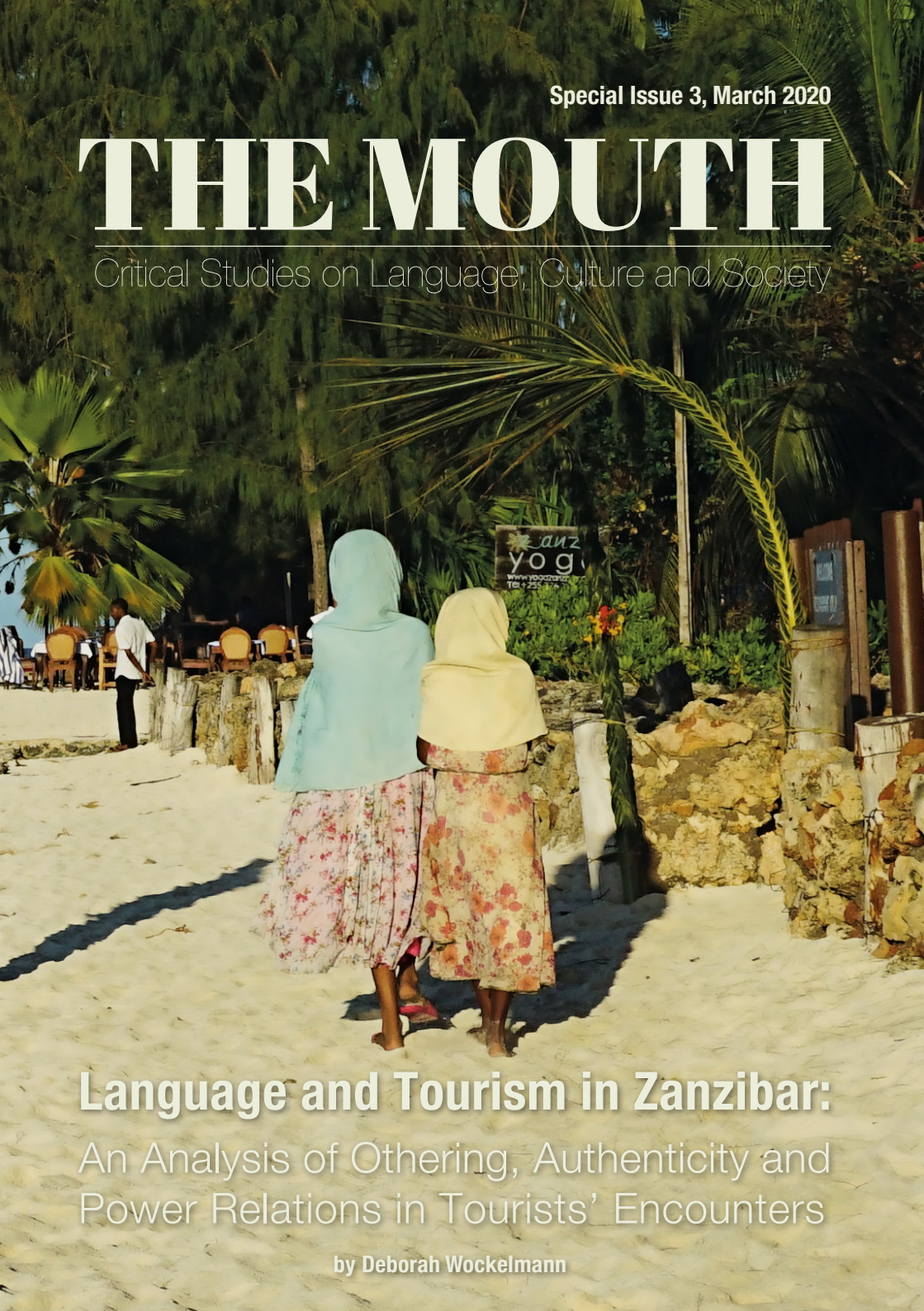# THE MOUTH

Critical Studies on Language, Culture and Society

Language and Tourism in Zanzibar:

An Analysis of Othering, Authenticity and Power Relations in Tourists' Encounters

by Deborah Wockelmann

Published with the generous support of

Acknowledgments

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

Tourism in developing countries has grown rapidly since the midst of the 19th century and since then has become an indispensable resource to many economies and individuals. Since its dynamics reach into various spheres of life, it offers space for powerful societal transformation, multicultural exchange, for connections and likewise for demarcations between peoples. Tourism does not only influence the Global South in terms of financial resources, but also brings about change in societies, landscapes and languages. In East Africa, Zanzibar depicts one of the most impressive tourist hotspots on the Indian Ocean. It is known predominantly for its multi-layered cultural–historic formations and is highly regarded within the global tourism industry for its World Heritage Site of Stone Town as well as its coastal landscapes. The cultural diversity of Zanzibar is closely related to its linguistic diversity, which is heavily influenced by the flow of mass tourism. Because language not only fulfils a universal role as a pragmatic means of interaction but is also one of the most decisive markers of belonging used by human beings, it is

one of the main pillars that helps mould tourism. It can not only denote internationality but also indicates bonds and boundaries between individuals. Language enables tourists in Zanzibar to communicate and get along with locals no matter which part of the world they come from. At the same time language, as a primary characteristic of human culture, reveals unwritten laws and traces of global history. Since this research is engaged with the interplay of tourism and language, language use in Zanzibari tourism raises some fundamental questions such as: Which role does language play in tourism?, Are tourists concerned with local languages, and if they are what are their intentions in learning them and their means to do so?, What do linguistic competence and language choice reveal about speakers and individuals who interact?

Further consideration leads us to the connection between language and belonging, an extensive field of research in sociolinguistics. Wherever cultures interact and amalgamate in confined conditions, for instance in multicultural tourist encounters at the beach, language can indicate power relations and can create (mis) conceptions of the interacting Other. Tourism by Westerners in East Africa bears a colonial heritage that still shapes behavioural patterns and influences the mutual perception of hosts and guests. It is not uncommon for tourists to have biased ideas and expectations of places and people which are rooted in decades of history. Due to this, tourists tend to develop a certain view and understanding of their surroundings. An intrinsic search for authenticity keeps tourists focused on the elements of the experience which deviate from their own living reality. Authenticity is assumed to be one of the main characteristics of tourism that drives Westerners to visit those destinations which appear to be most different from their usual living environment. Given the explicit claim for Otherness, this gaze also distorts the conception of individuals as the Other and leads to them being perceived as the constructed mirror-image of the travelling Self. Othering, just like tourists' claims of

authenticity, is also based on preconceived mental imprints and thoughts that have not been clarified beforehand. Back in their home countries, tourists are usually fed with false impressions and assumptions of living realities in the South. Especially in states that were previously colonised, travel reports from times of colonial dominance have created a distorted picture which still stimulate Westerners' wanderlust in the present day. Even if many tourists do not consciously place language in a position of central importance concerning their holiday, linguistic interest, competence and performance are significant aspects of inter-cultural encounters that illustrate, but also affect, phenomena such as authenticity and Othering. Imbalance of power and autonomy of action are reflected in the language use of tourists and tourism workers. As such, a multilingual repertoire provides a clear advantage for local tourism workers in maintaining competitiveness in business. It shifts language from being merely a pragmatic means of communication to being an object of value, showing the unequal relationships as possessing one-sided levels of effort and responsibility. Educational holidays may have raised tourists' interest in Swahili, the national language of Tanzania, but the intentions and means of language learning differ on the part of the hosts and the guests. Given these presumptions we can extend the list of key questions for this work as follows: How is language used by hosts and guests to create bonds or boundaries? How do historical perceptions influence speakers and who has what agency at his[1] disposal? Which factors influence tourists' ideas and fantasies on Zanzibar and local people and are they reinforced by language?

Tourism in Zanzibar offers a projection surface on which various anthropological and sociolinguistic topics can be elaborated on in

---

[1] For the sake of clarity and readiness I will not use both male and female forms in this study. Personal nouns and pronouns also apply in their female form.

a framed and succinct way. Therefore, this work serves to present several subjects of discussion which prevail in the realistic tourist experience as well as in scientific discourse on language and tourism. The aforementioned research questions and assumptions will be critically discussed and analysed by means of tourists' anecdotes which, on the one hand, exemplify the multifaceted cross-section of tourists, but on the other hand enable manageable and realistic access to the topic.

1.1. Research Aims

During my research trips to Zanzibar, I noticed that language use does not only play a pragmatic role in tourists' encounters, but also influences the relationships between tourists and locals. Language choice and repertoire seem to label speakers and make them stand out in the perception of others. Subliminally, language performance serves to categorise (and stigmatise) both hosts and guests. Specific language use serves speakers in expressing cultural belonging and their state of mind in respect to the respective Other. As such, the practice of Othering and the continuation of historically developed power hierarchies in tourism are maintained and reinforced by language. The main objective of this research is therefore to outline how Othering and hierarchic power relations between tourists and locals are reinforced by language.

Moreover, I wondered why so much stigmatisation and so many misconceptions of the respective Other continue to exist, especially in times when language could offer a common ground for intercultural encounters between hosts and guests. Nevertheless, distorted and simplified impressions of places and people in East Africa, which were established in the colonial era, still prevail in the Western hemisphere and are noticeably reinforced by tourists' claims of authenticity. Some contributions from

post-colonial studies ignite a critical view on tourism as another form of (neo-)colonial practice. An additional objective of this contribution is therefore to outline how the interplay of authenticity and language maintains and circulates misconceptions of the respective Other in tourism.

Thus, a critical post-colonial perspective will be given on current developments in the specific contextual setting of language and tourism in East Africa.

1.2. Structure

This work is structured as follows: an introductory chapter; a theoretical chapter containing the definitions of key terms; a main part, based on the collected field data; and a final chapter acting as a concluding resume of the preceding findings.

In the introduction, a first approach to tourism and language in Zanzibar is given. I intend to outline the fundamental subjects of research and the general ideas and questions that led to this work. Expanding on this, the following subsections of the first chapter present my research aims, the setting of Zanzibar, my methodological approach to collected data, the structure of this work and the current state of research and interdisciplinary fields of study from which my research aims have derived. Following this, the second chapter provides the theoretical derivations of the relevant fields from tourism and cultural studies, i.e., definitions of the key terms: tourists and tourism, authenticity and Othering. The third chapter is the main and data-based part of this work which presents and critically analyses findings from tourists' encounters and the respective topics that arise in conversational settings. Since this work comprises both cultural and linguistic investigations, some subsections are more general, and some are rather linguistic. Though tourism can be criticised in manifold

terms, it should remain in the reader's power to visualise the facts and judge. The discourse ought to present tourism in Zanzibar in all its diversity and simplicity, in all its seriousness and banality, in all its lightness and weight. The individual tourists' anecdotes provide the starting position for the relevant points of discussion that characterise tourists' encounters in real life experiences and scientific discourse. In the conclusion, I intend to sum up all the fundamental findings of the preceding analysis and give a short description of possible future directions for research which could follow on from this initial approach.

1.3. Setting

Zanzibar, the informal designation for the island of Unguja, is one of the most popular tourist hotspots on the East African coast and boasts a high number of visitors from all over the world. It is composed of the Zanzibar Archipelago which includes Unguja and Pemba as the two main islands, and many smaller surrounding islands which are exclusively accessible by sea. The main island of Zanzibar is easy to reach. International flights arrive at Julius Nyerere International Airport in Dar Es Salaam, the biggest city of Tanzania, which is located right on the Indian Ocean and only two hours away from Zanzibar by ferry. Alternatively, connecting services from Dar Es Salaam fly to the island's Abeid Amani Karume International Airport, right next to the historical centre of Zanzibar, or to Pemba Airport on the neighbouring island. Zanzibar claims diverse terrestrial and marine flora and fauna and year-round warm temperatures due to its proximity to the equator. It is known as a cultural melting pot primarily characterised by Arabian and Indian influences as well as Western influences from throughout the colonial era. In the historic centre of the island, Mji Mkongwe, the conglomeration of these influences is represented

in architecture. Stone Town has been considered a World Heritage Site since the year 2000, although the status is repeatedly a matter of debate due to the gradual dilapidation of its buildings. The island is semi-autonomous and politically stable in transnational comparison. Particularly the coastlines of Tanzania, both on the mainland as well as its islands, have become popular alternatives to tourist destinations in Kenya, ever since political stability and violent attacks triggered a tourist drain in the neighbouring country. According to NBS's surveys, in 2016 86.8% of visitors came to Zanzibar for leisure and holidays. Of these the majority were from the United Kingdom, Italy, Germany and the United States, in that order.[2] Except for the rainy season from March to May, the island lives predominantly from the tourism industry. In respective advertisement, Zanzibar is often presented as a tropical, picture-book island, illustrated by photos of idyllic white beaches and palm trees, colourful spice markets or the enchanted, narrow streets of Stone Town. It is often described as one of the few paradises in the Indian Ocean.

1.4. Methodology

The findings of my case study result primarily from a research trip to Zanzibar in the year 2019, but also fall back on previous research trips to Zanzibar and to Diani Beach in Kenya in 2017. Data from Zanzibar comes from the western, eastern and northern parts of the island, namely Stone Town, Paje and Nungwi. Since my research interest focuses on sociolinguistics and the realistic use of conversation and language, I did not intend to collect quantitative data or conduct structured interviews in order to

---

[2] National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania. 2017. *Tanzania Tourism Sector Survey. The 2016 International Visitors' Exit Survey Report.*

avoid the observer–expectancy effect. I am convinced, not solely from my personal experiences as a travelling researcher and a tourist, that the most realistic and valuable data on the topic was best derived from the experiences and opinions that tourists and local tourism workers shared with me. Therefore, the following research is the outcome of participant observations and personal encounters with (here anonymised) speakers which were held partly as informal interviews and partly as spontaneous natural conversations. To provide a realistic glimpse of tourists' encounters, topics which arose will be portrayed by means of anecdotes (cf. Gallop 2002) which I assume provide a good breeding ground for fruitful discussion in the main part of this work. The individual perspective derived from the writer's collection of anecdotes aims to help in discussing details and impressions that are often omitted in scientific discourse.

1.5. State of Research

Studies on the relationships between tourism and language are primarily part of sociolinguistic research, but also refer to other disciplinary fields of study, such as sociology and anthropology. Initial contributions on tourism have been keen to characterise different types and designations of tourist and travelling (Smith 1989, MacCannell 1976, Cohen 1972, Dann 1999, O'Reilly 2005). Urry & Larsen (2011) coined the term "tourist gaze" according to which tourists hold true a set of expectations which they claim to be confirmed through allegedly authentic experiences at their holiday destination (see chapter 2.1). Since a local host community often benefits financially from the fulfilment of these expectations, the "commoditization" as Greenwood (1978) coined it of customs or services, which might accompany a booming tourist industry,

is regarded as a potential risk to the cultural heritage of these communities. The tourists' claim of "authenticity" has been thoroughly elaborated on (MacCannell 1973, Cohen 1988, Wang 1999, Bruner 2001, Hall 1996) in close proximity to the concept of "Othering". Built on the conception of Orientalism by Westerners (Said 1979), Othering has been discussed extensively in cross-cultural tourism encounters (Sumich 2002, Knapp & Wiegand 2014). Given the popularity of tourism in previously colonised countries, tourism is referred to as "post-colonial practice" (Craik 1994, Hall & Tucker 2004) or as "leisure imperialism" (Crick 1989: 322, c.f. Nash 1989) in critical studies. Fundamental research on the sociolinguistics of tourism helps to illustrate the interplay of language and tourists' encounters and the role of multilingualism and language acquisition within the tourism industry (cf. Cohen & Cooper 1986, Jaworski & Pritchard 2005, Phipps 2007, Thurlow & Jaworski 2010, Heller, Jaworski & Thurlow 2014, Blackwood et al. 2016). Region-specific investigations into tourism in East Africa and Zanzibar have been conducted from sociological points of view (Keshodkar 2013, Issaka 2018). Studies on language use within tourism in East Africa have been primarily contributed by Storch (2018), on linguistic landscapes in Zanzibar and Hakuna Matata Swahili in Kenya; by Nassenstein (2016, 2019), on the use of coastal slang and Hakuna Matata Swahili along the Kenyan coast; by Mietzner (2017, forthcoming) on Othering and language contact at the beach and by Mietzner & Storch (2019), on representations and emblematic codes against the background of post-colonial tourism studies.

2. Definition of Key Terms

2.1. Tourists and Tourism

Simply the definition of tourists constitutes a controversial topic in scientific research since tourists represent a multifaceted group of individuals which is difficult to convey without any notion of stereotyping or all-embracing judgement. The first contributions on the typology of tourists' roles point to strangeness and tourists' will to expose themselves to different experiences (Smith 1989, Cohen 1972). The framework within which people travel and their purpose for travel form distinctive features in such investigations as those by Cohen & Cooper (1986) who characterise tourists as temporary visitors and travellers for pleasure. The notions of tourism and the tourist have become controversial since both terms have gained negative connotations over time, especially since mass tourism has increased supply and demand within the industry. In order to differentiate certain types of travelling individuals from others, designations have been used including tourists, backpackers, (independent) travellers, sightseers (MacCannell 1976) and vagabonds (Bauman 1998). Obviously, it is still difficult

to differentiate travelling individuals without stereotyping and generalizing them. The desire however to differentiate and to belong to or dissociate from a certain category has even been enforced by travelling individuals themselves.

> Tourist, traveller, or backpacker? The choice of label can generate a surprising amount of emotional debate. What are people trying to communicate through their choice of a particular label, or conscious rejection of another? (O'Reilly 2005: 155)

O'Reilly briefly describes the identical debate of travelling individuals through the notion of labels. It seems that tourists explicitly choose where to travel to as an individual act of self-expression, not forgetting the modern dynamics of social media through which experiences are constantly shared with and judged by others. I have made similar observations among self-designated "backpackers" on my journeys to Kenya and Tanzania. None of those I met deliberately wanted to wear the label of "tourist", although from my perspective, as a German scientific researcher conducting fieldwork and research in African countries, the awareness of one's own role as a travelling self is quite important. In this work I will thus use the term "tourist" to refer to those who voluntarily travel to Zanzibar where they are confronted by intercultural experiences. This is in contrast to other extremely diverse forms of contact, such as trade or migration, which are not always voluntarily chosen (Blommaert 2013, Vertovec 2007). Furthermore, I do not differentiate between travel conditions such as budget (costs for travel expenses, living costs and accommodation), length of stay (be it a week or a year), level of independence during the stay (individually planned or package tours), and self-designations (i.e. it is not significant whether tourists accept the term or deny it). Also, as a German researcher, I am writing from a Western perspective and my use of the term tourists primarily refers to those from European countries and the US. Moreover, I explicitly include

myself within the label of tourists, although I will usually refer to 'them' as to facilitate my formulations.

