

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN KENYA AND  
THE GAMBIA - A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

BY

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements  
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
at the University of Strathclyde.

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August 1988

**ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this study is to examine tourism development planning in Kenya and The Gambia; to compare and contrast their relative approaches to tourism development, and to assess their implications; to use the syntheses to identify hypotheses which might be used to stimulate tourism in developing countries.

Concepts from tourism management (planning) and political economy (development) provide the theoretical framework for the investigation. Three hypotheses are put forward: Unless the tourism sector is managed well, problems are unavoidable. Second, because of weight of collective experience, management cannot obviate the problems but can help to solve them. Third, although planning for the sector may be good, this is only the input. Questions may be asked about structure, or about implementation.

To test the hypotheses, Africa and the United Kingdom are chosen as field-work areas. The target is at two levels - demand and supply. The demand focuses on U.K. tour operators 'selling' East and West African tourist destinations. A short questionnaire, consisting of various factors considered important in choosing destinations, is constructed. The questionnaire seeks to ascertain tour operators' opinions on the competitiveness of Kenya and The

Gambia as tourist destinations, relative to other African rivals. The results of the survey are incorporated into actual field-work in Africa.

The supply side concentrates on a range of the travel trade operating in Kenya and The Gambia. It includes airlines, hoteliers, government officials. The purpose is to obtain sellers' view - the image the countries want to present overseas. The interview technique is used to generate field-work data.

In both cases, the emphasis is to find out the problems of development as seen by the countries themselves and also the problems and difficulties experienced by tour operators in 'selling' the destinations.

The thesis concludes on three notes: that the success of tourism in developing countries will depend largely on the need for planning, the need for flexibility, and the need for caution. It is argued that to disregard these propositions could spell a disaster for the tourism industry. The implication for developing countries is that if tourism is to provide the springboard for a realisation of the 'basic needs' cry of their citizens, in terms of an improvement of opportunity and quality of life, then the tourism sector needs to be planned. There have to be slack and selective tendencies built into it. These three factors are the main ingredients of success.

**ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This study could not have been completed without the strong and kind support given to me by several individuals who helped in various stages of the study. I wish to thank my research supervisor, Dr. C. L. Jenkins, who has assisted me throughout my three years of study. His work and supervision have inspired my own interest and research in this whole area. Those students at the Scottish Hotel School - and indeed elsewhere - who have passed through him, will always remember the profuse friendliness which makes an association with him such a delightful experience. Thus, he has been most willing to discuss any difficulties arising from this study, and offer suggestions.

I wish also to thank Dr J. Heeley and Mr. B. King, my lecturers, whose teaching has, in several ways, also helped to broaden my knowledge of tourism. Other staff members of the Hotel School (academic and non-academic) have always been hospitable and helpful. Although not directly related to my research, their help on personal matters has been timely and essential. But to Mrs. H. McDonald and Miss Sandra Miller - the able Departmental Secretaries - I most heartily thank you for various forms of assistance.

I am indebted to Anambra State Government (Nigeria) whose sponsorship has made this study possible, and also to the

Institute of Management and Technology, Enugu, Nigeria for kindly allowing me to undertake this study.

My sincerest thanks are due to Mrs. Josephine Sergent, Mrs. Yvonne Rogan and Mr. Harry Boyd - all in this University's Computer Department - for providing prompt word processor assistance; also to Mrs. M. Frossman-Finney and Miss A. Calder - of the University Library (Inter-Library Loan) - I am grateful for their help on several occasions.

To all those persons, too numerous to mention individually, whose assistance has been most supportive, I offer my thanks.

The three years of this study have been very difficult for my family, but certainly my wife, Edith, has always been a constant source of encouragement. She has taken the keenest concern for my well-being, and for the welfare of my children. I am specially indebted to her. For my children, Chinelo, Uchechukwu, Ifeoma, and Kenechukwu, I appreciate the sacrifices you have all made to see this study completed.

To my niece, Stella, and my elder brother, John, I appreciate your contributions to my success.

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PART 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1 : Introduction

CHAPTER 1  
INTRODUCTION

1.0      Background

Since the advent of development thinking in the early 1950s,<sup>1</sup> and the rapid increase in demand for, and significance of, tourism world-wide, governments of most poor nations in particular, have been exhibiting an increasing interest in tourism as an attractive development option to overcome their economic problems. As a result, many countries in their policies and initiatives now consider encouragement of tourist-based development. A cursory look at the 108-member states of the World Tourism Organisation (W.T.O.), reveals the large number of countries in this category holding memberships of the organisation.

In an attempt to implement the development concept,<sup>2</sup> tourism efforts in these underdeveloped<sup>3</sup> countries (variously called 'developing', 'periphery', 'South', 'Third World'), have placed increased emphases on simple economic advantages. However, additional progress must be made in carrying out the development concept, especially in Africa. For example, tourism on a global scale, essentially a voluntary movement of people (for example, for vacation) across national frontiers, transcends economic considerations. Policy-makers in Africa, for example, must develop an ever-increasing sensitivity to an

improvement of the economic and social conditions of the indigenous populations, while at the same time, seeking to satisfy the needs and possibilities of tourism consumers, within the constraints or potential of resource which is the basis of tourism development. The following questions are indicative of the difficult policy choice questions which African government leaders may encounter in attempting to choose tourism as the sine qua non of development, against other possibilities:

'In a country where 90% of the citizens live more than ten miles from any kind of road, should funds be devoted to improving the dual carriageway linking the capital city with its airports? When a majority of the people carry every drop of water they need more than a mile from the nearest stream, should scarce resources be devoted to providing piped supplies for tending the green lawns of luxury hotels? Should scarce foreign exchange be expended on buying the latest jet aircraft from Europe and America, when most people know aeroplanes only as vapour trails in the sky?' (Hughes, 1973:28).

A question, considered related to the ones asked above is: why do African countries think that tourism has a role to play in their development efforts?

This situation, faced by an African government, interested in promoting tourism, is evidence that greater insight into a proper utilisation of resources, is essential. It has important implications for tourism planning and development; the lack of control and monitoring mechanisms for tourism which would potentially ensure a proper balance of resources to meet demand, has been an obstacle

to African nations regarding effective tourism ventures. Thus, to be successful, tourism planners and developers in Africa must be astute in developing appropriate plans and products, as well as strategies designed to achieve integrated development.

As will be seen below, a great deal of appreciation is being shown of the influence of planning as the essential road to the rationalisation of different forms of development. Similarly, greater understanding about the influence of planning phenomenon would be available in developing tourism strategies which would provide numerous implications relevant to the African society.

Sufficient to say at present, that one implication from a better comprehension of the tourism development planning phenomenon is that it is the product of a number of different components, encompassing economic and socio-cultural life of the African country in question, with inputs from many sectors. Hence, by carefully delineating the similarities and differences within any particular African country, tourism strategies can be devised that are compatible with the specific characteristics of each country.

It goes without saying that planning is a variable that pervades all stages of development decision-making and one under which many variables may be subsumed. Therefore,

tourism management must be able to come to grips with the complex tourism problems which are predicated on planning and implementation phenomena. Again, the capacity of African tourism planners and developers to identify, analyse, understand what is planned, match it to what has happened, and with what success, can be facilitated through conceptualisation and empirical research in the field of tourism business management.

Trusty and Francfort (1972:153) express this idea, as follows: "Whereas planning refers to identifying and specifying objectives and examining their economic implications the day-to-day management is concerned with performing what is expected."

The argument is further made to the effect that, for a successful tourism administration, tourism management must be concerned with issues arising from the task concerning both the demand and supply side of the industry - through "collecting, analysing and channelling of adequate tourist information" trends, and "launching appropriate publicity actions, controlling them and taking corrective actions if inefficiency is identified."

#### 1.0.1 Specific Research Problems

In the context of this study, the research problems considered here are that:

- (1) Most tourism studies have been fragmentary, with

priority attention having been placed on studies specific to a location, town, or region; there is therefore a need for a comparative dimension to tourism researches; to assist planners in the formulation of better tourism policies, based on the experiences of other countries.

(2) This traditional research orientation has restricted such studies to mainly socio-cultural or economic analyses, lacking a holistic flavour.

(3) These researches have taken either the emic (studying tourism from the demand side), or ethic (supply) approach.

(4) Such studies have not established inter-relationships of the various tourism components or established consequences of interactions or how to improve the situation.

(5) Policy issues in tourism have been under-researched and need to be subjects of vigorous or intense study, on a cross-national basis.

(6) Given these problems, it is not yet possible to develop a consensus view on the approach to tourism development.

### 1.1 Statement of Purpose

Given the problems reviewed above, the purpose of this study is to:

(1) examine tourism development planning in Kenya and The Gambia from broad perspectives;

(2) compare and contrast their relative approaches to tourism development - the policies and strategies - and to assess their implications; and

(3) use the syntheses to identify hypotheses which might be used in developing tourism in developing countries.

Kenya and The Gambia were chosen for the study because they have the following characteristics:

(1) Tourism is seen by both countries as being of strategic significance in their development programmes: it creates employment, stimulates many economic activities, and brings foreign currency into the countries.

(2) In Africa, south of the Sahara, both countries are regarded as pacesetters in the field of tourism; it was, therefore, considered that they would be representative models for the wider group of countries in Africa wanting to develop their tourism potential. Much of the debate here would be of relevance to developing countries in general.

(3) Given the lack of tourism data for which many developing countries are noted, the author was assured that it would be relatively easy to get information from the subject areas.

## 1.2 Significance of the Research

The results of the study could be useful in several ways. First, it will provide a profile of the mechanics of



tourism development planning to assist others to input their expertise into the whole area. Conversely, the findings may also assist to sensitise tourism planners elsewhere to the planning problems and difficulties encountered by Kenya and The Gambia and which may have far-reaching implications for other developing countries' tourism.

