

6 Seduction: Learning the Trade of Tourist Enticement

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Few places in the world conjure up such rich images as the magnificent peaks, valleys and plains of Northern Tanzania. The highest mountains ... the wildest lakes ... the most abundant and varied wildlife – everything is here. Whether it's the contented roar of a big cat across the water at dusk, the timid face of an antelope calf seen through the rushes, or the sheer beauty of a thousand flamingos taking flight – the magic of this untamed earthly paradise will leave memories you will never forget.... Arusha, where all good things start (and finish). (Brochure from the Tanzania Tourist Board, 1999)

It is nearly eight o'clock in the morning. I start walking from Arusha's centre to the outskirts. As I am nearing my destination, at virtually every other intersection one or two fast-paced young Tanzanians are joining me. We are all headed towards one of the poorer neighbourhoods in the hills just north of the city. There, almost hidden between banana trees and lush vegetation, lays an inconspicuous two-storey building. The enlarged house is rudimentary and, aside from some basic facilities, there are only two rooms: a classroom and a room that functions simultaneously as office, library, computer room and second classroom. Outside the school, some students are enjoying a hearty breakfast of *uji* (millet porridge) and *chai* (tea), while others are just chatting or playing with their cell phones. Crammed inside the classroom, I count almost 100 heads. Seated on long wooden benches, everybody is focused on the automated slide show on the small computer screen in front. On every other slide, there is a colorful picture of a particular bird, followed by a second slide with its English name. Students compete with one another in correctly naming as many birds as possible. 'Southern black flycatcher ... Jackson's hornbill ... Redheaded lovebird ... African emerald cuckoo. No, it's an African striped cuckoo!' Samwel, sitting next to

me, proudly tells me that his friend Gurisha is able to distinguish over 500 different birds.

In 2007, I spent a year in northern Tanzania conducting research on tourism discourses and their underlying imaginaries (Salazar, 2010a). As part of the research, I regularly visited the Arusha Guide School (pseudonym). Strategically located nearby a number of national parks in northern Tanzania, Arusha functions as a 'safari capital'. Not surprisingly, the city attracts many migrants looking for jobs in tourism and hospitality. These newcomers quickly realise that they will not find any employment without having undergone some training. This is particularly true for tour guides, who generally are required to be skilled in fields as diverse as group dynamics, first aid, natural and cultural heritage interpretation, and imaginative storytelling (Salazar, 2006). Although not immediately visible when browsing the curriculum or attending class, in guiding schools there are types of learning going on other than the mere appropriation of specialised tourism vocabulary and English as a guiding language.

In this chapter, I explore how apprentice tour guides such as those at the Arusha Guide School are acquainted with foreign tourism imaginaries and associated discourses – what MacCannell (1992: 1) calls 'an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition' – and how they become skilled at strategically using them while guiding, often through trial and error. How are local guides taught to perceive their life-world through the eyes of foreigners? How do they learn to (re)produce tourism imaginaries? Or, to turn the question around, what role do guide training institutes and guides themselves play in the incessant circulation of tourism's foundational myths? I search for answers to these questions by analysing the various processes and mechanisms through which guides in northern Tanzania are 'seduced' – formally schooled and informally trained in the art of narrating and performing seducing tourism tales. As I will illustrate, the dynamics of seduction are heavily informed by asymmetrical power relations that structure the ways in which particular cultural forms are picked up and incorporated into how guides learn to see and represent the(ir) world.

As Seen on the Screen (and Elsewhere)

Tour guides operating in northern Tanzania have to build up a wide range of knowledge and skills. Bwana Baraka, the director of the Arusha Guide School, often compares a guide to a 'knowledge bank', a 'library' or an 'information bank', and stresses 'collecting info is a life-long job'. As he notes ironically, 'it's no longer enough to point to elephants'. In other words, guides need to learn how to tell and enact seductive tourism tales.

Tour guide interpretations largely feed off wider imaginaries, culturally shared and socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people's personal imaginings and are used as meaning-making devices, mediating how people act, cognise and value the world, and helping them to form identifications of Self and Other (cf. Strauss, 2006). The imaginaries underlying tourism are so predominant that without them there probably would be little tourism at all (Salazar, 2010a, 2012b; Salazar & Graburn, 2014). These images and discourses often propagate historically inherited stereotypes that are based on myths and fantasies related to nature, the noble savage, art, individual freedom and self-realisation, equality and paradise (Hennig, 2002; Said, 1994; Torgovnick, 1990).

