

“We don’t sell a dream, we sell reality. Which “dream” do fair tourism sell?”

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“We don’t sell a dream, we sell a reality” said the president of an association of “fair tourism”, at a conference. If there’s a house on a hill with a tree, we won’t explain that it is a typical traditional house on a beautiful hill with a magnificent century old tree. The difference between us and the other is the project that lies under our activity, and the people know what they choose when they choose us among many travel opportunities, they choose true words and a project.¹ What is this project of the French organizations promoting “tourisme solidaire et équitable²” (TSE)?

The TSE lie on the representations promoted by the movement of fair trade to propose a specific touristic view of the world. The project of fair trade is to promote equity in international exchanges, and to afford to the small producers to live with dignity from their work. They then seek reveal the social link between producers and consumers, hidden by the fetish of commodity, and the re-embed trade relations. “Fair trade make visible links between southern producers and northern consumers that conventional markets render invisible” [Taylor, Murray et Raynolds, 2005: 199] and to shorten the social distance between producers and consumers [Raynolds, 2002]. In the case of tourism, the geographic distance between consumer and producer is definitively shorter than in the case of the coffee or the banana; we will analyse how this link will made visible and staged. In the Case of TSE, the relation with the Other, defined as the marginalized producer of the South, and the shape of this relation is in plenty part of the commodity sold.

The panel invites us to discuss “how tourism re-produces notions loaded with strong political and ideological undertones, and how post-colonial, racial, gender and class gaps are 'spectacularly' hidden behind the beautifying touristic enterprise”. The ideology of fair trade lies on the critic of theses beautifying enterprises, and promote the consumer conscience of

¹ Notes taken in march 2003, Salon Arvel, meeting about alternative tourism, from a discourse held by the president of « Croque Nature ».

² We won’t translate this terms, and use the abbreviations TSE for “tourisme solidaire et équitable”, we could have chosen the terms interdependent tourism or community based tourisme, or fair tourism. We don’t propose any objective definition of TSE: we study the typical traits discourses of the French organisations that recognize themselves in a group promoting TSE, the ATES (association pour un tourisme équitable et solidaire, Organization for a TSE)

the power and unequal trade relations embedded in what they call the conventional market by unveiling them. They then propose another way to build a “fair relation” to the other. We will here discuss how this project is specially “built upon a strategic play of hide and reveal”; an important point is to understand how the tourists do take part to this play. We will first explain how TSE relates to other industries of representations and present the main traits of the enterprise of staging and framing the solidarity link led by TSE organizations. We will then present experiences lived by the tourists through observations and narratives on a precise case.

I On which representations do the TSE organizations lie? How do they stage and frame the link with the other?

1. TSE presents itself as an ideological “alternative” framing of the relationship with the other

As other type of tourism, TSE address to tourism industry a rather well-known critic: the “conventional tourism” would reduce the other to some simplified traits of the culture, only show what is beautiful, typical, and do generally not mention the daily life and the real problems the people living in the visited countries are facing, the actions they are taking. On the contrary, the TSE argues it reveal the real problem and the daily life of the people “During its trip, the traveller may have an approach of development concerns of the visited places. I may, if wished, take part to the actions led by the organizations. Some engage themselves in help programs discovered during the trip”.³ Moreover, in the conventional tourism, the locals don’t have the power to decide which touristic activity they want to promote, and don’t take enough benefit from the activity. TSE organizations give account of the repartition of the money paid by the tourist, explain the pay a fair price to the locals, and a part of the money received by the local is devoted to a development fund. Tourism is presented as a mean of development.

TSE also criticizes the presentation of some countries of the South only like mostly miserable, insecure and poor countries, begging for money, as they can be sometimes marketed in the humanitarian campaigns of donation of rich people.[Mesnard, 2004] They rely on the Fair Trade motto: Trade, not aid⁴. “A chief of a village said to me, and that gave me a great

³ From a web presentation of a TSE organization

⁴ NB : regarding site tourism concern.

pleasure, this time, the project is not here to fill a gap we would have, gap of water, of education, of health, but it's giving value to things we already have"⁵ Some classical motto are frequently used during conference and meetings, like "the hand that receive is always lower than the hand that gives"

They then fight to promote an image of the other that would avoid these "clichés" and to organize encounters between equal human beings that would reduce some prejudices. The promotion of this image of the other requires, like in other touristic activities, a framing of the link with the other through a subtle staging.