In addition, the investigation can be of benefit to tourism planners in other developing countries who are responsible for the formulation of tourism policies. By knowing what planning deficiencies exist in Kenya and The Gambia, then lessons might be learnt and which could be incorporated into future planning for the tourism sector in their own countries. Finally, by presenting a general tourism planning schema, the author hopes to provide a further insight into the literature on tourism, with a view to improving our knowledge of the subject and learning from the experience of other countries.

### 1.3 Relevance of the Literature

A review of the research literature indicates that tourism, as a field of study is beginning to recognise the importance of good management of development and decision-making.<sup>4</sup> However, the relationships which may exist between planning, development, and tourism, from my reading, have probably not yet been developed. There is therefore perhaps the need to pay more attention to the issue, by refining

some thoughts. The following section reviews the literature relative to an understanding of these relationships. Relevant aspects of tourism, planning, development, and dependency concepts, are considered.

It seems pertinent at this stage to keep in perspective the strands of the argument. These break down, thus: (1) What each concept is; (2) What the study of it entails; (3) How planning and development are related to the study of tourism, and (4) In what ways the study of tourism within the context of planning and development can contribute to a better understanding of tourism and its implications.

### 1.3.1 Definition of Terms and Concepts

Three concepts, relevant to the research, are reviewed here. They are tourism, planning, and development.

#### 1.3.1.1 Tourism

Definitions are numerous, varied and complex. Cohen (1984:374-376), a leading authority on development of tourism typologies, again brings together the key issues. He defines tourism as 'commercialized hospitality,' 'democratized travel,' 'modern leisure activity,' 'an expression of basic cultural themes,' 'an acculturative process,' 'a type of ethnic relations,' and, finally, 'a form of neo-colonialism.'

Cohen's approach combines Machlis and Burch's (1983:667) review of tourism prior perspective: for example, typology and anthropology.<sup>3</sup> But while Jafari (1978:339-346) acknowledges that the study of tourism must be rooted in the social sciences discipline, for example, anthropology, sociology, economics, geography, political science, business administration, psychology, urban studies, he and Leiper (1979:390-407) welcome Cohen's approach which suggests a holistic orientation for the study of tourism. The other two are: economic and structural properties of tourism - a perspective that embraces 'the whole' essence of the subject. Thus, in an earlier article, Jafari (1978:8) has defined tourism as "a study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and of the impacts that both he and the industry have on the host socio-cultural, economic, and physical environment." Leiper believes the holistic approach is only one of the triangular definitions. The other two are economic and technical aspects.

A second avenue is that provided by economists who review tourism in simple economic terms. Travis (1984:22) presents his two variants of this argument. First, as an industry, tourism "generates jobs, employment, national income and wealth and indirectly taxes." Second, tourism is an international trade, which provides "a means of gaining hard currency, of improving their (governments) national balance of trade, and of promoting the commercial standing and national prestige of a country."

Utilising the economics concepts of demand and supply, tourism researchers have conceived of these concepts as representing change outcomes in a society's body politic. This direction of tourism demand and supply, according to Machlis, quoting Gearing, et. al. (1976) can be influenced by both endogenous and exogenous factors in a society. More recently, a spate of studies have been reflected in the literature on the contribution of tourism to economic development of many developing countries (de Kadt, 1979).

Technical definitions focus on defining who is a tourist. Three basic elements in the definitions are identified and analysed: purpose of trip, distance travelled, and duration.

Mathieson and Wall (1982:15) have sought to tighten down further these rather loosely stated definitions. In their 'Conceptual framework of tourism' they argue that tourism is composed of three major parts: dynamic, static, and consequential. The aim of the classification is twofold: first, to demonstrate that tourism is an amalgamation of phenomena, and second, to establish their inter-relationships.

#### First, the Dynamic Element

This involves a voluntary movement or travel of people to a preferred temporary location other than that in which they

live and work, and which implies their use of tourist facilities and services at that destination visited. This component consists of two factors - demand and forms of tourism.

(a) Demand

In tourism, demand, be it effective, potential, deferred, describes a person's desire and want to travel, subject to a number of internal and external influences. Time-scale is not relevant; for whereas in manufacturing industry, for example, demand can be deferred, in tourism, on the other hand, holiday foregone cannot be stored. So what is important for us is first, that the individual must demonstrate a willingness, ability, including freedom from any hindrances, to go on the trip; and two, the entire business, political, technological environment must be auspicious to encourage the demand. Thus, demand is a function of economic, social, and technological influences.

The literature is full of general and specific factors which have resulted in a high growth trend. Instead of ascribing the increased tourism demand to "the increase in real personal disposal incomes and leisure time, and by developments in transport since 1945" (Jenkins, 1980:22), thus reflecting the external factors, Weaver (1983:48) argues that "Internally, the new destinations offered the amenities suited to the burgeoning leisure demands of the North: sunshine, seas and sand. The persisting colonial

status of the time (since 1945) which attracted foreign capital, while infrastructural improvements were made to accommodate the tourist flow." To these factors, the enhanced motivation to travel, should also be added; it will be discussed below.

(b) Forms of Tourism

This term is used to embrace travel motivation and desired experiences and roles; to distinguish or classify groups of travellers; and to describe tourist behaviour (Crompton, 1979; Dawn, 1981).

Recent re-orientation in tourist motivation research conceives of travel motivation "in terms of how it relates to the individual's long-term psychological needs and life-plans; intrinsic motives such as self-actualization seem to be particularly important" (Cohen, 1984:377). Hence, this approach agrees with various authors who view tourist's motivations and desired experiences as 'structural' (Machlis and Burch, 1983:668) and 'cultural reaffirmation' of modern society (Bastin, 1984:80). Other writers have identified themselves with these ideas. For example, while Cohen (1979) lists five different modes of such vacation - diversionary, recreational, experiential, experimental, and existential, MacCannell (1973:590) argues that people who travel look for authenticity and ultimate reality in life. Because of the destructive nature of developed society, these factors no long exist in the advanced societies; they

are elsewhere. The search for these thus induces people to become tourists. MacCannell (1973:13) also adds a second dimension. He states that structurally, "sightseeing is a ritual performed to the differentiations of society." In another work, MacCannell says:

'My analysis of sightseeing is based on social structural differentiation...By 'differentiation' I mean to design the totality of differences between social classes, life styles, racial and ethnic groups, age grades (the youth, the aged), political and professional groups and the mythic representation of the past to the present.' (1976: 11)

Various other criteria have been used to classify tourists and tourism (Gray, 1970:13). Gray dichotomises tourists as either 'sunlust' or 'wanderlust.'<sup>4</sup> Cohen, on the other hand, presents four basic types - the organised and individual mass tourist (later called institutionalized tourist), the explorer and drifter tourist (otherwise known as non-institutionalized tourist). Cohen's classification is based on degree of contact between hosts and visitors, vis-a-vis the 'environmental bubble' provided at the destination visited. Smith's (1977) typology looks at tourists and their adaptation to local norms.

Tourist behaviour is reflected in such studies which focus on life at vacation as against life at home, that is, without vacation. Distinctions centre, for the former, on behaviour at beaches and in the seaside resorts, which reminds one of Wagner's (1977) work on The Gambia as 'Out of time and place,' to mean that it is very much out of the

ordinary.

### Second, the Static Element

The building block or corner-stone of the static element is the recreational 'carrying capacity' concept, sometimes called 'the saturation point.' For tourism, Getz (1983:239-263; 1982:92-102) uses it to refer to the idea of 'capacity of destination areas to absorb tourism.' Getz (1982:92) is concerned fundamentally with the political nature of the concept, arguing that "its application requires a systematic planning and management process in which goals and objectives are made explicit, impacts are continuously predicted and monitored, and potential capacity thresholds are identified in order to guide planning and management actions."

It is not intended in this section to provide a detailed and technical analysis of capacity, rather the points covered are those meant to illuminate inter-relationships of the parts and which the author considers important in any understanding of the place of capacity in tourism planning and management of destination areas.<sup>7</sup>

Getz's treatise covers the key issues. The core of the concept lies in the notion of the need for a limit or threshold on tourist activity or change. The ceiling should aim at achieving or preserving an ideal state of affairs, although this situation is relative, best established (for



the resort area and its attractions) in the context of goals and priorities: "the number of visitors and degree of development that can take place without detracting from the tourist image or the quality of life of the resident community.'

It is argued that if the threshold is not maintained, over-utilisation of facilities, or expansion of the activity, will result in (1) such situations "beyond which development, use, growth, or change cannot occur, or should not be permitted" (Getz, 1983:245); (2) undesirable effects on both the destination areas and the visitors, including individual services and facilities. If, on the other hand, tolerance limits are not exceeded, then the impacts of tourism will be generally positive.

Capacity argument is based on a number of criteria which can be physical, economic, perceptual. Physical capacity seeks to place limits on tangible resources through an inventory appraisal exercise, which, in addition, identifies problems of development. An example of this, according to Mathieson and Wall (1982:21), can be "...the wear and tear of historical buildings and the contamination of beaches by untreated sewage.' To prevent this, it is important to conserve the natural and manmade environment. Economic capacity symbolises an opportunity cost situation in which one form of economic activity is foregone for an alternative one, for the good of the larger population. The

aim here is not to stifle desirable local initiatives, but to increase greater tourist participation. Again, Mathieson and Wall (1982: 21) have offered an example: "Finding space for souvenir shop, restaurants, hotels and car parks may mean the appropriation of land occupied by shops and specialist functions catering primarily to the local markets.' The aim here is to secure benefits to the resident community and cost to the visitor. Perception can be used to set limits on tourism development. There are two sides of this argument, involving visitors and the host/target populations.