Three types of myth frequently recur in tourism to developing countries: that of the unchanged, that of the unrestrained and that of the uncivilised (Echtner & Prasad, 2003). The imagery surrounding tourism to these countries is often about an ambivalent nostalgia for the past – ambivalent because returning to the past is not what people actually desire (Bissell, 2005). Such nostalgia tourism often taps into commoditised (neo)colonial imaginaries, evoking and mimicking the trope of first contact that was common in colonial travel narratives (Pratt, 2008). In general, discourses of the past – especially those related to Orientalism, colonialism and imperialism – seem to be extremely fertile ground for romantic tourism fantasies (Desmond, 1999; Edensor, 1998; Henderson & Weisgrau, 2007; Selwyn, 1996). Such tourism imaginaries become tangible and world-making when they are incarnated in institutions, from archaeological sites, museums and monuments to hotels, media and cultural productions (Hollinshead, 2007; Wynn, 2007).

Tourism imaginaries do not float around spontaneously and independently; rather, they need agency to 'travel', in space and time, from tourism-generating regions (which are also destination regions) to tourism-destination regions (which also generate fantasies) and back, in a dialectic way. Being part of much larger 'representational loops' (Sturma, 2002: 137), and empowered by global communication and media, tourism imaginaries are sent, circulated, transferred, received, accumulated, converted and stored around the world. While tourism imaginaries are by nature elusive, it is in practices and discourses that they become tangible.

Bruner (2005) devoted many years to tracking the spread of what he calls 'tourism narratives'. These narratives travel through a self-perpetuating 'touristic cycle', carried by people and organisations with very different stakes in tourism: marketers, service providers, government agencies, the media and tourists. According to Bruner, all narratives, appearing at different times (pre-tour, on-tour and post-tour) and places (at home and away), and

in various modalities (oral, written, pictorial, symbolic or graphic), can be traced back to certain 'metanarratives', the 'largest conceptual frame within which tourism operates. They are not attached to any locality or to any particular tour, and they are usually taken for granted, not brought to consciousness' (Bruner, 2005: 21).

However, there is not one universal tourism discourse that sends undifferentiated messages to a homogenised global audience (Salazar, 2006). Because the logic of the global market prescribes diversification and the creation of multiple consumer identities, the language of tourism contains a wide number of registers, each one addressing a particular type of tourist with particular interests (Dann, 1996; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). Tour guides step in this representational circle by refashioning general discourses as tourism tales, which are 'less encompassing in scope and more attached to particular regions' (Bruner, 2005: 22).

Because virtually all of the Arusha Guide School's teaching resources are foreign – primarily from Europe, the United States and South Africa – they actually greatly facilitate the students' exposure to globally circulating tourism imaginaries. Because wildlife tourism is the predominant form on mainland Tanzania (Salazar, 2009b), pedagogy necessarily stresses an emphasis on ecology and on mastering the widely popular environmental (eco-)discourse (Norton, 1996). Students learn that foreign tourists are most interested in big mammals and that this preference is the result of having seen (too) many spectacular wildlife documentaries and movies. In the words of teacher Frankie: 'Small children have watched *The Lion King*, so what do they want to see? Lions!' Consequently, students are taught to represent the Serengeti-Mara ecosystem as the world's greatest 'animal kingdom' and the Ngorongoro Crater as 'the place where Noah's ark came to rest' (a metaphor for the origin of species more than a biblical claim).

In the Arusha Guide School, many hours are devoted to explaining world heritage sites, biosphere reserves and conservation areas to students, as well as the importance these 'quality labels' have for tourists (Di Giovine, 2008). Keywords in tourism, such as authenticity and sustainability, are elucidated, too. 'Watu wanathink sustainable' (people think sustainable) is one of Frankie's mantras. As part of the graduation requirements, everybody has to compose a master information file, a long list of words including names of fauna, flora, attractions, people and tourism concepts. This is a very demanding task, forcing students to engage in many hours of reading and organising the materials (although lists composed by alumni are circulating too). The master list contains plenty of personalities from the colonial era: explorers, mountaineers, missionaries, scientists, writers, German and English administrators, and so on. The only Tanzanian personalities

included are the country's Presidents, a couple of traditional chiefs and historical figures from Zanzibar. During the final exam, Bwana Baraka randomly picks out words from the list and asks the student to narrate a guiding commentary about them. While most collect about 300 keywords, the brightest alumni are able to produce lists of more than 1500.

