscience, even in the face of an official exhibitionism. He is aware that he is violating the serious and sacred character of death, but is overcome by the desire of seeing. So, curiosity about the misfortune of the other and the avidity of the most dreadful or sordid detail define the gazer. As his quest is one of strong emotions, the more numerous and the stronger the details, the better it is for the gazer.

4. Towards humanitarian tourism

Contrary to a widespread opinion, tourism is not just devoted to entertainment.⁶⁸ There are many travels that are undertaken with an intention other than pleasure and destinations that rouse more solemn feelings in the tourist. Some of these include visits to sacred sites the most representative of which are religious pilgrimages and certain historic sites which, through the events that took place there, end up gaining a sacred status, like Auschwitz and Hiroshima. Concerning Hiroshima precisely, its very ambivalent tourist in *Hiroshima mon amour*⁶⁹ is an exemplary expression of the emotion raised by such places loaded with memory. Torn between an ambivalent situation of pain and enjoyment, he is the perfect prototype of the tourist of African tragedies who on the one hand laments the fate of the continent, and on the other hand takes advantage of the benefits of the tropics.

As Urry makes it clear, the tourist object, which of a must is extraordinary, “addresses” us according to our “expectations.” From this viewpoint, the tourist will look at that which he already knows a bit, among others by means of the media and the vast network of the tourist industry which is often invisible:

Tourism is both a visible and invisible phenomenon. Every person is potentially a tourist. Thousands of workers make their living with tourism, quite unaware that they are hired by the tourist industry. Tourism is a commodity: sold and bought. But tourism does not exist as such: only travelling exists (17).

This invisibility that is recognized to the tourist industry is very symptomatic of the incursions made by tourism in situations where its presence is viewed as pure indecency. At least, the traditional concept of tourism that favors leisure (as opposed to work) as a defining feature seemed to collide with some eminently tourist practices like the international volunteerism (as well as its many shades) which is a full tourist form. It seems therefore that tourism is a rather unclear notion since

tourism does not exist as such: there is a geography of tourism, a sociology of tourism, an economics of tourism; and above all, there is an industry of tourism [...] Tourism is then

⁶⁸ The definition accepted by the International Association of Scientific Experts on Tourism (A.I.E.S.T) is as follows: “Tourism is a set of relations and facts composed of the movement and stay of people outside their usual place, when the movement and the stay are achieved as an activity of leisure and consumption (André Bergson, “Qu’est-ce que le tourisme?” Nadeau, cited work, p. 26).

⁶⁹ Marguerite Duras, 1960.

understood with reference to other sciences or to other activities of consumer man. To practice tourism, man consumes time and space (17).

Then, tourism usurps the right to get out of its usual framework and actually conquer all the sectors of life since from now on, tourism and work are not incompatible any longer. Instead, that seems to be the last development of the tourist phenomenon whose tendency was made into an institution in “volunteer tourism” described by Stephen Wearing who devoted a work on the subject in which he tracked the origins of this tourist phenomenon in the action of youth movements abroad.

The filiation between volunteer tourism and the new form of humanitarian assistance through Non Government Organizations (NGOs) is very clear. In all evidence, the latter is a variant of the former, but with the difference that it is more wide-ranging. It intervenes in a post-development phase that targets the occasional crises in the Third World. Being a decentralized management of resources formerly under direct responsibility of UN agencies or the big organizations of assistance to development like USAID, the NGOs are the expression *par excellence* of the capitalistic order that controls the world. This assistance to the reconstruction of countries that fall victims to war or to other humanitarian disasters is also and especially one which the donor governments give to their firms that share the cake meant for reconstruction. It is also a solution to reduce unemployment which weighs down on these governments. However, through a misnomer, these expatriate workers are called “volunteers”, very probably as an analogy with the International Red Cross Volunteers, a gigantic Swiss NGO⁷⁰ which worked alone for long a long time on the ground of humanitarian emergency.

The argument that emerges here is that foreign intervention in the different crises which affect Africa is relatively speaking, tourist. Tourism that combines business (a well paid job) with pleasure (free enjoyment of an environment otherwise expensive for the usual tourist). Still better, the institution which manages this kind of tourism engages a huge assortment of means to preserve and develop this activity. It is this activity which, at the end of the day, structures the strange tourist gaze which NGO personnel contribute much to perpetuate, consciously or unconsciously. So, in the same way the classic tourist form works, the incitation to consume the image of dying Africa is conveyed by the media, publishing, and various other public activities.