Pizam et. al. (1978:314-322) talk of tourist attitudes and experiences with a destination. If the quality of the visitors' experiences is negative, this can either restrict tourism development, or it can make the resort unpopular.

Related to this is the view of the resident population on tourism. Again, Pizam's work on Cape Cod, Massachusetts (1978:8-12) is illustrative. It reveals negative perceptions of the target populations, resulting in residents' hostile response, and, as a corollary, rapid depopularisation of destination.

It means, from the above discussions, that capacity to absorb tourism is influenced by two main factors: characteristics of tourists, and characteristics of destination area and its population.

### Third, the Consequential Element

Most classical impact studies of tourism until now concentrate on the host country, and emphasise the benefits and disbenefits occurring to the area as a result of touristic enterprises. These effects have occurred in two areas: socio-economic and socio-cultural (U.N.E.S.C.O., 1976).

Socio-economic impact studies, according to Cohen (1984:384), quoting Noronha (1977:51-71), and Cleverdon (1979), cover primarily eight major topics: "foreign exchange, income, employment, prices, the distribution of benefits, ownerships and control, development, and government revenues.' For the socio-cultural, Cohen (1984:385) has ten major topics: "community involvement in wider frameworks, the nature of interpersonal relations, the bases of social organization, the rhythm of social life, migration, the division of labour, stratification, the distribution of power, deviance, and customs and the arts.'

After reviewing the literature, the present writer would like to propose a classification of the above impacts of tourism into two main domains, thus: economic and non-economic. Since more will be said of these in chapter 2, they can only be reviewed briefly here.

As indicated earlier, Travis (1984:22) believes that

government interest in, and active encouragement of, tourism (especially for the developing countries) has been mainly economic. Economic advantages seem to outweigh any other considerations. Thus Gray (1982:29-32) states that tourism generates foreign exchange; Cleverdon (1979:32-36; 39-42; 45-48) argues that tourism provides income and employment for the host country, and is a source for government revenue.

These are issues, as also for those pertaining to positive effects of non-economic aspects stated above, upon which there is a consensus. Opinions, however, differ as to whether or not tourism is actually beneficial to the host communities. Some argue that tourism leads to dependency (Perez, 1973; Wood, 1979, 1981; Britton, 1982). Matthews (1978:79-81;85-85), on the other hand, disagrees, and argues in favour of dependency theory.

What is relevant at present is to state that most writers agree on the substance not details of impact; it is not helpful to say that tourism leads to dependency, rather we are concerned with what has been done about it; the realisation of the existence of negative effects makes the need to plan to reduce scale of impact, or manage tourist impacts, essential

### Summary

In conclusion, tourism is simultaneously a 'cause' and

'effect' relationship phenomenon. It is causal because of the dynamic nature of modern societies which, for one thing, are becoming more demanding than ever, and for another, tourists and their decision-making processes, complex. Tourists' socio-economic and behavioural attributes - income, experiences, motivations, attitudes, needs, values and travel awareness - are not constant but are continuously changing, with corresponding changes in destination features and travel characteristics.

Tourism is effect oriented because of its economic and non-economic ramifications, following interactions it establishes between tourist on one hand, and, on the other, the destination area and its residents.

The host-guest linkages, for most part, have been characterised as being negative. Perhaps part of the problem may be due to tourist over-use or utilisation of destination services and facilities; or to hostile behaviour of local residents towards tourists, thereby making the area unattractive to potential tourists. Internally, the decline of tourist development may also point to poor vision on the part of host country tourism policy-makers. This, thus underscores the problem: that planning and management measures have been reactionary, spontaneous and ad hoc rather than their being reflections of a careful general policy. In this approach, the planning authority has no fixed plan of tourism development, but provides for needs as they arise, or are identified by

officials and recognised belatedly by policy-makers.

For although it is recognised that tourist destinations have tolerance limits, as argued above, it is equally true that the problems created by saturation, and so on, can be mitigated, if not obviated, through preventative planning and management strategies. This is the thrust of the present research, which, in the next section, concentrates on planning.

#### 1.3.1.2 Planning

Planning, a management function, put quite simply, is the mental process which precedes the physical act. It is realistic, goal-oriented thinking, resulting in a series of actions, behaviour, interactions, activities, or operations "which lead to the definition of ends and the determination of appropriate means to achieve the defined ends." (Gibson, et. al., 1976:31)

The logic is fairly simple: organisations are believed to be end-seeking, entities.<sup>Ⓜ</sup>

'All planning requires goals to provide a frame of reference...for the day-to-day management decisions that follow. Goals are abstract and continuous concepts intended to provide general direction rather than specific guidelines....' (Murphy, 1983:181-2)

Planning involves not only the specification of where the organisation is going, but how it is to get there. Thus,

planning, as Baker (1976) sees it, seeks to exercise some degree of control over the future.

Current approach to planning emphasises systems theory<sup>9</sup> in analysing the planning concept. According to Murphy (1983:189), there are four components of the planning system. These are: human activities, communications, space, and time factor. Such an integrated perspective will see the control of problems in a better way, especially since the elements of the system are highly interdependent (Wilson, 1981:3).

(a) Planning in Tourism

The short discussion above of the planning theory provides a frame of reference. This section relates it to tourism.

Tourism planning refers to the method policy makers adopt to achieve tourist development objectives - whether these objectives are economic and/or socio-cultural (Lanfant, 1980:28). In one sense, it seems that tourism planning is economic or non-economic planning as relevant to tourism. This, by implication, can be interpreted to mean: (1) an identification of the role of tourist activity within such planning; (2) that such an activity is subject to external influences. It is also equally correct to relate this phenomenon to the policy initiatives which guide the execution of the plan.

Koch (1978:18-27) adds another dimension, to say that planning in tourism is demand-supply oriented. It is argued that tourism planning should be based on a thorough analysis of demand. The demand can be domestic, or it can be international. It can refer to present and future demand. This is because tourism is elastic. It is affected by endogenous and exogenous factors. Besides such variables as prices and income, there are other criteria influencing tourism demand. The composition of a population as its urban and rural structure, the prevailing climatic situation in the country of residence, and the amount of leisure time, among others, will have their effect on the propensity to travel and the total tourist demand.

Similarly, the supply component is crucial. Decisions would have to be made about tourism resources in regard to present and future suitability, use level, competitive and impact situations. Hence, the tendency in recent literature has been to view tourism planning as a technical resources rationalisation device or procedure geared to achieving maximum and optimum best results out of limited resources which the 'time' element plays its role as a typical component of the tourism phenomenon. (Vukonic, et. al., 1978:174-204). This whole idea is summed up in the following words:

'The crux of the matter lies in the fact that the tourist supply has an essential component the element of nature. This is a result of the fact that space in tourist supply is fixed, and of the non-transferability of the tourist product, but



more than anything, it seems from an aspect of this supply which is economically important, i.e. its peculiarity due to natural conditions: not only the climate, but also the landscape, means of communication, the social situation, etc.,' (Vukonic, et. al.: 179).

The demand-supply analysis reveals that tourism planning can be defined as physical planning of resources on which tourism is based.

There is the organisational aspect. This refers to policy issues. Thus, to Vukonic, et.al.(1978: 174-204), tourism planning means a particular type of tourism policy; the policy embodies the setting up of a legal, economic, and institutional framework which is held to be necessary in order to achieve certain results in the tourism sector. Koch (1978:26) outlines these policies as public relations schemes, the education and training of manpower, marketing strategies employed, and incentive programmes.

(b) Objectives of Tourism Planning

The international community countries of different development levels differ in their response to international tourism. The more advanced and industrialised countries - indeed the main tourism generators - view tourism as a means of recreation for their resident population. Most developing tourist-receiving countries regard tourism as a panacea for solving domestic economic backwardness (Travis, 1985:95; Koch, 1978:19). These differences in objectives and reasons for tourism promotion

also permeate their tourism planning.

Having regard however to the basic orientation for tourism planning, certain remarks can be made. Top on the list are four specific objectives: foreign exchange, employment, income, and investment (Rodenburg, 1980: 177-199).

Murphy (1983:182) notes that tourism goals and planning have been oriented towards business interest and economic growth. This can be clearly seen in the developed world where there are private entrepreneurial initiatives, through provision of leisure and cultural facilities (Heeley, 1981:61-79), though criteria centre on profitability, both economic and financial, and which has been responsible for a successful tourism business. Government intervention, although financially biased, has been also to accommodate non-economic considerations. In many developing countries, however, where private sector enterprise is weak (Jenkins, 1980:27), government has invested into tourism as an entrepreneur, planner, and developer.

Priority attention to the objectives may, subject to circumstances, differ from country to country. While the developed ones may have a high concern for attainment of quality of life and social advancement for their citizens, this may receive a low ranking by the developing world. Rather, foreign exchange earnings may be rated highly.

Cultural relationships and international communication for better understanding among the nations would of course apply for all countries.

Koch (1978:21) is right in his comments:

'Whatever objectives tourism is intended to serve, and the planning should be integrated in the overall economic and social development and since the government carries the responsibility for the society the overall planning in tourism falls also under its responsibility.'

(c) Components of Tourism Planning

Murphy (1983:189) relates the four basic components of systems planning enumerated above to tourism planning. The human activity describes visitor preferences in regard to season and destination. Planning strategies for these would either contract or expand them. Communication provides the visitor with information about the destination. The spatial element refers to tourism activity scale which is aimed at attenuating possible adverse effect on the host population because of capacity. Finally, time factor is the stage of development.

Planning approaches and emphases have changed over the years depending on the situation. Lanfant (1980:28-30) notes three evolutionary epochs: sectoral, intersectoral, and global planning. Each stage has been marked by different shifts and orientations with regard to objectives, policies, and international relationships.