As with the designation of tourist, the concept of tourism increasingly carries the derogatory notion of mass tourism and faces accusations of the following related economic, environmental and socio-cultural aspects, as listed by Smith & MacLeod & Hart (2010):

Economic	Environmental	Socio-cultural
Economic over-dependence on tourism	Damage to the vegetation	Conflicts and misunderstanding of respective cultures
Tourism controlled by too many foreign operators and investors	Ecological disruption	Feelings of exploitation on the part of locals
Tourism feels like a new form of imperialism or colonisation	Water pollution	Congestion of facilities and creation of 'tourist enclaves'
Too much emphasis on tourism at the expense of other industries	Air pollution	Social problems exacerbated by tourism
Creation of unstable and inadequate employment conditions for local people	Water-disposal problems	Demonstration effect (imitation of tourist behaviour by locals)
	Damage to archaeological and historic sites	Eventual erosion of social fabric
	Land-use problems	Over-commercialisation of culture and loss of authenticity

Table 1: Negative impacts of tourism
(adapted from Smith, MacLeod, Hart 2010: 124)

Trials by tourists and tourism agencies to re-label their status and contradict the reputation of mere self-centred and ignorant travel behaviour tend towards innovative new offers within the tourism industry which attempt to refute negative associations. The industry itself promotes a re-branding of practice through concepts such as eco-tourism or cultural tourism, both supposedly sensitive ways of travelling which should not harm the environment or local cultures (O'Reilly 2005).

> A new textual reality that offers the illusion of mass tourists' freedom is the ultimate travel fantasy: travel is *as-if* it frees the mass tourist. In this construction, travel is closed by a hegemonic discourse of *what* is – a superior tourist who has legitimate access to the space of others. This is based on a Western-centric discourse of *what was* – a colonial and travelling explorer who captured and controlled the space of others. Consequently, this travel discourse collapses a discursive tension between the tourist (as dependent and inauthentic) and the traveller (as being free, superior and authentic). (Simmons 2004: 51)

Tourism has its downsides, which cannot be denied, but at the same time depict the main pillars of practice. Consumption, for instance, is a characteristic feature of tourism and refers to the idea of leisure coined by Smith (1989). In current language we usually associate the term consumption with the act of consuming, buying or using something. We think of the dangers of increased nicotine and alcohol consumption or read critical articles on 'consumption societies' and the downsides of prosperity and capitalism. We know that we are dependent on the daily consumption of food and that commercial institutes and advertising agencies record and analyse our behaviour as consumers. Consumption is inherent to humankind, but in its distinct forms and ranges it has become rather cultivated in human societies. Affluent societies learn and become adapted to consumptive customs merely through their

societal and political surroundings and their economic power. Within tourism, the term consumption has become relevant to various parts of life and does not solely refer to foods and goods anymore. Touristic places such as Nungwi, surfer spots such as Paje and, World Heritage Sites such as Stone Town in Zanzibar are consumed in a number of ways: nature and cultural heritage, goods and souvenirs, services and entertainment offers, gestures of welcome and generosity – all these subtleties are building blocks within the concept of tourism. On the one hand this brings about enrichment and abundance, on the other hand a loss of control and destruction, which is why tourism is often criticised. According to Urry & Larsen (2011), distinct features of consumption within tourism are the time and place of the experience, since the act of consumption cannot be pushed forward or postponed in the tourists' experience.

> For many consumers what is actually consumed as a service is the particular moment of delivery by the relatively low-level service deliverers: the smile on the flight attendant's face, the pleasantness of the manner of the waitress, the sympathy in the eyes of the nurse, and so on. (Urry & Larsen 2011: 84)

Tourists travel to the tourist centre that they seek to consume and thereby define the experience to a certain moment in time and place. They cannot visit the pyramids in Giza by staying at home during the summer holidays, but must invest time, money and effort to travel to the Nile Valley for the sake of experience. The accepted commitment also shapes the practice of tourism as it influences the tourists' view of things during their journey. Tourists search for certain experiences when they travel which are not feasible back home. Consequently, their imagination of places, people, landscapes or food becomes focussed and their expectations are raised higher than usual. This is what has been

coined the "tourist gaze" (Urry & Larsen 2011). It is no coincidence that flight attendants, hotel staff and waiters are trained to perform the "commercialisation of human feeling" as Urry & Larsen (2011: 79) put it. Courtesy and kindness are a currency in the tourism industry, as clients assume them to be included in the price. The tourist gaze is also intensified by the limited time that tourists spend in a certain place. A defined amount of days in a certain place leads the tourist gaze to what is extraordinary and different from the usual, especially when they are aware of their impending return home (Urry & Larsen 2011). Driven by this attitude, Smith (1989) characterises tourists as not having any obligations or goals except those of leisure and consumption.

> As a tourist, a person is at leisure, which means that he is not bent on shaping the world, only experiencing and toying with it. If the tourist is to pursue peculiarly touristic goals, others must perform utilitarian functions. To put it more succinctly, others must serve while the tourist plays, rests, cures, or mentally enriches himself. (Smith 1989: 45)

Tourists play a role which enables them to enjoy and savour a broad spectrum of options and actions, knowing that such experiences could not be realised in their ordinary lives in the same manner. In response to the tourists' claims to different and exceptional experiences, which detach them from their daily routines, local tourism workers try to fulfil these wishes for economic advantage. Tourist attractions are built and shaped according to the tourists' taste, and locals even present themselves in a certain manner that reflects the tourist gaze. This is what MacCannell (1973) defines as "staged authenticity", which will be clarified in the next subsection.

22

2.2. Authenticity

Throughout his investigations into tourists' motivations, MacCannell (1976: 160) coined the term "authenticity" as the fundamental travel experience that tourists seek: "the pristine, the primitive, the natural, that which is as yet untouched by modernity". Tourism thus allows people to detach from their usual, artificial surroundings and experience something allegedly real and genuine. To enhance what is therefore regarded as authentic during the tourist's experience depends on comparisons with modernity and the global concept of what fundamentally shapes a tourist site. Since most of the tourists addressed in this case study come from Western countries, they rely on their modern living standards and technologies, cultural patterns and developments as the benchmark with which to compare Zanzibar. Their ontological world view intrinsically influences their perception of Zanzibari landscapes, lifestyles and people, knowing that these spheres are alien to each other. Experiencing another form of being, detached from well-known impressions and habits, makes tourism exciting and tangible and is exactly what tourists seek.

Furthermore MacCannell (1976: 10) states that "[a]ll tourists desire this deeper involvement with society and culture to some degree, it is a basic component of their motivation to travel". A deeper involvement with the host culture implies that a close connection must be created even though tourists are strangers in a place. For this reason, authenticity is not only a phenomenon that can be observed in tourists' actions, but it is also an effective measure that is used as a sales pitch. In Zanzibar, travel agents explicitly promote the authenticity of travel experiences by immediately bringing up the very preconceived ideas that tourists hold (this also applies generally to large regions of the African

continent). As such, all goods and services that are consumed in the touristic centres of Zanzibar are portrayed as authentic in order to attract tourists. Dishes, clothes, the colours and patterns of fabric and furniture are advertised as local, despite their disparate features. Tour operators take tourists to natural sites that are expected to be savage and untouched, even when they already record a constant flow of visitors. In reality, this all sounds more like a film setting than a real place in the world of mass tourism. Tourist attractions nowadays are far from being at all natural and realistic. They consist of many small stagings that merge together into a supposedly authentic place, exclusively designed to fit and please the tourists' tastes and imaginations. In fact, it is hard to find local dishes and Swahili music along the coastlines of Zanzibar. Restaurants and bars at the beach are often run by Italian, Indian or British people. They claim between 12,000 and 50,000 TZS[3] for a main course while a similar meal in an inconspicuous local eatery would be sold for a maximum of between 3,000 and 6,000 TZS.

> The food and drink might be identical to that normally eaten indoors, but the magic comes from the movement and the nonordinary setting. (Graburn 1989: 24)

The more inconspicuous the shop or restaurant, the more authentic it often is. Places that are not explicitly created for tourists often lack advertising signs (since they do not need to promote themselves to regular clients), and do not insist on their waiters having multilingual competence to cover all the clients' requests. Those who only make use of offers for tourists right at the beach and in the touristic centres and those who evade the village and

---

[3] TZS is the abbreviation for Tanzanian Shillings, which is the dominating currency in Tanzania. 10,000 TZS equals about 3.92 EUR and 4.38 USD (European Commission. Exchange Rate (InforEuro) 2019).

smaller side streets, rarely find local places that have not been prepared for foreigners. Instead they get to know Zanzibari tourist attractions that are only promoted as authentic, and accept them as real because the experience of authenticity is their focused aim. In terms of material goods, authenticity often accompanies commoditization. Souvenirs like handcrafts, paintings or carvings are often sold under the explicit attribution of 'handmade in Zanzibar', even though the sticker on their packaging occasionally says 'made in China', or they have been shipped from the mainland. Traditions and features of the Swahili culture are often misleadingly presented by paid musicians, athletes and dancers who offer a scripted performance to hotel guests. At the beach, tourists are confronted with the so called Maasai[4] who pretend to sell goods from their village back in the upcountry, even if they are only disguised street vendors originating from Stone Town or Dar Es Salaam. In the confusion of offers, tourists are blinded by the idea of authenticity which misleads their subjective perception of places and people.

The phenomenon of authenticity only succeeds when a certain picture of a holiday destination has been mediated before tourists arrive at the artificial stage. The media and travel agencies widely reproduce these universal, distorted views on distinct places, thereby encouraging the illusion of authenticity.

---

[4] The Maasai are probably the most famous Nilotic ethnic group in the Rift Valley region of Kenya and Northern Tanzania and their cultural practices (such as polygamy, female circumcision, distinct housing) and their pastoral lifestyles have largely been maintained even through the years of colonial, foreign rule. By living primarily from subsistence farming, a sustainable usage of natural resources and (for longer than other ethnic groups) remaining rather encapsulated from the globalized world, they have gained emblematic status as African representatives. Until today, Maasai are thought to depict 'real Africa culture' in the perception of Westerners, especially in contrast to other contemporary, fast-developing African cultures that increasingly adapt to a modern Northern lifestyle. Even though global changes and wildlife tourism more intensely influence the Maasai's living reality in the present day, their image as a fundamentally natural culture seems to remain carved in stone (Wijngaarden 2016, Spear & Waller 1993).

Zanzibar, as well as other postcolonial islands or states along the Indian and Pacific Ocean, are often proclaimed 'paradises' which reinforces Western ideas of the romantic unknown (Wels 2004). Obviously, Zanzibar possesses a unique and rich natural and cultural heritage and is easily associated with a place to rest and cure. At the same time however, the island struggles with the negative impact that tourism has on, and the changes it causes to, the natural coastlines (e.g., impairment of coral reefs, marine pollution) and the urban development (e.g., density of traffic on the main roads and in the city, rising property prices). If Zanzibar did not experience a constant run of tourists visiting the archipelago, hotels, tourist shops and restaurants would stay dreary and abandoned. Nothing of the assumed realness would linger on. This authenticity is in place even before tourists arrive in Zanzibar. Just as with every advertisement we see on television or on the internet, it is at least partially exaggerated, embellished or fake. For the local population this has become a daily balancing act between their reality and the deliberate performance which they offer for the tourism industry. With disregard to the artificiality of places, tourists are given the performances and authentic experiences that they seek and pay for.

2.3. Othering

Othering is the concept of distinguishing human beings according to their non-conformance with the evaluating Self. The intersubjective nature of the delineation of the Self and the Other was initially elaborated by Hegel (1807) in relation to humans' capabilities of introspection and self-consciousness. Said (1979), in his work on Orientalism, elaborated on the mysterious and inferior representations of Middle Eastern cultures from the Westerners' view. He thereby emphasised that "the Orient has

helped to define Europe (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (Said 1979: 1f.). Othering implicates not only stigmatisations and devaluation of the Other but, at the same time, is accompanied by the resulting upgrading of the Self. During colonization, Othering affected the relation of colonisers and the colonised with the latter (usually) depreciated due to their belonging to deviant social categories, such as nationality, race, religion or language. Nowadays, Othering is continued in different spheres of life, such as the disfranchisement of minorities in political contexts, and the discrimination of groups or individuals due to gender, ethnic or religious belonging. The construction of the constitutive Other helps tourists to rediscover those parts of their Self that find little expression in their habitual environment. By looking for the extraordinary, they initiate a clash with their own background.

> [M]any of those participating in Western mass tourism seem to believe, or at least aspire to believe, that contact with specific forms of Otherness encountered as part of the journey can help them to reveal, or to reconnect to, such a presumably hidden or repressed facet of Self. (Picard & Di Giovine 2014: 4)

In the context of tourism (of Westerners) in African countries, Othering is implemented particularly through the exoticization of the Other and through stigmatisation, with biased and romanticised ideas of places and people. As such, Othering is characterised by a claim of strangeness and exotic fulfilment as another main feature sought by tourists (Smith 1989, Cohen 1972, Knapp & Wiegand 2014). Especially in studies of postcolonialism and migration, these phenomena are continuously discussed against the background of the colonial era, in which the African continent served as a surface for the projection of Westerners' imaginary worlds.

> The existence of colonial and expansionist imaginaries in present-day performances reveals the deep cultural impact of colonial times and mind-sets, notably on contemporary travel within the postcolonial global south. This colonial paradigm, as we shall call it, is distinguishable by the implicit and explicit construction of the European Self and African Other. Its influence is furthermore increasingly expressed by travellers' reflections on their own (un)colonial behaviour. (Knapp & Wiegand 2014: 160)

It is no accident that the image of African countries suffers from being seen through a distorted view of the world that was built on colonial ideologies and which has not been thoroughly refuted and unravelled Even though various mindless ideas about the continent are discussed with increasing frequency in public discourse compared to than some decades ago, there are many misconceptions in people's minds. What were racist prejudices and stereotypes in colonial times, are now embellished as vague fantasies on an exotic dreamland. Particularly as social media and the internet make access to information easier than ever before, tourism offers a breeding ground for narrow and simplified perspectives which are irresponsibly spread around the globe. Tourists usually adapt their ideas from travel agencies, advertisements and internet forums that reproduce stereotypical ideas of tourist spots like Zanzibar and uphold false images, depending on what fulfils the tourists' expectations. Discourse, reports, recommendations, travel blogs, articles and chit-chat all reinforce a certain idea of places and people, and spread like wildfire. The result is an incomplete and non-diverse picture of a multifaceted continent. Enwezor (2006: 11) outlines precisely this, writing that "we choose which Africa suits our intentions". Tourists are also not expected to justify their intentions in travelling or the impressions they gain of the destinations when they seek holiday experiences in an alien place. They are not necessarily confronted by any

questions of responsibility at all since they are only conscious of what has been advertised by tour operators and travel agencies (Knapp & Wiegand 2014).

> Exoticism portrays only a portion of a culture and allows the imagination to use stereotypes to fill in the missing pieces. Most frequently, when we supply the missing pieces, we extrapolate that other people are more different from us than they are similar. We can too easily sustain our myths about Africans and believe that words such as mysterious and the Dark Continent actually apply to Africa. (Keim 2009: 10)

Experiencing Otherness is sometimes a subject of discourse even among travelling individuals. Thereby, Zanzibari places and people are precisely regarded as the opposite of the tourists' home countries with alterities pointed out more than similarities. I have found myself in conversations with other Western tourists about the imbalanced economic situation, the gap between rich and poor, insufficient infrastructure, environmental pollution, the hospitality and cordiality of locals, and striking nature sites. We did not talk about similarities, because our gaze was searching for deviations. In many developing countries, chosen tourist attractions can be very delicate, and this is precisely what attracts tourists. In South Africa, India or Brazil for instance, tourists can book guided tours to slums and townships (Enebi 2016). Slum tourism is probably an extreme example for tourists' search for strangeness, but generally it illustrates the link between Othering and exoticization that labels both places and people. In tourism, exotic places are often understood to be simple, wild, rural and lonely. Even if tourists could afford an $80 accommodation per night in a clean, single hotel room, some would always choose a $15 bungalow with a sand floor and cold-water sanitary facilities or choose to camp to feel the simplicity and pragmatism of the

allegedly authentic local lifestyles. Tourist strongholds offer a broad spectrum of accommodation, with hotels, private lodges and wooden bungalows all inviting tourists to choose what fits their taste, providing that their economic independence allows them to buy and toy with their chosen leisure space (Urry & Larsen 2011). Especially among low-budget tourists, there is a tendency to travel out of the cities and into the savage, lonely landscapes of rural Africa which, although obviously representing the most widely reproduced picture of the continent in the world, depicts only one side of the coin.

> [The modern man] is interested in things, sights, customs, and cultures different from his own, precisely because they are different. Gradually, a new value has evolved: the appreciation of the experience of strangeness and novelty. This experience now excites, titillates, and gratifies, whereas before it only frightened. (Cohen 1972: 165)

The tendency of Othering is an intrinsic practice of human beings because categorization of the strange and unknown, i.e., human differentiation, is easiest through the marking of opposites and alterity. It is however a risky endeavour when opinions are not critically reflected upon with the historical context considered, and can have a destructive impact on local societies (Berman 2017).

3. Tourists in Zanzibar – a Case Study

The following anecdotes (in italics) were written by myself and result from various encounters which occurred during my research trip to Zanzibar during December 2018 and January 2019. They intend to reflect realistic impressions of the tourists' surroundings, and personal encounters that I faced during my stay and which provided me with valuable impulses for critical and self-reflective analysis. Stepping beyond the boundaries of a scientific researcher and taking on the role of a private tourist gave me the freedom to talk and act naturally and allowed me to attentively observe and engage with other tourists and tourism workers. Additionally, I consider personal anecdotes to loosen the formal standards of academic readings and facilitate the reader's understanding and imagination of events, especially if he has never travelled to Zanzibar.

3.1. Othering and the
Hakuna Matata Philosophy

(A.1) Two yoga teachers from Italy and Sweden (interviewed in Paje)

I meet two women from Italy and Sweden who have come to see the live band at our bungalow resort. They already know the barkeeper, which is why he introduces me to them with excitement. "These are good friends of mine, you should join them.", he says. We sit down around a big table and hesitantly start the usual small talk that tourists initiate among each other: Where are you from, what do you do, why are you here, how do you like it? One woman is around 60 years old, originally from Sweden, and gives yoga classes to Swedish tourists in a local hotel. At my request she explains that the groups are not open to everyone but limited to Swedish guests. She had been in Zanzibar before and will spent about two months on the coast. Apparently, she was expected to work full-time, but just successfully negotiated to work part-time to have a balanced distribution of work and leisure during her stay. The other woman is around 30 years old and has an especially positive radiance. She just obtained her yoga teaching certificate and also intends to offer yoga classes soon. She raves about Zanzibar and her first impressions and experiences.

