CONTEMPORARY GEOGRAPHIES OF LEISURE, TOURISM AND MOBILITY

Tourism and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa

Current issues and local realities

Marina Novelli

ROUTLEDGE

Tourism and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa

Current issues and local realities

Over the past twenty years, the perception of tourism as an effective contributor to socio-economic development in the developing world has propagated, with many viewing tourism as contributing to poverty alleviation and towards other United Nations Millennium Development Goals. Over the same period, readers have become familiar with the paradoxes, complexities and inequalities of tourism in relation to development, wealth creation, growth, redistribution, governance and 'host–guest' relationships. This volume further extends this critical debate with a much-needed cohesive publication on sub-Saharan Africa (SSA).

In an era of fluctuating tourist arrivals at global level, the growth of tourism in SSA requires deeper consideration in terms of its inconsistent and questionable implications at local level. Taking as a central theme the debate on whether tourism should be used in development efforts, this book examines the way in which tourism has controversially become the way forward to development in several SSA locations and assesses bottlenecks to sustainable development as well as the dilemmas and challenges faced by those SSA destinations seeking to achieve development through tourism. It offers an explicit set of chapters drawing upon a multidisciplinary research approach (tourism studies, human geography, sociology, anthropology, political economy, development and environmental studies) and integrates case studies authored by local African practitioners and academics to produce a book that gives voice to local experts on local realities.

Combining an overview of key theories, concepts, contemporary issues and debates as well as practical insights from a wide range of regions in SSA, this book will be a valuable resource for those investigating the role of tourism in development.

Marina Novelli is a Reader in Tourism and International Development at the University of Brighton (UK). She is a geographer with a background in economics and an interest in development studies applied to tourism. As an expert in international tourism policy, planning and development, she has led and advised on projects funded by the World Bank, the UN, the EU, and the Commonwealth Secretariat as well as a number of national ministries, regional development agencies, NGOs and communities in developed and developing economies. She is globally known as a niche tourism specialist and as an Africa expert associated with her extensive applied research, publications and consultancy engagements. She sees her mission as generating new knowledge on ways in which tourism can play a key role in sustainable development by stimulating local economies, conserving the environment and changing lives.

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Tourism and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa

Current issues and local realities

Marina Novelli

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Foreword

The tourism industry is capable of becoming an accelerator of economic development and the provider of millions of jobs across sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) as travellers who have an impact are no longer just international visitors from other continents. Today's travelling class includes more and more Africans travelling across the continent for business and leisure. As this region has experienced increases in arrivals and resiliency in tourism spending throughout recent crisis periods, the potential for tourism has gained many advocates. Yet tourism is far from simply economics. It comprises many sociocultural, environmental, political and economic aspects pieced together, sometimes contributing to progress while at other times spawning new, perplexing challenges. Particularly in SSA, we can no longer look at tourism through a single dimension or from a narrow perspective. Challenges to the tourism industry and economic wellbeing of countries across SSA continue as the UN Millennium Development Goals (UNMDGs) are not fully met and poverty rates remain stubbornly high. As we struggle to understand and find productive paths, *Tourism and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Current Issues and Local Realities* meaningfully contributes to the important dialogue on the role of tourism in continuing efforts to meet these challenges.

Through multiple perspectives and local voices, including those from experts living with and leading tourism in SSA, *Tourism and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Current Issues and Local Realities* considers aspects of tourism from new and multidimensional perspectives through a critical review of tourism and development. Tourism resources in SSA are rich and abundant – expansive beaches, plentiful wildlife, and extensive nature, culture, and adventure opportunities. Tourism activity generates jobs, contributes to livelihoods and nurtures entrepreneurship. It is just this context for tourism in SSA that mandates skilful navigation of the issues surrounding economic growth along with a set of environmental, social, and political risks. Managing tourism growth relates to understanding knowledge and skills gaps, connectedness to communities, the fragility of post-conflict states, diaspora engagements and impacts on environmental resources.

Tourism and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Current Issues and Local Realities explores many of these issues highlighting development and tourism aspects, opportunities and wider socio-economic implications. This work brings to the reader both an overview of literature to date and a rich understanding of the state of the tourism sector through multiple perspectives. By presenting pertinent case studies, principles and practices on tourism issues related to communities, fragile states, diaspora, philanthropic engagements and selected niches, the author provides the reader a wealth of research to aid in informed thinking about and practice of tourism development in SSA.

This work builds upon ten years of research and reflects the author's attuned sense of the unique characteristics of tourism in SSA. Tapping into both academic and local experts, Dr Novelli steers a course through the maze of development dichotomies currently embedded in the region. She engages readers to both see and think differently by outlining the opportunities and challenges that tourism presents, while focusing on trends that are critical to making a significant positive impact on the SSA region. Engaging in policy, implementation and transition issues, Dr Novelli provides thoughtful discussions on balancing private and public contributions to economic growth and delivers a positive construct for sustainable tourism development.

It is discussion that is overdue and invites all involved with the sector to think differently and apply insights as we continue to work in Africa and with Africans through tourism.

Hannah Messerli
World Bank, Washington, DC

Preface

Writing about tourism and development in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is an impulsive and ambitious task. The multiple realities – ecological, economic, social, political, and personal, paired with the continuous changes and uncontrollable global forces affecting African destinations – make any prediction or critical reflection even more of a challenge.

As Chambers (1997: 1743) puts it, '[a]ny development agenda is value-laden, and some academics abhor anything that smacks of moralising'. As he suggests, perhaps the right course of action is 'to reflect, articulate and share our own ideas about values, problems, potentials and priorities, accepting these as provisional and fallible'; this is the basis of the tentative, aspirational and self-doubting spirit in which this book has been written.

SSA is a complex and insufficiently known study setting, sometimes misinterpreted and more often than not researched through the lens of Western-conceived notions of development. By contrast, a rewarding story, with tourism playing a key role, is in the making that is worth monitoring and discussing, and an increasing number of local academics and practitioners are contributing to the critical debate on tourism and development on the African continent.

This book emerges from just over ten years of research and consultancy conducted alone, or as part of teams or consortiums in some fifteen SSA destinations, and personal travel. It offers an explicit set of chapters adopting a multidisciplinary approach, drawing upon tourism studies, human geography, sociology, anthropology, political economy, and development and environmental studies. It integrates case studies authored by local African practitioners and academics in response to my desire to produce a book that gave voice to local experts on local realities.

During my teaching and academic career and related travel throughout SSA, I was fortunate to meet some extraordinarily inspirational individuals, who shared with me their wisdom and applied experiences. I recall once when a colleague and critical friend, a highly respected Kenyan practitioner, bluntly said to me, 'you academics come up with new terminologies, theories and models, but we are the one who then are left to put things in practice in the real world' (Judy Kepher-Gona, 2012).

The message was clear to me: I had to find a way in my future writing to showcase some of the local thinking, some of the wisdom and direct messages that would not be the result of pure Western arrogance, but rather emerged from local applied knowledge of local realities. I became determined to avoid producing another volume merely associated with Western-conceived ‘new terminologies, theories and models’ or experiences linked to my own research and consultancy practices, but rather to create a vehicle for ‘local voices’ to stimulate further reflection on the topics under investigation. Hence, in March 2013, I posted an invitation on the Association of Leisure and Tourism Studies (ATLAS) and TriNet’s networks, specifically calling upon African members to contribute a case studies. I immediately received twenty-eight expressions of interest and by March 2014, twenty-three full case studies had been submitted for peer review and are included in this volume.

By no means does this book discuss an inclusive set of issues, but rather offers reflections on a selected number of themes with the hope to stimulate further in-depth investigations on the role of tourism in Sub-Saharan Africa. This volume will be of particular interest to students and researchers from tourism studies, geography, sociology, anthropology, political economy, development and environmental studies backgrounds with an interest in SSA. It is hoped that it will also be of relevance to policy makers and practitioners, alongside those who may have a more general interest in aspects of tourism and development.

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The work presented in this volume would not have been possible without the emotional support, the critical eyes and the inspirational presence in my life of some very special people. In particular, my gratitude goes to:

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- all the 'African voices' that made a difference to my profession in general and this book in particular, by contributing freely of their time and expertise, either by informing my research over the years or by contributing a specific case study for this volume;
- my colleagues: in particular Adam Jones and Merz Hoare, for reviewing earlier versions of the chapters included in this volume and their emotional support in completing this venture; Gill Rodgers, for her administrative support; and all those colleagues who supported me;
- my late father (Professor Giovanni Novelli), who set me on this academic path, my mum, who patiently followed my travel on the *De Agostini Atlas* and often wondered on the 'necessity to travel to countries that many other would avoid', and my uncle Beppe, who has been quietly supporting some of my most important professional choices of the last few years;
- Kemi Saka, for fifteen years of critical debates on African affairs and his help in making me view things from an African perspective;
- my friends who stood by me, for their continuous and at time less orthodox ways of keeping me sane and motivated at some of the most challenging times of my life.

Abbreviations

ASSET	Association of Small-scale Enterprises in Tourism
ATLAS	Association of Leisure and Tourism Studies
AU	African Union
BWP	Botswana pula
CBET	Community-based ecotourism
CBT	Community-based tourism
CITW	Children in the Wilderness
COAST	Collaborative Actions for Sustainable Tourism
DMO	Destination Management Organisation
EAC	East African Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FDI	Foreign direct investment
GCP	Growth and Competitive Project
GiG	Gambia is Good
GTB	Ghana Tourist Board
GTHI	Gambia Tourism and Hospitality Institute
ICT	Information and communication technologies
JV	Joint ventures
LCFN	Living Culture Foundation Namibia
LM	Living Museum
LWC	Lewa Wildlife Conservancy
MTC	Multinational tourism corporations
NAD	Namibian dollars
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
NTB	Namibia Tourism Board
PPT	Pro-poor tourism
RTUC	Rwanda Tourism University College
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SIT	Special interest tourism
SME	Small and medium-sized enterprise
SNV	a Netherlands development organisation
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
T&T	Travel and tourism

TC	Torra Conservancy
TJV	Tourism joint ventures
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UNESCO	United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization
UNMDG	United Nations Millennium Development Goals
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
UoB	University of Brighton
VGS	Village game scout
WHS	World Heritage Site
WMA	Wildlife Management Area
WS	Wilderness Safaris
WWT	Wilderness Wildlife Trust
ZIFF	Zanzibar International Film Festival

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1 Tourism and development in sub-Saharan Africa

Introduction

The widespread view of tourism as a development tool in the developing world has received a wide range of coverage both in the tourism and the development studies literature, with many academics and practitioners agreeing on its potential role as a vehicle for economic growth, job creation and poverty alleviation. According to the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO, 2014a), tourism is one of the largest and most lucrative industries in the world, contributing about 9 per cent of global GDP, providing one in eleven jobs globally and generating 6 per cent of the world's exports (USD 1.4 trillion) and 29 per cent of service exports. Globally, as an export category, tourism equals or even surpasses that of oil, food production and automobiles, creating much-needed employment and opportunities for development (UNWTO, 2015a) especially in the developing world and sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) in particular. The United Nations World Tourism Organization's (UNWTO, 2014a) statistics for 2013 on tourism in SSA reported an average 5 per cent increase in international tourism arrivals. However, the forecast for 2014 offer a more modest growth pace at 2 per cent (UNWTO, 2015a).[1] While these claims remain credible and validated by a growing body of literature, there is increasing interest in investigating the under-utilised opportunities of tourism, as well as in the arguments and paradoxes associated with the role of tourism in development in SSA, which this book attempts to address.

Aspirations to wealth creation, growth and redistribution are faced on the one hand with a number of challenges and bottlenecks hindering development and, on the other, with the complexities created by the co-presence of 'hosts' and 'guests' of different wealth levels in the same physical places, making of tourism an epitome of the unequal relationship between the developing world and the more affluent tourist-generating countries (Novelli and Burns, 2010).

This chapter offers a brief introduction to a number of theoretical perspectives on development and tourism and gives a critical account of the state of tourism in SSA. It critically examines some of the most debated current issues and bottlenecks to sustainable tourism development in SSA, many of which

*List of Countries in SSA**	
Angola	Madagascar
Benin	**Malawi**
Botswana	**Mali**
Burkina Faso	Mauritania
Burundi	Mauritius
Cameroon	Mozambique
Cape Verde	**Namibia**
Central African Republic	Niger
Chad	**Nigeria**
Comoros	**Rwanda**
Congo, Dem. Rep.	Sao Tome and Principe
Congo, Rep.	**Senegal**
Côte d'Ivoire	**Seychelles**
Djibouti	**Sierra Leone**
Eritrea	Somalia
Ethiopia	**South Africa**
Gabon	South Sudan
Gambia, The	Sudan
Ghana	Swaziland
Guinea	**Tanzania**
Guinea-Bissau	Togo
Kenya	**Uganda**
Lesotho	**Zambia**
Liberia	**Zimbabwe**

** Those in bold are the locations associated with issues discussed in this volumes' case studies.*

Figure 1.1 Map of sub-Saharan Africa and list of sub-Saharan Africa countries

Source: http://worldmap.harvard.edu/africamap

will be specifically addressed in the chapters that follow. Five case studies introduce the experiences of 'local voices' from Uganda, Namibia, Cape Verde and two from South Africa, providing some interesting insights on aspects associated with tourism and development in these four destinations.

Development and tourism – theories and issues

Development is a highly contested term, meaning 'different things at different times, in different places, and by different people in different professions and organisations'. The dominant meanings have been those ascribed by economists and, as such, development is often 'equated with economic development, and economic development in turn with economic growth, often abbreviated simply to growth' (Chambers, 1997:1743). The development discourse has undergone an evolution worth exploring, and those interested in doing so should read the 1997 special issue of the journal *Development* entitled, 'Forty years in development: the search for social justice' (Development, 1997), which provides a useful overview of the seminal work that has influenced the thinking around development in its multiple forms.

During the last four decades of the twentieth century, import and export were satisfactorily seen as the main influencing factors in the economic development of a country (Mamoozadeh and McKee, 1990). Understood mainly seen as economic growth, which is just one feature of development (Clayton, 2003; Marcouiller *et al.*, 2004), 'the classical approach to the study of development derives from neoclassical economics and totally [Western] dominated thinking for a period close on forty years' (Potter *et al.*, 1999: 46). This links to aspects of the modernisation theory founded on the principles that a country can be 'developed' through modernisation, often based on Western values (Potter *et al.*, 1999; Potter *et al.*, 2008; Rostow, 1960; Scheyvens, 2002). More recently, while neo-liberal thinking exists, it is often criticised for creating uneven power relationships, inequalities and dependencies through its policies (Amin, 1996; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Scheyvens, 2002); and modernisation and economic growth continue to be considered the main contributors to the development of destinations (Jamal and Stronza, 2008; Sharpley, 2002). In relation to this, Donnellan (2005:23) describes development as a process of economic and social transformation: 'a qualitative concept that entails complex social, cultural and environmental changes', rather than solely the economic growth and diversification of a country's economy. In the light of a well-debated evolution of terminology, Chambers (1997: 1744) looks at the underlying meaning of development as 'good change', which is the guiding interpretation used throughout this volume.

More recently, following from Chambers' (1997) thinking, and framing his study on tourism and development, Sharpley (2002: 23) defined development as a 'process through which a society moves from one condition to another'. In this process, there are a number of 'sectors, levels and interests' across which tourism as an economic activity transects (Cater, 1995:21), highlighting the promising role of tourism as a tool for development intended as 'good change'. Although this subject has been widely debated and recognised with specific reference to its ability to lead to increased foreign exchange earnings and investment, job creation, infrastructure development (Brown and Hall, 2008; Crick, 2003; de Oliveira, 2005; Hjalager, 2007; Hunter, 1995; Mamoozadeh and McKee, 1990; Sharpley, 2000, 2002; Telfer, 2002) and potentially a multiplier effect emerging from the sector's linkages and networks (Brohman, 1996; Mamoozadeh and McKee, 1990), tourism has also often been criticised as a sector leading to neo-colonial practices and the cause of uneven power relationships and leakages (Brohman, 1996; Burns, 2008a, 2008b; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Pattullo, 2009; Potter *et al.*, 2008). Furthermore, 'tourism development not only enhances the ability of the elite to control dissident voices, but encourages the development of hegemonic consensus that makes control cheaper and capital investment more profitable' (Smith, 1997:204). Equally so, there is a continuum of negative implications caused by tourism associated with: the reverse multipliers that it can generate as the costs for local people increase (Chambers, 2000), 'foreign domination and dependency, socioeconomic and spatial polarization, environmental destruction, cultural alienation, and the loss of social control and identity among host communities' (Brohman, 1996:48); and economic leakages through the predominantly foreign-owned tourism businesses operations (Chambers, 2000; Dodman, 2009; Knowles *et al.*, 2004).

These views have been giving way to the critical debate around the need for tourism to become better integrated into broader development plans (Boxill, 2003; Brohman, 1996; Hunter, 1995; Karagiannis, 2003; Novelli and Tisch-Rottensteiner, 2011; Zezza *et al.*, 2009) through bottom-up planning, participation, decentralisation and inclusive growth (Ali and Zhuang, 2007; Korten, 1980; Novelli and Hellwig, 2011; Schumacher, 1973); and through long-term rather than short-term engagements (Karagiannis, 2003) involving all stakeholders (Clayton, 2003; Novelli and Gebhardt, 2007). As a consequence of the evolution from a 'predominately Fordist model of capitalistic development to the emergence of post-Fordist and neo-Fordist modes of production and consumption' (Torres, 2002:87), in the 1980s and 1990s, an increased environmental awareness and focus on local participation in development were observed (Adams and Hulme, 2001; Britton, 1982). A set of new development strategies started looking beyond economic growth, by focusing on environmental and social issues (Northcote and Macbeth, 2006; Sharpley, 2000; Schuurman, 1990; Telfer, 2002), associated with the fast evolving sustainability agenda.

De Kadt's (1979) idea of tourism as a passport to development followed by that of Lea (1988:37), who highlighted that 'look[ing] only at purely economic considerations means isolating tourism from its [real] development context', and has evolved into a wider literature suggesting that 'tourism for development' should encompass a far more comprehensive approach. This should include aspects such as education, sanitation, public security, health and environmental issues, while paying more attention to governance, cross-sector relations, stakeholder collaboration, capacity building in business development, management practices and linkages (Christie and Crompton, 2001a, 2001b; Novelli and Hellwig, 2011; Sharpley and Telfer, 2002). In line with sustainable development principles, new forms of tourism emerged notwithstanding their often debatable and limited ability to benefit the host destination (Beeton, 2006; Brohman, 1996; Brown and Hall, 2008; Butcher, 2003; Fennell, 2006; Fennell and Malloy, 2007; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; Lane, 1994; Liu, 2003; Pattullo, 2009; Weaver, 1999; Wheeler, 1992). For instance, Wheeler (1992:233) argued that while there is an inclination to associate those new forms of tourism with 'better' options than mass tourism, most are practised on a small scale, and therefore with a 'small-scale impact and contribution to the local economy'.

Since the late 1990s, the importance of tourism for poor countries was increasingly discussed in international development (Carbone, 2005) and tourism studies literature (Holden, 2013), evolving into the pro-poor tourism (PPT) concepts of the early 2000s. As a strategy to engage the poor, to guarantee a more equal distribution of the benefits resulting from tourism and to alleviate poverty (Ashley, 2000; Ashley and Mitchell, 2007; Ashley *et al.*, 2000; Brown and Hall, 2008; Hawkins and Mann, 2007; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; Mitchell and Ashley, 2007; Mowforth *et al.*, 2008), this concept has since been advocated through the UNWTO's 'Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty' programme (ST-EP); the UK Department for International Development's (DfID) PPT policy and the work of the Netherlands Agency for International Development (SNV) (Holden *et al.*, 2011:318) and in line with the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (UNMDGs). Placing the 'poor' at the centre of tourism development refocuses the emphasis of policy to include wider social needs alongside macroeconomic targets. 'This paradigmatic shift to using tourism to combat poverty is representative of a more holistic view of tourism's economic agenda and a realisation that a sole macroeconomic focus will not necessarily ensure benefits for the poor' (Holden *et al.*, 2011: 318). However, as none of the traditional macroeconomic indicators of tourism's success (i.e. levels of tourist arrivals, foreign exchange earnings, GDP, employment, stocks of facilities and revenues) provide useful means for comparison between countries and economic sectors, they contribute little to assessing tourism's impacts upon poverty reduction.

In parallel with this, a growing number of studies on community-based tourism (CBT) (Cheong and Miller, 2000; Tosun, 2000), often led by foreign interests (Mowforth and Munt, 2008; Tosun, 2000) have highlighted the implementation challenges of this kind of tourism (see Chapter 3), which are also associated with involving the 'poor', the lack of local capacity and CBT's controversial, mainly top-down and tokenistic development approaches (Moscardo, 2008; Novelli and Gebhardt, 2007; Novelli and Tisch-Rottensteiner, 2011; Timothy and Ioannides, 2002; Tosun, 2000). Debates on green tourism and ecotourism have since become equally very popular (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2008; Liu, 2003; Wheeler, 1992), with ecotourism often controversially used as a marketing rather than a resource management tool and at times practised on the same scale as mass tourism (Buckley, 2002; Wagner, 2005; Wheeler, 1995).

In the view of the above, Holden *et al.* (2011:318) offer a useful historical overview of the evolution of the literature on the relation of tourism and poverty, drawing on well-debated development principles, paradigms and theories (see Table 1.1). Their work identifies four main historical phases. The '1950s–1960s expectation that tourism could contribute to modernisation, and benefits

Table 1.1 A historical overview of theoretical perspectives on tourism and development

Historical evolution				
Modernisation				
[1950s–1960s] Tourism can contribute to modernisation thorough economic growth, employment generation and the exchange of ideas. Benefits will trickle down to the poor.				
Economic Neo-liberalism				
[1950s–1960s] Initial symptoms of neo-colonial approaches to tourism development, exploiting natural resources by developing countries.	**[1970s onwards]** Foreign direct investment is seen as the way to stimulate stagnating economies and investment in tourism adds a possible dimension attracting foreign exchange.	**[1980s onwards]** Tourism offers a way out of indebtedness; 'trade your way out of poverty'. It encourages foreign investment and private sector development, while providing employment and generating foreign exchange earnings.	**[late 1990s onwards]** Tourism is promoted hand-in-hand with free trade, democratisation and anti-poverty agendas. Investment in tourism in third world countries gives foreign companies a presence in major or growing markets. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers identify tourism as an economic sector that can contribute to poverty reduction. Public–private partnerships encouraged. Tourism is seen as a means of helping to overcome the poverty and inequality, which can breed terrorism.	**[2000s]** Under the UN Millennium Development Goals, various organisations such as the UNWTO set aside actions to make of tourism an effective contributor to development. Tourism is at the core of economic development debates, with dilemmas concerning the issues related to climate change and the Rio+ Agenda.

Critical				
	[1970s–1980s] Tourism is associated with enclave development, dependence on foreign capital and expertise, growing social and economic disparities and repatriation of profits (leakages). It often undermines local cultures, social networks and traditional livelihoods (i.e. people's relocation to give space to establish national parks).	**[1980s onward]** Post-development writers view 'local culture and knowledge' as the base for any tourism development. The concept of tourism as based around solidarity and reciprocity come to the fore. Tourism policy must focus on direct democratic processes and on traditional knowledge systems, or at least a combination of modern and traditional knowledge.	**[late 1990s onwards]** Anti-globalisation lobby sees tourism as a way of advancing the forces of capitalism into more remote places and cultures. Post-colonial writers comment on the allure of the 'other': poverty attracts tourists, as poor places are associated with 'authentic' experiences of culture and nature. Strong class differences between 'hosts' and 'guests' are noted.	**[2000s]** There is a struggle in the determination of guidelines and parameters to establish tourism success in contributing to poverty reduction. The notion of tokenistic involvement of communities is introduced. The failure of numerous ventures symptomises a failing global development agenda, which has at times been worsened by a 'poorism' mentality.
Alternative				
	[late 1970s onwards] Alternative forms of tourism that are small-scale, involve education of tourists and more local control over tourism, are seen as worthy of support (i.e. justice tours, conservation tours).	**[1980s onwards]** The 'green agenda' of the 1980s leading to the 1992 UN Summit in Rio de Janeiro renews the emphasis on the environment including ecological and social sustainability. Ecotourism comes to the fore.	**[late 1990s onwards]** Tourism offers poor communities a way of diversifying their livelihood options. Communities can actively participate in tourism and be empowered through their experiences.	**[2000s]** The main barriers to tourism and development emerge, which are linked to broader grievances about socio-economic development. Capacity building emerges as one of the key actions required to enable tourism to truly contribute to community development and empowerment.

Source: adapted from Telfer and Sharpley, 2008; Holden, *et al.*, 2011.

would trickle down to the poor' was followed by 'the 1970s' top-down neo-liberal approaches to development, which did not result in the expected economic improvement and social benefits, but rather dependency, inefficiency and slower economic growth (Dos Santos, 1970; Willis, 2005)'. While the 1980s and 1990s were marked by the emergence of alternative development approaches based on an increased environmental awareness and a focus on local communities' participation in development (Adams and Hulme, 2001; Britton, 1982; Telfer and Sharpley, 2008), the 2000s promoted approaches that were more directly focused on development and poverty reduction, guided by the UNMDGs, the UNMDGs post 2015 and the Rio+ agendas.

Notwithstanding, the illusion of tourism as a panacea to resolve the problems of a number of developing countries has been exposed. In fact, several destinations are now confronting the challenge of harnessing local resources to build an environmentally sustainable and economically viable tourism sector (Meyer, 2010). Although contemporary debates over tourism development have shifted from a focus on economic growth to one of sustainable development, this has often created definitional confusion, unrealistic expectations and inadequate guidance over practical implementation (Meyer, 2010; Mitchell and Ashley, 2010; Novelli *et al.*, 2012). For example, while tourism is listed as a potential pathway to prosperity in the poverty reduction strategies of over 80 per cent of low-income countries, there is evidence of a world map dotted with 'well-intentioned community-based tourism projects, delivering small benefits to few people' (Mitchell and Ashley, 2009:1), and other seemingly ill-conceived short-lived initiatives, perpetuating the same Western-conceived agendas to little, no, or even worsening effects in the localities involved.

The state of tourism and development in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)

The myths and stereotypes about SSA are difficult to eradicate. Built up since colonial times and continually portrayed in the global media, at times they have compounded the state of isolation of many SSA nations and led to a recurrent misjudgement of contemporary African affairs by the masses. For decades, they have created a vacuum in which economic diversification opportunities have been lost, with no exception in the case of tourism.

Within the complex SSA state of affairs, tourism has increasingly emerged as a way forward to economic diversification, growth and ultimately development, leading to a number of contradictory views about its purpose. While on one side there is a gloomy sense that only a few countries have succeeded in developing strong tourism sectors, and that many more countries, setting unrealistic aims, have led to weak and only embryonic tourism practices (Dieke 2003; Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997), on the other, there is an increasing empirically grounded body of literature (Christie *et al.*, 2013; World Bank, 2011a; World Economic Forum *et al.*, 2011), which offers a rather more promising picture, highlighting a compelling story about tourism for development.

Christie and Crompton (2001a:1) drew attention to the growing interest of a number of African governments in using 'tourism as a source of growth and diversification' and as an 'entry point' to stimulate other economic sectors (Christie and Crompton, 2001b:14, Christie *et al.*, 2013), a view also supported by the World Bank (2011a). Although noting a number of opportunities, internal challenges and external conditions, Christie and Crompton (2001a, 2001b) highlighted successful tourism stories in those African destinations that adopted tourism as part of their economic diversification strategy. Ashley *et al.* (2000) thus emphasised the role of tourism in benefiting remote and rural areas and regions where the poorest live, and attracting tourists as a result of their unique cultural, wildlife and landscape value.

It is believed that on this very premise, the year 2006 marked Africa as the fastest growing region in terms of international tourist arrivals, attracted by its rich supply of natural assets and unique cultures, providing the continent with a special opportunity to grow and prosper in the coming years (UNWTO, 2006). This was reinforced by the World Economic Forum *et al.*'s (2011:xv) claims that:

> One in twenty of all jobs in sub-Saharan Africa are in Travel & Tourism (T&T). And as the T&T sector grows, its job creation and income-generating potential rise exponentially. A USD250,000 investment in the tourism sector generates 182 full-time formal jobs . . . This is nearly 40 percent more than the same investment in agriculture and over 50 percent more than in mining. At the same time, the T&T sector compares well with other sectors in regard to opportunities for SME development, career advancement, and lifelong learning potential.

Furthermore, as reported by *Euromonitor International* (2013:1):

> The tourism industry in sub-Saharan Africa experienced strong growth in 2012 despite the difficult global context, registering a 4.7 per cent increase in arrivals, higher than the global average of 4.3 per cent and second only to Asia Pacific with 5.1 per cent. This has been fuelled by strong economic growth and rising disposable incomes, with business and leisure visits to domestic and regional destinations growing in number, alongside an increase in the number of arrivals from BRIC countries.
>
> By 2017, the number of tourists travelling to sub-Saharan Africa is set to reach 42.6 million, with there being further potential for this figure to continue rising. However, significant investment in infrastructure and tourism training is required for inbound visitor numbers to show dramatic growth.

Economic conditions in SSA have recently provided reason for optimism, as they have remained generally robust despite a sluggish global economy. Prior to the Ebola outbreak in West Africa, the International Monetary Fund's

(2013) viewpoint for the region was broadly positive, as GDP growth of 4.75 per cent was registered in 2012, with projected increases to 5.5 per cent for 2013 and 6 per cent for 2014. Between 2000 and 2014, international tourist arrivals to Africa more than doubled, from 26 million to 56 million and, despite a challenging 2014, the region still grew 2 per cent compared to 2013, with future outlook remaining generally positive with 134 million arrivals forecast by UNWTO for 2030 (UNWTO, 2015b).

Interregional cooperation is improving, armed conflicts are decreasing, democracy is rising and macroeconomics conditions are contributing to a better business environment. Basically, a number of long-term conditions for growth in general are steadily taking shape, giving way to opportunities that can make SSA's tourism thrive. However, a number of challenges need to be addressed: unemployment remains high; climate change threatens food security and reinforces the poverty cycle; the lack of suitable infrastructure hinders the international trade sector; products need to become more competitive (World Bank, 2011a); the style of political and economic leadership continues to be destructive, and the gap between the 'poor' and the 'rich' widens. Given this complex scenario, Table 1.2 provides a summary of key issues associated with tourism in SSA, which are worth reflecting upon to frame the discussion about the opportunities and challenges associated with the sector.

Tourism in SSA was remarkably resilient during the global financial crisis of 2008. Equally, the unstable situation determined by the Arab Spring, which escalated between 2010 and 2012, translated into a number of travellers choosing to travel to SSA as an alternative to North Africa. A considerable shake-up in the confidence of international travellers to visit SSA was nevertheless caused by the recent terrorist attacks in Kenya and the Ebola outbreak in West Africa. Despite the outbreak being generally contained in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea, the repercussions of this health crisis have been felt widely across the region, with some destinations like The Gambia registering a 65 per cent drop in their arrivals at the beginning of their high season in November 2014. In any case, SSA tourism is reliant on regional tourism, with Africans making up the majority of visitors. These source markets have remained stable during the downturn, but average spend stayed has low in comparison to international visitors from Europe, Asia and North America. *Euromonitor International*'s (2014a) 'Travel industry forecast review 2014' stressed the importance of visitors travelling within the region, who currently account for more than half of all international arrivals. In fact, SSA depends heavily on regional arrivals, with 52 per cent of visitors being intra-regional, compared with 18 per cent from Western Europe, and 4 per cent from North America (Gill, 2014).

SSA's political economy determines how tourism has evolved differently. The experience of Mauritius, Tanzania, Rwanda, the Seychelles, Cape Verde, and other destinations has shown that when conditions are right (i.e. political stability, good governance, an enabling business environment, tourism sector prioritisation), tourism assets can yield substantial economic gains. 'Yet most African countries are assessed as having regulatory environments that are not

Table 1.2 Tourism in sub-Saharan Africa – key issues vs current situation and development perspectives

Key issues	*Current situation*	*Development perspectives*
Governance and policy	Governments increasingly recognise the benefits and income that tourism can bring to their countries and the need todevelop initiatives to support the sector. However, the destructive style of political and economic leadership worsens the weak business environment. Lack of funding is very often a barrier to effective tourism development. Foreign and direct investment remains the main focus of SSA development policies, however increasing attention is placed on diasporas and newly emerging African middle classes (i.e. South Africa, Nigeria, Angola). The increasing influence of China in Africa is well debated and recognised by a number of SSA governments.	With many nations having unique attractions, in order to attract investors, governments have instigated policies to promote and manage the growth and created incentives, such as tax advantages, land concessions, marketing assistance, cash subsidies, business financing and skills development incentives. The dynamics associated with attracting BRIC countries needs to be fully recognised. For example, in order to promote Africa to Chinese visitors, Approved Destination Status (ADS) is required. ADS is only granted to overseas destinations by the Chinese government through a bilateral government agreement. It is concerned with tourism groups of specific Chinese travel retailers, and excludes business and official travel abroad.
Socio-economic sustainability	Tourism helps diversify exports as many SSA economies are narrowly focused on agriculture, mining, and, more recently, telecommunications. Export diversification is a key concern. Across SSA, a growing number of traditional and non-traditional investors are looking at hotels, restaurants, second homes, and passenger transportation as business opportunities. Tourism has accelerated change by encouraging pro-business policies and reforms that can help SME development and stimulate foreign investment.	Diversification makes economies less vulnerable to fluctuations in demand, more dynamic and more agile in the face of change. By stimulating business investment in rural and peripheral areas, tourism has potential to contribute to poverty alleviation and community empowerment, offering an alternative viable sector. By bringing foreign consumers to a destination, tourism provides an ideal opportunity for market-testing new products and diversifying exports. Success in tourism has a cascading effect on other areas of economic activity and contributes increases in domestic consumption.

continued . . .

Table 1.2 Continued

Key issues	*Current situation*	*Development perspectives*
	Tourism can benefit all layers of society, genders and ages and all geographical areas of a country. Tourism creates a demand for non-tourism goods and services (i.e. transport, petrol, retailing, finance, real estate, agriculture, and communications).	By providing jobs for women, tourism can improve the non-monetary aspects of poor people's lives such as health, security, social mobility and empowerment. By engaging young people in productive employment, tourism can provide an alternative to out-migration, urban poverty and armed conflict.
Environmental sustainability	SSA's unique environments are benefiting from a growing awareness among government officials and visitors of the importance of responsible practices. Tourism generates income for biodiversity conservation and cultural heritage protection. Conservation International, the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF), the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), and the Global Environment Facility (GEF) increasingly support tourism projects.	Despite the increasing number of organisations and individuals committing to responsible tourism practices, it is evident that travellers are not yet willing to pay extra for green options, pushing the onus onto tourism professionals. Environmental incentives and initiatives are broadly linked to the issues of climate change and environmental management, topics at the fore of many international organisations, national governments and civil society organisations. Funding to support these are limited, but yet available.
Inter-regional development	Many neighbouring countries are establishing close cooperation in tourism activities, building on visitors who wish to see more than just one country in a trip, as well as learning from more experienced destinations. Peace Parks, otherwise known as trans-frontier conservation areas, are parks that straddle frontiers and require joint management by the	Learning from the Schengen Visa experience, the current plans to implement a common visa scheme in East and Southern Africa is seen as a way to enable a significant increase in tourist arrivals in the region. The World Bank provides loans to assist in maintenance, and tourism is encouraged to the areas. Animals and people are allowed to migrate unhindered across the parks, which

	governments concerned. However, a number of complexities are associated with the nature of the initiative (i.e. cross-border poaching, illegal migration of people and goods).	may have a boundary around them to prevent any unauthorised migration.
Destination image and ICT	Successful tourism can change perceptions of a country and create a positive national image. Online services in Africa are lagging behind the rest of the world, with internet access available to only a very small section of the population. An estimated 6.2% of the population has internet access, although the percentage varies enormously according to country. The services available vary, with online users in some countries only able to access information and not make payments.	SSA has a long way to go to capitalise fully on the continent's tourism potential. Despite its unique attractions, poverty, security concerns, political instability and poor infrastructure hinder the development of tourism. Online sales have yet to make a significant impact on tourism and online services are primarily for marketing and information purposes. For many potential European and North American visitors, these can be a major source of data and research for their travel choice. Review sites, such as Trip Advisor and Virtual Tourist are remarkably useful, and tourism professionals need to ensure an up-to-date and accurate web presence to entice visitors.
Safety and security – health and hygiene	The importance of 'safety and security' as well as 'health and hygiene' conditions are well-understood determinants for a country's tourism competitiveness. Security remains a concern for many tourists travelling in SSA, with the region having a perceived weak track record for safety and security. Safe and secure countries often suffer due to poor comprehension of an unrelated conflict in a neighboring country. What is more of a travellers' concern is the risk of contracting malaria and other tropical diseases.	Governments' actions to ensure 'safety and security' and 'health and hygiene' are increasingly being addressed. The lingering fears regarding countries that have previously seen conflict (i.e. Rwanda and Uganda) are to be addressed by increasing the visibility of countries that are increasingly safe to visit. Access within the country to improved drinking water and sanitation is important for the comfort and health of travellers.

continued . . .

Table 1.2 Continued

Key issues	*Current situation*	*Development perspectives*
	This may deter some travellers from considering SSA as a holiday destination.	In the event that tourists do become ill, the country's health sector must be able to ensure they are properly cared for, as measured by the availability of physicians and hospital beds.
Human resources	The importance of addressing health and education issues in SSA is not a new subject. A number of initiatives are being implemented to improve human resources in all sectors, including tourism. Formal education and training (primary and secondary) and informal private sector involvement in human resources development are increasingly addressing the need for a qualified labour force. Flocks of international experts and volunteers travel to SSA on a daily basis to 'help' address a number of issues. Despite recognising the value of this, there is a need for a better-coordinated process addressing local problems rather than being focused on the agendas of international organisations.	Quality human resources in the economy ensure that the industry has access to the collaborators it needs to develop and grow. Human resources development plays a pivotal role in stimulating employees' 'sense of belonging' to their workplace, which is one of the most important motivation factors for employees in providing better on-the-job performance. Train-the-trainers programmes are amongst those capacity-building initiatives enabling the creation of a body of locally available educators and trainers, rather than depending upon international experts and volunteers.
Destination access	Land transportation is the most popular form of transportation in SSA, despite the growth of the air industry. However, it remains a slow and often difficult way to get around, as infrastructure is poor across the region and in need of investment. For many Africans with limited disposable income, land transport is the only possible way of travel, either by shared car, bus or taxi services.	Land transportation – A number of roads are being built and improved across this region. The African Development Bank has a number of projects in this area, along with many foreign investors, which often improve infrastructure as a by-product of their main project goals. Air transportation – Air traffic control requires major upgrades to improve the continent's baleful safety record.

Air transportation is the second most popular method of transportation. Due to the vast size of the continent, air travel is by far the quickest way of getting around, but remains expensive in most countries, with safety and security not always meeting international standards. Landing charges are high owing to the absence of support from concessions enjoyed in many parts of the world. Operating costs have soared with fuel prices, choking off air connections in many countries.

Rail transportation is limited and travelling by train remains a difficult and therefore limited option for tourists. Lines are not comprehensive across the region, and services are slow, with unreliable schedules. Following economic liberalisation in many African countries and major improvements to the region's road network, most of the continent's railways lost their economic edge. A few classic train journeys have had their infrastructure restored and maintained to their former glory, such as the steam railway in Eritrea, as well as luxury journeys on the Blue Train in South Africa, and the Shongololo Express in Namibia.

Road Systems have improved in most African countries in recent years, as governments have strived to increase the density of their road networks and carry out institutional reforms. In cities, road construction has not kept pace with urbanisation. In many countries, road maintenance remains inadequate. Even the Trans-African Highway, the symbol of modern Africa, has long gaps.

Policy challenges include strengthening regulatory oversight and achieving full liberalization of the air transport sector.

Rail transportation – The standard policy response has been to concession many of Africa's railways. But while concessions have led to significant service improvements and helped to reverse the decline in traffic, they have not generated enough revenue to finance much-needed track rehabilitation.

Road System – Tremendous progress has been made in establishing institutions to manage and maintain Africa's roads, for example, but still only one in three rural Africans has access to an all-season road. Unable to reach urban markets, millions are trapped in subsistence agriculture and tourism certainly suffers from this as the lack of accessibility to a number of sites remains one of the determinants of the sector seasonality.

Waterways transportation – There is an increased interest in developing the cruise sector in areas like the Indian Ocean, but piracy remains a constraint. Popular routes include travel to and from islands such as Cape Verde and Zanzibar (Tanzania), with an increased interest emerging in developing the waterways over Lake Victoria and Lake Tanganyika.

Multimodal transport, whereby roads, railways, airlines, and shipping operate in harmony, can contribute significantly to growth and productivity if the modalities are well integrated. In SSA, unfortunately, integration is not the rule. Corrupt customs administration and restrictions on entry into transport markets are blocking the development of multimodal

continued . . .

Table 1.2 Continued

Key issues	*Current situation*	*Development perspectives*
	Waterways transportation is possible, but remains a limited option for countries with a coastline over the sea or the African Great Lakes, as there are only a few organised official ferry services. Private boat trips have diminished around the Horn of Africa, due to increased piracy.	transport. These and other impediments delay freight, raise the costs of moving international freight, and compromise the logistical systems on which global trade depends. Transportation costs increase the prices of African goods by a whopping 75%.
Accommodation	Independent hotels dominate the accommodation sector, with international chain outlets only present in significant numbers in key tourism hotspots such as South Africa, Mauritius, Kenya and Tanzania. Lodges are a traditional safari option and can range from basic facilities to the ultimate luxury stay. Hostels are a popular option amongst budget travellers, as are guesthouses, which are also seen as an economical choice. Home-stay accommodation both in rural and urban locations is a growing niche in the region. It is a relatively inexpensive option, and one where visitors can gain a more traditional African experience.	By 2011, Accor had outlets in 17 countries across the region, mainly the mid-range Ibis and Novotel brands. Starwood is also present in SSA, with its Sheraton brand present in Gambia, Nigeria, Djibouti and South Africa. South African group Protea has expanded throughout the region, with outlets in eight countries. A number of other international brands are making their way into the growing economies of Rwanda and Nigeria. High prices and service standards remain problematic across the continent, with only few pockets of excellence. A number of initiatives to improve service standards are needed and are currently taking places even in some of the most seasoned destinations like South Africa, The Gambia and Namibia. Despite recognising the challenges imposed by the high cost of running businesses in SSA, a full recalibration of accommodations' prices is required to guarantee destination competitiveness.
Traditional and Niche Products	SafariTourism is the quintessential African travel retail product focused on the 'big five' of elephant, lion, leopard, rhino and cape buffalo, with the key destinations being	Product diversification remains the greatest concern for any tourism destination.

Kenya, Tanzania, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia. A growing number of other types of safaris are also emerging – i.e. gorilla tracking in Rwanda and Uganda, bird watching in The Gambia.	Safari tourism is increasingly packaged in conjunction with other activities, and this is used as a strategy to extend stay in the destination and increasingly as a strategy to encourage visitors to visit more than one destination.
Beach tourism is an important secondary product in East Africa and West Africa and, to a lesser extent, in Southern Africa.	Beach tourism is highly competitive and environmentally sensitive and actions are required to maintain SSA beach resorts' comparative advantage mainly associated with the integrated product which is offered on the market – i.e. safari + beach experience.
Nature/Adventure tourism is a growth area for SSA. The continent's varied terrain and remote locations make it an ideal location for many nature-based adventure sports, such as dune-boarding in Namibia and lemur tracking in Madagascar.	Nature/Adventure tourism offers development opportunities for some of the most remote and less known SSA destinations. There is a growing number of products for the most seasoned travellers, who travel to fulfill specific nature based – i.e. geology, wildlife, and/or adventure interests – i.e. extreme sports.
Cultural heritage tourism is one of the fastest-growing segments of the tourism industry worldwide. Forty per cent of all international leisure tourism has a cultural component. Cultural heritage in Ethiopia, music in Cape Verde, and architecture in Pays Dogon in Mali are some of the attractions for cultural tourists to Africa.	Cultural heritage tourism has great potential for SSA due to the continent's rich traditions in music, art, dance, literature, and culture. Cultural tourism generates economic activity and an enhanced sense of pride for residents. It also can generate resources for the conservation of historic sites and traditional activities.
Ecotourism, community-based tourism and agritourism are growth sectors for SSA, attracting city dwellers wishing to experience rural life. Visitors are often hosted in eco-resorts, community camps, homestays and working farms, or spend time exploring community life, the development of crafts and food products, ranging from fish, meat, coffee and tea to cereal, fruit and vegetable crops. Ecotourism has become a buzzword across SSA, with almost every country claiming to offer holidays catering to this demand.	Ecotourism community-based tourism and agritourism very often, address the needs and requirements for many developing countries seeking sustainable economic development. However, while community-based tourism remains generally a western conceived concept highly dependent on external funding, agritourism provides an alternative to the main resort for those with a specific interest in rural life.

continued . . .

Table 1.2 Continued

Key issues	*Current situation*	*Development perspectives*
	Volunteerism is an increasingly common form of philanthropic travel. A popular choice among young travellers, in particular those from Europe and North America, it entails participating and working within a local community, with board and lodging provided from the fee paid.	Volunteerism – Although in parts recognising the value of this form of tourism, this is a sector that needs careful consideration and regulations as the good intention of those engaging in volunteering activities is not always matched by positive impacts on the ground.
	Business travel is an important growth area for SSA. Unlike leisure travel, business travel flows depend on the dynamism of economic activity in the destination.	Business travel – Global hotel groups such as Accor, Starwood, Intercontinental and Kempinski are planning for growth in the business travel market. Business tourists tend to have a higher average daily spend and are less seasonal than leisure tourists. The development of high euality business hotels creates a large network of downstream benefits for the destination.
	Diaspora tourism to SSA includes city tours, visits to historic sites, arts and crafts shopping, and trips to slave trade memorials. The continent contains many landmarks, build and relics connected with the trans-Atlantic slave trade, most of which are located in West African countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia and Senegal.	Diaspora tourism has great promise for further growth with visitors from Europe and the US as product development is enhanced and value chains strengthened. There is a growing segment associated with what is known as dark tourism – i.e. slave trade in West Africa, genocide sites in Rwanda.
	Intra-regional and domestic tourism may be the sleeping giant of SSA tourism. Already more than 10 million people are travelling across international borders every year within Africa for shopping, medical reasons, sport trips, religious journeys, business meetings and conferences, and visiting friends and relatives. Under the right conditions, the tourism sector can tap this growing wealth.	Intra-regional and domestic tourism – As the size of the middle class increases, the number of intra-regional tourists is likely to rise. Intra-regional travel in East Africa is already significant. Nigeria is a potential regional tourism powerhouse in West Africa. Zimbabwe and Angola also have potential as a large source market for intra-regional travel. Domestic travel in South Africa is driving growth. Kenya has already prioritised domestic travel. Zimbabwe, Ghana and Nigeria are starting to do the same.

Source: adapted from *Euromonitor International*, 2010; World Bank, 2011a, World Economic Forum *et al.*, 2011, Africa Development Bank Group, 2013.

sufficiently supportive of the development of the T&T sector' (World Economic Forum *et al.*, 2011: 92). In terms of economic diversification, agricultural products represented 54 per cent of Mauritius' exports in 1980. As a result of the growth in tourism, agriculture accounted for just 16 per cent of total exports in 2011, while textiles accounted for 25 per cent and tourism accounted for 25 per cent. In Rwanda, between 1995 and 1998, coffee and tea accounted for almost half of all exports, while in 2011, tourism provided 36 per cent of exports and reliance on coffee and tea was down to 20 per cent (World Bank, 2011a).

It is also clear that policies and initiatives enhancing socio-economic and environmental sustainability are crucial to ensure the future of a country's attractiveness and viability as a tourism destination. In terms of socio-economic and environmental sustainability, SSA offers a mixed picture. Top-performing countries like Rwanda, Namibia, and Kenya are making informed efforts to develop their tourism sectors in a sustainable manner, and usually have strict environmental legislation to ensure that this happens. At the other end of the spectrum, countries like Angola and Mauritania will need to step up sustainability efforts to improve their tourism competitiveness (World Economic Forum *et al.*, 2011).

Tourism is capable of contributing to conservation. For example, in 2010, The World Bank established a USD 35 million cultural heritage operations project in Ethiopia. The project included: rehabilitation and conservation of heritage sites, museum site amelioration, visitor services enhancement, tourism product development, and tourism marketing and promotion (World Bank, 2011a). The Collaborative Actions for Sustainable Tourism (COAST) initiative, a Global Environment Facility (GEF)-funded project, with the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) as the implementing agency and the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) as executing agency in partnership with UNWTO, have led to a number of environmental conservation and sustainable development initiatives: for example, the Kartong ecotourism demonstration project in Southern Gambia, which specifically addresses environmental degradation and the effect of climate change through active community participation in conservation; and the Badagry diaspora heritage demonstration project in South West Nigeria (see: http://coast.iwlearn.org/en), which is discussed in Chapter 5 of this volume.

The tourism sector uses energy for transporting tourists to and from as well as within destinations, in accommodation establishments, and for a range of tourist activities. As most of this energy derives from fossil fuels, tourism is a core sector for the emission of greenhouse gases, with serious ramifications for climate change (Scott *et al.*, 2012: 395). Tourism has been identified as a significant contributor to greenhouse gas emissions with estimates that it accounts for as much as 5 per cent of global emissions of carbon dioxide. This share is considerably higher in countries that are important tourism destinations. The African continent's tourism economy is anticipated to face moderate to negative climate change impacts. Images of idyllic tropical destinations seriously conflict with the notion of tourism as a major contributor to global climate change (C.M. Rogerson, personal communication, 2015), as further discussed in Case Study 1.1.

Recent interregional cooperation initiatives include the proposed Univisa for southern African and east African states; cooperative agreements involving Angola and Namibia, Cameroon, South Africa and Uganda developing FDI (foreign direct investment) opportunities with China, India, Japan, Sudan and Kenya. In addition to this, the Peace Park foundation, created in 1997, currently includes ten trans-frontier conservation areas and a further four in the conceptual phase. The most famous is the Great Limpopo Peace Park, linking national parks in South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, including the Kruger National Park (World Bank, 2011a; World Economic Forum *et al.*, 2011). Despite recognising the implementation and management complexities associated with the above, these certainly remain among some of the most innovative initiatives at global level.

Tourism can contribute to the image building of a destination: in fact, formerly war-torn Rwanda has changed its image to the one of a country that features mountain gorilla conservation and created some of the most visited dark tourism heritage sites based on its relatively recent troublesome past. Mozambique is putting civil conflict behind it and is increasingly referred to as a country with some of the most beautiful and unspoiled beaches in SSA, comparable to the ones of Zanzibar, Seychelles and Mauritius. Ethiopia is starting to change its image from a place of human suffering and famine to the birthplace of civilisation and culture (World Bank, 2011a). In many instances, tourism induces a feel-good factor that enhances investor confidence, increases national pride and serves as an engine for inclusive growth, as also discussed in Chapter 7 of this volume.

