It's Nice to be Nice: Tourism Discourse and Post Colonial Identities in The Gambia

Kotu Beach, Serrekunda, The Gambia, 2011

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ABSTRACT

Title: *It's Nice to be Nice: Tourism Discourse and Post Colonial Identities in The Gambia*

From a post colonial point of view there is reason to question the increasing streams of tourists from North to South, i.e. from former colonialist countries to former colonies. The purpose of this study is to investigate the Gambian tourism industry and its meetings, the dialogue taking place, its discourse and the production of post colonial stereotypes.

A qualitative interview study with *beach attendants* (working at local beach bars), was carried out during November 2011. The transcribed interviews and observations made at the Kotu beach constitute the material for the study. These texts have been analysed within Norman Fairclough's theoretical framework and method for a critical discourse analysis, which means that the analysis looks into three dimensions of the texts: *1) discursive practice, 2) the characteristics of the text* and the connection to *3) a broader social practice.* I will argue and show that the tourism discourse produced at the Gambian beach relies on colonial discourse. I will also argue that the stereotype identities produced during the colonial era are reproduced within the *discourse of the beach*.

The main findings are that the tourist is represented as a good-hearted sort of person who travels to The Gambia in order to meet and help the locals. The locals are on their part represented as poor and struggling – but still happy, smiling and welcoming. From a post colonial point of view these stereotypes are problematic since they are reproducing global inequalities and dependency relations.

KEY WORDS: The Gambia, Tourism, Discourse, Post colonialism, Stereotypes

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problem

Tourism is the world's largest industry (Dielemans 2008: 13). In 2007 the World Tourism Organization stated 846 million international tourist arrivals worldwide, that shows an increase of 45 million arrivals in only one year (Dielemans 2008: 236). During 2010 the numbers are 935 million international arrivals, which means an increase of 7 % (World Tourism Organization, 2011-12-07). Tourism is a growing industry and never before have people travelled abroad for holidays, relaxing and fun to this extent. But – this is only the reality for a privileged group of people, only 2,5 % of the world's population has the opportunity to go on a holiday by airplane. The other 97,5 % cannot (Dielemans 2008: 236).

One of the most significant reasons for stratification in the world today is in what extent we, as individuals, have the power to control our own movements (Thörn 2002: 111). When it comes to mobility there is a great difference to talk about tourism and about migration. A line can be drawn between those who can decide where they want to go (or stay) and those who cannot make this decision for themselves but are forced to go somewhere – or to stay (Thörn 2002: 111).

Tourism can be described as a "culture industry" which transports people (most often) from north to south (Thörn 2002: 118). The last decades the amount of western travellers visiting poor countries in the south has increased (Jonsson & Syssner 2011: 15). This means that people from former colonialist countries are now tourists in the former colonies. In this new tourism framing those whose parents were once colonialized are now working with serving tourists. This raises questions about global inequalities and post colonial power relations.

During a two week period spent in The Gambia in 2006 questions about these aspects of travelling and tourism started to circle in my head. The Gambia is one of the poorest countries in the world (Sharpley 2009: 344). It is also one of those tourist destinations in the South visited by tourists mainly from the North[1]. At the same time very few Gambians have the possibility to go somewhere else, to be a tourist somewhere (Field Work, 2011). Most tourists visiting The Gambia are from the UK.

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[1] The existing and dominating markets for the Gambian tourism industry are the UK, Scandinavia and Benelux. New markets are Germany, Spain, Italy and West Africa (GTA 2006: 23-24).

The former colonialists are now tourists visiting places such as James Island (earlier centre for the British slave trade). From a post colonial point of view this is problematic (ex. Syssner 2011) and when I got the opportunity to go back to The Gambia for a Minor Field Study I thought that these issues would be interesting to study further.

Political as well as economic and social aspects have had great influence on the expanding tourism sector. With a post colonial perspective we can highlight how these aspects builds on colonial power relations. This perspective is also a tool to show in what way tourism is a product of and reproduces colonial ideas about culture. Ideas that still affects the world even though there are now very few colonies left (Jonsson & Syssner 2011: 218).

The Gambian government is, through the Gambian Tourism Authority (hereafter referred to as GTA), trying to improve the Gambian tourism industry in order to create economic growth and development (GTA 2006, see also Sharpley 2009). The main tourist attraction in The Gambia is the sun-sand-sea product (GTA 2006: 42). But also, as emphasized by the GTA is that "we [the GTA] need to recognize that the product is the whole country and its people in this smiling coast of Africa" (Visit the Gambia, 2011-10-25). This is an interesting aspect of tourism. Jennie Dielemans (2008) brings this up, in the Vietnamese context. She writes that what we consume when we travel is not only the culture and traditions of others but also their poverty (Dielemans 2008: 99). The poverty of the locals works as a framing for an authentic tourism experience. In this way The Gambia and the Gambian people are transformed into products for tourists to consume, and I am wondering, *what is it like to be that product?*

1. 2 Purpose and Research Questions

The meeting between tourism workers and tourists and the dialogue produced within this meeting constitutes discourses. By studying these discourses we can understand if and in what way tourism affects identities and images of the Other[2] and the self. A distinction can be made between two different types of tourism workers, the back-stage workers who have minimal contact with the tourists and the front-stage workers who have high face-to-face contact with the same (Urry & Larsen 2011: 77). When studying the meetings taking place, the front-stage group is, of course, the most interesting one to highlight.

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[2]   The concept of the Other will be further explained in the theoretical framework section below. I will foremost use the theories presented by Stuart Hall (1997a, 1997b).

One of the places characterised by this group of tourism workers is *the beach*, which is also the central part of the Gambia's sun-sand-sea product. At the beach we find many hotels but also fruit ladies, massage ladies, "the cake man", juice pressers and souvenir sells men. They sell different products but have in common the need to *meet and talk* to the tourists in order to sell their bananas, pedicures or sun glasses.

Among the different groups of people working at the beach one is extra interesting, at the local beach bars, situated along the beach, there are men working as *beach attendants*[3,] as one of them puts it, "voluntarily". Their job is to meet the tourists passing the bars, greet them, introduce and promote the bar. They are also responsible for preparing sun beds and do some cleaning and other tasks at the bars. They are not paid by the bar owners but depend on tip money or gifts from "good friends" they meet. These men are completely dependent on the relationships they can build with tourists to earn their living and support their families. They are the product for tourists to consume.

The purpose of this study is *to study the meeting between the beach attendants and the tourists, the dialogue taking place, its discourse and the production of stereotypes*. My research questions are:

> *1. What discourse/s about tourism is produced in the chosen texts[4]?*
>
> *2. In what way is "The Gambia" constructed as concept through the practice of representation within this discourse/s?*
>
> *3. In what way is "the tourist" constructed as concept through the practice of representation within this discourse/s?*
>
> *4. In what way is "the local" constructed as concept through the practice of representation within this discourse/s?*
>
> *5. Do these constructions produce difference and concur to reproducing colonial identities and global power relations? If so, in what way?*

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[3] This is the name most of them used for their own occupation. I started off by calling them "beach boys" which I also heard some of them call themselves, but this might easily be confused with those who are called *Bumsters,* an epithet most informants wanted to distinguish themselves from. *Bumsters* is the local word used to describe young men who interact with tourists, having sexual relationships with *toubab* (i.e. white) women (or men). These are relationships which are looked upon as a ticket out of Africa and into Europe which is represented as a land floating of milk and honey (Nyanzi et al. 2005).

[4] I will use the Norman Fairclough's broad definition of text, from this point of view both written and spoken language is "text" (see 3.4 Fairclough's three Dimensional Conception of Discourse)

In order to answer my research questions I will carry out a critical discourse analysis of the chosen texts that includes 1) notes from participant observations made at the beach in Kotu close to the tourism areas Senegambia and Bakau and 2) transcribed interviews with beach attendants working at beach bars in the same area. To be able to answer the questions above I will ask the following questions, based on Norman Fairclough's (1992) three-dimensional model for critical discourse analysis, to the texts:

- *What are the characteristics of the text?*
- *What is the discursive practice dimension of the text?*
- *How is this text linked to a broader social practice?*

I will elaborate and explain these questions further in the theoretical framework section below.

1.3 Who is a Tourist?

In this study the concept of "the tourist" follows the definition made by the informants, a tourist is a European (or American) white person a *toubab* in this local context (Field Work, 2011).

This excludes other tourists visiting The Gambia for example from other African countries. I am aware of this, but still I have chosen to use this narrow conception of the tourist, this is because of my interest in the tourist as a post colonial stereotype and the meeting between Africans and Europeans as stereotypes. The reader should, though, be aware of the complexities that characterise the global tourism industry and its meetings.

Another aspect is, of course, that there are white Europeans or Americans who live in The Gambia. They are not tourists by official definitions, but might be looked upon as tourists by the locals. This is complex, but it is clear however that the concept of a tourist is in this context closely connected to white Europeans and Americans.

1.4 Who is a Local?

In this study I will use the concept "locals" as synonym with "Gambians". This is of course to simplify the reality. There are many who would define themselves as Gambians but who are living abroad and therefore would not fit in as a local in this context. There are also "locals" working in the tourism industry who have migrated from other African countries like Guinea Bissau, Guinea Conakry and Senegal just to

mention a few (Field Work, 2011). As mentioned above there are also white Europeans and Americans who lives in The Gambia and who might as well be defined as locals rather than tourists.

Even so I have decided to use this narrow concept of Gambians/Locals, this is for the same reasons as I have decided to stick with the narrow conception of the tourist – I am interested in the post colonial identities produced within the meetings between Africans and Europeans. It is though, here as well, important to be aware of the complex reality.

1.5 Tourism as Field of Research

During the last decades tourism has turned from being looked upon as a trivial phenomenon not worthy to be researched to a large field of research raising questions both on a local and global level, about things such as dreams, self image, human rights, global economy and international relations. Researchers from many different disciplines are now interested in tourism (Syssner 2011).