When the local band starts to play, I turn around and our conversation pauses, but I inevitably overhear that the women's dialogue switches to the musicians (who are all men) – to their sexuality, their attraction to local men in general and their intimate fantasies. Sitting just one metre away, I feel awkward overhearing these topics. But I've been to Diani Beach[5] before, so there is nothing left that could really

---

[5] Diani Beach is a tourist stronghold near to Mombasa in Kenya, especially known for sex tourism of Westerners.

shock me at these tourist sites. The older woman starts to comment on the band. "The musicians are just wonderful! One of them looks hotter than the other.", she says. I feel something between shame and disgust, since I had talked to some of the guys during the day and some of them they were even younger than me – and according to her age, this woman could be my mother. Earlier, she said that she supports the band by financial donations and online promotion of their music, which now appears a bit shady to me. The Italian woman joins in with her enthusiasm. Unexpectedly, she proclaims that her sexuality has reached a strikingly high level since she arrived in Zanzibar. She mentions certain elixirs and waters she had tried before, which were alleged to increase her libido, but without success. Since she arrived in Zanzibar, she feels confident, sexy and understood by local men, she says. She continues, "I must only sit at the beach, hold a bottle of water in my hands and I feel observed by men who seem to know exactly what I want – straight, clear, unhidden." I wonder why she travels to Zanzibar for men's attention – she is very pretty and has an intriguing smile. She must be approached by men a lot – in Italy or wherever she goes. I try to focus on the musical performance and feel stuck in a conversation I did not intend to participate in, but quickly notice the interesting profiles that these equanimous women share with me.

East African coastlines are known for sex tourism and an easy-going way of life which I will refer to as the *hakuna matata* philosophy in this paper, building upon other contributors who have previously described the phenomenon (cf. Mietzner 2017, Mietzner forth-coming, Nassenstein 2019). Just like *Pura Vida[6]* became the

---

[6] *Pura Vida* (Span.) 'pure life, nothing but life' designates a positive and peaceful life attitude in Costa Rica which symbolically stands for an optimistic tenor and a national sentiment of Costa Ricans (cf. Rankin 2012). In contrast to its neighbouring countries, Costa Rica benefits from economic stability and political peace which, in contrast to the *hakuna matata* philosophy in East Africa, does not collide with contradictory facts about the country's welfare but rather confirms the truth that might lie in the people's mentality.

unrivalled philosophy of life in Costa Rica and the *Mallorca-feeling* beguiles millions of tourists annually into experiencing the extreme without rules and limits (cf. Traber 2017: 60), *hakuna matata* has expanded to become a tourist magnet for the whole East African region and beyond. Ever since the conception of the idea of an easy-going and joyful life attitude it has proved effective in making work pay, as a self-propelling promotion for tourism, primarily in Kenya and Tanzania. Visitors feel the need to get to the bottom of things, uncover the secrets of happiness and especially find an answer to their fundamental question 'Can I be part of this, too?'. *Hakuna matata* stands for a promising mentality of easy living and the abstinence of problems. The term is derived from Swahili *hakuna matatizo* 'there are no worries' and is shortened to the catchphrase *hakuna matata* which gains attention easily and sticks perfectly in the mind. This history of the term reveals more than its misleading connection to The Lion King film, produced by Walt Disney Feature Animation in 1994, which provides an insight to the term although with incomplete information reaching the audience. It seems that the terms connection to the film, The Lion King, is far more familiar to people than the actual origin of *hakuna matata*. In fact, *hakuna matata* gained historical and political significance in the 1970s when it was used by the Kenyan government to express support to refugees from neighbouring countries (Mietzner 2017). During this time under its third president Idi Amin, military turmoil was initiated in Uganda with many citizens forced to flee. This had the effect that even Kenyans were worried about safety issues. Throughout this situation the government used the catchphrase *Kenya hakuna matata* to calm and to clarify that 'Kenya is a safe place to stay, a country without worries' (Bruner 2001). In 1982 the Kenyan band Them Mushrooms published a song called *Jambo Bwana* resurrecting the meaning of *hakuna matata* – 'no worries'. The song gained high popularity and was extensively covered and performed in tourist venues which reinforced the linguistic re-contextualisation (Bruner

2001, Mietzner 2017). Finally, in 1994, Disney's production The Lion King was released, in which *hakuna matata* stands for a positive philosophy of easy living. Since then, the term has become popular worldwide and turned from a political statement into a ubiquitous catchphrase and commodified philosophy in the tourism industry. Although it originates in Kenya, it is used in Tanzania in the same manner. The constructed mentality is diligently cultivated and reproduced in travel reports, articles, social media and the advertisements of travel agencies. The following article shows a realistic glimpse of the *hakuna matata* philosophy:

> Hakuna Matata is a Swahili expression that means 'there are no problems', which in Zanzibar reached its highest expression. There are no concerns, one should live and let others live. If you are surrounded by beauty, you don't make any effort to make things otherwise. […] Life is like this in Zanzibar, maybe that's why they coined the phrase Hakuna Matata. There are no problems. I would add: If there are no problems, don't come here to create them. When we finally returned to our hotel bubble, one of the employees told me that sometimes he is tired of the paradise. To me, I confess, those days I only knew a little and when I started the long trip back, I realized that we always yearn for what we don't have: an island, a palm tree, a private swimming pool, a bit of spontaneity. Here it is to be found, and who knows, maybe more (Traveler 2013[7]).

'Zanzibar, live and let live' is proclaimed here to be part of the *hakuna matata* mentality. Tourists are invited to do whatever they want to on the island. It suggests freedom of action and thought. Just like the two yoga teachers in A.1, tourists are invited to enjoy and savour their vacation without limitation. This includes experiencing fantasies and desires that are not feasible back home, or without the Other. Sexuality and exoticization are no rarity in tourism in Africa,

---

[7] Translated from Spanish by the author.

as we have seen in chapter 2.3. In fact, holiday destinations like Zanzibar or the Kenyan equivalent, Diani Beach, are most likely to be visited precisely because tourists are encouraged to act out their romantic and sexual fantasies, be it as part of the sex business, or in private encounters with locals. The movie *Paradies Liebe* 'Paradies Love' from 2012, directed by regisseur Ulrich Seidl, accurately stages the desperate search for romance by Western women with African men in Kenya. It tells the story of a fifty-year-old Austrian mother who travels to Diani Beach and starts a relationship with a young Kenyan man which she beliefs to be based on real love and affection. Together with three other women on the hunt she experiences the ups and downs of being a 'sugar mama'. Seidl thereby eloquently outlines Western women's unmet need for attention, romance and love, which they explicitly miss from men in their own culture. In the following dialogue, the protagonist (A1) and her friend (A2) talk about the sexual expectations of local men.

A1: "Here, they want it, they like it – everything that is wild and natural. It's part of it. […]

A2: "So, I don't have to pay particular attention to anything?"

A1: "No, not at all. It is different – that is much more interesting!"

A2: "They take you just the way you are?"

A1: "That's just the point, dear, they take you as you are. I don't care about anything anymore, anything! And I tell you, it feels good! You know, I've bent so much for men in my life, I can't do it like that here. This way with him, that way with another […] Now, they stand by me, they take me for who I am. Finally. Finally."

A2: "Very good. Very good."

(Seidl 2012: TC 00:15:51)[8]

---

[8] Translated from German by the author.

Knapp & Wiegand emphasise the frequent expectations of, and ideas about, African countries as holiday 'paradises' and points to their origins in popular media.

> Africa has long served as both an idea and a space of projection for European fantasies […] European imaginations of the continent usually oscillate between wilderness, nature and romance on the one hand and chaos and abyss on the other. The myth of a romantic and authentic Africa is most present in tourism discourses and is actively used by travel agencies – as well as a wide range of popular media – for advertising purportedly untouched nature and unique wildlife. (Knapp & Wiegand 2014: 158)

As such, the Other becomes part of the tourists' projections, whether it be a beach boy[9] who explicitly offers sex for cash or the good-looking guitar player of the local Swahili band that grabs the tourists' attention. The yoga teachers in A.1 did not seem to be concerned that I was sitting nearby and overhearing the conversation. Their sexual interest in local men was not to be hidden or to be ashamed of, since it is an unwritten law that travel destinations like these make everything possible. The women's enthusiasm and their interpretation of intercultural interactions confirm how much of their experience is invented only in their minds, although the local consensus of *hakuna matata* philosophy confirms: the sky is the limit in a place where living is easy.

---

[9] The term *beach boys* has become familiar and is used to label independent salesmen on the beaches of East African holiday destinations. According to Mietzner (forthcoming) beach boys themselves differentiate between beach operators (with a license for offering tours and services), beach vendors (without license selling goods or fruits) and sex workers (offering sex and sometimes selling goods as well), while tourists do not make (and maybe do not even notice) any differentiation. The term can have a pejorative connotation which is why any of the abovementioned traders "passes this label on to other, in their eyes, less valuable groups" (Mietzner forthcoming). In this work, the term is used to label mostly beach vendors who address tourists at the beach to sell souvenirs, handcrafts, bracelets, sunglasses, fabrics, coconuts and other small things.

> Today, however, tourists are literally being invited, encouraged, and enticed to bring themselves and their alien ways even to places and countries where their countrymen have but recently been ejected by revolution or rejected by successful independence movements. In the modern world, the underdeveloped or developing nations are those most often encouraging and promoting tourism. (Smith 1989: 267)

Grievances are deliberately ignored for the sake of holiday happiness. The author of the article quoted above indicates the imperfection of the paradise, but puts all facts that do not fit with tourists' imaginations aside. Mietzner (2017) reports on bathing games and daily salutations by hotel staff in a renowned hotel on Diani Beach, where guests would constantly be asked *Hakuna*? in order to complete the sentence by replying *matata!* There would be no way to satisfy the entertainer and be left in peace without joining the game as a hotel guest. Thus, even without actively adapting to the *hakuna matata* philosophy, tourists are sucked into it and encouraged not to talk or think about worries. The catch phrase is printed on souvenirs, carved in wood, spoken out loud to express in-group status and constantly shared to create memories. *Hakuna matata* is a versatile filler and a welcoming exclamation that has gained universal applicability and sells well. Particularly Western tourists, who are often spoiled by, and occasionally tired of, industrial welfare, seek a change on holiday. While being stuck within a demanding work ethic and a strict daily routine, they search for ease and pleasure in Zanzibar and consider the joyful lifestyle as fulfilling – they feel slowed down and relaxed, and believe that they will not feel bothered by anything until they get back to their daily lives. Of course, people do complain in Zanzibar – about infrastructure, traffic, medical care, rising expenditure and land prices. Despite the prosperous business of tourism, Zanzibar still suffers from governmental corruption, and basic needs such as a steady water and electricity supply and waste disposal are not taken care of by the leading powers (cf. Keshodkar 2013: 200). In portrayals of tourism however,

all complaints and worries vanish into thin air in order to maintain the perfect picture of an island surrounded by a turquoise ocean and beneath a blue sky; if no problems already exist, none should be created. Alongside the euphemistic expectations of Zanzibar that characterise the island's popularity among Westerners, offers for tourists gradually adjust to the levels of relaxation and leisure that they expect to meet. Offers such as yoga, Pilates, meditation, and material and medial detox have gained more and more attention and have shaped the touristic centres of Zanzibar. Tourists such as the Yoga teachers in A.1 stay at the coast for a couple of weeks in order to feel slowed down and then return, refreshed, to their home countries, with what they leave behind or cause by keeping this business going irrelevant to them. The impact of a six-week yoga retreat in Paje might not seem alarming at first sight, but it contributes to increased imbalance within Zanzibari life. Just as with everything that is consumed in excess, the Zanzibari fear the downsides of tourism, such as the commoditization of their culture and land. "It is such forms of marginalisation that Zanzibaris increasingly experience in the presence of tourists and other outsiders which has led many of them to suggest that their 'culture is dying'" (Keshodkar 2013: 14). Again, tourism dulls and deceives. "For tourists, it is *hakuna matata* 'there are no problems'; for us local people, it's *kuna matata* 'there are problems'", a young Tanzanian once admitted to me. With appointments in Zanzibar often lacking written contracts and policies, he had just lost his job as a bartender in Zanzibar from one day to the next. From time to time he wonders about studying and leaving the country, but first of all, he will head back to his family in Dar Es Salaam where he will have a place to stay for the next couple of months. *Maisha magumu* 'hard life' describes the experiences of economic struggle that represents the reality of many Zanzibari lives – though *maisha marefu*[10] 'long life' is what they teach the tourists, because it sells better than concern.

---

[10] *Maisha marefu* equals the English translation 'cheers' that is used to drink a toast.

3.2. Tourist Language and Linguistic Capital

(A.2) A couple from Romania (interviewed in Nungwi)

A Romanian couple around 35 to 40 years old has arrived at our residence in Nungwi. I join the breakfast table in the morning just like every day. It has become a contact zone for us, the guests and the host, who is always eager to dish up exciting topics or funny stories alongside bread and fruits. I am inspired by the diversity and dynamics of the tourists fluctuating on this idyllic, covered terrace, not knowing where the conversation will lead me today. The new couple is talking in a language I can't even attempt to understand. From their body language and the contextual implementation, they seem to be clearing up some trivial questions in Romanian: 'Do you want coffee as well?' 'Pass me sugar from the other table.' 'Hmm, there is no milk.' The guy switches to English and asks our host for milk.

A couple of hours later we sit around the dinner table and share our experiences of the day. The Romanian couple has opened up to the group by now and is willing to share all their excitement with the rest of the group. The woman asks me what I am doing in Zanzibar, which health provision measures I have taken and whether I have been vaccinated before the trip. She is concerned about malaria, obviously having a somewhat dated idea of the sickness, since malaria has long lost its risky reputation in tourist areas where it can be treated immediately in every hospital. She peppers me with questions on security and my experiences of travelling alone as a white woman in Tanzania. I wonder that she has made it here at all in light of all her doubts and fears. Though I know that they are just the tip of the iceberg of the risk and danger that people occasionally like to confront themselves with, and often do so by conceiving an adventurous holiday

to places they perceive as exotic. The woman tells us about their experiences with beach boys when they wanted to go swimming. 'At some point when we crossed that line[11], we felt like everybody wanted to meet us and sell something to us.' Since I know this phenomenon well from both Zanzibar and Diani Beach, I reply that it is nothing to be concerned about since it is their job to sell goods at the beach. The guy nods and confirms my observation by adding 'That's why they were hunting us, because we were actually just crossing the beach.' The woman is not convinced yet. It was an awful experience for her, and she did not know how to get rid of the beach vendors who wanted to steal her privacy. The attempts to calm her down are in vain. Her boyfriend though sticks to his opinion by concluding 'This is what they do. So, we will just talk to them, say thanks, and that's it. I'm not going leave I will face them!' I have to smile at his formulation of 'facing them' which sounds as if this was some really huge challenge for tourists to avoid or withstand a verbal beach boy attack. 'You better say 'Inshallah' if you don't want to be rude. That is a respectful way to say thank you in Swahili without being ignorant', I say. The Australian guy nods. He has used the expression to make uncomfortable situations with the beach boys good. Now, the Romanian woman seems to calm down and practises pronouncing 'Inshallah' correctly. She will try it next time, she says, as if she just gained valuable linguistic equipment for her next combat at the beach.

As always in my role of undercover tourist in researcher's disguise, I try to initiate the topic of language in the group. The Romanian guy asks about my Swahili skills. I am modest and not too convinced of my rudimental skill. "I just speak a few words and get the grammar easily", I reply. Speaking a language, to my perception, has something do to with fluidity, at least a bit. The Australian guy challenges me: "Oh come on, I am sure, you can speak Swahili!". Well, depending on how you define

---

41

speaking a language, I think to myself – 'Maybe'. The Romanian guy proclaims: "I think it's amazing when you can speak a language that nobody would expect you to. I think it's so funny. And also, for you to understand what people probably think and speak and they think that you don't understand..." And all of a sudden we are talking about the advantages of speaking local languages and imagining situations in which it could be helpful to speak or understand Swahili. The Romanian guy tells us of a recent experience: "I tried to do this today with water [negotiating the price], because we paid like 5000 TSH for a pack of six. And they said it was seven. And they said 'No, no, we are not going to lower the price.' So, I just bought it. I don't like it, when that happens, even if it's small [money]." We begin to compare our dala dala[12] costs to make sure that nobody paid more than the other. Gradually our conversation switches to discrimination, because the Romanian guy feels disadvantaged by being a tourist as it means he pays more for water than locals. Then the topic switches to positive racism, and then to racism in our home countries. And then our conversation runs dry of topics that make us aware of the absurdity of our complaints, sitting in a beach bar right on the shimmering sea, enjoying our holiday.

Learning the local language has become popular within tourism nowadays, not merely during educational sojourns. All the tourists I happened to talk to confirmed that they looked up at least some basic phrases in Swahili before coming to Zanzibar. Initial phatic communication between tourists and locals at the beach often includes the question of which languages are known or spoken, or which second, third or even fourth languages are known alongside the other's mother tongue. These conversations about multilingual repertoires however, would not refer to profound skills in the sense of perennial language studies. Beach boys encourage tourists to speak Swahili, but in contrast to *Kiswahili Kisanifu* 'Standard Swahili' they teach a

---

[12] *Dala dala* is the Swahili term for minibus shared taxis, a local means of transport in Tanzania.

simplified tourist slang, referred to as *Hakuna Matata Swahili*[13] (HMS) by Nassenstein (2019) who coined the term based on fieldwork that took place on the coast of Kenya.

> Very often, tourists coming to Kenya learn a few words of Swahili (e.g. the popular Swahili phrase *hakuna matata* is an emblematic exotic souvenir), which they repeatedly use when interacting with beach boys, ordering meals, sharing drinks with other tourists at the pool bar, and in online forums and on Facebook pages after their return, making an effort to display in-group status and local knowledge and to mark themselves as polyglots. (Nassenstein 2016: 138)

Similar observations have been made in Zanzibar, where the slimmed-down and contextualised HMS enjoys great popularity among tourists and is often taken home as a linguistic souvenir. Many tourists pick up a few Swahili phrases, and reproduce them both in current situations with locals and in social media. Nassenstein (2019) lists an example of the basic lexicon of HMS which is no less unmistakable in Diani Beach than in Zanzibar. I have experienced daily conversations with staff, bartenders or beach vendors, that would follow the same pattern day by day:

Dialogue 1

(1)	Bartender	*Mambo?*	('How is it going?')
	DW	*Poa.*	('Cool.')
	Bartender	*Freshi?*	('Everything fresh?')
	DW	*Freshi.*	('Everything fresh.')
	Bartender	*Kama kawa?*	('As always?')
	DW	*Kama kawa.*	('As always.')
	Bartender	*Sawa. Hakuna matata.*	('Alright. No problem.')