2. The staging of "communicative authenticity" and "communicative solidarity"

This concept of "communicative authenticity" will help us to describe the symbolic work realised by these organizations. Cohen describes the communicative staging of authenticity as an "ironical consequence of the counter cultural reaction to routinized modern mass tourism". Some tourists seeking for alternative experience off the beaten track "offers locals entrepreneurs unsuspected opportunities for a covert and unsuspected "staging of authenticity"[Cohen, 1989: 30-31]. Cohen analyse a case in northern Thailand where there's no substantive staging, but only communicative staging, to convince the tourists they are about to visit really primitive tribes. The clients of the alternative tourism are very suspicious about the contrived attractions and the staging has to be then more subtle. It's mainly analyzed through the brochures, the maps, the guides. Cohen gives three characteristics of this staging: the selectivity of the information, the exaggeration of the appealing qualities of the tribes, and the misrepresentation, especially of the current changes experienced by the tribes. In the TSE case, these are not "local entrepreneurs", but French NGO that build a discourse about the other. In fact, we can easily give examples of the conscious or non conscious selectivity and the exaggeration through the documents⁶.

For example through the booklets of the association "Tourisme & Développement Solidaires" (TDS). In booklet 2003/2004, for each village, described on two pages, the author emphasizes a typical activity: for Doudou it is the harvest of onions, for Koïrézéna, painting of the houses,

⁵ Interview with the responsible of an TSE organization

⁶ We don't mean that this staging, the selectivity, exaggeration and misrepresentations are conscious and part to a commercial or ideological strategy. In fact, we don't have means to differentiate what is due to own representations of the members of the organizations –which give although sense to their activity- and to the need to appeal to tourists; what is important is that they are in fact staging some characteristics of this authenticity

and for Zigla, the harvest of cotton, as many activities which fell in disuse in the industrial societies and which are new for the tourists. The drawings with the watercolour represent daily scenes of the life of the village as for Doudou, women who crush millet in front of their concession, woman which cooks *tô*, canaries, bundle of onions, plan of the ground's chief's concession. Photographs represent an onion field, field's watering (by hand), European woman cutting onion's stems with the villagers, and the onion's sale on the market.

On the other hand, TDS overlooks the signs and the facts associated with "modernity". For example, in the description of the villages of Zigla and Koïrézéna, it is known that the practised religion is Islam: "the population of Zigla, as majority Moslem, is very attached to her traditions and her inheritance. The craft industry remained very long-lived besides, as I noted with the liking of my stroll in the village"⁷. On the other hand, in the description of Doudou's village, it is not specified that the population there is mainly (to 70%) Christian. Is this because this religion would be less exotic? In the same way when TDS carries out a rapid description of Burkina Faso, it is known as there: "country of the just men": it is a pretty name which Burkina Faso carries. And a name which sticks perfectly to the reality of this country"⁸. In fact, "country of the just men" - even if it is also the case also at our place- suffers from a plague which becomes extensiver: corruption. However, this presentation of Doudou and of Burkina Faso does not seem a conscious approach on TDS's behalf. Indeed, since the publication of our research work [Chabloz, 2004], TDS significantly modified in its new booklets the points which we have just evoked. In the Doudou's description, we read from now that "the population is mainly Christian"⁹ and, in the description of Burkina Faso, some lines were added on the difficulty of his inhabitants's life, dependent on the climatic difficulties.