However, to enable these processes, a destination's success also depends upon human resource capacity. Investing in people requires considerable funding and commitment by local governments to address the status quo. In this regards, SSA provides only a few pockets of good practice in human resource development aimed at the improvement of business practices, such as Kenya's Utalii College and the Rwanda Tourism University College (RTUC) (see Chapter 4's Case Study, 4.2). In order to address the known human resource shortfalls, a number of capacity-building initiatives have flourished with funding provided by international organisations such as UNWTO, the EU, the World Bank, the Commonwealth Secretariat and other international cooperation agencies, with varying level of success and scales of implementation. For example, while in 2009 the World Bank and the government of Spain contributed to the inception phase of the (2013-inaugurated) Gambia Tourism and Hospitality Institute (GTHI) with considerable challenges (see Chapter 2 of this volume), in 2013 the Commonwealth Secretariat supported the Namibia Tourism Board (NTB) in addressing the sector's customer service deficiencies, by funding a very successful 'train-the-trainer' programme. The latter is also an example of an attempt by the NTB to address a broader human resources development issue, which characterises the region's destinations at large. In fact, as SSA suffers from an inconsistent quality of services caused by inadequate guidelines and the lack of standardised practices, a number of initiatives have come to the fore to address the lack of service standards. In some of the more developed and researched destinations such as Namibia, The Gambia and Kenya, there is a level of complacency, which has for years become the cause/effect of systemic deficiencies in day-to-day governance and business practices. While the 'host' is faced by the challenges of changing historically rooted bad practices, or in some worse cases lacks the capacity to even identify them, the 'guests' may refrain from raising service standards issues, as they may perceive this as posing a disciplinary risk to the individual employee involved.

If SSA is to become competitive, destinations have to provide the tourist with a uniquely rewarding experience and an integrated high quality product/service offering, which will ultimately turn their comparative advantage into competitive advantage and generate the sought-after socio-economic benefit for local people. To achieve this, it is essential that the public and private sectors take responsibility for addressing the *status quo*, share their experiences, challenges and best practice and develop a positive attitude towards service and the way all staff (not just frontline staff) relate to tourism and its customers. Every business has the responsibility of meeting customer expectations of the type of product and/or service they supply and way in which they deliver it, and keeping pace with the actions required to stay competitive in the global market, but this cannot happen without adequate public sector support.

Another known matter of concern is tourists' personal safety (Novelli *et al.*, 2012), which is perhaps the most important prerequisite for any aspiring tourism destination (Mansfield and Pizam, 2005). Terrorism, crime, natural disasters and epidemic outbreaks (i.e. the recent Ebola-induced crisis) negatively impact on a destination's image and pose major challenges to the tourism industry, especially as the global media reinforce such security fears (Anson, 1999). This is a particular problem for many of SSA's poorest countries, which have recently experienced civil conflict of varying intensity and duration as well as conflict that has usually erupted after a period of economic stagnation or collapse (Kahler, 2007), as further discussed in Chapter 4 of this volume.

Given the increasing importance of the online sales and marketing environment for the modern tourism industry, the quality of the information and communication technologies (ICT) infrastructure is critical to the development of the industry. Despite progress in the uptake of mobile technologies, ICT is an area where SSA countries still lag behind the rest of the world by a large margin (World Economic Forum *et al.*, 2011). An estimated 6.2 per cent of the population in Africa has access to the Internet, although the percentage varies enormously according to each country. This, paired with lack of access to credit cards, was made obvious by the lower than expected 75 per cent ticket sales for the 2010 FIFA World Cup to Africa-based customers (when tickets were only available online) (*Euromonitor International*, 2010).

Although the UK remains the dominant source market for international visitors to Africa as a whole, followed by the US, the Netherlands and France, the continent is slowly changing its tourism marketing from traditional European source markets to the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China), which are registering much higher levels of growth as they are increasingly targeted by the sector. 'In 2012, China and India were the fastest growing international source markets in terms of arrivals, with increases of 45 per cent and 36 per cent, respectively, on the previous year' (*Euromonitor International*, 2013:3). Travel from Middle Eastern countries and Russia is rising as the growing number of flight connections, through the Dubai and Doha hubs, for example, provide better access to the region. In addition, Eastern Europe is viewed as an additional source of arrivals. As a result of the international cooperation and business links with China, many of the most advanced African Tourism Boards, such as that of Mauritius, have devised *ad hoc* China-focused marketing strategies, with some countries streamlining and reducing the waiting time for visa processing, or even removing visa requirements for Chinese travellers. Recently:

> 27 African countries have become outbound destinations for Chinese tour groups, and tourist numbers from both sides are growing rapidly as a result. Improving flight connections have opened up the region to the increasingly travel-focused Chinese middle-class. Nairobi and Addis Ababa have recently been connected to Hong Kong, Beijing and Guangzhou through daily flights.
>
> *Euromonitor International* (2013:3)

Overall, access remains an issue, especially for international tourism markets. The South African air travel market is the largest in Africa, as measured by weekly seat capacity offered from the country's airports. The three main hubs of Johannesburg (South Africa), Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) and Nairobi (Kenya) bear the majority of the international traffic in the region, making East Africa a better developed air travel network than Central and West Africa, where only Nigeria has a significant number of connections, both regional and international. National carriers are operated by several countries, which have a near-monopoly on domestic and international services. Prices are generally high and safety standards not always followed. Much airport infrastructures is dated but still functional, with over 300 airports across the continent. Domestic services vary greatly across SSA: for example, Ethiopia, home to one of the most important airlines in Africa (i.e. Ethiopian Airlines) has relatively little domestic air transport and travel, compared to Nigeria, which has skyrocketed with private jet business travel bringing a new dimension to the country's aviation industry. The low-cost carrier market is only embryonic and mainly centred on South Africa, a country with a population that has a much higher average annual disposable income (*Euromonitor International*, 2010).

SSA has unfulfilled tourism potential, with only a handful of its forty-eight countries fully taking advantage of it. In most countries, raw tourism resources are not yet economically productive assets. South Africa remains the top destination, accounting for over 25 per cent of total arrivals in the region. In 2013, it ranked thirtieth in the UNWTO's 'International Tourism Receipts: Top Fifty Destinations', and is one of the worlds' fastest growing MICE (Meetings, Incentives, Conferencing and Exhibitions) destinations: this might be linked to the visibility and pan-African 'feel-good' factor granted through its hosting of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, as discussed in Case Study 1.2 of this chapter. Zimbabwe is the second leading country for international arrivals, with over 2.5 million arrivals in 2012 and forecasts predicting over 3 million by 2017. This might have been linked to the country's stabilising economic and political environment. Over *Euromonitor International*'s (2013) review period, among the top ten tourism destinations, Mozambique and Uganda experienced the fastest growth in arrivals. Furthermore, the discovery of oil and gas deposits in these two countries was seen as a factor possibly capable of stimulating the development of business tourism, thereby boosting domestic tourism as disposable incomes might rise as a consequence of a growth in the local economy (*Euromonitor International*, 2013).

Having analysed some of the core tourism key issues in SSA and despite recognising the enormous potential of tourism for SSA development, there are five main interrelated constraints to the fulfilment of the 'African tourism dream'. To use World Bank (2011a) terminology, these include: (1) unpredictable and weak business environments; (2) institutional weaknesses; (3) inadequate access; (4) a low level of linkages; and (5) a price/value mismatch (see Table 1.3). Such constraints are partly discussed in Case Study 1.3, which focuses on the loss of opportunities for Ugandan local communities.

In a competitive market where tourists have choices, if they are asked to pay a relatively high price for a vacation in SSA, it should not come as a surprise that they expect a quality experience:

> Many tourist attractions in the region, however, are poorly managed, suffer from limited access, low levels of customer service, poor signage, inadequate marketing, and lack of public reinvestment. Service quality across the region is low and a disconnect frequently exists between tourism schools and the skills needed by tourism businesses.
>
> World Bank (2011a:11)

At destination level, partnerships, alliances, joint ventures and clustering between private businesses, tour operators, residents, NGOs and local authorities, as well as cross-border collaboration, should be employed to maximise the benefits of tourism (Ashley *et al.*, 2000; Gordon and Townsend, 2001; Walle, 1995; Wheeler, 1994). The role of joint ventures, for instance, is discussed in Case Study 1.4, which focuses on experiences from Namibia. Tour operators, as intermediaries between the tourist and the local providers

Table 1.3 Constraints to SSA tourism growth

Constraints	*Examples*	*Possible solutions*
Unpredictable and weak business environment		
Political instability, high crime rates, restrictive visa arrangements, unsafe roads, inadequate water, poor sanitation, high cost of electricity, poor construction practices, insufficient infrastructure and lack of health facilities result in unpredictable business environments.	Even in developed destinations such as Kenya and The Gambia, roads are limited. In Cape Verde, water and sanitation services are serious constraints. The price of electricity and fluctuations in supply in Senegal and Uganda increase the cost of doing business and going on holiday in these destinations.	Policy reforms, streamlined immigration and visa processing are crucial for tourism. Increased regional integration and the growth of regional trading blocs provide opportunities for greater ease in trans-border activity. Create institutional frameworks and mechanisms that bring together governments and private entrepreneurs.
Institutional weaknesses		
Tourism is a complex phenomenon. It requires coordination between multiple government agencies, private sector bodies, civil society organisations, and community stakeholders.	Transportation, communications, finance, education, sanitation and immigration are just a few of the many areas where greater coordination is required. When tourism growth goes unmanaged, the natural, cultural, and social asset base on which tourism depends becomes vulnerable.	Support services for tourism such as planning, marketing, regulatory frameworks, and monitoring are required to develop a sustainable tourism sector. Formulate appropriate policies and strategies for human resource development in tourism.
Inadequate access		
SSA's distance from generating international and intra-regional markets creates an acute need for higher quality	Air travel within SSA is characterised by expensive, infrequent services and multi-stop itineraries. Average one-way fares in	Investment in air transport represents a valuable opportunity throughout much of SSA.

and more competitive air access both to and within Africa. Access requires attention not only for the development of the TandT industry, but also for the efficient movement of people and goods for the proper functioning of market economies.	SSA are twice as expensive as those in Latin America and four times as expensive as domestic flights in the US. The seasonal nature of tourism in some areas further exacerbates this problem.	Vital for the ease of movement within the country is the extensiveness and quality of the country's ground transport infrastructure. Investment in air and land based transportation and infrastructure are essential.
Low level linkages		
Despite increasing evidence of the multi-sector benefits from tourism, the sector is often regarded as elitist and dominated by foreign firms. Constraints to tourism value-chain development in SSA include poor quality products, lack of tourism awareness, and a problematic business environment.	In many cases local products (e.g. horticulture, produce, crafts, entertainment, transportation) are not sufficiently developed or are not of high enough quality to supply the tourism industry. In other destinations, sectors such as manufacturing and agriculture fail to fully consider tourism sector demand. Further constraints to effective value chain development are lack of business knowhow and the difficulty that many MSMEs have in accessing loans.	Improve the quality of products and the value chain linkages. Increase the capacity of those working both in the formal and informal sectors directly and indirectly linked to tourism to improve the pro-poor effects of tourism. Create mechanisms that encourage private entrepreneurs to improve the quality of their performance and actively engage with tourism.
Price/value mismatch		
T&T services in SSA can be expensive and not necessarily matched by adequate services.	T&T prices in SSA can be 25% to 35% higher than tours in other parts of the world.	Enable production of goods locally to avoid importing them.

continued . . .

Table 1.3 Continued

Constraints	*Examples*	*Possible solutions*
Air transport, utilities, and access to land and to finance are constrained by the high cost of doing business in SSA. The reasons for elevated prices are the high cost of airfares and utilities, the need for imported goods and services, and high import duties.	Accommodation in star rated hotels can be as or more expensive than any hotels of similar rating located in Europe or US.	Create institutional mechanisms that bring together governments and private entrepreneurs and initiatives incentivizing investments and capacity building.
	Star rating and service delivery often do not reflect international standards.	Product diversification and service quality should address different market needs (business vs. leisure travellers) and international level of service providing a better quality-value experience.
There is a lack of differentiation between business and leisure tourism markets at times leading to a disappointing experience.		
		Restructure formal tourism and hospitality training to match market needs.

Source: adapted from World Bank, 2011a; World Economic Forum *et al.*, 2011; Dieke, 2003.

of the tourism experience, become central, as their activities consist of buying tourism services and assembling them into attractive holiday packages, which are then sold to the customers. The tour operator becomes the 'interpreter' between two different domains of 'truth' (Wearing and McDonald, 2002:199) belonging to the 'hosts' and the 'guests', with different levels of understanding of, expectation from, and power over tourism. At the same time, governments need to prioritise tourism and adequately fund it for what it is truly worth, and make sure that tourism provides not only an increased number of jobs but an improvement in the living conditions of local residents in order for development to take place (see Case Study 1.5).

An introduction to local realities

The five cases studies that follow reflect local experts' experiences (local voices) and showcase some SSA tourism realities from South Africa, Uganda, Namibia and Cape Verde.

Case Study 1.1: Climate change matters

Authored by: Christian M. Rogerson

Many SSA tourism destinations are potentially vulnerable to new legislation affecting the aviation sector, in particular its inclusion in European Union emissions trading schemes (Gössling *et al.*, 2008). Overall, Southern Africa is the most vulnerable region because of the severity of projected physical climate impacts. Currently the observed temperature changes predicted for this region are greater than increases indicated for other world regions with projections for a 3.4°C increase in annual temperature (Lotz-Sisitka and Urquhart, 2014: 6).

Environmental changes linked to climate change threaten to irreparably damage or at least threaten the foundations upon which tourism development in SSA is anchored. Already climate change is impacting the continent's tourism industry, raising critical issues of carbon emission reduction and the establishment of low-carbon destinations as part of broader strategic planning for building resilience and climate-compatible development (Gössling, 2011; Lotz-Sisitka and Urquhart, 2014). The changes in global climate change policy, as well as increased fuel costs, heighten the policy significance of the 'greening of tourism' and the making of carbon-neutral destinations (Gössling and Schumacher, 2010). In addition, climate change impacts underscore that environmental management must be an integral component of tourism development planning, especially for sustainable tourism development in sensitive or protected areas (Rogerson, 2012b). From international experience, any real, efficient or effective action taken towards addressing the significant threats posed by climate change to tourism will require two broad types of policy and action to be pursued across SSA. First are mitigation-based policies and actions, which essentially seek to reduce the most severe and longest-term effects upon the tourism economy that are anticipated from climate change by cutting down on the amounts of anthropogenic pollutants released into the earth's atmosphere. Second are adaptation-based policies and actions, which attempt to prepare individual communities and regions for some of the major hazards associated with climate change, by seeking policy and infrastructure development or enhancements and actions that attempt to lessen the projected impacts of climate change on those groups considered to be most vulnerable.

In the context of climate change and tourism development the national government in South Africa acknowledges that climate change represents one of the greatest threats to sustainable development. Moreover, if left unabated, the potential threats associated with climate change could undo or undermine many of the positive advances made by the country's tourism industry since the transition to democracy, by threatening the jobs and economic growth catalysed by recent tourism expansion. It is made clear in government policy documents that climate change 'matters' for South Africa's tourism economy. The urgency of considering the impacts of climate change upon tourism stems from concerns about potential losses to biodiversity, which is central to the nature tourism industry as one of the core competitive strengths of South African tourism. It is stressed: 'Our geographic location away from most of our key markets, the heavy reliance we place on South Africa's environment in our positioning, and therefore in our visitors' expectations and experience, as well as the high proportion of fuel and energy costs in our product mix, all mean that climate change is an issue of relevance for the sector' (Department of Tourism, 2011: 74). The *National Climate Change Response* policy document highlights that South Africa is both a contributor to and a potential victim of global climate change (RSA, 2010: 6). The country's concerns surrounding the issue of climate change and tourism are also expressed in the 2011 'National Tourism Sector Strategy', which is largely seen as the guiding policy framework for tourism development. As part of overarching policies for promoting 'responsible tourism', measures have been enacted to promote new greening programmes across the tourism economy, including 'green hotels', and to develop 'responsible tourism practices', including maximising opportunities for local sourcing of products in order to reduce tourism food miles.

South Africa is finalising a national tourism and climate change response programme and action plan in response to the threat of the country being viewed as a carbon-intensive tourism economy. Policy documents have set out the goal of establishing a low-carbon and climate-resilient tourism sector in South Africa (Department of Tourism, 2011: 6). Such a vision however, is also crucially acknowledged to require an ongoing and dynamic climate change policy environment that prioritises and is dependent upon five key outcomes. First, it involves an improved understanding of the vulnerabilities of tourism to the physical impacts of climate change in order to build resilience and adaptive capacity. Second, it requires a reduction in tourism-based greenhouse gas emissions. Third, it depends on a fully informed tourism industry, which will be brought about by consistent and effective industry outreach and communications. Fourth is the crucial need to have a consistent, inclusive and cooperative approach to policy and framework implementation. The final outcome is that the country should maintain an effective positioning within key international markets (Department of Tourism, 2011: 6).

Tourism's dynamic potential to respond or adapt to the challenges posed by climate change or global environmental change has emerged recently as a vital arena of academic interest (Gössling, 2011; Gössling *et al.*, 2013; Scott *et al.*, 2012). Globally, the tourism industry has been under critical scrutiny for its short-term profit orientation and lack of meaningful actions regarding climate change. Existing international research discloses that while the tourism industry in many countries is aware of the significance and potential ramifications of climate change, it is not considered a pressing issue, not the least since the impact of the global economic crisis. In SSA, while there is substantial uncertainty surrounding the long-term implications of climate change for tourism flows, patterns and destinations, these have not been investigated in any depth. A number of benchmark studies have, however, appeared (Gössling and Schumacher, 2010; Saarinen *et al.*, 2013). Critical research issues relate to the introduction of environmentally responsible tourism practices, the reduction of the carbon imprint of tourism, the development of tourism offset programmes, tourists' understanding of the implications of climate change and of their 'willingness to pay' for the costs of making carbon-neutral destinations. Further issues relate more broadly to the greening of both the tourism travel sector and the tourism accommodation sector. Arguably, such challenges are the most urgent issues on the research agenda in Southern Africa, as 'the impacts of climate change may be very severe in the relatively near future' (Saarinen *et al.*, 2013: 244). In the final analysis, for the nexus of tourism and development, climate change research must be one of the highest priorities for African tourism scholarship (Rogerson, 2012a).

Case Study 1.2: South Africa 2010 FIFA World Cup – pan-Africanism at its best?

Authored by: Portia Pearl Siyanda Sifolo

Mega events, including the FIFA World Cup, can have tremendous effects and dynamic occurrences in the time leading up to the event itself. The 2010 FIFA World Cup granted SSA the opportunity of a lifetime, even though South Africa as a host opened itself to possible criticism. For instance, the event was viewed (with some pessimism) by other major northern (Egypt and Algeria), eastern (Kenya and Ethiopia) and western (Ghana and Nigeria) African regional economic players, as a way for South Africa to capitalise on Africa's ambition for its own selfish economic developmental needs, with little or no benefit for the continent as a whole.

Framing this within what is known as game theory, 'a science behind human strategy [aimed at] second-guessing each other's actions and what the ultimate consequences will be' (Conway, 2009:190), one could contend that South Africa appealed to pan-Africanist ideology for her own benefit during the bidding process, which was characterised by a pan-Africanist sentiment epitomised by the slogan 'Ke Nako [it's time]: Celebrate Africa's Humanity'.

By the same take, it may appear that South Africa's employment of pan-Africanism second-guessed FIFA and the international community at large, by thoroughly considering the history of the event. Realising that FIFA had been alternating between America and Europe, but not Asia and Africa, South Africa used this to her advantage, and one could say that FIFA was plunged into a dilemma between maintaining its position and facing charges of discrimination, or surrendering to Africa's aspirations and demands.

What is also interesting is that South Africa second-guessed the entire African continent by appealing to the African Union (AU), and having secured its endorsement as the African candidate to host the event, one could say that FIFA was led to believe that the event was being awarded to the continent (Africa) rather than the country (South Africa). Hence, the 'Africa's moment' slogan was dubbed. Moreover, South Africa pulled the wild card of the World Cup legacy, which was likely to leave positive effects on the African continent. The legacy programme included a 'win in Africa with Africa' campaign endorsed by the FIFA Congress, and the 'Goal' programme.

What emerged from qualitative research, conducted with a pool of respondents from the diplomatic community, regional NGOs and intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) based in Addis Ababa, gave a different story. A general consensus emerged over the effects of the 2010 FIFA World Cup at varying social levels in every African country. It was felt that the event had contributed positively to the marketing of many other SSA countries in Africa, especially the major players, and in particular those involved in the games (e.g. Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya). It appeared that South Africa did not manipulate the continental sentiment in her bidding, but rather did what she had to do to ensure the success of the event. While the support of other SSA countries for South Africa as the host of the World Cup appeared to be genuine, there seemed to be a growing feeling in some countries in North Africa that South Africa sought to dominate the continent.

Although most of the major SSA economic players concurred that the 2010 FIFA World Cup contributed towards the ongoing continental integration effort and to pan-Africanism, they felt that South Africa did not open the doors enough for them to utilise the opportunity. The feeling of African solidarity and a pan-African spirit of togetherness was not necessarily matched by a strategic take on how to take the agenda forward in and with other countries. As highlighted by one of the research participants:

> The AU feels that South Africa and FIFA took charge of preparations for the event including the interested African parties (e.g. AU and African

> Artists). However, to some the event was more of a South African event than an African one. Nevertheless, the AU coordinated the African solidarity where necessary. In the end there seemed to be general consensus that the successful hosting of the event generated a sense of African ownership of the event as was witnessed by the AU Heads of State and Government Declaration on 27 July 2010, in Kampala, Uganda.

In a way, while it may seem that South Africa succeeded in her second-guessing strategy as both the African and the international community's reaction to the 'pan-Africanist drive' leading to general support for South Africa's initiative, the reality is that the event contributed greatly to improving confidence in Africa's capabilities, by showcasing them throughout the event.

The 2010 FIFA World Cup played a role in positively repositioning perceptions of the African continent through an enhanced sense of pan-Africanism. Despite the criticism associated with claims that South Africa may have used second-guessing to her benefit, this leaves no general feelings of discontent towards South Africa, but rather a dynamic and forward-looking pan-African sense of ownership, belonging and pride for many.

Case Study 1.3: Tourism and socio-economic development: lost opportunities for Ugandan local communities

Authored by: Frédéric Thomas and Celestine Katongole

International tourism plays a vital role in the strength, diversity and resilience of the Ugandan economy. The travel sector is Uganda's largest services export industry, having provided 15.4 per cent or USD 950.1 million of Uganda's total export in 2011 (Thomas, 2012). Hotels and restaurants, as defined in the National Account, are making a fast -growing contribution to GDP growth and also represent an increasingly large proportion of the services sector in the country. The data for the year 2009 showed that the tourism sector has been more resistant to the financial crisis than the services sector in general. With the exception of 2006, Uganda has experienced sustained growth in the balance of travel over a period of ten years (2002–2012). More importantly, its average contribution to GDP growth, between 2008 and 2011 was almost 50 per cent, with a peak of 60.5 per cent in the year 2010. During the same period, travel and tourism as a share of GDP increased by 2.5 per cent. The World Bank (2011a) estimated the total contribution of tourism to GDP at 7.6 per cent or USD 1.4 billion.

Tourism stimulates the production of goods and services in a wide range of sectors and subsectors representing a value chain. Within only three crafts sectors – wood carving, textiles and clothing and jewellery – over 1,489 Ugandan youths and women were recorded as being suppliers of products to the tourism trade (Thomas *et al.*, 2011). Overall, the sector provides in the region of 447,000 jobs in Uganda (WTTC, 2012). However, while tourism appears to have been relatively effective at delivering both revenues and employment, there is a serious risk that the poor, especially the rural poor, do not profit from the tourism growth. Yet most of Uganda's tourism attractions are rural-based and in proximity to where 86 per cent of Ugandans live.

In Uganda, about 40 per cent of all rural people – some 10 million men, women and children – still live in abject poverty. Uganda's poorest people include millions of subsistence farmers living in remote, scattered areas throughout the country. Taking into consideration the increasing number of visitors to Uganda every year and the geographically dispersed key tourism sites, tourism development and, more specifically, PPT orientation in key areas can have a strong impact on poverty reduction in the country. Nowadays, most leisure tourism expenditure indeed occurs in the countryside. However, the leisure visitor segment only represents a small share of the total of inbound visitors to the country. Leisure visitors accounted for an average of just 16 per cent of all international arrivals in Uganda for the years 2008–10.

On the basis of a competitive advantage ratio (Kaosa-ard and Unthong, 2005), Uganda is shown to be competitive in all major regions except the main leisure markets. Despite an appreciable increase in European visitor arrivals over the last few years, Uganda has no competitive advantage in this market and is losing its market share in this region. Just in the European market, this loss represents approximately USD 50 million per year. With the exception of the Middle East and Africa, Uganda is losing market share in all major regions. Three of Uganda's main competitors, namely Kenya, Rwanda and Zimbabwe, showed market growth in the key leisure markets (Americas, Europe and Oceania) between 2006 and 2010, but Uganda's market absorption rates have been shrinking for the same markets.

There are several serious impediments to the growth of the leisure market and therefore to an increase of tourism benefits for local people. Among others, the current concession agreements within national park areas (only 280 and 180 high-end hotel rooms are estimated as being currently available respectively in and near its national parks) with exclusion zones of varying radiuses to the concessionaires, limits the bed capacity in destinations (Kihihi, Kisoro and Kidepo) that offer a different product from the rest of East Africa. The limited availability of local skilled staff to work in the tourism industry has also been reported as a constraint in the sector by most commercial operators who are obliged to hire foreign management staff. This is unsurprising given the significant increase in jobs generated in the tourism sector and the poor condition of education and training facilities. Tourism management responsibilities are dispersed across too many government departments and agencies. This fragmented leadership leads to missed opportunities for productivity improvements.

Thus in order to improve the livelihood of local communities, a 20 per cent share of the entrance fees to national parks is reserved for transfer to local districts, allowing the local population living on the edge of national parks to apply for funds to support community proposals. One of the major government expectations was a reduction in wildlife–human conflicts. However, these conflicts have not declined, as wildlife-protected areas face pressure from local populations searching for arable and grazing land, timber, settlements and other resources. In response to vermin that often cross over to people's farms and destroy property, encroachment and the poaching of wildlife have also become rampant vices. For example, in Lake Mburo National Park in 1983, local people poisoned all the lions in the park (and to date there are no lions in this park) due to the reiterating conflict over land.

At policy level, there is no adequate wildlife resources management mechanism, which has led local communities to perceive that the government cares more about wild animals and tourism than its people, which is worsened by the fact that there is no compensation in place for those affected by damages occurring because of the wildlife vs community encroachments. Moreover, a widespread lack of interest in tourism, and a lack of local capacity and forward thinking to initiate meaningful projects impede the implementation of economic alternatives to these populations (or alternative activities for the visitors) and a significant proportion of the funds raised go unused. For example, only 9.4 per cent of available revenue was used in the years 2007–11. In other words, this represents more than USD 12.4 million of unused money originally intended for villages adjacent to national parks. These funds are still available upon the request of villagers to local government offices, which often divert resources to other needs that may not have direct significance to the people on the edge of protected areas. The law does not allow remittance of this money directly to local people. Thus while millions of dollars are earned from the sector, local communities continue to miss opportunities to benefit from these dollars and remain trapped in poverty, partly due to fragmented management of the sector. Today, there is no doubt that an efficient strategy would be to have the government or an NGO accompanying the local population in both building their entrepreneurial capacities and raising their awareness of the tourism system. We consider that the allowance of direct remittances cannot under any circumstances be considered as a solution. Empowered communities must proceed with long-term assistance in a cooperative manner to gain in productivity, quality and visibility. Therefore part of the unused funds should be used to finance a transparent and efficient support system.

Case Study 1.4: Experience of a Namibian tourism joint venture[2]

Authored by: Susan Snyman

Tourism joint ventures (TJV) in Namibia provide the largest overall source of benefits to the conservancies (NACSO, 2010), as over and above the direct cash benefits, there are also benefits associated with skills development and training provided by the private sector. In 2009, TJV contributed NAD 19.9 million (approximately USD 2.5 million), 57 per cent of all income to conservancies (NACSO, 2010), representing a significant contribution to the local economy (Snyman, 2012a).

The Torra Conservancy (TC), originally Ward 11 (Salole, 2003), is located in the southern part of the Kunene region of Namibia. It covers an area of 3,493 square kilometres, with approximately 1,200 people living in the conservancy (NACSO, 2010) from various different ethnic groups. The area is scenically beautiful and has a wide variety of fauna. The Torra area is extremely dry, with average annual rainfall ranging from 50–150 millimetres (Kemp *et al.*, 2009), resulting in there being few sustainable alternative land uses, high levels of unemployment and marginal opportunities for agriculture. Tourism is one of few sectors able to generate income in this impoverished rural area (Ashley and Roe, 2002; Boudreaux and Nelson, 2011; Novelli and Gebhardt, 2007; Scherl *et al.*, 2004; Spenceley and Goodwin, 2007).

In 1995, the Ward 11 Resident's Association Trust was formed giving community members a legal body to represent them in negotiations with investors (Kemp *et al.*, 2009), and after a long period of negotiations a contract was signed between the Resident's Trust and Wilderness Safaris (WS) to develop Damaraland Camp (Kemp *et al.*, 2009; Salole, 2003). This TJV agreement (signed in 1996) was the first between a private tourism company – WS – and a community in Namibia (Kemp *et al.*, 2009). In 2002, TC was the first conservancy to cover its own running costs, including salaries for staff, vehicle maintenance and office management (Long, 2002; Scanlon and Kull, 2009).

Over and above the financial benefits of the TJV, the people in TC have benefited from: improved planning skills; insights and capacity for collaborative action; improved knowledge of their rights; a broader vision for their community (Jones *et al.*, 2002); and committee members on the board are empowered to take decisions and are directly involved in business management.

For WS, the Damaraland Camp/WS TJV enabled access to a new site, an increase in market share and improved conservation, all in line with the WS company philosophy of empowering the role of communities in conservation (Ashley and Jones, 2001). Other benefits for TC members associated with working at Damaraland Camp include: income from wages, living and working close to home, or being able to work and keep livestock (for livelihood security reasons) (Jones *et al.*, 2002:30), and the ability to maintain and strengthen social networks and safety nets (Long, 2002).

Reflecting the TJV agreement, Table 1.4 illustrates the payments made by WS and shows that over a six-year period, a total of over NAD 2.5 million (approximately USD 33,00) was paid to the community and that in total over NAD 6.5 million (approximately USD 83,000) was injected into the local economy as a result of the joint venture.

Between years 10 and 15 of the TJV, TC received 20 per cent equity per annum through the Damaraland Camp TJV, until they owned 100 per cent and chose to sell a portion back to WS to form a joint-venture equity partnership. WS was then offered, and purchased, 60 per cent of the Camp

Table 1.4 Payments made in terms of the joint venture between Wilderness Safaris and the Torra Conservancy

Financial period	*JV payments*	*Staff costs**	*Other payments***	*Total payments*
1 March 2005–28 February 2006	320,841.47	537,709***	30,954****	**889,504.47**
1 March 2006–28 February 2007	339,431.05	537,709***	30,954****	**908,094.05**
1 March 2007–28 February 2008	420,510.86	537,709	30,954****	**989,173.86**
1 March 2008–28 February 2009	581,184.39	646,963	30,954	**1,259,101.39**
1 March 2009–28 February 2010	563,690.87	804,499	30,954	**1,399,143.87**
1 March 2010–28 February 2011	428,228.49	673,785	34,594	**1,136,607.49**
Total	NAD 2,653,887.13	NAD 3,738,374	NAD 189,364	NAD 6,581,625.13

Notes
* Staff costs include salaries paid to conservancy members, staff meals, housing, training, uniform, etc.
** Other payments include local services and goods, e.g. laundry, rubbish removal, firewood, etc.
*** The staff information for these years was not split by HR, so there is no way of knowing what the exact amount is for staff cost for conservancy employees. Estimate taken based on 2007/2008.
**** Estimate based on 2009 actuals. Actuals for these years could not be obtained since archiving had already been done.

Source: Wilderness Safaris, 2011 in Snyman, 2012b.

back from TC and they now operate as equity partners with the TJV, leasing the land from the conservancy for a fee based on a percentage of the revenue (NACSO, 2010). The lodge has since been upgraded, with both WS and TC investing capital in the upgrade. These upgrades were initially fully funded by WS, but TC used cash earned from the sale of a portion of the Camp to settle their contribution. The reinvestment of 'community capital' in the project is one of the first cases in Namibia that did not involve donor funding or loans (NACSO, 2010).

Lessons learned from this TJV highlighted the importance of assessing whether the area is accessible to tourists; if there are sufficient attractions that tourists would want to see; if the community have a degree of cohesion and stability that will allow for a stable, transparent committee to handle finances and administration for a TJV. In addition to this, local human resources need to be thoroughly assessed in terms of community members' propensity to adapt to a new diversified rural system (i.e. to set aside some areas for photographic tourism rather than livestock farming), their employability in tourism and hospitality, their propensity towards conservation and ultimately the level of skills training and development needed to employ and empower community members.

To ensure the success of a TJV such as this, there are many factors to be considered. These are: the volatility of the tourism industry; the profitability of the camp; the ability of the conservancy/community to distribute benefits to all members equitably; the establishment of a clear link between benefits received, conservation and ecotourism; the use of local suppliers of goods and services (to increase local multipliers); the empowerment of local community members; the improvement of local education (formal and environmental) and access to it for the whole community; the development of vocational skills; the employment of different household members to spread the benefits of tourism; and the creation of a governing system that promotes and supports tourism and creates a business-enabling environment (Spenceley, 2008).

Furthermore, some of the core challenges experienced in this TJV were: the sustainable management of human–wildlife conflict (HWC) due to increasing wildlife numbers; the maintenance of an equitable partnership agreement between the private sector and community, in which both parties benefit; and the maintenance of a relatively stable community structure that does not get affected by inter- or intra-community conflict, whether along racial or equity lines.

Case Study 1.5: Tourism and job creation: lessons from Cape Verde

Authored by: Manuel Alector Ribeiro, Patrícia Oom do Valle and João Albino Silva

The Republic of Cape Verde is a small island developing state, composed of ten islands located 550 miles off the coast of Western Africa. The country's population is 491,683, of whom 62.8 per cent live in urban areas and 38.2 per cent live in rural areas (NIS, 2011). Tourism is a key driver of socio-economic development in Cape Verde. The country received 482,267 international tourists in 2012, verifying significant growth in tourist arrivals and according to UNWTO (2013), it saw major growth in SSA with a 13 per cent increase in arrivals, contributing some 24.3 per cent to the national GDP (Banco de Cabo Verde, 2013).

Tourism is the greatest employer (direct and indirect) in the country and it is known to have a positive impact on the improvement of living conditions of Cape Verdeans (Ribeiro *et al.*, 2013). According to NIS (2013) in 2012, the accommodation sector employed 5,385 people. The islands of Sal and Boa Vista have with more people employed in the accommodation sector, in other words, 74 in every 100 people that work in this sector do so on these two islands (NIS, 2013). Given the considerable value of tourism and its benefits to local communities, our study aimed to evaluate the community's perception of tourism as a tool for sustainable community development.

The data were collected through a self-administered questionnaire with 418 residents on the islands of Sal and Boa Vista, between August and September 2012. The indicators used to measure residents' perceptions of tourism and socio-economic development were adapted from previous studies on tourism impacts (Choi and Sirakaya, 2005; Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004) and residents' dependence on the tourism sector (Milman and Pizam, 1988). The survey questions referred to the extent of agreement and disagreement (on a five-point Likert scale) of respondents on a number of statements related to tourism impacts. Four items with dichotomous variables measured residents' dependence on tourism. Some socio-demographic variables were also included in the questionnaire to profile the sample of respondents.

Research data showed that 49.9 per cent of respondents' livelihood was earned through tourism, 56.5 per cent of residents had direct contact with tourists as part of their job, 23.9 per cent owned a business related to tourism; 44.4 per cent of respondents claimed that tourism was the main resource of income in their household, and 66.6 per cent had one or more members of family involved in tourism as a source of income or employment. However, as Mitchell (2012) points out, although the tourism sector generates employment for 37,000 workers in the country, which represents 27 per cent of the Cape Verdean labour force, realistically, the multiplier effects remains weak, with the sector making barely any impact on direct job creation.

Paajanen (1998) reported that the level of indirect employment depends on the interrelationship between the various sectors of the economy. Thus in a small and weak economy like Cape Verde, only few inter-industry linkages exist, as tourism heavily relies on imported goods and services, producing limited indirect effects. Although nobody would question the value of tourism employment in alleviating poverty in Cape Verde, the economy needs more jobs that are decently paid. According to NIS (2014a) in 2012, tourism was responsible for 16 per cent of total employment in Cape Verde. However, in the hotel and restaurant sector the employment is precarious and low paid. About 33.5 per cent of workers did not have a formal contract, 38.8 per cent had a fixed-term contract (NIS, 2014a) and there is a widespread perception that the hotel wages are exploitative and that foreign-owned hotels pay staff particularly badly (Mitchell, 2012). The same authors point out that there is no evidence that locally owned establishments paid workers a living wage.

Despite tourism providing better opportunities for women's involvement, entrepreneurship and leadership than other sectors, the tourism job market is affected by gender inequalities. For example, in the hotel and restaurant sector, 61 per cent of workers are female and 31 per cent male (NIS, 2014b), but these women are, in general, subject to poor conditions of employment such as low pay, long working hours and more precarious contracts, and typically earn 10 per cent to 15 per cent less than their male counterparts (Costa *et al.*, 2011). Notwitstanding tourism being a feminised sector, men hold most managerial positions and are better paid. This study did not confirm these trends, but showed that, generally speaking, men's level of involvement in tourism is higher than women's. In the two islands surveyed, of the total percentage of individuals who earn a living from tourism, 54.7 per cent are men and 44.3 per cent are women, and 25.2 per cent of men and 22.3 per cent of women run a tourism-related business. The study highlighted that tourism enabled community members to own small family-run businesses, often relying on a higher proportion of local labour compared to larger businesses.

Data also showed that residents generally scored high on the value of tourism in terms of: job creation for local people, generation of new income to the community; general economic contribution; the provision of substantial tax revenues for the local government; diversification of the local economy; and the potential creation of new markets and benefits for other industries. Overall, residents showed positive attitudes towards the socio-economic impacts of tourism, especially those who experience socio-economic impacts directly, being exposed directly to the sector, as they were more aware of and more likely to recognise the benefits of tourism (Haralambopoulos and Pizam, 1996; Ribeiro *et al.*, 2013; Vargas-Sánches et. al., 2011; Weaver and Lawton, 2001). In fact, data also showed that those who work in tourism and are in contact with tourists are more inclined to support tourism development (Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004; Ribeiro *et al.*, 2013).

Although it is recognised that the growth of tourism in Cape Verde has been a blessing for many of its residents, the generation of employment remains insufficient to justify referring to tourism as a tool for development. The generation of income, the improvement of infrastructure, and the preservation of the environment and of local culture are also among the well-debated benefits of tourism, but until tourism leads to an improvement of the living conditions for local residents, development will yet remain a wishful assumption.

Concluding remarks

The development of tourism offers significant opportunities for SSA, fostering growth and development in the region. This chapter has explored the many weaknesses and strengths SSA has to build upon. However, the analysis also shows that a number of obstacles remain to improving the region's competitiveness, which can be tackled notably by improving the business environment, access, safety and security, health and hygiene levels, further developing infrastructure, consolidating and diversifying the tourism product and fostering the region's human capital and gender balance.

The chapters that follow draw upon the author's own experience and understanding of a number of aspects associated with tourism and development in SSA. They provide an overview of selected issues, which are of clear significance to SSA tourism and the development goals associated with the sector. Each chapter offers critical reflection on specific selected themes, and is enriched with a number of case studies written by African academics and practitioners – 'local voices' on local realities. Specifically Chapter 2, 'Knowledge, the skills gap and capacity building in tourism', offers an overview of the sector's state of the art in terms of critical knowledge, skills and capacity gaps within the SSA context. By using a set of specific examples, this chapter provides an assessment of emerging knowledge and skills required to realise the full social, economic and cultural potential of what a vibrant and competitive tourism sector might look like in the future. Three case studies authored by local experts offer additional food for thought. Chapter 3, 'Critical issues in community-based tourism', draws on selected CBT literature and provides some critical reflection upon its practical implementation in SSA. Challenges and opportunities associated with CBT, are supported by empirically grounded observations that have occurred during my ten years' research and consultancy work in a number of SSA peripheral rural areas. Findings are corroborated by five cases studies authored by local experts. Chapter 4, 'Tourism and development in post-conflict "situations of fragility"', explores the role of tourism in post-conflict societies and the challenges associated with tourism development in 'situations of fragility' (also referred to as 'fragile states') of those countries emerging from civil unrest and war. The OECD's ten principles for international engagement in fragile states provides a framing set to assess the state of the art, and sets out some of the challenges for tourism to enable it to succeed in some of the world's poorest fragile states, with specific reference to the three destinations of Rwanda, Burundi, and Sierra Leone. Three case studies authored by local experts provide further reflections on experiences form these three locations. Chapter 5, 'Diaspora, tourism and development', explores the development potential and, to some extent, the complexities associated with forms of tourism involving members of the diaspora and their ancestral homeland. It also looks at the potential of diaspora tourism to contribute to development, with the African diaspora operating as possible change makers, investors, philanthropists and consumers.

My own research and one case study authored by a local expert, highlight the importance of maintaining diaspora heritage sites to better tap into the regional and international diaspora tourism markets. Chapter 6, 'Travel philanthropy: looking beyond "volunteer tourism"', draws upon the literature concerned with travel philanthropy, considered by many as 'the act of doing good while travelling'. This is a growing practice, which expands on the philosophical stance of socially oriented forms of tourism and builds upon popular practices of CBT, PPT and ecotourism. Centred on evidence from the Peer2Peer (P2P) and the Football4Peace International (F4P) capacity-building initiatives, in addition to two case studies authored by local experts, this chapter aims to contribute to the critical debate on travel philanthropy spanning beyond the known sphere of volunteer tourism. Chapter 7, 'Current issues in niche tourism', draws upon ten years of research in the field of niche tourism and the sector's current trends in SSA. Drawing on examples from the field, it discusses authenticity and inclusive growth in the context of niche tourism. A collection of five case studies authored by local experts provides empirically grounded evidence on aspects associated with niche tourism in the region. The volume concludes with Chapter 8, 'What future for sub-Sahara Africa's tourism?', by reflecting on the claims that, although without difficulties, tourism has the potential to contribute directly and indirectly to future development in SSA, which has been shown throughout this volume. The chapter addresses issues of policy, implementation and the complex transition from intervention to sustainability, with specific reference made to the role of the private sector and the political economy of tourism and its ability to affect change leading to sustainable improvements.

Notes

1 These statistics should be read with caution as they are based on limited and volatile data sets.
2 This case study provides adapted abstracts from Snyman (2012a).

2 Knowledge, skills gap and capacity building in tourism

Introduction

The development of tourism offers significant opportunities for SSA to move up the value chain, fostering growth and development in the region and building upon many advantages, such as price competitiveness, a strong affinity for tourism and rich natural resources. However, as discussed in Chapter 1, evidence shows that a number of obstacles remain to improving the region's competitiveness, notably improving safety and security, upgrading health and hygiene levels, developing various forms of infrastructure and fostering the region's human capital (World Economic Forum *et al.*, 2011: XV). The last is what this chapter focuses on.

The potential for tourism to be a primary vehicle for job creation, economic regeneration and sustainable development is a well-traversed argument (Christie *et al.*, 2013; De Kadt, 1979; UNWTO, 2010; World Bank, 2011a). However, despite claims about its size – 'one of the world's largest industries, supporting 260 million jobs and generating 9 per cent of world GDP' (WTTC, 2014:1) – and its socio-economic value, tourism remains, with a few exceptions, underestimated by governments, politicians and policymakers (OECD, 2014a). To some extent, tourism is still misunderstood and underfunded by national governments and international development agencies and often left to the initiative of the private sector. In many circumstances, the private sector's response to the promising potential of tourism has consisted of a naïve race towards building accommodation establishments in anticipation of the favourable business environment that the implementation of Tourism Development Master Plans would bring. However, the complex, multidisciplinary nature of tourism, as well as the multidimensional barriers that prevent its sustainable growth remain strongly linked to the inconsistent levels of knowledge, skills and capacity of those who are directly or indirectly involved in the sector.

Addressing training needs through adequate capacity-building and workforce development actions that aim to primarily increase core technical and entrepreneurial skills will help to achieve the full social, economic and cultural potential of the tourism sector and set it on the right path to ensure its maximum contribution to economic growth, national development and competitive destinations on the continent. This chapter draws upon literature available on the subject, the authors' own experiences and understanding of the sector's state of play in terms of human capital, skills and capacity gaps within the SSA context and three case studies, authored by local experts, offering further reflections on the role of the private sector in facilitating capacity building in ecotourism, the opportunities associated with innovative eLearning platforms and the importance of academic productivity in shaping an adequate African academic environment.

Human capital, skills gap and capacity building

In tourism studies, there is plethora of literature on the concept of human capital paired with an increasing number of studies addressing the issue of the skills gap and the concept of capacity building, which is widely acknowledged as an important tourism development strategy (Aref and Redzuan, 2009; Bonifaz *et al.*, 2010; Liu and Wall, 2006; Moscardo, 2008; Spenceley and Rozga, 2007).

Human capital can be defined as the set of competences, knowledge and personality attributes, gained through education and experience, that enable an individual to perform a job and that can give economic value to the community through workforce development and capacity building. Workforce development remains the most important tourism policy interventions for governments, as ultimately, the sector rests on the capacity of its people to support it with their knowledge and skills. As a holistic concept, workforce development includes: coordination of public and private sector policies, plans and programmes; human resources management; capacity building to align current and future needs with demands; organisational performance and accountability (Hawkins *et al.*, 2010).

Tourism is made of interconnected subsectors, such as lodging, catering, transportation, attractions and entertainment, which provide the essence of tourists' experiences (Esu, 2012). The delivery of quality products and services is a reflection of the quality of the sector's human capital (Inyang and Esu, 2008) – the 'people' – which is a fundamental component of service delivery, as these people are the key players in what is known as the service encounter.

According to Hawkins *et al.* (2010), in order to address the sector's human capital shortfalls, a workforce development system, consisting of a network of stakeholders including employers, policymakers, educators, and workers, should provide the skills, knowledge and know-how required by personnel at all levels to deliver quality services. This is because:

> [w]orkforce development leads to stronger economic growth, increased productivity, and expanded employment opportunities by preparing new entrants to the workforce, bringing new skills to the existing workforce, and supporting entrepreneurship.
>
> Hawkins *et al.* (2010:5)

Hawkins *et al.* (2010:6) highlight that a workforce development system can be conceived at a national, regional or sector-specific level. It should ideally adopt a partnership approach in creating competitive clusters to ensure that the necessary skills are developed to meet job requirements and respond to changes in the tourism market place, and 'should be considered as an investment, not simply as a cost'. In addition to this, Doswell (2000) and more recently Christie *et al.* (2013) emphasise the importance of training at every level of the tourism value chain, from community-based projects to large chain-operated enterprises. Linked to this is the 'concept of community capacity building[, which] is regarded as the ability of people and communities to do works associated with the determinant factors and indicators of the circumstances of socio-economic and environmental contexts' (Aref and Redzuan, 2009:21). Building the capacity of communities to effectively address problematic issues and planning for tourism development are necessary ingredients for success. Capacity-building programmes help to improve local abilities to participate in the tourism decision-making processes and deliver better, locally grounded results.

Similarly, Carlisle *et al.* (2012) highlight the necessity of innovation and entrepreneurship training, in order to expand the capacity of small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and reduce poverty. To this end, they point to the need for support from government, NGOs and the private sector. As highlighted by Holden and Novelli (2011:233):

> [E]ach sector has a role to play in the fight against poverty and tourism is undoubtedly one that can make a valuable contribution. While the private sector's role is to provide jobs for the poor and to develop creative business models that enable the poor to produce and sell their products, government's role, besides providing basic public services to the poor and protecting the poor from exploitation, is to facilitate job creation by nurturing development of . . . SMEs, developing capacity building programs that enhance the employability of the poor, and improving labor markets by facilitating the inclusion of the poor within their strategic vision. Equally, civil societies should serve as a catalyst, supervisory body and advocate institutions to ensure that business and government fulfil their roles.

Christie *et al.*'s (2013:22–6) 'ten justifications for tourism' clearly list two in particular that are strictly related to the importance of the sector to employment. While they note that '[t]ourism creates many good jobs', they highlight that '[t]ourism empowers women, young people, and marginalised populations', with Africa accounting for the 31 per cent of women employed in hotels and restaurants, compared to 21 per cent in other sectors, and young people also gaining productive employment from tourism, which provides 'an alternative to outmigration, urban poverty and armed conflict'.

> In today's globalized world, no country can thrive without a capacity to generate, transmit, and utilize new knowledge. Put differently, today's globalized economy requires countries to nurture pools of well-educated workers.
>
> World Economic Forum *et al.* (2011:xiv)

In tourism, the need for a well-trained workforce capable of delivering a quality experience to domestic, regional and international visitors is fundamental. As in any other sector, successful tourism is essentially about people, how they are educated and trained, how they are recruited and managed, how they are motivated, rewarded and supported through their career development. As highlighted in a study by Bonifaz *et al.* (2010), one of the key challenges is that typically, over the past twenty years, tourism and hospitality training and technical skills development have been left – with only few exceptions – into the hands of inadequate 'hotel' schools of often dubious quality that focus mainly on basic technical skills (i.e. waitressing, housekeeping, front office, food hygiene and basic cooking), forgetting about a number of other essential aspects of the sector (see Table 2.1).

> All jobs in tourism require the mastery of specific skills. In tourism, as in other areas of workforce, such skills can be classified as core or entry-level skills, technical and management skills, and entrepreneurship skills.
>
> Bonifaz *et al.* (2010:8)

Table 2.2 describes these skills in detail. However, skills training is not to be considered in isolation, as issues associated with the quality of some tourism jobs impinging on employees' human rights are still problematic and hinder workforce development and progress. Fairer treatment, better dialogue and negotiations between employers and employees, respect for indigenous communities' rights, formal contractual conditions, and policies and guidelines to ensure worker safety and health, remain yet to be achieved in most SSA destinations, making the nature of tourism work *terra incognita* (Rogerson, 2012a:38).

Tourism workforce and capacity building in Sub-Saharan Africa

One in twenty jobs in SSA are in tourism and as the sector grows, its job creation and income-generating potential rise exponentially. In 2011, *The Africa Competitiveness Report* claimed that '[a] USD 250,000 investment in the tourism sector generates 182 full-time formal jobs. This is nearly 40 per cent more than the same investment in agriculture and over 50 per cent more than in mining' (World Economic Forum *et al.*, 2011: XV). At the same time, in comparison to other sectors, tourism is well placed in terms of opportunities for entrepreneurship and SME development, career advancement, and lifelong learning potential (Christie *et al.*, 2013).

Generally speaking, apart from few pockets of excellence, an inconsistent level of professionalism affects SSA's tourism workforce, which is largely caused by a shortage of vocationally trained human capital and management capacity in the tourism industry (Spenceley and Rozga, 2007). In SSA, the need for strengthening tourism training is widely recognised by both the private and the public sectors and while the 'top three reasons for undertaking tourism training [are] to increase efficiency; improve performance; and to become more professional', the most frequently cited challenges with training remain: a scarcity of local trainers; no training follow-up; and insufficient financial resources (Spenceley and Rozga, 2007:8). This is of particular relevance when thinking about how to develop a tourism workforce that is able to fit within a multifaceted working environment and transfer the required knowledge and skills to such a wide set of public and private stakeholders who require a vast array of skills, such as strategic planning, management, service operations and entrepreneurship.

The struggle with destination planning, development and management is evident in many SSA locations. In regard to this, Omotayo Brown (1998) expresses concerns about the involvement of multinational tourism corporations (MTCs) in SSA. MTCs have operated inefficiently, putting a considerable burden on government resources. Despite MTCs being 'not best equipped to handle many of the tasks in tourism planning and development process in Africa', they have been left with the complex task of initiating tourism in several SSA destinations. Omotayo Brown (1998:244) inadvertently highlights a misunderstanding of the role of MTCs, as being responsible for the planning and development of tourism, something that should be the remit of government and not the private sector. He further raises the issue of the dominance of MTCs in shaping tourism to suit their own needs rather than the needs of the host country. This has been for years linked to local public sector stakeholders' inability to negotiate what is best for their locality, worsened by their country's economic dependency on the FDI of MTCs. National governments have long struggled in coming to terms with the fact that tourism is a sector that requires long-term strategic planning, considerable investment and skills development.