Baud-Bovy (1982:310-311) talks of physical, economic analysis, and systems analysis to tourism planning. Kasper (1978:14-17) considers the 'Superior Systems' which is comprised of economical, physical planning, and socio-psychological as major trends. In addition, the World Tourism Organisation (W.T.O.) distinguishes between three types of planning based on: scale of the area analysed, period envisaged, and organisational structure.

The scale can be local, regional, national, and international planning. Time includes short, medium, and long-term planning; organisational structure incorporates sectoral and integrated planning activities.

(d) A Synthesis

From the discussion so far, two distinct planning dichotomies have emerged. These are the physical and the organisational aspects of the planning activity. Spanoudis (1982:314-315) has called these the 'hardware' and 'software' of planning, respectively.

The hardware (physical) can be, for example, control and design of "the beach, hotel, museum, transport which will provide safety, comfort and pleasure to the visitor..." The software (organisational) ranges "from governmental policy on charter flights to scheduling of visiting hours at a

local museum." Spanoudis sees the two as complementary, and warns that "neither can be planned without reference to the other; moreover neither can be planned without reference to a number of other elements in the life of a place."

In the context of this research, tourism planning is seen as a software concern which concentrates on policy issues in planning, such as the ones briefly indicated by Koch above - in fact the organisational aspects. Problems of physical (hardware) planning that examines carrying capacity, and similar related matters, are completely ignored in the analysis. This is because physical planning is a specialist area of its own, and is not part of government macro/national planning.

Furthermore, current research trends in, and approaches to, tourism planning relate to the systems concept, in other words, integrated planning. This orientation considers such issues as the constraints of the market and of the resources, as well as the socio-economic structures and policies of the country, as crucial. The present investigation, therefore, while emphasising the organisational structure of tourism planning as the working definition, utilises the systems analysis, in so far as the socio-economic organs and policies of the countries are concerned. This approach

'enables processes of all sorts, as well as the factors at stake, institutional strategies and those of economic and social

operators (tourist offices, local communities, enterprises, etc.), to be incorporated in all the complexity of their inter-relationships. Indeed, it incorporates all the mechanisms of change and re-adjustment alongside the constraints of the system' (W.T.O., n.d.:11, Section 33).

### 1.3.1.3 Development

The last 30 years have seen a widespread use in the social sciences literature of the term 'development'. Arguably, these times might be regarded as the 'development era.' There have been speculations as to what development is, and what the best strategy to development should be. For example, the 1950s and '60s have witnessed emergence of some catch-phrases to describe possible approaches: the 'balance growth' (Nurke, 1953); 'unbalanced growth' (Nirschman, 1953); the 'big push' (Rosentein-Roden, 1958); the 'take-off' and 'maturity' (Rostow, 1960); and a host of others (Mier, 1964). Similarly, the 1970s and 1980s have produced various works which investigate the problems of development (Brookfield, 1975; Robert, 1978; Mabogunje, 1980; Chisholm, 1982; and Welch, 1984:2-4).

To date, authors dealing with development have taken either a tactical (Soldatenko, 1980: 35-47) or technical (Jameson, 1982:431-446) approach. The tactical approach has employed a minimum of conceptual analysis but has tended to describe world economic system success or failure as good and bad development. In contrast, the technical literature yields articles aimed at the measurement of development

using techniques such as time-series.

The purpose of this section is to step back from the tactical and technical approaches to development and to briefly look at the various development scenarios; and, in the next section, link these together with international tourism in order to provide a frame of reference. The belief is that by better understanding the factors which define these scenarios, it will perhaps be reasonable to see the contexts in which 'development' is used in this study, as well as establish its relationships with international tourism.

(1) The Paths to Development

First is the traditional view. The key element in this orthodox approach has always been modernisation. This rests on the belief that the potential exists for any given country to be wealthy. By implication, this means that there are disparities between nations, some rich, others poor. This 'rich-poor' gap situation must be explained.

During the 1950s and 1960s, development was regarded as an economic process, and economic growth policy was pursued. Thus, Rostow's (1960) four stages of economic growth formally recognised development as a transformation process - from poverty to wealth. Indeed, development became associated with a mandatory path through which all nations must pass to achieve an enviable resource consumption

level, reminiscent of Western European and North American societies. Hence, the emergence of catch words as given above.

With the conviction that development is a unilinear process, it was then possible to categorise countries into developed and underdeveloped . The former provided the lead and model, whose experience the latter was expected to follow (Eisenstadt, 1966). Such classification was based on the following characteristics, as Welch (1984:2) has outlined:

'The underdeveloped country was understood to have a high level of subsistence food production, and inefficient agricultural sector, few employed in manufacturing, limited employment of high technology, and social and institutional structures not conducive to the creation of increases in national and individual wealth...all countries at sometime have been at the consumption stage of the underdeveloped country but a few through energy, drive, inventiveness and innovation have achieved wealth and sophistication.'

With time, however, this neo-classical argument, as it was called, was becoming increasingly difficult to sustain, leading to the transformation of the traditional view. Most poor nations were clearly not meeting their developmental goals, although some of them did achieve economic growth, there was unfortunately no corresponding improvement (Amin, 1973). As Ward and K'Anjou (1971) have remarked, the gap between the rich and the poor continued to widen. There was then a shift in emphasis, reformulating development



scenario to include social and institutional changes as well as economic ones.

In the opinion of Welch (1984:3), the central issue in this new thinking

'is not that population characteristics, including age structure, enterprise and initiative, inventiveness, level of technical knowledge and desire for betterment, are the key to economic success...development is understood to be possible for poor countries only through policies of economic change orchestrated by national governments, because normal market forces may be inadequate to bring out the desired changes.'

There are, of course, contrasting views. Emmerji (1983:3) draws a distinction. Modernisation theory puts a heavy emphasis on national policies. With the collapse of modernisation paradigm in the early 1970s development policy goals turned towards international goals. This, in the view of Emmerji, gave rise to dependency theory.

Two questions were central to the argument: First, what were the causes of the gap between rich and poor countries? Two, how best could the gap be bridged? There were two principal schools of thought. One was Marxist in orientation and argued for political approach to economic problems. The second believed that Western technology was a threat to poor nations, that must be overcome. Apparently, their views were in contrast.

The Marxist believed that capitalism was responsible for

the contrasting affluence and poverty in world system; that dependency was wholly and entirely a part of the capitalist system (Baren, 1957; Frank, 1969, 1977, 1978, 1981). The only solution to the problem was a replacement of capitalism by socialism.

The second school was not convinced that political change alone would improve matters for the poor nations. Indeed, the school accused the underdeveloped countries of being instrumental for their problem, arguing that technology transfer of the West by these underdeveloped countries was detrimental to the latter.

Emmerji (1983:3) again makes a comparison. While in modernisation theory all participating countries profited from the international division of labour, in dependency, only the rich (Centre) benefited; the poor (Periphery) did not. Dependency was also responsible for the development of underdevelopment.

The 1980s have seen signs that dependency theory is losing grounds, for two reasons<sup>10</sup> and the emergence of new development strategies. Such strategies include 'self-reliance' (Renninger, 1979:12), 'basic needs' (Morawetz, 1977:10); 'distributional justice', 'socio-spatial process' (Mabogunje, 1980:39, 49); 'communalistic society' (Friedman, 1980); Sautter, 1985:184).

## A Discussion

These goals of development policy clearly determine how the concept is understood and defined. Although development has become a term bereft of precise meaning, it will probably always mean somewhat different things to different people.

For example, Friedman (1980:4-11, 12-42) has this to say:

'Development is one of the more slippery terms in our tongue. It suggests an evolutionary process, it has positive connotations, in at least some of its meanings. It suggests an unfolding from within. And of course, development is always of something particular, a human being, a society, a nation, an economy, skill...It is often associated with words such as under or over or balanced: too little, too much, or just right...which suggests that development has a structure, and that the speaker has some idea about how this structure ought to be developed. We also tend to think of development as a process of or as a complex of such process which is in some degree lawful or at least sufficiently regular so that we can make intelligent statements about it. Finally, as a complex of processes, we can also speak in some sense of the rate of change at which these processes occur in time.'

Here is the definition that encompasses much of the new thinking:

'Development is a social process of change which a society which is underdeveloped at the beginning of this process achieves, fundamentally through a particular and creative effort of its own people and mobilization of resources at their disposal, the elimination of poverty, social injustice, exploitation, marginalization, internal or external, socio-political domination, and a continuous unfolding of human personality through creative self-express.' (Renninger,

1979:13)

In retrospect, development may be considered as a process whereby a country moves along a theoretical continuum, with the extremes being defined as 'completely underdeveloped' and 'completely developed.' Viewing the process in that manner enables one to assess both the degree and rate of development.

The aim of development is to provide for individual improvement of opportunity and quality of life, predicated upon a combination of economic, social, and political processes and structures at the disposal of a country. The acceptance of these processes and structures should not be interpreted to mean that all countries must follow the same development paths. As a United Nations report has noted:

'But when national histories, social cultures and economic endowments vary as widely as they do, right imitation of some other country's development can hardly be the right solution. In the end, it is for the country itself to translate its aspirations into reality in consonance with its genius.'  
(U.N., 1975:23)

In this study, attention is focused on the movement of Kenya and The Gambia along a theoretical development continuum, from the underdeveloped extreme where indigenous development initiatives prevail, towards the opposite developed extreme where these efforts have been incorporated into Western institutions and technology and, especially, capitalist subtle orientation. Tourism is obviously a splendid example of the latter. Therefore, in

subsequent chapters, we will be addressing various issues in the light of such thoughts, emphasising on the question as to whether the characteristics of tourism might pose any special barriers to planning. To begin to answer the question would require reviewing literature related to the present research. This is the concern of the next section.