Since tourism has become a large field of research it is not possible to overlook all that is going on and being written. For an overview and different aspects of tourism I have used *Perspektiv på turism och resande* (*Perspective on tourism and travelling,* my translation) by Josefina Syssner (ed) (2011). I have also used, *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* by John Urry and Jonas Larsen (2011) and various articles (Chant & Evans 2010; Nyanzi et al. 2005; O'Hare & Evans 1995; Sharpley 2009). I have been focusing on literature and articles discussing tourism with a critical perspective, dealing with identity and post colonialism. All the articles deal specifically with tourism issues in The Gambia.

Interesting to highlight in this context is a study carried out in The Gambia during 2005 with the title *Bumsters, big black organs and old white gold: Embodied racial myths in sexual relationships of Gambian beach boys* (Nyanzi et al. 2005). This is an ethnologic study of the narratives produced among Gambian *Beach boys* or *Bumsters.* Their conclusions are, in short, that the bumster's sexual relationships with *toubabs* are looked upon as a ticket out of Africa and into *Babylon*[5] *(*Nyanzi et al. 2005: 567*).* Within the meeting between bumsters and toubabs myths of others and the self are produced. The Gambian men are described (by themselves) as superior to others when it comes to "sexual strength", this is also the "explanation for the high demand of Gambian boys by toubab women" (Nyanzi et al. 2005: 565). This discourse is close to

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[5]   The concept used by bumsters to talk about European destinations such as Germany, Holland, UK or Sweden.

the one studied here but differ in some aspects, mostly because of the sexual dimension of the bumster reality. They are though co-existing discourses and they probably work in an intertextual[6] way.

What is the role of my thesis in this context then? As I see it the tourism industry is accepted by many simply as a good way for developing countries to create economic growth and development. It might be so, but there is also a need to look critically upon the world's largest industry (see Sharpley 2009; Syssner 2011). The global inequalities that characterise the tourism industry are problematic and have to be highlighted.

My study is of course limited by time and other aspects, but I hope that it might be a small contribution to a more critical understanding of the global tourism industry, its meetings and discourses.

1.6 Disposition

Background: Next I will try to place the theme for this study in a broader context, introducing The Gambia and the Gambian tourism industry.

Methodology and Theoretical Framework: In this section I present the methodology and theoretical framework that I will use to analyse my material. This is Norman Fairclough's theories and methods complemented with a post colonial perspective and theories about representation and stereotypes (Hall 1997a; Hall 1997b).

Material and Method: Here I present the texts that constitute the material for the study: notes from observations and transcribed interviews. I will also present the method used for analysing the material. In this section I will also discuss the ethical aspects that have to be considered when carrying out a qualitative interview study in general and the limitations of this study in particular.

Analysis and Results: In this section I present my analysis and results of the chosen texts. I will do this by going through the text from the three dimensions: *discursive practise, characteristics of the text* and *social practice* (Fairclough 1992). This is also where I answer my research questions.

Discussion and Final Remarks: Finally my ambition in this last section is to tie the analysis together and discuss the results of this particular study in a broader social context.

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[6]   Intertextual is a concept used by Fairclough to describe how all texts relies on other earlier texts and how texts produced today will be apparent in future texts (Fairclough 1992: 117-118). Intertextuality will be further explained in the theoretical framework section.

2. BACKGROUND

2.1 The Gambian Context

The Gambia is one of the smallest countries in West Africa. The total area is 10 689 square kilometres and The Gambia stretches 350 kilometres from west to east (GTA 2006: 3). The Gambia is surrounded by Senegal at all sides but the west coast which borders to the Atlantic Ocean. The River Gambia which runs the entire length of the country (GTA 2006: 3) was a centre for slave trade during the British rule.

The Gambia is a republic. In 1994 there was a military coup in which current president Yahya Jammeh came to power. He was re-elected in open elections in 2011, with 72 % of the votes. The election has been questioned by observers because of several aspects, among them is that the President controls the majority of the medias (All Africa 2011-12-01). The Gambia shows several weaknesses when it comes to Human Rights. The freedom of speech is highly restricted and people from the opposition have been imprisoned and tortured (Andreasson 2008: 2, Field Work 2011).

The population is about 1,8 billion people belonging to different ethnic groups with Mandinka (42%), Fula (18%), Wolof (16%), Jola (10%) and Serahuli (9%) as the largest groups (Gambiagrupperna, 2011-11-08). These (mainly Mandinka and Wolof) are also the languages spoken by most Gambians. English is the official national language but it is not spoken by all, especially not in the rural areas (Field Work, 2011).

Life expectancy at birth is 58 years (2009), and the adult literacy is 46 % (2009) (World Bank, 2012-01-05). About 80 % of the population live on less than two US dollar a day (Gambiagrupperna, 2011-11-08). The Gambia is one of the poorest countries in the world, with a GNI index of 450 USD per capita (2010) (World Bank, 2012-01-02). These indicators are of course not as complex as the reality, but they give us a hint about the social and economic situation in the Gambia. People who live here are, in general, poor and have no possibility to go somewhere else, to be a tourist somewhere (Field Work, 2011).

2.2 Tourism in The Gambia

In 1965, just after independence[7], The Gambia started to attract Swedish tourists who enjoyed the beaches and the climate and one of the first tourist hotels were built (O'Hare

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[7] Some are of the opinion that independence should be counted from the 24th of April 1972, because that was the point when The Gambia got its own constitution (Field Work, 2011).

& Evans 1995: 573; GTA 2006: 4). During the first year Scandinavians were the only tourists and in 1966/67 the numbers of tourists arrivals were only 300 (O'Hare & Evans 1995: 573), but then the British started to travel to The Gambia as well and the industry grew fast (GTA 2006: 4).

Because of the military coup the industry almost came to a standstill in 1994. This was devastating at the time, but the industry recovered and reached 96 126 arrivals in 1996 (GTA 2006: 6; Sharpley 2009: 350). In 2008 there were as much as 147 000 arrivals but 2010 the numbers declined to 91 000 arrivals (Word Bank, 2011-11-08).

The Gambia has a low state of industrialization and the tourism industry is one of few ways to create economic growth (O'Hare & Evans 1995: 580). Next to agriculture tourism is the main contributor to the Gambian GDP (GTA 2006: 8). The tourism industry account for 17,6 % of total GDP and 14,5 % of the employment (2007) (Access Gambia, 2011-09-19).[8]

Tourism has been encouraged by the Gambian government since it is looked upon as a good strategy for development. At the GTA website "Visit The Gambia" we can read following:

> *"Tourism is important in The Gambia as a leading foreign exchange earner and one of the pillars to eradicate poverty. The government's policy is to promote tourism and its contribution to economic growth. Our objective is to increase the contribution of tourism to our economy and to raise the living standards of Gambians."* (Visit the Gambia, 2011-09-22)

The tourism industry has, though, been questioned for economic as well as social reasons. Most hotels are owned by foreigners and a lot of transnational companies are involved in the industry (Sharpley 2009: 350). This means that a large amount of the incomes generated are likely to end up in a bank account far away from The Gambia. Another problem is that the tourists tend not to spend as much money when they are in the country as they do on hotels, flights etc. (again, money to transnational charter travel companies) (O'Hare & Evans 1995: 576). As much as 90 % of the incomes from the Gambian tourism industry might end up someplace else, outside The Gambia (Jonsson & Syssner 2011: 232).

When it comes to social aspects Greg O'Hare and Katie Evans (1995) write that:

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[8] Note that these are official statistics which means that the informal sector is not accounted for.

> *"a range of social problems related to tourism have also been identified. Chief of these include the erosion of cultural values among the younger generation as they become exposed to the influence and affluence of relatively wealthy tourists"*
> (O'Hare & Evans 1995: 576)

The problems according to the authors are "[t]he spread of drug abuse, enhanced crime rates, increases in prostitution and the spread of sexually transmitted diseases" (O'Hare & Evans 1995: 576). Linked to the last statement about prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases is the fact that sex tourism is very common in The Gambia. This is also what I observed and learned from people I met and spoke to during my time of research (See also Nyanzi et al. 2005; Chant & Evans 2010).

Even so the government is sticking with its strategy of promoting The Gambia as "the smiling coast of Africa". Improvements are to be done in many areas to attract more wealthy tourists that will spend more money during their stay in The Gambia including better infrastructure, improved facilities and more interesting attractions. The directions for this are lined out in *The Gambia Tourism Development Master Plan* which includes a summary report and 16 technical reports on different aspects of the tourism industry (GTA 2006).

3. METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

To answer my research questions I will carry out a critical discourse analysis on the chosen texts based on the linguist Norman Fairclough's (1992) theory and method. This method will be complemented with a post colonial perspective, using foremost the ideas and theories about cultural representation and stereotyping presented by Stuart Hall (1997a, 1997b).

3.1 Discourse as Concept

Discourse is a well known and often used concept within linguistics and social sciences and there are many definitions. The classic linguistic definition is simply "passages of connected write and speech" (Hall 1997a: 44).

Michel Foucault is probably the scientist who is most often mentioned in connection to discourse, he gave the concept a new meaning in his studies of discourse

as a system of representation (Hall 1997a: 44). Discourse, in Foucault's view constructs the topic. This means that discourse could be described as "a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment" (Hall 1997a: 44).

In this study I will use the definition of discourse presented by Marianne Winther Jørgensen (associate Professor in Culture and media production) and Louise Phillips (Professor in Communication studies) (2000). This definition highlights how discourse contributes to the construction of identities and the concept of meaning:

"we could say that a discourse is a direct way to speak of and understand the world (or part of the world)" (Winther & Phillips 2000:7, my translation).

"[d]iscourse contribute to the construction of: social identities, social relationships, knowledge and the concept of meaning" (Winther & Phillips 2000: 73, my translation).

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

When studying the discourse of the beach in the Gambian context I will do so with a critical discourse analysis framework. It is a critical method in the sense that its aim is to highlight in what way discursive practice concurs to the production and reproduction of unequal power relations and structures.