For decades, skills training has been left to the initiative of a few private sector players, with an inconsistent level of success. For instance, Snyman (2014) raises the issue of rural communities in SSA being largely characterised by high unemployment and poverty, low skills and a heavy reliance on natural resources, prominent problems that are common to several other urban and seaside locations throughout the region. In her Case Study (2.1), discussed later, she offers some reflection on the role of the ecotourism private sector in facilitating the socio-economic development and capacity-building practices employed by Wilderness Safaris across seven southern African countries (Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, the Seychelles, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe).

Table 2.1 Pathways to careers in the tourism sector

Tourism subsectors							
Policy, planning and development	*Technical and Vocational/ Higher Education*	*Tourist attractions*	*Tour guiding*	*Tour operations*	*Tourist information services*	*Travel retail*	*Meetings, events and conferences*
Job roles/career progress							
Executive director Director general Senior partner	Director Head of school Professor	Senior manager	Tour guides Owner operator	Senior manager	Regional/ area tourism manager	Senior manager	Project manager
Director Senior manager	Principal lecturer Assistant professor	Manager of operations, sales, marketing, public relations	Tour manager Lead guide Group coordinator Specialist guides (ecotourism/ cultural)	Manager of product sales, marketing or public relations Reservations Operations	Manager of information centres sales, marketing, public relations or strategic planning	Manager of small travel agency/branch Travel administration Marketing	Conference manager

Principal advisor	Senior lecturer Senior research fellow	Supervisor in operations, marketing or public relations	Specialist site guide Tour guide Diver guide	Supervisor in product sales, marketing or public relations Operations	Supervisor in tourism information research sales, marketing, public relations or strategic planning	Supervisor in retail travel and/or corporate (international and/or Australian)	Conference coordinator
Senior advisor Market analyst Senior consultant	Lecturer Research fellow Skills development advisor	Group coordinator	Site guide Meet-and-greet guide	Group tour coordinator	Senior tourism information officer	Senior travel consultant (international and/or Australian)	Conference assistant
Advisor Research officer Junior consultant	Research officer Skills development advisor	Sales reservation agent Guest service coordinator		Sales or reservation agent	Travel advisor	International travel consultant	Hospitality and travel operations (e.g. functions, reservations and group travel)
Admin assistant	Admin assistant	Attractions Attendant, ticket sales		Australian travel consultant Travel sales assistant/clerk			

Source: adapted from Bonifaz *et al.*, 2010.

Table 2.2 Skills required in tourism

Skills	*Description*
Core skills or entry skills	Core skills are not necessarily tied to a specific job; instead, they are broad in nature, allowing personnel to apply them to almost any tourism job. The following core skills have been identified as essential for succeeding in tourism: basic literacy and numeracy; employability skills (attendance and punctuality, working in teams, following directions, time management); communication (speaking, writing, listening); problem solving; vocational/technical; technology (ICT); life skills (self-esteem, grooming, career planning); foreign languages; customer services skills (courteous and friendly conduct); and creativity and innovation skills.
Technical and management skills	As opposed to core skills, technical skills are directly connected to a specific job or occupation. They can include skills that are needed to implement frontline tourism industry service jobs, such as bartender, cook, housekeeper, etc.; skills necessary to implement management and technical support jobs, such as accountant, restaurant manager and IT specialist; and skills needed to support jobs that focus on the environmental aspects of tourism, such as ranger, marine biologist and interpretive guide. Government agencies in many countries have established skill standards for specific jobs in the tourism industry. These standards serve as a framework for providing vocational competency-based training and assessing student performance.
Entrepreneurship skills	The opportunity for entrepreneurship is another important factor that needs to be analysed in assessing the demand for workers in the tourism sector. Entrepreneurship is often an important mechanism for engaging youth in tourism. Enterprising youth, with some basic training and perhaps access to microcredit, are likely to engage in tourism entrepreneurial activities, such as food enterprises; small-scale transport (bicycles, horses, motorboats); entertainment (dancers, musicians, singers); vendors (craft, jewellery, bags); etc. A well-designed tourism workforce assessment will identify both current and promising entrepreneurship opportunities for youth, as well as the resources (training, credit, etc.) needed by youth to pursue such opportunities.

Source: adapted from Bonifaz *et al*., 2010:8.

Furthermore, as Christie *et al.* (2013:68) point out:

> [t]ourism ministries in SSA frequently lack the know-how and leadership to implement effective training plans. In addition, disconnections often exist between tourism school curricula and the skills needed by tourism businesses. As a result, the level of service, even in developed destinations, is often inadequate.

For instance, in a mature destination like The Gambia, the combination of years of local inertia, inadequate governance and coordination and inconsistent cooperation between private and public stakeholders has led the sector to suffer from a prolonged poor level of strategic planning, ineffective skills training, lack of attention to staff's career aspirations and opportunities for progress worsen because of the dominance of foreign hotel ownership. Weak 'administrative framework' and 'chronic underfunding of tourism' (Thompson *et al.*, 1995:576) have for years been a problem. Only recently the situation has improved through the increased capacity of Gambian nationals to manage hospitality establishments and collaboration between public and private stakeholders such as local governing authorities (i.e. the Ministry of Tourism and Culture, the Gambia Tourism Board), sector associations (i.e. the Gambia Hotel Association and the Association of Small-scale Enterprises in Tourism), the private sector at large, and donor agencies like the World Bank.

Tourism, as a service sector, ultimately requires adequate management of the service encounter. Looking at the Nigerian context, Esu (2012) highlights its importance, as good service is undoubtedly what leads to satisfied customers, repeat visitors and loyal customers. He continues, by reflecting on the widespread lack of tourism professionalism at all levels and in particular by management in both the public and private sectors. This still remains among the major hindering factors in achieving the expected socio-economic benefits in several SSA destinations.

In addition to this and drawing on evidence gathered in nine SSA countries (Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, and Zambia), Spenceley and Rozga (2007:9) highlight the multifaceted nature of tourism: the 'tourism industry is not a single distinct sector, but rather an amalgamation of sectors and industries'. The training market needs, therefore, to be segmented into four distinct classifications: *vocational skills*, *public sector skills*, *SME management skills and professional/executive skills*. Table 2.3 provides a general summary of current training needs, supply, demand, and general market characteristics taking into account findings by Spenceley and Rozga (2007), Burns and Novelli (2012) and further issues emerging from research conducted in Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda.

In a study on leisure, tourism and hospitality education in Africa (Burns and Novelli, 2011), knowledge and skills gaps are assessed and classified according to the needs of the private business/NGO sector and public sector requirements (see Table 2.4), and while recognising the limitations of their study linked to poor availability of data, their work provides some valuable reflections on the availability and type of: graduate programmes; executive development and professional development programmes; doctoral programmes; and the modality of delivery of these programmes.

The main message emerging from the above points is that in SSA the industry has long experienced a shortage of trained manpower at all levels, an inadequate supply of training and teaching staff, a low priority given to

Table 2.3 An assessment of African training markets

Training needs	*Current training supply*	*Training demand*	*Market characteristics*
		Skills	
		Vocational skills	
• Skills needed for basic entry-level positions in the tourism industry. • The skills needed include: tour guiding, front desk, reception, maintenance, housekeeping, food service, food preparation, bar keeping, etc.	• Hotel schools • On-the-job training • NGOs and voluntary sector (especially in post-conflict destinations)	• Pressing demand for programme upgrading to international standards. • Need for realignment with industry needs. • Vocational skills development needs to be addressed at a basic education level (i.e. secondary school, technical colleges).	• More train-the-trainer courses, which effectively train people to become 'vocational skills trainers'. • Numerous independent vocational skills schools, not always reflecting adequate quality standards (i.e. Gambia, Kenya). • National Vocational Training Accreditation Bodies should closely monitor the flourishing of technical colleges.
		Public sector	
• Skills needed by employees who work for public entities, parastatal entities or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) related to tourism – e.g. ministries of tourism, tourism boards, conservation (i.e. environmental) and preservation (i.e. historical and cultural) NGOs, wildlife	• Mostly acquired abroad with few exceptions in Kenya and South Africa. • Reliance upon outside experts and consultants to provide the necessary framework and strategies, resulting in fragmentation of ideas and strategic thinking.	• Pressing need for programmes in tourism planning and policy, destination and attractions management and marketing. • Skill sets and knowledge often limited so that public sector cannot make effective use of technical information provided by consultants.	• Conflict between management demand for specialised skills and junior civil servants who want a broader educational opportunities to advance their careers. • Latent demand of most strategic institutions to obtain technical and professional skills that deliver better tourism.

reserves, national parks and local and regional government offices. • The skills needed include: destination planning (product development and regulatory phases of tourism development) and destination management (marketing, fee structure and collection, and maintenance).		• Need for short evening courses, weekend courses or extension courses (1–6 weeks).	
		SME management	
• Skills needed by owners and managers of any private sector tourism enterprise that is small in scale or in number of employees. • The skills needed to run a small tourism business include: financial management, operations management, human resources management and sales and marketing management.	• Very limited formal training. Most are self-taught or learned on the job. • Often run by absent owners who may link better qualifications with the need to pay higher salaries. • SME training integrated with localised NGO projects. • Donor-funded tourism workshops for SMEs, with a growing number in tourism (i.e. ecotourism, marketing/market access, and customer service).	• Considered difficult to identify and reach potential clients. • Particular skills specific to tourism SMEs, which would improve performance and efficiency, leading to upgraded standards more appropriate to increasingly international markets.	• African tourism comprised mostly of SMEs. • There is a disjuncture between the obvious need for SME training and incentivising SMEs to invest in them. • SMEs tend to have time and financial resources: courses should be short, highly targeted and practical in content. • The best delivery mechanism seems to be short, sharp, intensive courses.

continued . . .

Table 2.3 Continued

Training needs	*Current training supply*	*Training demand*	*Market characteristics*
	Skills		
	Management/executive		
• Skills required by upper and middle management employees in large corporations or medium size enterprises. Due to the nature of the industry (and excluding public sector enterprises) these fall into two sectors of the industry: hospitality and transport. • The skills needed include: hotel management, food and beverage management, financial management, operation management, human resources management on a larger scale than SMEs.	• With few exceptions (Kenya and South Africa) hospitality training is synonymous with tourism. • Present training does not meet expectations of the market. • Graduates often insufficiently prepared for supervisory or middle management roles. • Many international hotel chains (e.g. Accor, Hilton, Southern Sun, Legacy) have in-house management training programmes. • Some donor interest in establishing international quality hospitality management schools.	• Need for management and executive training based on practical rather than theoretical courses. • Importance of internships (i.e. in hotels and attractions where students gain exposure to multiple positions and departments). • Tailor-made programmes to fit specific needs.	• In-house management training programmes. • Propensity for other large operators (e.g. international chains) to seek tailor-made training programmes (e.g. in Kenya, Rwanda, Senegal, Nigeria, Ghana, and Namibia). • Expansion in Africa for larger and international chains predicated on availability of human resources. • Desire for career progression within the industry, best enabled through an effective set of tailored management/executive programmes.

Source: adapted from Spenceley and Rozga, 2007; Burns and Novelli, 2012.

tourism education and training by public and private sector alike, negative attitudes of employers towards tourism education and its validity as a career-focused sector, in many cases a scenario that is also worsened by inadequate leadership guiding the evolution of the sector.

Table 2.4 Skills and knowledge gaps

Private businesses/NGO sector	*Public sector*
• Leadership, business planning and development (including negotiating and bidding for funding) • Business innovation (including developing environmentally sensitive products) • Working successfully with communities and local stakeholders • Generic management skills of accounting, delegation, HRD, etc. • Effective recruitment and training of all levels of skilled and managerial employees without resorting to staff poaching • Greening the supply chain and sustainable business practices (including local food sourcing as well as water and waste) management • Effective use of IT in adding value to businesses • Effective customer service and relations • Strategic business planning • Project management • Understanding the full meaning and potential of tourism as a business opportunity and social phenomenon • Entrepreneurship • Business ethics	• Leadership and governance (including negotiation and lobbying) • Business planning and development (including negotiating and bidding for funding) • The complete field of tourism policy and planning, (including land zoning and management) • Maximising tourism's contribution to social and economic development • Managing social, environmental, and development impacts • Building consensus with industry, NGO sector, and educational/ research stakeholders • Managing air access and 'freedom of the skies' • Using tourism as a pillar of conservation • Understanding tourism as a pillar of poverty alleviation and rural development • Understanding the cost of non-participation in tourism and inter-ministerial communication about the value of cooperation across government departments • Valuing the SME and NGO sector involvement in tourism • Understanding how heritage and culture can be used as assets in kick starting rural development through tourism • Determining the effective use of donor aid • Determining best practice in negotiating with large TNCs including airlines and international tour operators

Source: adapted from Burns and Novelli, 2011.

Addressing the vocational skills gap in SSA

In SSA, addressing the vocational skills gap has been for years a specific focus of a number of cooperation initiatives between international development organisations (IDOs), national governments and NGOs. More recently, the specific focus on addressing the vocational skills gap in tourism and hospitality has emerged either from the growth of the sector in those destinations where tourism already has a visible presence (i.e. The Gambia, Kenya, Seychelles) or from the introduction of tourism as an additional priority area in national governments' development strategies, for instance in countries with potential (i.e. Cameroon, Mozambique, Nigeria, Burundi and Sierra Leone). Indeed, over the past five years, tourism ministries and boards, hotel associations, tour operators, small business associations and community-based organisations appear to have joined forces, more or less reflecting the pressing needs for human resource development in the sector, with examples of collaborative actions between public, private and donor agencies across SSA.

For example, in The Gambia, tourism training has for years been characterised by the existence of an oversupply and uncoordinated provision of inadequate tourism training across the public and private sectors. More recently, the government of The Gambia (GoG) has been engaging in a number of activities in line with its commitment to poverty reduction by undertaking a Growth and Competitive Project (GCP), supported by the International Development Association (IDA). This project has been directly implementing the second pillar of the poverty reduction strategy by promoting pro-poor growth and employment through private sector development, also in line with the IDA and African Development Bank's Joint Assistance Strategy, which aims to strengthen economic management and public service delivery; to enhance productive capacity and to accelerate growth and competitiveness. The overall objective of the GCP is to improve the investment climate and strengthen the competitiveness of the key tourism and hospitality sectors, in connection with the *2007 Gambia Tourism Master Plan*'s general recommendations and in particular on its focus on the Gambia Hotel School (GHS) to be reconfigured and updated to become a National Tourism Training Institute. This sub-component of the GCP became the focus of a World Bank-funded study conducted by Novelli and Burns (2009:7), with the following overall objectives:

- to establish a public–private partnership that is industry-led and privately managed and providing demand-driven skills for a cross-section of the tourism industry cluster;
- to respond to one of the most pressing needs of the tourism industry in The Gambia, which is low productivity due to the shortage of skilled workers and the impact of seasonality;
- to train the current workforce to enhance worker productivity through post-employment skills development programmes and provide pre-employment training to establish a pool of skilled workers as an added incentive to attract new investments.

Novelli and Burns (2009: 12) raised concerns over the fact that at the time of their research in The Gambia, approximately eight hundred students were ‘undergoing training in hospitality and tourism through private and public sector provision . . . In a country that receives only c. 150,000 visitors per year with limited resources and an unclear understanding of tourism training, education and industry requirements’, this was a situation that would not contribute to the sustainable development of tourism, as the adopted *ad hoc* approach to capacity building in the tourism sector had resulted in training provision that did not deliver an appropriately trained workforce. The need to improve Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) delivery to improve service offerings in existing tourism businesses was paired with the need to ensure that an adequate supply of trained personnel was available to meet future industry growth, something that the current GTHI is attempting, but still struggling to address.

Novelli and Burns’ (2009:11) study also found that the National Training Authority in Gambia (NTA) had completed an assessment and certification of fifty-two public and private vocational education institutions delivering hospitality and tourism programmes. The patchwork of inadequate educational provision, with the exception of only one private institution (the Institute of Travel and Tourism of The Gambia, or ITTG), and questionable NTA accreditation procedures and outcomes, led to the belief that the system used by the NTA in accrediting and certifying institutions was ineffective. Similarly, Mayaka and Akama (2007:301) pointed to the existence of ‘over 200 training institutions situated in different parts of [Kenya] that offer tourism training’, which showed a number of deficiencies, worsened by the fact that the curricula were not standardised, thereby affecting the quality of national vocational tourism education.

For instance, to date, among the numerous private providers in the Gambia, ITTOG is the only institution that is delivering (although not without difficulty) adequate and structured training in travel and tourism, accredited and supported by credible overseas institutions. Novelli and Burns’ (2009, 2011) research led to a set of education and training policy recommendations that influenced the Spanish Government’s decision to fund the GTHI. The funds were allocated with the aim of creating a national centre of excellence for tourism and hospitality education. A feasibility assessment (Novelli and Burns, 2009) and business plan (Novelli and Burns, 2011) were delivered to direct policy, later implemented through the Gambia Tourism and Hospitality Institute Bill, which sought to create an enabling environment for Gambians to study up to Higher National Diploma level in travel, tourism and hospitality. Drawing upon the studies’ recommendations, the GTHI was inaugurated in 2013 after an investment of EUR 2.7 million, aimed at training an average of two hundred school leavers per year and upgrading the professional training of the 30,000 workers in tourism and hospitality, a sector that contributes 16 per cent of the national GDP. In spite of the progress achieved through the creation of a new and better equipped GTHI, at the time of writing it was still struggling with a number of substantial sustainability challenges associated with inadequate leadership, a limited number of local TVET trained staff, over recruitment a general lack of funding and dependence on external aid.

Among the many other examples of capacity-building initiatives, it is worth mentioning the one funded by UNESCO in Nigeria, which led to a new national curriculum for leisure, tourism and hospitality workforce training. As part of a larger project aimed at revitalising Nigeria's TVET, in collaboration with the Nigeria Board of Technical Education (NBTE), a new Leisure, Tourism and Hospitality Curriculum Review was devised in 2004, replacing the previous redundant one, which dated back to colonial times, and a train-the-trainers/capacity-building programme was delivered in 2009. New industry and employment-centred leisure, tourism and hospitality teaching materials were co-produced in a collaborative workshop involving international and local academics from Kaduna University. Although not a perfect example of what a tourism and hospitality curricula should be about, parts of it have informed the review of other West African tourism and hospitality curricula and it has been used to improve the obsolete content of other curricula across the region.

The collaboration of UNEP, the Global Environmental Facility (GEF), UNIDO and UNWTO led to the development of the COAST initiative targeting the sub-Saharan coastline. SSA contains thirty-two coastal states, and unsustainable tourism practices have already led to irreparable damage to fragile ecosystems and significant economic losses. Collaborative research between international and local experts into nine COAST Demonstrator Projects – in Cameroon, The Gambia, Senegal, Ghana, Nigeria, Mozambique, Kenya, Tanzania and the Seychelles – led to the identification of 'best available practices/technologies' as well as training needs and government guidelines for ecotourism development in the selected demonstration sites. Targeted training and local initiatives later emerged addressing wider issues related to workforce development, a local ability to contribute to the decision-making process, and the enhancement of local livelihood opportunities through the development of responsible tourism initiatives. For example, through this collaborative initiative, it was reported that:

> stakeholders from the village of Kartong [The Gambia] were enabled to articulate their vision for tourism development in their village increasing their confidence in the future of their village, and, having far reaching social and economic benefits within the wider community.
>
> G. Mitchell, personal communication (2013)

Another initiative worthy of attention is the Commonwealth Secretariat-funded customer service train-the-trainers/capacity-building project aimed at supporting the NTB in implementing the 2011 'Tourism Human Resources Strategy for Namibia'. In 2013, four train-the-trainers programmes involving sixty Namibian tourism stakeholders became NTB-accredited trainers. As part of its drive to enhance Namibia's image, the NTB commissioned further customer services capacity building in the form of a targeted capacity-building customer service training programme for tourism and shuttle operators and immigration officials in preparation for the Adventure Travel World Summit (ATWS), which was successfully hosted by the NTB in October 2013, with over 650 delegates receiving the required level of service.

Although the value of these initiatives is recognised, an *ad hoc* approach to the development of capacity in the tourism industry has resulted in patchy training provision, which has often not delivered an appropriately trained workforce. In addition to the need to improve service levels in existing tourism businesses, there is also a need to ensure that there is an adequate supply of trained personnel available to meet future industry growth. Failure to do so increases the cost of tourism investment in many other SSA destinations due to the additional training costs that must be borne by investors and may impact on the growth of the industry, as a serious constraint on its future.

Doswell (2000) reflects on a diverse set of problematic issues associated with the state of human resource development in SSA. On one side, the existence of training institutions, the identification of training needs, the private sector's in-house support and attempts to establish a national training plan, to name just a few, may appear as positive steps forward. On the other side, the apparent general lack of confidence of the private sector in public sector initiatives, the limited links between the sector's needs and curriculum design/delivery, the often inadequately prepared trainers and the passive way of dealing with donors, hinder any opportunity to communicate effectively the real need of a destination still remain among the most problematic issues in SSA.

The need to increase tourism skills among the local population is a key ingredient in combating inequality (and ultimately poverty) at all levels. Although improving skills in the region has often proved challenging, there is evidence that using innovative methods such as eLearning platforms has proved to be an innovative and effective way to share knowledge and build capacity in the region (as discussed in Case Study 2.2). Of equal importance remains the level of scholarship and intellectual engagement of those involved in training others, which is the focus of Case Study 2.3, where the author calls upon a 'cross-pollination of ideas between Africa-based scholars and their international counterparts, to increase local academic capacity and standards', and eventually be better placed to provide advice in their local SSA context.

During my work with a number of local stakeholders involved at different levels of the tourism decision-making process, anecdotal evidence shows that generally, with only few exceptions, decision makers feel as if they have been assigned an 'uncomfortable' remit when it comes to tourism, either because it is not valued enough as a sector or because it is not fully understood or adequately funded. I recall once when a colleague from Southern Africa (Anon, personal communication, 2009) told me:

> You know becoming Minister of Tourism in many SSA countries is like a punishment if you don't do a good job in another Ministry . . . The

> government does not get the long-term potential benefits of investing in tourism, hence why there is no big money allocated to tourism and tourism training as there are no immediate visible benefits.

Things have somehow improved since I started working in tourism in SSA in 2003. However, the need for central government institutions and decision makers to fully appreciate the need to invest adequately in tourism in order to improve the business environment, deliver professional service, and upgrade the technical, vocational and academic training programmes and institutions, still remain unaddressed matters in many SSA destinations.

Local voices' perspectives on knowledge, skills gap and capacity building in tourism

Case Study 2.1: The role of ecotourism in socio-economic development

Authored by: Susan Snyman

SSA governments and state conservation departments have been turning to the private sector to assist with the management and maintenance of conservation areas (Spenceley, 2003), as the private sector seems better placed to identify opportunities, realise the potential of a destination, drive forward product development and implement effective strategies to benefit communities' livelihoods (Simpson, 2008). This case study presents aspects of research conducted in six southern African countries (Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe).

The role of ecotourism in local socio-economic development has been long debated, with benefits such as: employment opportunities and capacity building through skills training and development programmes; the payment of lease fees; the creation of joint ventures and other partnerships; the development of local linkages/value chains, and infrastructure development; and philanthropic donations (Snyman, 2013).

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES AND CAPACITY BUILDING

Employment in ecotourism is one of its most important contributions to local socio-economic development. The direct benefit of wages and salaries to household welfare goes beyond their contribution to incomes; it allows investment in productive assets and gives ecotourism staff future security as well as the opportunity to diversify their livelihoods (Snyman, 2013). In 2012, Wilderness Safaris (WS), an ecotourism operator with headquarters in Gaberone, Botswana, employed 2,847 people across seven southern African countries (Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, the Seychelles, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe), more than 70 per cent of whom came from local rural communities (Wilderness Holdings, 2012). Across six of their southern African countries of operation, Snyman (2013) found that, on average, each ecotourism staff member was supporting seven people. This illustrates the conduit through which wages earned by a worker translate into welfare impacts for others in remote rural areas (Snyman, 2012b). Employment opportunities are however limited by the size of the operation and their impacts depend upon the number of employed individuals in the same households. Having a number of staff from the same family employed narrows employment benefits, and it would be useful to ensure hiring practices extend employment across as many households as possible. Tourism also has the ability to employ unskilled labour (people with no previous permanent employment) as well as a number of women. This creates job opportunities for previously excluded people and is important in terms of equitable socio-economic development in remote areas (creating 'inclusive growth'). Indirect employment is also important. It results from camps using local suppliers of goods and services, camp staff attending schools and clinics in the area, camp staff spending their wages at local stores in the villages, and so on. (Snyman, 2013).

Skills training and development are provided on the job as part of the ecotourism employment package or through private sector/community business partnerships. This provides opportunities to develop new skills, allowing people to assume more control over their own development and to feel more confident in their abilities. Out of 385 ecotourism staff surveyed in sixteen ecotourism camps in six southern African countries, 63 per cent of them said that their current job in ecotourism was their first permanent job (Snyman, 2013), highlighting the importance of skills acquired through tourism.

LEASE FEES

The private sector's payment of lease fees for operating in community areas can contribute substantially to local economic development. If lease fees are paid to a government/national institution they can benefit local communities when this income is invested in infrastructure and development projects in the area, i.e. schools and clinics. The same applies if lease fees are paid to a communal institution that can choose either to invest in a communal project, i.e. a borehole and water sanitation, or pay out individual/household dividends, which would directly impact on household income (Snyman, 2012a). Institutions do, however, need to be transparent and accountable for benefits to be equitably distributed in the community. There needs to be a link made between ecotourism benefits and conservation to ensure that benefits are seen to be received (Snyman, 2013). In 2012, a total of over USD 12 million in lease fees was paid by Wilderness Safaris to various governments and community organisations (Wilderness Holdings, 2012), and in 2013 the amount was over USD 11.5 million (Wilderness Holdings, 2013), which undoubtedly constitute a substantial contribution to national and local economies.

JOINT VENTURES AND OTHER PARTNERSHIPS

Joint ventures (JVs) between the private sector and local communities can promote local socio-economic development through profit sharing, employment, skills training and development, as well as through the empowerment of local communities to engage in business and acquire new skills (see Snyman, 2012a). The management of expectations and regular communication between stakeholders is important to the success of a JV (Snyman, 2012a). JVs bring together the community and its natural resources, and the private sector and its business acumen, to form a partnership that can be mutually beneficial. Potential problems with JVs include: the divergent agendas of different parties, unclear roles and responsibilities of stakeholders, a lack of transparency and accountability, insufficient communication between stakeholders, unequal power distribution and lack of capacity in communities (Kepe *et al.*, 2005).

LOCAL LINKAGES/VALUE CHAINS

Tourism has the potential to offer numerous local linkages that can extend its impact beyond direct employment (Meyer, 2008; Rogerson, 2012b). An important part of establishing linkages is for the private sector to ascertain the skills and goods available in local communities and to develop linkages based on them (Snyman, 2013). A common obstacle to broadening linkages around ecotourism operations is the inadequacy of skills, leaving communities unable to provide the required goods and services, unaware of the demands of tourism and therefore of what types of goods and services to provide (Snyman, 2013). This problem has been widely discussed (Christie *et al.*, 2013; Epler Wood International, 2004; Mitchell and Ashley, 2010; Ogutu, 2002; Rogerson, 2006),with an emphasis on the need for a multifaceted approach to promoting and increasing linkages.

NGOs and local governments can play an important role in training and capacity building to ensure the level of delivery and content meet the ecotourism operators' requirements. The benefits need not be unidirectional; ecotourism operators can benefit from local linkages through reduced transport costs, improved supply logistics and fresher produce in the case of foodstuffs (Snyman, 2013). They can also improve relations with community neighbours as greater benefits from ecotourism are received.

INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT

Infrastructure developments can have a profound impact in remote rural areas. They can be provided directly by the ecotourism operator, developed or upgraded by government specifically for ecotourism, or can result from donations made by guests to philanthropic projects. Infrastructure developments, such as power, roads and communication, can have a powerful influence on people's mobility and the choices available to them, allowing them to diversify their livelihoods and reduce the risks they face (Snyman, 2013).

WS are involved in both community and conservation infrastructure developments. These include the development and maintenance of roads, the provision of boreholes and water pumps, the fitting of tracking collars on endangered species, and the building of schools, libraries and fencing for vegetable gardens. During the 2011/2012 financial period WS invested or managed investments in infrastructure for public benefit across all regions to the value of more than USD 390,390 (Wilderness Holdings, 2012).

PHILANTHROPY/DONATIONS

As a company with a high percentage of the high-end ecotourism market in Southern Africa, WS funded and/or administered more than USD 73,000 in community development and uplift projects between March 2011 and February 2012. These donations positively impacted the lives of approximately 21,000 people (Wilderness Holdings, 2012). From March 2012 to February 2013, they administered a further USD 72,000 to community development and uplift projects. Ecotourism can also, therefore, contribute to local socio-economic development through philanthropic donations either from ecotourism operators themselves or from guests who visit their operation. Donations to schools, clinics, health services and various other development projects can enhance social welfare and improve local socio-economic conditions for communities. It is, however, important that donations are managed sustainably and are not administered as mere handouts (see also Case Study 6.2).

Overall, in WS' experience, although not without its difficulties, ecotourism has proved to be instrumental in providing opportunities for local skills enhancement, growth and development, increasing rural households' abilities to cope with various daily challenges, especially associated with poverty and risky environmental conditions.

Case Study 2.2: The use of eLearning courses in African-based travel trade – an evaluation survey

Authored by: Izak van Zyl, Nadzeya Kalbaska and Lorenzo Cantoni

Since 2004, national Destination Management Organisations (DMOs) worldwide have initiated eLearning programmes for their trade partners, preparing them to sell more trips and send the 'right people' to given destinations (UNWTO, 2008). eLearning courses offer DMOs an additional channel to improve access to the market, and can support the travel trade in its sales activities (Kalbaska, 2012). Despite growing interest from the industry, academic research has been limited on the subject. Not much is known about the status of eLearning courses created by DMOs for travel agents, especially within an

African context. No research has been undertaken on the perception of African-based travel agents of related eLearning courses.

This case study explores users' perceptions and evaluations of eLearning courses on national tourism destinations, tailored by DMOs for their specific use. This analysis is based on the outcome of an online survey conducted worldwide in 2011 with travel agents. One hundred and four travel agents based in twenty-two African countries were surveyed to this end. The analytic framework is based on the evaluation model proposed by Kirkpatrick (1994), which suggests that every teaching experience can be evaluated along reaction, knowledge, transfer and impact. The online survey included thirty-four questions structured in four main categories: demographics; knowledge acquisition; eLearning courses by DMO use/non-use; and the application of acquired knowledge.

DEMOGRAPHICS

The evaluation sample presents 104 profiles of travel agents based on the African continent: Nigeria: 25 profiles, Mozambique: 13, Egypt: 11, South Africa: 10, Kenya: 10, and other/remaining: 35. The age and sex distribution of the sample is relatively even. Twenty-six per cent of responses were received from individuals under the age of 30; 42 per cent are between 30 and 39 years old; 16 per cent are between 40 and 49; 12 per cent between 50 and 59; and 4 per cent are over 60 years old. Out of 104 respondents, 54 are males (52 per cent) and 50 are females (48 per cent).

PARTICIPATION

Considering the penetration of eLearning courses among travel agents in Africa, the following distribution emerged: 33 per cent of respondents had previously attended eLearning courses provided by DMOs. Of the remaining respondents who had never undertaken eLearning before, 85 per cent had planned to start within the following twelve months. Out of those travel agents who had undertaken DMO eLearning activities, 68 per cent claimed to have completed all courses they had started; on average, a travel agent has participated in three courses, revealing a high level of satisfaction and interest in online training activities. At the other end of the spectrum, those who had not completed their eLearning courses listed the following reasons: the course was too long: 46 per cent; more assistance was needed from the DMO: 36 per cent; too many tests: 18 per cent; too much textual information: 9 per cent.

These results suggest that the structure of the designed training activities – length, textual information, number of evaluation activities – and the travel agents' need for additional support from DMOs, were the main barriers to continuing online courses. Such challenges may have global implications for the strategic design of online training. For instance, more interactive training materials and multimedia, options with fewer tests and collaborative tasks with other travel agents might be foreseen. Additionally, an online helpline might be integrated by DMOs in order to provide online support to the travel trade.

COURSE CONTENT

The travel agents were asked to identify the most interesting and valuable training topics (multiple answers were possible), which were: the list of tour operators that promotes and sells this [a specific destination]: 56 per cent; special offers at the destination (for instance hotel deals, excursions and guided tours): 50 per cent; transportation details: 44 per cent; the main activities potential tourists can undertake at the destination: 44 per cent; general information (such as seasonality, currency, spoken language, etc.): 44 per cent; top selling tips: 44 per cent; information about special events at this [a specific destination] that may attract potential tourists: 38 per cent. The course that was valued most by African-based travel agents was the 'Aussie Specialist Program' managed by Tourism Australia, followed by eLearning courses presenting the following destinations: Dubai, Kenya, Botswana, Belize, Brazil, Canada, Mauritius and Portugal.

KNOWLEDGE APPLICATION

Among DMO eLearning users based in Africa, the level of satisfaction was very high. Eighty-three per cent of respondents were 'significantly satisfied' or 'somewhat satisfied' (56 per cent and 27 per cent respectively) about the courses they followed. Moreover, 79 per cent of travel agents had recommended such courses to a colleague. More than 60 per cent of African travel agents, after completing respective training activities, felt 'significantly confident' about selling a specific destination, followed by 23 per cent who were 'somewhat more confident', and 12 per cent 'slightly more confident'. Only 3 per cent of travel agents felt that eLearning courses did not make them more confident. In addition, 74 per cent of travel agents believed that they had 'significantly improved' their knowledge about specific destinations because of online training. Seventy per cent of travel agents claimed that they had sold a destination package because of taking such a course, which indicates that DMO eLearning courses had had a direct impact on travel agents' working activities.

The main motivations of travel agents based in Africa for subscribing to eLearning courses offered by DMOs (multiple answers were possible) were: to acquire new knowledge about the destination: 82 per cent; to sell more and earn more: 56 per cent; to respond to a client's requests: 53 per cent; to be registered on the official travel agent list of the DMO: 21 per cent; to participate in educational trips: 18 per cent; to enrich their curriculum: 18 per cent; to win a competition: 15 per cent; to display an official certificate: 15 per cent; to access special offers: 6 per cent; and to respond to managers' requests: 6 per cent. More than three-quarters of respondents listed the acquisition of new knowledge as a primary motivator. Fewer travel agents follow eLearning courses due to the financial benefits they may receive (educational trips, competitions, etc.).

This study indicates the benefits of eLearning as a new form of training within the tourism industry. eLearning courses are believed to be a convenient mode of training, which allows for greater access to educational opportunities for travel agents globally, especially those based in geographically isolated locations. eLearning courses are also financially viable from the user's (travel agent's) perspective as they are believed to enhance their performance, and presumably the satisfaction of their current or potential clients. Travel agents undertake eLearning activities as they believe them to be helpful in work-related tasks and for enriching necessary/tacit knowledge in their professional environments.

DMO eLearning training can offer a fundamental shift in the way African travel agents learn and sell destinations regionally and worldwide. Sharing knowledge using an eLearning platform has proved to be an effective way to acquire knowledge and build capacity in the region, as the research highlighted that eLearning activities of this type add value to travel agents' overall knowledge about tourism destinations, help them in their sales, and give them more confidence in assisting clients.

Case Study 2.3: 'Publish or perish' – academic productivity of Africa-based scholars in tourism and hospitality

Authored by: Aaron Kofi Badu Yankholmes

While many efforts have been aimed at evaluating the academic productivity of tourism scholars, none identifies Africa-based scholars in the league tables. The aim of this case study is to examine the research output of Africa-based authors in the field of tourism and hospitality management, with the overall objective of examining their contribution to tourism and hospitality management literature and debates. Obviously, publishing in SSA lags far behind many other regions of the world and many possible explanations have been discussed in the literature, such as the collapse of the publishing industry including university presses, repeated rejection by international journals and peer-review networks, and marginalisation of African knowledge (Teferra, 2003; Zaleza, 1997). However, the familiar refrain 'publish or perish' serves as a reminder that scholarly research and publications constitute the basis of professional academic life. More importantly, publishing in reputable journals is the foremost requirement for promotion and tenure among faculty. As Mahoney (1978:58) noted, 'if you want permanent job security as a teacher at the university level, you must earn it not by demonstrating your skills at educating but through your ability to get published'.

Closely related to this is the method for assessing research productivity. There are no universally agreed indices for this purpose and, while some simply use research output, others take into consideration variables such as research grant income and administrative service commitments. In the case of research output, a range of indicators and metrics are commonly employed. The metric approach is used in this study to examine the research publication of Africa-based scholars in the field of tourism and hospitality management. This approach has been used in numerous studies (McKercher, 2007; Park *et al.*, 2011), and close observation of the list of scholars who have published in the top-tier field specific journals reveals a conspicuous absence of African-based scholars (McKercher, 2008) in the 'elite' journals, namely, *Annals of Tourism Research* (ATR), *Journal of Travel Research* (JTR), *Tourism Management* (TM), *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management* (JHTM) and *International Journal of Hospitality Management* (IJHTM). Yankholmes (2014) found that from 1990 to 2010 Africa-based scholars contributed only 162 articles in these five top-tier journals. However, Rogerson and Rogerson (2013) suggested that the greatest share of research publications by Africa-based scholars occurs not in mainstream journals, but in non-specialist ones linked to development studies, urban studies, wildlife research, or geography.

Data for this study were retrieved between 22 January to 22 February 2014 from the Scopus database of papers published between 1985 and 2014, using 'travel', 'tourism', 'vacation', 'hotel' and 'hospitality' as the keywords. All

Table 2.5 Growth of literature (1985–2014)

Year	*No. of articles*	*%*	*Cumulative growth*
2014	7	2.33	7
2013	48	16.0	55
2012	40	13.3	95
2011	33	11.0	128
2010	26	8.66	154
2009	14	4.66	168
2008	19	6.33	187
2007	16	5.33	203
2006	11	3.66	214
2005	14	4.66	228
2004	14	4.66	242
2003	10	3.33	252
2002	7	2.33	259
2001	6	2.0	265
2000	3	1.0	268
1999	15	5.0	283
1998	4	1.33	287
1997	2	0.66	289
1996	6	2.0	295
1992	1	0.33	296
1991	1	0.33	297
1990	2	0.66	299
1985	1	0.33	300
Total	300	99.89	300

journal articles (excluding research notes, commentaries and reviews) were counted. Journal articles with at least one (co)author with affiliate address in Africa were identified and then classified by country. The search identified a total of 16,946 journal articles, of which 300 papers were published in tourism and hospitality management journals, with only two Africa-based prolific authors identified as having fourteen publications to their credit.

Table 2.6 Output in international journal literature

Journal	*No. of papers*
Tourism Management	39
Journal of Travel Medicine	39
Journal of Sustainable Tourism	26
Travel Medicine and Infectious Disease	23
Annals of Tourism Research	20
Current Issues in Tourism	15
Tourism Economics	15
Tourism Geographies	12
Journal of Travel Research	9
Tourism Management Perspectives	8
International Journal of Hospitality Management	7
International Journal of Tourism Research	7
Journal of Hospitality Marketing and Management	7
Tourism	7
Tourism Analysis	6
Tourism Planning and Development (formerly known as Tourism and Hospitality Planning and Development)	6
Journal of Convention and Event Tourism	5
Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research	4
Journal of Human Resources in Hospitality and Tourism	4
International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management	4
International Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Administration	4
Tourism in Marine Environments	4
Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism	3
Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing	3
Journal of Sport and Tourism	3
E Review of Tourism Research	3
Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change	2
Journal of Policy Research in Tourism Leisure and Events	2
European Journal of Tourism Research	2
Tourism Review	2
Journal of Hospitality and Leisure Marketing	1
Journal of China Tourism Research	1
International Journal of Tourism Policy	1
Cornell Hotel and Restaurant Administration Quarterly	1
Cornell Hospitality Quarterly	1
Bridging Tourism Theory and Practice	1
Tourism and Hospitality Research	1
Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality and Tourism	1
Journal of Tourism History	1

Table 2.5 shows the number of articles produced by Africa-based scholars, and the percentage and cumulative growth between 1985 and 2014.

Noticeably, most of the journal articles were published in high-impact journals (Table 2.5). While there is some truth about African researchers publishing in local and regional journals most of which are not indexed by Scopus, Table 2.6 illustrates the capacity of some Africa-based scholars to produce world-class research. Health-related journals appear to be the preferred outlet, perhaps because of the perceived health risks of Western tourists travelling to Africa.

Authors from twenty-three countries produced 314 journal articles during the study period (Table 2.7), with South Africa accounting for 47 per cent of the publication output.

Table 2.8 indicates the number of times an institutional affiliation appeared, leading to suspicion that the productivity of universities is inflated due to international co-authorships and multiple academic affiliations. Interestingly, Moi University would be the highest ranked institution if a weighted measure was used.

Table 2.7 Output by country

Country	*No. of articles*
South Africa	141
Kenya	40
Mauritius	34
Ghana	19
Nigeria	19
Botswana	18
Tanzania	9
Zimbabwe	8
Uganda	4
Madagascar	3
Cameroon	3
Gabon	3
Ethiopia	2
Zambia	2
Malawi	1
Democratic Republic Congo	1
Equatorial Guinea	1
Cape Verde	1
Namibia	1
Angola	1
Mali	1
Congo	1
Mozambique	1
Total *	314

Note: * The total exceeds 300 because of co-authorship and multiple affiliations.

Table 2.8 Institutions with three or more articles published (1985–2014)

Affiliation	*No. of articles**
University of Johannesburg	26
University of Mauritius	22
University of Botswana	18
University of Witwatersrand	17
University of Cape Coast Ghana	15
Moi University	14
University of Technology	13
North West University	12
University of Cape Town	10
Universiteit Stellenbosch	9
Universiteit van Pretoria	8
Kenyatta University	7
SAA-Netcare Travel Clinics	7
Midlands State University	6
Tshwane University of Technology	6
University of KwaZulu-Natal	6
Obafemi Awolowo University	5
Oulun Yliopisto	5
Maseno University	5
Cape Peninsula University of Technology	4
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University	4
University of Technology Mauritius	4
University of the Free State	4
University of South Africa	3
University of Ibadan	3
Delta State University Nigeria	3
University of Limpopo	3
Kenya Medical Research Institute	3
University of Dar Es Salaam	3

Note: * The number of articles includes those by both first and secondary authors.

This study has relevance in that the limited number of contributions from Africa-based scholars' may to contradict their growing numbers operating in the field of tourism and hospitality. For instance, studies dealing with complex issues such as conservation and development, and concepts such as CBT and PPT, to name just a few, largely remain Western-conceived and -driven, often ignore empirically grounded studies by Africa-based scholars, which are either published in less prestigious journals or remain unpublished due to the lack of publishing experience, access to resources or mentorship guidance. What is needed is a better-coordinated cross-pollination of ideas between Africa-based scholars and their international counterparts in order to bridge the gap in research output. As the study findings show, several prolific international authors are collaborating in publishing articles with Africa-based scholars. Others have also taken residency in some renowned faculties, particularly in South Africa. This will inevitably give not only international visibility to African scholarship in citation databases and top-tier journals, but most importantly result in due recognition to empirically grounded studies conducted by local experts.

Final considerations

The reflections and case studies offered in this chapter highlight an underlying commonality, that tourism, as a labour-intensive sector supporting a wide variety of jobs, requires an equally widely based trained workforce equipped with a range of capabilities that include core/entry, technical/managerial and entrepreneurial skills, without which the sector cannot fully flourish. Over the past ten years, what has become apparent through my own observation during empirical research conducted in SSA is that, although a number of tourism ministries are staffed with an increasing number of tourism-skilled people, the continent remains affected by an inconsistent skills set, requiring the frequent intervention of external technical advice, and leading to what I call the 'consultancy disease', as further discussed in Chapter 8 of this volume.

Whether using private sector-led initiatives, such as the one discussed by Snyman (Case Study 2.1), or more traditional train-the-trainers programmes, such as the NTB initiative mentioned above, or more innovative learning methods, such as the eLearning platform discussed in Case Study 2.2, the message is clear: knowledge and skills gaps need to be addressed in a more effective way. Creating new generations of experts, teachers and trainers able to transfer their knowledge to future generations of sector specialists on issues such as business management, entrepreneurship, conservation, energy and environment would ensure that tourism works in partnership with nature and contributes to a sustainable future. Shaping an enabling business environment grounded in local business, management and finance skills will require public and private sector employees to become capable of learning from the past, reflecting on the present and managing change for the future, without the need of constant external technical assistance and funding.

The evident presence of valuable local knowledge and expertise in SSA, generally emerging from the increasing volume of published work by African academics and from the reflections made by Yankholmes in Case Study 2.3 of this chapter, provides an encouraging scenario where a new generation of SSA experts is breeding. Growing confidence in the use of joint ventures and collaborative approaches, between more and less experienced institutions (and individuals) in the development and implementations of research, teaching and learning programmes, may be a feasible way forward to bridge recognised knowledge and skills gaps.

A fundamental aspect of a successful workforce development strategy should include the whole system of players and holistically address human resource issues, which amounts to far more than just TVET training and should span both the public and private sectors to achieve the dream of an economically productive, environmentally sustainable and socially responsible tourism sector. For instance, while entrepreneurship in tourism, as an area of skills gap/capacity building, is a crucial aspect of the sector's functionality and traction, effective governance and leadership are fundamental to inspiring the leaders of tomorrow, shaping a new generation of political, business and entrepreneurial players and ensuring sound policy and strategies in the future.

I would like to conclude this chapter by calling upon a progressive set of capacity-building initiatives based on knowledge exchanges and mutually beneficial partnerships between international/regional/local institutions, private firms and SSA experts, to include diaspora members and graduates returning from their studies overseas, as these are undoubtedly better placed to shape and lead the future of tourism in their own SSA localities.

3 Critical issues in community-based tourism

Introduction

Community-based tourism (CBT) is a concept that forms the focus of a rich body of literature. Generally proposed as an approach to foster community development in developing countries, CBT is an alternative form of tourism that finds its roots in the 1970s' ambition of involving communities in bottom-up development (Reid, 2003), an idea later championed in tourism in a developed context by Murphy (1983, 1985, 1988), through his 'community-driven tourism planning' propositions, which created the basis for what is known today as CBT. CBT has become the focus of critical studies on both the concept and its applications, leading to a broad set of case studies from developing nations in the Asia-Pacific region, the Middle East, South America and Africa (Aref, 2011; Erskine and Meyer, 2012; Snyman, 2012a; Wearing and McDonald, 2002). Despite the extensive body of literature, there is no agreed definition of the term, but most understand CBT as encompassing the active participation of communities in the planning, implementation and management of tourism, providing wider benefits for the community (Goodwin and Santilli, 2009). Notwithstanding its value, concern has been expressed that CBT models are overly reliant on Western views of development, which also inform the agendas of international development agencies, government organisations and NGOs, with little attention being paid to local views or knowledge (Le *et al.*, 2012).

Development agencies have used CBT as a product diversification strategy for community development, especially in rural remote areas characterised by limited alternatives for economic development. Although CBT literature has been subject to criticism from a number of scholars (Goodwin and Santilli, 2009; Scheyvens, 2002) for providing incongruent views and often raising unachievable expectations for local socio-economic growth, several scholars have acknowledged its potential role (Moscardo, 2008) as beneficial to rural economic development. Such academics have drafted models on best practices (Mtapuri and Giampiccoli, 2013, 2014), aimed at improving the manner in which CBT can provide holistic community benefits.

That CBT offers both opportunities and challenges is a proven fact. As already stated in Chapter 1 of this volume, it has limitations. Mitchell and

Ashley (2009:1) talk about a world map dotted with 'well-intentioned community-based tourism projects, delivering small benefits to few people'. It can however be said that positive examples exist with different levels of success around the world and particularly in SSA (Ntshona and Lahiff, 2003; Snyman, 2014). Even though there are mixed views on the benefits of CBT and its practical applications and implications, CBT continues to be promoted as a tool for poverty reduction, community development and environmental conservation.

The rationale behind this chapter is that the global demand for more sustainable forms of tourism is increasing and is being extended contextually to remote and rural locations in SSA. Tourism has become an activity or potential activity integral to the development of many of the world's rural areas and there is evidence to suggest that, if developed carefully, CBT has the ability to generate alternative revenue in a non-extractive and more sustainable way. What is implied is that tourism in general and CBT in particular has the potential to compete financially with other more destructive industries, which are known to pose threats to biodiversity (i.e. commercial logging and farming), while CBT is able to support the survival of biodiversity among the growing populations and escalating poverty that often surround it. In addition to this, in has been identified that CBT can produce conservation benefits, with protected areas being increasingly regarded as 'engines for sustainable rural development' (IUCN, 2002: 29) and as such should not create new problems for the local people, but rather enhance opportunities (Novelli and Scarth, 2007).

While acknowledging the contribution of a selection of CBT-focused literature, as well as reflections on the concepts and debates around community-based ecotourism (CBET), this chapter uses a set of five case studies written by African experts that focus specifically on the challenges and practices of CBT. Specifically, this chapter's case studies concentrate on: the importance of defining the term 'community'; the utilisation of the wildlife ecosystem and of a community wildlife management approach in Tanzania; a conservancy experience from Kenya; and the problems associated with CBT's donor dependency in a Botswan-based project.

Key issues in community-based tourism

> Tourism is a people-based economic activity built on social interaction, and as such can only prosper if it engages the local population by contributing to social values such as participation, education and enhanced local governance. At the same time, there can be no real tourism development if such development damages in any way the values and the culture of host communities or if the socio-economic benefits generated by the tourism sector do not trickle down to the community level. As stated in the UNWTO Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, 'local populations should be associated with tourism activities and share equitably in the economic, social and cultural benefits they generate'.
>
> Taleb Rifai (UNWTO, 2014b)

CBT has evolved over the years from an approach that advocated mere 'community involvement', to one that has led to broader claims by organisations such as the UNWTO, that tourism can only prosper if it engages local communities. CBT aims to unlock opportunities for the wider (local) community, including the less privileged, at various levels and scales of tourism operation. These opportunities include economic gain, alternative livelihood benefits and/or participation in decision making. Some may argue that this evolution of CBT overlaps with what is referred to as pro-poor tourism (PPT) (Ashley *et al.*, 2001). Like PPT, CBT should advocate participation by a range of stakeholders, government, private sector and civil society, as well as the wider community (including those with a lower income base referred to as the 'poor') in order to shift from a simplistic and tokenistic 'involvement' of the community to proactive engagement as producers and decision makers within the tourism development and management context.