Another ingenious drilling mechanism is the weekly wildlife video quiz, during which everybody receives a sheet with a summary of the video narrator's speech. The students' task is to fill in missing keywords in the blanks while watching the video. This makes students focus not only on the contents of the story but also on the way the tales are narrated – on the art of delivery. Storytelling is highly encouraged and commented upon in the classroom: 'A good opening sentence makes your clients more curious'; 'Legends are welcome in tour guiding'; 'It's a good story, *mzungu atalala!*' (the foreigner will fall asleep, meant ironically). In this way, students are made aware of the benefits of good interpretation. As Bwana Baraka puts it: 'Everywhere [in the world] there are zoos. You make the difference by explaining things.' As an added bonus, apprentice guides realise that telling stories can be used to mask ignorance: because tour guides are not researchers, but an instrumental cog in the reification of tourism imaginaries, the headmaster proposes an easy way out of difficult questions tourists might ask: 'This is a mystery. That's how nature is. Let's move on.'

I am often struck by the instructors' repeated (and uncritical) usage of popular tourism discourses. They know how important it is that guides mirror the imaginations tourists have already acquired about Tanzania before setting foot on its soil, the fantasies that tour operators or travel agencies have already sold to them. The school therefore provides its students with plenty of samples of promotional materials, powerful tools to indoctrinate student guides with foreign interpretations of their own natural and cultural heritage. Bwana Baraka emphasises that his students should learn 'to look at things through the eyes of a tourist'. One of the methods he uses to do this is to show photographs and ask where they were taken. At one time, for instance, he displays a picture taken inside Arusha's only Western-style fast-food restaurant. Most students think the picture is shot in New York, somewhere in Europe or in Dar es Salaam. Not one guesses it right. The principal then uses this example to stress the importance of developing a feel for places and things that are of interest to foreign tourists.

Learning the 'tourist way' clearly implies familiarising oneself with the home cultures of tourists. According to the principal, openness towards appropriating foreign cultural elements – a kind of strategic cosmopolitanism (Salazar, 2010b) – opens all doors: 'You stay Maasai or Chagga and you

won't go anywhere.' Finally, a brash statement on tourism imaginaries: 'As I told you two weeks ago, there are people buying a ticket to Tanzania only because they want to see two things: a lion and a Maasai penis.... Especially American girls do this.' Sharing this type of information with the students, Bwana Baraka teaches them the widely circulating imaginary that Maasai men are well endowed, as well as speaking to the students' erotic dreams about Westerners.

'Meet the Local People'

On a regular basis, Bwana Baraka selects advanced students to guide tourists around Arusha or on other one-day excursions in the area. It is during these extended encounters with tourists that apprentices experience the 'magical' powers of guided tours (cf. Arnould & Price, 1993). Those students who are not selected can still pick up something from the in-class reports and evaluations after each trip. The story of Iddi illustrates how those who do have a chance to practise learn the hard way what tourism imaginaries entail. After his first safari with a group of Europeans, Iddi evaluates the trip in front of the whole class. In a rather agitated and slightly angry manner, he explains to his peers how the driver-guides of the tour company had skillfully manipulated the whole wildlife viewing experience. In order to make the five-day safari worthwhile, they made sure the tourists would not see too many animals on one given day. Through radio contact, driver-guides communicated with one another (in Swahili), exchanging the location of 'Big Five' species. This enabled them to carefully monitor and control the amount of wildlife shown to their clients during the trip. In such ways, tourism imaginaries are materialised and alter guiding practices in significant ways.

The learning process can even be more confronting when the imaginaries concern people. Alongside the amazing wildlife, the Maasai and the mysteries surrounding their culture are the flag-bearers of Tanzanian tourism (Salazar, 2009a). Because of the (colonial) imagery that circulates across the globe in countless coffee-table books, movies and snapshots, the undeveloped and time-frozen Maasai are one of the most (mis)represented African ethnic groups. The sight of a virile Maasai warrior, dressed in colourful red tartans and beaded jewellery, evokes the romantic image of a modern noble savage. Since the Maasai are often represented as an extension of wildlife (neglecting the fact that many Maasai are now educated and live in urban contexts), some tour guides have expanded the Big Five to the Big Six. Ally, who is Maasai on his mother's side of the family, experienced first-hand how tourism treats the Maasai. In front of the class, he negatively

evaluates a short cultural tour that took place in a neighbouring village. The local Meru guides had explained to the mixed group of foreign tourists that the Maasai are the most primitive Tanzanians because they still wear no clothes: 'Today we [Meru] are more developed compared to the other tribes. We are more transitioned compared to the Maasai. The Maasai are more primitive compared to us. We adapted quicker.... The Maasai are the ones that wear blankets. The Meru don't wear blankets.' Such stereotyped comments draw on outdated ethnological accounts that were translated in colonial as well as post-colonial policies and reflect the general disrespect for Maasai people in Tanzania (Salazar, 2013).