This is consistent with some components of the emblematic Fair Trade figure of the "little producer of the South": this is rural tourism, in nature, encountering "marginalized" people, which are in consequence of the beaten track. As shown in this example, the organizations take part of a beautifying enterprise, staging remoteness and tradition Whereas some elements characteristic of remoteness and authenticity are staged, they are linked with social and developpement issues. Therefore, while staging traditions and cultural distances, The TSE

⁷ "Carnet de séjour en Village d'accueil", Brochure TDS 2003/2004, p. 12 : (« Notebook of stay in host village » booklet TDS 2003/2004, p. 12.).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹ "Circuits et séjours découvertes en Villages d'Accueil", Brochure TDS 2006/2007, p. 8 : ("Trips and discovery stay in host villages", booklet TDS 2006/2007, p. 8.)

organizations criticize the idea that the locals should stay untouched and unspoiled. They promote development. In fact, the main idea valued is that the locals decide themselves of their activity and do their own development choices. Another central dimension of staging is then the staging of solidarity. The encounter with the other is a major activity for the TSE organizations. They reproduce the discourse of international tourism institution about the tourism as a mean to promote peace and understanding [Cousin, 2003] They underline that they take more time than the other to organize these encounters. They stay from two to seven days in the same village. This encounter occurs between people who come from very different worlds, and have very different daily lives and resources; how is underpinned the feeling of solidarity?

They give images of this encounter through their brochures and during the stay. Some elements of this discourse may be analyzed like a “communicative solidarity” based on selectivity and exaggeration. They promise emotion, warmth, joy “concerning the encounters, they are always filled with joy and emotion”. On the contrary to the non personalized (“commercialized”) relations, they will have a privileged relation with the populations who are engaged in a long time partnership with the organization. The personnel relation between members of the organization and some locals may be highly valued. “We know them all personally”¹⁰

3. “Normative solidarity”

This staging is part of a beautifying enterprise of the world but it is although linked to an explicit ideological and political enterprise.

Solidarity organizations hold a normative discourse on the correct link with the other, and adopt some techniques to frame this link. Their legitimacy depends on their capacity to convince the members, and tourists, of their efficacy, and to make them share their view of solidarity.[Havard Duclos et Nicourd, 2005] The TSE organizations explain they seek to improve the condition of the locals. The tourists don’t directly meet social inequity but real people at social and cultural distance¹¹. As other solidarity organizations, the TSE organizations have to construct “a discourse that show what to think or what to do in these

¹⁰ Interview with a membre of a TSE organization.

¹¹ In a touristic context, this social distance is not exactly the same than in a long term social action in its own country. The valuation of the cultural distance and authenticity may be put forward the social distance by the tourist.

situations” would this discourse be held during preparation meeting, between the tourists or in the conscience of the tourists This “good link” is explicitly discussed, and these reflexive debate are especially appreciated by some former travellers that engage further in the activities of the NGO. One of them report of example, a three hours discussion with other travellers about a special case: should a member of the group accept to exchange a T shirt against a beautiful gown?

As promoted in fair trade, the tourist visit is presented as a relationship which help the visited people to gain empowerment. They propose to the tourist to give a positive sense to its activity. Even if they don’t engage more, the organizations underline that the only fact that they came do automatically benefit to the village through the money paid to the populations at a fair price, the crafts bought, and the use of this money for collective development project. They contribute to the improvement of the daily life conditions of the people met. Another part of the discourse is linked to the promotion of a normative relationship with the other: a relationship of mutual exchange; the tourist has to be open minded and to avoid judging the locals. The direct gift is forbidden, but the involvement in a collective project (giving ideas, technical support, improvement of the activities, recruiting other tourists) is highly recommended.

4. Creating enchantment. Carving and reducing the distance with the other.

We described through the discourse of the TSE organizations a type of tourism that lean not only on a classical valuation of “authenticity”, but although on the representations of development, NGO and fair trade and on a social critic of inequity. The TSE organisations are staging this direct relation with the producer, and propose a norm of solidarity. As other tourism organizer and solidarity organizations, they seek to create enchantment, which means create a state of interaction charterized by euphoria, that means a situation in which nobody will have the feeling there is something wrong or embarrassing [Winkin, 1996: 215]. Enchantment may although be created by the feeling of a common interest and the temporary oversight of hierarchical relations [Collovald, Lechien, Rozier et Willemez, 2002]. How do these organizations try to maintain these feelings of enchantment?