---

[13] *Hakuna Matata* Swahili is a term coined by Nassenstein (2019: 154) for the "fluid touristified practice that is recurrent along the East African coast", from now on abbreviated as *HMS*.

As Phipps (2007: 24) points out, "no languages come with innocent histories but they are carriers of cultural legacies and tourists, as language carriers and language makers, are themselves embedded in an ongoing process of telling and writing of other cultures and other experiences, in and through languages". HMS is a mixture of standard and colloquial Swahili which deliberately breaks grammatical rules and structures. In contrast to the predominantly inflected languages of tourists, mostly Indo-European, Romanic and Slavic languages, Swahili follows an agglutinating language structure, according to which grammatical functions are expressed by affixes that are docked to a word and syntactic relations are expressed by the agreement of these added morphemes. As such, adjectives, determiners and numerals agree with the noun class of the noun in terms of their prefixes (pronominal prefixes, noun class prefixes etc.). Deviations from the scheme point to colloquial language, slang or insufficient language competence. All of dialogue 1 is colloquial Swahili, partially mixed with English, i.e., in *freshi* 'fresh (with a final vowel according to the lexical rules of Standard Swahili)', and with pidginised forms, e.g. in *kama kawa* (abbr. of *kama kawaida* 'as usually' in Standard Swahili). Further examples provided by Nassenstein (2019) illustrate that the agreement of nouns and numerals, locatives and determinants is not met.

	HMS	Gloss	Derived from
(2)	*Jambo rafikis*	'Hello friends!'	*rafiki* (nc9), pl. *marafiki* 'friend(s)'
(3)	*Wapi cho?*	'Where's the toilet?'	*Choo kiko wapi?* or *Wapi choo?* 'Where are the restrooms?'
(4)	*hi nini*	'What's this?'	*Hii ni nini?* 'What is this?'

Table 2: The basic lexical inventory of HMS (extracted from Nassenstein 2019: 137)

In (2), *ø-jambo* is missing the prefix which indicates a personal pronoun and would actually be *ha-m-jambo* 'how are you (pl.)?, (lit.) don't you have anything?'. Furthermore, *rafiki-s* is used without a noun class marker instead of *ma-rafiki* (nc2) 'friends' or *-rafiki* (nc10) 'friends', and carries the English plural /s/ instead. Example (3) shows cases of syntactical errors since either the copular verb *ni* 'is' or the locative *kiko* (nc7 in concordance with *choo,* nc7) would be expected. In (4), the demonstrative *hi* 'this' misses a second /i/ and again, the copular verb *ni* 'there is' is missing. Another striking feature of conversations in HMS is phatic language use. The most prominent example is probably *hakuna matata,* which is used as a universal filler and a substitute that acquires meaning according to its contextual embedding. It can replace *asante* 'thank you', *karibu* 'you're welcome' or implicate 'there you go' when accompanied by a gesture when food is served. When I once approached a beach boy in Nungwi with *Mambo?,* he replied with the catchy phrase *Poa kichizi kama ndizi ndani ya friji.* 'Cool like a banana in the fridge'. He was obviously using this tongue twister to break the language down into a fun game which would have sold well at the beach. This tourist slang however faces harsh criticism from local speakers since it is neither polite nor to be taken seriously. It even reinforces a distorted picture of the Swahili language as many tourists assume the slang is correct language use. In fact, there are a few variations of the Swahili language in Zanzibar and its surroundings as I will show in chapter 3.3, not to mention the diversity of the language that exists on the mainland. An independent travel agent in Stone Town explained to me that HMS was a childish slang that locals use to gain tourists' attention, but in his view, it is a stupid invention that mocks and makes fun of tourists.

> Matata is a slang; people use it on the street. For us, first, we don't use slang with adults. I cannot go to my dad like *Dad, mambo?* −No, he would punch me like so badly. So first, you have to know, slangs like this we

don't use with adults at all. My daughter cannot ask me *Mambo?*. I will never let her do that. For us that's our culture, I would be opening a door for her to do something like disrespect. (A., Stone Town, 2017)

As tourists, we however still seek the thrill of transcending borders, especially if we do not know any better about the appropriate use of language and have not attended thorough language classes. Phipps (2007: 58) states that "[a]s learners we feel more in control once we are handling these words and playing with the risk ourselves". Especially since HMS is regularly reproduced, orally transmitted and even written on T-Shirts, signs, souvenirs and postcards, many tourists simply pick up what is being given and take HMS as part of the authentic experience. This is illustrated by the example of a young woman who has shared experiences from her first trip to Zanzibar on YouTube and comments on her video blog "I initially thought Hakuna Matata was made up by Disney, but it's in fact Swahili." (Welt der Chancen 2016). Now we know that it is not.

For those tourists who see language as a pragmatic means of communication, its functional value is more important than its entertaining character. The Romanian man in anecdote A.2 considered Swahili skills as linguistic capital in the sense of power, security and control (Phipps 2007) or "ownership over language" (Nassenstein 2019: 133). According to his experience of economic discrimination in a bargaining situation, travelling to other linguistic habitats might be regarded as a potential risk and as putting oneself in a potential position of weakness. A lack of language fluency is accompanied by an incapacity to protect oneself during verbal conflict or attack. It seems logical to assume that if he knew Swahili, he could contradict the water seller and set the price straight or protect himself from overpaying the *dala* driver. Likewise, if his wife knew Swahili, she would be able to clearly tell the beach boys to leave her in peace whenever she goes

for a walk. Both tourists felt disadvantaged, allegedly by their insufficient language competency, and disliked lacking linguistic agency and being compulsorily obedient to local speakers.

The fear of losing control is a distinctive characteristic of people, which is often indicated by language. Nwoye (1992: 311) states that "[s]ocial interaction becomes an activity of continuous mutual monitoring of potential threats to the faces of the inter-actants". By being able to fight potential risks or threats confidence is gained by the speaker, here the tourist, who no longer needs to fear loss of face.

> Our attempts to speak other languages, as tourists, do things to how we are understood and to how we are interpreted by others. It is clear that languages destabilise us, mark us out as different when, as tourists, we travel from a place where our languages fit with the local landscape, to a place where they sit more uneasily, awkwardly with other ways of living and speaking. It is also clear that languages get things done, that they function pragmatically and relationally to accomplish the work of culture and the labour of leisure. (Phipps 2007: 11)

Language struggles can thus reinforce interpersonal discrepancies, for instance, when tourists such as the Romanian woman are confronted by beach boys and do not find an appropriate way to express their disinterest or their distress in the situation. In online forums and hotel reviews, a lot of tourists report on harassment by beach boys and situations that made them feel uncomfortable and helpless. Even though most of them only sell handcrafts, jewellery or tours, tourists feel lost by their constant approaches and frequent requests to talk. Some even consider avoidance strategies and share their advice online to help others avoid allegedly annoying encounters. These often appear with a hint of guilt, since they are just doing their job in the end, as the Romanian man pointed out. This illustrates how tourists regard

themselves being in a certain position of power as inherent to their status, even though they are primarily guests in Zanzibar. The wish to maintain control of a situation concerns us in our habitual surroundings, just as it does when we travel, but becomes harder to realise in a strange environment. Even if there is no need for serious fear, personal confrontation is often observed with distrust by tourists and therefore leads to a defensive attitude. Attempts to insist on tourists' rights, such as going to swim alone, reading a book in peace and buying souvenirs without explicit invitation, are indicators of comfort zones that tourists cross uneasily. Interestingly, besides all our curiosity about other places and people, as tourists, we still want to have something that is familiar and fits within our usual rules and patterns. As tourists, we still claim to have agency and decision-making power and wish to be able to express dissent when something does not correspond to our expectations.

> Power relations are clear, and speaking the Other's language becomes a linguistic adventure, and not only an immersing, but also a degrading experience for the colonial traveller, which has to be rewarded by the colonized local (for instance with assiduity and obedience). (Nassenstein 2019: 134)

This is because we do not like to leave our comfort zones, or rather we enjoy leaving them only to a degree that we determine. Speaking a local language in these terms can serve as valuable capital that helps to assert one's position and will. Not speaking a local language mirrors one's own incapacity to act. Phipps (2014) points out that not speaking our mother tongue and being confronted with a multilingual environment challenges us "to slow down, take time, be dependent, full of errors". We do not feel competitive and prepared for emergencies without having the right linguistic tools to express ourselves (Phipps 2007).

3.3. Self-Perception and Linguistic Belonging

(A.3) An English teacher from the UK (interviewed in Paje)

I meet an open-minded young woman around 35 years old from the UK at the bar of my bungalow resort. She helps me get along in the camp while I am unsuccessfully searching for the staff. She came to Zanzibar one year ago and works in a private primary school. She loves her job and feels accustomed to life in Zanzibar, she says. It has become normal for her to spend long weekends at the coast in Paje when she feels tired of Stone Town. Since I just arrived and intend to discover the beach, I ask her for advice on how to dress, since I have never been to Paje before. "You can wear a bikini at the beach, it is normal for tourists here. But I don't do that – I feel like one of them, that's why I don't dress like that", she says. She wears long leggings and a T-shirt that covers her shoulders.

A couple of hours later we meet again at the bar. She is sitting opposite the barkeeper and meticulously taking down words on vocabulary cards that the barkeeper dictates. I join them and try to follow the conversation – no, lesson rather that conversation – and I ask about her interest in learning Swahili. She explains that she is so desperately untalented with languages, but she really wants to learn it, since to her it's a means of expressing that she values the culture. She seems very curious and asks the barkeeper one question right after the other without really structuring any grammatical phenomenon. I notice that she takes down vocabulary or sentences just as they pop up, without any differentiation of singular/plural forms or noun class markers. She asks the barkeeper to spell every single word. Obviously,

she lacks the phonological fundamentals of the language. I admire her
interest and effort in language learning, briefly go to my bungalow and
bring my fieldwork booklet to take down vocabulary as well – to the
amusement of the barkeeper.

Travelling individuals are concerned with the image that they radiate. As we saw in chapter 2.1, the notion of tourists has often been ruminated on in scientific discourse and still exists as a talking point in discussions. However, since tourists are guests in Zanzibar for a predetermined amount of time, they share certain expectations of the island and despite any familiarity with the local culture or language they might have, they cannot count themselves as locals. From this point of view, they all sit in the same boat – or rather the same aeroplane. However, the many shapes that being a tourist take, are accompanied by huge discrepancies in self-perception and favoured labels. If tourists were to choose their own category, they would probably often evade the notion of being a tourist due to its negative connotation. Many do not want to be associated with mass tourism, alleged ignorance of natural purity or the loss of cultural heritage. They are concerned about their ecological and cultural footprints and prefer to appear as harmless guests or even as intercultural intermediaries. This goes for those tourists who MacCannell categorises as sightseers with an intrinsic interest in and will to approach the Other's culture.

Sightseers are motivated by a desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives, and at the same time, they are deprecated for always failing to achieve these goals. The term 'tourist' is increasingly used as a derisive label for someone who seems content with his obviously inauthentic experiences. (MacCannell 1999: 94)

Claimingto stand apart from the tourist cliché requires reflective self-evaluation and attentiveness to the local environment. As

such, the English teacher in A.3 seemed quite concerned about the impression others had of her and paid conscious attention to the societal practices and customs of locals. Instead of telling me her origins straight away, she stated that she lives in Zanzibar. Only on second request did she explain that she came from Great Britain, however underlined that she had already been living in Zanzibar for one year. Other tourists, exchange students and volunteers that I have met in Zanzibar showed similar behaviour. The aim of this first impression is apparently to express a sense of belonging to the local culture and to distance oneself from the short-term tourists who struggle with a criticised reputation. Nobody wants to be mistakenly labelled or put together with a bunch of people who do not resemble them at all. It seems that tourists such as the English teacher in A.3 want to get close to the Other's culture so that they can 'feel like one of them', just as she emphasised. One's own positioning must be clarified and defended against others in order to uphold the preferred self-image. Allocation to the category of the clichéd tourist is understood as offensive and must be contradicted using clear evidence. In addition to self-categorization in conversation, active negotiation of belonging can also be expressed through language, clothes, behaviour, lifestyle and social embedding. I have experienced locals who would even inspect my outfit, comparing it to local clothing. Once we were getting ready to go out when I put on my fabric sneakers which I am used to wearing in Germany, and a Tanzanian friend of mine asked me 'Why don't you wear flip-flops or sandals? Nobody wears sneakers here, you look like a tourist who just arrived at the airport!'. Although at this moment I was not bothered about whether I look like a tourist or not, how you come across is obviously important to both tourists and locals, and in other situations I did try not to stand out as a foreigner. As tourists, we are often concerned about our appearance, our image and the respective judgement of others. We might prefer to blend in with the crowd by wearing inconspicuous clothes (which would

be flip-flops or sandals as common beach wear in my case above), or even try to blend in with locals by wearing *Kitenge*[14] or other local fabrics. Similarly, buying food in the corner shops along the streets, instead of going to the tourist supermarket with its inflated prices, can make tourists feel more authentic than other foreigners who do not adapt at all. None of these patterns of behaviour need to be judged but interestingly they show us that we are concerned by how close or distanced we feel from the local culture.

The English teacher in A.3 mentioned that she does not go swimming in short clothes, which probably makes her feel better about how she behaves in the local surroundings and how she is perceived by locals. Likewise, speaking the local language can serve as a tool to show a sense of belonging to, and respect for, the Swahili culture. Language helps us to get to know and understand other cultures. The English teacher's wish to learn Swahili was not based on pragmatic intentions, as was shown in A.3., but rather promised to facilitate access to the Swahili. She explicitly stated that learning Swahili is a means of expressing respect and appreciation for the Swahili culture. She therefore looked out for more than just tourist Swahili fragments, being driven more by the idea of intercultural understanding through language. As represented in the dynamics of migration and the current debates on integrating refugees in European countries, language courses are often seen as a key prerequisite to successful integration. Becoming part of or close to another culture is barely possible without linguistic adaptation. Within the context of tourism and intercul-turality, one's sense of belonging is constantly formed, negotiated

---

[14] *Kitenge* is a fabric used as garment in East African countries and beyond, primarily worn by women. Because of its rather firm texture, it can be wrapped around the waist, chest or head and is, likewise, often used as baby carrier by women. *Kitenge* is made of colourful patterned fabrics and in Swahili culture often printed with symbolic Swahili sayings. In tourist places, *kitenge* fabrics are popular souvenirs and are sold in virtually every tourist shop and at the beach.

and judged. Though it is not surprising that the self-perception of tourists and their impression on others differ.

> Tourist languaging is a multilayered process of rebecoming, of rebecoming a person who can operate socially and interculturally in another language, of rebecoming a certain type of tourist, of fulfilling a certain role that has been once imagined as a transformation of the self and is, in the rehearsal space of the tourist language classroom, being made, unmade and remade. (Phipps 2007: 134)

According to Sumich (2002), *wazungu* 'white people' are given different names among tourism workers according to their level of purchase power and their will to do business with locals. They are marked out as Others, though often encouraged – rather jokingly – to 'become a local' and explicitly invited to learn Swahili (cf. chapter 3.2.).

> The tourist language learner is never setting out to become one with the other, to reach some communion through language and action but rather to act in the midst of things, in a courteous and charitable manner, as they are given day by day. (Phipps 2007: 151)

Unfortunately, the diffusion of HMS eclipses the linguistic diversity on the Zanzibar archipelago and produces a fragmented picture of the Swahili language. In fact, in Zanzibar many varieties of Swahili are spoken that are not given as much attention as the tourist slang. During the Swahili lesson with the bartender in A.3, I found that local variations in language use get lost behind the slimmed-down and simplified tourist slang if one does not know about local differences beforehand. Native speakers in Nungwi or Kidoti for instance speak differently from those in Paje, even though the villages are not more than 90 kilometres apart. This becomes especially obvious in the local centres which tourists rarely pass through, and where HMS

is rarely used. In the crowded streets of Paje village one can overhear slight phonological peculiarities of Swahili that only become noticeable to those who are consciously concerned with linguistic deviations.

	Paje Swahili	Gloss	Standard Swahili
(5)	Njoo **pano**.	'Come here.'	Njoo hapa.
(6)	**Kuamku** saa ngapi? – **Niamku** sasa.	'When did you get up? – I just got up right now.'	Umeamka saa ngapi? – Nimeamka sasa.
(7)	Kunachoeaje?	'What did you say?'	Unasemaje?
(8)	Una**choea** jaje?	'What are you saying?'	Unasema vipi?
(9)	Unasema **jaje**?	'What are you saying?'	Unasemaje?
(10)	Wewe unataka ku**kichoea** kiswahili.*	'You want to speak Swahili.' (-kichoea 'to begin to speak', just as children speak their first words)	Wewe unataka kuongea kiswahili.
(11)	Naweza kununua **vino** [vɪnɔ:]?	'Can I buy those?'	Naweza kununua hivi?
(12)	kulala [ku'lala]	'to sleep'	kulala [ku'lala]
(13)	jiwe, ma**b**we	'stone, stones'	jiwe, mawe

Table 3: Use of Swahili variety in Paje village, Zanzibar

54

These examples of the Paje variety show both phonological and phenotypical differences, such as in (12) or (13), as well as altered semantics, such as the notion of *kukichoea* in (10). Prolongation or strong emphasis on vowels make the Paje variety recognizable to Swahili speakers who are not familiar with it. Locatives such as *pano, kuno* 'here, there' in (9) differ from the Standard Swahili *hapo, pale* 'here, there', just as the demonstratives in (11) *ino, vino* 'this, these' differ from *hii, hivi* 'this, these'. The surrounding islands of the Zanzibar archipelago such as Tumbatu or the neighbouring island of Pemba all exhibit different Swahili varieties. Tourism workers from Stone Town and Dar Es Salaam told me that Paje Swahili sounded funny to them, especially because of the shifted stress of vowels such as in (12). A local from Dar Es Salaam explained to me that vocabulary can have different semantic notions, depending on whether it is used on the island or on the mainland. *Maji ya mfereji* 'tap water, water from the spring', for instance, is a familiar expression that he knows from Zanzibar, however he would never use it on the mainland where instead it would mean 'water from the river'. Other speakers however would argue that the term is used in the same manner as *maji ya bomba* 'tap water, water from the pump'. Apparently, the major purpose of tourism is not to create a realistic glimpse of people, cultures or languages in all their diversity. Yet, that it bears much potential to instigate intercultural and linguistic exchange between hosts and guests is a positive feature. In contrast to the negative notion of tourists and tourism nowadays (see chapter 2.1), it provides room for learning, and not only one-sided learning. I have often seen that languages in Zanzibar are not solely taught, but rather exchanged with mutual interest. While tourists learn Swahili, as in our example at the bar, locals pick up tourists' languages. The bartender in A.3 asked me to teach him how to deal with German guests for instance. He wanted to know how to serve food and how to ask in German whether the guests had slept well, as he already had experience of guests who had appreciated him trying. Similarly, I had many conversations with

beach boys in Paje or Nungwi with whom I exchanged a few German sentences for some Swahili input. Some even wanted to set regular dates to sit at the beach and continue learning together. At Christmas, I was alone at the beach, collecting seashells, when a boy of around 12 years old and his younger brother joined me to practise English. They were not selling anything but wanted to seize the opportunity of having an English-speaking conversation partner. It seems as if language is the fairest possible currency with which hosts and guests can bargain. 'You teach me yours, I'll teach you mine' is the unwritten principle that accompanied me as I stumbled into new multilingual encounters at the beach from day to day. Discrepancies occur, however, in the importance and necessity of language learning. Since our globalised world enables us to use English as a lingua franca in most parts of the world, tourists have no serious need to learn Swahili. They could secretly melt into the background in an English-speaking tourist setting and observe the multilingual spectacle performed by locals. For locals, in contrast, speaking Western languages enables them to use different codes in their work with tourists.