One Maasai student, Eduardo, becomes furious when he hears these kinds of stories. He made his name in the Arusha Guide School the day he denounced the organisers of camel safaris because they introduce the camels by name to tourists but neither mention nor properly introduce the Maasai men who accompany the animals. The pattern of not treating Maasai as individuals is common practice among other ethnic groups in Tanzania. Eduardo used the occasion of his reporting to request formally to be called by his name in the school instead of being addressed always as 'Maasai'. However, even if tourism seems to impose monolithic meanings through the relentless circulation of its archetypical images and ideas, each representation of peoples and places is subject to multiple interpretations. What actually happens during the interaction between guides and tourists is nuanced and open-ended, allowing both sides to manipulate expectations and preconceived patterns creatively (cf. Skinner & Theodossopoulos, 2011).

Apprentice guide Joseph experienced first-hand how tour guiding is an interactive endeavour that can never be fully controlled. During a practice tour around Arusha's urban centre, he noticed some street children sniffing glue under the Uhuru Torch, a well known landmark commemorating the independence of the country. In order not to disturb the 'magic' of the tour, Joseph drew attention to a nearby shop instead of bringing the group to the monument and giving a detailed explanation, as is usually done. When one of the tourists spotted the kids and asked him about the problem of street children in Tanzania, Joseph was put on the spot and could no longer avoid the presence of the children. He skilfully combined his answer to the question with a more general commentary on the country's post-independence problems, using this as an opportunity to bring the monument back into his narrative.

Apart from merely reproducing tourism imaginaries, tour guide discourse sometimes works as a hidden transcript, expressing socioeconomic and political dissatisfaction without directly confronting or challenging the authorities (Schwenkel, 2006: 20). Learning that the interests (and

imaginings or aspirations) of tourists are not necessarily the same as one's own, however, proves to be a more difficult lesson. On a visit to a Maasai village, Ernest took his group to the medicine man. This was the last part of the tour and it was already late. The medicine man started explaining his ritual practices but everybody was tired and bored. Ernest, who was himself fascinated by the topic, failed to notice the many implicit signs the tourists were giving, indicating they wanted to leave. Instead, he kept on asking the medicine man questions. The meagre tip he received from the tourists afterwards made him realise he had done something wrong. Another guide named Robert, who accompanied a group on a three-day cultural tourism trip, became very annoyed when not everybody showed interest in his long exposé regarding anthills. When all of a sudden the topic of female genital mutilation came up during a trip, Robert did not try to change the subject but instead started voicing his own opinion (thereby neglecting Bwana Baraka's mantra that 'a tour guide is neutral'). He defended the practice from a cultural perspective, an opinion unpopular with the American tourists. The highly emotional discussion that ensued showed the headmaster's wisdom, as it left the whole group of tourists very upset. During the evaluation of this practice trip at school, Robert acknowledged his mistake, allowing the other students to learn their lesson from his blunder as well.

The guide-tourist encounter, like all service contacts, is typically asymmetrical. By paying the guide for his or her work (and for access to certain areas), tourists expect quality service in return. However, there are many points in the interaction when shifts of role alignment occur and these same asymmetries are blurred or temporarily interrupted. Guides repeatedly rely on dualisms or binary us-them oppositions to position themselves interactionally *vis-à-vis* tourists and local people. Two different logics are at work simultaneously: a logic of differentiation that creates differences and divisions; and a logic of equivalence that subverts differences and divisions. As global marketing prescribes, guides often have no choice but to play the local, even if they are not necessarily natives of the sites where they work (e.g. almost all the guides in and around Arusha are Tanzanians, but many come from other regions and belong to different ethnic groups). In some instances, guides find creative ways to distance themselves from locals and align themselves on the side of the tourists.