Scholars such as Salazar (2012) and Tosun (2000) have questioned the use of the term 'community', and as a result of its multiple meanings there are varied interpretation of who should (or not) be included as 'community' in CBT. This confusion has resulted in unbalanced power relations, inadequate participation and benefit sharing and the lack of a sense of ownership in many CBT ventures by those expected to take charge of it (see Case Study 3.1):

> CBT projects can be initiated from within and outside the community. Entities which can initiate these projects can hail from the private, public and non-governmental sectors and a combination of these, depending on their motive for involvement in CBT. The approaches that can be followed in the initiation phase can be either top-down or bottom-up, with each approach offering pros and cons depending on the type of partnership that emanates from the relationship.
>
> Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2014:12)

Community participation in tourism is a complex issue because it can be linked to a number of different types of enterprises (i.e. accommodation, tour operating), levels of involvement (possibly from mere employment to ownership or joint-venture operation with private investors) and kinds of participant (family – i.e. small bed-and-breakfast establishments or homestays; individual – i.e. safaris' community guiding, craft making) (Murphy and Roe, 2004). Although it is often suggested as an essential ingredient in improving the quality of tourism's contribution to national development, increased participation of local communities actually means involving low-income groups and individuals from rural and urban areas who are not normally involved in the process of government (Lapayre, 2006; Newsome *et al.*, 2002; Tosun, 2000, 2006) as well as often not being familiar with the concept of CBT and whether this is an option for their locality. Communities have suffered (although in some cases they have benefited) from a generally top-down approach to CBT development. 'Moving towards a more participatory tourism development policy requires decentralisation of public administration systems including tourism planning' (Tosun, 2000: 627–8), as well as actions that would enable all stakeholders to achieve similar levels of understanding and knowledge about CBT, in order to avoid power relationships developing between different forces such as government organisations, NGOs and donors agencies versus the community.

> The word participation implies how and to what extent people are able to share their views, take part in an activity, project, programme, decision-making, profit sharing and other issues related to the tourism development process.
>
> Isaac and Conrad-J. Wuleka (2012:99)

Choguill (1996) suggests that, with mutual and external help, community participation is to be seen not only as a way to enable people to influence the (political) decision-making process on issues that might affect them, but also as a means to obtain those basic needs that would not be available to them otherwise. In fact, she emphasises that 'effective community participation implies also an identification of the required external support, be it from the government or from NGOs, which can facilitate the outcome of the community effort' (Choguill, 1996: 432). Although acknowledging that, in many instances, external support is core to CBT implementation, concern has been raised over paternalistic approaches to community development, whereby the community receives support without appropriate planning considerations. This lack of support weakens the sustainability of projects and the ability of community members to take charge of and responsibility for community projects, leading to donor dependency. There are, in fact, cases where CBT initiatives have been the recipient of different types of external financial and in-kind support, and become entrenched within the 'donor cycle'. They have, once donors and NGOs' involvement came to an end, suffered from the phasing out of funding, and as a consequence of this dependency, a number of CBT ventures have failed to become self-sustaining (Burns, 2003), risked closure or ceased to exist (see Case Study 3.2).

Despite such failures, since the beginning of the new millennium, solid arguments have been advanced in support of CBT playing a central role in community-based development, conservation and rural diversification in SSA. With the growth of CBT in this region being one of the strongest in the global market due to the positive economic impacts on local people's welfare and living standards, CBT has become an increasingly important form of tourism, especially in Eastern and Southern Africa (UNWTO, 2001). Equally, ecotourism activities using natural resource attractions in remote rural areas have proved to be an important source of economic diversification and alternative livelihood opportunity (Ashley *et al.*, 2001; Novelli and Gebhardt, 2007). Similarly, ecotourism has seen over the years an increasing alignment with CBT, as the purely environmental focus of the term 'eco' has in many cases shifted towards, what I like to refer to as 'ECo' – with 'E' representing the 'Environment' and 'Co' the 'Community'. The literature refers to this concept of ecotourism using an equivalent term: community-based ecotourism (CBET). CBET describes ecotourism ventures that, in addition to significant benefits deriving from the conservation of local ecosystems and culture, are characterised by high environmental respect, increased control and involvement of the local communities in the preservation of biodiversity (WWF-International, 2001). This concept differs from other forms of ecotourism that are planned and managed by outside operators, which are known to generate leakages and negligible participation of and benefits for local people (Akama, 1996). The importance of local community participation in tourism is not a newly debated concept, and equality of access to resources remains the principle behind the inclusion of local community members in CBT (and CBET).

Inevitably alternative livelihoods through CBT development may entail restrictions in the traditional usage of land (Eagles *et al.*, 1992). In relation to this, for instance, Sullivan (2002) offers some reflection on the role of tourism in conservancy areas and in terms of population density in the communal areas versus share of the profit from the new land uses associated with tourism. He identifies that community members' salaries are reliant on the conservancy's ability to secure sufficient enterprise investment and profitable tourism business. This thus reflects the real needs and wants of the community, rather than being imposed by intermediaries.

In SSA, using revenues generated from consumptive (where allowed) and non-consumptive uses of wildlife is associated with community-based conservation principles and practices and is generally considered to be able to improve 'livelihood sustainability' through the diversification of rural income sources. However, as presented in examples in Tanzania and Kenya (as discussed in Case Studies 3.3 and 3.4), not all members of the community appear to be benefiting from large proportions of the new revenue (Sullivan, 2002). Supporting this, in some instances, conservation policies have adopted a 'fences and fines' or 'fortress approach' in the preservation of natural areas (Brockington, 2002; Hutton *et al.*, 2005, Neumann, 1998; Wells and Brandon, 1992). This approach has excluded people from previously available natural areas, often limiting their traditional consumptive use and other forms of human pursuit, such as pastoralism (Brockington and Schmidt-Soltau, 2004; Novelli *et al.*, 2006). This is particularly relevant to several of the old conservancy and protected areas system in SSA, as discussed in Case Study 3.4 on Kenya.

Nevertheless, tourism and CBT are generally known to provide livelihoods and offer jobs to those in less qualified fields, thus offering less skilled communities an entry into the labour market, especially in highly sensitive (rural) areas (Vogel, 1997). In most developing countries, with relatively high rates of increase in population, absorption of young workers into the labour force is a major economic problem, and one may argue that as a service-intensive activity, tourism is regarded as a good option to create jobs (Jenkins, 1997). For example, evidence from previous research on CBT showed that:

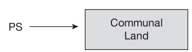
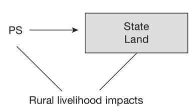
> in a country like Namibia with a small population size, a marginal agricultural sector, and limited opportunities for development of small scale manufacturing industry, tourism has a comparative advantage to create jobs particularly in the rural areas where most tourism activities take place. In fact, tourism is seen as a more secure generator of cash for households that normally live off subsistence farming, as it is less affected by natural factors such as droughts than is agriculture.
>
> Novelli and Gebhardt (2007:449)

Empirical evidence related to CBT and CBET within the conservancy system implementation (i.e. Botswana, Namibia and Kenya) confirmed the importance of CBT in providing employment opportunities that were otherwise not available, in the absence of which the existent rural outmigration problem would be far worse.

The importance of incorporating 'local voices' – i.e. the perceptions, values and interest of the local people – throughout the CBT development process and the promotion of a public dialogue are seen as the core factors enabling the community to participate in the process of decision making and profit-sharing negotiations (see Case Study 3.5). When local people's survival depends heavily upon the exploitation of the natural resource, if they benefit less than when they were previously earning from the land, they may perceive CBT as 'the preserve of private companies and government to whom profits accrue' (Mtapuri and Giampiccoli, 2014:2). CBT is thus regarded as a threat to their livelihood, as it deprives them of their traditional way to source a living, creating competition for land and resource usage (Ross and Wall, 1999). In fact, fieldwork conducted in the Kunene region (Namibia) and in Maasai Mara (Kenya) clearly highlighted that when local people do not receive sufficient benefits to balance the loss from their traditional pastoralist activities, they are prone to develop a negative attitude towards any tourism development.

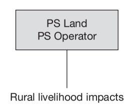
Of great relevance to this argument is the research conducted by Spenceley (2003) in Southern Africa, exploring the challenges of institutional, organisational and policy reform around land, water and wild resources. Her paper addresses issues of community-based wildlife management and tourism and the growing role of the private sector in natural resource management. Although the author does not specifically refer to CBT, the seventeen case studies from South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe that are used to provide empirical evidence are CBT or CBET projects. She refers to six different scenarios, which are analysed to demonstrate how government, NGOs, the private sector and rural communities have influenced rural livelihoods through tourism practices (Table 3.1).

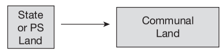
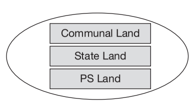
Table 3.1 Spenceley's six scenarios – description vs analysis of benefits, losses and driving forces

Scenario	*Spatial illustration/ description*	*Types of local benefits*	*Losses and key limitations*	*Origin of PS and community interaction*
1 Private sector (PS) on communal land	 Communal land is used through variable partnerships between rural people and the PS to develop tourism. Local people benefit from employment, training, and associated business opportunities.	• Improvements in capacity • Revenue • Lease agreements • Employment • Equity • Institutional strengthening • Diversity of opportunities	• Variations in the limiting or facilitating role played by third parties (e.g. conservation authorities/ NGOs) • Limited control by communities over PS/ NGOs where lacking business capacity and experience	• Opportunities initiated by PS/NGO and endorsed by community • Community interest in earning revenue from their assets • PS desire for attractive sites and product diversification • Long-term PS game plan • Variable extent to which PS drives the process • NGO support and drive
2 Government land with PS involvement, and community linkages	 Land is owned by the state, and the PS operates tourism on it through a lease or enterprise operation agreement. Community linkages may be formed through equity in the tourism enterprise promoted by the state, employment in the PS,	• Plans for large investments in community by PS • Improvements in capacity • Revenue • Employment • Product development • Service supply • Equity • Institutional strength • Participation • Diversity of opportunities • Variable access to wild resources	• Variation between South Africa and Mozambique in the extent of state empowerment prescriptions applied to PS and level of PS control over wild resources • Gap between plans and implementation • Social concerns may lose out to growth/investment/ revenue priorities • Limited decision making role of communities • Variation in level of facilitation by state	• Pressure for community linkages from post-colonial government to redress historical imbalances • Power of state in applying prescriptions to drive empowerment, promote economic linkages between PS and the poor, and livelihood benefits • Application of commercialisation policy with tangible social criteria • Private sector need/wish to demonstrate socio-economic contribution

continued . . .

Table 3.1 Continued

Scenario	*Spatial illustration/ description*	*Types of local benefits*	*Losses and key limitations*	*Origin of PS and community interaction*
	or associated business opportunities.	• Guarantees of support	during life-cycle of initiative	• National parks and provincial reserve policies • Little decision-making role in setting types of benefits and linkages state sets
3 Private land and private operators, with community linkages	 Privately owned land with PS tourism development. Corporate social responsibility (CSR) programmes may have beneficial implications for rural livelihoods, in addition to employment and business opportunities.	• Project funds for communities • Infrastructural improvements • Educational opportunities • Health education/ improvements • Enterprise development • Access to natural resources (variable) • Limited local purchasing (case specific) • Community benefits depend upon PS capacity and mechanisms of implementing support • Awareness of tourism benefits generally low	• PS retains control • No community control of funds • Larger companies have better capacity to form beneficial linkages with local communities • Donations/initiatives linked to what PS can obtain • PS facilitates easily implementable or supportable benefits • Support may not address fundamental social and economic development needs of community • Community dependent on good-will and drive of PS • Community capacity limitation • Variable community involvement in initiating,	• PS may be motivated by need to reduce risk from land claims/agricultural expansion • Individual drivers – in communities and PS • PS commitment to social development needs of local communities, and learn from experience the processes that improve success rate of CSR • Emphasis on 'attractive' projects (to obtain financial support initially and address market appeal)

		within large communities	developing and managing benefits (passive vs. active) • Emphasis on quick fixes	
4 Community land claims and land transfers	 Through land claims or land invasions, transfer of land ownership from the state or PS to communities. Communities then may have the opportunity to utilise the land for tourism via community-based tourism, or partnerships with the PS.	• Ownership over tourism asset with commercial potential • Decision-making role as owner, negotiating power • Infrastructural improvements • Educational and training opportunities • Enterprise development • Access to natural resources (variable) • Local purchasing	• Regaining controlled resource and commercialisation rights within conservation areas, but not rights to resettle: heavy constraints of conservation conditions • Bureaucratic obstacles to commercial development • Lack of local capacity/ expertise • Need for trust and trustworthy partnerships with PS • Slow to deliver benefits	• The condition (or decision) to keep the community land within the wildlife/tourism estate • Opportunity to exploit wildlife resources • Recognition that earning revenue from wildlife resources requires private investment, expertise and capacity • Commercial redevelopment of regained land by communities facilitated by PS and NGOs • NGO facilitation of PS linkages • Direct approach by PS to community • State prescriptions in financing arrangements
5 Amalgams of land ownership types	 Destinations and planning initiatives that focus over	• Growth node for the whole area • NGO support for community involvement • Potential for full range of tourism and resource	• Community integration implicit in policy, but implementation slow or absent • Talk of benefit exceeds practice (but developing processes)	• Combination of conservation interests to secure land with high biodiversity and commercial interests to invest • International politics for cross-border co-operation

continued . . .

Table 3.1 Continued

Scenario	*Spatial illustration/ description*	*Types of local benefits*	*Losses and key limitations*	*Origin of PS and community interaction*
	a wide geographical area, and may include areas of communal, state, and PS land. Tourism has a strategic focus, and may have employment, business, and natural resource use implications for rural livelihoods.	use benefits (direct and indirect)	• Limited consultation and communication, no participation • Loss of land, access to natural resources • Displacement and threats to safety • Top-down processes • Politicking and power play between stakeholders may derail process • Informal cross-border resource use and trade may be constrained • Communities lack coordination, organisation, capacity and expertise to engage equally with other stakeholders	• National and institutional drivers • International media, tourist and conservation interest regarding ambitious proposals • Integrated development planning • Private sector opportunity for access to 'new' product
6 Community Businesses	Not necessarily land tenure-dependent. Individuals or groups of individuals from rural communities develop business enterprises related to tourism and become the private sector.	• Infrastructural improvements • Educational and training opportunities • Enterprise development • Control	• Capacity • Expertise • Business acumen • Understanding of wider tourism market and forces • Location critical • Wider community problems (e.g. crime)	• NGO/state facilitation • Community institutional and capacity development • Donor seed-funding

Source: adapted from Spenceley, 2003:108–10.

Spenceley (2003:118) concludes that:

> [t]he extent to which rural communities were involved in the process of policy formation, planning and enterprise development, and the level to which their interests were represented varies considerably. The weight of their input certainly appeared to depend upon the level to which processes existed for them to contribute; with access to and information of individuals and groups who could facilitate their involvement. In making the processes more responsive to the needs of the poor, it is critical that the state and the private sector constructively design practical mechanisms to incorporate their interests. Such mechanisms must be geared to cope with the limitations of the poor – in relation to access to communication, language abilities, education, and understanding of market and policy processes. Only through proactively engaging the rural poor in the policy design and implementation will the programmes that ensue be reflective of the needs of the poor, and sustainably improve their livelihoods.

However, in order for this to happen, Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2014) offer an additional point for consideration. This is the issue of formality versus informality in the CBT sector. Given the level of informality that characterises many tourism ventures and CBT in particular, the role of government in supporting the sector(s) is critical. Given the vulnerability of poor communities, they end up suffering from many constraints. The informality of their operation and limited skills hinder them from being able to: negotiate funding from governments and donors; secure a fair share of income from tourism; develop, cost, package and advertise competitive products; keep business records and accounts; and counteract fierce competition from other local, regional and global players. In order to address this situation, Mtapuri and Giampiccoli (2014:11) suggest that informal traders may need to 'graduate from informal to formal' business practices in order to access better opportunities for social and economic inclusion.

CBT ventures can provide a number of opportunities to community members, including low entry costs to business, leading to self-reliance and sustenance, and preservation of the environment. However, in order to operate competitively in the local, regional and global markets, and secure an environmentally sustainable business, they need to make a full transition from mere community projects into profitable enterprises, and adopt an adequate level of formality in their operation. In addition to what was already highlighted in Chapter 2, Giampiccoli *et al.* (2014) emphasise, however, that far more than tourism technical skills may be required to empower individuals and give way to such a transition. For instance, capacity-building actions aimed at enabling a number of behavioural shifts may be required to stimulate more harmonious community interactions, which require community members to prioritise community benefits above individual gain, undoubtedly an under-researched aspect in the CBT literature.

Local voices' perspectives on community-based tourism

Case Study 3.1: What makes the 'community' in CBT? Reflecting on a CBT experience from Tanzania

Authored by: John T. Mgonja and Agnes Sirima

The tourism literature has long debated the link between tourism and local communities, but fails to clearly define the term 'community', giving muddy indication on who should be considered to be a legitimate member of such group of individuals in CBT. The term has become a buzzword in most tourism literature, particularly in the tourism planning and development discourses (Salazar, 2012). Its unclear definition has led to conflicts in community power relations, inadequate benefit sharing and unclear ownership of many tourism ventures. The fuzziness around this definition paves the way for exploitative relationships in many places where CBT programmes are practised, raising questions over its entire concept. While CBT programmes are intended to empower people and reduce poverty in rural communities, the representations deployed in constituting the targeted communities remain largely unexamined (Salazar, 2012). Tosun (2000) had already argued that one of the reasons that CBT programmes fail is the hindering factors associated with the problematic assumptions embedded within the concept of community.

In the specific case of Tanzania, while tourism development has largely focused on wildlife and scenic resources within protected areas (Akunaay et. al, 2003), CBT programmes have focused on the culture and lifestyle of people living in rural areas. The efforts to develop and promote CBT started in the early 1990s with support from the Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB) and the Netherlands development organisation SNV; with an increasing number of CBT projects being initiated by local people in the mid-1990s, mostly in the northern part of Tanzania, where the majority of tourism attractions are located. This led to a move towards the establishment of more community-focused tourism initiatives with the aim of contributing more effectively to the livelihood of rural communities. Currently there are about forty CBT initiatives in Tanzania, with about 85 per cent of these located in the northern tourist zone. However, since the first assessment conducted by SNV in the mid-1990s, no rural supply chain analysis has been conducted to evaluate the contribution of these initiatives to the livelihood of rural communities.

This case study draws upon findings from an investigation of the planning, structure and implementation of CBTs in a number of selected locations in Tanzania. In-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2012 with two CBT groups (one in the north and one in the central area) and pioneers who initiated the process of establishing a number of CBT initiatives in Tanzania. The research confirmed the lack of clarity over the term community in the definition of the Tanzanian CBT model. Each of the CBT initiatives had members involved according to their willingness to be part of the initiative, status within the community or upon the parameters established by the 'owner' of the specific CBT initiative. CBT models differed greatly in terms of structure, size, development level, and resource capacity (human, natural and cultural), exposing the CBT approach to a number of criticisms. Although guidelines to govern the operationalisation of CBT more effectively had been approved by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, they failed to address some of the core questions associated with CBT: in particular: what is a community and how can CBT be an equitable way to involve all those belonging to a community?

The research showed that a CBT project could succeed only if the community has been clearly defined (direct and indirect beneficiaries), a truly representative governing organisation has been put in place and all stakeholders understand their role within the new CBT development. Management of CBT projects should not be left in the hands of few committee members (too often belonging to elite groups), but to skilled individuals with a specified mandate. The chances of success of a CBT initiative are directly linked with the skills and attractiveness provided by those living in the community as much through their traditional way of life as through their ability to make it appealing to visitors. Overall, CBT needs to be more enterprise-based rather than purely culture-based, as a diversified tourism experience will then emerge that brings together culture, wildlife and all that is available in a locality. Using a CBT entrepreneurial approach, a tourism business environment can be created, encouraging visitors to spend more time and money on products that truly benefit a clearly defined group of people: the so-called community.

Case Study 3.2: The donor dependency cycle of Lekhubu Island (Botswana) CBT project

Authored by: Monkgogi Lenao

Lekhubu Island is located in the north-east of Botswana and comprises a rocky outcrop jutting out in the middle of the flat Makgadikgadi Pans landscape. It covers a 60-hectare area populated with baobab (*adansonia digitata*) and African chestnut (*sterculia Africana*) tree species (Segokgo, 2006). Historically, Lekhubu was a place of Basarwa ancestral worship and later an initiation site for Bantu settler communities during the seventeenth century (Campbell, 1991). In 1997, the residents of Mmatshumu village formed Gaing-O Community Trust (GCT), through which they have since been running a culture and heritage tourism project at Lekhubu. The GCT, like other community trusts in Southern Africa, has a mandate to mobilise the resources found in and around Lekhubu to generate income and use it to uplift the socio-economic conditions (Mbaiwa, 2004a) of Mmatshumu community, as well as ensure continued conservation of the island's environment and resources. Lekhubu Island CBT project has relied heavily on external funding throughout its early years. The common expectation was that, with time, the project would grow and begin to deliver some livelihood diversification programmes to the community. Almost one-and-a-half decades later, the project has not been able to break even. Instead, the Lekhubu project has relied almost entirely on external donor funding for both its daily operations and the project's development budget. In recent years, following Botswana's international classification as an upper middle-income country, international donor agencies have begun to pull out. With the drying out of external donor funds, the CBT project had to find quickly other means to stay afloat.

Since access to Lekhubu Island is highly seasonal, so is its tourism business. As a result, this project is in dire need of diversifying both its product and its market. According to members of the Lekhubu board, management, guides, village leadership and the Technical Advisory Council, this need has long been identified and a number of options considered. However, the local community lacks the skills, knowledge and understanding of how to put their ideas into practice. This is a common problem facing a number of other CBT projects in Botswana (Mbaiwa, 2004b). In the case of Lekhubu CBT, while the local community seems unable to conceive any alternative product idea or think in an entrepreneurial manner, there is a consistent reference to the need to build a lodge at the outskirts of Makgadikgadi Pans, with a view to ensuring a continued flow of income throughout the year. Notwithstanding that this may be a noble idea, the community does not have a clear idea on what target market the lodge should focus on. They still face the question, 'if we build it, will they come?' (Bernardo, Valentin and Leatherman, unpublished). They also do not have a clear idea of the magnitude of the proposed lodge, the source of investment capital or skilled manpower requirements for running such a different and possibly demanding enterprise. The need to balance what communities are willing to do and what they are ready to do has been documented before. 'If willingness is not balanced with readiness, communities run the risk of initiating projects that they cannot sustain' (Thakadu, 2005:207).

In acknowledgement of these types of constraints among communities, the government of Botswana encourages community–private sector partnerships in the form of JVs (DWNP, 1999). The rationale behind these JVs is that while local communities provide the land and the tourism resource, the private partner would provide the investment capital as well as the necessary skills to run the enterprise. It is also envisaged that in the long run, the investor would pass on the skills to members of the community who would be able to take over at the end of the partnership agreement (Zuze, 2009). This arrangement seems problematic for the Mmatshumu community. While there is an appreciation of the lack of skills and capital to enable the community to venture into other related enterprises, there is a general lack of willingness to enter into partnerships. The Mmatshumu community wants neither to share nor to lose their revered heritage site to an investor or another community. The community seems more comfortable with receiving donor funds than with proposing and entering into partnerships of any kind. They simply do not trust outsiders. What is more interesting is that the general lack of trust manifested itself even in their opposition to a proposal to create a heritage tourism trail linking the different sites and CBT projects in the Southern Makgadikgadi region. While this would simply be a trail to ensure visibility and longer tourist stays in the region, Mmatshumu residents do not see it that way. To them, it is a scheme to 'make them share their Lekhubu' with other communities.

Different reasons may be advanced for the community's apparent unwillingness to enter into partnerships. First, this community consistently makes reference to the fact that their right to Lekhubu Island did not come easily. They had a long and protracted disagreement with another community over ownership and control of this site until they were declared rightful owners by a panel of high-level central government and tribal authority delegation. Therefore, any proposed partnership with neighbouring communities is viewed as another way of trying to wrestle this ownership and control away from them. Second, the concept of joint-venture partnerships with private investors comes from government. It is not an idea conceived and fully understood at grassroots level, but rather considered as an imposition. Lekhubu Island CBT project is a typical example of top-down development based on a 'mock consultation' (Thakadu, 2005) approach. This is common across Botswana and other southern African destinations, which are suffering the consequences of often indiscriminate donor funding practices. For any CBT like Lekhubu to break out of their donor funding dependency cycle, there is a clear need for adequate community consultation, training, sensitisation and mobilisation, which would require a fundamental shift in the community's attitude towards collaboration with either the private sector or other communities. Surely these are all aspects that should have been evaluated and addressed, during the ten years when external funding was indiscriminately handed out, raising a number of false expectations about CBT.

Case Study 3.3: The contested nature of wildlife-based tourism in the Greater Serengeti Ecosystem of Tanzania

Authored by: Alex Wilbard Kisingo

The Serengeti ecosystem in Tanzania is a landscape full of conflicting interests and values belonging to different actor groups as a result of a burgeoning tourism industry. This ecosystem, which spans an area of over 35,000 square kilometres in seven main protected areas in northeastern Tanzania, is among the key attractions to the fast-growing Tanzanian tourism sector, receiving over half of the total tourist arrivals in the country (Gereta *et al.*, 2003). The biggest attraction in this ecosystem is the extensive herds of wildlife in the short grass plains, the vast landscapes and the culture of local people (e.g. Maasai, Sukuma and Hadzabe). These have attracted considerable investment leading to the construction of hotels and campsites and the start of tour operating companies, with increased economic benefits to elite groups such as the government, business people, employees in the sector and to some extent the local communities.

Despite the known contribution of tourism to the conservation of the Serengeti ecosystem and to community development, the level of these benefits does not offset the liabilities incurred by those communities that are living in a contested landscape where the wildlife constitute a daily threat to people, but is also valued as the core tourism resource (Kisingo, 2013). Communities living close to protected areas are faced with high levels of human–wildlife encroachment and conflicts often translating to crop raiding, livestock predation, insecurity, loss of human life and zoonotic disease transmissions (Kaswamila *et al.*, 2007). In addition to this, they have to deal with the restricted access to land and inflated living costs associated with the increased presence of tourists, especially in the Western Serengeti and Ngorongoro areas.

Communities are not happy with most tourism investments and spending taking place in towns and cities away from the ecosystem (Sachedina and Nelson, 2010). Furthermore, communities living in the Serengeti ecosystem have a lower annual per capita income of about USD 97.5 per annum (much lower than the national average of USD 630), with 51.3 per cent of them living under the poverty line, compared to a Tanzania's national average of 28 per cent (World Bank, 2012, 2015). This makes people associate tourism development and protected areas with poverty traps for the communities living around the ecosystem (Kisingo, 2013).

This communities' negative perception about tourism and conservation can constitute a potential threat, as it may lead to resentment of tourism and the Serengeti wildlife. Over the years, a number of intense land use disputes between communities and conservation organisations have emerged (Kisingo, 2013). One example is the conflict between investors in hunting and Maasai pastoralists in a Loliondo Game Controlled Area, an area of 4,000 km^2 in the Eastern Serengeti. Pastoralists in Loliondo see government plans to evict them from their land to pave the way for more exclusive sports (hunting) as an act against their rights. The recent eviction of Sukuma pastoralists from the now Makao Wildlife Management Area (southern Serengeti) was seen by pastoralist as exclusionist, while conservationists, government and tourism investors saw it as the right way to secure necessary wildlife resources and tourist attractions (Kisingo, 2013).

Game reserves – protected areas managed by the central government for consumptive tourism sport such as hunting – are not governed by clear benefit-sharing mechanisms that ensure a positive contribution to local communities. The share from game reserves is based on the 25 per cent dividend given by the central government to districts where hunting takes place. This form of sharing has often been used for administrative activities throughout the district, regardless of the closeness of the locality to wildlife or the recipients of wildlife-related costs (URT, 2009; Kisingo, 2013).

While within the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (Eastern Serengeti) communities receive educational support, social services and veterinary services for their livestock, in addition to over USD 1.2 million in annual contributions to their community projects, communities still sense unfair treatment. Communities feel they have been left out of the decision-making processes, with some decisions being perceived as against their interests. This perceived unequal treatment could create conflict between different actor groups and ruin what has been so far achieved for conservation, tourism and community development (Kisingo, 2013).

The mechanisms for cost and benefit distribution from the tourism and conservation sector in the Serengeti ecosystem, for instance the contributions given to the resident community in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area and the outreach programme of Serengeti National Park, do not seem satisfactory. For instance, despite getting concessions from tourism investments in village lands, villagers in Eastern Serengeti see development in tourism as ruining their livelihood options, especially pastoralism. Benefits shared are not seen as an incentive for best practices in conservation and tourism by community members, as they are primarily received at community level, while contributions towards the costs of living close to protected areas and tourism attractions are received at household level.

Generally, there appears to be a consensus that private sector investors and the government get most profit from tourism in the Serengeti ecosystem, followed by protected area agencies, with very little trickling down to the community. On the other hand, the costs are borne mostly by the community and some by the protected area agencies. What is worse is that private investment is not governed by a clear mechanism for profit sharing or for benefit distributions to be ploughed back into the ecosystem. Only few investors have recently become actively involved in supporting conservation activities and community livelihoods, by providing employment as game scouts and casual labourers. However, a fairer way to benefit local communities is yet to be identified in the Serengeti. For instance, promotion of CBET initiatives, such as walking safaris in community areas, cultural museums and *bomas* and homestays, could be explored as ways to actively involve community members and ultimately improve their perception about tourism and the benefits it can bring them.

Case Study 3.4: Community involvement in tourism in the Lewa Wildlife Conservancy (Kenya)

Authored by: Esther Kagure Munyiri, Bob Wishitemi and Pius Ongoro Odunga

Designating an area as a reserve or game park may conflict with traditional resource management practices. For example, local people may find themselves excluded from traditional hunting or farming territories, with areas that formerly provided communities with resources, such as grazing or construction materials, suddenly becoming unavailable. In principle, the management plans of areas allocated to new uses should take into account the provision of alternative resource bases or financial benefits (i.e. compensation) for local people, which does not always happen (Jurowski and Gursoy, 2004; Reid *et al.*, 2004; Tosun, 2006).

The Lewa Wildlife Conservancy (LWC) in Northern Kenya, has been at the forefront in involving the local community in benefits sharing, education assistance and decision making. The conservancy was constituted as a non-profit organisation, whose objectives are to preserve wildlife within its borders and to actively encourage people outside its borders to appreciate the value of wildlife and related ecosystems. LWC's wildlife population is of national interest and significance as a pioneer private rhinoceros sanctuary, and also including 25 per cent of Kenya's population of Grevy's zebra, 12 per cent of its black rhinos and 15 per cent of its white rhinos, in addition to a variety of other species.

This case study emerges from an assessment of the LWC community's perceptions of and views about their participation in and support of tourism. A sample of two hundred households (20 per cent of the population), were surveyed using a direct face-to-face survey method, achieving a 98 per cent response rate. What emerged was that LWC residents participate in tourism through benefit sharing, owning community projects and by taking an active part in conservancy management decision making. LWC provides employment to the local community and has facilitated a number of local initiatives, such as water projects, schools and tree-planting initiatives. The conservancy employs 300 full-time staff and fifty to a hundred part-time seasonal staff. An additional 150 people are employed in tourism enterprises, furniture and carpet-making workshops and local farms.

LWC established the Lewa Education Programme (LEP) in 2001, with the main aim of providing the support necessary for children to achieve the best possible education, while at the same time creating a strong awareness of the importance of environment and wildlife conservation. It provides teaching and learning materials and facilities to seventeen neighbouring schools, including desks, teaching and learning aids, books, sports facilities and playground, refresher programmes for teachers, lunch provision for children and classroom construction. In addition, they sponsor the best students from secondary school through to university. Over 500 students in primary, secondary and tertiary education have received the LEP's annual bursary, and at least 75 per cent graduate from university and college.

LWC runs three clinics for the local community offering a variety of healthcare services. Adult literacy classes are also part of the LWC development programme, aimed at providing basic education to foster local development and wealth creation. There has been notable increase in tree planting by the community. Microcredit schemes have been set up to empower women financially, by lending them small amounts of money at 5 per cent interest, to start microenterprises. Since 2005, over 1,500 community cattle have been grazing on LWC land, contributing to the natural balance of the pasture levels by reducing grass types that are not preferred by plains game, and by feeding and trampling.

The study generally highlighted that there is a direct positive relationship between residents' financial benefits from tourism and their perception of and support for the industry. Not surprisingly, residents who received more financial benefit from tourism perceived the impacts of tourism more positively than those who received less financial gain. This often influenced their willingness (52 per cent of respondents) and ability (43 per cent of respondents) to take part in the decision-making process and support tourism.

The overwhelming support for tourism (over 90 per cent of the respondents) was linked to the general perception of tourism as generally a good thing as it contributes to community development and to the future success of LWC. A friendly, hospitable local population is a critical factor in the success of the tourism industry (Choi and Sirakaya, 2006; Andereck *et al.*, 2005), and is at the basis of LWC's efforts to integrate the local community in tourism development. While most respondents (88.5 per cent) recognised the value of tourism and were aware of community projects initiated by tourism in their area, 10 per cent of the respondents did not fully understand the 'spin-offs' provided by the income generated by tourism, such as the provision of social services, healthcare and education.

Overall, LWC shares benefits from tourism with the community through education and health support, water projects and other ventures beneficial to it. The community is actively involved in the decision-making process and justifies the overwhelming community support for tourism revealed in this study.

Case Study 3.5: The 'voice' of local people should be heard – the challenges of Ikona Community Wildlife Management Area in Western Serengeti (Tanzania)

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For the past three decades, it has become widely recognised that the successful long-term management of protected areas can be achieved if local people participate fully in conservation, have the right to control and manage wildlife resources, and derive tangible benefits from conservation to improve their livelihoods (Gruber, 2010). A number of Community Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) have been established in Tanzania since 2003 as a way of promoting local participation in wildlife conservation. However, there is insufficient evidence about the challenges affecting the successful implementation of community WMAs in terms of improved conservation and local livelihoods. This study uses the case of Ikona WMA in Western Serengeti (Northern Tanzania), to explore the challenges affecting its successful implementation based upon local voices.

The study was conducted in 2012 in three communities of the Ikona WMA, namely, Robanda, Makundusi and Nyichoka villages. The Ikona WMA is jointly managed by five villages, and covers an area of 242.3 km[2]. The area borders Serengeti National Park to the east and the southeast, Gurumeti Game Reserve to the south and the southwest, and Ikorongo Game Reserve to the north (URT, 2011). Data for this study were collected through interviews with fifty key informants: mostly village leaders who were purposefully selected based on their position and direct involvement in the Ikona WMA. Eight focus groups were facilitated with community members. These had been selected according to their residence in the village for more than five years and their knowledge of Ikona WMA.

Surveyed community members perceived some benefits to the community from Ikona WMA including the improvement of social infrastructure, including the construction of school classes, and the provision of learning materials, water dams and an occasional transport service to Mugumu town where community access most of their basic needs. However, no substantial livelihood benefits were felt at the household level, except employment opportunities for a few individuals in Ikona WMA and economic ones for investors in tourism. With regard to wildlife conservation, community members perceived a number of conservation benefits associated with Ikona WMA. These included the decline of poaching and bushfires, increases in wildlife species, especially elephants, and the improvement of habitats associated with the intensive protection of wildlife in the Ikona WMA.

Communities identified a number of the challenges affecting the successful implementation of Ikona WMA. Among the most frequently reported were: the low involvement of the community in decision making about Ikona WMA as indicated in the following statement:

> WMA leaders make decision without community members' authority . . . [N]ow they have changed leadership duration in our constitution from three to five years without involving us[;]
>
> Respondent No. 13

and Ikona WMA's lack of power over wildlife resources:

> we don't have power to collect revenues from our tourism investors and decide how much the investors should pay us. All agreements and collection of revenues from our investors are made by central government agency[.]
>
> Respondent No. 23

This view also provided evidence of state control over the financial benefits of community-based conservation from wildlife resources, worsened by measures that the community identified, such as limited access to their natural resources, especially farms, grazing lands and bush meat, and an unequal distribution of conservation benefits in the village. Poor financial management and monitoring of village development projects were also identified as constraints to the successful implementation of the Ikona WMA's plans. In relation to wildlife conservation, frequently reported challenges were: an increase of the livestock population in the protected area; the lack of an efficient communication system and weapons for the village game scouts (VGSs); insufficient patrol vehicles, undermining security; and an increase of problem animals, especially elephants, affecting community livelihoods and provoking hostile community attitudes towards Ikona WMA. Community members agreed that:

> before any decision concern Ikona WMA approved, WMA leaders should consult us through our general village assembly[.]
>
> Respondent No. 4

They also highlighted the importance that Ikona WMA should be empowered to collect revenues from tourism investors and be involved in crucial decision making such as quota allocation, and emphasised the need for conservation benefits to be spent according to community members' priorities. For instance, a respondent from Nyichoka village suggested that

> . . . Village leaders should not spend all money obtained from Ikona WMA for construction of school classes, while we are facing problem of water in our village . . .
>
> Respondent No. 8

Ikona WMA should empower the community financially by stimulating the creation of income-generating activities, which would help to improve individual and household income. Ikona WMA should have an arrangement for community members to access bush meat for their nutrition at least once during the hunting season, as stated by a respondent (No. 33) from Robanda village:

> . . . We know the value of wild animals, but it is not a sin if we could access bush meat at least once annually . . .
>
> Respondent No. 33

The Ikona WMA benefits could be shared on the basis of the area of land that each village has contributed to the WMA, instead of the current equal distribution among villages participating in it. The Government and Ikona WMA could look into compensation procedures for those suffering from problem animals, and VGSs could be empowered and allowed to use guns for their own safety against notorious poachers.

This study suggested that WMAs in Tanzania can be a viable option to cultivate community interest in wildlife conservation and improve communities' livelihoods associated with their proximity to protected areas. However, local voices should be more actively heard when addressing specific challenges, as shown in Ikona WMA. Tanzanian wildlife policy continues to rely on central government power and the centralised governance of wildlife resources (e.g. allocation of quotas) in community WMAs (Nelson, 2007), challenging the concept of Community-based Natural Area Management upon which WMAs were based.

Final considerations

This chapter has offered a broad overview of issues associated with CBT. The economic importance and potential of CBT have been acknowledged and its development seems to be geared towards increasing community participation and enhance the alternative livelihood gains deriving from CBT. Some of the complexities associated with the role of the community and the definition of the term 'community' were also discussed (i.e. Case Study 3.1), providing some food for thought.

Over the years, research on CBT has revealed that functional community participation in tourism strongly contributes to growth, and generates new products and conservation incentives; growth, however, often overshadows development. For instance, in the case of Namibia:

> the protection and increase in wildlife has of course enhanced the tourism potential of the region and has consequently generated benefits for the local inhabitants, but local communities need to become aware of, and gradually take responsibility for, their own resources.
>
> Novelli and Gebhardt (2007:274).

Various studies agree that, in order for communities to proactively engage and take responsibility over the CBT development and management process, capacity-building actions that stimulate an adequate understanding of the opportunities and challenges associated with CBT are paramount. In this regard, the point raised by Giampiccoli *et al.* (2014) of looking beyond tourism skills development is one that requires further investigation in the future, in order to better address the need for community members to negotiate what is best for their communities, rather than the personal gains of individuals within the community or the fulfillment of outsiders' agendas. In other words, an integrated participatory development approach according to which community involvement is embedded into the tourism development process is required if the 'donor cycle' described in Case Study 3.2 is to be interrupted. Improved mutual understanding, cooperation and responsibility are necessary to stimulate better opportunities for local people to make a larger and more balanced contribution to and benefit from CBT development.

This chapter may lead to an assumption that CBT (and CBET) as a tool for development is based mainly on conservation principles or economic interests. However, this is neither correct nor important, as my overall intention was to emphasise that community involvement stands as a prerequisite and that there is a lesson to be learned from the limitations and constraints showcased, for example, in the case of the Serengeti ecosystem in Tanzania (Case Study 3.3) and the community quest for a fairer way of spreading the benefit of CBT, something that appears to have been identified in the Kenyan case of Lewa discussed in Case Study 3.4. In addition, the importance of including 'local voices' in the CBT development process is emphasised through Case Study 3.5 on the Ikona Community Wildlife Management Area in Western Serengeti, in support of the stance that tourism can only prosper if it engages local communities.

Whatever the stage of development of the examined case studies, the information collated here presents only a snapshot of the interactions and relationships that were at play at the time of writing. Therefore, conclusions regarding the processes that can be synthesised and extrapolated from these scenarios to inform other case studies have clear constraints and limitations. Given the complexities of evaluating the implications of CBT development for livelihoods' diversification, the formulation of specific recommendation is deemed risky. Experiences from past research and consultancy practices have deterred me from drawing out broader guidance for future CBT policy and practice, but suggest rather giving space to the reader to draw personal conclusions on the comparability of the data here presented and those that may be encountered in future CBT-related research.

4 Tourism and development in post-conflict situations of fragility

Introduction

This chapter offers a critical evaluation of the role of tourism in post-conflict societies and key barriers to sustainable tourism development in destinations described as ‘fragile states’ or ‘situations of fragility’. A lack of understanding of the complexities of the tourism sector, along with a general misjudgement of its wider economic benefits, the required product offerings and the role of local communities, exacerbate uncertainty over the feasibility of tourism in such locations. In a post-conflict situation of fragility, where continuous civil conflict has weakened the state and its authority, comprehensive basic service provision and legitimacy, there are numerous complex challenges to the development of tourism (Novelli *et al.*, 2012). As previously mentioned, although tourism is primarily a private sector-led activity, it requires effective and coordinated public sector support rooted in effective political and economic leadership, planning, environmental management, infrastructure and human resource development. The failure to adequately plan and manage tourism can result in adverse environmental and social outcomes, limited economic benefits for communities and give way to deep-rooted scepticisms, antagonism and rivalry over the true value of tourism.

Based on desk research and empirical evidence from Burundi, Rwanda and Sierra Leone, this chapter suggests that a country’s only way to develop tourism effectively in a situation of fragility is undoubtedly linked to its resilience and ability to: orchestrate policy reforms; facilitate local capacity building and private sector linkages; develop products of a complementary nature to those existing in the region; and target regional markets where the presence of increasing new middle classes offers a viable alternative to sceptical and unreliable international markets.

It must be noted that this chapter reports on research conducted and written prior to the the Ebola virus outbreak in Sierra Leone, which spread in the summer of 2014. Although there is no doubt that this epidemic and the related national crisis will pose additional and considerable constraints to tourism development in the country, I decided nevertheless to discuss some core issues associated with Sierra Leone’s post-conflict state of fragility, which may serve as a base for further investigation, once the Ebola virus outbreak is finally under control, and tourism planning and development activities resume. There is no doubt that the post-Ebola recovery phase will be a long and challenging one and that the effect of such an unexpected crisis on the regional economy in general and the tourism sector in particular may well become the subject of investigation in the future.

Defining the term 'situation of fragility'

Around 60 per cent of the world's poorest countries have recently experienced civil conflicts of variable intensity and duration, which have usually erupted after a period of economic stagnation or collapse (Kahler, 2007). Many of these states, a group of around fifty countries that are home to around a billion people, are defined as fragile or referred to as situations of fragility (OECD, 2008:1). Civil conflict and political instability are endemic in many of them, and around thirty-five of those considered fragile in 1979 are still fragile today (OECD, 2011).

Undeniably, the term 'fragile state' has been critiqued as stigmatising and analytically imprecise; many commentators see the term fragile as a pejorative and inherently political label reflecting neo-liberal ideals of how a 'successful' state should function (Stepputat and Engberg-Pedersen, 2008). Others argue that state fragility is not an either/or condition, but varies along a continuum of performance, as well as across areas of state function and capacity. The International Network on Conflict and Fragility (INCAF) describes a fragile state as having a 'weak capacity to carry out basic functions of governing a population and its territory', lacking 'the ability to develop mutually constructive and reinforcing relations with society' (OECD/DAC, 2010: 21), and basically 'failing, or at risk of failing, with respect to authority, comprehensive basic service provision, or legitimacy' (Stewart and Brown, 2010:3).

Although there is evidence of a consensus in international policy circles over the broad definition of a fragile state, the empirical and normative deficiencies of the term have led development agencies to adopt the much broader terminologies 'environments of difficulty', 'situations of fragility' or 'fragile situations'. These terms also recognise that fragility does not neatly map onto state boundaries, and that there is a need to look beyond the political setting to the state of society in both examining and countering fragility (Moreno-Torres and Anderson, 2004; OECD, 2008; Stewart and Brown, 2010).

It is also increasingly common for development agencies to conceptualise fragility in relation to its opposite – resilience (OECD, 2008). Thus resilient states are able to maintain authority, stability and legitimacy, balance societal expectations and capacity, deliver services and ameliorate the impact of external and internal shocks. Resilience is also seen as a fundamental human potential that facilitates efforts to develop communities in a way that enhances knowledge (Richardson *et al.*, 1990). Whichever definition commentators use, there is broad agreement that there exist strong links between violent conflict and some of the dimensions of fragility: particularly between failures of authority, service and legitimacy. Authority failures associated with violent conflict weaken service access and undermine legitimacy, which in turn causes failures in social, economic and political rights and justice, weakens the realisation of UNMDGs and often reinforces inequalities (Stewart and Brown, 2010):

> Aid agencies, multilateral donors, security organisations, military forces and civil society bodies have all responded, in one way or another, to what they perceive to be the causes and effects of fragile and failing states . . . However, the international consensus on the importance of supporting fragile states, which has been reflected in myriad political declarations and high-level official meetings, appears not to have yet been translated into an effective policy response . . . At the same time, donors have still to make good on their pledges to achieve greater co-ordination, local ownership and sustainability in their investments in fragile states
>
> Anten *et al.* (2012: 7–8)

A number of issues related to aid management, state-building, state–society relations and (tourism) strategies for economic development naturally arise in relation to what can (or should) be done in situations of fragility:

> State fragility is a major constraint on Africa's development. Four out of every five fragile states around the world are found in Africa. For the past decade, Africa has exhibited strong economic growth, but this has not translated into a corresponding improvement in the lives of the majority of its peoples. Hence promoting inclusive growth is now a matter of urgency. The AfDB's Ten Year Strategy (TYS) 2013–22, focuses on supporting African countries to achieve growth that is not only high, but growth that is diversified, broad based and inclusive.
>
> Jones (2013: 1)

On the premise that tourism is looked at as a way to diversify the economy and stimulate a broad based and inclusive growth[1] of a country, the OECD's ten 'Principles for fragile states and situations' are used here as a framework for the evaluation of tourism implications in the socio-economic recovery process of post-conflict situations of fragility (Table 4.1), with specific reference to Burundi, Rwanda and Sierra Leone.

The OECD's principles highlight how, in fragile situations, governments lack the political will and or capacity to fulfil the basic conditions for poverty reduction, development, security and human rights, and emphasise the importance of a thorough analysis of the country's context before any donor programme and/or development initiative is initiated. 'This call for context-specific knowledge is in turn a response to the realisation that political factors are crucially important in determining the possibilities for reform and development in a fragile state environment' (Anten *et al.*, 2012: 8). However:

Table 4.1 The OECD's principles for good international engagement vs tourism in situations of fragility

OECD's principles and description	*Tourism*
1 Take context as the starting point It is essential for international actors to understand the specific context in each country, and develop a shared view of the strategic response that is required. It is particularly important to recognise the different constraints of capacity, political will and legitimacy, and the differences between: i post-conflict/crises or political transition situations ii deteriorating governance environments iii gradual improvement iv prolonged crisis or impasse. Sound political analysis is needed to adapt international responses to country and regional context, beyond quantitative indicators of conflict, governance or institutional strength. International actors should mix and sequence their aid instruments according to context, and avoid blueprint approaches	Burundi context – The country's post-conflict recovery process has been characterised by a slow improvement of fundamentally deteriorated governance environments emerging from a prolonged crisis. Tourism is seen as one of the core sectors for poverty alleviation and development, but the lack of a strategic policy approach slows down any substantial progress. Rwanda context – The country's post-conflict recovery process has been characterised by a substantial improvement in the governance environment, which is considered by many as a model for other post-conflict destinations. Tourism is booming following the successful implementation of a tourism strategy focusing on high-end tourism, with conservation at the core of its plans. Sierra Leone context – The country's post-conflict recovery process has been characterised by a gradual improvement of fundamentally deteriorated governance environments and prolonged impasse. Tourism is seen as one of the core sectors for poverty alleviation and development, but the lack of a strategic policy approach slows down any substantial progress.

continued . . .

Table 4.1 Continued

OECD's principles and description	*Tourism*
2 Ensure no activity does harm International interventions can inadvertently create societal divisions and worsen corruption and abuse, if they are not based on strong conflict and governance analysis, and designed with appropriate safeguards. In each case, international decisions to suspend or continue aid-financed activities following serious cases of corruption or human rights violations must be carefully judged for their impact on domestic reform, conflict, poverty and insecurity. Harmonised and graduated responses should be agreed, taking into account overall governance trends and the potential to adjust aid modalities as well as levels of aid. Aid budget cuts in-year should only be considered as a last resort for the most serious situations. Donor countries also have specific responsibilities at home in addressing corruption, in areas such as asset recovery, anti-money laundering measures and banking transparency. Increased transparency concerning transactions between partner governments and companies, often based in OECD countries, in the extractive industries sector is a priority.	Burundi's tourism-related activities – The country has benefitted from limited tourism development advice and external funding contributing to the identification of the core tourism development priorities, but its limited available internal resources hinder the implementation of any plans. There is evidence of local elites taking control over the construction of tourist resorts and of an indiscriminate use of natural resources, with little or no control by the government. Some progress was recently made in the identification of regulatory systems to protect the environment, but these are yet to be effectively implemented. Rwanda's tourism-related activities – The country has embarked on a number of externally funded tourism projects. There is however a risk that any further external involvement and funding would provide little additional benefit to the destination. There is evidence of strong regulation in the development of tourism with a number of initiatives aimed at environmental conservation and active participation by communities in rural locations. However, power remains in the hands of elites that can invest in the sector. Sierra Leone's tourism-related activities – The country suffers from a limited and uncoordinated number of externally funded tourism consultancy projects providing some level of contradictory advice, at times raising false expectations. Land rights are being resolved so as to open areas for investment. However, there is evidence of local and expatriate elites taking control over the construction of tourist resorts. Some progress was recently made in the identification of regulatory systems to protect the environment, but these are yet to be effectively implemented.

3 Focus on state building as the central objective States are fragile when state structures lack the political will and/or capacity to provide the basic functions needed for poverty reduction, development and to safeguard the security and human rights of their populations. International engagement will need to be concerted, sustained, and focused on building the relationship between state and society, through engagement in two main areas: first, supporting the legitimacy and accountability of states by addressing issues of democratic governance, human rights, civil society engagement and peace building; second, strengthening the capability of states to fulfill their core functions is essential in order to reduce poverty. Priority functions include: ensuring security and justice; mobilising revenue; establishing an enabling environment for basic service delivery, strong economic performance and employment generation. Supporting these areas will in turn strengthen citizens' confidence, trust and engagement with state institutions. Civil society has a key role both in demanding good governance and in service delivery.	Burundi's governance and tourism – There is evidence of some political support for tourism, but the weak and at times inexistent regulatory framework and business incentives have further hindered the capacity of the sector to contribute to poverty reduction. Among the core governance priorities for tourism to succeed are: security and justice, an enabling business environment, basic service delivery, vocational skills development and employment generation. Rwanda's governance and tourism – There is evidence of considerable political support for tourism, paired with substantial investments being pumped into the sector (i.e. expansion of the airport). A fairly strong regulatory framework provides a competitive business environment, with evident progress made by the sector in contributing to poverty reduction. Among the core governance priorities for tourism to increase its performance are: improved service delivery, vocational and managerial skills development, stimulate entrepreneurship and employment especially in rural areas. Sierra Leone's governance and tourism – There is evidence of increasing political support for tourism. This includes scaling up national budgetary allocations and offering appropriate tax incentives to genuine investors. However, the weak regulatory framework and the lack of a tourism-friendly land policy have hindered the capacity of the sector to fully develop. Among the core governance priorities for tourism to succeed are: land reform; an enabling business environment, basic service delivery, vocational skills development and employment generation, especially in rural areas.

continued . . .