-They lean on a classical figure of alternative tourism and are staging “communicative authenticity”. It carves the relation with the other, which is staged as remote and different.

-They although stage this direct and mutual profitable relationship in a form of communicative solidarity; they underline how the tourists and locals take part to a common project, and of an encounter full with emotion.

-They frame a normative relationship with the other, which has a political meaning; The framing of this link with the other it is although a way to oversight some aspects of North-South relationship .

How is the staged solidarity received by the tourists¹²? How do they adopt the proposed frame and these discourses? Based on the study of a concrete case¹³, we will show how there is a constant play of hide and reveal, enchantment and disappointment.

II. Creation of solidarity with the other

Through the tourism, TDS strives to create and maintain the feeling of solidarity on three levels. Between tourists and villager on the one hand, between the inhabitants of the same village on the other hand, and finally between the inhabitants of various "labellized" TDS villages. In this contribution, we only will evoke solidarity between tourists and villager.

1. The normative framing of the link with the other: good solidarity, bad solidarity

In order to try to mitigate the difficulties inhere in the installation of this solidarity between people (tourists/villagers) recognized like economically unequal, TDS sets up some "*garde-fous*" in the relation, before, during and after the meeting:

- Before the stay, during preparatory briefings, TDS warns the tourists against the individual gifts : they "kill the relation", "cause the begging", "create competitions and jealousies in the village".

- TDS requires of the tourists and of the villagers to sign the "charte du tourisme en village d'accueil TDS" which stipulates that "the traveller abstains from making individual gifts with

¹² We don't mean to give any evaluation of the project of empowerment of the locals. Our analysis is concentrated of the reception of these touristic products by the tourists.

¹³ This case doesn't mean to be representative of all the experience or organizations of TSE. It only shows an example of the work led to frame the relationship and of the possible reinterpretations by the tourists.

the villagers. That would be against the vision of the development promoted by TDS" and that "the villagers are invited not to request individual gifts from the travellers"¹⁴.

- During the stay, a "guide", young burkinabè external at the village, recruited and formed by TDS has takes to role of mediator between tourists and villager and to take care of the good application of the charter, in particular concerning the "individual donations" or the "gifts".
- After the stay, TDS proposes to be used as "go between" for the tourists who would wish to support village projects: "the creation of bonds of solidarity with the travellers: the travellers sensitized with the projects of development of the TDS welcome Villages can support technically or financially the efforts of local associations while being relayed by Tourisme & Développement Solidaires and the UNVA in Burkina Faso"¹⁵.

These "*garde-fous*" are intended "to think", "to structure" and "to filter" the solidarity of the tourists towards the villagers. TDS encourages the tourists to interrogate themselves and to take position about "how to be interdependent with a African village" and brings answers to them which become "obligations" (by signing the charter): "good solidarity" consists -in according to TDS- going in the village for better understanding its operation, there to leave money for its collective development decided democratically by the village, and, if required, to support village projects once returned to France (to make decisions with the proper perspective). "Bad solidarity" consists in giving gifts in a ill-considered way to the inhabitants in an individual way, under the influence of the emotion, or even taking part in a collective project of the villagers without passing by TDS or the collective structures. Which are the objectives of TDS related to this form of solidarity? TDS wants to control the forms of help brought by the tourists. Several reasons and objectives can be evoked: the "good solidarity" recommended by TDS would make it possible "to guarantee" an authentic meeting between visitors and visited by over sighting some aspects of the North-South aspect of the encounter, often sullied with interested relations, it would allow to create enchantment for the tourists, it would finally make it possible - through the concrete projects of development which result from this - to make credible the action of TDS to the eyes of the tourists and the external organizations.

¹⁴ « Circuits et séjours découvertes en Villages d'Accueil TDS », Brochure TDS, Saison 2006-2007, p. 23 : ("Trips and discovery stay in host villages", booklet TDS 2006/2007, p. 23).

¹⁵ *Ibid.* : p. 18.