The dominant global discourse, which tends to treat all Africans alike and, thus, conceptualise the guides as full members of local Tanzanian communities (Salazar, 2012a), can be subverted. The students from the Arusha Guide School quickly learn to distance themselves from local people encountered during a trip as a means of aligning themselves with the 'us tourists' side of the us-them binary. They achieve this, for instance, through

the subtle use of demonstrative and personal pronouns, or temporal and spatial expressions (Katriel, 1994). An important function of such meta-language includes making judgements of or expressing attitudes towards others, which serves the purpose of drawing social boundaries between the self and the other, reinforcing similarities and differences respectively.

On the way to a village market nearby Arusha, for example, Erasto told his group of European tourists: 'We will be able to meet the local people at the marketplace. You can say *habari* (hello), so you can become popular suddenly, and they can respect you because you greet them in their language.' By carefully choosing personal pronouns, Erasto performatively resists stereotyping by not telling his clients he is very much a local, often frequenting the market they were about to visit to buy his groceries. Such acts of differentiating by indexing difference linguistically may be a performance of resistance or a subtle contestation even if, at the same time, it perpetuates stereotypes (cf. Feldman, 2007). Either way, it is through the strategic use of linguistic processes that local guides learn about stereotypes in general, of African locals and Western tourists, and find new avenues of self-expression. And although the nature of the engagement of tour guides may vary, their attempts to (re)produce tourism imaginaries are not straightforward matters of 'telling and showing' but entail 'complex negotiation between guides' self-positioning, that of their organization, the particular genre of tourism involved, the audience and the site itself' (MacDonald, 2006: 136).

Getting to the Source

Because becoming an accomplished guide is a never-ending process, novices need much instruction. The tourism master imaginaries are taken in and processed according to how the local scene can be presented and sold as 'paradise'. In Arusha, the guides benefit from the eco-hype, which allows them to interpret their surroundings in terms of an untouched, green Eden, where animals (and people such as the Maasai) live in harmony. The examples from northern Tanzania discussed in this chapter show that, while imaginaries and their associated discourses circulate through tourism schools and training programmes, there are many other channels of distribution. Depending on availability and personal interest, guides can rely on an entire gamut of information sources to structure their practices and narratives. Guides often receive materials such as maps, guidebooks and travel dictionaries from tourists who leave them behind or mail them afterwards as a token of appreciation. Interestingly, this gift-giving (which is common in tourism to developing countries) is part of a qualified 'Otherness'. The

tourists do see the tour guide as an 'Other', but one who aspires to become like 'them' and whom they can help. The guides, as intermediary figures, appreciate the gifts of the tourists probably more than the 'real' Others (e.g. because the guides can at least read in the foreign language).

Most of the sources used are not indigenous but foreign, either produced abroad or by expatriates living in the country. This lack of indigenisation of materials is an old problem in tourism education, but it also greatly facilitates the inflow of global tourism imaginaries and discourses. Some books even date to the colonial era. Yet, being acquainted with colonial views actually turns out to be an asset when working in tourism because natural and cultural heritage are often packaged, represented and sold in ways that are reminiscent of colonial times. In other words, precisely because the resources used are not local, guides are better able to learn about the culture(s) of international tourists and, eventually, the culture(s) of tourism.

Resources from a more recent date are usually not critical academic analyses but illustrated coffee-table books and popular literature such as *National Geographic* and audiovisual companions such as National Geographic Channel and home videos. Apart from oral history (legends, fairy-tales and beliefs), indigenous knowledge is almost completely absent in the training cycle of tour guides. Even if the guides in Arusha have fewer educational materials at their disposal, they learn quickly while practising, through trial and much error. Encyclopaedic knowledge, together with physical strength and seduction, prevail over elegance.

Younger guides in Arusha often try to bypass the lack of printed resources by resorting to the internet. While this is a much more affordable way to find information, what is obtained is not always reliable. Of course, the web has its own seductive power over the guides using it. It allows them to discover seductive imaginaries related to destinations across the globe as well as the place where they work and live. Not only can they look up travel information, but the internet also allows them to chat and exchange emails with (former) clients. For apprentice guides, the internet often adds to their confusion, as they sometimes find information (and imaginaries) going against what they were taught at school.

Unlike countries where the content of tour guide schooling may be controlled by the government, thereby ensuring that guides deliver a uniform, politically and ideologically correct commentary, the Tanzanian government seems at present to have little control over such matters. Moreover, my observations of training programmes in Arusha suggest that the planned curriculum is often very different from the one that is actually enacted. In other words, while schools and training institutes play an important role in the circulation of tourism imaginaries, one-way transmission of ideas is not

possible. The issue is not about making the image conform to the Tanzanian world that tourists do not experience. There are strong financial incentives for protecting the image that tourism sells.