### 1.3.2 Review of Related Research

Reviewing the literature revealed five studies closely related to the present research. These studies provide insight into both the conceptual framework for our investigation and relationships expected between tourism policies and the planning process in developing countries.

#### 1.3.2.1 Jenkins' Analysis of 'Tourism Policy and Planning Objectives'

Jenkins' (1986) study covered two broad issues. The first was a general review of an approach to the formulation of tourism policy in developing countries, and the second was an analysis of tourism planning.

On the first, two questions were posed: (1) Why do we need a tourism policy? (2) Who should formulate the policy? A case was then made that emergency responses to tourism opportunities and problems do not constitute a 'policy for tourism', as these reactions to such situations merely offer tentative solutions to long-term issues. Regarding the second aspect, Jenkins went on to emphasise the special

role of government in policy formulation for tourism. In addition to clearly making a distinction between active and passive forms of involvement, Jenkins further outlined some of the more important areas involving government decisions.

In analysing the tourism planning part, the author demonstrated the essential integrative approach, indicating some of the more important linkages between development objectives and resource requirements.

The conclusions reached in Jenkins' study, which are pertinent to this research, were that many aspects of policy formulation cannot take place without government. The government specific tourism objectives are critical, without which long-term development potential might be jeopardised. Above all, it was argued that policy guidelines should be implemented and followed, requiring maintenance of a cycle of planning, comparison, and the corrective action phases, in line with stated tourism objectives.

#### 1.3.2.2 De Kadt's Synthesis of 'Politics, Planning, and Control'

De Kadt (1979: 18-33) examined matters of planning, intervention, and decision-making on tourism at the transnational, national, and local level. The discussion was structured into four major areas:

(a) Politics and Tourism Policies - the extent to which the basic socio-political structure of the society conditions policies on tourism;

(b) Tourism Planning - the success of planners in ensuring that tourism contributes to national goals;

(c) Managing Impacts at the Level of the Community - the extent to which the local destination area itself, as contrasted with the country as a whole, is able to control tourism for its own benefit;

(d) National versus Foreign Interests - the means at the disposal of destination countries to deal with foreign investors and transnational enterprises.

What emerged from the discussion above which is relevant to the present study, was that government policy towards tourism and the degree of government influence, sometimes called 'control,' 'regulation,' or 'intervention' will be determined by a country's overall approach to economic and social issues and the role of the national government in tackling them.

#### 1.3.2.3 Kelsh's 'Government Planning for Tourism'

Kelsh (1983) limited his discussion to aspects of tourism planning by government, whether national, regional, or local. In reviewing multidimensional views of tourism planning, the author raised a major question: What is to be accomplished from tourism planning? To answer it, he

identified the following:

(a) Tourism Policy Planning versus  
Tourism Operational Planning

Here, an identification was made as to whether broad policies on tourism were to be formed or whether implementation was required;

(b) Is Tourism a Social or an Economic Activity?

Kelsh contended that another way to view tourism is in terms of cultural and social exchange, or in terms of promoting economic viability.

(c) Tourism Operational Planning

It was emphasised that comprehensive tourism planning would consider marketing (demand), manpower and physical resources (supply), as well as social effects of tourism development. The point was made that the extent to which government and private industry divide their responsibilities in their planning efforts depends on a number of factors, including relationship of government and industry in the particular situation, and the amount of interest generated in each sector.

(d) Go or No Go?

Kelsh believed that it is not unreasonable to ask the question, shall we discourage, tolerate, accommodate, or promote tourism growth as an economic growth alternative?



This, according to the author, presumes that alternatives have been compared in terms of economic benefits. If not, said Kelsh, then go back to square one. If the answer is yes, he concluded, proceed to the next planning stage.

#### 1.3.2.4 U.N.C.T.A.D.'s Elements of Tourism Policy in Developing Countries

The U.N.C.T.A.D.'s report (1973) on the development of tourism attempted to throw some light on the economic significance of tourism, especially for developing countries. It outlined some of the principal elements to be considered and the complex problems involved in the planning and development of tourism, particularly the formulation of appropriate policies.

The most important subjects considered in relation to the planned development of tourism, singled for discussion were the following:

(a) The past and prospective growth of international tourism; (b) Tourism and the national economy; (c) Policies and institutions for tourism; (d) Tourism resources and their utilisation; (e) The supply of accommodation (and of other amenities); (f) Infrastructure for tourism.

Each of these subjects has relevance to the current study. For example, the U.N.C.T.A.D. study considered tourism in relation to the national economy - its various benefits and costs and the way it affects income and employment. This

issue is explored further, among other considerations, in chapter 2.

But of most relevance to our study was the chapter, 'Policies and Institutions for Tourism', which discussed the role of the public sector. The emphasis was that once judgement has been made that resources should be devoted to tourism, the general objectives of policy, and the means of achieving them, must be determined by government. That implied establishing a comprehensive programming, taking account of the various facets of tourism and the need for adopting, where appropriate, particular policies for the implementation of general tourism policy. Clearly, as will be seen in the various chapters in our study, this aspect has been given a priority consideration throughout the analysis.

#### 1.3.2.5 Gunn's Tourism Planning

Gunn (1979) examined the common characteristics of tourism development, identified the need for planning, and offered a model of the directions planning might take. The approach was multi-disciplinary, borrowing concepts from several social sciences fields that impinge upon tourism.

Essentially, Gunn's analysis was structured into two areas. The first described tourism as a functional system of major components and as a structural foundation for planning. The component categories are people, attractions,

transportation, services-facilities, and information-direction. Gunn's sole aim was to demonstrate the inter-dependencies of the many pieces of tourism development, suggesting the need for organisational and policy mechanisms to foster smooth functioning of a total tourism system.

In the second part, Gunn explained the status of present planning and its potential, and at last presented a strategic planning model - a five-step process essential for accomplishing a tourism plan.

Although the broad issues covered here are discussed in some detail in chapter 3 of our study, Gunn's concluding statement is informative:

'In sum, tourism planning is nothing more nor less than the application of conceptual thinking and good judgment by the decisionmakers, the communication and utilization of the latest information and technology, and the involvement of principal actors in the development of physical resources and programs for the several goals of tourism' (Gunn, 1979: 6).

Yes, it is this 'conceptual thinking' phenomenon that ties-in the five studies reviewed here, providing a horizon for an empirical application of the broad issues to Kenya and The Gambia.

#### 1.4 Hypotheses

(1) Given the multi-sectoral nature of tourism, it is hypothesised that unless the tourism sector is managed well, problems are unavoidable. For in developing countries where tourism has some relevance, there are such problems as leakage, linkage, social, environmental, dependency, and so on. It is important for students of tourism to understand that these problems are likely to arise. Our concern, therefore, are: 1. How have these problems been anticipated? 2. What have been management reactions to these problems?

(2) It is further hypothesised that in any country, because of weight of collective experience, management cannot obviate the problems but can help to solve them. Management problems are such that management is ad hoc in solving them. This is crisis management. Other things in the tourism industry are not emergency-related. Therefore, we need to distinguish between (a) management reaction to crisis, and (b) biased management problems.

(3) Although tourism planning may be good, and can be done in a vacuum, this is only the input. What about the structure? What about implementation? How much of the plans has been implemented? What about the administration of planning? It is therefore further hypothesised that there can be some diversion between the intention of the plan and what has happened.

## 1.5 Research Methodology

The study was carried out in four main stages:

(1) Desk research to obtain information on: (a) general tourism literature;(b) the two countries of study, and how tourism is organised in each country. Visits to many research and University libraries, both in the United Kingdom (U.K.) and Kenya, and one national/archival library in The Gambia, provided useful resource materials;

(2) Questionnaire of U.K.-based tour operators.

(3) Visits to, and interviews with, organisations and individuals connected with tourism. This involved contacting the national tourist offices of each country to be visited with a view to obtaining background information and some basic statistics as well as help with introductions. Letters were also written asking for research permits.

(4) Analysis of field-work data and writing up. Details of the two most crucial stages - questionnaire and interview - used to generate field data for this research, are discussed below.

### 1.5.1 Questionnaire

This was based on a survey of some tour operators in the

United Kingdom. Questionnaires were sent out between 30 October and 27 November, 1986 to 45 tour operators throughout the United Kingdom selling East and West African tourism destinations. All the operators surveyed were members of the International Air Transport Association (I.A.T.A.) and the Association of British Travel Agents (A.B.T.A.).

#### 1.5.1.1 The Sample

Sample members were selected from the 1985 Travel Trade Directory. The Directory identified principal U.K. tour operators under the holiday areas they would be serving in the 1985/86 winter season. The operators selling East and West Africa were then selected from the population on a systematic basis, yielding a final sample of 55 potential respondents; details are given in Appendix 1A. Of the 45 operators who received the questionnaires, 25 of them completed and returned the questionnaires - a response rate of 56%.

#### 1.5.1.2 The Research Method

At first, the 55 operators were contacted by letter requesting for their current season holiday brochures, especially for the tourist brochures on East and West African destinations (Appendix 1B). Replies were received from 45 of these. Following the receipt of the brochures, there was a content analysis of the materials to cover

themes or factors relevant to a winter holiday location, and also to ascertain any general patterns in the images of the countries as portrayed by the companies. This resulted in a compilation of the questionnaire as seen in Appendix 1C.

Individual letters supporting the questionnaires were sent to every operator in the sample (45), requesting assistance. A copy of this letter can be found in Appendix 1D. As stated in that letter, the author would, on completion of the actual field-work in Africa, discuss the findings with them (i.e., the operators).