2. Keep the traditional North-South representations at a distance.

The "gifts" distributed by the tourists to the local populations are denounced by the detractors of traditional tourism and this denunciation is found in the speeches of TSE tourism. In "prohibiting" to the tourists to give gifts and to the villagers to require some, TDS, on the one hand, reproduces an ideology of TSE tourism, and on the other hand, tries to disencumber the encounter between tourists and inhabitant of its commercial and interested aspect, in order to make it "authentic". These "*garde-fous*" in the form of rules in the charter, try to change the relation between occidental tourists and burkinabè inhabitants into a "normal" relation between economically equal people, by over sighting the North-South aspect (whereas the relation is precisely based on this aspect). If tourists don't give some "gifts" and if inhabitants don't require some, their relation could appear like a relation which could take place in Occident: customers pay a tourist service and receive a service in exchange. Customers like people receiving benefits being satisfied of the methods of this commercial transaction, they are not supposed or tempted to give or ask more during the stay. If they were, the charter would come to dissuade them. Thus, the stay on the spot, disencumbered of these commercial questions, must permit encounters based on the discovery of the other and fulfillment. By replacing the meeting between French tourists and burkinabè villagers along the lines customer/provider, the meeting wants to be more egalitarian, and would like to make leave the protagonists from the role which is traditionally reserved for them in this type of meeting (benefactor for the tourists, beggars and obliged for the villagers).

Certain activities set up in the village are presented as a way to contribute to unbalance, and to even reverse these roles and these representations: for example, some meetings between tourists and craftsmen are envisaged. Thus the tourist takes the place of "the person who learns" and the craftsman takes the place of "the person who increases his standing through its know-how and who shows the gestures with the Westerners". In the same way, during the "dances evenings", the tourists laboriously will try to reproduce the steps of dance learned as a preliminary with a villager in front of the amused glance from all the village.

Thus, the ideology of TSE tourism and its application through activities thought by TDS tend to forge representations of the ones and others shifted compared to those presented by more traditional tourism other forms, where the white often seems "voyeur" or consuming visited "folklorized" and set rigidly in representations of the most traditional aspects of their culture. However, other "activities" or "visits" organized during the stay replace the protagonists in

roles inherited of the colonial period. For example, at the time of the tourists's arrival in Doudou, the villagers are incited to move in great number to welcome tourists with musicians, notables, children who leave the school, women who type hands, etc. A protocolar visit is organized with the ground's chief and the village's chief. This visit, which can to be seen like sign of respect on behalf of tourists towards persons in charge for village (and wanted as such by TDS which evokes it in its charter), can also be analyzed like an ambiguous process of "showing" the other, in which "le passé local n'est pas (...) négligé en tant qu'élément d'attraction (...) il s'incarne dans les royautes et les chefferies traditionnelles, vestiges d'un pouvoir extrêmement malmené par le gouvernement colonial ou manipulé et compromis par lui, puis aujourd'hui concurrencé voire supplanté par les autorités administratives et le personnel politique africains. Ces potentats d'hier (...) sont présentés (...) sous un jour mystifiant, dans l'intégralité de leur aura précoloniale » [Lallemand, 1978: 92] ". In addition, at the time of this visit, the tourists are replaced in their position of "White" and "benefactor" :

Village's chief (translated into French by a guide): "We are happy because some travellers came from France, this privilege was given to us by God even. And there are larger villages in the province which do not have the chance to have White. The benefit will go to the development of the community (...). We are happyt because all that you leave, the children who will remain, will not never forget because they will profit from the school, of health. I advise with the personnel to weave relations and the children to behave well ".

3. To create and maintain the enchantment

- To create and maintain the enchantment. The "good solidarity" recommended and controlled by TDS could also be analyzed like a means of creating and of maintaining the enchantment or "the transactional euphoria" (Winkin 2001: 207) in the meeting. The tourists are actually astonished, charmed and put at ease in the village at the time of their walks mainly because nobody comes to badger them, to ask them something. Mainly of them are also extremely touched by the welcome of the village for their arrival, that some interpret as the authentic welcome of a African village "it is the reason why I never go in the large African cities where these traditions are lost". In "prohibiting" to the tourists to give gifts and to the villagers to require some, TDS tries altough to relieve the encounter between tourists and inhabitant of its commercial and interested aspect and thus, to make it "authentic"

- It is difficult to determine if the will of control of the development and solidarity by TDS comes only from the ideological currents evoked above and from a need for creating an

"authentic" meeting, or answers to the obligation to present concrete projects of development (construction of residences for the teachers, equipment of the dispensary, construction of a track of dance, etc.) with the tourists (and the former tourists who want to know with what their money is useful) and with the international and ministerial organizations, likely to support TDS's future projects or to bring subsidies... Though it is, the setting forward of the development projects carried out contribute to create the enchantment.