According to Winther and Phillips (2000) the most well-developed theory and method for research in the communication field is Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model for a critical discourse analysis (Winther & Phillips 2000: 66). This is also the theoretical framework I found most concrete and useful for my study of tourism in the Gambian context. This since it is a concrete method with useful tools for looking into all three dimensions of a text and since it highlights how discourse is both constructed and constructs, an approach that is essential when studying the discourse of the beach.

To understand Fairclough's theories about discourse I have used *Discourse and Social Change* (1992) where he presents a practical guide to a critical discourse analysis. I have also used *Diskursanalys som teori och metod* (Discourse analysis as theory and method, eng title) by Marianne Winther Jørgensen and Louise Phillips

(2000). Here Winther and Phillips gives a concrete introduction to carrying out critical discourse analysis based on Fairclough's theories, which I will use.

When doing critical discourse analysis there is also an ambition to take an active part in and promote social change. The idea within this method is that the results from the study shall be used in order to create social change that will benefit those who were suppressed and disadvantaged within the existing discourse (Winther & Phillips 2000: 69-70). My intention with this study is to highlight inequalities within the global tourism industry and I hope that this could be a small contribution to a new approach to this growing industry and an awareness of the consequences it might have for local people and societies.

3.3 Fairclough's Model for Critical Discourse Analysis

The attempt with this three-dimensional model is to tie three analytical traditions together; the close textual and linguistic analysis within linguistics, the macro sociological tradition of analysing social practice in relation to social structures and the "interpretivist or microsociological tradition of seeing social practice as something people actively produce and make sense of on the basis of shared commonsense procedures" (Fairclough 1992: 72).

This method is also an attempt to tie together three analyses' in one: 1) text 2) discursive practice and 3) social practice (Fairclough 1992: 73). A text analysis in itself is not enough, instead we have to complement it with an interdisciplinary perspective that combines text analysis with social analysis (Winther & Phillips 2000: 72). In this study I have chosen a post colonial perspective as complement (see section 3.5, p. 14).

It is vital here that discourse is seen as an important form of social practice, it creates and reproduces knowledge, identities and social relations. At the same time discourses are created and produced by other social practises and structures (Winther & Phillips 2000: 71). This means that discourse is *both* constructed and constructs, i.e. a text is a result of a contingent, existing discourse *and* constructs new discourse (Winther & Phillips 2000: 72). By using this perspective I will try to outline in what way the *discourse of the beach,* in the Gambian context, builds on colonial discourse and at the same time produces new discourse.

When existing discourses are used in new ways there will be an opportunity for social change. The possible change is, though, limited by the power relations that decide

the discourse (Winther & Phillips 2000: 78). This means that *the discourse of the beach* constitutes an opportunity for social change – but this opportunity is limited by the post colonial power structures that decide the discourse.

These are the main ideas that Fairclough's model relies on. In the next section I will explain the concrete model for carrying out discourse analysis. But before I do that I want to point out that all text analysis's are unique and therefore no model work for all projects (Winther & Phillips 2000: 81). People approach critical discourse analysis in different ways depending on the project and on their own views of discourse (Fairclough1992: 225). Here I will carry out a discourse analysis of texts about tourism produced in the Gambian context and I will shape the method to fit this particular project. This means that my analysis is *based on* Fairclough's three dimensional conception (see figure 1) and Winther and Phillips survey of the same (2000).

3.4 Fairclough's three Dimensional Conception of Discourse

The three dimensional model is based on the idea that every text is a communicative event with three dimensions, as mentioned in the introduction these three are *discourse as text, discursive practice* and *discourse as social practice* (Fairclough1992: 73-96). When doing a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough1992) these three dimensions shall be included (see figure 1). This means that the analysis will study:

- the characteristics of the text (text)[9]
- text production, distribution and consumption (discursive practice)
- text as part of or in relation to the broader social practice (social practice)

This means that, in the analysis, I will look at these three dimensions of the chosen texts. Since I am interested in the stereotypes produced and the identities established within this discourse I will focus on the descriptive words used in the text. I will also look upon linkages between words. Which concepts are used together and what can that tell us about the discursive practice? I will then try to link this specific discourse to the broader social practice of which it is a part. When it comes to the analysis of the social practice dimension the critical discourse analysis in itself is not enough but has to be

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[9]   Fairclough uses text in a broad sense, i.e. both written and spoken language. This means that all kinds of texts could be used for analysis, for example, shopping notes, and letters or, as in the case of this study, transcribed interviews (Fairclough 1992: 71).

complemented with sociological or cultural theories (Winther & Phillips 2000: 75). My analysis of tourism discourses in the Gambian context is therefore complemented with a post colonial perspective. Central concepts here are "representation", "stereotypes" and "the Other" (Hall 1997).
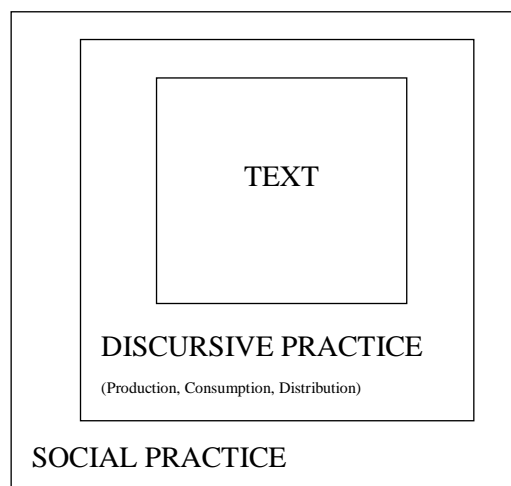
Figure 1. *Fairclough's three-dimensional conception of discourse*
(Fairclough 1992: 73)

All texts (in Fairclough's broad sense) are reflections of other texts. As Kristeva [10] notes we could talk about "the insertion of history (society) into a text and of this text into history" (quoted in Fairclough 1992: 102). This means that all texts builds on other texts and will be visible in future texts. Fairclough uses the concept of *intertextuality* to capture this process (Fairclough 1992: 117-118). This means that the texts about tourism that will be analysed here are connected to earlier texts about travelling, movement and tourism – but also to earlier texts about meetings between Africans and Europeans. Next section describes the post colonial theories which the analysis builds on. Here the meetings between Europeans and Africans are of great importance.

3.5 Post Colonialism

A post colonial perspective relies on the presumption that colonialism is not something belonging to the past but something that in a significant way affects the world of today, both economically and culturally (Thörn et al. 1999: 14). The prefix -post can be

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[10]   Referred to in Fairclough 1992: Kristeva J. (1986), "Word dialogue and novel", in T. Moi (ed.), the Kristeva Reader, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 34 -61.

confusing since it indicates an *after*, but the meaning of -post here is, rather, to think *beyond* colonialism and the identities produced during that era (Thörn et al. 1999: 16).

The post colonial analysis of identity builds on the psychoanalytical tradition. This means that the sources of our identities are outside ourselves and are created in relation to others (Thörn et al. 1999: 34). A central concept when discussing post colonial identities is the, already mentioned, "Other", introduced by foremost the psychiatrist Franz Fanon (1997) and the literary theorist Edward Said (2000) during the 1950's and 1970's. In their work they have discussed in what way a western eye looks upon the "blacks" or "the orient" as the Other, i.e. a stereotype different from westerners. The idea is that the European identity has been created in contrast with the Orient. Compared to the image of the exotic Orient Europe was described as rational, sensible, logic and civilized (Jonsson & Syssner 2011: 228). In this way the identities of the colonialists and the colonialized were constructed, defined by each other, reproduced, modified and changed in relation to one another (Thörn et al. 1999: 34). The colonized possibilities of identification is decided by the asymmetric relation to the colonialist, her identity is constituted through identification with the colonialists image of her (Thörn et al. 1999: 35).

In my study I will use Said's concept in both directions, i.e. I will try to understand in what way "the local" as well as "the tourist" are constructed as stereotype "Others" within the Gambian tourism discourse trough representation as signifying practice. Here I will use the ideas and concepts linked to the practise of representation presented by the sociologist Stuart Hall (1997a, 1997b). Within these theories the matter of difference is essential, and this will be discussed in the next section.

3.6 The Matter of Difference

"Representation" refers to how language is used in order to explain the world to others in a meaningful way. The idea is that meaning does not lie in a word or in a thing as such but are constructed and produced as a result of a "signifying practice". Representation works as a link between the concept/object and language, a link that allows us to refer to concepts or objects, real as well as imagined (Hall 1997a: 24).

Hall explains this by the example of "the language of traffic lights". The first point is that we, in our culture, distinguishes colours from one another and attaches names (like red and blue) to them. In another culture this might be distinguished in another way and also other names will be used. This means that colours do not have any fixed

meaning. Red does not mean "stop" and green does not mean "go" by nature, the meaning has been assigned to them in our culture (Hall 1997a: 26-27).

Meaning, from this constructionist point of view is relational. It is the code that fixes the meaning. Signs themselves cannot fix meaning, instead meaning depends on the relation between a sign and a concept fixed by a code. So, it really doesn't matter what colours we use. This is because what matters aren't the colours in themselves but the fact that they are different from one another and that we can distinguish between them. It is the *difference* here that signifies (Hall 1997a: 27).

When looking at stereotypes produced within the discourse of the beach the matter of difference is significant. The descriptive words used for representing the tourists and the locals and the difference between them works as a key to understand the identities produced within this discourse.

3.7 Stereotyping

A central concept within "representation" is "stereotyping". In this analysis of the discourse of the beach the foci is racial stereotypes[11] but one should bear in mind that what is said about racial difference could easily be applied to many other dimensions of difference such as gender, sexuality and class (Hall 1997b: 225).

Hall discusses racial stereotypes used in commercial advertising and magazine illustrations with difference as the central concept (1997b: 225-277). What is most relevant for this study is the review of how the image of Africa and Africans has been produced during decades of meetings between Westerners and Africans. These are texts that works intertextually (Fairclough 1992: 117-118) with the *discourse of the beach* and are highly relevant when studying the meeting between tourism workers and tourists.