Table 4.1 Continued

OECD's principles and description	*Tourism*
4 Prioritise prevention Action today can reduce fragility, lower the risk of future conflict and other types of crises, and contribute to long-term global development and security. International actors must be prepared to take rapid action where the risk of conflict and instability is highest. A greater emphasis on prevention will also include sharing risk analyses; looking beyond quick-fix solutions to address the root causes of state fragility; strengthening indigenous capacities, especially those of women, to prevent and resolve conflicts; supporting the peacebuilding capabilities of regional organisations, and undertaking joint missions to consider measures to help avert crises.	Burundi's actions for prevention – Only few specific initiatives linked to tourism (i.e. Gitega Association Mi-PAREC [Ministry for Peace and Reconciliation], Bujumbura Akilah Institute for Women) are aimed at strengthening indigenous capacity (especially women and youth) in hospitality and entrepreneurial skills. Rwanda's actions for prevention – There are a number of established heritage and community-based conservation initiatives (e.g. the Kigali Memorial Museum and the collaboration between the Rwanda Development Board and the International Gorilla Conservation programme, the Gorilla Organization and Dian Fossey Gorilla Fund), which are of great value to community building and engagement in tourism. Sierra Leone's actions for prevention – A number of organisations have been involved in aspects directly linked to the peacebuilding process, addressing the root causes of state fragility and rebuilding of state–society relationships. However, tourism remains linked mainly to sporadic and uncoordinated private sector initiatives.
5 Recognise the links between political, security and development objectives The challenges faced by fragile states are multidimensional. The political, security, economic and social spheres are interdependent. Importantly, there may be tensions and trade-offs between objectives, particularly in the short-term, that must be addressed when reaching consensus on strategy and	Burundi – The adverse foreign offices' travel advice (i.e. FCO advice against 'all travel' to some, and 'all but essential travel', for most of the country except its capital Bujumbura) is rooted in a volatile geopolitical situation. While its membership of the EAC has increased exposure and trade opportunities, tourism development objectives remain hindered by security concerns worsened by the government's limited capacity to prioritise and convey coherent decisions. Rwanda's government has managed to reach a consensus on the importance of tourism and conservation and through its reform of national policies is in the process of conveying a

priorities. For example, international objectives in some fragile states may need to focus on peacebuilding in the short term, to lay the foundations for progress against the MDGs in the longer term. This underlines the need for international actors to set clear measures of progress in fragile states . . . Partner governments also need to ensure coherence between ministries in the priorities they convey to the international community.	coherent message of peace, stability and security to the international community, leading to what is perceived as a safe business environment for investment. Sierra Leone – Since the return of peace, apart from being a significant economic contributor and employer, travel and tourism, Sierra Leone represents a vital building block for the economic policies that its government has identified as crucial for the growth and stability of the nation's economy. However, one of the major factors hindering the industry's development is the lack of coherence in addressing issues such as the poor quality of services.
6 Promote non-discrimination as a basis for inclusive and stable societies Real or perceived discrimination is associated with fragility and conflict, and can lead to service delivery failures. International interventions in fragile states should consistently promote gender equity, social inclusion and human rights. These are important elements that underpin the relationship between state and citizen, and form part of long-term strategies to prevent fragility. Measures to promote the voice and participation of women, youth, minorities and other excluded groups should be included in state-building and service delivery strategies from the outset.	Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone Tourism has the potential to stimulate gender equity and social inclusion, by promoting the participation of women, youth, minorities and other excluded groups. However, there is a risk that these groups may become exploited in a process of 'museumisation' of society and culture for tourism purposes or through poorly paid employment opportunities, to name just a few. Tourism can become the cause of further intercommunity rivalry and division, which can only be avoided through processes that enable community members to make informed decisions about their future and whether tourism is a viable option. See no. 7 for suggested actions in support of the above.

continued . . .

Table 4.1 Continued

OECD's principles and description	*Tourism*
7 Align with local priorities in different ways and in different contexts	Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone
Where governments demonstrate political will to foster development, but lack capacity, international actors should seek to align assistance behind government strategies. Where capacity is limited, the use of alternative aid instruments – such as international compacts or multi-donor trust funds – can facilitate shared priorities and responsibility for execution between national and international institutions. Where alignment behind government-led strategies is not possible owing to particularly weak governance or violent conflict, international actors should consult with a range of national stakeholders in the partner country, and seek opportunities for partial alignment at the sectoral or regional level. Where possible, international actors should seek to avoid activities that undermine national institution building, such as developing parallel systems without thought to transition mechanisms and long-term capacity development. It is important to identify functioning systems within existing local institutions, and work to strengthen them.	Donor governments should consider ways to support capacity-building initiatives aimed at the development of vocational skills, service standards, business and entrepreneurship schemes to further stimulate communities' engagement and empowerment and their ability to choose the right path to development. In the specific case of Burundi and Rwanda, the EAC could offer an environment through which best practices can be identified and shared to strengthen functioning systems within existing local institutions, and could implement actions to better and lasting effects, especially where there are similar socio-cultural characteristics and challenges such as those in Burundi and Rwanda. In the specific context of tourism, international actors should seek to avoid activities that may undermine national institution building, such as developing parallel systems (i.e. repeatedly hiring external consultants) without thought to transition mechanisms and long-term capacity development of the governing and implementing institutions. There is simply no point in providing development assistance aimed at advising on new tourism products, creative marketing campaigns and workforce development strategies for the wider community, if the first in need of assistance are those that are supposed to implement such recommendations, but are not able to do so due to lack of knowledge and understanding of the sector as well as financial resources.

8 Agree on practical coordination mechanisms between international actors This can happen even in the absence of strong government leadership. Where possible, it is important to work together on: upstream analysis; joint assessments; shared strategies; and coordination of political engagement. Practical initiatives can take the form of joint donor offices, an agreed division of labour among development partners, delegated cooperation arrangements, multi-donor trust funds and common reporting and financial requirements. Wherever possible, international actors should work jointly with national reformers in government and civil society to develop a shared analysis of challenges and priorities. In the case of countries in transition from conflict or international disengagement, the use of simple integrated planning tools, such as the transitional results matrix, can help set and monitor realistic priorities.	Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone These countries have been subject to and benefited from the involvement of a multitude of donor agencies' in their peace process and state-building actions. However, there is evidence this multitude has led to some uncoordinated actions, at times try to address the same issue. A more coordinated approach is necessary. Tourism has equally benefited and at times suffered from a number of uncoordinated actions and externally funded initiatives (i.e. international consultants' advice, NGOs' assistance). It is no surprise that, in many circumstances, a number of studies have been undertaken with little or no implementation, generally for reasons such as a lack of available financial means; a lack of specific knowledge about the sector and inability to prioritise; unrealistic recommendations. Wherever possible, international actors (i.e. the World Bank, IFC, UNWTO) should work jointly with national reformers in government and civil society to develop a shared analysis of tourism development challenges and priorities, and budget for not only the evaluation phase but also for part of the implementation phase.

continued . . .

Table 4.1 Continued

OECD's principles and description	*Tourism*
9 Act fast . . . but stay engaged long enough to give success a chance	Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone
Those giving assistance to fragile states must be flexible enough to take advantage of windows of opportunity and respond to changing conditions on the ground. At the same time, given low capacity and the extent of the challenges facing fragile states, international engagement may need to be of longer duration than in other low-income countries. Capacity development in core institutions will normally require an engagement of at least ten years. Since the volatility of engagement (not only aid volumes, but also diplomatic engagement and field presence) is potentially destabilising for fragile states, international actors must improve aid predictability in these countries, and ensure mutual consultation and coordination prior to any significant changes to aid programming.	Like in any other sector, tourism development assistance will require some flexibility in terms of the length and type of engagement required from donor agencies and civil societies. Capacity building is generally required at all levels from government officials, to management and workers for hotel and tour operators, requiring a varied set of skills development to enable the effective implementation of actions aimed at meeting any tourism development aspirations. Since volatility of engagement (not only in volume of aid, but also diplomatic engagement and field presence) is potentially destabilising for fragile states, international actors must work together. Intergovernmental and inter-agency consultations should take place prior to any further significant aid programming in order to avoid duplication and unnecessary waste of limited resources.

10 Avoid pockets of exclusion ('aid orphans') International actors need to address the problem of 'aid orphans' – states where there are no significant political barriers to engagement but few international actors are engaged and aid volumes are low. This also applies to neglected geographical regions within a country, as well as neglected sectors and groups within societies. When international actors make resource allocation decisions about the partner countries and focus areas for their aid programmes, they should seek to avoid unintentional exclusionary effects. In this respect, coordinating field presence, and determining aid flows in relation to absorptive capacity and mechanisms to respond to positive developments in these countries, is therefore essential. In some instances, delegated assistance strategies and leadership arrangements among development partners may help to address the problem of aid orphans.	Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone If tourism is to be an active part of a broad-based and inclusive economic diversification plan, neglected geographical regions within a country, as well as neglected sectors and groups within societies, need to be effectively included. When international actors make resource allocation decisions about specific countries and focus areas for their aid programmes, they should seek to avoid unintentional exclusionary effects. In tourism there are known situations where sectors such as community-based tourism development projects have been funded with limited lasting effects. The three destinations in question should learn from these situations and be realistic about their ability to attract international vs regional and domestic tourists. In this respect, coordination of field presence, determination of aid flows in relation to absorptive capacity and mechanisms and prioritisation of local needs rather than donors' agendas should be part of an effective strategy to facilitate positive changes in these countries. In some instances, delegated assistance strategies and leadership arrangements among development partners and able local community members with a better understanding of local conditions may help to address the problem of aid orphans.

Source: adapted from OECD, 2014b.

> [t]he responsibility for reforms rarely lies within one ministry. Coordinating among several government ministries is often required to achieve reform. Any government running a country emerging from years of conflict is likely to lack resources and capacity to coordinate among all the parties to effect change as quickly or robustly as it might like.
>
> World Bank (2011a: 31)

The governance of fragile states is often characterised by the division of power and revenue between different and rival parts of a country's elite (i.e. the leaders of different tribes, ethnic groups and social classes) that serves to maintain a basic level of peace (North *et al.*, 2007, 2009), and in many circumstances a status quo that protects their interests. Over a long period, such failing systems can even achieve a substantial level of resilience, which in turn damages a country's prospects for future development (Putzel, 2006), worsens inequalities and undermines the trust between the people and their respective governing institutions, creating a spiral of socio-economic dysfunctions. A number of government organisations, civil societies and international donors are increasingly involved in aspects directly linked to the peacebuilding process, addressing the root causes of state fragility and rebuilding of state–society relationships. However:

> the inequality of opportunity that persists is 'toxic' both for sociopolitical cohesion and for long-term growth. Promoting more equitable development in fragile and conflict-affected states has therefore emerged as a priority for the international community, especially as many fragile states are endowed with natural resources.
>
> Jones (2013:2)

For many of these fragile or conflict-affected states, natural resources are the basis for tourism development as one of the vectors for poverty alleviation, economic diversification, inclusive growth and integration into the global economy. However, while tourism is included as a possible pathway to prosperity in the poverty reduction strategies of over 80 per cent of low-income countries, there is an evident implementation gap, which has led to a number of 'well-intentioned, but dysfunctional tourism projects delivering small benefits to few people' (Mitchell and Ashley, 2009: 1). Countries regarded as situations of fragility experience even further complexities associated with their weak capacity, problematic state–society relations, strong social divides and/or deeply rooted legacies of violent conflict (Engberg-Pedersen *et al.*, 2008), which as drivers of poverty and instability, require robust understanding in order for tourism not to become a further stress factor.

Tourism and post-conflict development

An increasing number of scholars (De Kadt, 1979; Dieke, 2003; Holden, 2013; Novelli *et al.*, 2012; Telfer and Sharpley, 2008), international organisations (i.e. World Bank, IMF, UNWTO, UNDP, EU), national ministries, regional bodies and NGOs debate tourism as a potential tool for post-conflict development, socio-economic recovery and multilateral integration and peace, among many other things. While there is a fairly established literature on tourism in the less economically developed countries of SSA and on tourism in post-conflict settings in Eastern Europe (e.g. Causevic 2010; Causevic and Lynch, 2009, 2011a, 2011b; Gould, 2011), the specific role of tourism in conflict-affected, post-conflict societies or situations of fragility in SSA remains a relatively new area of enquiry (Novelli et.al. 2012).

In a list of SSA's tourism performing countries provided by Christie *et al.* (2013: 74–5) twelve out of twenty of the SSA's fragile states are in the 'pre-emerging' category, five (Angola, Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Sierra Leone) are in the 'potential/initiating' category, and two (Rwanda and Zimbabwe) are in the 'emerging/scaling-up' category. When successful, tourism can be a tool for peace building, poverty alleviation, and infrastructure investment, as it improves the country's image as an investment destination, among other benefits. However, tourists' personal safety is perhaps the most important precondition for any tourism destination (Mansfield and Pizam, 2005). The image of destinations is evidently affected by terrorism, crime, natural disasters, international travel incidents and epidemic outbreaks, especially as the global media reinforce such security fears (Anson, 1999). Civil unrest and epidemics can affect the image of a destination long after the occurrence of short-term disasters, as internal conflict is generally incompatible with ambitions for sustainable tourism development (Beirman, 2002; Morgan *et al.*, 2011). In this context, it may be equally naïve to suggest that tourism can play a positive role in any conflict-affected or post-conflict situations of fragility (Novelli *et al.*, 2012), unless peace and stability are a growing condition.

Given the well-debated concerns over tourism's ability to deliver sustainable and equitable growth (Burns and Novelli, 2008; Hall and Brown, 2011; Novelli and Hellwig, 2011), harnessing tourism as a way to socio-economic recovery and development could be even more problematic. It would require the co-presence of former victims of conflict and offenders in a shared business setting, which would imply some level of collaboration. The process of reconciliation and societal healing required in this context may be long and complex (Brewer and Hayes, 2011) in order to overcome the dearth of pain caused by any conflict. However, on the basis of what Boudreaux has (2007: 9) suggested, that '[t]rade increases co-operation and improves relations among former enemies', tourism could provide opportunities to progress the reconciliation process and contribute to the prevention of structural conflicts (Ackermann, 2003). This is evidenced in Alluri's (2009) study on Rwanda, whereby he applies Smith's (2004: 28) 'peace building palette', and emphasises that tourism-related business activities can contribute to peace building by strengthening reconciliation, social justice and socio-economic foundations.

Despite recognising the complexities posed by the presence of a dissonant and contested heritage (Anson, 1999; Lisle, 2004; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996) often leading to a sense of 'hostipitality' (Derrida, 2000),[2] the risks of internal turmoil and terrorism affecting destination image, destination choice and post-conflict rebranding (Anson, 1999; Beirman, 2002; Fletcher, 2011; Gould, 2011; Hall, 2003; Vitic and Ringer, 2007), post-crisis recovery (de Sausmarez, 2007; Ndlovu and Heath, 2011) may however take place through domestic and niche market product development opportunities (Mazimhaka, 2007). The existing literature provides empirical evidence of the potential contribution of tourism as a social force that can promote the reconciliation and peacebuilding process (Alluri, 2009; Causevic and Lynch, 2011a, 2011b) through cross-cultural understanding and collaboration and as a vehicle for the promotion of what the International Institute for Peace through Tourism (IIPT, 2015) refers to as the 'culture of peace'.

Novel tourism initiatives can lead to post-conflict recovery, especially when developed in conjunction with infrastructure and transportation improvement projects (Richter, 1999). For example, by 2012, RwandAir grew into one of the major players in the East African region, operating flight services in Africa and in the Middle East. RwandAir expanded its fleet by acquiring two Boeings (737 and 800), and becoming one of the few African airlines to own and operate this type of new-generation aircraft. Additionally, RwandAir secured bilateral air service agreements with a number of airlines, and its aggressive expansion, combined with the recent revamping of the country's main airport – Kigali International Airport (*Euromonitor International*, 2012) – is giving a boost to tourism in in Rwanda. Similarly and although not without challenges and delays, the International Finance Corporation's involvement in establishing the Hilton in Bujumbura is an example of how international brands are viewed as a way of giving visibility and credibility to destinations.

While capacity and institution building to regain the confidence of both the international and domestic markets are crucially important to post-conflict tourism recovery (de Sausmarez, 2007), a major challenge for post-conflict destinations is the 'management of post-conflict emotions' (Brewer and Hayes, 2011: 7) and the use of 'contested heritage' (Anson, 1999: 59). This is evidently the case in the case of Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre built on a site where over 250,000 people are buried, which opened on the tenth anniversary of the Rwandan Genocide in April 2004. In this specific case, while the visitors may view the site as a cultural marker of 'a new post-conflict symbolic landscape' (McEvoy, 2011: 55), it will at the same time continue to evoke painful memories for many other individuals. In this case, the participation of various but somehow antipathetic groups in the identification and interpretation of a dissonant and/or contested heritage became part of the transitional justice process (Anson, 1999; Austin, 2002; Brewer and Hayes, 2011). However, the process of representing the dramatic consequences of conflict has required some level of negotiation over the representation of the 'truth', and failure to reach a compromise might create new divisions and instead of becoming a vehicle for reconciliation; the process leading to the establishment of a memorial and tourism attraction may become the catalyst for further inter-community rivalry and animosity stemming from 'old wounds' (Podoshen and Hunt, 2011).

These are only a few aspects that must be evaluated in conjunction with other obstacles of a political nature, and inhibit the formulation and implementation of sustainable tourism development (Yasarata *et al.*, 2010: 346). In the volatile political climate of a post-conflict situation of fragility such as Burundi, and to some extent Sierra Leone, where continuous civil conflict has weakened the state with respect to its authority, comprehensive basic service provision and legitimacy, there are complex challenges to the development of tourism as a tool for socio-economic development. These challenges relate to institution building to fill the vacuum in areas such as planning, environmental management, infrastructure and human resource development and to state building in terms of public diplomacy, national reputation and destination image (Morgan *et al.*, 2011). In Burundi and Rwanda, reconciliation is an ongoing process, curing the effects of an ethnic conflict in which diversity became a vehicle for political competition in the quest for economic and political advantage (Eifert *et al.*, 2010; Hatungimana *et al.*, 2007). In Sierra Leone, the government faces considerable problems in establishing authority, legitimacy and service delivery, tied to the broader challenge of peace and state building, in which tourism could play a significant role, but could equally represent a new venture for the political and economic gain of a small elite.

Tourism and development in Rwanda, Burundi and Sierra Leone

On 7 April 2014, Rwanda marked twenty years since the 1994 genocide. Much has been said about the Rwandan journey and, although some of the commentary may be misleading, lacking in sufficient understanding or empirical evidence, the theme of the celebration, 'Unite, Remember, Renew', reflects the spirit of commitment to ensuring that genocide never happens again:

> Twenty years after the genocide Rwanda is experiencing significant improvement in poverty levels, women and youth empowerment, transparency and accountability, democratic governance, respect for the rule of law and a profound mindset shift towards self-reliance. The depth of reforms and the increasing levels of efficiency are well captured in numerous governance and business surveys conducted periodically by reputable institutions. On the basis of the reforms, Rwanda ranks favorably across most indicators. For instance, in the 2014 World Bank 'Doing Business Report', Rwanda is ranked as the second most improved country in the world and the second easiest place to do business in Africa.
>
> Lebero (2014)

Rwanda's resilience, evidenced in major political and economic reforms, improvement in social wellbeing and booming of all sectors including agriculture and tourism, are the reasons why the country has been widely praised as a model for other post-conflict countries. Despite this, the country regularly experiences unfavourable opinion, with some commentators arguing that economic development has been achieved at the expense of human rights. In fact its president has received both compliments and criticism for his authoritarian approach, which has led to indisputable results, with his zero-tolerance policy towards corruption shaping an attractive business climate (Roux *et al.*, 2011). Since 2010, Rwanda has made the news more for stories that are usually associated with repressive police states than with rapid economic growth and good governance.

Starting in 1994, the government of Rwanda invested considerable effort into developing a clear tourism strategy. With private sector and UN input, the government successfully drafted a tourism strategy, focusing on high-end tourism with conservation at the core of its plan. The niche of 'gorilla tourism' became the 'must-do' in Rwanda, but the strategy outlined the need for diversification of tourism to international conferencing, birdwatching and activities involving other wildlife. An international marketing campaign was launched to improve the image of the country abroad, while a domestic campaign that aimed to encourage domestic travel was launched to increase local understanding and acceptance of tourism. Several market-based reforms were also adopted, such as the privatisation of the hotel and leisure sector. Since the return of peace and stability to the country, the industry has steadily developed to become a major source of export earnings. It is currently one of the fastest growing sectors and, as a result, remains high on the government's agenda (*Euromonitor International*, 2012).

I visited the Rwandan capital Kigali in July 2013 to attend the Eighth ATLAS Africa Conference at the Rwanda Tourism University College (RTUC) and had two days touring the city. Having experienced gorilla tracking in Buwindi (Uganda), few years back, I decided to let go of the idea of engaging in gorilla tracking in Rwanda, which is undoubtedly the country's major tourism pull factor. I visited the Kigali Genocide Memorial Centre, the Akilah Institute for Women, the fast developing Central Business District, the new housing complexes, the presidential palace and the Kimicanga slums, which were soon to be dismantled to become 'an expansion zone for [Central Business District], high-end residential hub, commercial mixed use entity or touristic hub that will serve the residents and business community established in the CBD' (City of Kigali, 2014). Having travelled in several other SSA capitals, I saw Kigali as a small city struggling to paint a picture of modernity, far quieter and more orderly than Nairobi (Kenya) or Kampala (Uganda) and as clean as Windhoek (Namibia).

Research conducted in Burundi in 2009 and on Sierra Leone in 2010 and early 2014 showed that the tourism industry there is hindered by the absence of a strategic policy approach, aggravated by a lack of coordinated public, private and third sector stakeholder involvement in the post-conflict development process. It has also become apparent that those directly and indirectly involved in tourism have a poor understanding of the sector's dynamics and that weak governance in areas such as planning and environmental management (typical of situations of fragility), has threatened vulnerable tourism assets in both countries. For instance, local resources, such as wilderness and local culture, have been undermined by unsustainable business propositions and practices such as the poorly regulated allocation of land and planning permission and the over-development of some of the sites, such as Burundi's side of Lake Tanganyika's shoreline (Novelli *et al.*, 2012).

While the urgent need to establish institutions empowered to devise sustainable land management and conservation policies, as well as those charged with developing and implementing a viable tourism strategy and action plan, are being recognised in Burundi, in Sierra Leone they were generally unchanged in late 2013, when my research took place. A drastic change to the state of tourism development affairs, in countries like Burundi and Sierra Leone, will only be possible once awareness of the opportunities offered by tourism is widespread, and careful consideration is given to the use of local natural resources (Lickorish and Jenkins, 1997) and on how to portray the destinations as safe to visit. In the specific case of Sierra Leone, the challenges posed by the Ebola-induced crisis are even more obvious.

In both countries, an uncoordinated approach to tourism development suggests that a cross-ministry task force should be formed to seek adequate assistance from IDOs to identify a sustainable package of reforms, providing investment incentives and actions to build local capacity and enable rural communities to establish tourism microenterprises (Novelli *et al.*, 2012). The absence of coordination compounds the chaotic national reconstruction process, which has failed to address priorities such as human resource investment and the preservation of natural assets, and forges a continuing dependency on international development assistance (Hilary, 2011) and efforts' duplication. Despite attempts made by the Burundian and Sierra Leonean governments to encourage investment, the development of tourism is constrained by limited accessibility. Arriving at the Sierra Leone's rundown Lungi International Airport is not for the fainthearted. Situated across a wide estuary four hours' drive from Freetown, visitors have to choose how to cross the water to reach the capital. None of the options are without risk. Most flights arrive in the evening, making the crossing in an old, slow ferry, or a faster water taxi in generally choppy waters with poor visibility, a less than pleasant welcome to the destination.

The development of local tourism businesses is constrained by limited access to funding and a lack of entrepreneurial investment, exacerbated by people's adversity to risk taking, which may be linked to inherited fears of wartime and corruption, with business largely remaining in the hands of those elites who have money. Even where investment is forthcoming, given the absence of building regulation and control over environmental impacts, there is variable understanding of what represents a quality tourism product (Hall, 2003), in several cases linked to a questionable allocation of land, unsustainable reconstruction projects, inadequate upgrading of existing derelict facilities and ill-conceived initiatives. An example is the Saga Resha Resort, on the Burundian shore of Lake Tanganyika, which was initially planned as a luxury hotel and later marketed as low-budget accommodation as the resort was compromised by poor quality building materials, furniture and service. This development is an example of 'environmental suicide' caused by felled trees, pagodas cemented on the beach, and over-construction on Tanganyika's shoreline (Novelli *et al.*, 2012). What is common to Burundi and Sierra Leone is that a number of construction companies have developed tourist resorts in the absence of a national tourism policy, coherent land allocation strategy and development guidelines. While their service quality and pricing rates are typical of a conflict-affected country, which has for a considerable number of years benefited from the less demanding business markets of peacekeepers, reconstruction workers and NGO employees, they are not appropriate for the leisure tourism market. In order for these destinations to compete in their respective regional markets of East and West Africa, the product and services need to be recalibrated, packaged and priced to cater for the leisure traveller.

As in many similar SSA settings, Burundi, Rwanda and Sierra Leone's tourism development aspirations are not yet fully matched by robust institutions, effective governance or sufficient local capacity. Only recently has formal tourism and hospitality training been offered by organisations like the RTUC and the Akilah Institute for Women with sites in Kigali and Bujumbura, with human resource development remaining generally limited to in-house training programmes, undermining the local workforce's ability to deliver an adequate service and view tourism and hospitality as a long-term career.

While institution-building challenges in areas such as planning, environmental protection, infrastructure development and human resource planning constrain to a greater or lesser extent all post-conflict destinations, they overlap with challenges in relation to state-building, nation reputation and destination image (Morgan *et al.*, 2011). In fact, although much may have been achieved through the peace process, tourism development remains hindered by the persistent volatile political situation, the alarming travel advisory and media messages, and the consequent negative image of these destinations. In addition to this, Rwanda and Burundi's tourism development complexities and image problems are compounded by a Central African regional context of conflict, danger and violence associated with Central Africa in general. However, the work undertaken by the East African Community (EAC),[3] although not without difficulties, has recently seen a number of cross-boundary initiatives addressing some of these challenges (Okello and Novelli, 2014). These include: a single tourist visa; a comprehensive roadmap for developing a brand strategy to promote East Africa as a single tourist destination; and harmonisation of policies and laws in tourism and wildlife management in its member states. These are of course milestones in regional integration, but there are still challenges linked to standardisation, implementation and adherence to collective agreements (Nakaweesi, 2013).

Research conducted in the three destinations highlighted the core role of the state as key in facilitating what many referred to as a 'process of social healing'. A number of government officials and politicians see tourism development as a way to tackle peace building, socio-economic inclusion, reconciliation and social justice as previously detected by Alluri (2009) in his study on Rwanda. However, while Rwanda seems to have put in place effective transitional justice arrangements and a set of inclusive growth actions addressing the post-conflict emotional challenges faced by people, in Sierra Leone and Burundi research shows that this needs to be better addressed. These echo Daley's (2006: 677) observation on Burundi, that '[p]eace and stability . . . requires a non-ethicised vision of the state, one that is inclusive and which stresses stability and security for all'. In this respect, the effective empowerment of rural Burundian, Rwandan and Sierra Leonean communities needs to be rooted in agreement over the identification of cultural symbols and their appropriate interpretation for tourism purposes (Austin, 2002; Causevic and Lynch, 2011b; McEvoy, 2011), and in a realistic assessment of the feasibility of tourism to avoid the risk of transmitting a sense of what Derrida (2000) calls 'hostipitality' to those that visit.

For instance, while in Rwanda, the identification of cultural symbols in the post-conflict landscape may be somehow perceived as the façade of a peaceful consensus (i.e. the Kigali Genocide Memorial), in Burundi it is still too early to even consider the use of certain sites for tourism purposes, as inter-community animosity over the use of resources and sites of contested meaning (Anson, 1999; Lisle, 2004; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996) may emerge as a result of what is still a 'raw wound for many' (Novelli *et al.*, 2012: 1462). Research showed that both in Burundi and Sierra Leone, the prolonged isolation of communities caused by civil war and the limited and at times inexistent consultation over possible tourism development plans have made further conflict inevitable and provoked resentment towards outsiders, especially in remote rural locations.

International agencies and NGOs have had a historical presence associated with aid and the peacebuilding process, and some of these have had the specific remit of facilitating effective arrangements for transitional justice, inclusive growth and sector development action. If tourism is truly to be promoted as one of the sectors to focus on, these organisations should concentrate on tourism development and work towards identifying linkages between the informal sector and the tourism value chain. One other challenge is that the Rwandans (Mazimhaka, 2007) and Burundians do not generally have a culture of tourism, and if the sector is to play a part in post-conflict recovery, people need to be made aware of the sector's values and potential socio-economic contribution (Novelli *et al.*, 2012). Providing better facilities and infrastructure (Ndlovu and Heath, 2011; Richter, 1999) could enable an increased propensity in favour of tourism provided by the domestic market travelling to rural areas, visitors from neighbouring countries, and, with time, the wider diaspora and international markets.

Apart from addressing the negative perceptions generally associated with post-conflict situations of fragility, destinations such as Burundi, Rwanda and Sierra Leone face the considerable challenge of creating a more stable society and addressing the underlying causes of violent conflict through economic and social development, possibly using the tourism trade 'as a means to post-conflict reconciliation' (Boudreaux, 2007:10) and improving relations among former enemies by providing them with a common business goal. Empirical evidence showed that Burundi and Rwanda's capitals have become vibrant places, where returning diaspora communities are willing to establish businesses and live. Their safety record is no worse than that of any other international destinations coming out of equally long-term turmoil. This was the case for Sierra Leone's beach resorts too, prior to the Ebola outbreak.

Local voices' perspectives on tourism and development in post-conflict destinations

Case Study 4.1: Tourism and post-conflict development in Burundi

Authored by: Carmen Nibigira

In a post-conflict state of fragility, the development of tourism is claimed as a potentially strong catalyst in the peacebuilding and development process. The process may focus upon rebuilding the country, whether by way of physical reconstruction, economic recovery, institution building, social integration or laying political foundations. Since 2008, tourism has become one of Burundi's pillars for development.

With a troubled past, it is inevitable that the road ahead will not be smooth as, despite resilient determination and hope, challenges are an unavoidable element of the country's forward journey. Determining the appropriate goals and achieving them must arise from an integrated policy development approach, capitalising on tourism as a new, emerging sector of the economy and a sustainable source of wealth.

Burundi's ability to deliver sustainable and equitable growth through institutional restructuring and workforce capacity building are tied to broader challenges associated with the peace and reconciliation process (Burns and Novelli, 2008; Hall and Brown, 2011). Socio-economic changes in a post-conflict state of fragility can only steam from integrated policies and joint thinking about the environment and all sectors of the economy from education, to agriculture and mining, to public health and tourism.

Some of the generally challenging aspects of the post-conflict recovery process in Burundi are linked to the pressing issues that are based mainly on the weak legal and working regulatory framework on which tourism is based.

Climate change, over-population, demographic pressure on the land, environmental degradation, over-development and loss of habitat are what threaten the sustainability and quality of life in Burundi, and indicate that tourism might stand on shaky ground. The path chosen by Burundi of developing tourism as a pillar for sustainable development needs to acknowledge the complexity of the process. In Burundi, a country emerging from almost fifteen years of internal civil conflicts, the capacity of tourism to revive and glue together broken linkages may be an optimistic aspiration. In the attempt to improving its economy, one can argue that four core interrelated issues must be addressed: economic health, environment health, social capacity and good governance. What is suggested here is that rather than looking at tourism through the lens of a single sector, an integrated system approach should be used to grasp the bigger picture.

In the context of a post-conflict recovery process, the role of tourism as a strong catalyst in peace building is clearly recognised, but may be easily challenged due to high or unrealistic expectations. For instance, if tourism is to contribute tangibly to poverty alleviation in Burundi, any action in this direction will need to be embedded in a well-balanced and maintained ecosystem that conserves its endangered biodiversity and tourism assets. In one of the most densely populated countries in Africa, the absence of a strategic policy approach across all sectors hinders the trajectory of tourism from producing a number of sought-after wider economic benefits (multiplier and value chain) for local development.

As in many similar settings (Telfer and Sharpley, 2008), Burundi's tourism development aspirations are not matched by the robustness of its local human capacity. Its human resource development is limited to in-house training programmes at best, or remains totally inexistent at worst. There is a lack of suitably trained staff at all levels in both the public and private sectors, with significant implications for the country's ability to perform in the highly competitive East African market.

Both Harrison (2008) and Snyman (2012b) observed that despite the increasing focus on tourism and poverty reduction, very few interventions to measure impact on beneficiaries have been reported. In its quest to pursuing the objective of developing tourism as a sector, which will have significant and positive effects on the welfare of Burundians, one has to question how this can be achieved, given Burundi's weak human resources and business environment.

The ability of the poor to 'influence decisions that affect their lives, vulnerability or resilience to shocks, access to services and assets, strength or disruption of social networks, are all important factors to take into account in assessing poverty (Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). As the intended beneficiaries, the poor have little say in the development of tourism in Burundi due to their lack of knowledge, understanding, and capital and most importantly because they are still trapped in meeting basic needs, a common state of affairs in post-conflict countries in a state of fragility.

Burundi's current tourism master plan falls into what Mitchell and Ashley (2010) described as Western tourism consultancy practices, which are limited to a broad analysis of tourism demand, strengths and weaknesses, and fail to guide national tourism policy effectively. In fact, while driving tourism as a sector based purely on a state-driven strategy for economic recovery is questionable, developing a tourism sector that does not complement others will have no positive impact on the economy of Burundi.

Case Study 4.2: The role of higher education in post-conflict tourism development in Rwanda.

Authored by: Kabera Callixte and Karel Werdler

Due to its recent violent history, the development of Rwanda as a tourism destination was relatively slow compared to that of other East African destinations. However in 2002, the new government recognised the importance of addressing the persistent national deficit of exports generally associated with energy dependence, food dependence, the low level of industrialisation and the lack of significant export diversification.

Despite this, Rwanda had experienced a strong trade performance with exports growing at an average of 12.5 per cent a year since 2001. Besides private sector mobilisation, an important driver of export growth was the restructuring of agencies such as RIEPA (the Rwanda Investment and Export Promotion Agency) and subsequently of the Rwanda Development Board (RDB) (2011), which holds the remit for tourism. While remained short of desired targets, there was evidence that Rwanda could reduce the imbalances of its trade patterns. In the meantime, the government of Rwanda had initiated a broad economic reform agenda and a number of ambitious targets aimed at national growth and poverty reduction, with the service sector expected to record an annual growth of at least 11.5 per cent between 2013 and 2020. In 2008, the number of foreign visitors to Rwanda reached just under one million, an increase of 30 per cent since 2007. Estimates indicate that tourism revenues significantly increased between 2007 and 2012, from USD 138 million to USD 300 million. Forecasted arrivals of up to 2.2 million visitors in 2020 would certainly contribute to the balance of payments, offer increased employment opportunities and possibly provide grounds to move the reconciliation process forward. However, the current workforce suffers from shortages of tourism and hospitality-skilled individuals to match the forecasted growth of tourism in the near future. Substantial investment in infrastructure and workforce development remain fundamental aspects of the tourism sector's expansion process in the years to come (MIFOTRA, 2009).

Rwanda Vision 2020 promotes the role of tourism as a key contributor to increasing its share of GDP and names specific targets that are directly linked to tourism, such as: the development of a culture of entrepreneurship, the development of a broad, dynamic and competitive private sector and the growth of investments driven by the private sector, together contributing to poverty reduction and a more equitable distribution of income and opportunities, thereby reducing the risks of future inequality and conflict.

Rwanda's tourism strategy for 2002 broadly aimed at rebuilding the country's tourism industry after a devastating war that damaged its reputation internationally as an appealing destination. In 2008, the high-end tourist segment associated with the gorilla-tracking product reached near-capacity, emphasising the need for diversification in tourism products and more active participation of the private sector in investing in product development and training of their staff. The Sustainable Tourism Development Master Plan and the tourism policy for 2009 aimed to increase tourism revenue and profits for reinvestment and employment, by developing new distinctive tourism products and services. Another core focus was on supporting infrastructure to bring spatial and social balance to the distribution of tourism benefits, and raise awareness and understanding about these benefits throughout Rwandan society. It was, however, recognised that this could not be achieved without an adequately skilled workforce and without a systematic high quality skills training programme (Ministry of Trade and Industry, 2009).

Among many other initiatives funded through international aid and cooperation, an SNV fact-finding mission led to collaboration with Nuffic, an independent, non-profit organisation based in The Hague (The Netherlands), which supports projects aimed at improving access to higher education worldwide as well as capacity-building programmes aimed at alleviating qualitative and quantitative shortages in skilled manpower – i.e. the NICHE programme.

In 2008, Nuffic representatives visited (among other organisations) RTUC, at the time the only established private higher educational institute in the country offering vocational training in hospitality and tourism (since 2006). In April 2008, a NICHE programme was identified with the aim of strengthening the capacity of RTUC to offer quality and relevant TVET, research and services, and ultimately a better equipped workforce within the hospitality and tourism sector of Rwanda. After a tendering period, the project was awarded in 2010 to a consortium formed by MDF Training & Consultancy, CIS-VU University of Amsterdam, Inholland University of Applied Sciences, Sawadee Travel and Matchmakers Tanzania.

After a brief inception phase, an action plan was identified in 2010. What followed was an intense capacity-building programme delivered by the consortium partners, which followed an initial visit of the RTUC management team to Holland in late 2010. The training included both project-based learning (PBL) and competence-based learning (CBL) delivered in a train-the-trainers format. The need for close collaboration between RTUC and the tourism industry became apparent both in terms of curriculum development and delivery, but also as a way to facilitate traineeship and placements for students.

Another objective of the project was aimed at enhancing RTUC's research capacity and profile at national, regional and international levels. In 2011, RTUC joined ATLAS Africa and hosted the 2013 regional conference in Kigali, at which RTUC staff actively contributed to the academic debate on tourism and development in SSA, by submitting research papers for the international conference.

Although there will always be room for improvement, the NICHE project has so far been regarded as a successful cooperation between several key stakeholders addressing local vocational training needs and enhancing local academic research and professional development aspirations. During the project it became obvious that several factors can determine the success or the failure of international cooperation initiatives such as this. Funding is certainly the core factor, but it is not to be considered in isolation, because if local governments fail to recognise the importance of tourism, partnering with the right organisations or partners that are not fully committed, the project would have no lasting effects. In this specific case, RTUC proved to be an established institution truly committed to raising its own performance and that of the wider tourism sector. Furthermore, the collaborative capacity-building approach adopted worked well because there were enough local academics with a minimum level of previous experience in the field willing to collaborate and improve their personal and institutional performance.

Case Study 4.3: The laissez-faire of tourism development in post-conflict Sierra Leone

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Sierra Leone is a small country located in West Africa measuring 71,740 km^2 and 402 km of coastline. It is bordered by Guinea to the northeast, Liberia to the southeast and the Atlantic Ocean to the west. It was a British colony from 1808 to 1961, the first in West Africa, and has a current population reaching almost 6 million, which is diversified with a rich culture of sixteen tribes, of which Temne and Mende constitute the majority. Despite its huge mineral potential (in diamonds, gold and iron) and opportunities for rich agricultural and fisheries sectors, and a gross national per capita of USD 360, 60 per cent of the population lives on less than a USD 1.25 a day (World Bank, 2011b; UNDP, 2013).

The root causes of the decade-long civil war in Sierra Leone that erupted thirty years after independence were mainly domestic, although some external influences also contributed (Clapham, 2001; Collier and Hoeffler, 2004). The domestic causes of the civil war dated back to 1968 under the regime of President Siaka Stevens, who replaced a well-functioning democratic government, similar to the Westminster-type parliamentary system, with a patrimonial state (Smillie *et al.*, 2000). The main elements of the one-party governance that influenced state failure and civil war were political repression, economic mismanagement and corruption, rural neglect, diamond mining, failure to engage the youth and ethno-regional rivalries (Reno, 1995).

The importance of tourism had already been recognised in Sierra Leone with the establishment of the Hotels and Tourist Board in 1964, only three years after independence. In 1973, the government made another significant move to establish the Ministry of Tourism and Cultural Affairs (MoTCA) by harnessing the immense tourism potential so as to diversify socio-economic growth in the country. Two years later, the Hotels and Tourist Board became an integral part of the MoTCA, and resorts such as St Michael's Lodge at Lakka beach and Africana Tokeh Village at Tokeh beach were already receiving a high volume of tourists.

Slave trade heritage sites at Bunce Island, Banana Island and Plantain Island were written into plans for African American diaspora heritage trails, to include the Connaught Hospital and the Cotton Tree; they were also known as 'sites of freedom'. Other plans included the development of biodiversity areas at Tiwai Island and Outamba Kilimi Park for wildlife and savannah, the Tacugama chimpanzee sanctuary and ecotourism initiatives that would offer an alternative model to the known luxury and mass tourism holiday. The country's potential for tourism development is linked to its beaches, islands, mountains, rich biodiversity and sociocultural heritage, and its unique position in the world history of anti-slavery movements and Sierra Leone's role as the land of freedom – hence the name of its capital city Freetown (National Tourism Board, Sierra Leone, 2010).

However, the decade-long civil war, which ended in 2001, left over 50,000 casualties, thousands mutilated, over a million people displaced or forced to flee to neighbouring countries, and destroyed the country's infrastructure, including its tourism facilities. The appeal of tourism had been devastated, leading to the loss of high-spending tourists (both European and American) who had chosen Sierra Leone in the past (World Bank, 2009b).

Among the most obvious challenges for tourism to re-flourish were the government's *laissez-faire* and lack of proactive involvement in stimulating tourism as a core sector in the national post-conflict socio-economic recovery phase. Over time, this led to the weakening of skilled manpower and high-level leakages due to the country's inability to support the tourism value chain locally, with most of the goods and services for tourism, from building material to food consumed in hotels and restaurants, being imported (Shakya, 2009). Moreover, Sierra Leone's visa policy has for years been a bottleneck to its tourism industry, as – except for citizens of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) – all visitors entering the country require a visa before travelling to the country, compared to regional competitors such as The Gambia and Senegal, which maintain an entry policy of arranging a free visa on arrival. Air travel to Sierra Leone and accommodation rates are among the most expensive in the world. Most visitors to the country are from the diaspora, IDO workers and a few business travellers (World Bank, 2009b). The supply of basic services such as electricity, water and sanitation has improved but is limited, as investors in the country's tourist industry still rely on generators as alternative source of energy to run their businesses. There is a widespread lack of coordination between the public and private sectors, which has considerably undermined the county's ability to fully tap into its tourism potential. Road construction and plans to improve accessibility to and from the airport and the Freetown peninsula's tourist resorts has been going on for longer than anyone can remember and it is indeed no surprise that the leisure tourism industry relies on a few adventure travel packages for some of the most intrepid travellers.

Final considerations

This chapter has discussed some of the complexities associated with leveraging tourism for development in countries that may be defined as situations of fragility, within their national post-conflict restructuring agendas. The OECD's ten 'Principles for fragile states and situations', provided in Table 4.1, assessed some of the challenges to tourism to succeed in the three study destinations based on desk research and empirical evidence. It is worth concluding that the general assumption that pro-job and pro-poor tourism policies and programmes will lead to an economically, environmentally and socially sustainable sector is challenged to a greater (Burundi and Sierra Leone) or lesser (Rwanda) extent by weak institutions and governance in areas such as planning, environmental management and human resource development. As in other sectors, if tourism is to operate successfully within a broad-based and inclusive economic growth and sector development framework, it requires adequate investment in soft and hard infrastructure that facilitates private sector development, regional integration and global connectivity. Most importantly, if tourism is to contribute effectively to post-conflict development, 'fragile states [must] receive a fair share and sustainable returns from their natural resources which will help finance the provision of basic services' (Jones, 2013: 11). This will produce a virtuous circle valued by both the state that invests in it and the wider set of people who benefit from it.

In Burundi, Rwanda and Sierra Leone, there is increasing evidence of the potential for tourism to provide innovative business opportunities and, even if only partially, contribute to the healing process (Alluri, 2009; Boudreaux, 2007; Miller, 2006) by stimulating inter-community collaborations. It is also increasingly believed that the effective inclusion and empowerment of rural and remote communities (especially youth and women) in tourism-related micro-initiatives could provide pro-poor entrepreneurial opportunities, and address underlying social causes of violent conflict (Brewer and Hayes, 2011).

While Rwanda is scaling up its tourism sector and is far ahead in the game of attracting long-haul tourists, it may be some time before Burundi attracts (if it ever does) the same volume of tourists, beyond the most adventurous segments. In the case of Sierra Leone, the current Ebola virus outbreak has put on standby all initiatives directed towards the development of tourism, and it may well be some time before the country will recover from this devastating epidemic.

In all these cases, it is important that the new African middle class and the lucrative diaspora, domestic and regional populations (Mazimhaka, 2007; Ndlovu and Heath, 2011) are seen as potentially lucrative target markets. Increased domestic tourism could boost the wider economy, promote social and business opportunities and encourage interactions between residents, addressing internal divisions and reinforcing a new sense of community, unity and reconciliation (Novelli *et al.*, 2012). If tourism is to contribute to the national socio-economic wellbeing of a fragile situation, the widespread lack of understanding of the industry's complexity and potential benefits and the weak or, in some cases absent, cohesion among key IDOs, civil societies and local stakeholders, need to be addressed to avoid duplication of efforts and waste of limited resources.

The need for sector-specific capacity-building activities is evidently being recognised both in Burundi and Rwanda in their focus on the development of basic entrepreneurial and leadership skills. For instance, the RTUC in Kigali as well as the Akilah Institute for Women, in Kigali and Bujumbura, are examples of how vocational education is being used increasingly as a vehicle for improved cooperation, gender equality, improved relations between former enemies and ultimately post-conflict reconciliation through vocational education, entrepreneurship and business-motivating initiatives.

Ultimately, to enable local authorities to deliver a competitive tourism sector and make a significant contribution to their national post-conflict recovery process, the highly political nature of the business environment in which the sector operates, needs to be addressed by reinforcing transitional justice and institutional and state-building processes, in order for tourism, like any other trade initiative, to succeed. In the specific case of Burundi and Rwanda some actions in this direction are also currently being implemented through the remit of the EAC, which have been working to strengthen the tourism and wildlife sectors, by encouraging collaborations between member states, something that Sierra Leone may have to consider in its future as a promising member of ECOWAS.

Notes

1 Further elaboration on the concept of inclusive growth is offered in Chapter 7 of this volume.

2 'Hostipitality' is a concept deriving from the juxtaposition of two contrasting ideas – 'hospitality' and 'hostility', used by the philosopher Derrida (2000) to describe what happens in societies receiving strangers.

3 The EAC is the regional intergovernmental organisation formed by the Republics of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, the United Republic of Tanzania and the Republic of Uganda. However, in the context of this book, the term EAC is used as an umbrella term for the East African multi-country tourism destination.

5 Diaspora, tourism and development

Introduction

This chapter explores the development potential of forms of tourism linked to members of the diaspora and their homeland. I start by defining the terms ‘diaspora’ and ‘African diaspora’ and their changing meanings and characteristics. Although there are recognised benefits associated with diaspora tourism, there are some challenges in its implementation, an aspect also addressed in the two case studies on Badagry (Nigeria) and Keta (Ghana), discussed later. These offer various points for reflection on how diaspora sites could better tap into diaspora-related regional and international tourism markets. The chapter concludes by identifying that beyond the recognised benefits associated with diaspora travel and tourism patterns, the African diaspora can also play a role as a change agent. This can be achieved by participating in and contributing to development efforts by attracting investors, philanthropists and consumers to help in improving the destination image as diaspora citizens take on the role of ambassadors in their own country of residence.

Since the sixteenth century, the study of diasporic movement in general (Clifford, 1994; Harris, 1996; Safran, 1991) and that of Africans in the New World in particular (Scott, 1991) has given way to the growth of what is referred to as Atlantic and diasporic studies. Although there is evidence of diasporic movements in the Middle Ages (Debrunner, 1979), this chapter is framed by the pre- and post-nineteenth-century era, and moves on to investigations of the relationship between diaspora, tourism and development in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This is primarily based on research conducted between 2010 and 2014, with a total of 58 diaspora tourists from Burundi (5), Rwanda (8), Kenya (12), The Gambia (15) and Nigeria (18). Recently, as tapping into the diaspora tourist market has shown promising results, diaspora heritage products are being employed increasingly in SSA tourism diversification strategies. These new products and strategies are rooted in the diaspora’s growing desire to invoke memory and remembrance about their ancestral past or simply knowledge of their place of origin. This is further supported by the commercial opportunity presented by mainstream tourists’ interest in the diaspora’s cultural heritage, located in places visited as part of their main (beach) holiday in destinations such as in The Gambia.

Defining 'diaspora' and 'African diaspora'

The term 'diaspora' finds its etymological origins in the Greek word διασπ ορά, meaning 'scattering', 'dispersion'. Initially associated with the dispersion of the Jewish people, today the term is generally used to describe people living outside the land they originated from. This includes alien residents, expellees, political refugees, expatriates, immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities (Helmreich, 1992; Mitchell, 1997; Safran, 1991). As highlighted by Cole and Timothy (2004:3), '[d]efinitions and conceptualisations of diaspora are fluid and contested and have been the focus of considerable debate'.

Diasporic movements and processes have become historically associated with the outcome of both forced and voluntary actions. Evidence of their evolution over time and space has resulted in new forms of dispersion and mobility patterns of people around the world. In relation to this, Cohen (1997) identified a typology based on common diasporic patterns, experiences and processes of diaspora. These include: 'victim diasporas' (i.e. Jews, African, Armenians and Palestinians) characterised by forced displacement from a territory, as a result of oppressive national regimes, colonial histories or denial of citizenship; 'labour diasporas' (i.e. Indians under British Rule and Italians to the USA), resulting from the dispersion of individuals seeking employment elsewhere; 'colonial diasporas' (i.e. British, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgians, French and Germans) linked to their European hegemony around the world; 'trade diasporas' (i.e. Chinese traders in southern and east Asia and most recently Europe and Lebanese merchants in West Africa), typified by networks of merchants, traders and entrepreneurs doing business by buying, selling and trading goods and services often with their place of origin; and 'cultural diasporas', associated with post-colonialist state of affairs and the post-modernist fascination with the 'collective identity of homeland and nation' (Cohen, 1997:127). However, the boundaries between these individual types are somewhat blurred as each individual diaspora may 'have dual or multiple presence in more than one of the groupings' (Cole and Timothy, 2004:5). For example, while African forced labour dispersal may be classified as 'victim diasporas' linked to the transatlantic slave trade (TST), or the more recent migration outflow of Africans due to political instability and war in their place of origin, there are instances that could be categorised as 'labour diaspora', if linked to labourers' voluntary and primary ambition of seeking a better future in other lands, with the potential of becoming 'trade' and/or 'cultural' diaspora.

The African historian Emmanuel Akyeampong (2000) offers useful reflections on the history of the African diaspora, by stating that:

> the nature and composition of the African diaspora have undergone significant changes over time: from the forced migration of African slaves of the Old and New Worlds to the voluntary emigration of free, skilled Africans in search of political asylum or economic opportunities; from a diaspora with little contact with the point of origin (Africa) to one that

> maintains active contact with the mother continent; all culminating in the birth of a unique African who straddles continents, worlds and cultures. Today, Africans are found in non-traditional points of migration such as Israel, Japan, Taiwan, New Zealand and Australia.
>
> Akyeampong (2000: 183)

The evolution of the African diaspora, through the pre- and post-nineteenth-century *slave trade*, *abolition* and *emancipation* phases and the African modern diaspora mobility era in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, has redefined demographic patterns and the political economy of entire communities, both in their homeland and the host country where they have settled (Akyeampong, 2000). Over these periods there has been an outflow of Africans that has left entire villages and regions with gaps in the population, leading to a 'brain drain' of young workers. However, more recently, there has been an increasing inflow of skilled Africans visitors and returnees, which has given way to African financial capital and investments flowing into their homelands aimed at local development (see Harris, 1996).