> HL [host language] is acquired in relatively stable, though restricted, intercourse between locals and strangers; while TL [tourist language] is acquired in the asymmetric encounters between stable locals and a flow of tourists, with each of whom only a fleeting and highly limited contact is made. (Cohen & Cooper 1986: 543)

Many of the local tourism workers dream of coming to Europe one day to settle down and start their own business. Therefore, many beach boys strengthen their language repertoires by talking to tourists at the beach. They are proud of having some basic, or even advanced, Italian, Russian, French or German skills, particularly since official language courses in the surrounding language schools in Jambiani or Stone Town often exceed their budgets. Language acquisition has thus proved to be an indispensable

economic advantage to those who strive to realise future plans abroad or to increase profits within the local tourism industry, although it is as much a chance as it is a risk. Since tourist establishments expect their staff to have professional English skills, with a multilingual repertoire judged even more favourably, Zanzibari often face competition against well-educated migrant workers from the mainland who are preferably employed by managers (Keshodkar 2013, cf. Cohen & Cooper 1986). Again, similarly to the example of the bargaining situation in chapter 3.2, we find that language means power.

> Part of the way in which the perceived disorder of multilingual tourism is dealt with by the travel industry is to train and pay people to act as a translation interface with those who arrive at a place where their native language is not spoken. […] To be a good host, these days, is to be able to speak words of welcome […] in languages that are comprehensible, and even native to the tourists. (Phipps 2007: 16)

Despite using words of welcome and basic phrases in tourists' languages, beach boys occasionally mix tourists' languages with Swahili or use playful language in the form of proverbs and catchy phrases. Using language playfully in volatile encounters is a successful marketing strategy that works well to attract attention and ensure that one is not ignored by potential clients. Cohen & Cooper have investigated the asymmetry of host–guest relationships by referring to cross-cultural communication and linguistic accommodation in tourists' encounters. They developed a typology of tourists' roles and coined the term "foreigner talk" (Cohen & Cooper 1986: 536), a simplified register that locals use in conversations with tourists who have insufficient skills in the host's language.

> Locals in the fringe are less restrained by formal role demands […] They pay less attention to correct, polite speech and more to the

creation of an apparently friendly and intimate relationship with the tourists, which is generally motivated by ulterior predatory interests. Their linguistic repertoire is typically limited, and their register simpler, putting upon tourists a demand for a minimal linguistic accommodation, at least to simplify this register and to make an effort to understand the simpler register of their interlocutors. It is in the fringe, too, that tourists may venture to use their mostly very limited knowledge of the HL [host language], often in a playful manner, intended to gain status or achieve solidarity, rather than to conduct serious business. (Cohen & Cooper 1986: 547f.)

I was approached with the questions *'Alles tiptop?'* and *'Alles palletti?'* by a beach boy in Nungwi, both colloquial and playful ways to ask '*Everything alright*?' in German. On Diani Beach in 2017 I was advised by a local street vendor using the saying *In der Ruhe liegt die Kraft* 'Strength lies in serenity, the slow horse reaches the mill (fig.)'. Another tour guide with comparatively broken German skills tried to explain to me that his business works best with *Vitamin B* '(coll.) good contacts' and referred to himself as *armer Schlucker* '(coll.) poor devil'. This shows that locals do not only reproduce basic German words and phrases but learn how to apply and play with the semantic notions and flexibility of language. They know how to embed language into a given context, and even play with irony and figurative language. Another beach boy in Nungwi, for instance, asked me to teach him two German proverbs that he could use in chit-chat at the beach.

	German	English
(14)	*Eile mit Weile*	'More haste, less speed.'
(15)	*Hunde, die bellen, beißen nicht.*	'Barking dogs seldom bite.'

Table 4: German proverbs used at Nungwi Beach, Zanzibar

Mietzner (forthcoming) states that "proverbs serve to firstly remove the seriousness from the bargain and secondly transport that, whatever is criticised on the object of trade is an incorrect interpretation by the tourist". Playful use of language thus helps local vendors to defuse encounters that might appear intimidating or overwhelming to potential clients. The following German proverbs have been collected by Mietzner in trading situations on Diani Beach:

	German	English
(16)	*Besser den Spatz in der Hand als die Taube auf dem Dach.*	'A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.'
(17)	*Es ist noch kein Meister vom Himmel gefallen.*	'No one masters anything without hard work.'

Table 5: German proverbs used at Diani Beach (adapted from Mietzner & Storch forthcoming)

While there are many ways to approach clients, locals can benefit from their linguistic repertoire and use language as a form of power in their branch of business. However, it also influences the tourists' perception of locals and may reduce the seriousness with which they deal with economic matters due to the simplified language. Especially in economies in which business is based on seriousness and trustworthy relationships, being approached with catch phrases, proverbs and jokes in their mother tongue might not necessarily seduce tourists into agreeing to trade. The impact of language in trading situations and clients' perception of conversational strategies could be an interesting research question for future studies.

3.4. Collecting Countries and Otherness

(A.4) A couple from Sweden (interviewed in Nungwi)

I go for dinner at the beach with our host, a Swedish couple and a young Tanzanian student from the mainland with whom I became acquainted during the day. The couple is around 50 to 55 years old and we start to talk about previous trips to other countries, politics and environmental protection. The host tells us private stories of other European women who have tried their luck with Zanzibari men in Nungwi. He had just happened to meet one from Italy who had separated from her husband some months ago and was now trying to open up her own restaurant at the beach. I subliminally try to direct the conversation to language and ask the Swedish couple for their language learning experiences. Since they mentioned that they travel a lot for business purposes, I want to know about their effort and curiosity in learning local languages. "We try to", the woman says, "just a few words, that is fun." He adds that they have learnt four or five Swahili words and tries to list them: Asante, karibu, jambo, mambo. We laugh while he tries to scrape the fragments together. Both appear to be very curious people with wide-ranging interests. The man talks about the language experiences he has had as part of his job and proudly inserts some German. "I used to learn German in school. For… fünf Jahre 'five years', I worked for a German company. But if you don't speak, you will lose it", he recounts. He also touched on Finnish and Portuguese, but he didn't make it to learn any of these languages since they were both too hard in his view.

We switch to many other topics during the evening such as orientation problems in Zanzibar, local mobile phone usage and availability, contrasts to our societal customs, local beers and prices. It leads us to the economic structures of Tanzania, Sweden and Germany, the pros and cons of mass tourism and governmental problems. The man,

thinking out loud, says that no one can stop the market from growing, but the government could at least try to control the rush of tourists to cap the exploitation of nature and other negative consequences of mass tourism. "You can put a limitation, as a government, to bring only 1,500 tourists to the island per year", he imagines. "The government does not work like this here", counters the Tanzanian student pragmatically as if he has heard such propositions a thousand times and knows they are utopias. We continue the discussion on living and visa costs and governmental ignorance. "Do they have control, the government?", the Swedish man asks. – "No" – "Do they have control of you as a citizen?" – "No, not really" – "So, what are they contributing?", the Swedish man asks. "Corruption", the student replies without hesitation, as if it was so obvious. To my surprise, the Swedish couple reacts with astonishment. "Really? So, you can actually buy your freedom, so to speak, if you have money?" the man asks. I am surprised by their lack of awareness, as if they had never heard about corruption in African countries before. The student nods regretfully. "Yes, with money you can do whatever you want." And his answer lingers in our minds for the next couple of minutes and will be recalled by us whenever we talk to beach boys about Europe and their ideas of an American dream.

By travelling, tourists enter other spaces that enable them to reconsider their habitual environment with a clear-cut and expressive counterexample. Comparisons help to see the world from another perspective, to think, talk and feel differently about it. Travelling enables people to question, negotiate and enrich their own personality. Tourism is an apt example of the realisation of self-fulfilment and liberty of action that is granted to many Western societies in the present day. It makes tourists seekers and adventurers who are thirsty for new experiences that might help them shape their world view and facilitate their own positioning in the complexity of life. Given the opportunities to choose between

manifold travel destinations, tourists are almost spoiled by offers and become more and more independent both financially and geographically (Yeoman 2012). Destinations are less restricted by budget and accessibility, but open to personal fantasies and expectations.

> Today's tourist demands better experiences, faster service, multiple choice, social responsibility and greater satisfaction. Against this background, as the world has moved to an experience economy in which there is endless choice through competition and increased accessibility because of low-cost carriers, what has emerged is the concept of fluid belonging. This trend is about a concept of self which is fluid and malleable in which self cannot be defined by boundaries, in which choice and the desire for new experiences drives tourist consumption. (Yeoman 2012: 51)

The Swedish couple in A.4 was primarily travelling for business and therefore did not have the capacity to thoroughly get to know local cultures or languages in situ. Nevertheless, they were curious and keen to see places that could add to their previous intercultural experiences. While we talked and observed the tourist bustle at the beach, we kept falling back on comparisons to our home countries, on individual habits or societal developments, and on political and cultural differences that we were accustomed to. Since our host, as a matter of course, took an incoming phone call every five to ten minutes while we were crowded around the dinner table, we started to compare our dealings with media devices and discussed technological progress and the impact that being permanently accessible had on our daily schedules and inner balance. We felt satisfied seeing that technological progress did not only have an impact on our societies in Germany and Sweden, but may carry even more weight elsewhere. In familiar surroundings, individuals define themselves in contrast to their friends and families and the

environment they are accustomed to. Tourism, in contrast, offers another dimension in which tourists can project themselves into a different living environment for a limited period of time. Just like going to the cinema and becoming immersed in the world on screen for almost two hours, travelling enables people to be absorbed by another living environment in which they are invited to let themselves flow, detached from their usual surroundings.

> If we know anything from theology, sociology, anthropology and the study of tourism, we know that this is a highly contested milieu. It is messy. It is always messy in the 'quick' of human relatedness. Fundamental tensions between modes are important – intercultural communication cannot be intercultural communication if it erases differences and rests on harmony. The pull to orality is a pull into actual 'quick' conversations with others who we do not know. (Phipps 2007: 112)

It is no coincidence that we speak of widening our horizons by travelling or gaining valuable experiences to expand our intercultural competence. Tourism no longer seems to be merely a leisure activity with the aim of resting or being cured. It has become a way to seek personal fulfilment in an era dominated by media that frequently replace real experiences and interhuman challenges with a virtual, parallel world. Tourism provides room to test personal limits and shift to other behavioural paradigms. Knapp & Wiegand (2014: 162) state that "successfully meeting the challenge of Africa's Otherness allows the traveller to transgress his previously limited self". Tourists in Zanzibar are counted amongst those individuals who have fought doubts or anxieties before travelling, just as the Romanian woman in A.2 overcame at least her biggest worries about tropical diseases and safety issues.

The anecdote of the Swedish couple emphasises how different and misleading perceptions of the Other can be. Although both had travelled a lot, their knowledge of Zanzibar, or Tanzania in

general, was surprisingly inaccurate. Short-term trips and their focus on business had made it impossible to gain an ethnocentric perspective of the host's culture through language or long-term stays. Despite his curiosity, the Swedish man knew little of the environmental pollution or corruption that the state suffers from. He was astounded by the downsides of the alleged paradise, and even tried to figure out potential solutions for the increasing number of tourists and the missing garbage disposal system. His reactions mirrored his limited knowledge of the place, although he searches for different views of the world while travelling. Yeoman (2012: 51) argues that tourists are characterised by their tendency of "collecting countries, trying new things and the desire for constant change". It appears that travelling helps people reconsider their ideas and impressions of places and people away from the complexity of modern life. For some it may function as an escape and a relief, for others it serves as a supplement or an opposing example to the lifestyles of people in the Western Hemisphere. Technological progress, multimedia entertainment, pervasive access to modern inventions and materialistic well-being sound pleasant at first glance, but all these achievements exist alongside excessive demand and a human desire for an occasional internal shutdown to escape from this overload of options.

> Globalisation shapes people's lives and the mixture of cultures produces exposure to new ideas and different identities. The tourist is the centre of the globalisation of experiences, where holidays in exotic locations that are deep inside countries are becoming the norm. No longer is an international holiday confined to a resort, but instead it is more authentic engaging with local cultures and living. Globalisation is brought nearer to us all through social media and personalised communications, in a society that is fast, instant and networked. (Yeoman 2012: 53)

Yeoman (2012: 54) argues further that tourists' increasing economic flexibility enables them to "visit places and do things that their parents could not afford or would not have heard of". If so, travel motives may shift slightly from an interest in a distinct culture and place to a cost–benefit comparison that would indicate where the most personal enrichment could be found. Furthermore, the choice of holiday destinations would be less dependent on a distinct region, but instead depend on whether offers available to tourists are regarded as economically worthwhile.

3.5. Representations and Authenticity

(A.5) A travelling couple from South Africa (interviewed in Nungwi)

I am having dinner with the host and other guests at the residence again. This time I am with the Romanian couple and a doctoral student from Australia, until we are joined by a South African couple who are searching for company. The two are around 35 to 40 years old and come from Johannesburg. They are enthusiastic after their first impressions of Zanzibar. They feel happy about the diverse group of people who they are invited to join for a beer. It does not take two minutes until we initiate the usual round of interviews, eloquently stating who we are and why we are here. The South African couple made it to Zanzibar in a roundabout way. Their initial plan for a holiday was a road trip to Namibia to see beautiful landscapes along the eternal roads of the hinterland and go sightseeing in Swakopmund, right at the coast. Due to protracted repairs on their car, they were forced to adjourn the road trip and find an alternative destination which was accessible via aeroplane. Zanzibar was an option that promised both beautiful landscapes and the ocean, which is in fact much warmer for swimming than the Namibian coast. When their nervousness increased with the potential risk of not leaving for the holiday at all if they did not

book anything soon, they just put wood behind the arrow. "Our travel agency said, 'Don't go to Zanzibar. It's so full, and expensive in the high season'", he recounts, "And two days later we were like 'F*** it! It's Zanzibar!' – And mainly because it had available flights." The way he tells their story is fraught with tension and gains all of our admiration and laughter. How funny that they just replaced a road trip through the Namibian desert sand with a beach holiday on an island, I ponder. Though I have never been on a road trip I guess it must be quite different from sitting in a beach bar drinking Kili[15] and listening to the water's waves. They said they had searched for beautiful nature and access to the ocean, and Zanzibar offered both. Just like about 150 other countries worldwide – islands not included – I guess.

The couple continues to talk about their first days on the island. After arriving at the airport, they took a taxi straight to the first resort on the East Coast and stayed there for a couple of days relaxing at the beach. The man shares his impressions: "From the airport, we went to Bush Baby Resort in the middle of the east side. It was nice; it was not that commercial. The traditional guy in the kayak took us out snorkelling; there is no motorboat." I wonder whether motorboats will be considered traditional in 200 years from now, when the world has become even more spacey and futuristic. Since the couple was looking for some nightlife as well, they found the East Coast too quiet in the evening and decided to go to Nungwi, which promised to be more fulfilling. "We heard that this is the party island. They built their reputation for the New Year's bash. We found it on YouTube or Google or whatever", he recounts. The Australian guy nods as if he was fully convinced of the world-famous party in Kendwa Rocks without ever experiencing it before. He was told that there is a party every Saturday in Kendwa, but the big party is on Monday, on New Year's Eve. It is famous, not only among the taxi drivers who make a fortune by chauffeuring guests from Kendwa to Nungwi and from Nungwi to Kendwa, again and again, all night long.

---

[15] *Kili* is a colloquial abbreviation for Kilimanjaro, a Tanzanian beer brewed in Dar es Salaam.

Language only plays a marginal role in our conversation. The South African man comments that you can find million-dollar hotels right next to backpacker hostels, although all the guests share the same beach. "That's why it is so idiotic to spend a lot of money on luxury accommodation!", he proclaims. He is right, I think, except for the notion that beaches are open to all tourists, no matter whether they are a low-budget or high-budget traveller. There are sections of private beach that belong to hotels' facilities and which are strictly reserved for hotel guests, sometimes even fenced off and monitored by security guards. And who sometimes even cause serious trouble to locals who dare to cross the tourist reserve.

The sharing of knowledge and experience is a genuine feature of human interaction. As human beings, we search for communication and opportunities to express ourselves and to contribute small parts of our Self to the world. Technological progress and the expansion of multimedia channels make it even more easy and popular to share life stories, although it comes at a price. Tourists who share language, photos, videos or reports on their last holiday in Zanzibar can count on the judgement of their audience. Even if this is not present, tourists consider what to share and what to keep secret. Bauman & Briggs mention that performances of every kind never exist in isolation.

A given performance is tied to a number of speech events that precede and succeed it (past performances, readings of texts, negotiations, rehearsals, gossip, reports, critiques, challenges, subsequent performances, and the like). (Bauman & Briggs 1990: 60f.)