Difference does matter and it is both necessary and dangerous at the same time. It is necessary because without difference there can be no meaning (this from a linguistic point of view). Hall refers to the Swiss linguist Saussure who argued that we know what black means "not because there is some essence of 'blackness' but because we can contrast it with its opposite – *white*" (Hall 1997b: 234). Meaning is, in this approach, relational and it is the difference between black and white that carries the meaning of it. In the same way we know what it is to be British or Swedish not because of certain

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[11]   Hall uses the concept of racial stereotypes, an alternative, in this context, is to talk about post colonial stereotypes or identities.

national characteristics but because of the difference that we can mark from *Others* (Hall 1997b: 234).

The matter of meaning is emphasized also from other fields of research apart from the linguistic, there is an anthropological approach as well as a psychological. Here we need the other to construct meaning trough dialogue, classifying binary oppositions within a system or to construct our sexual identities in contrast to the other. (Hall 1997b: 235-237)

Hall's analysis is influenced by all these perspectives. There is no need to choose between them since they refer to different analysis's (the linguistic, the social, and the cultural and psychic levels) and work together. Important is that within all perspectives "difference" and "the Other" are central concepts (Hall 1997b: 238). Also important is that difference is described as ambivalent, it can be both positive and negative. Difference *is* therefore necessary and essential to meaning but at the same time it constitutes a *danger* of negative feelings, splitting and aggression against the Other (Hall 1997b: 238).

Using these theoretical tools Hall exemplifies how representation has been used in order to mark racial difference and identifying the Other. Hall notes "three major moments when the 'West' encountered black people, giving rise to an avalanche of popular representations based on the marking of racial difference" (Hall 1997b: 239). These moments are: the contact between European traders and West African kingdoms during the 16th century connected to the slave trade, the European colonization of Africa including the period of "high Imperialism", and the post-World War II migrations from "the Third World" into Europe and North America.

The images of others and selves created during these meetings are ambivalent. In the middle ages Africa was seen as a mysterious place, but at the same time viewed positively upon, this since the Coptic church was the oldest Christian community "overseas", for example black saints appeared in a European context at this time. But gradually this changed and Africans were seen as cursed in the Bible "to be in perpetuity 'a servant of servants unto his brethren', Africans were identified with nature and symbolized the primitive in contrast to the civilized world" (Hall 1997b: 239). During the 19th century colonial era Africa "was regarded as 'morooned and historically abandoned … a fetish land, inhabited by cannibals , dervishes and witch doctors ...'" (McClintock 1995: 41, quoted in Hall 1997b: 239). The colonial era resulted in an explosion of popular representations of Africa. These representations are of great importance when studying the global streams of tourism and its meetings.

4. MATERIAL AND METHOD

4.1 Chosen Texts

The texts chosen for this analysis are:

1)   Notes from my own participant observations at the beach. This includes the typical jargon and behaviour used by the beach attendants in order to promote the bar and start a dialogue with tourists.

2)   Transcriptions of four qualitative interviews carried out with beach attendants from three different beach bars situated at Kotu beach close to the tourism areas Senegambia and Bakau.

My choice of informants is based on contacts I had during my participant observations at the Kotu beach. The informants introduced themselves and their bars to me (since they assumed I was there on a holiday looking for a sun bed) and were then asked to participate in the study. All agreed and were assured about anonymity. Therefore no names of individuals or beach bars are mentioned in the analysis (Kvale 1997: 109).

All informants are men, this since no women has this particular kind of occupation in the Gambian context[12]. They are all in their late twenties or mid thirties and moved to the Serrekunda area from the rural areas to find work in the tourism industry. During the rainy season, which is the low season in the tourism industry, they go back to their home villages to visit their families or relatives and participate in the farming. All send money to their families and relatives when they have the opportunity and some pay school fees for siblings or nieces and nephews.

4.2 Method

During the interview I used an interview guide that is attached here in Appendix. My ambition was though to have a conversation with my informants rather than a questioning, therefore not all questions were used in all interviews and also some questions were added. I base this interpretation of the interview situation on the Danish psychologist Steinar Kvale (1997) who writes that the interview is based on every day

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[12]   The occupations at the beach are very much gendered which is worth to note even if it belongs to different analysis.

talk in combination with professional conversations. The interview can be looked upon as a conversation with the purpose to achieve descriptions of the informant's life situation (Kvale 1997: 13). The important thing was not to get answers on all the prepared questions but to get a deeper understanding of the informant's ideas about tourism in The Gambia, the tourist as concept and their own identities as Gambians/locals.

The interviews were recorded and later transcribed. Since my interest here lies in the chosen words and concepts of the text I focused on this during the transcription. Pauses are not especially noted, neither are repetitions. My questions and comments (of relevance) are noted *[within brackets]*, when presented in the thesis. Clarifications are also noted [within brackets]. A transcription is always an interpretation of the reality and builds on choices by the one who is transcribing (Winther & Phillips 2000: 84; Fairclough 1992: 229). Trying to be so true to the spoken language as possible I have chosen not to use any punctuation marks or capital letters. I realize that this kind of text is more difficult to read but still I made this choice in order to stick as close as possible to the spoken language and trying to let the informants speak for themselves. I have though, in order to make the text easier to read, excluded some (irrelevant) repetitions made by the informants. When it comes to the notes from my participant observations they are presented within "quotation marks" in order to make it more readable, it is though not direct quotations but reconstructed dialogue based on my notes.

When the interviews were transcribed I worked through them searching for the key words *the tourist, the Gambia* and *Gambians/locals*. The statements about these subjects were put together and categorized according to subject. I then started to look for descriptive words linked to the key concepts trying to outline what words that are used in order to represent these concepts. These key concepts and the descriptive words linked to them are the basic data that will be used in the analysis.

4.3 Ethical Aspects

When working with qualitative interviews and informants there are always ethical aspects to be dealt with. These are aspects such as confidentiality, the participants understanding of the study purpose and informed approval of the study (Kvale 1997).

Research with human participants has to serve both scientific and human purposes if they are to be worth the ethic considerations. This means that the study should in some way contribute to an improvement of the studied situation (Kvale 1997: 104-105).

As presented above this is also the main ideas within theories of critical discourse analysis, the study should contribute to social change (Winther & Phillips 2000: 69-70). If a study will have this effect is of course not easy to foresee, but it can *and should* be the ambition and aim.

It is, though, difficult to be fully assured of the participants informed approval. The meeting between me and my informants are, even though I wish it were otherwise, part of the same global power relations as the meeting between an ordinary tourist and tourism worker. I cannot possibly make absolutely sure that they do not participate in this study because they think that I will later on buy a bag of rice for their family. All I can do is to be very clear about the study and the conditions of the same before the interview and then stick to these conditions throughout our meeting. Because of this I also decided not to give any payment or gift of appreciation to the informants.

When it comes to discourse analysis it is also difficult to know how much information about the study that one should let go of in advance (Kvale 1997: 107). I wanted to study the actual text and not the text that the informants think I will want to hear. Therefore I have explained the purpose of this study very briefly and general at first, then when the interview was finished I have asked the participants if they like to ask me something, most of them asked:

- Why are you doing this study?
- How do you see[13] the Gambia?

These questions opened up for a conversation where I could explain more about my intentions with the study and my general thoughts about tourism in the Gambia. It is, though, important to note that most of my informants went to school for just a couple of years or not at all and this means that it is not meaningful to use academic concepts such as "discourse" and "representation".

The transcription of the interviews is also of ethical concern. As noted earlier transcription is always a matter of interpretation and choices (Winther & Phillips 2000: 84; Fairclough 1992: 229). I am interpreting the conversation and translating the spoken language into written. In this particular case I have no possibility to let the informants approve of the transcriptions, this since their reading skills are low.

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[13]   *See* is used as *what do you think about* in the Gambian variety of English.

Is it worth it then? I am hesitating but sticking with a yes. I think these stories must be told and that these power relations need to be highlighted and analysed. But it is of great importance to never forget that we are part of the discourses we study and may as well contribute to reproducing stereotypes while trying to break with and think beyond them (Winther & Phillips 2000: 28 ff).

4.4 Limitations

Texts[14] found on the beach and among people working there are of course only a snatch of all that is being said and written about tourism in The Gambia. This study is limited by a number of aspects and the reader should be aware of that. The most important one to point out here is time.

I spent a limited time of eight weeks in The Gambia and in this period of time it is not possible to look into all aspects of the broad tourism sector – if that would ever be possible at all. Therefore I have limited my research to one specific context, the beach and some of the meetings that take place there.

Even though it touches on the subject this study does not explicitly look into the matter of sex tourism, an important but difficult aspect of the Gambian tourism context. Neither does it look into the gendered aspects of tourism, the identities and stereotypes based on gender or produced within sexual relationships between tourists and locals (see for ex. Nyanzi et al. 2005).

It is also worth to note here that the stereotypes and identities produced at the beach are of a complex nature. I will discuss these complexities and ambivalence in my analysis but in this thesis I will though, from a post colonial perspective, concentrate on the dominating stereotypes that build on colonial identities.

With more time it would have been interesting to carry out interviews with different groups within the tourism industry, people who are working with monthly salaries at the hotels, guides or staff at the restaurants in Senegambia, just to mention a few. Another aspect is the discourses among the tourists and how they work together with the discourse of the tourism workers. What images of Others are produced within those texts? Because of time aspects I have chosen a narrow group of tourism workers only and excluded the tourists. To fully understand the complexities of tourism discourse the tourist stories also has to be told. My opinion is though that tourist stories are told much

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[14]   In Fairclough's broad sense, here notes from participant observations and transcribed interviews (Field Work, 2011).

more often than local stories and this in combination with limitations in time I have chosen to highlight the texts produced by "local people" in this study.

There are also other kinds of texts describing The Gambia as a tourist destination, tourists and the Gambian people, both produced in The Gambia and in Europe. One of them is the *Gambia Master Plan for Tourism as Development* (GTA 2006) mentioned earlier. A comparative study looking into different discourses would also be very interesting. But my opinion is that such a study would not be possible to carry out within the framework of a Minor Field Study at bachelor degree.