⁷⁰ Business-mindedness, behind the sacrosanct Swiss neutrality, is no longer in doubt. *Rwanda Journal, Series A: Arts and Humanities, Volume 1 (1), 2016*

Besides, the fundamental incompatibility between tourism and paid job on which the traditional definition of tourist activity is based, or at least, the paradox of the “tourist worker” duo often ends on unfortunate situations where the humanitarian dimension is jeopardized for the benefit of tourism. Anne Faure made a heart-rending testimony in *Blessures d’humanitaire* on this issue. In her interview with *Liaison-Rwanda* magazine, she unveils her wound “very difficult to relate, because it is so painful to admit, [it] is linked to the stupidities of humanitarian medicine: I met racist, alcoholic and incompetent humanitarians there...which, in a framework like this one, turns them into criminals...” (2).

These failures of the primary mission, that is, alleviate the suffering of people trapped by disaster, were observed on an individual basis among NGO personnel and, what entails consequences, on the level of the very intervention policy of humanitarian institutions. This ethical failure for charity organizations raises a lot of questions and may account for the skepticism often opposed to the otherwise justified existence of conventions and human rights. There is room to wonder simply whether there are people enjoying full human rights, and second-hand people.

5. Illustration with Monenembo: gazer tourist or rascal?

A tourist figure is very interesting in *L’ainé des orphelins* by Tierno Monenembo. It is about a cameraman, Rodney, a character who compounds all the ingredients of Afro-pessimism. Rodney is a notorious adventure seeker and a real cosmopolitan. A grass-roots politician, he is direct, in a hurry, epicurean, and trusts the power of money. So, on the first day he met Faustin, a street child survivor of the genocide against the Tutsi of Rwanda who will henceforth be his guide, he offered twenty dollars, pointblank, “to be taken to the brothel” (95). When asked “What job is yours?”, Rodney gets edgy:

Never repeat this word! I abhor work. I spend my time sleeping or hunting crocodiles whose skins I sell after tasting the flesh. This being not enough to allow me drink to satiation and enjoy my many mistresses, I turn myself into a hired cameraman when I get an opportunity. Understood, or do you want me to repeat it? (97)

There is an additional feature to this presentation of the character’s moral portrayal: the casual cameraman is a shame to his profession since his breach to professional ethics is blatant:

-I make films but for the television. Whenever there is an earthquake in Columbia, I am there! A devastating monsoon in India, Rodney the Zebra is there with his strange kit! Killings in Somalia, appeal is made to Rodney! Wherever things go ill, Rodney is there. Rodney is a doctor who
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comes on the premises wishing things to get worse. And as you can see, Rodney is as fit as a fiddle. Ha! Ha! [...]

-You too are as fit as a fiddle, Faustin! I don't know how you manage, but that's the right thing to do. Better let others kick the bucket, never forget this, Faustin. I've been in Africa for thirty years but I don't know anything about proverbs. But if I had to invent one, this is it: "Peter is crying? Let Rodney get honey" (98).

Rodney is the typical illustration of humanitarian workers denounced by Anne Faure in *Blessures d'humanitaire*. His interest is all in the contract with as long a term as possible; which is guaranteed when the situation of the disaster-stricken people gets worse.

It is quite interesting when he calls himself "a doctor who gets at the premises wishing it to get worse" because it is a confession the television industry he works for can never make: under the cover of reporting on the disasters for the disaster-stricken people's benefit, television strives to push viewer's rating the highest possible. It is no more a secret that being ever-hungry gazers, the viewing audience watches the channel with horror sights that are pushed to the extreme. Horror production therefore guarantees sales.

Besides, this doctor arrives with a "strange kit", a ways of naming, from the native point of view, the camera (and its accessories) which is the journalist's symbol, and the tourist's as well. This is not the only coincidence that brings both activities closer. Especially, they share the competence of "proper gaze" studied by Philippe Hamon in *Texte et idéologie*.

We must admit that the gazer's competence in *L'ainé des Orphelins* is problematic. The narrator hero, supposedly more competent in this field, does not enjoy the exclusivity the "proper gaze". This prerogative rather seems to be detained by the BBC Team, by Rodney in the first place, with his imposing equipment, the external symbol of his "mighty gaze". The team enjoys the whole control: they decide which objects to see, and print them on their film. Faustin makes a remark announcing that his "proper gaze" is declining and is even blurred: "Not much remains to be seen!" (98). He is making an allusion to the spectacle of the genocide against the Tutsi which is well and truly a closed subject for foreign televisions. As a specialist, Rodney challenges him: "Untrue, young brother. There always is something to see! If necessary, we shall invent. That's the cameraman's genius: always offer something to be sighted, even when there is nothing to show" (98). Rodney's comment indulges in the Afro-pessimist

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form which holds and asserts grim tourism in particular: “What do you want brother, the dead are big stars, even when they remain only with the skull. Do you know any genocide sites?” (99).