At the November, 1986 London Travel Market Exhibition, the author hand-delivered follow-up, 'reminder' letters to those operators who had not earlier on completed and returned the questionnaire survey forms. A copy of this letter can be found in Appendix 1E.

#### 1.5.1.3 Main Findings

With the return of the questionnaires, these were coded, edited, and analysed. Totals and total percentages were provided for each question (details of these analysis breaks are given in Appendix 1F. Discussions of these are covered in chapter 9.

#### 1.5.2 Interviews

Another aspect of the research involved conducting

unstructured oral interviews with a number of key government Ministries/Departments/Tourism Officials, as well as members of the travel trade in Kenya and The Gambia. Prior to the field research in these two countries, as stated earlier, letters had been sent to their respective Governments regarding the research and asking for relevant assistance. Details are provided in Appendix 1G.

In all, 20 persons were interviewed - 8 in Kenya and 12 in The Gambia. The interviews were conducted during the months of July and August, 1987. On average, each interview lasted for about 30 minutes. A breakdown of contacts is given in Appendix 1H (only respondents in The Gambia are listed; those in Kenya chose to remain anonymous). Appendix 1I lists the range of issues explored with the interviewees.

#### 1.6 Limitations of the Study

The first obvious limitation was finance. Six months to the planned field research in Kenya and The Gambia, the author wrote letters to his sponsors in Nigeria to report of the proposed trips. His research supervisor also wrote support letters to emphasise that the field work was central to the thesis. Reasons for choice of these countries were given. Specific requests were made to the sponsors for funding.

Despite repeated representations, both formal and informal, made in this regard, unfortunately, it was clear to the



author that nothing was forthcoming. This situation had its effect on length of time which was spent in both countries during the field study.

In the second place, it was extremely difficult to obtain information from Kenya because of government regulations and rules.

The third limitation relates to the broad nature of this study. As a result, the author could not look at in-depth the numerous issues worth exploring, and, therefore, selected four areas for examination. Clearly, each of the selected ones could be dissertation areas of their own. The author's choice of approach was based on the belief that macro, rather than micro, aspects would potentially be more germane to the whole tourism study.

### 1.7 Thesis Outline

The thesis is divided into five parts. Part 1 is generally introductory. It consists of the initial chapter which presents the general issues of the research: research problems, statement of purpose; significance of the study. Other aspects of the chapter are relevance of the literature; the research methodology, and the limitations of this study. The chapter ends with an overview of the thesis structure.

Part 2 of the thesis contains chapters 2 and 3 - the main

theory chapters. These two chapters draw upon the theory and literature on tourism management (planning) and political economy (development). They both argue a case why many developing countries have consciously taken the decision on tourism as a viable development strategy.

In chapter 2, a review of the major features of the ways tourism contributes to development in young economies is made. This question is pursued from two angles. The first considers the economic and non-economic arguments, for and against, tourism. Given the belief that tourism is a dependent activity, the second part examines this issue in the context of the dependency paradigm. Attention is focused on the socio-political and economic aspects of the dependency theory.

Chapter 3 extends the dependency issue, evolving an explanation as to how developing countries tourism planners react to it, in the planning policies they adopt for the sector.

Part 3 consists of chapter 4. Chapter 4 has two levels of discussion. The first presents a general profile of each country: geography, population and culture, and economic backgrounds - the baseline for development. The second level looks at the way tourism has developed and the nature of tourism activities in these places. Particular emphasis is placed on the role of the public and private sectors in

the development of the enterprise.

Part 4 of the thesis, comprising chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8, is devoted to an analysis of four policy issues in tourism development in Kenya and The Gambia. These policy areas are: (1) Tourism Investment Incentives; (2) The Role of the Accommodation Sub-Sector; (3) Manpower Planning and Training; and (4) Land Use Policy.

The analyses are based on data which were generated during field research in the United Kingdom and in Africa (Kenya and The Gambia), as explained in some fair detail in the section on 'Methodology' above. The main objective of the policy chapters is to identify practice in these countries - among the various tourism sector components - to provide an overall framework for comparison, which is one major objective of this study.

Part 5 of the study consists of chapters 9 and 10. Chapter 9 is devoted to syntheses of the main points which have emerged in the course of the research. It seeks to compare and contrast tourism development programmes of Kenya and The Gambia along policy lines. The chapter also looks at the two countries, and assesses ways both have approached tourism planning. It also draws out certain lessons apposite to their experiences.

Chapter 10 recapitulates the purpose of the study and extends the above arguments. A precis or summary of the

chapters is presented, paying particular attention to the aspects that are important. This is followed by a simple overview of the fundamentals of tourism planning which developing countries may wish to incorporate in their development of tourism. Thus, from this analysis, three hypotheses are identified. Finally, the chapter ends with some recommendation for further research in the whole areas.

## NOTES

1. In 1951, the UN appointed a group of experts to outline an approach to international development. Their report is embodied in **Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries** (UN Publications, Sales No. 51,11.B.2). See also Osvaldo Sunkei (1977), 'The development of development thinking', *IDS Bulletin*: 8

2. This concept is arbitrary. There is no single development concept. Although 'development' has been described as 'economic and social progress' (Jenkins, 1980), clearly there is more to it, as will be seen in the course of this chapter.

3. This is a generic term used to describe countries which share certain common development characteristics, which could be social (human) or economic. socially, three under-development indicators have been identified: life expectancy (years), child mortality, and literacy rate (%). According to Rutherford M. Poats (1985), quoting various World Bank and O.E.C.D. studies, life expectancy in developing countries is lower than it is industrial market economies of the West. In 1960 and 1983, for example, this was respectively 44 and 59 (developing countries) and 69 and 74 (developed countries)

Child mortality figures, based on deaths per 1,000 children aged 1-4 years, were put at 25 (1960) and 9 (1983) for developing countries, and for the developed countries, were 2 (1960) and 0 (1983).

Literacy rates(%) in 1960 and 1981 were 37 and 59 (developing countries), and 96 and 99 for developed countries.

Economic development (progress) is measured in terms of GNP per capita. Here, too, Hartmut Sangmeister (1983) has shown that in 1980, GNP per capita figures were US\$1,660 (developing countries) and 10,320 (developed countries). Average annual growth of GNP per capita (%), 1960-1980, for same respective categories stood at 5.0 (developing countries) and 3.6 (developed).

4. The W.T.O. **INTEGRATED PLANNING:8-9** lists meetings, conferences, seminars, and symposia organised to indicate the interest shown at the international level in the planning and development of tourism.

5. The authors argue that tourism has, for some time now, been studied from four main perspectives - typology

construction, e.g., tourist classification, or styles of tourism, to tourist attractions. The second perspective is anthropologist's acculturation process of tourism. Third is the economist view. Finally, there is the structural properties of tourism approach.

6. Sunlust (or coastal) is essentially resort-vacation travel while wanderlust (or cultural) is travel motivated by the desire to be exposed to different cultures and values.

The main differences between the two types of travel can be seen from a comparative listing of their attributes:

| <u>Sunlust</u>   | <u>Wanderlust</u>   |
|--|---|
| * Resort-vacation business                                     | * Tourist business  |
| * One country visited  | * Probably multi-country  |
| * Travellers seek domestic amenities, cuisine & accommodation  | * Travellers seek exotic & different culture, institutions & cuisine        |
| * Special natural attributes are necessary, especially climate | * Special physical attributes likely to be man made; climate less important |
| * Travel a minor consideration after arrival at destination    | * Travel is an important ingredient to a country                            |
| * Either relaxing and restful or very active                   | * Ostensibly educational and informative rather than restful or active      |
| * Relatively more domestic than foreign                        | * Predominantly international travel  |

Source: Gray (1967:157)

7. For a detailed discussion of capacity, see W.T.O.(1984), 'Tourist Carrying Capacity', U.N.E.P. Industry and Environment, 7(1):30-36.

8. See Gibson, et. al.(1976:31-32). Discussion of planning in practical and academic writings tend to be confused by the absence of definitions of such terms as mission, goal, and objective. Mission refers to the broad purpose that society expects the organisation to serve. Goal refers to a future state or condition which when realised contributes to the fulfilment of the mission. Goal is more specific than mission. Objectives are derived from goals and are ordinarily short-run, specific towards goals.

9. A system is to be understood as an ordered o.e.c.d.

of elements between which there can exist or can be made any relations.

10. See Emmerji (1983: 3).

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PART 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Chapter 2 : Tourism and Development

Chapter 3 : Policies and Planning for Tourism

CHAPTER 2  
TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT

2.1      Introduction

As stated before, growth in international tourism has been made possible by internal and external factors prevalent in tourism generating and receiving countries. Examples include holiday quest, aided by positive improvements in the socio-economic status of inhabitants of the developed world; improvements in transportation systems; an active policy choice by governments which have quickly provided the tourist facilities and services, as well as promotion the industry requires.

Of a particular interest and concern of these governments is the spin-off economic advantages, particularly for the poor and emerging nations, which conceive of tourism as a means for financing the development process. A number of reasons support this view.

At a more fundamental level, tourism, as a development option, has some appeal (Wood, 1979: 277-282). As an export industry, tourism has been able to hold its own on the world market in the face of declining terms of trade for most other exports. It is free from trade restrictions, such as quotas and tariffs. Its development costs are low (Jenkins, 1980: 24). In addition, encouragement for the industry, by way of advice, technical assistance and

lending, has come from various bodies. Burkart and Metallic (1975: 57) quote the United Nations resolutions which have extolled tourism as "a basic and desirable human activity deserving the praise and encouragement of all peoples and governments."