Other aspects of limitations are dealt with above in the section about ethical aspects. The fact that we are almost always part of the discourses we study (Winther & Phillips 2000: 28 ff) is limiting in the sense that we might be blind to certain aspects within the discourse. The transcription is another critical point as well as the questions asked.

Even though this study is only scratching on the surface of tourism discourses in The Gambia I still hope that it will be a small piece of contribution that might help us to understand more about the production of otherness within tourism discourses.

5. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

I will argue and show that the dialogue of the beach and its discourse is part of a broader social practice building on colonial discourse. This includes the presumption that global and unequal power structures, which are based on structures established during the colonial era, affects the tourism industry of today to a significant extent. With post colonial theories as framework I will now discuss the texts from Fairclough's three dimensions; *discursive practice, text* and *social practice.* As outlined above I have searched through the texts looking for the key words *the tourist, the Gambian/locals* and *The Gambia.* Then I looked for descriptive words linked to these concepts. This in order to outline in what way stereotypes are produced trough the practice of representation. I will now describe *the dialogue of the beach* as "discursive practice".

5.1 Discursive Practice: the Smiling Body

The participant observations and the interviews resulted in a deeper insight in the *dialogue of the beach* and its discourse. To capture this dialogue I use the concept of *the smiling body* from John Urry and Jonas Larsen (2011) who are discussing the situation for tourism workers at Disney theme parks: "[t]he 'smiling body' is a disciplined, docile body fighting for customer satisfaction within a battle of 'smile wars'" (Urry & Larsen 2011: 80). Even though the context is different this concept captures the communicative event of the Gambian beach in a good way. The customer's satisfaction is here to be secured with disciplined smiles. Smiles that might even be referred to as "smile wars". This concept works as a framing for the dialogue that will now take place between the beach attendant and the tourists and the discourse that will be produced within this meeting.

I will now discuss different aspects of this meeting and its discourse trying to outline what stereotype identities that are produced in the text, using the following headlines: *to Greet the Tourist, Promoting the Smiling Coast, the Clichés of the Beach, the happy Locals, Tourism as Development, the Tourist – the Helper* and *the Ambivalence.*

5.1.1 To Greet the Tourist

In the following quotation one of the informants describes how he usually meets and greets the tourists who are walking down the beach:

yeah I'm an entertainer I'm a [sun] *bed attendant sorry yeah I normally go on the beach and I talk the guest to promote my place for them show them that you know this is* [the bars name] *the best place so far and normally we don't allow people you know that are not working in our place to come and disturb our customers those people we call bumsters you know why we call them the bumsters? Because they don't believe in friendship from hand to mouth but we believe that money can't buy friendship some people they get money but they are not happy it's when you know we have customers we treat them good when they go back home and friends ask them how is Gambia they tell them it's very nice* (Interview 3, 2011-11-10)

Here the informant distances himself, as a beach attendant, from those who are called "bumsters". The difference here is that he believes in friendship – something that the disturbing bumsters do not. He also points out that "money cannot buy friendship", he says that some people have money but are still not happy. The alternative presented in this quotation is to treat people good so that they will tell other potential tourists about The Gambia as a good destination for holidays.

The dialogue of the beach could be described as cliché. A typical conversation starts off with "hello nice people/lady/mister/girls" and continues with "how is the holiday going on? At which hotel are you staying?" If there is no response "Hello! excuse me excuse me" then most tourists at least look, maybe even say "hello". Then, "Come shake hands it's the Gambian way", the tourist start to looking for an escape saying "well I think I have to get going", but the beach attendant will not let go quite yet and says "It's just nice to be nice" "what?" "I'm just saying it is nice to be nice you know this is the smiling coast of Africa what is your nice name?" "ok sure now I have to go" "ok sorry for disturbing you ... but which day will you come see my bar? There are free sun beds cool drinks and no hassling[15]". "Well I don't know", "but when will I see you again? Ok [name] see you tomorrow/later ey" (Participant observations, 2011).

The dialogue could be described as "pushy" with the repeated questions and proposals, but the informants are all eager to point out in the interviews that there is nothing such as force going on. They are just offering an introduction to the bar and the

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[15]   This means disturbing, i.e. no bumsters are welcome at the bar.

tourists can choose themselves if they want to come to the bar or not, as seen in this quotation:

> *I will explain to you when you have a interest about it you can come but nothing like force and when I have talk to you already I will say oh I'm sorry for disturbing you anyway so you can say ey no problem it's alright but when you feel like maybe on your way back you can have a time to come* (Interview 4, 2011-11-29)

As the informant states here there are frequent excuses made to the tourists for disturbing and taking up their time. The tourists are in The Gambia on holiday and should be treated with "respect", "nice" and in a "good way", so that they will come back to The Gambia and also recommend it as tourist destination to family and friends back home. This is also explained in the next statement:

> *because the tourist they come for holiday you understand so when you are talking to the tourist you have to know how to talk to them yeah should not* [recording unclear] *cause they come to see your country and when you are talking to them you have to talk them nicely with respect so they like to come back again* (Interview 1, 2011-11-09)

What is important to note here is the word "nice" – everyone is represented as nice, the tourist, the Gambians and even The Gambia itself is represented as nice and smiling. In this sense the beach attendants are not only promoting their own person and the bar but the whole of The Gambia as a tourist paradise. As a tourist walking down the beach, one is often greeted with the words "welcome to The Gambia, enjoying the sun? This is the smiling coast of Africa you know", this is true for beach attendants as well as for fruit ladies or sales men (Participant observations, 2011).

5.1.2 Promoting the Smiling Coast

> *when you like to promote the Gambia one thing you can say is it's the smiling coast and in Gambia there is no problem* (Interview 4, 2011-11-29)

There have been attempts from the GTA to introduce the slogan "The Gambia – Your Haven in Africa" as the official slogan for promoting The Gambia. But this has not succeeded and throughout The Gambia the old slogan "the Smiling Coast of Africa" is still used frequently (GTA 2006: 38). This slogan is an important part of the dialogue and discourse of the beach where The Gambia is represented as a nice and peaceful place. The Gambia is here described as a "sweet paradise" and it is connected with negations such as no violence, no problems and no crimes:

> *Gambia is a sweet paradise even many African people use to say about Gambia you know yeah it is that Gambia is a good place to be yeah even African country they say about that yeah really yeah about that Africa Gambia is a nice place* (Interview 2, 2011-11-09)

The Gambia is here contrasted with other African destinations. Compared to these Others The Gambia is represented as nice and peaceful. It is very happy and there is no criminality, no guns or weapons as the quotation below show us:

> *very happy you don't hear of any crime you don't hear any kind of criminality you don't hear people shooting guns carrying weapons we don't know that kind of things here very very peaceful* (Interview 1, 2011-11-09)

This peacefulness is also, according to the informants, the reason why tourists chose to travel to the Gambia for holidays rather than other destinations in Africa:

> *now we depend on tourism you know treat the guest good you know nice to be nice it's the best country far throughout Africa you know we don't know violence and you know crimes no never man* (Interview 3, 2011-11-10)

When I ask if there is really "no problems" and "no violence" in The Gambia I get the answers that no not at the beach and not for the tourists. The observations also confirmed that this problem-free image of The Gambia is frequently presented to tourists.

All informants also talk about the hard situation for Gambian people, how hard it is to find work, to support the family and pay the school fees. But none of them comment on the contrast between these two images.

5.1.3 The Clichés of the Beach

Linked to this representation of The Gambia are two clichés repeated by all the informants in somewhat different framings: "what goes around comes around" and "black and white no difference we are all the same".

The informants explain the Gambian friendliness and openness with the common belief that if you do good to someone it will come back to you in one way or other:

> *[me: do you feel like you can be honest when talking to tourists?] yeah real honest from my heart because one thing I know when you do bad thing to somebody around your country when you go outside in Europe or wherever you go all will do bad thing to you because what goes around comes around this is what I believe when you do bad thing to someone when you go outside people will do to you more than that one this is what I believe* [I will not] *fool you or anything cause I like to experience you're home too* (Interview 4, 2011-11-29)

This means that even though someone treats you bad you should behave in a good way, because if you do so you will be rewarded later on. In other words, if you treat the tourist good they will come back to The Gambia, their "second home", and help with money and donations or promote The Gambia to friends back home. Also, if you are to travel yourself you will be welcomed by others.

During one of the interviews one informant shows me a bracelet made of black and white plastic beads, he also give this to me as a present:

> *yeah I told them this is mama land you know nice country you know we have nice sunshine and nice weather you know it's nice to be here just like second home that's why I always make this black and white cause I believe that you know this is a symbol yeah I normally make this it's a symbol and this is my work normally it's black and white no discrimination though the colour is not the same but the blood is one so we are all one big family so when you know I meet good people I give them this symbol and I told them this is black and white no discrimination* (Interview 3, 2011-11-10)

He often give this gift to tourists he meet so that they will be reminded of that we are all "one humanity". And he continues later on:

> *like one big family innit under one big umbrella man yeah although the colour is not same that's why I been telling you this symbol the colour is not the same but the blood is one it's thicker than water you know really* (Interview 3, 2011-11-10)

As a tourist visiting The Gambia it is very likely that you will be introduced to the "big Gambian family". During my first week of observations I was, for example, invited to the back of one of the bars to have lunch "the African way".[16] All informants talked about this big family, all living and sharing together:

> *but Gambian we believe by social living that's the way you know that's the way we live and that's the way we use to help each other definitely without that the things are good in heart although we are poor but we get the happiness the happiness we get that's when the social living we are we live by one big basic family you know that's the way we look after each other when you are my friend I don't have today you have today we can share our things together you know just like that we can look after each other yeah oh I have small you don't have it today then I can call you say come and join with me let's come and have a nice time you know or you can have this go buy some bread for your stomach or go and buy some drink for yourself yeah it's just like that you know* (Interview 2, 2011-11-09)

This statement is also connected to the cliché about "no difference we are all the same". This sharing and open way of living is also applied on the meeting with tourists. The informants tell me that even though people have different colours on our skin we are still "the same" and "one people":

> *we are all one people the only difference is the colour we have one people different colour one people* (Interview 1, 2011-11-09)

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[16]   Which means eating together from one big plate with the hands.