Conclusion

Through an ethnographically grounded analysis, this chapter has highlighted the processes by which seductive images and seductions as social relations move through very specific locales such as tour guiding schools and guided tours. Guiding clearly demands more than 'the superficial "processing" of a script or a memorized behavioral repertoire that might include smiling and friendly discourse' (Ness, 2003: 189). Through formal schooling and informal learning, apprentice guides become acquainted with seductive representations of their own culture and heritage that are deeply rooted in foreign conceptions of Otherness.

While schools and training institutes play an important role in the hermeneutic circle of tourism imaginaries, one-way transmission of ideas is not possible. Imaginaries mimetically feed the imaginings of tourists and guides alike but some images are more powerful, that is, more seductive. Whereas in the case of myths there are strong cultural incentives for leaving the contents unaltered, in the case of tourism imaginaries the motivations are largely financial. For tourism to propagate itself (and economically prosper), peoples and cultures better remain 'Othered'. After all, guides (and tour guide instructors) are different from 'teachers', in that they are primarily in the business of cultivating tourism imaginaries in a positive way rather than strictly educating tourists or transmitting 'objective' knowledge. Seductive Othering helps distinguish between home and away, known and unknown. The findings discussed in this chapter reveal that this logic applies both to tourists and to service providers.

The concept of 'seduction' that I introduce here has important analytical purchase to explain the long-term learning process in which tourists and guides are mutually seduced and educated. There are multiple but not equal meanings attached to seduction. The guides learn novel styles and forces of social relationships with other locals (status-building, economic differentiation and involving political or economic interests) and with foreigners (coolness, new desires, new behaviours and new forms of aspiration). Training courses and guiding experiences generate new or reformed practices of social intimacy and hierarchy that go beyond useful functional economic purposes to produce new social and cultural distinctions. Explicit teachings, informal stories and sometimes subconscious emulation interact in forming guiding skills.

This ethnographic study nicely illustrates how education, tourism imaginaries and the shifting relationships between self/other (or guide/tourist) act as mechanisms of seduction. An in-depth analysis of tour guide training and practice reveals how cultural production through tourism is extremely disciplining in how it serves to socialise and create subjects and subject positions. Recontextualisations of imaginaries serve to 'educate' the guides to become/to fit with the imaginaries set by travel agencies and tourism marketers. In other words, the power relations through which some elements of local culture 'stick' (in terms of being left within the guiding scripts) and the desires of the guides to live up to these images (even though they have conflicted feelings) are an essential part of the seduction process (cf. Picard, 2011). Discursive guiding techniques carry a lot of the argument concerning new modes of self-fashioning and self-commodification through the lure of powerful foreign representations of the Other in tourism (cf. Bunten, 2008).

In sum, tourism imaginaries and discourses come to guides through a variety of channels. No matter how many resources they have at their disposal, ultimately it is in the interaction with tourists that the imaginaries become tangible and are circulated; as with myths, they are perpetuated as well as subtly contested. The students of the Arusha Guide School are transformed in the process of becoming tour guides (e.g. by learning to control their personal reactions towards what they perceive to be negative imaginaries) but they also contribute occasionally to the transformation of tourism discourses (and, sometimes, tourists). Nevertheless, they all learn to think of tourists as 'clients', even as they address and treat them as 'guests' or even 'friends' (*rafiki*). Not only do they have to learn to look at their surroundings through the eyes of tourists, they also need to become aware that the imaginaries of *wazungu* ('white people') that circulate in local popular culture are as much stereotypes as the tourism imaginaries they are appropriating.

In fact, the Tanzanian guides are as seduced by foreign images of their country and its flora and fauna as the tourists are seduced by the exotic images that purport to be Tanzanian. Clearly, there are multiple seduc(a)tions at play in tourism encounters. Both tourists and guides willingly become complicit in their own seduction by tourism imaginaries. These imaginaries often shrewdly exaggerate the power of difference while neglecting and obfuscating the power of commonality. In his courses, Bwana Baraka always stresses the need for cross-cultural respect and mutual understanding. His long-term experience has undoubtedly taught him that changing widely spread preconceptions of the 'Other', either way, takes time and energy, and is not always desirable in tourism.

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