III. What are the reactions of the tourists?

1. The former experiments and the representations of the tourists influence their behavior

We saw in which manners TDS, through the setting up of a "good solidarity" and through its control - which passes by its speeches and which materializes in particular by the activities in the village for the tourists - takes part to forge a "context of encounter" where the representations of the ones and others would become more malleable, making thus possible a better reciprocal knowledge. We could observe the reproduction of this speech in several tourists at the beginning of stay "What motivated us more, it was your promise in the catalogue, of all these activities which we were going to make with the craftsmen. This idea appeared excellent to us: the artisanal activities offered a direct contact with the villagers, and moreover developed the craftsmen enormously - how one rich Western tourist makes the voyage in Africa to become a "apprentice" at a villager during few days- We've never seen that before!"¹⁶

However, TDS's discourse on the good solidarity is not automatically reproduced in the various situations of encounter. The personality, the previous experiences of certain tourists as well as the representations which they are made of "the African" also push them to recover the position from "who knows and who learns to the Africans" whereas the activity suggested in the village would like to tend to reverse the roles and the representations. For example, during a visit in a sculptor of Koudougou, one of the goals was to show to the tourists the technical of "lost wax", a tourist spent his time explaining to the sculptor how it should doing to be more effective. This same tourist (retired, who took part to Algeria war, and who considers the Africans "as large children who need to be ordered to advance") regularly gave

¹⁶ Letter (dated from 10/02/04), from a tourist couple who took part of the stay in Doudou from 6 to 15 january 2004, sent to TDS after their return in France.

councils to the the personnel of the tourist camp, on the way of arranging the court, repairing the mill, etc.

In addition, if the majority of the tourists observed during this stay adhere to the TDS's charter and speech on the "good solidarity" which consists in not giving gifts to the inhabitants, some of them cannot resist and went to bring candies, pens and books at the school of the village, offered a barrel of dôlo (local beer) to the family of late at the time of funeral "because it is the tradition", financed the repair of a weaving loom to be able to benefit from this activity, etc.

2. What is shown and what is hidden : when does enchantment happen, when does it not happen?

The nature of the enchantment of the encounter is different according to tourists'; it depends mainly on their emotional implication in the stay, and on the way they integrate this experience into a personal project, apart from the quasi collective delight caused by the welcome in the village that we already evoked. Thus certain tourists, very isolated in their everyday life in France, are touched when people of the village smile to them, say to them hello and tighten the hand to them, which does not arrive on their premises.

"To find people authentic, it is what I seek, it is what I would like to find in my neighbors in France, and which I do not manage to do. Everyone says to me that I seem to be at ease here, but it is something which I do not do any more in France, speaking with everyone. In France, people always have the feeling that they are attacked. I do not support that any more" (discussion with a tourist in Doudou, 13/01/04).

Others hope to give direction to their life while finding place where to live (for example for their retirement) in "helping" and while feeling useful (feeling that they do not perceive in France), others still hope to find in this stay "the ideal solution" of micro-project likely to help modestly Africa to leave its problems with a controlled development and carried out by its inhabitants.

Only one tourist does not know a true enchantment because she questions a lot about this travel since the begining and maintains a constant distance with her emotions and the encounter with the villagers.

"Before leaving, I was very anxious. I had understood that I was not going much to work to help, and I was anxious of this relative idleness, of the relationship with the population, insofar we don't make things together.

Will we manage to have discussions? Story of the mirror. You find yourself in front of you, your ideas, your values, your practices. On the spot, I smelled immediately the difference, the strangeness of the other, which I felt very extremely beyond appearances (...) of complicity, of user-friendliness "(discussion with a tourist in Doudou, 14/01/04).