These clichés contributes to the representation of The Gambia and Gambians/locals as happy, open and welcoming. The Gambians/locals will be further discussed in the next section.

5.1.4 The Happy Locals

At this point we can say something about how "the locals" is constructed as a concept within the discourse. All informants agree that The Gambia is a much more friendly place than other countries and the Gambian people much more friendly and welcoming than other peoples. When I ask them why this is so the answers is about cultural values and inheritage. The idea about what goes around comes around is also mentioned here:

> *yeah because we learn that thing from our grandparents yes our grandparents we learned that from them because the strangers they are very important in the country cause what goes around comes around what goes around comes around when you go meet a stranger you treat them nice because one day you will also leave your country and go out to the other country when you have strangers in your home you treat him or her bad that thing will follow you strangers very nicely if you go out you meet people they will treat you very nicely yeah* (Interview 1, 2011-11-09)

Strangers are important and if you are good to them they will be good to you. But as one of the informants points out below the tourists must join with the happy Gambian family. People who destroy things are not welcome:

> *we really love the strangers coming to our country treat them good make them feel happy you know but we don't like someone to come and destroy the place and to spoil our country we don't like that really when you come and join with us with our happiness we go together one big blood family that's the way it is and that's the way it can help us also cause the more we treat you good you will not forget about that always you have to think about that that's the life* (Interview 2, 2011-11-09)

The informant does not specify here in what way tourists might "spoil" The Gambia but during the interview we talk about negative effects of tourism such as prostitution and alcohol abuse. This statement shows some of the ambivalence that is to be found within this text and I will get back to that below. For now though let us stick with the representation of the friendly Gambians.

Also the GTA are emphasizing the friendliness and openness possessed by the Gambians, they write about the "human resources" as one very important thing for the Gambian tourism industry (GTA 2006: 71). I ask one of the informants if it is really true that Gambians are more friendly than others:

> *yeah that's true really really [me: friendlier than other places?] yeah because you know in Gambia everybody is sometimes when you see the you know the tourism they be happy even if you are not a European no matter where you are from you come for Gambia everybody give you joy they will respect you and understand you [me: why?] yeah because Gambia we know that since our fathers and fathers they love to you know help the people who come [me: it's a tradition?] because I don't know when I go what I meet so when you come I help you when I come you help me you can go somewhere to people are helping you so we believe that*
> (Interview 4, 2011-11-29)

The locals are here described as friendly and welcoming to strangers. They are poor but still happy and willing to share what little they have with their families, friends and tourist guests. There is though a presumption about that if you help someone they will help you in return. This brings us to the subject of development, something that might be received when treating the tourists good.

5.1.5 Tourism as Development

When I ask about tourism linked to development strategies the informants give me similar answers. They all agree that tourism is a good development strategy:

> *it's just like that .. what I think I believe that tourism help lot in Gambia they come here to the hotel they pay tax to the government and all those helping government is helping Gambia you help Gambian people because government used to help Gambian people and* [the president] *is developing our country making street*

lights before we don't have with the good road the schools now we have lots of schools even now girls they have free education in Gambia here it's all about the government who was making all those things you know just to make for the people in Gambia their satisfaction easy by easy maybe in the future even we will get big changes nobody knows really because I support our president he is doing well before we don't have all those things we didn't have schools but now everywhere you go in villages they have schools now and school education is the best thing in the world really so [the president] *is trying lots there is lots of hospitals now it's developing really the government is really trying* (Interview 2, 2011-11-09)

This turns into a praise of the president and the government, a praise which is not unusual in this text.[17]

tourism also is bringing development in our country because we talk to the tourist they say [recording unclear] *we take them to school they help us sponsor some school they help us sponsor some children for their education* (Interview 1, 2011-11-09)

That children's school fees are sponsored by tourists are a recurring statement in the texts. Many also connect tourists to charity organizations and donation projects. When I ask about tourists activities during their stay in The Gambia the informant's talk a lot about how tourists usually help the poor people.

yeah the tourist what they do they do round the country and see the people and talk with people and most of the tourist they also like to come and help the country some they come from the charity organization they come and help the people you know in Gambia people are poor the tourist they come and they help the poor people sometimes they come with some materials around the countryside they help the people there some they go to the schools hospitals yeah (Interview 1, 2011-11-09)

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[17]   One aspect of the approving attitude to tourism by the informants is the fact that tourism is promoted by the government, and as stated in the introduction the freedom of speech is highly restricted and the propaganda from the government has a lot of influence on the people (Field Work, 2011).

It is clear however that the informants see tourism as something that is good for the country. One of the informants explains it like a snowball effect, if a tourist helps one of the locals that person will help someone else, who will then help someone else and so development will spread:

> *yeah you know the tourism is good every country when peace is there because tourism they can help the people about your country even if you don't help the president or whatever is it but when you help a person in Gambia just like you help all Gambia yeah because when you give something to me maybe I share it I give to someone and that one too will share it and another one can have it is all about The Gambia so tourism is good it's good for the country you can see the country can know something about the Europe you understand you can have a friend who can explain cause some people around Gambia they never go out and then they don't know nothing about the tourism do you understand but when you can have a good friend who can explain lot about you about this life so that one brings development because when you have something you know how to use it yeah so that's it* (Interview 4, 2011-11-29)

In these texts the image of the helping tourist is closely connected to the issue of development. Worth to note is that there are "good" and "bad" tourists, a repeated statement is that "everywhere you go you meet both good and bad" and also "some tourists are good some tourists are bad". I will get back to this ambivalence below. For now we will focus upon the dominating representation of the helping tourist.

5.1.6 The Tourist – the Helper

> *they* [the tourists] *do lot of things in Gambia because lot of youths they are not working in the government they are working in the beach and then the tourism they can have something to help the people and the family you understand this is and some tourism they come here they go up to the school they help the people or they go to the village and they see how local people are living and they help them all those good because when you help those people you help Gambia you understand so tourism always is good* (Interview 4, 2011-11-29)

As seen in this quotation the tourists are said to be helping The Gambia trough charity projects, donations and also by spending money and paying taxes. On the personal level, though, it is important for all the informants to build their own relationships with tourists so that they and their families can have direct help and benefit from them. This is an important part of the dialogue of the beach; the beach attendants are eager to introduce themselves with names and ask for the tourists names and in this way establish some kind of relationship (Participant observation, 2011).

> *anyway I need good people who even I can help you you can help me it's always like that when you do good good follow you when you do bad bad follow you that's what we believe and I can meet you in here maybe you don't have nothing I can have some to spend for you and when you get back you can feel me you know* [informants name] *he is a good person maybe I can give him this or whatever you feel like and then all you come we live together we can share life you know it's good really but I looking for good people nothing like money but the good people* (Interview 4, 2011-11-29)

This extract shows an example of that it is important for all the informants to point out that they are not looking for money. Instead they are looking for "help", "friendship", "good people", "a little bit" or "a bag of rice" and they emphasize this repeatedly. The difference is, though, not that clear to me.

   None of the informants get paid from the bar owner. They depend solely on tip money and whatever else they can get out of one of their friendships:

> *[me: so you don't get paid from the boss?] no we don't have any pay we normally depend on tips and when we have good friend they look after our family you know yes* (Interview 3, 2011-11-10)

> *yeah here like we are working but no payment like when I told you when you meet the good people you do it when they feel for you they can give you something but nothing like payment so we work like that* (Interview 4, 2011-11-29)

So the informants families can with some luck be "looked after" by a tourist who "feels like it". This creates together with the statements above about them not looking for money a complex image of dependency relations.

Some of the beach attendants arrange tourist trips aside from the work in the bar, more or less organized. Some have albums with pictures and fixed prices for trips to places such as James Island[18]:

when I arrive here I talk to the tourist about my excursion and most of them like it yeah I go with them you know I make them happy and most of them also make me happy and this how I make myself to a little bit but it's not easy to keep some money because not like you have trip every day when you have trip today it can go for one two few days or one week you don't have trips (Interview 1, 2011-11-09)

Others do more spontaneous trips and one of the informants explains that he does not charge the tourists:

no they just look from their heart and that's why most of the people they like to go on the local trip we don't charge them we believe that you know this life humanity before anything (Interview 3, 2011-11-10)

Here again we meet the representation of Gambians as not caring about money, only about the humanity and friendship. This image is though contrasted with other statements. The informant's families are dependent on the money that they can get on the beach and it is important to meet *good people* who can be *good friends*.

yeah my tip my family they depend on my tip and I normally when I have good friend I take them to home and they buy rice for my family because when they you know you cannot explain what they do not see see is the believing when they go to my family when they see they say oh [informants name] *I think so we have to buy some rice I told them it's just from your heart yeah* (Interview 3, 2011-11-10)

So, the informant here tells me that he brings his tourist friends to his family compound. Then when the tourist see in what conditions the informants family are living they feel "in their hearts" that they need to help and buy a bag of rice.

Some of the informants are trained for other jobs but since it is difficult to find work within these sectors they have all chosen to come to the beach and work instead.

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[18]   Former centre for the British slave trade situated in the River Gambia.

One of the informants worked as a truck driver before and I ask him what the difference is between driving a truck and working in the tourism industry:

> *yes we have difference there because in tourist side you can be lucky also you meet with a good people who can even help you when he know your condition and he is getting a good heart to do that and he is rich (…) so maybe when you tell them your own problem he can feel you and try to buy maybe car for you or open a business for you or buy truck for you even and you leave the beach side now you do your own business* (Interview 2, 2011-11-09)

The difference here is the opportunity to meet someone good and "get lucky". To "get lucky" means, as seen in the above quotation, to meet a tourist who is "rich" who will "feel you" and, for example, open up a business or buying a car for you.