We can hardly imagine spending two weeks in Zanzibar and not telling anyone about the things we did, ate, heard or saw, can we? When we enter 'Zanzibar' into a search engine on the internet, we find photos that depict sandy beaches and palm trees, hotel pools,

dolphins and sailing boats. On Facebook, tourists have linked the hashtags *#hakuna matata* and *#Zanzibar* to Swahili fragments that point to a basic repertoire gained on holiday, such as *#chakula kizuri* 'good meal', *#karibu* 'welcome', *#nakupenda* 'I love you', *#nakupenda beachi* '(coll.) I love you, beach', *#vipi freshi* '(coll.) how is it?', *#pole* 'slow, slow'. On twitter users have linked *#africa milele* 'Africa forever' to *#Zanzibar* and *#hakuna matata* and *#kula bata* '(coll.) to relax'. Linguistic souvenirs are likely to be shared by tourists on social media platforms while their addressees are most likely strangers even in the real world. Virtually, however, they share their similar holiday experiences. Many of the associated hashtags are part of an HMS lexicon that tourists learn easily during a short stay at the coast, but which presents no realistic picture of the Swahili language to its readers. Collecting linguistic souvenirs can point to colonial practices that few tourists are likely to be aware of.

> The touristic scenario in which HMS emerged is clearly in a postcolonial setting as well, and European tourism in Africa often brings out analogies with colonial travellers, 'explorers' and also collectors. (Nassenstein 2019: 132)

Not only is the use of Swahili in the retelling of experiences emblematic of colonial practices, but so are travel experiences in general. In the present day, Tourists' experiences are shared via multiple channels, such as written blogs, video blogs, online forums or by mouth among friends and family. Holiday memories provide material for anecdotes, short stories, travel reports and debates. For locals who participate in the tourism sector, tourists' hotel and restaurant reviews and the recommendation of tour suppliers have become important marketing strategies. As we saw in chapter 3.2, tourists also discuss individual experiences and impressions with other tourists during their journeys. Whenever I gathered with other guests at the accommodation we talked

about our positive and negative experiences of the day. We talked about the nicest spots along the beach, the best places for food and drinks, about things that impressed us and things that annoyed us. We all shared the tourist gaze that made us attentive and critical of our surroundings. As Urry & Larsen point out, tourists try to capture these impressions on various media devices that enable them to share and retrieve those memories later.

> The tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience. […] People linger over such a gaze, which is then often visually objectified or captured through photographs, postcards, films, models and so on. These enable the gaze to be reproduced, recaptured and redistributed over time and across space. (Urry & Larsen 2011: 4)

In a conversation about books and the art of writing, a local bartender taught me the Swahili proverb *Mali bila daftari hupotea bila habari* 'Wealth without proper records is lost without information; Wealth without a book disappears without anyone knowing (fig.)'. Suggested in this saying is people's habit of textualizing in order to save something for the future. The Swahili language, for instance, is often written on souvenirs such as cups, key rings, postcards or printed on shirts. *Hakuna matata* body tattoos have become more and more popular among tourists (cf. Nassenstein & Rüsch 2017). These records do not only serve to preserve memories, but also enable tourists to share them with a wider audience and to retell and relive their holiday experiences.

> Central to the performance of the travelogue is its semi-fictional character, seducing the tourists to reinvent themselves by providing a stage for presenting character-forming stories of challenge, freaky encounter and adventure, in which the traveller appropriates the

lived experiences in interaction with an audience. After the trip, travellers relive the sensual experience and share it with others by narrating it. (Knapp & Wiegand 2014: 160)

The semi-fictional character of travelogues is an important aspect of how experiences and impressions are retold. Places in Africa often become represented in an artificial way that does not give a complete picture of reality. Holiday destinations are often represented in a euphemistic way in which the seriousness and normality of the local life yield to the preferred imaginings of a carefree dreamland. This representation is the starting point for the generalizations and misleading assumptions that prevail in advertisement and incidental hearsay, such as "The people of Zanzibar are known for their friendliness" (African Budget Safaris 2017). In contrast to this, there are pessimistic images of African places that emphasise the negative aspects. These are often used by aid projects that benefit explicitly from highlighting poverty and precarious living conditions. In both cases, be it euphemistic or pessimistic, places in Africa become exoticized and locals are Othered by the evaluators. Host – guest relations in tourism are strongly marked by representations that do not match reality, but that have been spread, worldwide, as the alleged truth. Attributions such as "a smile – Zanzibar[i] people's trademark"[16] relate to tourists' pre-existing ideas which they seek to confirm in situ. The colonial picture of romantic journeys through Africa has not yet been processed in people's minds and lingers on in the practice of tourism.

The South African couple in A.5 chose Zanzibar as a holiday destination because they had heard of its impressive nature and

---

[16] TripAdvisor (2017). User review on Mvuvi Boutique Resort. Full text: "The staff are outstanding and are so lovely and helpful at all times and always a smile – Zanzibar people's trademark".

landscapes. When the South African man described their accommodation on the East Coast, he emphasized its savageness and simplicity. He explained that the place was not that *commercial*, that the tour guide who took them out snorkelling seemed *traditional*, and the *ngalawa*[17] was motorless and therefore *simple*. Wijngaarden (2016: 213) states that "seeing 'the Other' as static is also the result of the fact that when one looks at something one does not know well, it is difficult to be aware of its diversity and dynamics […] and the ability to see variety is necessary to observe change." The attributes that the South African tourist uses echo the most characteristic features of authenticity and the tourist gaze: tourists' (static) ideas of untouched nature and savagery, romantic landscapes and a simple, pristine local lifestyle. Nassenstein points out that tourists boldly use language, e.g., HMS, to underline which, allegedly exotic, places they have visited.

> In analogy to the colonial and missionary documentation, the partial acquisition of an African language during one's vacation also marks a specific form of ownership over language, and as evidential strategy. The use of HMS here serves as a pinned linguistic map of where one has been, and as the 'exotic' in one's communicative repertoire of German, English etc. There is no doubt that tourism of European travellers to destinations within Africa reveals strong analogies to the colonial explorations and orientalist myths and is based on discursive creations of destinations 'within the context of the historical consumption of places' (Hall & Tucker 2004: 8). (Nassenstein 2019: 134)

The tourist gaze makes similarities disappear into the background while contrasts prevail. Despite the giant full moon party in

---

[17] Ngalawa 'canoe' is the Swahili term for double-outrigger canoes used by Swahili people in Zanzibar and on the Tanzanian coast.

Kendwa Rocks having gained the attention of the South African couple, their ideas of Zanzibar as traditional and unaffected remained. Authenticity starts in people's minds and is reflected in their narrations. It is nothing more than a farce that a giant continent of fifty-five countries, a colourful mass of cultures and languages can be reduced to this single, narrow-minded association with happiness, which is represented in the questions of relatives and friends, who do not hesitate to ask "Welcome back to civilization. How was Africa?"[18].

3.6. Neo-Colonialism and Power Relations

(A.6) A tourist from the UK (interviewed in Nungwi)

I am sitting in a rooftop hotel, right at the beach, taking down field notes and drinking iced coffee – the only feasible fancy drink that I could find on the inflatedly priced menu. An older man of around 60 years old sits two tables away from me with a glass of wine. He looks as if he is a little drunk or has had too much sun – probably both – blonde hair, bright skin with red cheeks. I try to seem busy to escape his attention by taking down Swahili vocabulary into my booklet. It's a hard job since I am the only other guest on the terrace, and he is obviously looking for company. In no time he is standing next to me and asks me "Are you into art?" I am confused. I know the questions about what I am doing here, about how many days I've spent in Zanzibar, about where I come from. But I have never been asked about art straight away by a random guy more than double my age. "Art? You mean drawings?" I ask back sceptically. "Yeah, because there is some really good artwork here!" He points at the restaurant corridor. "Do you want to look at some art with me?" I

---

[18] Hernann (2014). *How was Africa?*. Travel Blog.

hesitate and wonder what this approach is about, but this situation is just too excitingly awkward to turn it down. "Sure", I say, and begin to pack my stuff together. I mention, however, that I was in the middle of learning Swahili which makes him sigh. "I tried to learn a bit", he says. And he would maybe even consider learning a Ugandan language since he has travelled to Uganda a couple of times. But he is more into art than language. It is siesta time now. We are standing in front of a drawing in an empty restaurant, two meters away from the bar counter where a waiter is polishing wine glasses. "That's really a brilliant piece!", the man proclaims with enthusiasm, "What do you think?" "Well", I think by myself, "honestly, I think that I am a linguist secretly examining your interest in language, but right now I wonder whether you are a psychologist secretly examining my reactions". I hesitate. "I don't really know anything about art. It's like architecture to me, I love to look at it, but I don't have a clue about its creation", I admit. His utterances don't really relate to anything that I say. He just raves about the drawing and repeats how much he is into art and that he paints and draws himself as well. He speculates about the artist's intention in drawing this theme, wondering whether he might have drawn himself in this artwork. The drawing is inconspicuous, a yellowish-orange colour play with a dark shadow in the middle. I cannot locate any figure in it at all – maybe I would be able to if I had just drunk a couple of white wines. We talk about artistic effects, brush stroke techniques and blended colours, while staring at the anonymous drawing.

A couple of minutes later we return to the terrace where I take back my place. The guy pulls a chair up next to me while asking "May I?" – more as an act of courtesy than a genuine request for permission. He is already sitting before I can reply. He starts to talk about his girlfriend who is sitting inside watching series on a small smartphone screen. "She is from Uganda, originally from Sudan", he says. She is very young and pretty. He explains that his boss once recommended he get a wife to take care of him in exchange for

financial protection. It was not expensive, he says, and that she is so sexy and easy-going. "It is a good deal, you know, she can stay with me for two years, and I pay everything for her, as long as she f***s me." I remain silent in view of the unexpected turn in our conversation. His choice of words becomes vulgar and blunt, strikingly different from the reverent manner of an artist that he used to perform some minutes ago. Over time I start to feel that this is one of the most disgusting, repulsive people I have ever talked to. We continue talking about money and investments, the advantages of being self-employed and about ways to make money and become rich. I try to play the game with him though his attitudes make me uncomfortable. Suddenly he becomes upset. "I don't see why there is so much advertisement about help for Africa in Europe. Everybody says we should donate money, but look around – Africa is not poor at all!" – "Well, but there are huge differences between rich and poor on the island depending on where you look", I reply sober, "just as everywhere else." He doesn't hear me. "There is no water in Africa, I hear people saying", he continues, "But look, there is so much water!" He looks at the blue ocean right in front of us. My face turns pale. "But you can't drink that water", I reply incredulously. He grins, takes the glass of wine to his mouth and says "Well, I can drink this here!"

The narrow assumption that tourism is a practice of hospitality and mutual interest in the respective Other cannot be confirmed by postcolonial studies. Especially given the dichotomy between Northern and Southern Hemispheres, the tourism of Westerners in the Global South, the former colonisers and the colonised, reveals deep historical entanglements and the continuation of hegemonic concepts (Mietzner & Storch 2019). As we saw in chapter 2.1, tourism has negative effects on different levels of the reality of life, including feelings of exploitation on the part of locals and the creation of 'tourist enclaves'. If tourists encapsulate themselves in tourist facilities, it is highly imaginable that

they take the island for wealthy and prosperous, even if enclaves like Nungwi and Diani Beach are not completely separated from environments where locals live. Precarious living conditions can concern local villages only one street away, but remain unseen by those tourists who remain inside the walls of their tourist resort. The reinvention of travelling during the last century seems to have brought about an invalidation of tourists' responsibilities, and has attributed to them a notion of legitimate almightiness, gained through their financial strength. This economic autonomy puts tourists in a position in which they can be demanding, and encourages them to expect a perfect "'tourist bubble' of Western amenities" (Graburn 1989: 13) which Mietzner and Storch (2019: 4) precisely term a "spoilt paradise". McLaren states that even the designation of host and guest entails "a congenial invitation between people of roughly equal stature. In reality, 'hosts' are local people who often have little say about their role. 'Guests' are actually consumers with the economic power to purchase 'rights' and 'services'; they are not invited by local people." (McLaren 2003: 39). Apparently, inequality and power struggles are subliminally present in many of the encounters tourist have, even if tourism practice emphasises pleasure and easiness at first glance. Only references to other periods of time and the resurfacing of misinterpreted narratives from the past trigger a critical analysis of tourism, embedded in its historical context. As pointed out by Mietzner & Storch (2019), travelling is not restricted to a transgression of space, but also a transgression of time.

> Concepts of lost culture and local knowledge are tourist magnets, and by displaying aspects of forgotten and traditional lives, tourists are confronted with the yesterday, confronted with the Other back then and the Other of today, who gives the tourist the sentiment of being part of the history. (Mietzner & Storch 2019: 9)

Tourism thrives on the interplay between the past and the modern world, from the reconstruction of ancient states and the creation of nostalgic reminiscence. Since it cannot be detached from the past, it creates space for the continuation of earlier chapters of history, unlikely to replace them, but adding to these darker chapters. Hall & Tucker characterise tourism as post-colonial practice, this being indicated by the continuation of hegemonic patterns and "neocolonial relationships, a situation in which an independent country continues to suffer intervention and control from a foreign state" (Hall & Tucker 2004: 3). As such, Zanzibari tourism workers depend highly on the tourist trade to ensure sufficient turnover. If not self-employed, they struggle with appointments on an annual basis as hoteliers and restaurant owners tend to replace their staff periodically (Keshodkar 2013). On a larger scale, this neo-colonialism is shown by the self-centred behaviour towards consumption of tourists who regard Zanzibar as a place to find peace and distraction from their habitual environment and working life, but do not consider the consequences of their stay. In search of leisure and rest, the host country turns into a playground for tourists where they romp and play to their hearts' content. Graburn (1989: 22) describes tourism as "a special form of play involving travel, or getting away from 'it all' (work and home), affording relaxation from tensions, and for some, the opportunity to temporarily become a nonentity, removed from a ringing telephone".

The disparaging attitude of the British tourist in A.6 reflects ongoing projections of the African continent that linger on in many Western societies. According to his understanding, Africa serves as an entertaining medium, a continent to toy with and a space to compensate a personal lack of fulfilment. While the English tourist could afford a good standard of living and material prosperity in the United Kingdom which could create a consistent and stable centre to his life, he has taken a Ugandan mistress in exchange for

money, travelled to East African countries for adventure, and prioritises his enjoyment of experiences and having a good time during his limited stays in the South. It is one of the most discussed aspects of tourism that it manifests itself in a form of "leisure imperialism" (Crick 1989: 322) that once again enables the realisation of the imperialistic and economic interests of powerful societies over those who have been suppressed before. As Gmelch (2003) points out concerning holiday destinations in the Caribbean, tourists are distinctively pulled to the Southern seacoasts by a combination of several factors. They promise environmental diversity, but restricted to a manageable area; they lie in tropical places, but are quickly accessible by airplane, relatively safe and affordable for middle-class earners; they are far and considered exotic, though Westerners can get along in their mother tongue (c.f. Gmelch 2003). Similar prerequisites apply to tourism in Zanzibar and other African holiday destinations. Along with these pull-factors come push-factors, such as dream fulfilment, self-fulfilment and escape that drive Western tourists to the South (cf. Wong & Ng 2019).

A local Rasta man in Nungwi told me about how the Zanzibari landscape had changed with the expansion of tourism and how it had gradually led to the displacement of local inhabitants (cf. Keshodkar 2013). He grew up in Stone Town, but moved to the northern tip of the island to build a business and avoid the urban bustle of the old town. However land prices had inflated due to the large number of tourist facilities which had been constructed along the coast, so it became nearly impossible for local investors like him to buy land and compete with international investors. He explained that it would require a business partner to share seed capital and split expenses, but he had heard of so many stories about business liquidation or fraud among Tanzanian businessmen that he declined a trial. Additionally, since former industries that once marked Zanzibari societies, such as fishing and agriculture, have long disappeared from the list of profitable

economies (Keshodkar 2013), the tourism sector maintains a clear upper hand. The Rasta man therefore felt paralysed from not being competitive as an independent tourism worker, being marginalised by non-local investors and there being no alternative industries to work in. The extinction of whole industries and hierarchical dependence on foreign investment is an element of colonial heritage that cannot be ignored.

> Before colonial rule and the infusion of Western systems, people in the developing world lived in relatively self-sufficient communities […] Colonial rule […] changed the social and economic structures of developing societies. The new structures, consumption styles and technological systems became so ingrained in developing world economies that even after the attainment of political independence, the importation of Western values, products, technologies and capital continued and expanded. Developing world countries grew more and more dependent upon global trading and financial and investment systems, with transnational corporations setting up trading and production bases in the developing world and selling products there. (Khor 2014: 146f.)

Since colonial bias and violent confrontation with the past still exist in people's minds, it can often be observed in volatile linguistic encounters between tourists and locals. Against the fundamental guidelines of politeness and generosity that rule professional tourism, conversations with independent beach boys and street vendors can quickly become tense and turn into conflict, especially in bargaining situations where desired results are not achieved. The following conversation took place between a German tourist and a beach boy selling coconuts and carved ashtrays on Diani Beach.

Dialogue 2

(18) Vendor: 'My sister, do you know how much it is? Very cheap!'

Tourist 'I don't want a coconut at the moment.'

Vendor 'My sister, don't be that angry. You don't have to [buy a coconut], but I beg you a thousand times, my sister, your mightiness!'

Tourist *<keeping quiet>*

Vendor 'Can I make you an ashtray? Very beautiful, just as you, Madame.'

Tourist 'No, I don't need one. Thank you.'

Vendor 'Don't let me down, my sister.'

Tourist *<picking up the pace>* 'No, sorry. I'm not your sister. Thank you.'

Vendor *<shouting>* 'You got white skin, but a black heart!'