Travel, tourism and the African Diaspora

The relationship between diaspora, travel and tourism has been only marginally discussed (Cole and Timothy, 2004), with the most of the literature on African diaspora (and) tourism focused around the two main aspects of rediscovery and education. While diaspora locations are places for rediscovery, also expressed as genealogy, roots, personal memory or personal heritage tourism by diaspora communities (Forte, 2007; Marschall, 2014a, 2014b; Timothy and Teye, 2004), they are also places for education about the past, and are generally associated with contested heritage and cultural (dark) tourism sites. Diaspora locations as places for education are visited not only by the diaspora, but are also attractive to mainstream tourists (Boswell and O'Kane, 2011; Essah, 2001; Fabian, 2013; Gijanto, 2011).

One of the most obvious motivations for members of the diaspora communities to engage in travel to and tourism in their homeland is what Marschall (2014a:336) refers to as:

> personal memory tourism . . . defined . . . as a form of travel motivated by autobiographical memories, focused on the retracing of memorable previous journeys; the revisiting of destinations associated with key moments in a person's life and the deliberate return to sites associated with one's own past.

These can be 'journeys of self-discovery, self-actualisation, or the consolidation of the self' (Marschall, 2014b:37), whereby the transition from 'victim' or 'labour' into 'cultural' diaspora is evident. In some cases, the latter practice can be supplemented by the visitor's search for documented evidence in national libraries, archives and government offices about their ancestors' existence, or through private and commercially marketed family tree/history searching companies. The search for their roots serves as a way to reaffirm and reinforce their identity and may take the form of 'secular pilgrimages' and journeys aimed at 'discovering more about themselves, their ancestry, their heritage, their families and their extended communities' (Cole and Timothy, 2004:14).

Several authors have elaborated on the concepts of 'genealogical' (Meethan 2004; Nash 2003a, 2003b), 'ancestral' (Forte, 2007; Leite, 2005) or 'family history' tourism. These are all linked to the main purpose of retracing the footsteps, places of residence and experiences of tourists' ancestors, to be reunited with family, friends and communities, and to restate connections with their past. These activities may also lead to nostalgic, emotional and sad experiences associated with travelling to heritage sites and places of dark history remembrance. Those searching for their roots represent a potentially fruitful untapped segment in an increasingly competitive global heritage tourism market. With sites, festivals, public ceremonies and rituals becoming tourism commodities (Forte, 2007), diaspora heritage has become an alternative product, attracting not only diaspora visitors, but also international and regional tourists (Scheyvens, 2007b).

For instance, the dispersal of Africans associated with the TST has resulted in a large diaspora of African people scattered around the world, the greatest from any continent in the world. 'African-Americans now comprise a significant proportion of [diaspora tourism in general and] roots tourism [in particular], hugely influenced by Alex Haley's popular novel, *Roots*, and a later adaptation for television in the late 1970s' (Park, 2014:87). This has become a growing trend and has undoubtedly offered the opportunity to a number of locations originally involved in the TST, in both West and East Africa and the Caribbean, to tap into the demand for what has commonly become known as diaspora tourism.

Specific assets associated with dispora tourism are spaces of transit including points of departure or entry, disembarkation or administrative processing such as ports, quays, immigration depots, slave markets and customs houses, which have the potential features for what is also known as 'dark tourism'. Many of these sites, including UNESCO World Heritage Sites (WHSs) the Island of Gorée in Senegal, the village of Juffure in The Gambia, the division of Badagry in Nigeria (see Case Study 5.1) and the Castle of Elmina in Ghana, recall some of the most painful events of the TST. The latter example, Elmina, is also one of the sites of the Pan-African Historical Theatre Festival (PANAFEST), which draws tourists from all over the world, especially African diaspora (Essah, 2001). PANAFEST was conceived in the 1980s as a way to reflect upon five hundred years of the slave trade and its resulting diaspora. Based on the theories and concept of pan-Africanism[1] by W.E.B. Du Bois (Gordon Goffe, 2013), the festival has become an exceptional learning opportunity about the TST heritage. It includes celebrations of Emancipation

Day on 1 August (in memory of 1 August 1833 when the Slavery Abolition Act was approved by the British government), academic seminars and lectures, music and dance performances, and commemorative visits to slavery sites that played critical roles in the fifteenth-century slavery period (see Table 5.1):

> The cycle of freedom to enslavement to emancipation and the self-identification as children of Africa are at the heart of Panafest . . . Understanding the pain and suffering endured by the millions of slaves is an important step in what is hopefully a cathartic process to gain an understanding of what 'Africa' means today . . . Panafest is a biennial pilgrimage to visit the sites that played key roles in the slave trade and the middle passage. Standing in the fortified prisons where humans were treated as chattel, working property to be sold works heavy on your heart. Understanding the pain and suffering endured by the millions of slaves is an important step in what is hopefully a cathartic process to gain an understanding of what 'Africa' means today.
>
> Ghana Tourism Authority (2015)

Notwithstanding the unique commemorative nature and educational value of events such as PANAFEST, this is only an example of the many attempts by a number of other West African Governments to use TST heritage as an additional product aimed at diversifying their destinations' tourism portfolios and attract an increasing number of tourists from a variety of markets. As with the PANAFEST in Ghana, although on a smaller scale, the Government of the

Table 5.1 PANAFEST sites

Site	*Description*
Cape Coast	Dutch, British, and Portuguese colonialists played a hand in its development for the slave trade. Today, it is the home of the PANAFEST Theatre.
Elimna	This was the site of the first European settlement in West Africa, founded by the Portuguese as a fort and port city to export gold from the continent. Soon after its creation, it became a major transport hub for slaves to be shipped around the world.
Assin Praso	Now reduced to ruins, the original fortified castle was used as a stopping-off point to 'rest slaves' on the way to their final African destination before they were sold abroad.
Assin Manso	A chilling monument to the horrors of the slave trade, this is a massive fortified castle (a prison), where Africans were bathed in Nnonkonsuo ('Slave River'), sorted, and redistributed to ships to be sold. Assin Manso is a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and is an important stop on pilgrimages for descendants of the diaspora. Several events are held on Emancipation Day each year on 1 August.

Source: adapted from Ghana Tourism Authority, 2015.

Gambia has been pushing for the biannual Roots Festival (www.rootsgambia.gm) in Juffure in order to attract diaspora tourists, develop an additional culturally oriented experience for its traditional international tourists and extend their high season (from November to April, now lasting into May).

The value of understanding and preserving diaspora heritage goes beyond its intrinsic touristic value and extends into the way today's modern societies are shaped by the ongoing African diasporic mobility:

> The forced displacement of millions of Africans and the loss of their heritage of traditions, know-how and ideals, had a determining influence on the shaping of new cultures in the world. This paradox lies behind 'The Slave Route' project, a UNESCO initiative launched in Ouidah, Benin, in 1994 with two objectives: first, to break the silence surrounding the slave trade today, which constitutes an aspect of the history of humanity that cannot be ignored; and second, to highlight, in the most objective manner, its consequences, that is to say, the transformation of the world and the interactions between the peoples of Europe, Africa, the Americas and the Caribbean.
>
> UNESCO (2004:44)

Despite the attempt by UNESCO to use heritage sites to benefit the broader public and 'provide a space and place in which the process of peace and tolerance can be implemented' (Boswell and O'Kane, 2011:363), ignorance about diaspora heritage still remains. Furthermore, as with post-conflict heritage sites (see Chapter 4 of this volume), a major challenge in the use of diasporic heritage for tourism purposes has been the use of what could be considered as 'contested heritage' (Anson, 1999:59) or 'contested spaces that are subject to multiple and divergent demands' (Boswell and O'Kane, 2011:363). There is evidence that these may, at times, offer inaccurate interpretation and representations of the past, as discussed in Case Study 5.2 of this chapter.

As mentioned earlier, Arnone's (2011) research on Eritrean diaspora, who settled in Milan (Italy), offers reflections on an emerging, but under-researched, aspect of diaspora locations as places for leisure and business for diaspora travellers. Such examples provide evidence of the evolving transformation from 'victim' into 'cultural' diaspora. Generally associated with visitations of relatives and friends to their homeland, leisure diaspora travellers face a number of complex situations linked to the fact that although their homeland becomes their place of enjoyment, reunion and holiday-making, it remains the place lived and experienced by those who have never left it. Visiting diaspora members are often on the receiving end of the expectations and demands of those being visited. In fact, research conducted with Nigerian, Gambian, Burundian, Rwandan and Kenyan diaspora tourists highlighted a common pattern that characterises the lives of most (new) generations of African diaspora living in the West:

> The demands received from 'home' are often so unrealistic that deter [us] from travelling more than once every couple of years to visit [our] homeland. Such unrealistic expectations are often associated with [us] being perceived as rich and able to provide expensive gifts in addition to regular remittances of funds sent from overseas.
>
> Anon (personal communication, 2013)

Another issue emerges from the difference between the lifestyle of those visiting, generally influenced by customs acquired overseas, and that of those being visited. For instance, as reported by Arnone (2011:451–2), the 'individualism [of the diaspora visitors] shown in their leisure practices [clashes] with the daily experiences of Eritrean at home, bringing out an uncomfortable sense of guilt on the diaspora's part'. Similarly, respondents from Nigeria, Gambia and Kenya raised their discomfort with:

> conforming with ways in which [we] would be expected to behave when visiting 'home', such as taking part in extended family gatherings and other daily engagements, which are no longer part of [our] acquired lifestyles or taste.
>
> Anon (personal communication, 2012)

These uncomfortable clashes are however bypassed by the reinforced narrative of past struggle and heroism, linked, in the case of Arnone's (2011) research on the Eritrean diaspora, to the sponsoring of the liberation movement, or, in the case of my research with West African diaspora members, to:

> [the] sense of pride simply associated with being somebody who made it overseas and is able to provide for those that never left 'home'.
>
> Anon (personal communication, 2012)

Another form of diaspora tourism with strong development potential is African diaspora business tourism. Although still under-researched, there is evidence of conference facilities and highly rated hotels being marketed directly to diaspora business people and professional associations (Newland and Taylor, 2010). Such marketing is possible using the Internet and direct mailing as the main vehicle to establish contact and promote services available to companies with diaspora ties. Research has shown that, in some cases, an introduction to business opportunities might emerge from a visit to ancestral homelands. Whether on a journey of self-discovery, a cultural exchange or a trip visiting relatives and friends, an encounter with local realities may, in the long term, determine the evolution into a combination of 'victim' or 'labour' and 'trade' diaspora characteristics and practices. Diaspora visitors may end up supporting family and friends with seed funding for the start-up of SMEs, start their own trading business or finance basic social services through philanthropic engagements. The intention behind such activities is supporting less privileged members of their community of provenance. Whether such practices may reiterate dependency patterns similar to those of international aid, philanthropy and travel philanthropy (see Chapter 6 of this volume) is yet to be fully assessed.

African diaspora: travel, tourism and development

According to Newland and Taylor's (2010) study, regardless of the form of tourism or purpose of their travel, diaspora members are generally more likely to inject money into the local economy when travelling to their homeland than most other international tourists. In addition, diaspora tourists, rather than spending their holiday in foreign-owned enclaves with little or no contact with reality in the destination, are more likely to use locally owned accommodation, eat in local restaurants and buy goods from local vendors. It is for this reason that they may be more likely to impact positively on local economies. However, evidence from primary research conducted with a total of 58 diaspora tourists from Burundi (5), Rwanda (8), Kenya (12), Gambia (15) and Nigeria (18) between 2010 and 2014 showed that generalisations cannot be made. The research identified that diaspora travellers' preferences span across a wider variety of accommodation types and their expectations may include spending their holidays in guest houses as much as in upmarket and luxurious resorts. Some expect to experience what would normally be associated with Western visitors, with activities being very similar to those of other traditional international travellers (i.e. shopping, safaris, night clubbing and eating out). In some cases, the tastes acquired while living overseas and the desire to display their prestige and wealth may result in invitations to relatives and friends to spend time and even have a holiday with them.

My research indeed confirmed Newland and Taylor's (2010) claim that diaspora tourists could indeed help develop new products, expand existing tourism markets in their homeland and have a better chance of impacting more positively and directly on local economies. As diaspora tourists increasingly travel to lesser known regions to visit friends and relatives, take part in family ceremonies or participate in cultural events, they are undoubtedly pushing for the creation of new venues, restaurants, attractions and general tourist services. These are being demanded outside the major cities and traditional tourist resorts and thus the diaspora tourists contribute towards the development of non-traditional tourism destinations. What is also worth mentioning is that the younger generations of emigrants and diaspora tourists are equipped with independent travel interests and IT skills that enable them to use online reservation portals, making them less prone to limiting themselves to foreign-owned tourist enclaves (Newland and Taylor, 2010) and more inclined to explore their own country of origin and, sometimes, make a difference to the places they visit, as they become

> pioneering tourists themselves [and] might choose to invest in businesses in the region after making connections on their visits. They will likely

> influence others to visit through word of mouth and may become involved with local community projects.
>
> Dumas (2012)

They can also improve the image of their homeland as they take up the role of its ambassadors in their new country of residence. This said, the efforts of tourism authorities to tap into their county's diaspora connections have been generally limited to the mere organisation of events (also discussed in Chapter 7 of this volume) and *ad hoc* promotional campaigns (i.e. the Gambia Tourism Board promoting the Roots Homecoming Festival), leaving other diaspora tourism development opportunities largely unexplored (i.e. specific holiday packages and deals outside the festival period).

My research findings also showed that the potential benefits of diaspora tourism go beyond this potential to diversify the tourism economy, and extend into the domain of broader economic development interventions. What emerged fits into the recent debates on migration, development and the role of diaspora members as change makers and possible active agents in the development of their homeland: the 'diaspora option' policy orientation (Kshetri, 2013; Pellerin and Mullings, 2013), and the notions of pan-Africanism[2] (Gordon Goffe, 2013) and Africapitalism[3] (Amaeshi, 2013).

Although not beyond criticism, the diaspora option has been promoted since the late 1990s by international organisations like UNESCO and the World Bank, with the aim of:

> utilizing the human, economic and social capital of migrant populations in order to revitalize level of investment, skill and development in the place with which they maintain ancestral ties . . . Policy makers view the Diaspora option as especially revolutionary in regions of the world where migration has been traditionally seen as a liability and obstacle to development.
>
> Pellerin and Mullings (2013:89–90)

As an alternative to FDI diaspora groups, IDOs and governments in the global South have happily embraced efforts to foster greater diaspora engagement to invest financially and address the insufficient human capital and weak governance institutions (Pellerin and Mullings, 2013) in poverty-stricken and diaspora-affected countries. To this effect, although not the primary focus of my study, findings showed some evidence of diaspora members' engagements with the funding of basic social services and infrastructures (i.e. water sanitation projects and schools), microfinance and venture philanthropy initiatives (i.e. agriculture and craft-making projects) as well as social enterprise business start-ups (i.e. tour operating businesses). In addition to this, 'Africapitalism', along with other social enterprise efforts, has recently been discussed increasingly in diaspora communities as a means of achieving inclusive economic growth and 'championing the dual pursuits of profit and social good through long-term investments' (Young, 2014). Some of my research respondents shared their own experiences of successful 'Africapitalist engagements', as they called them. They were so convinced about the potential benefits of a pan-African approach in the development of their ancestral places of origin (and SSA in general), that following repeat visits to their ancestral homeland, they became committed to further supporting local projects in the view that this would be 'the way for Africa to come out of its hopeless status' (Anon, personal communication 2014). Some even claimed that such interventions may possibly motivate them to start considering the possibility of returning 'home' as a viable option in the near future, something they had never thought about before.

Local voices' perspectives on diaspora (and) tourism

Case Study 5.1: Badagry (Nigeria) – diaspora heritage and tourism

Tourism is becoming one of Nigeria's fastest growing sectors. With 700 kilometres of coastline that are rich in natural resources, dotted with small coastal settlements that engage primarily in farming, fishing, and trading, many areas along the Nigerian coast are exceptionally favourable to coastal tourism. One of the major threats to coastal tourism in the country is pollution from exploration and the exploitation of petroleum resources. Most of these activities take place in the coastal areas and inadequate treatment and disposal of wastes from the petroleum industry inflict severe damage on the ecosystem. The effect on the soil and on economic crops is even more devastating as extensive agricultural lands have become unproductive due to environmental hazards arising from spillage and other oil exploration activities (Novelli, 2010).

In the spring of 2010, I became involved in the Collaborative Actions for Sustainable Tourism (COAST) project implemented in nine SSA countries (Cameroon, The Gambia, Ghana, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria, Senegal, the Seychelles and Tanzania: see more at: http://coast.iwlearn.org/en). The project's overall objective was two-fold. It aimed at reducing the harmful impacts of unsustainable tourism practices on coastal ecosystems, through the identification of Environmental Management Systems (EMS) and ecotourism initiatives to stimulate alternative livelihoods, conserve biodiversity (and heritage), benefit local communities and ultimately alleviate poverty. My study looked specifically at the coastal area of Badagry in the southwest of Nigeria towards the border with Benin, which had been identified as a pilot project (referred to as the Demo Project) by the COAST committee.

The Demo Project included the Badagry Peninsula and Township, an area covering some 12 km along the coast and 4 km inland, including the lagoon. The attractive lagoon that links Lagos city to Badagry and Lagos waterfront had already attracted the attention of foreign and diaspora investors who were interested in tourism. However, while this provided a promising opportunity there was evidence of major environmental and social challenges. These included disputes emerging from the lack of any strategic and physical planning and weak enforcement by the authorities, as well as limited awareness about heritage preservation on the part of local communities. In addition to this, there were ineffective sanitation programmes and evident environmental issues (i.e. indiscriminate solid and liquid waste tipping and sand mining), which, if not promptly addressed, would hinder the commitment and potential of Lagos State government to promote and develop sustainable coastal tourism in the area.

Badagry is one of five divisions created in Lagos State in l968. Its tourism assets relies on its TST relics and 'wild' peninsular environment, characterised by extensive coconut plantations. The area is undoubtedly endowed with abundant tourism resources ranging from diasporic heritage to natural resources. In the early 1500s, slaves were transported from West Africa to the USA and to the rest of the Americas territories through Badagry. It is reported that Badagry exported no fewer than 550,000 African slaves to America, just during the period leading to American Independence in l787. In addition, slaves were transported to Europe, South America and the Caribbean. The slaves came mainly from countries known today as Benin and Togo, as well as other parts of Nigeria. The TST became the major source of income for the Europeans operating out of Badagry (Olaide-Masewaku, 2000, 2001). Badagry is therefore a historic site worthy of attention because of the significant role it played as a major slave port in Nigeria, and the COAST project came about at a time when local authorities were trying to find the best available practices to improve its heritage sites and attract investment from the diaspora community around the world.

Playing host to the explorers and early Christian missionaries and European slave merchants in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and endowed with a rich set of resources including forts, relics, museums and monuments, the ancient city of Badagry is one of the most attractive coastal slave heritage localities in West Africa. In addition, it has a beautiful marine and coastal environment with spatial settlements along the coast and marine islands. Based on these resources, an integrated tourism plan with an ecotourism focus was a desirable aspect that was addressed in the COAST project. However, it was felt that given that the tourism sector was at a preliminary stage of development, developing a sustainable tourism approach encapsulating the diaspora heritage would have been more appropriate and achievable before getting to the highly specialised niche focus required by ecotourism (Novelli, 2010). However, the COAST Technical and Scientific meeting held in Gambia in October 2005 had established that an Ecotourism Management System would be the way to develop Badagry and its tourism plan. In November 2008, as a first step to developing an Ecotourism Management System in Badagry, an 'Ecotourism Master Plan for the Lagos–Badagry Axis' (Lagos State Waterfront and Tourism Development Corporation and UNIDO, 2008) was drafted. Although the Master Plan offered a holistic approach aiming at integrating all segments of the communities, the environment, the TST heritage, the tourism business and creating an enabling environment, it became apparent that the ambition of developing ecotourism, in its strictest sense, did not match the resources available to implement it.

The brief situation analysis and fieldwork conducted in 2010 determined that, although there was evidence of a considerable ongoing coastal regeneration process, for example the 'Reclamation of the Marina Shoreline', several constraints limited the sustainable development of tourism in the area. Prominent were the poor supply and quality of tourism infrastructure, facilities and amenities; and overall, with a couple of exceptions, the accommodation was dated and in need of a major makeover to reflect the international standards that the diaspora (and international) visitors would generally expect. Although Sewedo (2006) had identified a clear set of required environmental management actions, most local environmental management practices remained questionable and in urgent need of adopting more sustainable approaches. In fact, observed priority areas included fly tipping of general waste along the main roads and sand mining in close proximity to main diaspora heritage sites.

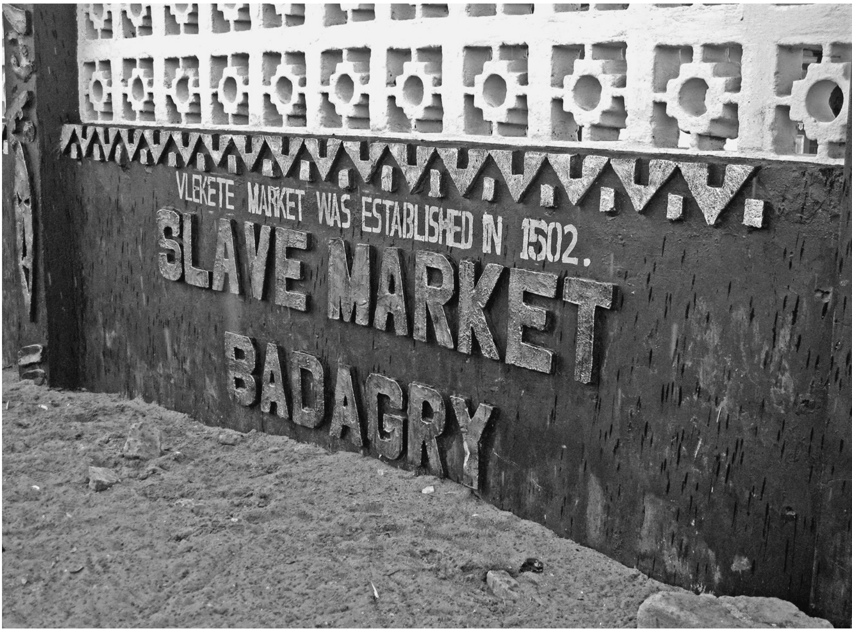
Additionally, while there were a number of heritage sites in the process of being refurbished and preserved (Figures 5.1, 5.2, 5.3a and 5.3b), there were also a number of potentially interesting buildings that were in need of urgent restructuring and preservation (Figures 5.4, 5.5, 5.6a and 5.6b). This was recommended as the first step in the local authorities' ambition to have Badagry included on the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites.

Badagry is also known for its festivals, such as the Black Heritage Festival, the Agunke Fest (Coconut Carnival), the International Day for Remembrance of the Slave Trade and its Abolition, the Badagry Folk Festival and the Olukun Festival, among many other organised events. At the time of the project, the limited transport linkages within Lagos State affected accessibility to Badagry, and the fragmented georgraphy and uncoordinated organisation of the heritage sites deterred the Demo Project area from fully benefiting from its tourism potential, resulting in low (or no) income for the residents.

The 'Ecotourism Master Plan for the Lagos–Badagry Axis' (Lagos State Waterfront and Tourism Development Corporation and UNIDO, 2008), provided a very general overview of tourism in and around the destination. Although it defined some of the general parameters for stimulating the start-up process for a coordinated tourism sector in the area, it failed to address some of the key strategic issues, such as the lack of specific knowledge and skills available to develop and plan sustainable tourism in general and heritage and ecotourism in particular. In the context of the Demo Project area, the ecotourism concept in its broader meaning and interpretations – 'E' for the environment and 'Co' for community' –was suggested (see Chapter 3 in this volume for more on ecotourism). This required future efforts to ensure that tourism was developed and planned sustainably, that it would benefit host communities, and that it would be sensitive to the environment, paying particular attention to assets such as the beach, the peninsula, the lagoon's natural

Figure 5.1 Badagry Heritage Museum (former District Officer's office)

Figure 5.2 Refurbished Slave Port gate



Figures 5.3a and 5.3b Slave market – restructured ground used for local events

Figure 5.4 Decaying former District Officer's residence

Figure 5.5 Example of decaying Brazilian architecture

Figures 5.6a and 5.6b Brazilian Baracoon, 1840

features, the built environment and the diaspora heritage. One of the recommended actions was to look beyond the development of small-scale accommodation establishment and the hospitality sector in general, but also focus on wider tourism experiences (i.e. small museums, 'ECo-' and heritage trails), and foster strategic development and management actions compatible with sustainable tourism practices (Novelli, 2010).

In the specific context of Badagry Township, it was suggested that the tourism focus should remain on the integrated development and management of heritage trails to include the transatlantic slave trade and Christianity sites, the Brazilian architecture (see Table 5.2) and the beach. There was also evidence of potential ecotourism products on the Peninsula (using 'ecotourism' in its strictest sense), which could build upon a relatively unspoiled natural environment. However, these products were in need of urgent preservation from over-construction associated with the sought-after development of coastal tourism in the area. Partly this was at the hands of wealthy diaspora investors and if not managed properly could damage the very essence of the Peninsula's ecotourism potential. Several initiatives, such as the Ocean Beach Golf and Leisure Resort on the mainland, under construction at the time of my assessment, and the proposition of the Motherland project for the Peninsula, a controversial slave trade theme park to be funded by Marlon Jackson (brother of Michael Jackson), suggested the foundation of what appeared an incoherent growth pattern of tourism and hospitality in the area. Even if, to a certain extent, diaspora investment interests can be perceived as a catalyst for developing other forms of tourism in the community, the lack of clear policy guidelines for tourism development, indiscriminate allocation of land and the emerging land-grabbing activities by foreign and diaspora investors (i.e. mainly wealthy members of the Afro-American community) will lead to a disastrous mix of investments with little or no benefit to the local community. Unsustainable pressures on local natural resources will determine a high rate of deterioration and loss of attractiveness, and ultimately the unjust displacement of local communities from their own ancestral land. In this case tourism would become the cause of new 'victim' diaspora, rather than a vehicle to sustainable local development.

What complicated the situation was the varied level of knowledge and involvement of local stakeholders in the management of Badagry diaspora heritage and the interests of specific families (controlling some of the heritage sites). The latter were clearly more interested in how to improve the tourism offering for their own financial gain than the preservation of local heritage to benefit the wider community. The COAST study raised concerns over the considerable shortfalls in the ability of local stakeholders to identify and implement sustainable tourism and environmental management practices and effectively tap into what was evidently a place of interest to a growing diaspora market.

Table 5.2 Key Badagry attractions

Site	*Description*
Badagry Heritage Museum	The one-storey building, previously used as the District Officer's office, was built in 1863 during the British colonial era. It was converted into a slave trade ethnographic museum in 2001, with nine themed galleries: 'Introduction', 'Capture', 'Facilitator', 'Equipment', 'Resistance', 'Punishment', 'Industry', 'Integration', 'Abolition' and 'Badagry'. There are displays comprising of pictures, texts and objects illustrating the transatlantic slave trade, and it is perhaps the most comprehensive collection on the slave trade in Nigeria.
Mobee Family Slave Relics Museum	This houses the original relics left by the obnoxious trade. The chains are more six hundred years old, preserved ever since the trade was stopped. The Mobee family is the custodian of the relics, which are still found within their domain. Their ancestors were big-time slave merchants in the days of the trade.
Slave Market	Established 1502, this was an open space where slaves were auctioned and it served as a meeting point for the Europeans and African middlemen. No less than 46,800 people were sold from this market annually when the trade was at its peak.
Slave Baracoon	Used in the 1840s by the Brazilian merchants, this was a form of cell where slaves were kept before being transported to the New World.
Slave Route Port	Used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries where slaves were moved down to the slave route and finally to the Point of No Return, this port also housed the canons of war donated by Queen Victoria to aid abolition of the trade.
Slave Route/Point of No Return	The last place where the memories of African brothers and sisters were lost. They were made to trek through this peninsula for twenty-five minutes to the Point of No Return. Before they got to the Atlantic Ocean at the extreme of this peninsula they would have been given a drink from the slave spirit attenuation well which made them lose their homeland memories and led them to be less aggressive before finally becoming submissive to the instructions of the foreign slave dealers.

Case Study 5.1: Diaspora Heritage: Misprision, Antipathy and Hostility between Locals and Diasporic Groups in Ghana

Authored by: Tometi K. Gbedema

Historic structures and built landscapes have become important global assets for local tourism and community development. These structures and landscapes, converted into heritage sites, have also turned into places of solace for diasporic groups. Although the situation might not be the same for every group, for many people of African origin, who have lived in the United States their whole lives, the heritage sites in Ghana represent 'a transition point between the civility of their family in Africa and the barbarism of slavery in the New World' (Bruner, 2005: 291). These African Americans imagined these sites as 'sacred grounds not to be desecrated' (Bruner, 2005: 292) or used for local economic ventures because they remain places of remorse. Local African residents – not overlooking the sacredness of the sites, but having limited knowledge about the history associated with the slavery period – out of necessity see these heritage sites mainly as an economic opportunity to enhance their livelihoods. This has led a number of diaspora spaces and places to become contested (Schramm, 2010) with misprision, antipathy and hostility among the people who claim to belong to them. Even though the views of both groups (the diaspora and the residents) appear valid, the issue of effectively using and managing diaspora sites to satisfy visitors' needs and preserve their intrinsic heritage still remains. One key constraint is that these sites are generally located in underdeveloped regions and deprived areas, where the population is very poor, needy and suffering (Gbedema, 2011). Such a situation makes the arguments of how to overcome the controversial issues that surround the uses of these sites more complex and the challenge of addressing the ruined and damaged conditions (see Figure 5.7) even more so. This case study briefly discusses these issues and examines the hiatus that exists between residing and diaspora Africans in order to decipher the dichotomy that continues to put into jeopardy efforts being made to restore these places, promote local tourism, and establish a healthier relationship between the two groups for the good management and preservation of their homeland treasures.

Without any doubt, most citizens of the United States who have had the chance to trace their family history back to their ancestral homelands and visit these places to reconnect with families and relatives they did not know about before usually feel very proud of being linked to these ancestral origins and their people. Television programmes like *Faces of America* (written and edited by Professor Henry Louis Gates, Jr), NBC's *Who Do You Think You Are* and PBS' *Finding Your Roots*, bear evidence to these facts and realities. Sadly, though, not all citizens of America have the opportunity to trace their ancestry (Gbedema, 2011). Although some wealthy and famous Black/African Americans, prominent citizens and Hollywood stars have been able to use these mediums to identify their origins, many more African Americans still struggle with the fact that they have no or very little knowledge about where exactly their ancestors originated from on the old African continent (Gbedema, 2011). This reality is a significant absence and pain that African Americans endure. Thus they see their visits to WHSs in Ghana as significant opportunities for them to reconnect with their motherland and the ancestry they have yearned for.

Van Dantzig (1980: vii) claimed that 'tradeports, fortified or not, have been built in various parts of the world, but nowhere in such great numbers along such a relatively short stretch of coast' as in Ghana. Certainly, European trade posts had been common in the world regions, but what distinguishes this tiny strip of coast, from Half Assini in the west to Keta in the east, is unimaginable. The presence of European-built lodges, forts and castles in this region makes it difficult to deny the essential roles that these sites and those who built them have played in the life of local people, diasporic Africans and the world. In fact, the outcome of their presence can still be felt and seen when one examines the aesthetic and architectural designs of these places, the history, and multiple services that they provided for global gold and slave trading within the local communities. Traces of their creators – the Dutch, the Scandinavian, the British, the Brandenburg-Prussians, the Portuguese and the French (Anquandah, 1999) are still visible in the region today. For example, Figure 5.8 shows a plaque placed on the wall of Fort Prinzenstein at Keta narrating the involvement of the Danish-Norwegians in the slave and goods trade that characterised the region, and the significant roles played by these sites between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, which more recently became the basis of its

Figure 5.7 Decaying architecture of Fort Prinzensten at Keta

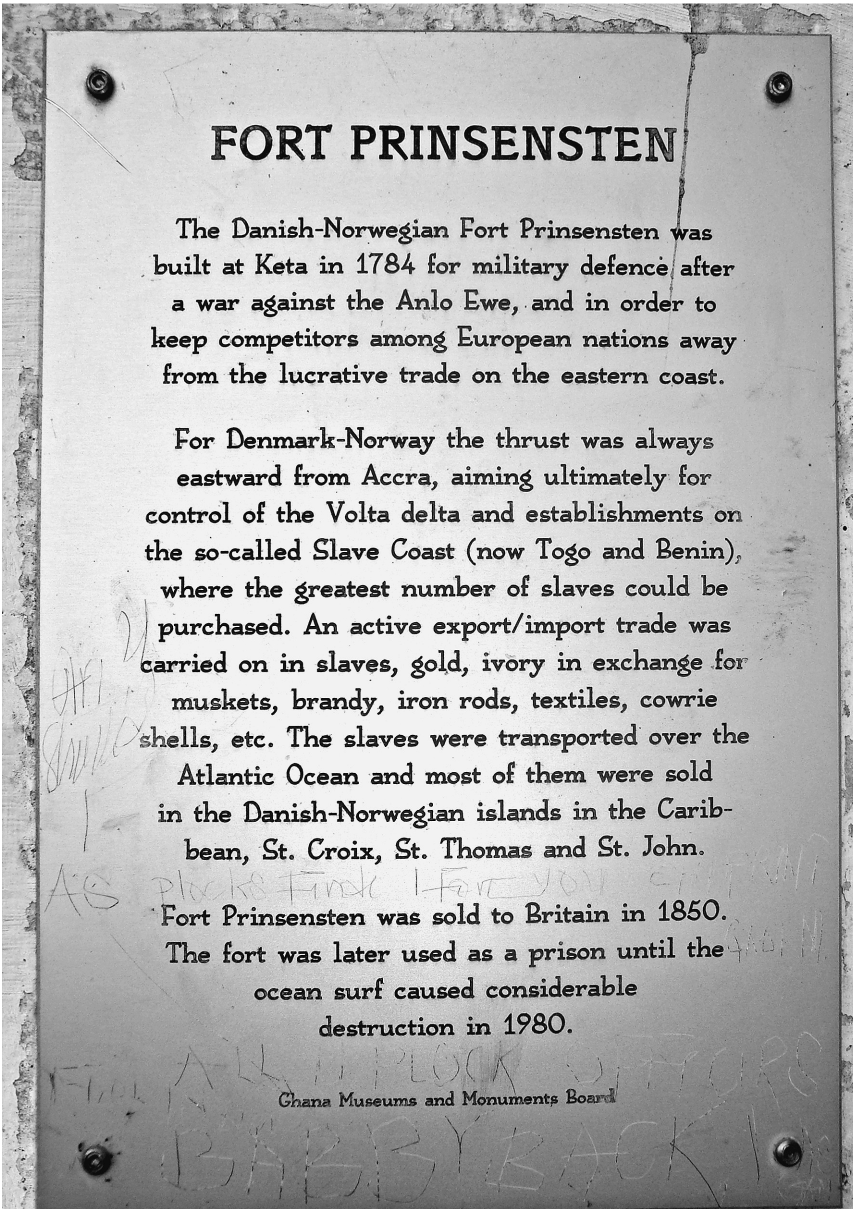


Figure 5.8 Plaque at Fort Prinzensten at Keta

recognition as a WHS. Yet in spite of this recognition of their status, these treasures appear to have been left to deteriorate, as they remain ruined and dilapidated as shown in Figure 5.7, which illustrates a coastal view of the poor and dilapidated conditions of Fort Prinzensten at Keta.

Seawater and erosion have taken away more than half of this unique treasure. There is no proper maintenance, management support or collaboration for these sites to maintain their standard as WHSs and to efficiently preserve them. Even though UNESCO's World Heritage Convention proclaims that to be included on the WHS list, heritage sites must be of outstanding universal value and meet at least one out of their ten selection criteria explained in their *Operational Guidelines*, which include 'increasing public awareness, involvement and support for World Heritage through communication' (UNESCO, 2013), the decaying state in which most of these sites are found in Ghana barely shows their merit. Anquandah (1999:8) stated that these WHSs 'constitute treasures par excellence, a legacy of historic past as much to modern Ghana and Africa as to the world at large'. Of course, there is no denial of this assertion when one considers the historic worth, and the social, cultural, economic and educational values that possess these sites, as they are the truthful representations of how African societies were used and dealt with during the TST. They are the symbols of relationships between African diaspora and Africa and the image of the existing link between Europe and Africa, Africa and America, and the world in its entirety. Their concentration in this portion of Africa showcases the great interests the subregion created for European nations. Their presence shows the intense competition that existed among powerful European countries, trading companies and governments, and illustrates the richness of the region in terms of natural resources, traditions, cultures and social organisation. These connotations demand that serious consideration is given to ways to effectively restore, maintain, manage and preserve these sites. This is required to suitably resolve the concerns by both local residents and diaspora visitors, which are associated with their state of decay and the possibility of losing a valuable treasure: a source of income for the former and a place of 'sacred pilgrimage' (Park, 2014:87) for the latter.

Feelings of misprision, antipathy and hostility have emerged between visiting diasporic Africans and residents about some of the practices adopted at these heritage sites. For instance, visiting diasporas generally dislike restaurants being opened on the premises of what they perceive as places of remembrance (Bruner, 2005), and their transformation into 'market places', highlighting the need to find ways to better negotiate the use of these spaces and inform diasporic Africans on the reasons why those practices are necessary – i.e. to guarantee a livelihood to local people.

Signs of hostility and antipathy also emerge between visiting African Americans arriving at WHSs. Questions are raised about the historical involvement of Africans in the TST of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, and resident Africans, who see these diasporic brethren as unbearably wealthy by current African standards, think of the diaspora as out of line for holding resident Africans responsible for bad acts 300 years ago (Gbedema, 2011).

Ways to address these complex and conflicting attitudes towards diaspora heritage and facilitate a better understanding about their mutual obligations towards the best use of these sites should be found. Both groups need to come together and find better ways to acknowledge their ancestral links, but also their present engagement with the diasporic heritage. These sites hold unique meanings and identity characteristics for both groups as African descendants in the face of the whole world. Conflict over the use of these spaces should be negotiated and bypassed in the name of a peaceful and harmonious development process that enhances opportunities for both parties and most importantly contributes towards the preservation of these unique diasporic treasures.

By promoting and effectively using these heritage sites for local tourism development, a number of thoughtful actions can be nurtured to address disparities between the two groups, by facilitating dialogue and collaboration between those belonging to the African diaspora and those residing in the localities of the WHSs. Needless to say, heritage tourism has become an attractive economic revitalisation strategy for many nations, and it should be these African localities that should take advantage of their presence to improve residents' lives, while reflecting upon the emotional and psychological meanings and effects that events that occurred at these places have had on generations of Africans. One may conclude by saying that a way to preserve the diaspora heritage, promote traditional beliefs and facilitate development in Ghana – and maybe in other parts of Africa – finds its roots in the required mutual understanding and call for action and collaboration between African diasporas (in this specific case Ghanaians) scattered around the world and those living in their motherland.

Final considerations

This chapter discussed some of the historical connotations, transition and complexities associated with the potential of leveraging different forms of diaspora tourism. The results of empirical research conducted with diaspora groups from five different countries (Burundi, Rwanda, Gambia, Nigeria and Kenya) and the two case studies on Badagry (Nigeria) and Keta (Ghana) offered some relevant insights into what has to date been discussed in the existing literature and what is the current state of play in the field. Emerging trends and practices were discussed with the intention of stimulating reflection on what is still an under-researched subject. The potential role of diaspora tourism in development clearly emerged from the empirical study conducted. Diaspora tourism is a growing trend, which has spanned the multidisciplinary domains of migration, development studies and economics, with the 'diaspora option' policy and the notions of pan-Africanism and Africapitalism requiring further in-depth investigation.

Although some theoretical framing of diaspora tourism was provided through Cohen's typography (1997), my intention was not to generate new theory, but rather to raise a number of practical examples associated with the potential and challenges of diaspora travel, tourism and development. On the basis of what emerged from the literature and empirical research discussed in this chapter, four main conclusions can be drawn. First, that in the context of increasing African 'victim' and 'labour' diaspora trends, to use Cohen's (1997) terminology, diaspora tourism is and will be a growing segment of the international tourism flows and markets. Their engagements with the ancestral homeland show signs of evolution into a mixture of 'victim' and 'labour' diaspora patterns with forms of 'cultural' and 'trade' diaspora. Second, that no assumptions or generalisations should be advanced on the preferences, habits and behaviour of modern diaspora tourists without a proper assessment of their characteristics. Third, given the general belief that diaspora tourism is good for economic development is predominately based on qualitative assessment, one could suggest that this is something that should be verified though quantitative studies, but most importantly by better understanding African diaspora tourism trends and impacts. Finally, that tourism policies and programmes looking at the 'diaspora option' for development need to address both the preservation of the heritage patrimony and the socio-economic environment in which it is located (i.e. as discussed in the cases of Badagri and Ketta), so that diaspora tourism can truly stimulate the sustainable development of the sector.

As in the case of other forms of tourism available in SSA, diaspora tourism is challenged by weak institutions and governance in areas such as planning, environmental management and human resource development. In order to fully benefit from its potential and tap into new markets, it needs to be integrated within the broader tourism strategy of a destination rather than a mere sporadic and opportunistic public relations stance. It requires adequate investment in soft and hard infrastructure that facilitates private sector development, regional integration and global connectivity with the diaspora community dispersed around the world. Most importantly, if it is to effectively contribute towards local development, diaspora groups are required to share knowledge, skills and information with people in their homeland areas: '[S]ignificant is the way in which travel within one's country or return travel to one's homeland can enhance a sense of national identity and continuation of strong social and economic ties' (Scheyvens, 2007b:323). It is important therefore that African diaspora tourists are not overlooked or taken for granted any longer.

As Scheyvens (2007b) highlights in her case study on diaspora tourism in Samoa, there are three key reasons why SSA governments should both recognise the value of diaspora tourism and play a more proactive role in encouraging and supporting it. First, it makes good economic sense as diaspora tourists bring foreign exchange into the country. Second, diaspora tourists are known to provide a good source of revenue to both mainstream upmarket locations and more basic establishments, and in more remote and less known locations that rarely attract foreign tourists. Third, diaspora tourism helps to build social and economic capital, by providing a way for individuals to maintain ties with their places of origin as well as a sense of pride and identity and to come together and enjoy leisure experiences with their family and friends; and possibly leading to a maintenance of relationships whereby overseas-based

Africans provide social, economic, political and other forms of support for their ancestral homeland and its people.

Notwithstanding the limitations of my research, which is linked to a relatively small number diaspora groups, there is nevertheless value in the additional information that has emerged, as they have provided a useful platform for further assessing the links between diaspora, tourism and development in the future.

Notes

1 'Pan-Africanist thinking – a worldview that emphasizes solidarity, unity, and self-reliance among African member states [as] the resolution of the challenges facing the continent' (Moyo and Ramsamy, 2014:660).

2 See note 1.

3 The term 'Africapitalism' was coined in 2010 by a Nigerian philanthropist, private investor and former banker called Tony O. Elumelu. It is an economic philosophy based on the belief that the African private sector has the power to transform the continent through long-term investment, creating both economic prosperity and social wealth: 'Africapitalism is capitalism by Africa-oriented entrepreneurs for Africa' (Amaeshi, 2013).

6 Travel philanthropy

Looking beyond volunteer tourism

Introduction

Over the past ten years of my business and leisure travel around SSA, I recall departure lounges recurrently packed with flocks of volunteers and do-gooders, composed of teenagers on a gap year or senior citizens on a mission to re-find themselves, members of religious organisations or of 'change makers' movements wanting to do their bit. The number of people willing to 'do good' and 'change the world' appeared to me to be dramatically on the increase:

> Generosity is fashionable again . . . America has long nurtured the tradition of 'giving back' . . . The British, along with most Europeans, have often traditionally preferred to give their time rather than their money . . . There are now, however, some signs of change in Britain. Philanthropy is becoming fashionable . . . The new givers include, most obviously, international celebrities such as Bono and Bill and Melinda Gates . . . In Britain, Bob Geldof and Jamie Oliver have caught the public imagination. Individuals like these are proactive givers who apply to their social causes the skills and talent that made them successful . . .
>
> Handy (2007:1–4)

As a Westerner travelling in SSA, it is easy to be drawn into the desire of 'helping the less fortunate' or 'doing things differently' as philanthropist, volunteer or paid technical advisor on development matters. However, the reality is that we often fail miserably to even understand our role as individuals travelling into unknown lands.

Recent high-profile events and campaigns by musicians, business icons and aid organisations have fostered a popular culture of philanthropy in general and charitable gift giving and volunteering in particular. These are currently playing an ever-increasing role in the public discourse on philanthropy and are promoted as a fashionable practice to engage with 'doing good' in the more developed economies. There is a view that giving represents a good thing and is an honourable and generous act that lies at the heart of all philanthropic engagements.

The notion that one can 'do good' by 'giving back' while also engaging in leisure or travel activities is an extremely attractive proposition and the phenomena of volunteering in general and volunteer tourism in particular have undoubtedly grown in popularity (Lyons and Wearing, 2008; McGehee, 2014; Sin, 2010; Wearing, 2001). More recently, the wider notion of travel philanthropy has become part of a growing movement (Honey, 2011), springing from the democratisation of charitable gift giving and the growth of international travel and tourism (Sulek, 2010). This is supported by increasing concern about the socio-economic welfare of those living in less privileged conditions around the world. As Maathai (2011) eloquently comments, travel philanthropy, born out of frustration with conventional aid and ineffective philanthropic giving, is a form of development assistance flowing from the travel industry and travellers directly into conservation initiatives, community projects and philanthropic organisations. There are, however, doubts over whether travel philanthropy actually translates into effective and equitable development, or its expansion has caused what Mostafanezhad (2013) calls a 'geography of compassion' and created associated problems such as aid dependency, a worsened poverty cycle and a package of ambiguous evidence on its sustainability and impacts.

Building on the concept that travel philanthropy exhibits the characteristics of three broad philanthropic movements and approaches – traditional, modern and post-modern philanthropy (Novelli *et al.*, forthcoming) – this chapter is intended to contribute to the critical debate on travel philanthropy, as a practice not necessarily associated with the widely known one of volunteer tourism. This chapter reports the findings from research into the ways in which different types of travel philanthropy can facilitate mutually beneficial exchanges between 'hosts and guests' (Smith, 1989). References are made to research investigating educational travel, and how values, perceptions and attitudes can alter as a consequence of knowledge exchange and cross-cultural interactions facilitated through peer-to-peer (P2P) capacity-building actions. Specific reference will be made to a P2P initiative that I developed adhering to travel philanthropy principles, which has been facilitated in The Gambia since 2007, and the more recent travel philanthropy engagements of Football4Peace International (F4P), in the same locality since 2013.

In the context of this chapter, both P2P and F4P are discussed within the broader international development agenda and viewed as ways to consolidate travel philanthropy efforts aimed at sustainable development in The Gambia. The vision behind both initiatives was that if the educational and philanthropic exchanges, in their cultural, as well as pragmatic sense, were to be truly beneficial for those involved (hosts and guests), then values, cross-cultural interaction, innovation and knowledge exchange play key roles in ensuring that travel philanthropy contributes effectively towards sustainable development practices in the locality (Novelli and Burns, 2010).

To broaden the perspective on this topic, the chapter provides two additional case studies. The first is authored by a Senegalese expert in collaboration with an academic from France and reflects on travel philanthropy experiences from Senegal and Mali. The second one, offered by a South African colleague operating within the categories of wildlife management, research and education in a number of other SSA locations, shares the travel philanthropy practices of a private company called Wilderness Safaris (WS).

Defining travel philanthropy

Travel philanthropy is a growing niche within philanthropy. It shares much with strategic, social entrepreneurship and social justice philanthropy and also exhibits the characteristics of traditional philanthropy (Novelli *et al.*, forthcoming). It can be defined as the donation of money and in-kind resources (i.e. office equipment, flights, and accommodation), or the dedication of time to volunteering activities emerging from or facilitated through travel (Goodwin, *et al.*, 2009:4). Maathai (2011) summarised travel philanthropy as a form of development assistance whereby funds, labour and/or other resources flow directly from the tourism industry into community development and environmental conservation initiatives. The giving of time and/or money can be the core purpose of the tourism experience (i.e. volunteering). Alternatively, it can become an incidental consequence of travelling in poverty-affected locations (i.e. school fee sponsorship, donations to orphanages) or areas affected by major health and environmental problems, such as sanitation, epidemics, desertification and species in danger of extinction. In either case, 'concrete contributions of time, travel and treasure to local projects is made by tourists and tourism business' (Honey, 2011:3), beyond what is generated through the normal commercial tourism exchanges.

Generally and erroneously associated with the sole practice of volunteering, travel philanthropy has been gathering momentum as a concept, as a form of consumption and as a movement. As a consequence of the democratisation of charitable giving, from being an act of the 'rich and famous' to one of ordinary citizens interested in sharing their wealth, the rise in international travel to the less developed 'South' (Desai and Kharas, 2008; Mustonen, 2006; Nevarez, 2000; Valente and Crane, 2010; Wearing, 2001) may have also contributed to its growth. Tourism has somehow become the bridge between international and local impoverished communities and the environments in which the impoverished communities live, and operates as a vehicle to channel the act of giving between those who perceive themselves as being more fortunate than others (Ashley and Mitchell, 2007; Bornstein, 2009) and those who live in more precarious conditions.

Goodwin *et al.* (2009), suggest 'travel philanthropy' as an umbrella term for three distinct practices: individual donation giving (i.e. directly or via an intermediary such as a tour operator or hotel business); corporate and/or personal charity fundraising; and volunteering. In each case, travel philanthropists devote their skills, professional expertise and/or financial resources to individual community projects and/or organisations to foster environmental stewardship, development solutions and sustainable social change (Goodwin *et al.*, 2009; Honey, 2011). In this sense, travel philanthropy can be framed by broader geographies of compassion (Mostafanezhad, 2013), care and responsibility (Sin, 2010) and aspire to more sustainable tourism experiences, based on acts of benevolence and more beneficial forms of travel that empower local communities, build local human resources' capacity, preserve the natural environment and strengthen institutional collaboration and partnership (Honey, 2011; Maathai, 2011; Sin, 2010). However, travel philanthropy has been criticised as an activity that: reinforces unequal power relations (donors vs recipients); generates cultural clashes (visitors vs local residents); destabilises existing social systems (Western vs traditional lifestyles); challenges established gender relations; and instils a sense of marginality and dependency in local communities (Abernethy, 2011; Korf, 2007; Sin, 2010). Case Study 6.1 provides evidence in support of such arguments.

Travel philanthropy may be more effective when it emulates the key principles of social entrepreneurship and social justice philanthropy and adds value to existing sustainable and community-focused projects (Western, 2011; (Novelli *et al.*, forthcoming). Equally, the importance of cooperating with locally operated and host-driven organisations and programmes, emphasised by McGehee (2014) in relation to volunteer tourism, is relevant to a wider set of travel philanthropy engagements. This is because projects like this are better placed to provide the framework for more effective altruistic acts, mutually beneficial self-development experiences and structured 'giving-back' opportunities in line with local priorities and community interests, in addition to improved cross-cultural understanding and mutually beneficial exchanges between hosts and guests (see Case Study 6.2). In relation to this, additional research conducted in Kenya, identified how Basecamp Explorer's philanthropic arm, known as Basecamp Foundation, embraced such values and strategies, leading to a number of successful philanthropic engagements described in Box 6.1. The experience of Basecamp Foundation hinges upon long-term development and extends approaches such as community-based, pro-poor and ecotourism by magnifying their leverage (Brohman, 1996; Scheyvens, 2007a) through sustainable travel philanthropy initiatives.