On the other hand the difference is also, as pointed out in all the interviews, the insecurity of working at the beach. Never knowing when and how much they will be able to bring to their families.

5.1.7 The Ambivalence

As stated in the introduction tourism in The Gambia has been questioned (see for ex. O'Hare & Evans, 1995; Sharpley, 2009) because of moral issues such as spreading drug abuse and increased alcohol consumption. Also there is a growing sector of prostitution (see for ex. Chant & Evans 2010) that is connected to sex tourism. The informants are aware of these problems and here the text gets ambivalent. Tourism is represented as good in general. But "everywhere you meet good and bad" and also "some tourists are good and some are bad", which was stated in some of the interview extracts above and is also shown here:

> *people do yeah some people they drink alcohol because of tourist you know some people they they do sex with some old grandma because of money and you know it's just like that you know and some how to call it like to be you know friendship with old mama yeah like to have sex with them you know* (Interview 2, 2011-11-09)

Also many informal conversations during my participant observations at the beach confirmed this. As Muslims many feel offended when tourists undress in the beach or order alcoholic drinks. But when I ask if this means that tourism might not be such a good thing for The Gambia I meet protests. Everyone decide for themselves the informants tell me, if you do not want to drink then you should stay away from alcohol, it is an individual choice – and tourism is still good for The Gambia.

This discussion though lines out a parallel discourse where some tourists can be represented as bad in contrast to the more general established representation of the "good tourist". Often it is the English tourists who have to take the blame, this is also obvious when we talk about the post colonial aspects of tourism.

One of the informants tell me about how he sometimes talk to the English tourists he meet about colonialism:

> yeah English people sometimes I tell them English people are not good really they are not good sometimes like that cause they are the one who colonialized Gambia really when they want to help and develop Gambia helping it cannot make in their eyes like [recording unclear] cause they are the ones who colonialized here they don't do nothing in here really they don't develop nothing in Gambia look at Senegal [me: they didn't do that?] no [me: when they were here? They just left?] that's right they just left and at the time they are going they spoil many things they spoil everything and they go back you know in Senegal when you look there colonialized by French people they did lot of things in Senegal when you go Senegal Senegal is more developed than Gambia but why the colonization did help a lot they make a lot of buildings there nice buildings [me: so you think colonization was good in Senegal but not in the Gambia?] not in the Gambia because English people are not good (Interview 2, 2011-11-09)

This seems to be the general representation in this text, the English did not do anything to develop the Gambia. Also interesting to point out is that I during my observations was frequently asked "where are you from? From England?" and when I answered "No, I'm a Swedish student" most people thought that to be good news since "Sweden is a nice country, I like Sweden", this one can assume in contrast to England.

There are also frequent comparisons with Senegal and statements about the French as better colonialists who actually did something good in Senegal.

the English people they where the one who colonialized us but they don't do nothing in Gambia really man [me: they didn't do nothing?] they don't do nothing in the Gambia nothing developing really sorry to tell you that but no can you look Senegal it's development by the French people but they do something in Senegal and you see (Interview 3, 2011-11-10)

But still all the informants agree that it is a good thing that the English are now tourists in the Gambia. One of the informants explains this, and again it is about being good, nice and treat people well whatever the past:

yeah and still we show them that the good shall never fail we treat them good cause when someone do you bad you treat them [recording unclear] *when even someone do bad to you you do good to him really man that's the way* (Interview 3, 2011-11-10)

Another alternative representation here is the image of the Lebanese people, who are in fact *not* represented as nice:

you know because after rain season we are just coming to have a season you know like a tourist season you know and the tourist season used to help us lot bring lot of moneys but you know you can see also in Gambia here many foreigners have you know hotels here they have guest houses you know like Lebanese Indians you now they have a lot and you know [me: so a lot of money are ending up someplace else?] yeah that's right so at the end they use Gambian people they work in their places but they use them and they don't pay them good satisfaction of the money and at the end of the season they take all the money back to Lebanon so nothing stay in Gambia you know (Interview 2, 2011-11-09)

The fact that a lot of the incomes from the tourism industry do not stay in The Gambia is, in the texts, said to be because of the Lebanese people who owns the hotels and then bring all the money back to Lebanon:

yeah a lot of money back to Lebanon you know and that is not good for us man and they normally tell bad information to the guest when they come out they see the negative and the positive but if I told on your holiday inside [the hotel] *you*

will spend 10 000 if you come to the local bar during your holiday you will just
spend 4000 dalasi so it's more cheaper you know (Interview 3, 2011-11-10)

Here the informant is commenting on the fact that many tourists do not go out and see
the country and meet the Gambian people but rather stay in the hotel by the pool. This,
he argues, is because the Lebanese hotel owners give "bad information" to the tourists.

Another interesting aspect is the alternative representation of the Gambians. The
overall representation of the Gambian as good, nice and friendly is contrasted with the
representation of those who are called bumsters. If we return to the first quotation
presented above (in section 5.1.1: p. 14) we will find that a clear distinction is made
between the informant and the bumsters:

normally we don't allow people you know that are not working in our place to
come and disturb our customers those people we call bumsters you know why we
call them the bumsters? Because they don't believe in friendship from hand to
mouth but we believe that money can't buy friendship some people they get money
but they are not happy (Interview 3, 2011-11-10)

The bumsters disturb the tourists and they do not believe in friendship. This in contrast
to the beach attendants. These images of English tourists, Lebanese (or sometimes
Indian) hotel owners and bumsters are co-existing with the general representation of the
overall "good tourist" and "happy local". There is ambivalence in this text, as these
images shows, but still the main representation of tourists is positive. The overall
representation of Gambians is the good, happy and friendly one.

5.2 Text: Representation and Stereotypes

Above I have outlined the discursive practice of the beach. This allows us to look into
the next dimension of the text: *its characteristics.* The research questions I asked in the
introduction was concerning the constructions of stereotypes produced within *the*
discourse of the beach. In order to answer those questions I have been looking for the
key concepts *the Tourist, the Gambian/Local* and *The Gambia* in the text. I have also
been looking for descriptive words linked to these concepts trying to see what
representations of stereotypes that appear in this text. These concepts and words can be
described as the characteristics of the text.

In this text The Gambia is represented as a poor country but even so a smiling, sweet paradise. It is described as peaceful, much more than other African destinations. This paradise is inhabited by a noble people who are poor but still happy, friendly and welcoming to strangers. They do not look for money but for friendship – and help. The tourists visiting the paradise is good-hearted people, one of the main reasons for visiting is to help the Gambians.

As shown in the discursive practice section above (5.1) different representations of stereotype identities linked to the concepts good and bad appear. Contradictory statements about these different stereotypes show the ambivalence of the text. These objections, as we might call them, are though not strong enough to break with the dominating stereotypes of this text.

Dominating in this discourse are three stereotype identities that appears trough the practice of representation; *The Gambia – the Smiling and Happy Coast of Africa, Gambians/Locals – the Happy Natives,* and *the Tourist – the Helper.* From a post colonial point of view these identities are interesting to outline further. This means that I will, for now leave the representations of English, Lebanese and Bumsters and concentrate on the meeting between the tourist and the beach attendants and their identities. I will though get back to the ambivalence in my conclusion and discussion of the broader social practice and opportunities for social change. Here follows a summary of the main stereotypes found in the text.

5.2.1 The Gambia – the Smiling and Happy Coast of Africa

As presented above the text is characterized by a typical jargon and clichés. The main findings are that *The Gambia* is linked to concepts such as *nice* and *peaceful* together with the negations *no problem, no trouble* and *no violence.* There is also a frequent use of the slogan "the Smiling Coast of Africa".

The Gambia is represented as more peaceful and more friendly than other African destinations. There is a close connection here to the stereotype image of *the locals.* The peacefulness is also the main attraction for tourists who is said to find their *second home* in The Gambia.

5.2.2 The Locals – the Happy Natives

The Gambians/Locals are linked to the descriptive words *nice, friendly* and *open,* and are also said to love that strangers visit the Gambia and they always treat strangers good

and make them feel happy. There are also a lot of references to the big Gambian family, one people living under "one big umbrella" taking care of each other and sharing what little they have with each other.

The Locals are represented as poor but happy and welcoming to strangers, not really caring about money and material things but looking for good people, friendships and, through them, help.

5.2.3 The Tourist – the Helper

The Tourist is linked to descriptive words such as *good, helping* and is said to *bring development* and *help* into The Gambia trough taxes, donations, sponsoring etc. Within this discourse the image appearing is actually that the main reason for tourists to come to The Gambia is for meeting the locals and help them in different ways. Other reasons for the tourists to visit the Gambia, such as relaxing in the sun, swimming in the ocean and visiting historical places is also mentioned, but these are not the main things in the text.

The tourists are represented as good-hearted sort of people out on mission building schools and buying things for those who are not so fortunate.

5.3 Social Practice: Conclusions

Following Fairclough's (1992) model for a critical discourse analysis I will now discuss in what ways we can link the discursive practice of the text to a *broader social practice* using a framework of post colonial theories. By linking the discursive practice to a broader social practice I will be able to draw conclusions and answer my research questions.

From a post colonial point of view I will argue that the stereotype identities produced within the text presented above builds on other stereotype identities established during the colonial era. I will here try to outline some of the colonial stereotype identities that are of relevance if we want to understand *the discourse of the beach.*

5.3.1 The White Man's Burden

In the essay *De Andra* (*the Others,* my translation) Stefan Jonsson (2005) draws a picture of the creation of the European self image during the era of colonialism. The industrialization and the rapid economic development that came with it gave the

Europeans the impression that the essence of history was constant change and improvements. The idea about never ending social, economic, political and scientific improvements became the myth of the modern (Jonsson 2005: 48).

Development, writes Jonsson, is a beautiful word and, in its original sense, it stands for a beautiful idea – as time pass the world will unfold before the human eye. She will find her place within the world and learn to use its resources. But along with this thought goes another one, those who developed most has a responsibility to those who has not yet reached this far. This is the idea that characterized the European self image during the colonial era. The Europeans were the leading developers and what maintained was to advance also the rest of the world into the European level of development. This is what constitutes the concept of "the white man's burden" (Jonsson 2005: 49). This burden was also pictured as a parent's obligation toward a child, this means that Europe had a moral obligation to look after the other uncivilized peoples (Loomba 2006: 214).