The vendor in (18) initiates conversation by offering coconuts to the girl, who declines the offer immediately by shaking her head and demonstrating her disinterest with gestures of indifference. Since the beach boy is not satisfied with her initial reaction, he insists on his offer and reinforces his conversational intentions through strategies of politeness that include a positive facial expression, compliments, an expression of proximity and allusion to his subservience. His attempts to persuade the girl are emphasised by hierarchical indications such as the royal form of address 'Your mightiness', which was probably meant to express 'Your Majesty'. Before the young tourist succinctly points out her annoyance and cuts the conversation off by joining her friends, the conversation develops into apparent offence and the explicit provocation of white guilt. According to Mietzner & Storch (2019), vendor-buyer relationships are regarded as especially effective

if they are marked by violent and provocative confrontations. Similar accusations are likely to be provoked through the apportioning of blame and imputations of Othering. As such, beach boys often address tourists with reproaches like 'You have forgotten about me, haven't you?', implying that the approached tourist has a certain obligation to reply and react, even if they had never met before. Causing a bad conscience is common practice, with tourists convinced to buy souvenirs or other goods as fair compensation. A similar, frequently used reproach is a reference to cannibalism, such as in the following utterances collected by the author on Diani Beach (19), by Mietzner & Storch (2019) and Mietzner (forthcoming):

	German	English
(19)		'We are no man-eaters.'
(20)	*Ihr mögt keine Menschen, ihr mögt nur Tiere.* (adapted from Mietzner forthcoming)	'You don't like people, you only like animals' (translated from German by the author)
(21)	*Wir sind hier keine Kannibalen, wir beißen nicht. Wir fressen dich nicht.* (adapted from Mietzner & Storch 2019: 3)	'We are no cannibals here, we won't bite you. We won't eat you.' (translated from German by the author)
(22)		'Hello. How are you? You don't have to fear me, I will not harm you. I am not a cannibal!' (adapted from Mietzner forthcoming)

| (23) | 'You don't have to be scared of my dark skin, I only want to talk.' |
| | (adapted from Mietzner forthcoming) |

Table 6: Reproaches as trading strategies used by beach boys in Zanzibar and Diani Beach

Although the vendor–buyer relationship has the goal of simple trading, the implications that are reflected in the language bear strong resentment and reflect colonial practices that depicted the colonised African as deviant, savage and man-eating (cf. Arens 1979, Hall & Tucker 2004). Mietzner (forthcoming) argues that

> [b]esides the reference to the colonial context, racialized constructs of difference are used by the Beach Boys to paralyse the tourists and make them incapable of taking action against the unwanted companion during the beach walk. These strategies again don't insult the tourists, but rather catapult them in to the position of having to be extremely friendly in order not to be counted among those people who are racist.

The reproduction of misconceptions and prejudices of the Other exist as an apparent colonial hangover, which comes to light in tourists' encounters, insignificant of how volatile and superficial they might seem at first sight. The British tourist in A.6 asserts an attitude of supremacy which manifests itself in his sharp isolation from the host culture and in his language. Even though he seeks spatial proximity, he clearly dissociates himself from any bonds between African living realities and his own. Possible overlaps, such as having a Ugandan mistress and spending holidays in Zanzibar, are no contradiction, but rather play the determining role in his neo-colonial conception of the legitimate subjugation

of the Other. Practices such as sex tourism are known to reinforce unequal relationships as the benefits are gained by affluent tourists while locals become victimised due to their economic inferiority. Kibicho (2009: 79) describes the relationship between tourism and the sex trade with the "metaphorical view that poor countries, as tourism destinations, 'sell themselves' to the rich, tourist-generating countries in order to earn a living". As in the example of the British tourist in A.6, the colonial idea of holding sway over the Other is today continued in the surprisingly tolerated practice of sex tourism, which is justified by being presented as a commercial transaction. Sex tourism is another form of Othering through which people – especially people of colour – become exoticized and labelled as different on the basis of their bodies and sexuality. According to Fisher (2004), the impact of tourism on the place where it happens and on local living realities is much bigger than the impact on the tourists involved. It seems absurd that now that even sex tourism has almost become common practice, tourists rarely reflect on how they are involved in fuelling past inequalities.

3.7. Colonised Language and Human Differentiation

(A.7) A young student from Mwanza (interviewed in Nungwi)

I spend another day in the tourist stronghold of Nungwi and observe the hustle and bustle at the beach. It is a colourful spectacle; the white sand is sprinkled with tourists and beach boys. Waiters and tour guides try to attract potential customers who most of the time deny any offer with good manners. I sit down in a shady place in front of a hotel and wonder about how challenging it must be to work as a security guard here, right at the beach, wearing a dark uniform,

observing tourists while they rest and play right under the burning sun. A young man around 25 years old approaches me hesitantly, but in a friendly way, and we get talking. He is a student from Mwanza in Northern Tanzania, right on Lake Victoria, who has come to spend some days in Zanzibar with a couple of friends. Since his phone was out of battery and he had not managed to contact his friends, he had decided to stay in front of their hotel and wait until they showed up. It does not take long for us to have a vivid conversation on our fields of research since he is in the middle of his bachelor degree in environmental studies, and we talk about our opportunities to study abroad. Since I was working for a German scholarship organization at that time, I tell him about the preconditions and the difficulties of studying in Germany. He is curious, but due to his limited linguistic competence, he admits preferring Great Britain for his master's degree.

A security guard interrupts our conversation. "Hey man, how is it?", he asks my counterpart in Swahili. "Good, and you?" – "Cool. Tell me, is this your guest?" He points at me. "I'm not from here and I don't sell anything. I was just talking to her", the student replies conciliatorily, obviously correct in his assumption that he had been taken for a beach boy by the security guard. "Okay, it's just better if you go away with her rather than staying here", the security man urges. "But I just met her. Is she not allowed to stay here?", the student counters, pointing at me with his eyes, without any other gesture. I'm sitting in the sand wondering about what is happening and why I am not included in the conversation at all. "No, <u>she</u> is allowed. But <u>you</u> are the one who is not allowed to stay here", he replies in a serious tone. "Why?", the student asks, not understanding. – "It's the law from here" – "But I am a tourist as well. It's not that I am like someone from nowhere. I came here to have a good time and enjoy life, you see?" The security man seems suspicious and disinterested in any explanation. "Okay, but this place is not for you", he says. – "So, it is only for tourists?" The security guard gets louder, obviously concerned and

impatient at the objections of his counterpart. "Listen to me, dude, if you are not a guest, you're not allowed to stay here. You could be anyone, pretend to talk to her, and then steal something. Finally, you could get into trouble." I feel cut dead while both ignore me, yet aware of the fact that this conversation would not be taking place at all if I wasn't there. "Anyway, I get you. We are leaving", the student concludes the discussion, which prompts the security guard to return to his observation point.

The student returns to me and explains that the security man had suspected him of harassing me and that beach boys were not allowed to stay in front of the hotel – even if he wasn't one. I am shocked by the staff's insistence and his disregard for my opinion, since I could have easily clarified the situation if he had just asked me whether I was deliberately talking to the student or not. We continue our conversation on studies and scholarships. Ten minutes later the security guard returns. "You better leave, otherwise you will put me into worries" - "How will I put you into worries?" – "Leave our working place!", the man urges in earnest. Again, the student starts to explain and justify his stay, this time even more resolutely. "Listen, I am here because I came with my friends. They are staying in Amaan Beach Bungalows. So, do you think I am just like other guys around here, because I am black – your fellow Swahili – speaking Swahili? My friends are staying at Amaan, I can even go and swim here. I have a visitor card. They booked two rooms - one for a visitor. Until recently I was looking for them, but my phone is off, you see? I don't know if you understand me, but even if you go to the hotel reception and ask right now, they will tell you that they have booked two rooms for us. I'm neither from Zanzibar nor a beach boy as you think. So even me, I am a tourist, but a domestic one." The security man keeps quiet, obviously reconsidering his accusation in view of the student's threat to talk to the hotel manager. After a moment of thought, he desists from questioning, apologises for his disturbance and leaves.

Although as human beings we are capable of thought and choice, in environments which are determined by society, it is not inherently embedded in us to be ourselves, without misinterpretation. Coulmas (2013: 1) states that "[a]s human beings we are able to change our behaviour. The idea that we act as free agents is fundamental to our self-conception. Every word we say reinforces this conviction, for whenever we speak, we make choices". Since we depend on social categorisation, though, we may not always be in the advantageous position of being able to negotiate our rights. Tourism can be criticised for this discrepancy, between those who travel for leisure and self-fulfilment, because they form the solvent party, and, in contrast, those who offer space for leisure and self-fulfilment and who are dependent on the other's economic investments. It is undeniable that the world works along this principle of imbalance. At the beach, encounters have an ambivalent character, torn between superficiality and profundity, politeness and violence, between transmission and transgression (cf. Wikström 2005). Language reflects these states of border crossing, subliminally or visibly. Although tourists and locals are linguistically separated from each other by their mother tongues and the limits of their language competences, beach boys and local operators in the tourism industry beach boys and local operators in the tourism industry interact with both tourists and locals and build a bridge between the two sides. They are situated somewhere between English, as the *lingua franca,* and other (colonial) languages used at the beach, and the commodified insertion of HMS, used more for the sake of business than as a representation of a marginalised local language.

> It is no surprise, in the supply and demand models that dominate intercultural and linguistic training in the tourism industry, that the languages learned to be spoken for tourists are those deemed to be the most welcoming of the rich, the rich-world, colonial languages. It

is therefore clear that any intercultural assessment of languages and tourism needs to reflect upon the post-colonial condition of tourism and connections between continuing colonialism and languages practised under conditions of tourism. (Phipps 2007: 23)

The Swahili student in A.7 was considered an intruder among others because of his mother tongue. His language was one of the crucial characteristics that led the security man to categorise him as part of a certain group of people (i.e. locals > beach boys > potential thieves). While speaking Swahili would depict an advantage for tourists (see chapter 3.2), it creates a disadvantage for the local tourist from Mwanza who was forced to justify his rights. Nuñez (1977) states that what Phipps (2007) later designates a 'linguistic currency', reflects long-standing asymmetries between tourists and locals and even helps preserve them:

Perhaps the most striking example of the asymmetry in host–guest relationships is to be found in linguistic acculturation in which the usually less literate host population produces numbers of bilingual individuals, while the tourist population generally refrains from learning the host's language. The cadre of bilingual individuals in a tourist-orientated community or country are usually rewarded. The acquisition of a second language for purposes of catering to tourists often results in economic mobility for people in service positions. Interpreters, tour guides, bilingual waiters, clerks, and police often are more highly compensated than the monolinguals of their communities. (Nuñez 1977: 208)

Tied to spoken languages are ideas and assumptions about the identities of speaking individuals and whole groups of speakers. If we understand identity as belonging to one group or another, language is a marker that can function as a conscious device used by speakers to show in-group status or a subjective

perception indicating one's belonging to a certain community or one's exclusion from it. Pavlenko & Blackledge (2004: 18) state that "identity becomes interesting when it is contested or in crisis", meaning that people can define themselves more easily by defining others (especially marking them out as different from the evaluating Self). However in the same manner in which speakers can identify themselves within a certain group of people (such as Swahili speakers, or Westerners, or tourists), they can become classified by others on the basis of the languages they perform, and consequently, the groups they are classified into can be set incorrectly, stigmatised and prejudiced.

> Tourists are not tourists all the time, any more than hosts are only ever hosts, but in the asymmetries of languages and power the encounters within tourism are symbolically significant. Memories of tourist soundscapes and imaginations of future encounters pervade everyday life. The music, we might say, lingers on. (Phipps 2007: 18)

It is absurd that a national resident should not be allowed to walk along the beach in Nungwi, but the security guard's suspicion in A.6 is deeply entrenched. Huge hotel complexes employ security guards who watch out for beach boys in front of hotels where guests can rest on deck chairs or in the sand (c.f. Mietzner forthcoming). This security zone is often marked by a cord or a small fence. If it is not marked at all, the restricted area is simply defended and monitored by security guards and hotel staff. If tourists leave their deck chairs, heading towards the water, they inevitably cross the line and enter the field of fire until they either gather in a group (which makes them less approachable) or they reach the water (where they are rarely followed). Beach boys are usually aware of the hidden border, but occasionally prove that they are not deterred from crossing by encroaching on the protected area, thereby provoking conflict or punishment. In

these situations, transgression of the prohibited space can lead to loud arguments and in some cases even results in the police arriving to vacate the beach. Nevertheless, it is the predicament that Western tourists can move freely while locals remain under suspicion of having prohibited intentions. Unfortunately, racist treatment of the local population is no rarity in the context of tourism. Again, we are reminded of colonial ideas that cause the depreciation of the value of local languages and individuals and present the tourists as privileged. The phenomenon that speaking Swahili can lead to success on the tourists' part, but be a point of vulnerability on the part of Tanzanians (also in foreign countries), confirms that languages are infected with colonial wounds.

> Languages are, in other words, named and counted and exhibited as a commodity that is control by individual players when they are used in contexts where very particular language ideologies prevail: Concepts introduced in colonial contexts, framing language as bounded object and tied to ethnicity or nationhood. (Storch 2018: 4)

In chapter 3.6, we saw that beach boys can use impolite language if they feel displeased by tourists' reactions. It is no surprise that some tourism workers show aversion to the inequalities that seem to endlessly repeat themselves. This resistance and demonstration of power, on the part of the undermined local population, finds expression in language. As such, beach boys occasionally use pejorative terms to categorise tourists, according to their nationality and origin, such as the following collected by Mietzner & Storch (forthcoming):

	German	English
(22)	*Kartoffelfresser*	'Germans / potato eater'
(23)	Inselaffen	'British / islands monkeys'
(24)	*Spaghettifresser*	'Italians / spaghetti eater'

Table 7: Ethnophaulisms used by beach boys of Diani (adapted from Mietzner & Storch forthcoming)

The violent and provocative language use shown in Table 7 illustrates that locals do not always stick to practices of politeness or hospitality that represent the unwritten laws of the respective Other. They dare to confront tourists and mock them behind their backs, knowing that they also have power to mark tourists out as Others by means of language. Bousfield (2008: 150) states that "when we are (sincerely) impolite, we are either (a) creating, activating, re-activating some aspect of our own relative power, or (b) we are challenging someone over their (assumption of) power (or [c] a combination of both)." Therefore, if tourists stay restrained and uncooperative to offers of bargains, they can get be confronted with offensive language, becoming deprived of their aspiration to maintain control of all interactions.

Other informal tourism workers categorise tourists, according to their ethnicity, their class standing, the possibility of sexual relationships, their economic power and their willingness to purchase, as recorded by Sumich (2002):

	Swahili	English	Gloss
(25)	*wazungu*	'(pl.) white foreigners'	
(26)	*kuku*	'(lit.) chicken'	'rich tourists that are easy to catch and willing to spend money'
(27)	*vigodoro*	'(lit.) thin mattress'	'middle income tourists (apparently with sexual innuendo, less common in everyday conversation)'
(28)	*kishuka*	'(lit.) bird shit'	'backpackers, budget travellers, South Asians and young and shabbily dressed Europeans (stingy tourists with time pressure who always bargain since they are only passing through)'

Table 8: Zanzibari categories of tourists (adapted from Sumich 2002: 41)

Sumich (2002) explains that not all informal tourism workers are so critical and cynical about tourists, but all of them seem to perceive at least slight differences among tourists' behaviour, such as the following, recorded in the utterance of two tour guides from the mainland: "We like *kukus* because we are poor and they have money. *Kishukas* are friendlier to talk to people, but they have no money. *Kukus* act like they are good, but they don't care about other

people." (Sumich 2002: 43). Many tourists tend to find excuses to avoid conversations at the beach, such as 'I don't have time' which is just a side-tracked form of wielding agency. Since tourists pay for their holiday, they see themselves as being in a position where they are authorised to determine whom to talk to and when to remain silent or undisturbed. In the end, the whole framework of tourism appears as a conglomeration of power struggles between individuals (tourists, locals) and larger groups (tourism agencies, local businesses, economies) consolidated by a shared history.

It is a similar attitude to that of the sex tourists (see chapter 3.6), who try to justify and trivialise their actions through the pretext of commercial transactions, ignorant of the fact that the business, as a matter of course, is not built on an equal footing. While those tourists who are only passing through Zanzibar think about saving money in order be able to afford their connecting flight to Zimbabwe or Uganda, locals perceive them as rich individuals, in comparison to their own living reality, but who are unwilling to do business, as another informant interviewed by Sumich (2002:43) argues: "If you are not rich, how did you come to Zanzibar?" It is apparently hard to grasp the Other's living reality in relation to the tourists' freedom to travel the world. Kibicho (2009: 79) states that "[f]rom the locals' viewpoint, tourism is an agent of economic development; but from the outside view, the natives are a mere traditional object of desire". Referring to sex tourism, Kibicho (2009: 83) furthermore gives the example of young female, commercial sex workers who strategically make themselves appeal to older Western men who feel rejected by women in their home countries due to their appearance, their age or other aspects. By enticing precisely these tourists, local sex workers convince them to believe in their manliness again – "of course, with the ulterior motive of getting more pay for it […] In simple terms, such 'stage-managed' behaviour by a CSW [commercial sex worker] is a fundamental strategy to prolong the relationship, and in turn, to extend its

profitability". Again, we notice the blurry states of transgression that locals find themselves captured in. On the one hand, tourism workers (and sex workers) have to play by the rules of business, on the other hand, they feel the need to defend themselves and test their limits in order to maintain or regain control and power over the Other. While tourists show themselves to be powerful and solvent, locals have little chance not to be submissive (c.f. Smith 1989), other than by rebelling against the inequalities to their maximum limits. As a Zanzibari tourism agent told me, locals retaliate against tourists by using HMS (see chapter 3.2), because they can attract foreigners using the slang for business purposes, while at the same time excluding them from their Swahili speaking community.

> Of course, people make you [tourists] like a child. They would be coming and talk to you, that's gaining your attention… which for me is a damn wrong approach, cause instead of – probably because I'm no businessman, that's what I think – instead of approaching you and go to the point, I'm making fun of you. (A., Stone Town, 2017)

As such, tourism workers can unleash subliminal power through their use of language, namely by addressing tourists in a childish Swahili slang and thereby taking away their authority (often without them even noticing). Ochs (1993: 288) states that "speakers attempt to establish certain identities for themselves and others through verbally performing certain *social acts* and verbally displaying certain *stances*". As emphasised by the Swahili designations in Tables 6-8 and the beach boys' reactions in Dialogue 2, language functions as a powerful device to locals in defending themselves and exerting power over the Other.

4. Conclusion

Tourism facilitates confrontation and transgression as an intense form of cultural contact. Phipps (2007: 98) argues that tourism is "arguably the phenomenon that enables the most intercultural encounter for the most number of people in the world today" and thereby provides us with promising opportunities for cultural interaction. Barnard & Spencer (1996: 552) put it more succinctly and even claim that "[t]o ignore tourism in our accounts of culture contact in the twentieth century is probably as great an omission as to ignore slavery in the eighteenth century or colonialism in the nineteenth". This is due to the perceptible proximity of tourism to all of our lives as occasional tourists. Since tourism is common practice, feasible for the majority of Western societies, there are an uncountable number of individual tourist experiences that contribute to one of the major worldwide industries. Its impact is massive, and hard to control. Tourism in Zanzibar – as well as other East African travel destinations – creates a space for intercultural tension and challenge between locals and foreigners, played out against the background of an unprocessed common past. Although these encounters require

intercultural sensitivity and attentiveness, the unlimited nature of Western tourism in Africa follows colonial models and facilitates the continuation of hegemonic concepts instead.