It is, therefore, not surprising that some specialist agencies of the United Nations, notably the International Finance Corporation (I.F.C.) and the International Development Association (I.D.A.), have set the lead in tourism ventures. For example, the I.F.C. sponsors, through loans, or equity, or a combination of both, to provide entrepreneurial investments in hotel construction. The I.D.A., on the other hand, concentrates on tourism infrastructure for the very poorest countries.

But while tourism can provide economic benefits, costs will be incurred. The purpose of this chapter is to present the case why many developing countries have consciously taken the decision to support tourism as a development strategy. The discussion is divided into two sections. The first part gives an overview of the economic and non-economic arguments, for and against, tourism. In the second part, descriptions of the core-periphery theory are made under socio-political and economic issues. An attempt is made here to relate this concept to tourism in order to demonstrate how and why tourism exhibits this dependency behaviour. As an export industry, tourism may have some



significance to some locals; it is, therefore, important to look at dependency in tourism in the context of Third World countries, within the framework of patterns of development of these countries. To do this, the characteristics of tourism in the Third World are discussed.

## 2.2 Economic Arguments, For and Against, Tourism

The case has been made above that the basis of government involvement in international tourism has been the economic benefits anticipated from it. As Howe Martyn (1970: 40) has noted, tourism is "a source of income for some countries, of outgo for others...." Thus, in the discussion which follows, this author critically examines favourable and unfavourable economic opinions.

### 2.2.1 Foreign Exchange

One major problem facing development efforts of most poor nations is a lack of foreign exchange. Various authors (Mitchell, 1971; U.N.C.T.A.D., 1971) have argued that tourism is one most reliable medium of foreign exchange inflow. Khan (1983: 9) cites cases of some developing countries whose economies are basically tourism-based:

'Jordan, where some 75 per cent of exports (f.o.b.) were derived from tourist expenditure in 1975, Bermuda, with 67 per cent, the Bahamas, 58 per cent. Spain and Malta earn 45 per cent and 44 per cent of total exports from tourism, respectively.'

Cleverdon (1979: 32) concludes that net earnings from

tourism, for Tunisia or Kenya, are between 70-90%; for the island Mauritius, these are only 10%. Also figures presented at the 1981 Stockholm Tourism Conference (Marfurt, 1983: 18), on the other hand, claimed that 80-90% of tourist expenditures remained in the tourism generating countries, especially in Europe and America.

Leaving aside the matter of authenticity of these figures, in regard to the basis upon which the conclusions have been reached, one thing seems obvious - the tendency to regard tourism as a positive contributor to foreign exchange profitability, is highly suspect.<sup>1</sup>

Some studies by the United Nations Organisation point to net foreign exchange losses from tourism and raise serious questions as to tourism's potential contribution to development. These losses are due principally to the type of tourism the developing countries have developed, and which involves a high import content or component, of goods and services, especially in the hotel sector. Foreign exchange losses have thus occurred in the following areas:

#### **2.2.1.1 Import Substitution/Demonstration Effect**

By its very nature, the type of tourism planned and developed for virtually all Third World countries requires significant importation of goods and services not produced locally. The hotel sub-sector, as one component of the

tourism industry, has a high percentage of the leakages. In general, as Khan (1983: 10) has again observed:

'Bermuda, for example, imports 28% of total products sold, the Bahamas 30% and the U.S. Virgin Islands 50%. According to World Bank estimates, the import component is as high as 85% in areas like Mexico, Spain, Yugoslavia, and Puerto Rico....'

Interestingly enough, this quotation attracts some comments. The U.N.C.T.A.D. (1971) study states that foreign exchange is crucial to development efforts, and Khan agrees. But the other side is that because of the nature of Third World tourism, a great deal of this money leaks out because of imports. Hence, Erbes' (1973) statement that developing countries should not view tourism as a "manna from heaven" to solve all their economic problems, is critical.

Khan's statement does not seem to have a general application to all countries, and so the observation contradicts the U.N.C.T.A.D. study, in terms of figures given for imports. It can be argued that 30% for the Bahamas is low; it will not be surprising, therefore, in island economies (such as the Bahamas) to have a higher figure than this. Similarly, it is also thought that 85% for Yugoslavia and Spain (as mainland states) is high, given their level of tourism development, relative to the Bahamas.

Gray (1970: 140) explains that import substitution effect

in the tourism industry, for a variety of developing countries, is negligible. As a corollary, the importation syndrome creates a demonstration effect on the elite classes because of the spending habits of the tourists who live on imported luxury items, and local residents' preference for foreign to local, products. These have an important implication for foreign exchange, as it raises the foreign exchange cost of tourism. In other words, the foreign exchange that tourism has generated now leaks out of the economy. As a result, government is constrained to impose various kinds of exchange controls.

Here also, controls can only work if local manufactured goods exist and are acceptable alternatives to make a linkage. This situation, in itself, is a function of whether skills required to make this possible are available. It is possible that control, if introduced, will make people take certain actions to circumvent rules and regulations. For this same reason, one finds that at the initial stages of tourism development, to control imports is not advisable, as a country needs to build a solid foundation upon which future developments will be based. In later stages, however, the country may gradually reduce imports (as stated above), only if it has developed linkages with the local economy. But in opting for controls the country needs to be selective.

#### 2.2.1.2 Financial Transfers

Apart from the "import component" aspect, additional foreign exchange costs are incurred as a result of repatriation of interest and profits to foreign entrepreneurs; salaries for foreign management personnel, franchise payments, overseas training of local population, management service, travel agency commissions, expenditures on overseas promotional campaigns and illegal black market dealings.

Nothing explains this situation better than the 'core-periphery' concept, especially as exemplified in the structure, organisation and operation of the travel trade, the hotel business and the airline industry.

In the opinion of Wood (1979), "the net balance on a country's travel account is not a very useful way of measuring the foreign exchange contribution of tourism." By implication, it means that the balance of payment effect is often overstated, since mention is mostly made of only the positive side of the account, overlooking the simultaneous outflows. To gauge the extent of profitability, both a wide range of foreign exchange 'leakage' and 'rewards' need to be compared, since these are largely independent of each other.

Migot-Adholla (1982: 52) opens a new dimension in the debates:

'The leakage and transfers of foreign exchange may be considered justifiable

costs only if on balance it can be shown that the host country has made significant economic gains from tourism. Such gains may comprise tax revenues, earnings by local operators, employment generation and other indirect effects,....'

What is not clear from the above remark is how one evaluates 'significant economic gains' (emphasis added). Would this be based on time period between costs incurred and resource measurement? In other words, would it involve a cost-benefit analysis approach? Clearly, in relation to this, the term 'significant' is imprecise. It may relate to cost of development (what a country pays, or its tradeoff for tourism), relative to future revenue derived from the tourism activity.

On balance, it may be safe to conclude this section on the note sounded by Wanhill (1982: 17-18) that 'tourism is not autarkic: its standards are dictated by the tourist-generating countries and so international hotels often find that, apart from some furnishings, the local industry cannot match the quality they demand in order to preserve their brand image.'

### 2.2.2 Employment

As a development mode, tourism, it is claimed, creates new opportunities for employment. The World Tourism Organisation (W.T.O.) (1982) indicates that in countries with a firmly established tourism industry, the hotel sub-sector provides 2-5% of the country's overall employment.

In these countries, tourism generates 5-8% of direct employment. Marfurt (1983: 19) estimates that, for a tourist hotel, new jobs created per hotel bed varies from from .3 to 1.5. Indirect employment is generated through linkages with local economy, in areas such as agriculture, handicraft and investment.

Saddler and Archer (1974:7-8) report that for Mexico, for example, an investment of \$80,000 in tourism in 1969 created 41 jobs, compared with only 16 in the petroleum industry. In Morocco, the addition of an extra 100 bedroom hotel creates direct employment for 40 workers plus some additional secondary employment. Mitchell calculated for the same period that if the present rate of expansion of tourism to Kenya is maintained, some additional 12,000 direct jobs will be created and further 9,000 workers will be required in the secondary activities which supply the tourist establishments.

Martyn (1970: 45) notes that tourism jobs are easy to secure, with good advancement possibilities, regardless of educational level attained. The service aspect of tourism is such that working with a tourist is a joy: 'there is variety, change of pace, and sociability...' Finally, it is a job for a status-seeking person. However, not everybody would subscribe to this view, and the development of tourism in the 1970s would contradict this view.

In respect to jobs created as a result of tourism three

carveats have to be made, in the areas of nature of jobs created, training, and linkages.

#### 2.2.2.1 Nature of Jobs

If it is accepted that the appearance of large numbers of foreign tourists in the Caribbean, in East Africa, or in Sri Lanka, for example, does increase job prospects, there are, however, some people who are sceptical, and do not believe that the numbers and jobs created are relevant to development. Actual numbers employed are as crucial as might be expected (The World Bank, 1972).

Jenkins (1982: 244), refers to an expression credited to one prime minister in the Caribbean, accusing tourism of turning their country into 'a nation of waiters and bartenders.' It is believed that the jobs does violence to the self-worth of the person who holds it. Vaughan and Long (1982: 27-31) argue along the same line, and criticise tourism for providing no real jobs; the jobs are seasonal. Tourism development has done nothing to arrest the depopulation of the rural areas.

At the initial stages of tourism development, because of limited knowledge and experience of developing countries about tourism and its intricacies, most jobs given to local population, are low-skill, menial and low-paid. Key management positions are taken up by foreign nationals, believed to possess the expertise to run the business



according to modern management principles. Jenkins and Henry (1982: 512) believe that the use of alien labour at management level is justified:

'The use of foreign expertise is often the only means of jumping the development gap between the level of indigenously available management and technical skills and the level of experience and competence needed to organize and sustain an international industry. In the short terms, the use of foreign nationals in the tourist sector must be regarded as one of the costs of development...In the long term, an integral part of development strategy will be, whenever possible to replace foreign employees by local people.'