In the heart of the image of Africa lies a negative presumption. Africa and Africans is defined in connection to what they are not and do not have. And what they not are or do not have they can only be or have with aid from Europe (Jonsson 2005: 349). This image can also be applied on the European actions in Africa during the post-World War II period and independence. As Frederick Cooper puts it:

> *"This imaginative leap, with the enormous reality that it obscured, allowed French and British officials to think of an Africa which they did not rule. They could still think that the modern Africans that they had created would willingly and even eagerly embrace the modern institutions open to them, that they would continue relations with the Europe that had taught them so much about science, technology, literature, and statecraft, and that they would maintain their integration into world markets. France and Britain transformed their colonial development apparatus into a foreign aid system [...] Africa would become the world's project for uplift, and also a magnet for power politics and exploitative interest."* (Cooper 2002: 83-84)

The white man's burden is a concept which captures the European self image as a well-doer, a helper who has an obligation to give to others what they do not have.

5.3.2 The Happy Natives

The colonial discourse includes degrading images of Africans as less intelligent and destined to be the white man's servant (Jonsson 2005: 33) Among these colonial images of Africans there are those that can be characterized as idealizing and sentimental rather than degrading (Hall 1997b: 245), but even so they are stereotypes. This is clear in the following quotation from Stuart Hall:

> *"These are the 'noble savages' to the 'debased servants' of the previous type. For example the endless representations of the 'good' christian black slave, like Uncle Tom, in Harriet Beecher Stowe's pro-abolinist novel,* Uncle Tom's Cabin, *or the ever-faithful and devoted domestic slave, Mammy. A third group occupy an ambiguous middle-ground – tolerated though not admired. These includes the 'happy natives' – black entertainers, minstreals and banjo-players who seemed not to have a brain in their head but sang, danced and cracked jokes all day long, to entertain white folks; or the 'tricksters' who were admired for their crafty ways of avoiding hard work and their tall tales, like Uncle Remus."* (Hall 1997b: 245)

Africans were in this colonial discourse pictured as *noble savages*, *good christian black slaves* and *happy natives*. Not dangerous – but different from the Europeans and also, more stupid, after all they seemed not to be able to reach development without help from the white man. These stereotypes produced within a colonial discourse and the relation between them is crucial for the understanding of the tourism discourse and its meetings.

5.3.3. The Meeting

To answer the research questions asked in the introduction we can say that *the dialogue of the beach* relies upon colonial texts and reproduces power relations that were established during centuries of meetings between Europeans and Africans. Further the stereotypes produced within the discourse of the beach builds on colonial stereotypes and dependency relations.

Within this discourse *The Gambia* is represented as "the smiling coast", a nice and peaceful country with no problems and no violence. *The tourist* is represented as a good-hearted human being out on mission to donate schools and rice bags. *The locals*

are on their part represented as a noble people, poor but still happy, hoping to meet one of those good tourists who can support their family.

The Gambians are dependent on the goodness of the tourist in a similar way as the colonialized were supposed to be grateful receivers of the development that the white men offered to share with them. In this sense the tourism industry and its streams of tourists from North to South is reproducing colonial discourses and at the same time producing new discourses that builds on and creates global inequalities. The meeting at the beach is not a separate event but part of a broader social practice.

5.3.4 Opportunity for Change?

When discourse is produced there is, as Fairclough points out, an opportunity for social change (Winther & Phillips 2000: 78). This means that the dialogue of the beach and the meeting taking place there is an opportunity for a change. The talk about *black and white no discrimination* can be looked upon as one such opportunity of questioning racial stereotypes and the matter of different colours. The ambivalence of the text, discussed above, is another such opportunity. The representation of some tourists as bad rather than good, the statements about not wanting anyone who "spoil" and the admittances of negative aspects of tourism such as prostitution show the complexities within this discourse.

These alternative representations question the dominating stereotypes and identities and could be used in order to change the stereotype image of the reality and break with unequal power structures. In this sense the meeting at the beach could be looked upon as an opportunity for social change that might work in favour of those who are now disadvantaged of the discourse. But – as Fairclough notes the opportunity for such a change to take place is limited by the global power relations that decide the discourse (Winther & Phillips 2000: 78). This means that the actual possibility for change within this meeting is limited by the post colonial power structures that decide *the discourse of the beach*.

6. DISCUSSION AND FINAL REMARKS

The questions I asked in the introduction were concerning the stereotype images of others and selves that are produced and reproduced within *the discourse of the beach*. In order to answer those questions I have analysed the text from three dimensions: *text, discursive practise* and *social practise*. These dimensions interacts and are difficult to part from one another, but the attempt to separate them shows the different dimensions there is in a text. A text always builds on other discourses and produces new ones, this as part of a broader social practice that affects whole societies.

I have argued and showed that *the discourse of the beach* builds on and reproduces colonial discourse. I have also argued that the stereotype identities produced within this discourse builds on colonial identities. The colonial identities were produced within a discourse decided by unequal power structures. The post colonial discourse builds on these inequalities and therefore the discourse of the beach is problematic.

I want to emphasize though, that it is of course not as simple as this. This analysis has not looked into differences based on gender, age, class, level of education etc. There are many stereotypes and power relations that characterise the world and the post colonial aspect of the global tourism industry is just one of them. But, even so it is an important one. Tourism is the world's largest industry and it is constantly growing. There is a need to highlight in what way this industry produces and reproduces racial stereotypes and what impact that may have on local societies. These identities needs to be questioned if we are to achieve social change and global equality.

Also important to point out is that it is possible to be part of a discourse and contributing to the reproduction of the same without necessarily sharing its presumptions. There is a significant difference between constructing discourse and to be part of a context where it is produced (Jonsson 2005: 247). This means that we are all part of this discourse and broader social practice even though we might not agree with it. This is of course one of the most difficult aspects when analysing discourse. Who am I when I meet my informants? What inequalities do I contribute to the reproduction of? The fact that I travelled to The Gambia by airplane and that my informants also helped me to move my sun bed into the shade is of course worth to note. This is circumstances that we need to be aware of, awareness is at least a step in the direction towards social change.

If we now return to the introduction and Jennie Dielemans statement about the tourists consumption not only of peoples culture and traditions but also their poverty

(Dielemans 2008: 99), we can see how this is happening also within *the discourse of the beach* in the Gambian context. The beach attendants are here transformed into products for tourism consumption. They present themselves, The Gambia and their families to the tourists hoping for a meal, a bag of rice or tip money. There is also the chance to "get lucky" and meet a tourist who will feel "in his heart" that he/she should buy a car or open some kind of business for this *noble* and *happy native*. In this sense the beach attendants are part of the tourist experience of something real and authentic. The tourists can feel that they are really experiencing Gambian local life and there is also an opportunity to buy oneself free of guilt for having what others do not, for being one of those 2,5 % who are able to go on a holiday by airplane. This is of course problematic since a bag of rice or some extra dalasis will not compensate for these much more complex global inequalities. Here, again, I want to emphasize the difference of being part of a discourse and to construct it. My intention here is not to blame individual tourist for the inequalities that characterise the global tourism industry. Also important to remember is, as stated in the section dealing with limitations (4.4), the fact that tourist stories and texts are excluded from this thesis.

However, in the Gambian context I see a great danger since *the dialogue of the beach*, its discourse and production of stereotypes are keeping the Gambian people trapped in a dependency relation towards the tourists. Instead of developing a sustainable industry the Gambia is dependent on the good-hearted tourists visiting and feeling for the Gambian people. Within this discourse it is not the Gambians who can develop their country. The Gambians just have to wait for the tourist to come and bring development for them.

And at the beach side they are waiting. With a smiling body and welcoming manner. They are waiting, while 90 % of the incomes that the tourism industry generates end up on bank accounts abroad (Jonsson & Syssner 2011: 232). As stated in the introduction: one of the most significant reasons for stratification in the world today is in what extent we, as individuals, have the power to control our own movements (Thörn 2002: 111).

When I ask my informant's and other people working at the beach if they have ever been tourists themselves most of them does not understand the question, but ask me to repeat it. Then they just laugh out loud.

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Tell me your story
- Age?
- What is your family situation like?
- Where were you born?
- Where do you live now?
- Who else lives there?
- Did you go to school? If so, for how many years?

Work situation
- What do you work with?
- Did you use to have other jobs before this one?
- Are there others who are dependent on your salary? If so, how many?
- What is a normal day at work like?
- When does your day start/end?
- What are your tasks?
- What do you think about your job?
- How would you describe working in the tourism industry? If you can, compare to other sectors.

Interactions with tourists
- In what way do you interact with tourists in your work place?
- Describe in what way you talk to tourists you meet on the beach trying to make them visit the bar.
- Do you feel that you can be honest while talking to tourists?
- How would you describe the Gambia and the Gambian people when talking to a tourist?

Tourism as development (the Master plan)
- Do you see tourism as good or bad for the Gambia as a development strategy?
- Why is the Gambia a good/bad tourist destination?
- What does the Gambia have to offer the tourists? What are the strengths?

What about the tourists?
- What does the tourists do while spending their vacation here in the Gambia?
- Why do tourists feel a need to visit the Gambia? Why can't they just stay at home?
- In the master plan the human resources of the Gambia (the friendliness and openness) are uplift as strength, why is that?

Negative effects
- Do you see negative effects of tourism in the Gambia?
- What do you think about "the bumster issue"?
- Do you think it is a problem that the former (the UK/other European nations) colonialists are now tourists?

Own experiences of traveling?
- Have you ever been a tourist? Where?
- Do you like/would you like to travel? Where?
- What is it like/what do you think it would be like? What are you interested in? Culture?

- Is there anything else that you want to add?
- Is there anything you like to ask me?

Thank you for your time!