One of the main challenges for travel philanthropy, however, is to differentiate itself from traditional philanthropic approaches based on short-term, project-specific charitable donations, which tend to deliver fragmented results (Ashley and Haysom, 2006). As a consequence of their short-term nature, they are unsustainable, raise unachievable expectations and are limited in their impact. Travel philanthropy has made progress in this regard where it is seen by both donors and recipients as a unique 'trade-plus-aid' form of development assistance, whereby the philanthropic tourist 'can add far more than fees, standards, and fair trade practices' (Western, 2011: 14).

Alternatively, critics of travel philanthropy view it as an act of commoditisation, with poverty and underdevelopment being subjected to the voyeuristic and patronising gaze of tourists (Azarya, 2004; Goodwin *et al.*, 2009). Problems exist whereby the goal of altruism, the pursuit of individual gain and the desire for social status become blurred motivators behind the act of giving and volunteering (Mostafanezhad, 2013), which are firmly embedded in neo-liberal ideologies of development (Coghlan, 2011; Lyons and Wearing, 2008). A disturbing example of this is 'orphanage tourism' (Pitrelli, 2014), which is also the focus of a Tourism Concern campaign 'to stop "for-profit" companies sending unqualified, un-vetted travellers into orphanages, and creating a "demand" for orphaned children as a tourist attraction' (Elgot, 2013: 1). Certainly, philanthropic acts sometimes have unintended consequences or perpetuate the very structures they strive to challenge (Carnegie, 1993; Spalding, 2011). 'Tourists like to contribute to what they see, particularly when visiting areas in need' (Ashley and Haysom, 2006: 268), and they often react 'on the spot', thinking that their actions can alleviate the suffering of those in distress. However, they are not fully equipped to reflect upon, or aware of, the possible consequences of their act. The inadequacy of this type of traditional philanthropy becomes evident as it is 'more about impulse charity by travelers and/or contributions by tourism operators or hotels to meet what they perceive as local needs and priorities' (Coghlan, 2011:19), but these needs and priorities are not so 'local' after all. Several travel philanthropy projects have failed to encourage critical dialogue between tourists and members of local communities and stimulate mutually beneficial exchanges.

Just like international aid and traditional philanthropy, travel philanthropy has all too often been the result of simplistic Western notions of development, which frequently reduce aid to a handful of simple projects, not fully embedded into local realities and usually with no follow-up (Macy, 2011). These are often top-down approaches leading to: unsustainable results; interrupted projects; increased dependency upon external and unpredictable giving; paternalistic attitudes; and unequal power relations (Easterly, 2006, 2007). As a consequence, many communities are often left disillusioned, with no ownership or capacity to take responsibility for their own development agenda and feeling incapable of exercising control over unsystematic interventions by external donors. In this view, volunteer tourism has been criticised for neglecting local desires, disrupting local economies, reinforcing conceptualisations of the 'other', rationalisations of poverty and instigating unwanted cultural changes (Guttentag, 2009).

In view of such criticism, identifying and implementing sustainable forms of travel philanthropy can be challenging, but not impossible. In fact, what follows is an account of what can be viewed as a form of sustainable travel philanthropy embedded in educational travel initiatives.

Travel Philanthropy, field-based education and capacity building in The Gambia

The Gambia is one of the preferred field trip destinations for many UK-based universities teaching tourism-related courses. This is because of its affordability, accessibility and the rich set of tourism issues that can be experienced by students.

Box 6.1 Basecamp Foundation

Basecamp is a non-profit tourism-based organisation that works with host communities and partner organisations in tourism destinations to create sustainable destinations in developing countries. We want to create a forum for host communities to demonstrate the positive impacts of tourism on the natural, social and economic environment.

Values

Basecamp work is defined by five core values – care, culture, conservation, climate and capacity. Within these values, we operate various projects aimed at developing sustainable destinations.

Areas of intervention

Empowerment – The United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) told us in their report (2010) that our ecosystems are severely compromised in their ability to deliver what we have come to depend on as human beings. This is why one of Basecamp Foundation's strategic interventions is to develop local management models that help safeguard ecosystems, climate and communities through long-term tourism partnerships. We believe in the principles of Payment for Ecosystem Services – that all resources have a price – and we have proved that our models deliver not only conservation and development values, but also sustainable finance.

Our main achievement in this area is the Mara Naboisho Conservancy (MNC), which protects the environment and wildlife while providing local income and jobs in Maasai Mara for years to come.

Our focus in the 3–5 years to come will be on:

- expansion of the Mara Naboisho Conservancy
- Basecamp green villages
- conservation partnerships.

Safeguards – Empowerment of local people and communities is a key element in making sustainable development happen. However, the concept of sustainable development has not been translated into action as much as we would like – practical models are lacking. Basecamp's 14 years of working on the ground has lead us to an efficient approach that is about creating added value and support to local communities by strengthening what already exists as traditional practices, making sure that the outcome leads to local economic development and supports a green economy.

Our main strategy is to work through long-term partnerships within the tourism industry as an avenue for development of local entrepreneurship and financial sustainability.

Examples of Basecamp projects leading to sustainable income generation and job creation through local skills development are Koyiaki Guiding School, Basecamp Maasai Brand and the Lamu Dhow Building School – all in Kenya, and in Sunder Rang, Rajasthan.

Our focus in the coming 3–5 years will be on:

- local entrepreneurship
- financial education and training
- tourism and guide training.

Champion – At Basecamp we believe that endorsed recognition is a valuable and respected way of expressing professionalism. Over the past 6 years, we have been awarded or nominated more than 10 times by various international bodies for showcasing best practice and sustainability in tourism.

In the coming years we will continue to compete for recognition by putting forward practical solutions promoting responsibility and sustainability in tourism. Extensive stakeholder dialogue and international advocacy are our key methods for promoting responsibility in the tourism sector.

Through networking partners like the Clinton Global Initiative, the Centre for Responsible Tourism, the International Ecotourism Society, Tallberg and the Global Partnership for Sustainable Tourism, the Basecamp Foundation will take an active role in policy making and the promotion of practical models for building sustainable tourism destinations.

Our focus in the 3–5 years to come will be on:

- Ecostorm (Basecamp advocacy)
- policy making in tourism
- best practice in tourism.

Programmes

Conservation and land management – The land on which the Maasai people depend on for their livelihood is no ordinary land. It forms part of the immensely important Mara/Serengeti system on the shared border of Kenya and Tanzania that supports the great wildebeest migration – named recently as the seventh New Wonder of The World. To manage these vital lands, an integrated conservation and land management programme that guarantees livelihoods while conserving the ecosystem is needed. Basecamp recognises this need and we have partnered with 500 landowners to form the Mara Naboisho Conservancy and conserve a 50,000-acre wildlife refuge.

Our land and conservation programme includes:

- the Mara Naboisho conservancy
- big cat monitoring
- elephant monitoring.

Our achievements so far are:

- 50,000 acres put under conservation for 15 years;
- more than 100 jobs created in camps and for wildlife scouts;
- economic empowerment through a guaranteed monthly income for 500 landowners;
- 70 lions in Naboisho – one of the highest densities of lions in the world.

Care

HIV & AIDs is the new Maasai lion.

Our Care Programme endeavours to reduce the rate of HIV/AIDs infection and to support healthier living for those infected in Koiyaki Division in the Maasai Mara area. Additionally we strive to provide clean water and improve access to medical facilities and information in order to improve general community health. The objective of the Care Programme is to make affordable health care service accessible to members of these communities.

Our Care Programme works through these projects:

- workplace HIV policy
- health information
- nutritional supplements for HIV/AIDS patients
- construction of health facilities
- support for health facilities
- provision of clean water through boreholes.

So far, we have been able to record these achievements:

- an active workplace programme at Basecamp Foundation;
- health information outreach programme reaches 4,000 people annually;
- one new clinic constructed at Olesere to ease pressure on Talek and to improve health service access to more than 2,000 people;
- our initiative in voluntary counselling and testing at market places served 202 people in 2011;
- moonlight and door-to-door counselling.
- nutritional supplements project for 5 people living with Aids (PLWAs).

Culture – At Basecamp, we respect local values and we promote only cultural interactions and exchanges that add value to the lives of local people. Our objective is to preserve culture in time and space for the economic benefit of the community through innovative use.

Our culture programme consists of:

- Basecamp Maasai Brand, which promotes Maasai beaded jewellery (www.basecampmasaibrand.com);

- Basecamp Sunderang Brand (www.sunderang.com);
- Lamu Dhow building school;
- Documenting culture in the form of CDs and DVDs;

In this programme, we have been able to achieve the following:

- We have trained and engaged 118 women in producing Maasai jewellery for export.
- The Sanderang Craft Centre in India pays monthly wages to 20 women.
- The Lamu Dhow school has trained 20 youths in traditional dhow building.
- We have produced a DVD on Maasai life and CD on Maasai songs.

Capacity – With an eye on the future challenges host communities are likely to face, we support a robust capacity-building programme that targets youth, women and leaders with the objective of empowering the Maasai to manage their resources, mainly land and wildlife, for posterity.

Our capacity programme works through the following projects:

- education sponsorship and scholarships for higher education for girls;
- the Koiyaki Guide School;
- community-managed microfinance for women;
- exchange visits for elders;
- the *voluntourism* project.

Our achievements include:

- Twenty scholarships valued at USD 20,000 have been awarded in the guide training school.
- More than 50 girls have been sponsored through primary school.
- Two post graduate scholarships have been awarded to community members.

Climate – Climate change is a global problem with local implications. Frequent droughts and water scarcity are grim realities in Kenya and the Maasai Mara region is no exception. Having observed the dire effects of climate change in Maasai Mara, we have focused our conservation efforts on this issue. The objective of our climate programme is to mitigate the effects of climate change by creating of *green villages*.

Our climate programme has three projects:

- tree planting
- solar energy
- alternative livelihoods that are less dependent on land.

We have achieved the following so far:

- Since 1998, more than 65,000 trees have been planted.
- We have trained 5 women as solar engineers in India.
- The 5 women solar engineers have providing lighting to 200 homes using solar technology.

Source: Basecamp Foundation (**www.basecampfoundation.org**)

In 2007, in response to the need of exposing students to the dynamics of sustainable tourism development, entrepreneurship and management in a developing world destination, and in an attempt to facilitate a more meaningful exchange between my students and our chosen hosting destination, I developed an undergraduate twenty-credit module called ‘Destination Niche Tourism’. Although sustainability was a core aspect of the curriculum, unfortunately students have generally little or no exposure to the realities of a developing world context. I adopted the term ‘P2P capacity-building initiative’ (later referred to as ‘P2P initiative’) to describe the module activities as broadly encompassing the structured interaction and exchange of knowledge based on both academic and practical experiences, between participants from the University of Brighton (UoB) and sponsored participants from the Gambian locality, which is where the module was piloted and has been successfully delivered thus far. The P2P initiative was developed in partnership with a number of local organisations in such as Safari Garden (2007 to 2009), the Sandele Eco-retreat and Learning Centre (2009 to date), the Association of Small-scale Enterprises in Tourism (ASSET, 2007 to date), the Kartong Association for Responsible Tourism (KART, 2009–13), and the Gambia Tourism Board (GTB, 2007 to date).

By drawing upon my own interpretation of what could be considered as a good practice in field-based education in a developing country, the intention was to incorporate the principles of sustainable travel philanthropy into the curriculum. Through this, my students would be able not only to take away ‘the experience’ of visiting the destination, but also to fully engage and understand the complexities of tourism development and management in a destination like The Gambia. I decided that the best way to facilitate such an initiative would be for local students (sponsored through small philanthropic donations by UoB participants) and practitioners to be active players in the field-based educational experience and associated fieldtrips.

Empirical research conducted between 2007 and 2010 (Novelli and Burns, 2010) identified that the general aspects of the UoB’s P2P initiative built on sustainable tourism development and management values and principles led to meaningful experiences for both international and local participants. Having proved to be successful, in order to guarantee critical mass and better chances for a sustainable future, the P2P initiative extended its domain in 2013 by joining forces with Football 4 Peace International (F4P) (www.football4peace.eu), an initiative developed on a distinctive model of values-based education and coaching, also drawing on principles of sustainable travel philanthropy.

While P2P was generally developed on broader *sustainable tourism* values and principles, F4P identifies *neutrality*, *equity*, *inclusion*, *respect*, *trust* and *responsibility* as the anchors for its innovative sport coaching methodology. This sustainable approach to training coaches is adaptable and transferrable into wider spheres of educational/cultural development (Stidder and Hassner, 2007; Schulenkorf *et al.*, 2013). In the context of this chapter, both P2P and F4P are discussed within the broader international development agenda and viewed as ways to consolidate travel philanthropy efforts aimed at sustainable development in the locality.

Most students studying in the UK base their perceptions of African destinations such as The Gambia on what the media offers. Poverty, desertification, famine, diseases, death and most recently the Ebola outbreak remain the stigmatised images of the continent, with its multifaceted cultural and natural assets remaining hidden in the shadows of negativity. The question guiding this research was 'How can one travel with an educational purpose, facilitate more equitable exchanges between 'hosts' and 'guests' and contribute more effectively to capacity building and sustainable development in the locality?'

Since 2007, there have been eight editions of the P2P initiative, though which philanthropic donations by students (as little as a £25 added to the fieldtrip cost) and staff (time) have enabled the sponsorship and participation of just over one hundred Gambian participants in the project. This initiative is line with the global development agendas on capacity building (i.e. Commission for Africa, G8, Millennium Development Goals) and the UoB corporate commitment to sustainability and wider community engagement. The P2P initiative has proved to be a valuable learning experience for our students and staff, as much as for local participants. This innovative learning opportunity has contributed to the internationalisation of our curriculum and has enhanced students' practice-based learning, by using field resources and by exchanging theoretical with indigenous knowledge.

Building upon twelve years of F4P operations in the Middle East, F4P Gambia was piloted in December 2013.The intention was to build capacity in sports coaching using the F4P coaching methodology of teaching values and life skills through sport and physical activity in West Africa. Four sports students studying sports and two UoB experts in sports for development travelled to Kartong to forge partnerships with local organisations, such as the Kartong Sports Committee, to identify the focal point to operationalise the initiative. In April 2014, with guidance from a member of the UoB staff, F4P hosted its first 'coaching camp' in the village of Kartong with twelve UoB students, five UoB partner organisation members and sixteen local participants. The latter were selected from a cohort of local sports coaches, schoolteachers

Figure 6.1 Sharing indigenous knowledge at Tumani Tenda Community Camp

and sport officials. In December 2014, during the second coaching camp, with Kartong as the focal point of the initiative, the operation was extended to three other villages – Berending, Gunjur and Medina Salam. The scale of the operation had now increased to fifteen UoB students, one alumnus, four members of partner organisations (from Northern Ireland and Ghana) and twenty-one local participants. Building on the success of the previous camps, at the time of writing, plans to run a third coaching camp are in place. F4P Gambia has so far become a biannual added-value experience offered to all UoB students and members of the School of Sport and Service Management's partner organisations. The overall intention is to expand operations by using The Gambia as a training hub and increase sports coaching capacity in West Africa.

Both the P2P and the F4P initiatives have proved to be suitable vehicles to enable knowledge exchange not only through the more conventional tutor-to-student exchanges, but mostly among peers: UK students and Gambian participants, UoB staff, members of partner organisations and local experts. Additionally, the vocational nature of the two capacity-building and train-the-trainers initiatives have facilitated knowledge exchange on niche tourism product development and sports coaching. P2P and F4P have facilitated the enhancement of skills such as cross-cultural collaboration, teamwork and innovative thinking, as well as developing values including *neutrality, equity,*

Figure 6.2 F4P in action at Kartong football pitch
Source: Courtesy of Graham Spacey

inclusion, respect, trust and *responsibility*. In this experience, it was proven that peers' knowledge exchange plays a key role in ensuring that travel philanthropy contributes effectively towards sustainable development practices in the locality and as mutually beneficial capacity-building experiences.

Travel for learning is not a new concept and can be dated at least to the nineteenth-century Grand Tour (see: Black, 2003). However, contemporary educational tourism goes 'beyond a curiosity, interest or fascination for a particular topic. It involves a travel experience in which there is organised learning, whether that be formal or experimental' (Kalinowski and Weiler, 1992: 17). The innovation in learning brought by P2P and F4P is in the specific type of educational experience that enables learning not only for those travelling, but also for those being visited through the facilitated knowledge exchange between 'hosts' and 'guests'. While international students were able to test their acquired knowledge during their university-based learning, the Gambian participants gained access to a learning experience not available in the locality. The latter contributed practical knowledge strongly linked to the sector in which they work (i.e. tourism and hospitality, sport/physical education and coaching), and acquired new knowledge/skills to be applied in their immediate future practices.

In less developed countries, while the general lack of community knowledge about tourism is considered a significant problem (Moscardo, 2008), sport has historically played an important role in all societies, whether in the form of competitive sport, physical activity or play:

> Sport and play are human rights that must be respected and enforced worldwide; sport has been increasingly recognised and used as a low-cost and high-impact tool in humanitarian, development and peace-building efforts, not only by the UN system but also by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), governments, development agencies, sports federations, armed forces and the media. Sport can no longer be considered a luxury within any society but is rather an important investment in the present and future, particularly in developing countries . . . Sport has a unique power to attract, mobilise and inspire. By its very nature, sport is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship. It stands for human values such as respect for the opponent, acceptance of binding rules, teamwork and fairness, all of which are principles which are also contained in the Charter of the United Nations . . . Sport plays a significant role as a promoter of social integration and economic development in different geographical, cultural and political contexts.
>
> UNOSPD (2014)

While Moscardo (2008) stresses the importance of knowledge sharing and capacity building to help communities to understand how to build beneficial relationships with tourists, UNOSPD (2014) views it as a powerful tool to strengthen social ties and networks, and to promote ideals of peace, fraternity, solidarity, non-violence, tolerance and justice. From a development point of view, the focus is often on mass sport and non-elite sport. However, sport can be used:

> to reach out to those most in need including refugees, child soldiers, victims of conflict and natural catastrophes, the impoverished, persons with disabilities, victims of racism, stigmatisation and discrimination, persons living with HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases.
>
> UNOSPD (2014)

The specific context of the southern Gambian location where F4P and P2P are implemented is generally still an ‘off-the beaten-track-location’ for tourists and government initiatives. While the philanthropic stance of P2P is to bridge the knowledge gap of local communities on how to better engage and profit from tourism, F4P is working with impoverished community members, including those minorities who are victims of discrimination and stigmatisation, and individuals operating in settings affected by HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, using sport as a vehicle to stimulate community cohesiveness and development.

Literature on field trips generally ignores the role of the 'other'. The 'hosts' receive very little attention, as trips are about what 'we' gain from 'them'. There are, however, at least two exceptions. One is the 2007 study by Wright *et al.*, which explores relationship-building between groups of students and indigenous tour operators in northern Australia. The authors recognise that the brief exchanges that characterise fieldwork are complex because they are 'situated in a web of power relations'; they not only acknowledge subjectivity in their work but positively celebrate it, claiming that 'these complex relationships are central to the learning process'; they make the critical point that the boundaries between work and action are somewhat fuzzy; and they end with a plea for the elimination of the 'colonising processes and power imbalance' of university-framed teaching and research in the indigenous field (Wright *et al.*, 2007: 155). With regard to these aspects, in the context of P2P and F4P in The Gambia, imbalances in a number of power relations had to be faced and resolved between 'host' (i.e. P2P and F4P local organising partners and participants) and 'guest' (i.e. P2P and F4P organisers from UoB, international students). These were identified and carefully addressed by establishing clear communication about expectations and mutual responsibilities about the initiatives and by the UoB staff availing themselves of their Gambian counterparts as active mentors in the process and gaining a deeper understanding of local customs and practices. Core to the success of the two initiatives, to date, is indeed the mutual trust developed over ten years of collaborative research between the UoB and local partners in the destination.

The second piece of work that acknowledges the indigenous context is Riggs' (2004: 296) study of a collaborative educational approach between local universities and Native American indigenous communities in field-based geosciences. This study emphasises the importance of 'outdoor education, place and problem based structure, and the explicit inclusion of indigenous knowledge'. Riggs acknowledges the difficulties of learning in the field, especially when resources and facilities are scarce. More importantly, Riggs reveals some important cultural issues not normally addressed, noting that '[m]any ethnic and cultural groups are persistently underrepresented in Earth science', which is a problem (in the context of Native Americans and First Nations people) because of 'the large land base managed by tribal authorities, coupled with a simultaneous lack of professional scientific expertise within reservation communities' (2004: 297). The parallels with tourism and sports studies in general, and with the P2P and F4P initiatives in SSA, are obvious.

The few papers and limited research that deal with interactions between insiders and outsiders (the hosts and guests) are of considerable importance. However, apart from Wright *et al.* (2007) and Pence and Macgillivray, who refer to international field experiences as cross-cultural exchanges leading 'to an expanded worldview' (2008: 15), only one study (Novelli and Burns, 2010) engages with the complexities of field trip benefits being enjoyed by parties other than the students and their teachers, looking at the cross-cultural experiences of both participants from the global North and the communities from the global South.

Freire (1972, 1973) believed that 'education for liberation' must be not only linked to problem-solving, but also framed by dialogue between equals. In this sense, both P2P and F4P attempt to forge a link between the positive outcomes and expectations of a specific form of educational fieldtrip and related philanthropic engagements. There is in addition the creation of more meaningful ways that tourism and sport can benefit a wide range of people in the Majority World. The community knowledge gap identified by Moscardo (2008) is addressed by focused analysis and empirical evidence on how micro-level initiatives, such as this type of fieldtrip and the P2P and F4P methodologies that framed it, can effectively foster community awareness and engagement in tourism and sport development.

The tourism sector's development practices often ignore the value of innovative and alternative ways of facilitating knowledge exchange and capacity building between peers from different backgrounds. While the P2P and F4P initiatives have proved to be beneficial at individual (e.g. knowledge about sustainable niche tourism development in practice; business planning and presentation skills; sports coaching and cross-cultural collaboration experience), social (e.g. mutual trust and reciprocity; values, attitudes and behaviour commitment; motivation and expectation; sense of place; relationships) and professional levels (e.g. niche tourism business development and management; sport coaching techniques), the local institutional/governance arrangements (e.g. ASSET, Sandele Eco-retreat and Learning Centre, Kartong Sports Committee) and economic/philanthropic (e.g. students, staff and UoB School of Sport and Service Management) dimensions have proved to be fundamental in enabling the mutual exchange of knowledge and providing a 'life-changing experience' for those involved.

As previously highlighted, one of the main challenges for travel philanthropy is to differentiate itself from traditional philanthropic approaches based on short-term, project-specific charitable donations, which tend to deliver fragmented results (Ashley and Haysom, 2006). The philanthropic aspect of P2P and F4P have made progress in this regard, as participants are give the opportunity to grasp the differences between being mere donors' handouts and 'recipients' benefiting from a unique 'trade-plus-aid' form of development assistance (Western, 2011: 14), whereby P2P and F4P's 'educational tourists' travel to the destination and pay for their learning experience, adding far more than just fees for the fieldtrip, covering travel, accommodation and a small donation towards the costs of hosting local participants during the fieldwork. P2P and F4P are organised following fair trade principles and practices (e.g. using independent hotels, small local touring business, informal sector operators, paying a fair price, etc.), in line with Western's (2011) suggestion that travel philanthropy may be more effective when it emulates the key principles of social entrepreneurship and social justice philanthropy and adds value to extant sustainable and community-focused projects, providing an opportunity for improved cross-cultural understanding and mutually beneficial exchanges between hosts and guests.

P2P and F4P have drawn upon such principles by cooperating with locally operated and host-driven organisations (i.e. ASSET, KART) and programmes (i.e. Sandele Eco-reterat and Learning Centre in collaboration with the community of Kartong). Such organisations have proved to be better placed to provide the framework for more effective altruistic initiatives, rewarding self-development experiences and structured giving-back opportunities all in line with local priorities, community interests and sustainable travel philanthropy.

Local voices' perspectives on travel philanthropy

Case Study 6.1 – Critical reflections on the 'act of giving' in Senegal and Mali

Authored by: Dr Frédéric Thomas and Pape Ibrahima Diouf

Probably more than anywhere else, travel philanthropy is strongly present in Africa. Through the examples of Senegal and Mali, we delineate travel philanthropy as the act of giving by travellers including monetary gifts, goods or time to a community for the purpose of setting up a project with the ultimate aim of improving the livelihood and/or the living conditions of the local communities involved. Based on a mixture of religious, humanitarian and other drives, travel philanthropy may happen at any time during the travel and/or stay of visitors in a location or upon their return home.

In the case of Senegal, during the early 1970s several individuals initiated, with the support of development agencies and government organisations, an innovative programme of integrated rural tourism, whereby, through the use of traditional materials and local architectural styles, standard huts were built allowing the accommodation of visitors to rural camps. This initiative diversified the local hospitality sector and enabled visitors to pay fairly low prices, eat local dishes and experience the local traditional way of life.

In the lower Casamance region, receipts generated through these camps were used to support health services, schools, etc., especially in the villages of Affiniam, Coubalang, Elinkine, Sitokoto, Baïla, Ediougou, Thionck-Essyl, Enampore, Séléky, Dioher and Oussouye (Mlomp). While in these rural villages, visitors would engage in a number of philanthropic activities, including the donation of medicine, and on their return home they would fundraise to provide ambulance vehicles, which were previously unavailable.

Unfortunately, several factors have undermined the long-term sustainability of these rural tourism camps and the demand for such experiences. First, the civil war that affected the reputation of Casamance between 1982 and 2004 meant that much of the region was unsafe for travel, with tourism experiencing a significant drop during this period. Second, the management of community businesses in remote areas has not always proven to be successful due to the lack of entrepreneurial skills, the limited access to markets and the existence of local conflicts of interest, to name just a few. Ultimately, the contact between visitors and hosts has somewhat also altered the traditional way of life of local communities and by default the tourism experience itself.

In such a scenario, travel philanthropy has contributed to the over-dependence upon the tourism phenomenon. For example, the donations of medicines have pushed local communities into acquiring foreign healing customs, leading to the disappearance of traditional healing methods. Given that access to these medicines is difficult outside the field of philanthropic donations, the dramatic drop in tourist arrivals and the poor access to these areas in the rainy season has increased villagers' vulnerability to health problems. Equally, in those areas where ambulances were donated, vehicle maintenance became more of a problem than those the ambulances were supposed to solve.

Similar issues were observed in the Dogon Country (Mali) where almost one-third of international tourist arrivals to Mali were recorded in 2010. The visitors came for the cliff of Bandiagara, a vast cultural landscape covering 400,000 hectares and including 289 villages scattered between the three natural regions: sandstone plateau, escarpment and plains. However, only a few of these villages really benefit from tourism. While travellers willing to get off the beaten track occasionally visit more remote villages and contribute to their livelihood through business exchanges and philanthropic giving, the reality is that most of the tourism activities and, by default any travel philanthropy associated with it, usually happen to and benefit only those living along or inside the tourist areas, exacerbating inequalities, possibly leading to inter-community conflicts and instilling negative emotions among community members such as jealousy and anger, all affecting the social fabric of the traditional societies involved.

In the specific case of Ende, in the Dogon Country, empirical research has highlighted that social conflicts were clearly identifiable between the different districts of the village (Thomas, 2010), and among villagers, mainly caused by the unequal levels of funds raised through travellers in the area of Kani Kombale (where Ende is located) compared to others. In a community of approximately 10,000 people visited by an average of 10,000 tourists per year, the philanthropy of travellers funded six small schools, a health centre, twenty-four wheels (out of forty), seven moto-ambulances, thousands of books and tons of cereals. Monetary and in-kind donations were also a common practice either directly to villagers or indirectly through an *ad hoc* NGO created uniquely as a fund recipient, without a clear implementation and/or monitoring plan for the donations.

While nobody would question the value of such 'acts of giving', the lack of coordination and the number of unplanned programmes generated through travellers' philanthropy 'in support of' and/or 'to empower' local communities has been demonstrated to be counterintuitive in the Dogon Country, with travel philanthropy increasing both inequalities and tensions between locals and changing the relationships between visitors and residents, with the latter often expecting in-kind donations in each encounter with travellers, leading to a growing number of unpleasant encounters with 'bumsters'.

The overwhelming generosity of visitors, in some circumstances giving more than it is reasonable or culturally acceptable, has played in many cases an aggravating role in the evolution of local communities' behaviours, which have shifted with time from appreciating utility, to valuing exchange, to expecting gifts. What further hinders the value of travel philanthropy is often the lack of technical expertise of those managing the funds, the absence of communities' sense of entrepreneurship and their inability to look forward, leading to strong levels of dependency upon the visitors' generosity, often tinted with tones of neo-colonialism.

Case Study 6.2 – Wilderness Safaris – engaging beyond business

Authored by: Susan Snyman

If philanthropy is to assist, empower and uplift local communities successfully it should, ideally, not be done simply as a public relations or Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) exercise, as this can lead to dependency and a continued reliance on outside funding. It should be targeted, structured, have a long-term plan, empower people, provide what the community (not the donor) wants and needs, be applicable to the cultural and natural heritage of the area, and be fully sustainable whether its focus is individual (e.g. scholarships) or collective (e.g. infrastructure) or combination of the two (Snyman, 2013).

The problem of philanthropy based on donor desires rather than community needs is illustrated by the story of an NGO that donated dish-shaped solar panels to a Himba community in North West Namibia, returning a year later to find the community using the panels to collect water: water being of far greater importance to the community than electricity (Snyman, 2013).

Meyer (2008) stressed the considerable advantages of community engagements beyond business facilitated through philanthropic donations that, if well managed, can reach particularly vulnerable community members, such as the elderly, the sick and the young. Examples of such initiatives include Wilderness Safaris' Wilderness Wildlife Trust (WWT, www.wildernesstrust.com) and the Children in the Wilderness programme (CITW, www.childreninthewilderness.com). The WWT supports a wide variety of projects in Southern

Africa, within the categories of wildlife management, research and education. These projects address the needs of existing wildlife populations, seek solutions to save endangered species and provide education and training for local people and their communities. CITW is a non-profit organisation supported by the ecotourism company WS (www.wilderness-safaris.com) to facilitate sustainable conservation through leadership development and the education of rural children in Africa.

Ideally, it is important that if donations are to be managed sustainably and not simply treated as handouts to the poor, an investment of time and effort on the part of the private sector operator is required. Any community project undertaken should have a thorough and realistic appraisal of the benefits and costs for all parties involved, as well as determining the sustainability of the project and level of community involvement (Snyman, 2013). At WS this is done through a series of meetings with the relevant communities and their elders/headmen, to ensure broad consensus, support and buy-in for the proposed initiatives.

Freeman *et al.* (2004: 169) stressed that building schools, clinics, and improving roads will not reduce poverty, if there is no concomitant public sector institutional environment encouraging a dynamic diversification of rural livelihoods to support the maintenance and operation of the new infrastructure by providing teachers, nurses, etc. Although funding infrastructure projects is often more 'popular' with donors as they provide tangible outputs, it is important to assess needs and possibly direct donations towards intangible but often more important priorities, such as capacity building in tourism product development, business management and conservation (Snyman, 2013).

Issues emerging from travel philanthropy are multifaceted and many. For instance, tourists' generosity can induce unwanted behavioural changes in community members – i.e. begging – and can raise expectations for the future that cannot always be met. Travel philanthropy therefore needs to be channelled and structured in a way that improves the lives of local people and at the same time allows future visitors to experience destinations where the community does not expect direct handouts, but understands that the very presence of visitors will undeniably translate into local benefits, which may go beyond business and into additional philanthropic engagements (Snyman, 2013).

As a company with a high percentage of the high-end ecotourism market in Southern Africa, WS donated and/or administered more than USD 73,000 in community development and enhancement projects between March 2011 and February 2012. These donations positively impacted the lives of approximately 21,000 people (Wilderness Holdings, 2012). From March 2012 to February 2013, they administered a further USD 72,000 in terms of community development and enhancement projects (Wilderness Holdings, 2013). These projects are over and above those run by the WWT and CITW mentioned earlier.

In the case of WS' travel philanthropy experience, going beyond their ecotourism business remit has contributed considerably to local socio-economic

Table 6.1 Summary of community development project donations and number of people impacted*

Country	*Total donations (in BWP)*	*Approximate no. of people impacted*
Botswana	659,710	577
Malawi	29,618**	2,226
Namibia	342,593	803
South Africa	150,870***	4,900
Zambia	6607	735
Zimbabwe	856,938	8,560
Total	2,046,336	17,801

Notes
* The figures included here are, in general, lower than the previous years' figures as costs for the CITW camps were previously included in some of the country community development project donation forms. This year we have separated the two in order to more accurately reflect the community development and CITW project costs.
** BWP 1,962 of this amount was raised by HELP Malawi (our NGO partner based at Mvuu Camp – see www.helpchildren.org).
*** BWP 118,611 of this amount is paid to Iliso Care Society in Khayelitsha by Il Diamante, one of our travel partners, who donate money to Iliso for each of their guests.

Source: Wilderness Holdings, 2013.

development either through philanthropic donations from the ecotourism operator themselves or from guests who visit their operation. The nature of WS' business has resulted in the profitability and sustainability of the business depending upon the health of the wilderness areas in which they operate and the ecosystems and species that they seek to conserve. This is determined by the attitudes and behaviour of communities living in or adjacent to protected areas, who frequently bear the costs of conservation through human–wildlife conflict (HWC) and the opportunity costs of not being able to use conserved areas for settlement or agriculture. As a result, there is a direct correlation between the success of WS' business and the goodwill and support of surrounding communities (Wilderness Holdings, 2013).

WS' community engagements and development activities recognise these realities and have always broadly aimed to ensure that neighbouring communities value conservation areas and thus will ensure their long-term sustainability. WS endeavours to achieve this through finding ways to translate conservation and ecotourism successes into meaningful, real and visible socio-economic benefits for local communities (Wilderness Holdings, 2013).

Table 6.2 Breakdown of community development projects: education, social welfare, infrastructure and conservation

Education	*Social welfare*
Zimbabwe	***Zimbabwe***
Teacher incentives	Jabulani, Ziga and Ngamo Primary Schools: nutrition
School scholarships	Hwange Schools: deworming
Ziga Primary School: school roofing	Local community curio shop sales to guests
Jabulani, Mphindo, Kapane and Victoria Falls Primary Schools: Happy Reader Books	Knitting workshop at community schools
Jabulani School: teacher sports coaching	***Malawi***
Jabulani School: stationery donation	Nutrition projects
Bushbeat print run: quarterly environmental magazine for community schools	Doctors and medical assistants for staff at Mvuu
Teacher training	Sponsoring soccer tournament
Ngamo and Ziga Primary Schools: world maps and globes	Supporting local community dancers
Ziga Primary School: resources and library books	***Botswana***
	Training for local women to make newspaper bags
Malawi	***South Africa***
School scholarships	Donations to Iliso Care Society in Khayelitsha: food nutrition programme, feeding 150–200 people a day
Stationery to schools	Iliso Care Society: Women's Health Programme focused on health and sex education for girls and women aged 10–18
Seychelles	***Namibia***
Mahé: stationery donations	Round Table doctor's outreach: Wilderness provided logistical and administrative support
South Africa	Round Table wheelchair donation to Torra Conservancy community members
Iliso Care Society, Cape Town: Early Childhood Development Programme provides education to 20 children aged 3–6 years	Elders' ration packs containing basic food and household goods
	Elders' Christmas party and game drive at Doro Nawas
	Donation of old uniforms to elders, learners and conservancy staff
	Dog food donation in Torra Conservancy to assist families with pets

continued . . .

Table 6.2 Continued

Infrastructure	*Conservation*
Zimbabwe	***Zimbabwe***
Ziga and Jabulani Primary Schools: staff toilets Ziga Primary School: poultry project Ngamo Primary School: library shelving Ngamo Primary School: desks and chairs Jabulani Primary School: furniture Noticeboards for five schools	Mphindo School: water diviner Ngamo Primary School: water trough Ngamo and Ziga Primary Schools: vermiculture programme
	Malawi
	Assisting National Park scouts with boats and fuel for patrols Sponsoring tree seedlings CITW children carry out park fence patrols
Malawi	
Multi-use grain mill Support for Njovbu Cultural Lodge Nanthomba Tree Nursery for CITW	
	Namibia
Zambia	Predator Proof Kraal project at Krone to mitigate human–wildlife conflict Desert Lion Project: to mitigate human–wildlife conflict in community conservancies
Sinde Village: teacher's accommodation being built	
Namibia	***South Africa***
Bergsig: pre-school renovation Generator donation to De Riet village Jacob Basson School: laundry equipment donation (two washing machines)	Sponsored and facilitated the planting of 30 trees for Arbor Day at Makuleke schools Food gardening programme at Iliso Care Society in Khayelitsha
	Zambia
	Environmental workshops at Kamakechi, Jifumpa, Kalengo, Malanga, Chilongozi, Mapoko and Kabulwebulwe Schools: rubbish clean-ups, life skills courses, conservation clubs

Source: Wilderness Holdings, 2013.

Final considerations

This chapter has reported research into ways in which different types of travel philanthropy can facilitate mutually beneficial exchanges between 'hosts' and 'guests' (Smith, 1989). Specific reference has been made to how initiatives such as P2P and F4P can stimulate values enhancement, alter perceptions and attitudes through knowledge exchange and cross-cultural interactions. The two case studies authored by local experts broadened the discussion on the complexities associated with travel philanthropy and its potential as a useful tool in development if performed in an engaging and sustainable manner.

In the specific case of my own experience developing the P2P programme and facilitating the implementation of the F4P initiative, the capacity-building focus of these initiatives can be said to have been operating in line with a long-term sustainable development aspiration. To date, 130 UoB students, 6 members of staff, 76 sponsored Gambian participants and some twenty local experts have taken part in the P2P since 2007. Since December 2013, 31 UoB students (some of which have returned or are planning to), 2 members of staff, 37 sponsored Gambian participants, 9 members of partner organisations and one alumni have worked collaboratively in The Gambia with the F4P methodology. At a micro or case study level, the main lesson learned proved to be the way fieldtrips can provide experiential learning opportunities, achieving a much wider set of goals. Through a philanthropic engagement using train-the-trainers approaches that lead to local capacity building in tourism business development and sports coaching methodologies, these initiatives produce greater benefit than other forms of field-based learning. More importantly, and with credit to all those involved, the opportunity to work on projects that are designed in direct collaboration between community members and international students has resulted in 40 per cent of the thirty-seven tourism projects being implemented within the 'Destination Gambia' portfolio. These include a cultural encounter initiative at Kartong riverside during which visitors can learn about oyster collection and processing; a 'palm wine' experience at the Balanta compound where visitors can taste the product, but most importantly experience how palm wine is produced; a craft-making showcase at Sandele Eco-retreat and Learning Centre, where local craft makers teach visitors the methods by which crafts are produced from local materials. The most recent is a sea turtle conservation project (Sandele Conservation of Sea Turtles – SCST) aimed at providing a platform for conservation as well as the development of a lucrative niche tourism product, aspiring to expand from Kartong to other villages where the presence of sea turtle is under threat.

The collaboration between the UoB, Sandele Eco-retreat and Learning Centre, ASSET and other Gambian organisations has enabled the realisation of a step change in the strategic implementation of the UoB curriculum related to tourism, hospitality, events and sport. The development is aimed at enhancing students' professional and practice-based learning by offering an innovative programme, through facilitated access to resources, knowledge exchange, capacity building, cross-cultural and philanthropic collaborations and, as part of the UoB corporate commitment to sustainability, a contribution towards sustainable development practices in the wider community.

It is worth noting that, in 2014, the level of trust built as a result of the historical professional relationship between the UoB and local stakeholders from The Gambia convinced senior management of the UoB to continue supporting the initiatives, at a time when a considerable number of travellers, other schools and universities decided not to travel to The Gambia owing to the Ebola outbreak in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea. The perceived threat of Ebola in the region has had devastating repercussions on the tourism sector in The Gambia. In fact, as previously stated, despite it being Ebola-free, tourism arrivals were reported as being 65 per cent down at the start of the 2014 high season (November) compared to the same period the previous year.

The close relationship and recognition of dual nature of the purpose and spirit of P2P and F4P presence and active engagement in community development in the country took to sharing their experience on social media and discussion boards, such as The Conversation, at a very tough time for our Gambian counterparts. In a true collaborative spirit, P2P and F4P's message was that 'it is business as usual in The Gambia', which became the storyline of a number of national and international press releases and news headlines around the world, inviting travellers to keep informed and travel to non-affected areas of West Africa including The Gambia (see: Jallow, 2014; Novelli, 2014).

While one may say that the study by Novelli and Burns (2010) of the P2P initiative was limited by its small sample size and specific nature, I have been closely monitoring the practices and impacts of the P2P since its inception eight years ago. The review has provided sufficient longitudinal evidence of the value of developing such a capacity-building delivery model. The initiative has proved to facilitate relevant training and mutual learning opportunities for our students as much as for our partners in the locality. Having learned from the successful piloting and implementation of the F4P initiative, additional levels of capacity building (i.e. managerial) and other possible fields of study (i.e. conservation and environmental management, midwifery and medical studies) were identified as needed, and an opportunity was taken to scale up P2P in this direction where it can truly make a significant contribution.

In 2010, Novelli and Burns highlighted the potential to use the P2P model as a south–south capacity-building strategy, whereby the partnership between educational institutions (i.e. universities and colleges) in collaboration with local organisations at a destination level could be facilitated with support from GOs (governmental organisations); international NGOs, supranational and national governments (e.g. the European Union and the Commonwealth Foundation) and local NGOs. This is what F4P is trying to achieve by using The Gambia as a template and the location for pilot training for other West African partners (i.e. from Ghana), with the aim of facilitating collaborations between those trained through F4P Gambia and potential participants from other West African destinations. The long-term vision is to replicate and adapt the experience with other institutions in East and Southern Africa countries, in an attempt to develop credible and effective implementation plans and actions that can successfully be rolled out through genuine and equitable south–north and south–south partnerships. Such an initiative would capitalise and expand on the P2P and F4P Gambian template and experiences.

7 Current issues in niche tourism

Introduction

Ten years ago, I embarked in the editing of a book called *Niche Tourism: Contemporary issues, trends and cases* (Novelli, 2005). I recall the case I had to make to the publisher to convince her about the timely use of the term 'niche tourism', as at the time the term 'niche' was mainly associated with marketing literature with little reference to the tourism and hospitality fields, and was mainly linked to the alternative travel paradigms of special interest tourism (SIT) (Read, 1980) and other forms of creative tourism (Richards and Raymond, 2000). While research investigating SIT and creative tourism (Getz, 2000a, 2000b; Hall, 2003, 2004; Ohridska-Olson and Ivanov, 2010; Richards, 2001a) were available, niche tourism as a concept was not fully examined until 2002, when the Crichton Tourism Research Centre at the University of Glasgow held a one-day conference on the theme 'Niche Tourism in Question: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Problems and Possibilities'. This led to a set of published proceedings (Macleod, 2003), which became one of the first examples of shared thinking on the niche tourism concept and some of its applications.

Hall (2003:24) challenged the role of niche tourism by posing the question: 'is it a healthy sign that the industry should appear to be driven by niche tourism? Or is it actually the case that this is an overhyped, politically correct and convenient delusion?' Through the research presented in this chapter, I challenge Hall's view, and argue that niche tourism has proved to play a key role in providing opportunities for inclusive growth and tourism development around the world and in SSA in particular. Other studies on specific tourism niches, such as medical tourism (Bookman and Bookman, 2007), diaspora heritage tourism (Newland and Taylor, 2010) and sports tourism (Hinch and Higham, 2011), to name just a few, take a similar standpoint, and view niche tourism as offering destinations a valid way to diversify and reposition themselves.

Reflecting upon ten years of research in the field of niche tourism, this chapter is divided into two parts. The first will concentrate on an evaluation of the evolution of niche tourism and its links to authenticity and inclusive growth in SSA. The second part will focus on aspects of niche tourism drawing on empirical research conducted by local experts in Botswana, Namibia, South

Africa and Ghana, with the aim of showcasing examples of niche tourism in SSA and stimulating some reflection on the role of niche tourism and hospitality as a vehicle to inclusive growth and development in SSA.

Defining niche tourism

It has been previously established that the term niche tourism finds its origins in the ecology (Hutchinson, 1957; Hannan and Freeman, 1977) and marketing (Lambkin and Day, 1989) fields:

> In marketing terms, niche refers to two inter-related ideas. First that there is a place in the market for a product, and second, there is an audience for this product, where both place and audience are seen to be particular entities. This can be extended further to refer to a specific product tailored to meet the needs of a particular audience/market segment. The clear premise is that the market should not be seen as some simplistic homogeneous whole with general needs, but rather as sets of individuals with specific needs relating to the qualities and features of particular products. Thus we can speak of a 'niche market' as a more narrowly defined group whereby the individuals in the group are identifiable by the same specialised needs or interests and are defined as having a strong desire for the products on offer.
>
> Novelli (2005:4–5)

Similarly, niche tourism markets are made up of identifiable groups of individuals with similar interests, needs and wants and specific products that can be tailored to meet the needs of particular market segments. The size and nature of niche tourism markets can vary considerably. Examples of niche tourism products include outdoor and indoor pursuits, such as: sport and adventure activities; wildlife and nature-based tourism; heritage and cultural tours; and a whole variety of macro-niches. These can be respectively subdivided into an extensive list of micro-niches, such as: extreme sports, walking safaris and turtle conservation holidays; art, festivals, food and wine as well as indigenous/ethnic and slum tourism; and so on.

Given the diverse nature of niche tourism and related products, I also suggested that it would be appropriate to use different general definition approaches, such as:

- A geographical and demographic approach – where the location and its population play a key role in the experience. This may occur in an urban, rural, coastal or alpine environment, within a developed or a developing context; but what matters is its relevance to the specific activity that the tourists want to engage in.
- A product-related approach – the presence of activities, attractions, settlements, food and other amenities is emphasised. These constitute

the key parts of the niche tourism destination mix, which is shaped in accordance with specific tourists' needs and wants.

- A customer-related approach – tourist requirements and expectations are the focus of the niche tourism marketing approach. Attention is paid to the relations between the demand and the supply side; it looks at what specialty activities tourists are seeking in order to have a satisfactory holiday experience, whether a simple observation of nature or direct participation in the unique lifestyle of the hosting community.

Novelli (2005:9)

Early discussions about SIT had set the context for the development of niche tourism market, and were seen to be primarily associated with the expansion of tourism and the motivation behind tourist activities, and how they were planned and pursued. A shift occurred from commoditised, mainstream types of tourism to one that was tailor-made and unique (Getz, 2000a, 2000b; Hall, 2003, 2004; Read, 1980). The relatively homogeneous groups associated with the SIT consumer (macro-niches) were further dissected into more specialised forms, entwined into a multitude of culture- and nature-based micro-niche activities and experiences, with the hope of improving the local tourism value chain by spreading the benefits into the wider community and inclusive growth by providing a wider set of opportunities to facilitate this. Although the concept of niche tourism is not beyond criticism (Hall, 2004), it has been portrayed as a more sustainable form of tourism to counter what is commonly referred to as mainstream mass tourism (Novelli, 2005). Globalisation and the increasing search of tourists for 'authentic' experiences and new forms of tourism (Brown and Hall, 2008; Diamantis, 1998; Medina, 2003; Salazar, 2005; Smith and Duffy, 2003; van Egmond, 2007) may have determined several micro-level development implications (Wheeler, 1992), both positive and negative. However, a blur between what could once be clearly defined as mass and niche tourism has emerged, with the latter being used increasingly as a strategy to rejuvenate destination, enhance destinations' authenticity and/or diversify the existing tourism product (see Case Study 7.1).

Authenticity, niche tourism and SSA

Within the last decade, new concerns over the consumption of goods (and tourism) have emerged (Knowles *et al.*, 2004; Urry, 2002), which Inglehart and Flanagan (1987) describe as post-materialistic. New consumers are 'living in economies where their basic needs are quickly and easily satisfied. [. . . They] tend to reject mass-produced and mass-marketed commodities in favour of products and services that can claim to be in some way authentic.' What is perceived as 'authentic' depends on each individual's perception, cultural background, set of values and experiences (Lewis and Bridger, 2001:4).

In Western societies, the distinction between authentic and non-authentic 'is largely the consequence of replicated interpretations, which although contested by professionals, are [often] commodified for mass consumption' (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999:590). For example, in the context of cultural tourism, where 'the production of authenticity is dependent on some act of (re)production, it is conventionally the past which is seen to hold the model of the original' (Taylor, 2001:9). Therefore, authenticity stands in contrast to our modern world and the past often has to be artificially recreated to attract tourists (Teo and Yeoh, 1997), what MacCannell (1973) referred to as 'staged authenticity', through which tourists experience a superficiality of performances on a front stage, while the real traditions are kept backstage for the local population. For instance, the reproduction of 'African' villages showcasing different tribes in 'one stop shop' has become common practice in several SSA destinations, where staged authenticity is used rationally to revive lost traditions, provide employment and retain the youth, who have little or no alternative, in remote rural areas (see Case Study 7.2).

Authenticity is a widely debated and criticised concept, with interpretations that have considerably evolved from its meaning as mere experimentation of 'the original' into other spheres, such as 'existential authenticity', which is a state of being that can be produced or pursued through tourism activities (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006). Authenticity may be experienced equally in undeveloped natural areas and in unspoiled natural environments, as visitors may value the existential and emotional experiences provided by what are perceived as the authentic features of destinations in SSA, which are no longer available where they originated (see Case Study 7.3), or through the appreciation of local food – i.e. sold from stalls at attractions (see Case Study 8.4), marrying their need to eat with the opportunity to experience something novel and unique. Like any other form of tourism, niche tourism can contribute to the conservation of traditions, since local people continue to pass them on to succeeding generations as a tourist product (Azarya, 2007), and to the preservation of natural areas where local traditions may be also performed and consumed. Undoubtedly, the essence of niche tourism in SSA is rooted in 'a growing desire by millions of travellers for access to "primitive" societies, a hunger to taste if only briefly their traditional ways of life, a wish to see, experience and photograph their "exotic" practices' (Sofield and Birtles, 1996: 396).

In the context of such growing trends, the assumption that 'to develop is to modernise' becomes controversial in the tourism arena, as 'if a remote cultural tourist destination modernises, it is no longer "primitive" and it loses its appeal' (Cole, 2008: 22). In effect, 'the critical point to such arguments is that commodification and modernisation place tradition and "authenticity" in jeopardy' (Taylor, 2001: 13), which may (or may not) find expression in in a number of niche tourism scenarios (see Case Study 7.5). A reflection that emerges from this is that:

> if development was to be regarded as modernisation and authenticity as conservation of culture, one could simplistically argue that the increasing demand for authentic experiences on the part of tourists, often portrayed as niche tourism products by tour operators, may hold back the development of destinations.
>
> Novelli and Tisch-Rottensteiner (2011:57)

Niche tourism and inclusive growth in SSA

In a highly competitive global market, only parts of SSA are known tourism destinations, too few to achieve and claim the real potential of 'tourism for development' on the continent. Besides those SSA destinations widely known as safari or winter sun destinations, such as Kenya and The Gambia, other locations are generally chosen to fulfil a specific interest, such as the enjoyment of a specific wildlife type (i.e. birds or primates), extensive nature (i.e. lakes and deserts), rich culture and other 'authentic' opportunities. Several SSA Destination Management Organisations (DMOs) and tour operators have been increasingly constructing their tourism product and promotional campaigns around the identification of a whole new range of niche tourism products and hospitality infrastructures that can adequately address visitors' desires and expectations and can provide more sustainable opportunities for local communities to truly benefit from tourism. In this regard, academics, IDOs and politicians have used numerous approaches and models aimed at enhancing the benefits produced by tourism (i.e. value chain, broad-based, livelihood, pro-poor), and although not a new concept, as part of the post-2015 development agenda, inclusive growth has recently been increasingly used in 'an attempt to address the deficiencies of prioritising solely economic growth, and an attempt to ensure that the benefits of growth are more broadly experienced' (CAFOD, 2014:2), something that is relevant and achievable through niche tourism.