We can conclude that the events which involve sometimes the disenchantment are strongly related to the nature of the preliminary enchantment lived by each tourist.

The ones who hoped to find in this village an ideal solution of micro-development by tourism, the disenchantment arrived in particular when they acquired the knowledge (at the time of precise events like : guides's commissions on the market; tour in the dugout where the guides ask to tourists to pay it, whereas that was not envisaged; guides's request for a financing of a personal project) that this project was used to enrich most favoured villagers and not poorest. The disenchantment occurs when vision of the solidarity ("good solidarity") which "was sold to them" by TDS confronts with a very different reality. These tourists realize that the guides request them, and that they apply "bad solidarity":

"We want to help the poor, those who do not have anything. Here it is not the case. Salary go to those who are already richer than the other villagers, who speak French. And even projects of CVGT, it is those who can write or read who can propose projects, therefore those who are not poorest. I don't feel comfortable with this situation, because I don't want to help rich people (...). A guide spoke about a project of 300 000 FCFA, he wants to have pumps on his grounds. But this guide is already rich, it has already many grounds, it makes work much people but if there are pumps, he will transfer people and will sprinkle all alone. And another guide spoke about a project of 2,5 million FCFA with a same aim, to have more grounds. It is not for the village but really for them. Thus where is solidarity? "(discussion with a tourist in Doudou, 14/01/04).

Without going further in the description of the causes of the disenchantment for each tourist (Chabloz 2004: 162-169), we can simply notice that the disenchantment occurs mainly for the tourists when some North-South aspects of the relation is put in the light, and that the tourists are reintroduced by the guides in their role of rich Western person seen like a resource. We can say that the disenchantment is strong, either when the experience lived by the tourists in the village convince themselves that what they were secretly seeking in Africa in relation with their identity and their future projects is reduced to nothing ; either when they consider that what they "had bought" while choosing to travel with TDS (mainly an "authentic" encounter and a "good solidarity") does not have a real existence in the village, and estimate themselves to some extent, "misled on the goods". The disenchantment of the tourists is more moderated concerning other events (as the absence of the craftsmen) for which they did not make a

“trickery” interpretation. The guides indeed explained to them that the absence of the craftsmen was due to exceptional events like deaths, funeral. We can imagine that the disenchantment would have been much stronger if the true reasons of their absence had been revealed to the tourists (we learned thereafter that the craftsmen missed because they were not satisfied with the financial aspects of these activities with the tourists). Nevertheless, all the situations of enchantment do not cause a systematic disenchantment to the tourists. For example, the welcome by all the village and the visit to the village’s chiefs are considered by almost all the tourists (even after their return) like an "extraordinary" moment. In the same way, the dances in the moonlight will remain one "enchanted" moment for the tourists who besides did not question their "authenticity" (whereas the majority of dances were created specially for tourists).

Conclusion

We argued that the TSE organizations not only stage a communicative authenticity and solidarity, but they although propose a normative solidarity (a “good solidarity”) constructed against the beautifying exotic approach and against the humanitarian representation of the other who needs help. At the same time, then lean on the authenticity and remoteness of the other and give a specific sense to tourism, which is presented a mean of development.

Through a precise case study, we showed how a specific TSE organization promoted an ideology of the good solidarity with the other; but we although argued that this ideology is not automatically reproduced by the actors of the play: the tourists and villagers may reject or divert it.

Would we say that the gaps (Post-colonial, racial, gender and class gaps) are 'spectacularly' hidden behind the beautifying touristic enterprise? In fact, we described a subtle play of hide and show. The link with the other is presented as a political stake by the organizations, it’s although a way to create enchantment.

What about the reproduction of theses notions loaded with strong political and ideological undertones? As said, the “good solidarity” is not automatically reproduced; the satisfaction of the customer is linked to the creation of enchantment, which depends of its previous experiences. These enchantment or disenchantment may maintain or weaken the belief in the possibility and efficacy of a form of a good solidarity with the other.

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