The “proper gaze”, along with the evaluation system and the collateral normative mechanism, is an important ideological sign. The character who enjoys this prerogative “is no more just a useful vector assigned to the documentary, he becomes a crossroads of norms; he is no more just a simple medium or motivation (very likely to “lay” a description), he becomes an ideological motif” (Hamon 1984: 107). Rodney and the BBC Team are professionals of the “proper gaze”. What is more, they have an appropriate equipment which, by making the “gazer’s” task easier, also gratifies him with the “seen for you” (television reporting). These professionals who enjoy the exclusivity of choosing the subject and through whom we see that which is shown impose the way we see it, and therefore, the way we interpret that which is offered to be seen. That Faustin is gradually losing his “proper gaze” in favor of Rodney and the BBC Team is symptomatic of the pre-eminence of the visitor over the natives, who in matters of tourism, “do not have the same rights of space” (Hamon 1984: 114).

From a tourist guide, Faustin suddenly becomes and acts as actor on the stage of the sites, under Rodney’s supervision who encourages him to exaggerations and to the most barefaced fantasies. The unexpected interest of the team in Faustin and the cameras turn the youth into a euphoric actor. He feels like he was equal to his star, Roger Milla, the famous Cameroonian footballer: “I was becoming interesting. They all left their big Primus bottles and their sandwiches to rush to their cameras and their shooting materials. I was made to sit down in the middle on an old metallic chair. I was as famous as Roger Milla.” (Monénembo 106). The hero’s celebration is unfortunately short, as every details shifts toward the “killer question”: “Tell me Faustin, how come they did not kill you, you in particular?” (Monénembo 106), the dreadful question which every survival must confront.

The hail of questions that assailed the young man infringed on the rules of the game. The tourist normally enjoys the public space, the private space being denied to him, unless he becomes a spy since: “gazing from a closed place (private) towards an open place is not equivalent to gazing from an open place (public) towards a closed place (private). That which may be a tourist gaze (authorized) in one case may become spying (prohibited) in another” (Hamon 1984: 121). This is the reason why the ethical question that is totally absent in the Rodney and the BBC Team case in general is so important in the evaluation and normative system. Let us remember Rodney’s watchword professing that in Rwanda the dead have the exclusivity of starship. He strives to illustrate this sad record of achievements, exaggerating the

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Rwandan tragic pathos and if necessary, distorting reality. Faustin has the quality of witness: “Next day, I was offered a copious breakfast before being filmed in the middle of skulls piled up on tables, in the middle of bones and clothing covered with blood stuck into plastic bags or scattered in the fields among rubbish” (Monénembo 108). The make-up touch in the name of realistic effect is the very thing that feeds the lie. Along the same lines, that which was meant to be a live reporting finally becomes staging and use of special effects: “that’s the one who raped my mother...(I started to blubber, as Rodney had recommended)” (108). And as the actor is a fast learner and pulls his weight to the satisfaction of big television firms:

It lasted a week, so much so that, when we left the BBC people, I had become as good an actor as those I used to see while watching the Fraternity Bar television, contorting themselves and falling from their horses as if they had been hit by a bullet.

The Swiss Television carried us to Rebero, and CNN to Bisesero. Believe it: the my friend Rodney and I had won worldly fame. The team from Norway took us to Musha, and the Australian one took us to Mwulire. I did not need any more guiding. Rodney adjusted his camera and the film worked on its own (108-109).

6. Conclusion

The figure of the tourist gazer is a major theme in the media since the turn of the XXth century. We have noted the motif of the camera which targets grim reality alternatively as an aesthetic work, as a commodity, as a gazer pretext and finally as oppression or defilement. We have tracked this gaze behind the camera and to say the least, it is not neutral, from neither the semiotic nor the ideological point of view. It is now time to sum up the most representative stakes.

This gaze structures a dreadful exoticism as it intervenes in a post-anthropological period. That is what corresponds to “the end of humanism”. Then, we need to wonder about the motivations behind this viewing of Africa and why this gaze and the converging or diverging discourses around it intervene precisely during this fragment of the history of the continent. It seems that by structuring a new exoticism based on Afro-pessimism and on a negative evaluation (the dreadful beauty of Africa that turns hunger, disease, and massacres into a theme, these discourses announce at the same time an imminent or maybe ongoing change of paradigm; a new order which is more efficient and would come to correct the failure of

the previous order. Clearly, the globalization era tolls the knell of the era of assistance to development where Africa is concerned.

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