Inclusive growth is not based on a redistributive approach to addressing inequality, but rather it focuses in creating opportunities and ensuring equal access to them (Ali and Zhuang, 2007). It focuses on the inclusion of low- and middle- income groups in the workforce, the creation of productive employment, the promotion of equal opportunities and the reduction of the distribution of inequality as economic growth continues (African Development Bank *et al.*, 2014). Mechanisms driving inclusive growth are of course economic, but primarily social, environmental and political too, and niche tourism planners may claim to have been employing them for years. In fact, I tend to value niche tourism for its ability to diversify the mainstream tourism sector by stimulating SMEs' development in non-traditional locations, creating additional destinations with unique selling points that provide employment to a wider set of unskilled and semi-skilled employees and maximise tourist expenditure. However, it is not only recently that tourism has proved its ability to expand its benefits into remote areas and other sectors like art and handicrafts, agriculture and fisheries, by transforming them into 'authentic' niche tourism experiences in their own right. Such enterprises have been supported by the expansion of physical infrastructure and investment in capabilities, coordination, marketing and communication. Also, those located in the peripheral areas with little or no access to the main tourist markets have benefited by inclusive growth approaches and become a core part of the tourism experience. An example of this is Sandele Craft Showcase described in Box 7.1.

To achieve inclusive growth, while the African Development Bank *et al.*, (2014: 28) highlights the necessity to 'invest in the development of hospitality and tourism vocational skills among low-income populations', Africa Monitor refers to the importance of developing 'guiding opportunities, cultural excursions, entertainment and heritage sites' (African Development Bank *et al.*, 2014: 28). Although in principle this can be achieved by establishing national hospitality training schools that cater for people from low-income households who have the potential but lack the experience of working in the hospitality and tourism sector, in reality there is evidence of the complexities associated with the establishment and sustainable management of such institutions (i.e. GTHI), mainly associated with limited financial and/or human resources to effectively run this type of institution in comparison with other forms of training backed by the private sector. Two alternative examples of successful training initiatives are, for instance, the Kenya-based Koiyaki Guiding School and Wilderness Camp and the Namibian Institute of Culinary Education (*nice*) described in Box 7.1. The latter has recently also become a niche hospitality experience in its own right, chosen by customers for its very nature as a training restaurant that offers a unique ambience and a diverse selection of food and entertainment.

Another recommendation for achieving inclusive growth is:

> [upgrading the] food supply chain by increasing direct market access for local food suppliers (e.g. farmers, fishermen); encouraging tourism enterprises to introduce supplier codes of conduct to ensure fair pricing and trade agreements; building a supportive business environment for local suppliers; celebrating local food as part of the tourism product; and facilitating trading relations between hotels, restaurants and local suppliers.
>
> African Development Bank *et al.* (2014:28)

A successful example of this is the Gambia is Good (GiG) project described in Box 7.1.

For decades, a number of countries in Eastern and Southern Africa have based their tourism industry solely on what is recognised as the leading nature-based tourism (macro-niche) product on the continent: the safari. The 'big five',[1] in countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa, Namibia and Botswana, have more recently been joined by the 'gorilla tourism' product in Uganda, Rwanda and the Democratic Republic of Congo and other more

Box 7.1 Stimulating inclusive growth – evidence from SSA

The Sandele Craft Showcase (www.sandele.com/showcase.html) was created in 2013, within the premises of the Sandele Eco-retreat and Learning Centre, as a craft experience showcasing how local artists produce their crafts using eco-friendly materials. Local jewellers, fabric makers, and other crafts makers came together to further develop their products in collaboration with a British couple (two former academics and artists), who shared their art and design skills. This collaboration enabled local artists to become aware of market trends and make a set of small adjustments to their work, improve the quality of their artefacts, making them more appealing to Western tastes, adopting a set of fixed prices and acquiring new communication skills to better present their products to visitors. This led to a considerable increase in sales and generated income, 100 per cent of which goes entirely to the producers. On the other end, what Sandele gets out of this is an additional and valuable tourism experience to be offered to its existing visitors (i.e. those accommodated in the eco-lodges), and those who visit on daily excursions, and end up spending money in the eco-retreat's bar and restaurant, and may return to stay at Sandele's accommodation facilities.

Kenya-based Koiyaki Guiding School and Wilderness Camp's (www.maasaimara.com/entries/koiyaki-guiding-school) primary purpose is to provide education to local Maasai school leavers, leading to a Professional Safari Guide Qualification and enabling graduates to secure employment and foster conservation of in the Maasai Mara ecosystem. This has proved to be a way to professionalise the guiding and excursions aspect of the safari sector in general and eco-safari in particular, by enhancing local Maasai knowledge though the teaching of science-based (i.e. zoology, ornithology) and technical (i.e. tour guiding, health and safety, first aid, 4x4 driving) subjects essential for operating in extreme environmental conditions and providing an experience that is both unique and safe for visitors.

The Namibian Institute of Culinary Education (nice) (www.nicenamibia.com/home.html) is a chef finishing and training school established in 2006, with support from the Wolwedans Foundation Trust, as part of their Community Pillar, committed to reducing poverty through skills transfer and economic empowerment. With the aim of providing vocational training in culinary arts and hospitality for the Namibian youth and raising the skills level of the Namibian tourism workforce, and improving the quality of the national hospitality product and the employment opportunities, job security and income of their trainees, the Wolwedans Desert Academy works together with *nice* Restaurant & Bar. Here, comprehensive theoretical and practical training is provided in accordance with the Namibian Training Authority's (NTA) curricula and syllabi and approved by the Namibian Qualifications Authority (NQA). Students are trained in food preparation and food and beverage management. In order to give trainees a real-life exposure to their profession, the *nice* upmarket restaurant is the driving force behind the training facility, providing an active training ground for the students in terms of practising their skills in the culinary arts, service and food and beverage management. The restaurant is also one of the sources of funding of the training facility, an arrangement that is hope to make the whole project self-sustainable in the medium to long term. Currently *nice* and the Wolwedans Desert Academy work together on a joint training programme offering a good balance of theoretical and practical experience, exposing trainees to both lodge- and city-based hospitality and restaurant operations and ensuring that all graduates are 'employment-ready' once they complete their programme.

Gambia is Good (GiG) is a cross-sector partnership between international development organisation Concern Universal and Haygrove. The project is a social enterprise, enabling farmers in The Gambia to access the lucrative markets within the country's tourism industry, alongside researching and demonstrating innovative approaches that create new markets for Gambian farmers. In 2003, GiG was developed to combat two key problems in The Gambia: (1) Subsistence farmers were suffering from low yields, poor quality produce, low incomes, and lack of access to markets; and (2) The Gambia was importing most of its fresh produce to service the tourism industry and domestic markets, therefore removing a potential vital source of income for local farmers. Despite its many implementation challenges, GiG trained over 1,000 farmers (indirectly benefiting 5,000 people), with many being able to progress from subsistence to commercial farming through improved knowledge and skills. The GiG farm also provided what in niche tourism terms would be defined as an agro-tourism experience, where visitors have the opportunity to learn about the GiG 'from seed to plate' process, taste local dishes and get involved in sustainable farming as they wish. In recognition of the GiG project achievements, Haygrove became one of the ten winners of the 2008 World Business and Development Awards (WBDA) for its involvement in GiG (in partnership with Concern Universal and DfID's Business Linkage Challenge Fund) and GiG became the recipient of the 2008 Responsible Tourism Award for its contribution to poverty alleviation based on its ability to provide farmers with access to the local tourism value chain, leading to some level of inclusive growth.

specific micro-niches linked to specific environmental features, landscapes, flora and fauna (i.e. the 'swim with sharks' experience in South Africa) and purposes for visiting such as wildlife observation, conservation, scientific interest, and so on. Many of these types of tourism experiences come with characteristics that limit their expansion into mass tourism, either because of the prohibitive cost of the activity for the masses or the limited availability of destinations, based on strict carrying capacity and conservation parameters, as in the case of the gorilla-tracking experience in Uganda. The remoteness of the locations where such experiences take place have stimulated the creation of additional services and products previously not available, such as craft workshops, cultural performances and coffee tours, by which the wider rural community can gain an alternative livelihood.

As demands and expectations increase, new niche tourism options across SSA are being identified and developed. For example, while tour operators in Swaziland offer less intrusive walking safaris to sight rhinos in their natural habitat, safaris in dugout canoes are used in The Gambia as an 'authentic' alternative to the larger boats that are offered as part of natural trails in various locations (i.e. Makasutu and Kartong riverside). These are also used to engage in other niche tourism activities such as sustainable fishing, birdwatching, crocodile sighting and learning about mangrove conservation and its important role against the erosion of river beds and climate change. In several instances, the safari's nature-based experience is creatively enriched with some form of cultural encounter with local communities. Whether as direct actor in the safari experience (i.e. Maasai warriors and fishermen are trained as 'big five' or birdwatching guides), or as part of a cultural tour, local tribes and indigenous customs have become a commoditised part of the 'authentic' tourist experience (i.e. through cultural performances, eco-museums, music and film festivals, local food cooking and testing).

In addition to this, the growth of what is referred to as creative tourism – 'understood as innovative and creative ways to produce, present and consume traditional forms of cultural tourism' (Catalani, 2013: 253) – has seen a steady growth in SSA. Its 'authentic' cultural heritage appeals especially to international travellers from highly industrialised nations and those from emerging African economies. Festivals and events have been created to celebrate arts and culture, get visitors more actively involved in experimenting in local practices (i.e. preparing food, playing music, making crafts), raise awareness about good causes, expand the tourist destination reach beyond the international safari market and into the subregional one, and contributed to inclusive growth. In some cases this has also led to the extension of the tourism season, as further discussed in Chapter 5.

Like the PANAFEST (see Chapter 5), other examples include the biennial pan-African film festival in Burkina Faso (FESPACO), which raises awareness about Burkina Faso as a destination, boosting the economy, and jump-starting the tourism sector; and Zanzibar International Film Festival (ZIFF), which, although not without attracting criticism (Cunningham Bissell, 2012), has attracted diaspora, international and regional cultural tourists to the country for more than twelve years to the UNESCO World Heritage city of Stone Town. Over ten-days, the festival highlights films with an African focus and music, art and crafts. Approximately six thousand international and two thousand local participants are estimated to take part each year in ZIFF, making it one of the largest film festivals in Eastern and Central Africa and generating numerous economic and social benefits (World Bank, 2009a).

While many cultural encounters have been facilitated through niche tourism leading to obvious economic benefits, professional development opportunities and inclusive growth, as well as the conservation and enhancement of cultural traditions (see Case Study 7.2), the exploitative practices of tour operators and voyeuristic objectives of tourists may have led to other practices of a questionable nature. For instance, as also discussed in the context of Chapter 6, luxury tour operators have been offering their guests the opportunity to visit local schools, orphanages and clinics as proxy destinations – creating what Harding (2008) calls a 'human zoo' – or to get involved in emerging philanthropic projects, which may be a questionable growing phenomenon in niche tourism, aimed at attracting and retaining more tourist spending.

Although novel tourism products and services spanning the entire niche tourism spectrum are not a new approach adopted in DMOs' policy and guidelines for local development (and more recently inclusive growth), niche forms of hospitality are also becoming increasingly the focus of the diversification strategies of destinations. In this regard, SSA has a vast array of niche hospitality establishments that are unique to specific environments (i.e. tented camps, accommodation on steels) and types of tourism (i.e. walking and kayak safaris), which have for years served the market of the rich and famous and availed themselves of the assistance of some of the most remote indigenous communities. More recently, the democratisation of travel has seen people wanting to stay in innovative and novel forms of accommodation offering something beyond the ordinariness of resorts, hotels, motels, hostels and inns. Novel, post-modern genres of accommodation offer both exclusive opportunities, and (especially the most extreme and bizarre) come with sense of pride. To be able to claim that one has spent a night or two in a room resting on steel on the edge of the Ngorongoro National Park (Tanzania) (Figure 7.1), with no walls but mosquito nets and no telephone, but a whistle to call upon a Maasai warrior in case of big cat sightings, or in the lodge of a Swazi Big Game Park, nested in a rhinoceros conservation area, for instance, is well worth a high price for many people who have an interest in doing things off the beaten track, which most of their friends and family might never have even dreamed of doing.

These are products of creative minds and entrepreneurial spirits that have capitalised on SSA's unique natural and cultural features and identified a market niche or a distinctive type of curious and adventurous international traveller to cater for. They have proved to be pioneers in the niche tourism and lodging experience, long before the concept of inclusive growth came to the fore.

Figure 7.1 Type of accommodation in the Ngorongoro crater area (Tanzania)

Local voices' perspectives on niche tourism

Case Study 7.1: Botswana complementing niches of cultural and wildlife-based tourism

Authored by: Haretsebe Manwa

The main tourist product of most Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries is predominantly wildlife and wilderness. However, the region has rich and diversified cultural products ranging from different ethnic groups, heritage sites, museums, battlefields, towns and ethnic cultures, and so on. (Spenceley, 2010). There is a growing recognition of the importance of local culture and people as a tourist attraction. Hence, most countries are now focusing on the macro-niche of cultural tourism as a rural development strategy (van Veuren, 2004). Like other SADC countries, Botswana is also prioritising the development of cultural tourism as a tourism diversification strategy in support of sustainable livelihoods for rural communities (Botswana Government Implementation Coordination Office, 2008). This case study presents reflections on the potential development of cultural tourism from the tourists' perspective, which emerged from a larger study on the motivation of tourists to visit Botswana.

Figure 7.2 Type of accommodation in rhinoceros conservation area (Swaziland)

Cultural tourism has been widely defined and debated (McKercher and Du Gros, 2002; Smith, 2009), but for the purpose of this study, the definition by Richards (2001b:7) that 'cultural tourism covers not just the consumption of the cultural products of the past, but also of contemporary culture or the way of life of a people or region', seemed the most appropriate. Proponents of cultural tourism argue that it is a multi-million dollar industry that accounts for over 40 per cent of international travel (Richards and van der Ark, 2013). In less developed countries, it can help rejuvenate destinations in decline, such as inner cities, through promoting township tourism, for example (Rogerson, 2004), or avoiding the seasonality of primary destinations through the introduction of cultural tourism in less popular destinations (Cuccia and Rizzo, 2011). Cultural tourism can stimulate sustainable tourism development, by enabling communities to become empowered as both owners of the tourism resources and as tourist attractions themselves (Holden *et al.*, 2011; Murphy, 1985; Scheyvens, 2002; Sofield, 2003), and allowing them to have a say on the most desirable type of tourism development, thereby instilling a sense of pride in local cultures (McIntosh and Zahra, 2007).

The major criticism of cultural tourism is that it may lead to commodification of culture and a demonstration effect, whereby locals shun their culture and adopt foreign customs (Mbaiwa, 2011; Shepherd, 2002), undermining the value of local culture for the community and for tourists.

Botswana has a unique cultural tourism product. It is home to the Tsodili Hills, a UNESCO World Heritage site, which has one of the highest concentrations of rock paintings in the world and is also a place for the worship of ancestral spirits. It houses several museums and monuments, (i.e. the three traditional chiefs' monument in Gaborone). The country has diverse tribes that have unique cultures including the San (the bushmen), who still live in their traditional style, practising gathering and hunting (Keitumetse, 2009).

The broader study assessing tourists' motivation for visiting Botswana used a self-administered questionnaire targeting departing tourists from Sir Seretse Khama International Airport in Gaborone and Maun airport, the gateway to northern Botswana Okavango Delta. A total of 310 questionnaires were completed. Respondents included men (55 per cent) and women (45 per cent), with 50 per cent from South Africa, 30 per cent from Europe, 10 per cent from North America and 10 per cent from Australasia. These were predominantly first time visitors to Botswana (70 per cent). The majority (90 per cent) visited Botswana for wildlife viewing and the Okavango Delta. Interestingly, however, 60 per cent of these expressed an interest in visiting a CBT project in future, for the reasons listed in Table 7.1.

Cultural tourism was clearly identified as a possible add-on niche to wildlife-based tourism experiences, and potentially a way to spread tourism to other parts of Botswana, which are not endowed with wildlife. A diversified tourism product would increase Botswana's competitiveness, encouraging tourists to stay longer and spend more at the destination (Frías *et al.*, 2012). However,

Table 7.1 Reasons for visiting community-based tourism

Reasons	*Number (n = 186)*	*Percentage*
Cultural experience	85	46
Interaction with community	56	30
Supporting development of tourism in CBNRM	19	10
Environmental education	26	14
Total	186	100

in the specific context of Botswana, there are issues that would require a thorough evaluation, such as defining the terms of engagement of those benefiting from tourism. This may be problematic, especially as, in Botswana, the presence of several tribes with different levels of power and inter-community engagement may lead to what Beeton (2006) points to as the complexity of delineating a community. Specifically, where it comes to tourism benefit sharing, this is a problem already encountered in Botswana where the government was found to be interfering in the distribution of benefits from CBT (Pienaar *et al.*, 2013).

Botswana has followed a 'low volume/high yield' tourism policy for many years and has now developed its policy to appeal to changing market trends and opportunities, with cultural tourism being an add-on niche product to wildlife-based tourism. However, despite the multiple attempts to facilitate this, the main struggle lies in the implementation of effective product diversification and marketing efforts, mainly associated with the long-held belief of key players about the supremacy of wildlife tourism and their weak understanding of alternative niche markets and products.

Case Study 7.2: The Living Culture Foundation Namibia and the Living Museums

Authored by: Kathrin Gebhardt and Sebastian Dürrschmidt

The Living Culture Foundation Namibia (LCFN, www.lcfn.info/en) is a German–Namibian non-profit organisation that supports the establishment of Living Museums (LMs), a niche cultural tourism experience in some of the most remote rural areas of Namibia. Like many other development organisations the LCFN is committed to the philosophy of 'helping people to help themselves'. Unfortunately, this has become a very fashionable but rarely scrutinised philosophy that is being used as a slogan by nearly all organisations, up to the point where the phrase has become a cliché. However, the LCFN attempts to make a difference by placing into practice a number of principles, such as: self-development and self-responsibility; participation; low financial input; authenticity; and cultural and ecological sustainability.

Self-development and *self-responsibility* are at the basis of the LCFN's successful cooperation with communities that intend to engage in the creation of a Living Museum (LM). Experience has proven that development cooperation as an exogenous factor opposes human striving for self-development. Often projects fail because they are seen as an exterior influence, resulting in the rejection of a development project by the receiving groups or in a relationship of dependence. The LCFN exclusively support projects that have been developed and will be managed by a project group local to the area where the development will take place. This approach bears two advantages. First, an aspired project will be realised by a group with a common cultural set of values.

Second, the project group will take full ownership of the project as a self-made and self-administered business that will give them new income opportunities and promote cultural awareness in their community as much as for outsiders – the tourists.

Participation of the project group at every step of the development of the project is a guiding principle adopted by the LCFN, as it reinforces the group sense of ownership, sense of pride and propensity to do well. The group is responsible for the development of ideas, the design and the implementation of decisions, as well as for the establishment, accomplishment and evaluation of the project. During the process, they will also be supported by the LCFN with the development of sustainable business and problem-solving skills.

Low financial input is at the basis of all projects as the elderly of the village know how huts can be built with natural materials, and how tools, weapons, traps, music instruments and jewellery can be reconstructed as in the old days. Apart from a few exceptions, the project group will not receive financial help and has to invest in its own human resources. The LCFN supports projects indirectly through capacity building (i.e. tourism and business skills training), business model development, marketing and promotion.

Authenticity involves the realistic and traditional representation of Namibian cultures and language groups. Only projects that strictly represent a specific cultural group are supported by the LCFN. Huts, clothes, tools, weapons, pots and so on are to be reconstructed as closely as possible using past practices. Also the activities such as hunting, trapping, singing, dancing, rituals and so on must be as close to the original as possible. An old African proverb states: 'If an old man dies in Africa, a whole library burns to the ground'. This proverb refers to the oral nature of cultural history on the African continent. Ancient traditional knowledge has not been written down in books, but passed orally from one generation to the next. This knowledge is saved in the cultural memory of the people, and if not circulated within the respective language group it might be forgotten and lost forever. This is why the LM concept is also viewed as a way to pass this knowledge from generation to generation.

Cultural and ecological sustainability is at the basis of any LM. The use of traditional and natural resources is encouraged, in keeping with ecological sustainability principles. The LCFN encourages the LM to promote these principles both to international visitors and to members of their own community. For example, the San are hunter-gatherers from the Kalahari. Through the LM they have found a way to preserve their own culture, which focuses on the interaction between men and nature, and gain the necessary respect for their traditions. In this specific case, although the protection of nature is secondary to culture, a full appreciation of nature comes from gaining a deeper understanding of mankind's dependency on nature and an appreciation of the San's traditional cultural practices.

By 2011, 170 people found permanent employment in the five existing LMs: Ju/'Hoansi, Mafwe, Damara, Hunters Ju/'Hoansi and Mbunza. About

1,500 people were profiting from the museums and a total of 10,370 guests visited the LM in Namibia, generating an income of about NAD 1.5 million (EUR 150,000).

The LM of the Ju/'Hoansi was inaugurated in 2004, based on an initiative by Werner Pfeifer (now a member of the LCFN), which gave shape to the idea of the LCFN itself. The main focus of this LM lies in the hunter–gatherer culture of the Kalahari San. Guests have the opportunity to learn how the Ju/'Hoansi-San traditionally light fires, make tools and weapons, and so on:

> Through the work in the Living Museum my life and the life in the village has changed: today about 75 actors work in our museum. All together about 500 people profit from it and are able to buy food, clothes and soap[.]
>
> Gau Morres N#amce, Living Museum of the Ju/'Hoansi at Grashoek (2012)

Unexpectedly, 3,432 visitors found their way into the Ju/'Hoansi LM in 2013. The museum made a direct turnover of NAD 709,577 (nearly EUR 50,000), and the souvenir shop generated additional income – for people not directly involved with the museum – of over NAD 350,000 (about EUR 27,000) in the same year.

The LM of the Mafwe opened its doors in 2008 in the Caprivi Strip, half a year after the foundation of the LCFN. Here the Bantu culture is the focus of the museum, which concentrates mainly on fishing and agricultural activities, but also presents traditional dancing ceremonies hosted in the museum, which is situated under a prominent baobab tree:

> The Living Museum is a source of income for our community and preserves the traditional knowledge. The village school sends us kids to learn about the old culture here at the museum and they are fascinated[.]
>
> Elisabeth Madima, Living Museum of the Mafwe (2012)

Twenty-one people, especially older women and their kids and grandchildren, work in the Mafwe Museum. The museum received 848 visitors in 2012, with a total income generated of NAD 111,200 (EUR 8,500). The souvenir shop generated an additional income – for people not directly involved with the museum – of over NAD 16.500 (about EUR 1,300) in the same year.

The LM of the Damara showcases one of the oldest communities in the country. Their original culture was a mixture of archaic hunter-gatherer and herders of cattle, goats and sheep. Due to their loose social structures the Damara were not able to defend themselves against aggressors during the colonisation of Namibia. This LM is an attempt to reconstruct the lost culture of the Damara:

> The Toatatide Damara Museum stand for our proudness of our traditional culture that has nearly been completely forgotten. The Living Museum is my life's dream[.]
>
> Hans Bernhard/Naobeh, Living Museum of the Damara (2012)

Strategically situated on one of the main touristic routes the Damara Museum has, with 6,500 guests, received the highest number of visitors. Thirty Damara work here and achieved a turnover of NAD 420,000 (EUR 32,000) in 2012.

The Living Hunter's Museum of the Ju/'Hoansi opened in 2010 from the partnership between the LCFN and the Ju/'Hoansi, as an independent museum subsidiary of the Living Museum of the Ju/'Hoansi*,* further east in the Tsumkwe region, where the San are still allowed to hunt. Here the traditional bow hunt with poisoned arrows, the digging out of spring hares and porcupines, the snare catching of guinea fowls, khoraans, and other birds for the daily hunt for food are still practised. The San living in this area are actually the only ones of their cultural group that are officially allowed to hunt traditionally. Thus they still master the art of trekking. An English-speaking Ju/'Hoansi accompanies the guests and translates everything the hunters are showing and explaining:

> When the visitors come to see our culture, they learn but our kids learn as well. That is very important for our culture[.]
>
> !GamaceN!aici, Living Hunter's Museum of the Ju/'Hoansi (2012)

Due to the remoteness of the region, the Hunter's Museum will always remain a niche product and an insider's tip for the most adventurous. It will never be in a position to attract mainstream visitors like the Damara. Nevertheless, the museum received over 470 international guests, including a professional film team in 2012. The turnover of the museum, employing about twenty-five actors, amounted to over NAD 105,000 (EUR 8,000).

The LM of the Mbunza is the most recent LM, opened at the end of October 2011.This LM's interactive programme includes the presentation of the traditional everyday life of the Mbunza (e.g. traditional cuisine, fire making, basket and mat weaving, and so on), bushwalks and fishing as well as the highly specialised techniques of blacksmithing, pottery and drum making:

> by presenting our historical culture we are able to generate an income and at the same time we are a school for the guests and for our own community[.]
>
> Sebron Ruben, Living Museum of the Mbunza (2012)

During 2012 about 460 tourists visited the museum with its twenty-five actors, generating NAD 57,500 (EUR 4,400).

A LM is a way of presenting traditional culture, providing a cultural education using CBT principles. By visiting a LM, tourists can actively contribute to the preservation of traditional culture and to the livelihoods of people residing in remote rural and impoverished areas, leading to inclusive growth in the country.

Case Study 7.3: Nature and emotional experiences in South Africa's protected areas

Authored by: Engela P. de Crom

The significant growth in tourism and related developments over the last few decades has led to increasing concern regarding the impact of tourism on the environment of ecotourism destination areas. All too often tourists are blamed for damaging the natural environment and developers for misjudging the impact of their actions, which aim to cater for an increasing number of tourists.

Focusing specifically on the niche context of South Africa's protected areas, this case study explores the extent to which changes in the natural environments affect tourists' experiences. For the purpose of this case study, South African protected areas were classified as follows:

- Category 1: developed, for example the Kruger National Park (the infrastructure and facilities are highly developed and visited by high numbers of people);
- Category 2: moderately developed, for example Marakele National Park (there is less development with regards to facilities and infrastructure; rustic amenities or camping facilities exist); and
- Category 3: undeveloped, for example Ai-Ais/Richtersveld Transfrontier Park (there is minimal development; relatively unspoiled nature can still be experienced).

Eight values associated with nature – solitude, oneness, primitiveness, timelessness, humility and care (Borrie and Roggenbuck, 2001), self-knowledge and spirituality (De Crom, 2005) – were compared in terms of the extent to which visitors experienced them in these three categories. Study participants had to indicate the frequency of experiencing the value in the respective protected areas. A total of forty-two participants were interviewed in both Category 1 and 2 parks and twenty-six were interviewed in Category 3 parks. Table 7.2 indicates participants' perceived experiences of the values of nature in the respective protected areas.

The results in Table 7.2 show that visitors to relatively undeveloped protected areas recorded the strongest levels of feelings for all the values of nature (84 per cent), while those to developed areas recorded the lowest levels (49 per cent). Feelings of care for the environment were reported highest of

Table 7.2 Frequency (%) of values of nature experienced by study participants in three categories of protected areas in South Africa

	Category 1 (Developed)			*Category 2 (Moderately developed)*			*Category 3 (Relatively undeveloped)*		
	n = 42			*n = 42*			*n = 26*		
Value	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Solitude	42	43	15	70	26	4	84	15	1
Oneness	38	59	3	73	25	2	89	11	0
Primitiveness	38	43	19	54	36	10	74	20	6
Timelessness	48	43	9	56	38	6	85	15	0

all categories. The study also highlighted that a specific experience of visiting a natural area might induce profound changes in a person's perception of and relationship with the environment and their value system. Admiration and enjoyment of nature may lead to experiences of a spiritual dimension (De Crom, 2005), resulting in new priorities and actions in relation to the natural environment. The strength of feelings of humility in all categories was remarkably high, but extraordinarily so in undeveloped parks (93 per cent). This could be expected in nature, given the complexity, beauty and, often, grand scale of essentially unspoiled natural environments such as the Ai-Ais/Richtersveld Transfrontier Park. Solitude and oneness scores showed high levels in Category 2 and 3 parks, but in contrast, showed the lowest levels in Category 1 parks, together with primitiveness. This phenomenon may be attributed to the level of development infiltration into the most natural environments, leading to a parting from what was regarded as primitive, and making more areas accessible to many people, thus losing the feeling of being alone and at one with nature.

Participants in all categories referred to an increased sense of awareness (mindfulness) about the natural surroundings with the passing of time. They mentioned that after a few days they started noticing their surroundings in more detail, becoming aware of the smells, sights and sounds around them. This may lead one to believe that one of the first things people experience in nature is a renewed use of the senses. With this growing sense of awareness, a spiritual meaning becomes clear as individuals start feeling at one with nature (including peacefulness, tranquillity, calm). In developed (56 per cent) and moderately developed (62 per cent) and particularly undeveloped (81 per cent) areas, as time passed participants started expressing their deep sense of peacefulness and tranquillity, and reported that they felt completely relaxed and calm, with an ultimate feeling of contentment and being at peace with themselves. Immersed in a natural experience, with no or few external man-made distractions (Category 3), the individual has the opportunity to observe nature and his/her place in it, increasingly becoming aware of the self. Participants experienced a strong awareness of the self and the physical environment in which they found themselves (self-knowledge), even when these environments were not totally devoid of human influences (46 per cent, 48 per cent and 72 per cent for Categories 1, 2 and 3 respectively).

The study concluded that individuals value their experiences in undeveloped natural areas very strongly. It appears that the primary source of these declared values is the unspoiled natural environment itself. Therefore the setting itself contributes to how the experience of nature is valued. Changes in the natural environment affect the kind and intensity of the experience the area provides. A better understanding of the effects of these changes can help decision makers in managing and developing natural protected areas more effectively.

There must be a symbiotic development in which the full range of needs of tourists can be considered. In other words, development should not include only the physical needs, but should also take into account the emotional/spiritual needs of visitors, to enable both tourists and the natural areas to gain lasting benefit from any development action.

Case Study 7.4: The untapped niche of food service at visitor attractions in Ghana

Authored by: Augusta Adjei-Frempong

Visitor attractions and foodservices are a core part of the tourism sector and tourist experience. They involve economic transfer, consumption patterns and individuals' values and lifestyle (Shaw and Williams, 2002; Bowen *et al.*, 2006), and can provide a quality experience for visitors (Morrison *et al.*, 2004). They can play a key role in the conservation of the environment in which the experience is produced, and socio-economic development opportunities for the communities where they are consumed (Holden, 2000; Holden *et al.*, 2011;). Their economic value can increase along with visitors' consumption patterns (Herring *et al.*, 2006; Hjalager and Corigliano, 2000; Steen Jacobsen and Haukeland, 2002).

In an attempt to explore the relationships between the macro-niche of visitor attractions and foodservice in Ghana, this case study provides evidence from an investigation conducted at six selected visitor attractions at the destination. The study includes two phases, the first one involving focus groups with local stakeholders (fifty-six) and in-depth interviews with both public and private management level personnel of visitor attractions' (six) and the second one based on a survey with international and domestic visitors (528). The information gathered in phase one informed the design for the visitors' survey, whose data were later analysed though the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS).

Among the various aspect of the study, findings relevant to this case study showed a high demand for foodservices at all attractions. The importance of food as a contributory factor for visitors' length of stay at attractions was rated as being between 'of some importance' almost up to 'very important', as part of respondents' overall experience at visitor attractions (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 Importance of catering at attractions

Nationality	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*
Domestic [a]	108	3.43	0.73
International [a]	404	2.80	0.93

Notes
Importance of food: No importance = 1; Some importance = 2; Quite important = 3; Very important = 4.
Matching superscript letters indicate significant differences.

Arguably, value for money is a consideration for any purchase while travelling, and although the research indicated that the price of food provided was generally considered between 'good' and 'high' at all attractions, the respondents perceived the food as being of 'good value for money' (Table 7.4).

The idea that offering foodservices at visitor attractions is for the sustenance of visitors and can provide additional revenue in support of the socio-economic sustainability of the location (Hjalager and Corigliano, 2000) was reflected in the respondents' general propensity to eat at the attractions' outlets, ranking food as part of their overall experience (Sheldon and Fox, 1988; Steen Jacobsen and Haukeland, 2002). In this study, the proposed juxtaposition of foodservices and visitors' attractions in the assessed Ghanaian locations proved potentially valuable both in terms of visitors' experience and as an additional income-generating opportunity for the attractions.

Visitors' positive opinion on the quality of the food and its value for money could be a motivating factor in opening more outlets at the different attractions in order to meet the increasing demands and support their revenue generation. However, this should not be considered in isolation from the competition provided by existing independent street vendors (Holden *et al.*, 2011). Notwithstanding the need for product development (i.e. packaging standards), foodservices offered by local independent street vendors could become an additional niche hospitality opportunity enabling cooperation between visitor attractions and local entrepreneurs (i.e. outsourcing catering facilities to local vendors), providing an additional authentic experience to visitors through local food, improving the local tourism value chain, increasing business opportunities and benefits to the wider community, leading to more inclusive growth for the destination.

Furthermore, it cannot be ignored that individuals' background tends to impact upon their 'comfort zones' regarding food habits and choices (Adjei-Frempong, 2010), a fact proved at all the attractions, where visitors were

Table 7.4 Assessment of current prices

Nationality	*N*	*Mean*	*SD*
Domestic	107	3.16	0.62
International	327	3.02	0.65
Value for money			
Domestic	104	3.02	0.57
International	295	3.06	0.59

Notes
Very low price = 1; Low price = 2; Good price = 3; High price = 4; Very high price = 5.
There are no significant differences.
Very poor value = 1; Poor value = 2; Good value= 3; Very good value = 4.
There are no significant differences.

generally satisfied with the taste of food, but showed concern about the texture, mainly because it was unlike the texture of what they would normally consume. Any organised foodservices operation should take into account the needs of different visitors (i.e. domestic, diaspora and international) as a possible means of encouraging repeat purchases and increased revenues.

Similarly to other studies (Wolf, 2006), this research concluded that foodservice is an important part of visitors' overall experience at Ghanaian visitor attractions and that the provision of foodservice outlets at visitor attractions is still an untapped niche hospitality opportunity for the Ghanaian tourism sector, as it has the potential to provide increased revenues and stimulate local economic growth through local food-tasting experiences and increased food-related visitor spending.

Case Study 7.5: The modernisation challenges at Sonyo (Ghana)

Authored by: Akanganngang Joseph Asitik

It is widely debated that tourism and, in particular, culture-based tourism, may offer communities the opportunities for socio-economic empowerment, reinforcing their sense of pride and unique identity. Sonyo in Northern Ghana is an emerging tourism destination, whose attractiveness is based on its unique architecture. Accommodation is built as a single structure formed by individual units (compounds), and people move from one compound to another across the roof-tops; the so-called 'roof top walk' has become one of its major tourism experiences.

Sonyo, currently a community of 1,048 members, is the result of a migrant warrior's settlement from the tribal times who adopted a unique form of architecture as a means of repelling attack, be it from human or wild animals. The architecture of the site is based on only one main entrance to the structure, with emergency exits (for children, women and the aged in times of attack) known only to community members.

Since 2007, SNV [Netherlands Development Organisation] Ghana, in collaboration with the Ghana Tourist Board, has been promoting Sonyo as a CBT site and a unique niche tourism experience, built around the roof top walk. Local community members have been given the opportunity to share their architectural knowledge with tourists, along with traditional village life and homestay as well as the Deng community's festival celebrations, all of which have contributed to an increasing number of visitors to the community with substantial economic returns.

Sonyo is located in a strategic position, which offers an advantage in terms of its tourism development prospects. Its proximity to the district capital Bole and to some of the country's preferred tourist destinations, such as Mole National Park (the largest in the country at 4,840 km^2), Larabanga Mosque and the Mystery Stone, has brought its advantages. Tourists visited Sonyo community before SNV and GTB's intervention, but what was missing was a full understanding of the true value of tourism and coordination of what was happening in the village. As remarked by a member of the community:

> People used to visit and admire the structure . . . we also realised that the participation of our festival by non-community members was increasing, but we did not have any knowledge about tourism. SNV came and educated us about the huge tourism potential of the architecture and further packaged it.
>
> Anon, personal communication (2013)

GTB and SNV established a tourism management committee, trained community members in basic business management skills and set up a management board. They trained the board members, tour guides and homestays operator, equipping them with the required skills to fully engage in tourism. SNV also collaborated with the District Assembly (DA) to build and furnished the tourism office and the DA monitors the communities' activities.

Before becoming a 'tourism community' (a term widely used in the community), Sonyo lacked basic services. Niche tourism became a core element within the community development process, with basic needs finally being addressed. The DA arranged for the construction of a school block, the provision of portable water and a clinic, and a solar lighting system was provided by a local member of parliament. Notwithstanding the opportunistic nature of tourists' engagement with the community and the possible problems associated with it, a number of visitors became 'friends of the community' and supplied it with teaching and learning materials and footballs to the community. Most importantly, the community sees tourism as the main reason for providing and maintaining a basic access road from Sonyo to the district capital that serves a number of other communities, which would otherwise live in complete isolation, as the road is a cul-de-sac terminating at Sonyo.

The income generated by tourism broadly supports the community. Income generated through organised packages and tours is shared according to a formula identified with support from SNV, according to which the management committee, tour guides and homestay managers receive a calculated and recorded percentage, and craftsmen and food vendors earn a living from selling their produce, with a notable increase during the community festival period.

As the gains from niche tourism are increasingly transforming the Sonyo community from a traditional to a modern one, the main concern is whether Sonyo can progress in its development by using its attractive cultural heritage. While development and modernisation take their course, there is an obvious threat to the existence of the very traditional community that made Sonyo attractive to tourists in the first place.

One of the major challenges is that the upcoming generation no longer values traditional architecture at the expenses of comfort and affordable modernity; they see Sonyo's intricate set of mud houses as an ancient structure and find no prestige in living in them. As in any other modern society, consumption has become a measure for worth and wealth, and Sonyo villagers are no different, with the new generation preferring houses constructed with modern materials and designed to suit their taste. Since their preferred structures cannot be incorporated within the traditional house structure, an outmigration of villagers building outside the main compound system is leading to a shrinking of the traditional village. The abandoned units eventually collapse and affect the adjoining one, creating a gap between houses and posing an obvious threat to those living in the adjoining houses. To sustain the entire edifice and maintain the unique architecture and village identity, the abandoned units need rehabilitation, but the high cost associated with this has inhibited the pressing preservation needs.

So far sixty-nine households have been built outside the main village infrastructure and outmigration is affecting the state of Sonyo's architecture and future niche tourism potential. The fact that responsibility stays with those occupying the units, with nobody else taking it on, paired with the fact that more people are likely to leave constitutes a real problem for those still living in the community, with the entire site coming under considerable pressure. As a consequence of this, the community elders have been advising the youth to preserve the community identity and find ways to sustain what attracted tourism in the first place. One of the strategies currently in place is making all maintenance and reconstruction work the responsibility of the entire community and not only that of those who occupy units that are connected to the vacated units, fostering communalism. One could say simplistically that, if modernisation takes its course and Sonyo community members opt for comfort and modern housing outside the traditional setting, as far as a joint commitment to preserving 'old Sonyo' is concerned the roof top walk may well become one of many other staged cultural tourism experiences, of no less value to those interested in the micro-niches of architecture and community-based heritage tourism.

Final considerations

As with mass tourism, the growth of niche tourism may have translated into unsustainable practices leading to economic issues such as: low trickle-down rates due to foreign investors colonising pieces of SSA land; social and spatial inequalities associated with excluded communities; environmental damages and pollution caused by the over-crowding of sensitive areas; and sociocultural commodification of culture, loss of authenticity and loss of traditional values as a consequence of insensitive and damaging tourists practices. Nevertheless, naïvety apart and based on my own understanding and experience of niche tourism in SSA, I still like to believe that, niche tourism offers a more meaningful set of experiences for tourists in the knowledge that their specific interests, needs and wants are being met.

For managers and planners in SSA, niche tourism appears to offer greater opportunities, for attractions that are more sustainable, less damaging and more capable of delivering high-spending tourists. Furthermore, the benefits of niche tourism for local economic development are multifaceted, with niche tourism helping with the tourism diversification process, through the introduction of novel ‘authentic’ experiences and contributing towards national inclusive growth, by providing new opportunities through the creation of new products, the consolidation of existing markets and the development of new ones.

The novelty of new niche products is at the base of greater economic growth potential than mainstream tourism. There is evidence in SSA that niche tourism can lead to higher yields per visitor in terms of foreign exchange earnings and consumer spending (i.e. in ecotourism), even though niche markets are often smaller in size than mainstream tourism markets. Niche tourism has the potential to stimulate the creation of jobs that require specialised skills (i.e. sport and extreme adventure instructors, gourmet chefs), as opposed to the low- or semi-skilled jobs that are generally associated with mainstream tourism.

Activities that are undertaken as part of a niche tourism experience are often community-based, located outside of traditional tourist areas, and often in remote locations that are not necessarily accessible to mainstream tourists, thus possibly encouraging a better geographic distribution of tourism benefits. Longer stays and more local spending may take place, since niche tourism offerings attract mainly independent travellers, as opposed to pre-paid package tourists. Furthermore, ‘with more travel by Africans in Africa, there are new opportunities – and great potential – for tourism product development in Africa’ (World Bank, 2009:5); this remains an under-researched aspect of tourism development on the continent.

Although going beyond the traditional safari experience, by including new and ‘authentic’ niche tourism and hospitality adventures, enables DMOs and tour operators to creatively expand their product portfolios, the issue of sustainability, ethics and responsibly associated with the use of local resources, whether natural or human, remains a core aspect of the ongoing responsible tourism debate (see: Goodwin and Font, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2013a, 2013b, 2014), and provides fertile ground for further elaborations and research in the future.

Note

1 The ‘big five’ game animals are the African lion, African elephant, Cape buffalo, African leopard and white/black rhinoceros.

8 What future for sub-Saharan Africa's tourism?

The direct and indirect potential roles of tourism as a vehicle for economic growth and development in SSA has been debated throughout this volume. However, the fact that these can be at times sporadic and tokenistic is also evidenced, with many complexities and contradictions complicating matters. Fifteen years ago, Peter U.C. Dieke (2000) concluded his volume *The Political Economy of Tourism Development in Africa* by listing a set of necessary strategic tourism development measures for Africa in the new millennium that had just started. These included:

- well-conceived and well-articulated but realistic tourism policy objectives;
- local involvement and control over tourism development;
- forging private–public sector partnerships for tourism development;
- raising gender awareness to enhance women's participation in the tourism sector;
- promoting regional tourism cooperation and integration;
- availability and allocation of appropriate resources (e.g. financial, human, product);
- developing equity in tourism benefits sharing;
- promoting community tourism awareness campaigns;
- availability of appropriate legal framework for tourism;
- building image of a destination through a marketing and promotional campaign;
- expanding tourism entrepreneurial initiative/investment opportunities.

Dieke (2000:312)

Fifteen years later, these core areas of development are still of much relevance, so much so that issues of policy, planning and implementation still remain among the key challenging factors in tourism and development in SSA. What is new is that the evolution in development principles, paradigms and theories is recognisable through evident and concrete attempts to foster development through tourism, intended as a process of economic and social transformation (Donnellan, 2005; Sharpley, 2002) leading to 'good change' (Chambers, 1997); but what is now more than ever paramount is the need to facilitate a complex transition from an increased international interventionism to a more localised, sustainable approach to development.

The examples and cases studies in this volume have indeed evidenced that the national political economy determines the way tourism evolves differently in various locations. Political stability, good governance, enabling business environments coherent prioritisation and adequate funding for tourism, remain fundamental ingredients for the sector to flourish, yield substantial economic gains and stimulate 'good change' at a local level. Investment in infrastructure and tourism training, improvement in service standards, access to resources and markets, the preservation of physical and cultural assets and destination accessibility remain among the most important topics for addressing the current tourism sector's shortfalls in both established and emerging destinations in SSA.

Throughout this volume, tourism has been portrayed as a sector able to stimulate diversification of local economies and generate export income for SSA destinations. Tourism may be able to create inclusive growth and local economic progress through CBT, and innovative niche products and supply chain linkages with other economic sectors, particularly agriculture and manufacturing. Demand for new tourism-related goods and services gives way to the creation of new jobs, thus contributing to poverty reduction, and may indeed promote entrepreneurship, and a rise of SMEs and income for populations in remote and rural areas, thereby reducing urban migration.

In some countries, travel philanthropy has been the precursor of collaborative approaches leading to funding for the conservation of biodiversity, the protection of its assets and the enhancement of skills for broader development purposes. In other cases, diaspora tourism and wider pan-African and Africapitalist engagements, although not without difficulties and still without much empirically grounded evidence associated with tourism, have proved to be an additional potential contributor to the image building and progress of countries in SSA.

Tourism in SSA has grown by an average of 4.3 per cent per year since 2008, outperforming the global average of 3.2 per cent. This growth is forecast to continue to over 45 million arrivals by 2018. Increased FDI, new trade partnerships, access to international capital and the rise of African middle classes will support the continent in meeting its full tourism aspirations and potential (*Euromonitor International*, 2014b). Despite strong protectionism, high taxation, old infrastructure and weak regulation hindering Africa's share of the global tourism market, some changes are in the making. Indeed, as a result of increasing trade links and airline expansion, emerging source markets are expected to be the key drivers of international arrivals over the next five years, with China and Brazil experiencing the fastest growth. However, given the emergence of a new middle class of African consumers and the growth of diaspora travellers, the governments of SSA seems to be in the process of developing the right strategies to reap the benefits of the huge potential associated with these two markets.

International hotel chains are increasingly taking advantage of an under-utilised SSA market and introducing new global brands in the hospitality sector. Although many hotels in SSA tend to be driven more by business rather than leisure visitors, with few obvious exceptions, there are signs of expansion towards leisure-oriented hotels being developed. For instance, Nigeria is the most valuable hotel market in the SSA, with sales of almost USD 1.3 billion in 2013. The growing oil-led economy has helped create strong demand, with many international hotel chains strengthening their portfolios in the country. The supply of luxury hotels in SSA is also on the increase. For instance, Starwood is expanding its collection with three new Four Points by Sheraton, one in Benin and two in Nigeria (Lagos and Ibadan), set to open by 2015. In January 2014, Marriott International acquired South African hotel chain Protea Hospitality Holdings, which makes it the largest hotel chain across Africa.

Equally the international carriers market is rapidly expanding into SSA with examples, like Brussels Airlines and Turkish Airlines being two that have dramatically expanded their reach into the continent over the past five years. Middle Eastern carriers are gaining ground and positioning themselves as major international hubs in the region, pushing for more competitive practices in comparison to those of fewer national and international carriers, which for years have had a near monopolistic control of the regional market. Furthermore, the emergence of a low-cost carriers sector with the recent entry of a number of new low-cost airlines, is easing cross-regional accessibility (*Euromonitor International*, 2014b).

The evolution of hospitality and accessibility into SSA are certainly two aspects worthy of much-needed further research as the continental travel and tourism sector expands and becomes increasingly a leisure travel destination for the international, diaspora, regional and domestic markets.

Tourism is primarily a private sector-driven activity. However, without effective, coherent and coordinated government policies and action, (including action in other sectors on which tourism activities depend, namely agriculture and transport), tourism would fail to exploit fully its potential for inclusive growth and sustainable development: this cannot be achieved by a temporary relief programmes. Development can only happen though deliberate and structural change, through long-term policy efforts aimed at enabling SSA to expand its offerings and ensuring that all members of society can fully participate in, and benefit from tourism, as they can in any other sector.

What needs to be seriously re-dimensioned is what I like to refer as the consultancy disease, characterised by a theatre of international interventionism, where experts' recommendations often do not follow from those made earlier and local beneficiaries replicate the same 'act' in order to secure more technical and financial assistance. This often result in an array of irrational choices made by all parties involved and short-lived projects that do not necessarily address local priorities. It is worsened by a total inertia regarding an unchallenged 'status quo' and a lack of cohesiveness between local stakeholders, often playing the donors' game and making tourism into another 'basket case', at which more money can be thrown with little or no strategy in place. An unaccounted waste of valuable human resources takes place, with IDOs at times compelled to follow their own agenda rather than local priorities and, worse, replicating intervention by other fellow international donors. The lack of coordination at IDO level is compounded by a lack of negotiation skills at local level. This is an astonishing reality that seems to be conveniently ignored by all, and a problem that can only be addressed by enabling local destination stakeholders – especially local actors in the public and private sectors – to build their own policy, planning and implementation capacity and take responsibility for their own choices and actions.

The year 2015 is a significant one for SSA, with nearly a dozen countries holding elections against the backdrop of a rapidly changing economic landscape; the post-Ebola recovery phase taking place in West Africa; and continuing terrorist threats within and off the borders of Nigeria and Kenya. Another significant event of 2015 is the fast-approaching UNMDG deadline, which many African countries will not meet. This year also marks the beginning of a new development framework for SSA – 'Agenda 2063', a pan-African approach adopted by the continent's heads of states at the recent 2014 AU summit. It aims to:

> effectively learn from the lessons of the past, build on the progress now underway and strategically exploit all possible opportunities available in the immediate and medium term, so as to ensure positive socioeconomic transformation within the next 50 years
>
> African Union (2015)

As modernisation and sustainability stances remain at the core of tourism for development strategies in SSA and globally, new development paradigms may evolve from the emerging multilateral global governance structures and the effort in promoting Agenda 2063's continental approach to tourism, reflecting the global development commitment to forging new partnerships.

In the light of the socio-political, economic and cultural shifts characterising the continent, will 2015 and the years ahead really be years of transformation and progress for SSA's economies? Will we really see the end of Ebola, conflict and poor governance? Will the 69/233 UN General Assembly milestone resolution,[1] recognising the contribution of sustainable tourism to poverty eradication, community development and the protection of biodiversity, be matched by efforts to optimise the economic, social, cultural and environmental benefits stemming from sustainable tourism?

The Economist's cover story in May 2000 labelled Africa the *Hopeless Continent* (*The Economist*, 2000), yet less than eleven years later, the magazine did a U-turn proclaiming it 'The hopeful continent – Africa rising' (*The Economist*, 2011). Another decade from now, a traveller may well see an end to extreme poverty in several SSA countries, rising agricultural production and industrial manufacturing for export in others, the emergence of a competitive retail sector, more integrated and efficient transport networks, more effective governments and fairer elections. Seemingly, the hope is that the reality of tourism and development in SSA will be engrained in stories of progress, business achievement and environmental stewardship from which we can learn in the future.

Note

1 UN General Assembly Resolution 69/233, entitled 'Promotion of sustainable tourism, including ecotourism, for poverty eradication and environment protection', calls upon the UN System to promote sustainable tourism as an instrument that can contribute to achieving the Millennium Development Goals. The resolution, significantly broader in scope than previous ones on the subject, builds on a 2012 UN resolution on ecotourism and draws on a report prepared by UNWTO. In line with UNWTO recommendations, it underlines the importance of appropriate national policies, guidelines and regulations for promoting sustainable tourism, including ecotourism, and encourages UN Member States and regional and international financial institutions to support sustainable tourism projects, enabling the creation of small and medium-sized enterprises, promoting cooperatives and facilitating access to inclusive financial services, including microcredit initiatives for the poor, local and indigenous communities. The resolution was adopted by consensus and sponsored by an impressive total number of 107 Member States, including Morocco, which, as on previous occasions, was the lead sponsor and in that capacity had steered the whole negotiating process to a successful conclusion (UNWTO, 2015b).

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