Through my research I found that language does not only reflect the common practice of Othering and the unequal power relationships between hosts and guests, but also reinforces the creation of differences and supports the distribution of misconceptions about the Other. Tourists maintain biased ideas about Zanzibari people and culture because they focus explicitly on confirming differences between them and their counterpart. Due to the tourist gaze, tourists are incapable of objectively perceiving the Other as a counteracting individual, but instead suffer from seeing a biased picture, which becomes even worse in the blurred space which exists between reality and staged authenticity. Instead of having the record set straight, they feel that their world view has been confirmed by travelling to the island. They see poverty as a natural characteristic of the Other (Sumich 2002), get to know an alleged 'exotic' language that they only know from movies and hearsay, and become ensnared by a promising *hakuna matata* philosophy of easy-living. Shaped by a Western living reality and advanced globalisation, tourists are not guided to reflect upon their own impact as economically subjugating agents in the business, but take the imbalances as undisputed facts, ignorant of the monopolies of power on part of the Western investors. Tourists' solvency equals a legitimate supremacy and subjugation of the Other, trivialised by the alleged pecuniary rewards that locals receive, and that allow tourists to only bother about local living realities to their desired extent.

In daily life, local languages play a part in the tourism industry, but not often with the purpose of sharing parts of Swahili culture or facilitating cultural approach. The slimmed-down Swahili slang, or HMS, is a commodified device that attracts potential buyers and tourists to Zanzibar. The language entices tourists, who become

curious about it, and appears exotic as part of the authenticity of the experience, even though HMS is exclusively reserved for the domain of tourists and gives a spurious impression of the actual Bantu language that local communities speak. Since tourists only come into contact with the staged HMS, they presume it is real language and take it home as a linguistic souvenir and 'half-knowledge' of Swahili people. The circulation of the accompanying clichés and ideas is boosted massively through written language, since HMS is printed on clothes and souvenirs, used in social media and in travel guides. Tourism workers themselves contribute to its reproduction as it is pervasive in short conversations along the coast, even though they would never use the slang among themselves, beyond the tourist setting. Similar to the linguistic commodification, tourist narratives do not authentically reflect the local reality, but rather reproduce staged performances. Subsequently, tourists are surrounded by various stagings, such as the *hakuna matata* carefree life attitude, the attributed happiness of local people with their proximity to nature and simplicity of life, and they take this easy-going life attitude for granted.. This is where the vicious circle begins. It drives tourists to report on their (mis)perceptions back home, which in turn attracts new tourists to see the alleged authentic Zanzibar with its white beaches, simple motorless boats and poor, but joyful local people. Those who suffer are the Zanzibari, caught in the bipolar tension between the money-making tourism industry on one side and on the other the loss of individual living reality and the commodification of culture in favour of the Northern economic powers.

Hierarchical imbalance and Othering are strongly reinforced by the initial position of language politics. Starting with the taxonomic order of languages in the tourism industry, it is obvious that colonial languages reign in this business. Guests are welcome to speak their mother tongue while local tourism workers have no choice but to acquire foreign language skills to remain competitive. The lack of a multilingual repertoire massively reduces the

economic power of local tourism workers, both as employees as well as independent workers. As such, language choice reflects and strengthens international trade and is set by the predominating expectations of the leading Western standards, irrespective of locals' limited opportunities and the effort required for them to acquire multilingual competence. While tourists can continue speaking their mother tongues or English as the *lingua franca* at the Zanzibari beach, they weaken the local linguistic agency while maintaining the commanding position of the Global North in the Southern Hemisphere.

Occasionally, language becomes one of the few devices that locals can use to retaliate against inequalities. Verbal rebellion, such as provoking white guilt, alluding to colonial bias, Othering tourists with reference to their ethnic backgrounds or using HMS in intercultural encounters, enables tourism workers to show subliminal resistance in this unequal fight. Nevertheless, linguistic violence expressed by beach boys and independent tourism workers does not lead to tourists perceiving the imbalances of their relationships, but rather causes incomprehension and outrage. In quick encounters, it encourages feelings of guilt and shame which are quelled by spending money on the offered goods or services, but the general outcome is not that they feel like intruders in a foreign place but continue to seek the role of the determining party. Likewise, tourists feel harassed by vendors at the beach which can even lead to racist hostilities from the locals employed in the tourism sector and those who suffer from the effects of an institutionalised industry dominated by foreign holders. Ignorant of the local living reality of the freelancing, tourist-dependent workers at the beach, tourists claim special privileges and freedom of action whenever locals interfere with their desired holiday experience. Subsequently, tourism practices and language in tourism help to make the differences between locals and tourists even more extreme and fuel Othering in reciprocal interactions.

Textualization of language, a traditional Western preference, facilitates the circulation of stigmatised images of the Other. Tourists are likely to share their holiday experiences through various forms of media (i.e. photos, videos in social media communities or online forums), and of course through language as well (written or by word of mouth), which is another form of superimposing a Western understanding and handling of the world onto the Other's living reality and thereby symbolically appropriating it. The mere production of souvenirs explicitly designed for catching tourists' curiosity enhances the reproduction of ideas that distort Zanzibari realities. They are commodities that reflect Zanzibari culture in a simplified and stereotypical way through 'traditional' handcrafts and paintings, simple hand-made jewellery and near-natural representations of local lifestyles. Appearing on everything stands the pervasive inscription of *hakuna matata.* Tourists are thereby encouraged to multiply prevailing stereotypes and confined misconceptions of Zanzibar as they are *sold* to them as authentic.

In the end, this is what should make us pause and reflect upon what is shared and retold to the world, and on which foundations of experience and knowledge representations are built. As tourists, we should be attentive to our history and the history of the places we visit. We should be interested in the histories of the languages and the political developments that have formed current societies and led to the living realities of today. We should be aware of our role and agency within a tourist setting, not merely in our own surroundings, but much more in the place where tourism occurs. Awareness of the scope of our actions and attitudes, not only during our holiday, but also before and afterwards can contain the continuation of hegemonic principles and Othering through social taxonomies. If we continue to believe that we are not involved in the tourism that takes place beyond our national borders, how should we be able to deal with cultural contact within our own?

References

Arens, William. 1979. *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy*. Oxford / New York: Oxford University Press.

Barnard, Alan & Jonathan Spencer. 1996. *Encyclopaedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Routledge.

Bauman, Richard & Charles L. Briggs. 1990. Poetics and performance as critical perspectives on language and social life. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 19.1: 59-88.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 1998. *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Berman, Nina. 2017. *Germans on the Kenyan Coast. Land, Charity, and Romance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Blackwood, Robert, Elizabeth Lanza & Hirut Woldemariam (eds.). 2016. *Negotiating and Contesting Identities in Linguistic Landscapes*. London: Bloomsbury.

Blommaert, Jan. 2013. *Ethnography, Superdiversity and Linguistic Landscapes*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Bousfield, Derek. 2008. Impoliteness in the struggle for power. In Derek Bousfield & Miriam Locher (eds.), *Impoliteness in Language: Studies on its Interplay with Power in Theory and Practice*, pp. 127-53. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Bruner, Edward M. 2001. The Maasai and the lion king: authenticity, nationalism, and globalization in African tourism. *American Anthropologist* 28.4: 881-908.

Cohen, Erik & Robert L. Cooper. 1986. Language and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 13.4: 533-63.

Cohen, Erik. 1972. Toward a sociology of international tourism. *Social Research* 39.1: 164-82.

Cohen, Erik. 1988. Authenticity and commoditization in tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 15.3: 371-386.

Coulmas, Florian. 2013. *Sociolinguistics: The Study of Speakers' Choices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Craik, Jennifer. 1994. Peripheral pleasures: the peculiarities of post-colonial tourism. *Culture and Policy* 6.1: 153–82.

Crick, Malcolm. 1989. Representations of international tourism in the social sciences: sun, sex, sights, savings and servility. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18: 307-44.

Dann, Graham. 1999. Writing out the tourist in space and time. *Annals of Tourism Research* 26.1: 159-87.

Enwezor, Okwui. 2006. *Snap Judgements: New Positions in Contemporary African Photography*. Munich: Steidl.

Fisher, David. 2004. A colonial town for neo-colonial tourism. In C. Michael Hall & Hazel Tucker (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*, pp. 126-139. London / New York: Routledge.

Gallop, Jane. 2002. *Anecdotal Theory*. Durham / New York: Duke University Press.

Gmelch, George. 2003. *Behind the Smile: The Working Lives of Caribbean Tourism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Graburn, Nelson H. H. 1989. Tourism: the sacred journey. In Valene L. Smith (ed.), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, pp. 17-32. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Greenwood, Davydd. 1978. Culture by the pound: an anthropological perspective on tourism as a cultural commoditization. In Valene L. Smith (ed.), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, pp. 129-38. Oxford: Blackwell.

Hall, C. Michael & Hazel Tucker (eds.). 2004. *Tourism and Postcolonialism. Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations.* London: Routledge.

Hall, Stuart. 1996. Who needs identity? In Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, pp. 1-18. London: Sage.

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. 1807/1977. *Phenomenology of Spirit*. Translated by Arnold Vincent Miller. London / New York: Oxford University Press.

Heller, Monica, Adam Jaworski & Crispin Thurlow. 2014. Introduction: Sociolinguistics and tourism – mobilities, markets, multilingualism. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 18.4: 425-458.

Homewood, Katherinre, Patti Kristjanson & Pippa Chenevix Trench (eds.). 2009. *Staying Maasai? Livelihoods, Conservation and Development in East African Rangelands.* New York: Springer Press.

Issaka, Abdoul-Kawihi Ibrahima. 2018. Fremd- und Selbstverortungen: Afrikanismus und Postkolonialismus in Reiseführerliteratur und Interviews mit Reisenden. *Schriften zur Kulturwissenschaft* 120. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač.

Jaworski, Adam & Annette Pritchard (eds.). 2005. *Discourse, Communication and Tourism*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Keim, Curtis. 2009. *Mistaking Africa*: *Curiosities and Inventions of the American Mind*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Keshodkar, Akbar. 2013. *Tourism and Social Change in Post-Socialist Zanzibar.* Lanham: Lexington.

Khor, Martin. 2014. Global economy and the third world. In Jerry Mander & Edward Goldsmith (eds.), *The Case against the Global Economy*, pp. 146-55. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Kibicho, Wanjohi. 2009. *Sex Tourism in Africa: Kenya's Booming Industry.* Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing.

Knapp, Marcela & Frauke Wiegand. 2014. Wild inside: encounters in European traveller fantasies of Africa. In David Picard & Michael A. Di Giovine (eds.), *Tourism and the Power of Otherness: Seduction of Difference*, pp. 158-75. Bristol: Channel View Press.

MacCannell, Dean. 1973. Staged authenticity: arrangements of social space in tourist settings. *American Journal of Sociology* 79.3: 589-603.

MacCannell, Dean. 1976. *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books.

MacCannell, Dean. 1999. *The Tourist. A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

McLaren, Deborah. 2003. *Rethinking Tourism and Ecotravel*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press.

Mietzner, Angelika & Anne Storch (forthcoming). *Tourination*.

Mietzner, Angelika & Anne Storch. 2019. Linguistic entanglements, emblematic codes and representation in tourism: an introduction. In Angelika Mietzner & Anne Storch (eds.), *Language and Tourism in Postcolonial Settings,* pp. 1-17. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Mietzner, Angelika (forthcoming) Found and lost paradise: bad language at a beach in Diani, Kenya. In Nico Nassenstein & Anne Storch (eds.), *Swearing and Cursing: Contexts and Practices in a Critical Linguistic Perspective*. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.

Mietzner, Angelika. 2017. The hakuna matata tourist: extreme Othering in an extreme setting. Paper presented at the workshop on *The Other's Other: Performance and Representation in Language*, University of Cologne, 25-26 September 2017.

Nash, Dennison. 1989. Tourism as a form of imperialism. In Valene L. Smith (ed.), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, pp. 37-52. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Nassenstein, Nico & Maren Rüsch. 2017. Skinscape souvenirs and globalized bodies: Tattoo tourism and body art as travel narratives. Paper presented at the *Tattoo Workshop*, Morphomata/University of Cologne, 1–2 December 2017.

Nassenstein, Nico. 2016. Mombasa's Swahili-based 'Coasti Slang' in a super-diverse space: languages in contact on the beach. *African Study Monographs* 37.3: 117–43.

Nassenstein, Nico. 2016. The Hakuna Matata Swahili: linguistic souvenirs from the Kenyan coast. In Angelika Mietzner & Anne Storch (eds.), *Language and Tourism in Postcolonial Settings*, pp. 130-56. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Nuñez, Theron. 1977. Touristic studies in anthropological perspective. In Valene L. Smith (ed.), *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, pp. 207-16. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Nwoye, Onuigbo Gregory. 1992. Linguistic politeness and socio-cultural variations of the notion of face. *Journal of Pragmatics* 18: 309–328.

Ochs, Elinor. 1993. Constructing social identity: a language socialization perspective. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 26.3: 287-306.

O'Reilly, Camille Caprioglio. 2005. Tourist or traveller? Narrating backpacker identity. In Adam Jaworski & Annette Pritchard (eds.), *Discourse, Communication and Tourism*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Pavlenko, Aneta & Adrian Blackledge (eds.). 2004. *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Phipps, Alison. 2007. *Learning the Arts of Linguistic Survival: Languaging, Tourism, Life*. Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Phipps, Alison. 2014. Learning to live in multilingual worlds. Talk presented at *TEDx Conference*, University of Glasgow, 12 April 2014. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mZqL7MC8Eys (accessed 23 Feb 2019).

Phipps, Alison. 2019. *Decolonizing Multilingualism: Struggles to Decreate*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Picard, David & Michael A. Di Giovine (eds.). 2014. *Tourism and the Power of Otherness: Seduction of Difference*. Bristol: Channel View Press.

Rankin, Monica A. 2012. *The History of Costa Rica*. Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press.

Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Seidl, Ulrich. 2012. *Paradies Liebe.* Movie. Austria/Germany/France: Tat Film/Parisienne de Production.

Simmons, Beth Ann. 2004. Saying the same old things: a contemporary travel discourse and the popular magazine text. In C. Michael Hall & Hazel Tucker (eds.), *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representation*s, pp. 43-56. London: Routledge.

Smith, Melanie, Nicola MacLeod & Margaret Hart. 2010. *Key Concepts in Tourist Studies.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Smith, Valene L. 1989. *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism.* Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Spear, Thomas & Richard Waller (eds.). 1993. *Being Maasai: Ethnicity and Identity in East Africa.* James Currey, London.

Storch, Anne. 2018. Linguistic landscapes of tourism: a case study from Zanzibar. In Klaus Beyer, Gertrud Boden, Bernhard Köhler & Ulrike Zoch (eds.), *Linguistics across Africa.* Cologne: Köppe Verlag.

Sumich, Jason. 2002. Looking for the Other: Tourism, power and identity in Zanzibar. *Anthropology of Southern Africa* 25.1-2: 39-45.

Thurlow, Crispin & Adam Jaworski. 2010. *Tourism Discourse: Language and Global Mobility.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Traber, Janine. 2017. Der Verkauf von Verkehr. *The Mouth* 2: 60-77.

Urry, John & Jonas Larsen. 2011. *The Tourist Gaze 3.0.* London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Vertovec, Steven. 2007. Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30.6: 1024-54.

Wang, Ning. 1999. Rethinking authenticity in tourism experience. *Annals of Tourism Research* 26.2: 349-70.

Wels, Harry. 2004. About romance and reality: popular European imagery in postcolonial tourism in southern Africa. In C. Michael Hall & Hazel Tucker (eds.), *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representation*s, pp. 76-94. London: Routledge.

Wijngaarden Vanessa. 2016. Dynamics behind persistent Images of 'the Other': the interplay between imaginations and interactions in Maasai cultural tourism. *Beiträge zur Afrikaforschung 76*. Berlin: Lit Verlag.

Wikström, Tomas. 2005. Residual space and transgressive spatial practices - the uses and meanings of un-formed space. *Nordisk Arkitekturforskning* 18.1: 47-68.

Wong, Brian Kee-Mun & Christy Yen-Nee Ng. 2019. Need recognition and motivation for gastronomic tourism. In Saurabh Kumar Dixit (ed.), *The Routledge Handbook of Gastronomic Tourism*, pp. 109-117. Abingdon: Routledge.

Yeoman, Ian & Tan Li Yu Rebecca. 2012. Fluid and Simple Identities. In Ian Yeoman, Tan Li Yu Rebecca, Michelle Mars & Mariska Wouters (eds.), *2050: Tomorrow's Tourism*, 50-62. Bristol: Channel View Publications.

Web Addresses:

African Budget Safaris. 2017. *Top 7 reasons to go to Zanzibar islands*. 1 March 2017.
Retrieved from https://www.africanbudgetsafaris.com/blog/top-7-reasons-to-go-to-zanzibar-islands/ (accessed 17 July 2019).

Enebi, Ernest Danjuma. 2016. *The Exoticization of Poverty*. Medium.com. 25 October 2016.
Retrieved from https://medium.com/@thedanjuma/the-exoticization-of-poverty-893cd0a10eac/ (accessed 12 August 2019).

Hernann, Andrew. 2014. *How was Africa?*. Travel Blog. 19 June 2014.
Retrieved from https://africasacountry.com/2014/06/how-was-africa (accessed 01 August 2019).

Traveler. 2013. *Zanzíbar, aquí nació el 'Hakuna Matata'*. 22 May 2013.
Retrieved from https://www.traveler.es/naturaleza/galerias/zanzibar/493/image/237 (accessed 01 August 2019).

TripAdvisor. 2017. User review on Mvuvi Boutique Resort. 11 October 2017.
Retrieved from https://www.tripadvisor.de/ShowUser Reviews-g616018-d1599909-r531900543-Mvuvi_Boutique_Resort-Kiwengwa_Zanzibar_Island_Zanzibar_Archipelago.html (accessed 17 July 2019).

Welt der Chancen. 2016. *Traumstrand und Hakuna Matata*. Travel Video Blog. 4 September 2016.
Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d0LukOo6yU0 (accessed 29 April 2019).

National Bureau of Statistics Tanzania. 2017. *Tanzania Tourism Sector Survey. The 2016 International Visitors' Exit Survey Report.* Retrieved from https://www.nbs.go.tz/index.php/en/census -surveys/hotels-and-tourism-statistics/119-international-visitors-exit-survey-report-2016 (accessed 01 August 2019)

European Commission. *Exchange Rate (InforEuro).* Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/budget/graphs/inforeuro.html (accessed 01 August 2019)