It is this attempt to indigenise labour, through training for skills (vocational and managerial), that is the main difficulty.

#### **2.2.2.2 Training**

It is true that training provides one reliable way to enhance promotion possibilities, at the management level, of the native inhabitants, particularly in later stages of tourism development. Costs will be incurred in the process, of not only in increasing the general skills of a work force, but also in creating skilled labour reservoir from which individuals with management and administrative potential will be selected and developed.

Governments of tourist-receiving countries, for most part, bear the costs of training, with assistance from the private sector, or from international organisations. The

governments sponsor home-based vocational training programme, in institutes, geared mainly to specific functional levels, especially for positions in the hotel sector, as stewards, cooks, and so on. Large multinational hotel groups supplement government efforts, through various in-house, job related training schemes.

Given the scarcity of local training facilities, governments sponsor advanced tourism education overseas (Jenkins, 1980: 238-242), mainly for management level posts. International bodies, such as the W.T.O. (World Tourism Organisation), and the I.L.O. (International Labour Organisation), offer technical assistance to developing countries to acquire training for needed skills.

#### **2.2.2.3 Linkages**

In many developing countries where there is a tradition of tourism, the persistent problem has been how tourism development can be linked back to other sectors of the local economy, especially on those industries which are associated with tourism activity.

As we have noted above, in relation to the hotel area, there is an import substitution problem. In most cases, low linkages are noted with the agricultural sector. On account of tourism's magnetic attraction for individuals from rural communities, there is the movement of large segments of the population to tourist areas. As a result, total

agricultural output suffers. The more productive members of the society - the young, in particular - are drawn into this migratory trend, into cities, in search of the good things of life. These out-migrants become consumption oriented.

This 'structural imbalance' situation, as economists would describe it, may or may not be a problem in labour-surplus economies. In a tourism sense, the basic question to ask is: who is prepared to return to the land, especially when it is realised that most tourism facilities and services are in the urban areas, but agriculture is in the rural environment? No doubt, the drift sets an uncomfortable imbalance, in that the rural communities are short of capable hands to do much of the manual labour.

Again, the possibility of having to pull resources out of the agricultural sector, creates problems in another area. As has been argued earlier, tourism investment funds can come from either private or public sources, or from international organisations. Private capital, in most African states, however, is severely limited. Foreign sources may involve the tourist-receiving countries having to approve liberal investment codes, which carry with them special privileges for tourist development. Capital from international lending agencies carries with it debt service financing problems.

In summary, although Jenkins (1980: 25) thinks that the economic effects of tourism are "enhanced by the multiplier effect<sup>2</sup> on incomes and government revenues", it can also be argued, in the context of problems generated by increased employment, that the immediate area where the tourism industry is located should feel the multiplier effect more than the areas outwith such tourist zone. The question now is, how is this multiplier effect possible? It is to this that the next section now turns.

### 2.2.3 Income Generation

One of the principal claims for the development of tourism has been the argument that tourist expenditures can generate further flows of income, via the multiplier mechanism. By 'income', the author means 'disposal income' - a revenue which accrues to householders or to governments, as a result of touristic enterprises, and which the inhabitants or governments can either spend or save.

Against this background, it can be said that the income effects created by tourism are perhaps the most controversial aspect of tourism study. However, it is understood, in principle, at least, that the income-generating potential of tourism is well-established. Examples exist.

'Employees and suppliers of the accommodation branch receive income as wages or in payments made for goods, such

as food, supplied to hotels and restaurants. Tourists' purchases of items such as souvenirs and their expenditure on services - for instance, transport - also provide income to suppliers. And capital expenditure on building hotels, for example, results in payments to and income for suppliers of materials and persons engaged in constructing the facilities. Income accrues both to those receiving payment direct from tourism, as part of the tourist-industry, and to those supplying the industry...the increased consumption or expenditure by those involved in the tourism industry comes as increased income to the persons and sectors supplying them....' (I.U.O.T.O., 1975: 9)

In addition to a lack of reliable data, differing methodologies have been used to measure tourist receipts, their value to the receptor country and people. The result - the publication of many misleading studies. An example will suffice here. The Zinder Report comes readily to mind. Published under the aegis of the I.D.A., with reference to the Eastern Caribbean area, this report put the multiplier income effect at 2.3 times the initial inflow. However, subsequent estimates of the same Caribbean area put the figure at substantially below unity. Bryden and Faber (1971: 61-82) and Levitt and Gulati (1970: 326-343) have argued that the method used to calculate the Zinder multiplier is incorrect, and, in fact, the mechanism is considerably lower.

Such is the revelation that has perhaps compelled Marfurt (1983) to question such erratic studies (Zinder's, for example) when she said: "it is never sufficiently clear on what basis such studies arrive at their conclusion - which

is a crucial failing." Apart from the work of Erbes (1973) which has shown how tourist spending brings about an income change in the economy, two other works - Bryden (1973) and Mitchell (1970) - are of relevance here.

By means of income multiplier analysis, Bryden, in his study of Caribbean Antigua, demonstrated that for every \$1.00 tourists spent, .86c of personal income was generated. Support for this hypothesis came from Levitt and Gulati. Although most tourism researchers now believe that the most accurate method of determining the level of income injected into the economy is by the Leontief input-output model. An illustration of this point is provided by Summary (1983) whose research indicates that the model exists for Kenya and Barbados, among other countries.

However, Archer (1974:31) has argued that the use of this method is inappropriate for developing economies, partly because it is sophisticated, and partly also because of the low level of development of Third World countries. Archer, instead, has suggested a social cost-benefit analysis. Bryden also suggested this in 1972.

It may seem obvious that the best approach, for policy-making purposes, is to conduct an opportunity cost assessment, which would potentially involve the alternative use of resources (income in tourism, vis-a-vis other sectors of the economy, for example, manufacturing income

versus tourism income).

The I.U.O.T.O. strikes a middle-of-the-road balance:

'From the standpoint of policy, therefore, the important subject of analysis is likely to be the relative initial productivity or return on capital and other factors used in the sector, as against productivity in the other sectors, and the linkage of income through imports and the payments to foreign factors' (I.U.O.T.O., 1975: 11).

Advancing the opportunity cost issue further, Mitchell argued that net value of tourism (in 1966/67), for Kenya, by non-Kenyan residents, amounted to 4% of their expenditures. The value comprised both tourist-imposed taxes on goods and government revenues for service, but, of course, excluding government-incurred costs in encouraging tourism<sup>3</sup>.

Mitchell (1968) was quick to realise that the net value figure derivative was a function of other considerations such as "intra-marginal rental earnings, pure profit accruing to local residents, the possible over-valuation of local currency in terms of foreign currency, the fact that some labour will be paid more than its alternative earnings, together with various secondary beneficial effect." On account of those factors, net value, to the resident East African population, stood at 5 to 10% of total tourist receipts.

Apart from its income-generating potential, tourism has

income-redistribution effect, via the various inputs it requires. Demand for the inputs fluctuates, with corresponding changes in price levels and unequal effect (positive, or negative, or both) on the local population. Some gain, others lose.

Erbes (1973) is sceptical about the view of developing countries in having to regard tourism as "manna from heaven which can provide a solution to all their foreign settlement difficulties." This argument may be tenable if, on balance, it is proven that resources devoted to tourism have been used more profitably, in an economic sense, rather than utilised in other sectors of the economy. This, of course, is a debatable issue.

#### 2.2.4 Infrastructural Change

One positive outcome arising from the needs of the industry is reflected in infrastructural change, including utilities, which tourist activity brings to host communities. The facilities and services provided in this category include ports, airports, roads, water and electricity supply, public health, sewage disposal, and so on. Provision of these infrastructural services is a basic requirement for the development of tourism. Apart from this fact, it is expected that the facilities should be comparable with those available in the visitors' native countries.



If it is agreed, in the sense in which we use it, that 'development' is 'an amalgam of economic, social and political improvement of opportunity and quality of life', then it might be argued, in economic terms, that 'many of these services are indivisible in the sense that if the government provides them for the tourists they are at the same time making them available to local residents' (Saddler and Archer, 1974). But in enclave developments, "the specific infrastructure is not intended to benefit directly the resident-indigenous community. Any 'spill-over' effect is purely gratuitous: emphasis is placed on the provision of infrastructure facilities for the tourism development." In some places, these spill-over effects do not exist; an example is the Maldives, where there is tight controlled tourism.

By focusing on 'pole theory'<sup>25</sup> and placing the tourist industry in that format, it is possible to give more meaning to terms like 'infrastructure' and 'linkages' as they pertain to Third World tourism.

Quoting from Jean Paelinck (1965), McKee (1985: 167) speaks of a growth pole as "an industry, whose flows of output and/or revenue influence the growth of other activities technically linked to it" - "an activity, whose expansion impacts into other activities." Such a description would reactivate the proposition that "officials concerned with the economic expansion of the Third World nations have often considered tourist facilities as a potential vehicle

for that expansion" (McKee, 1985:166). Hence, tourism is welcome.

The 'pole' factor, in the opinion of Hermansen (1972), is composed of dynamic propulsive firms, believed to be capable of exerting inter-industry linkages, especially if the firms incorporate intermediary inputs from elsewhere in their total output. Third World tourism, by its feature, fits into this parameter.

Since growing service economies experience a growing demand for goods (Shelp, 1981), it is safe to assume that these goods are supplied from abroad. Thus, Third World tourism responds to this through its considerable import-content nature. It is this consideration that has yielded the consensus notion that the industry is an amalgamation of a variety of activities, the final output of which constitutes the package bought by the tourist. The destination, as well as the various services offered in connection with it, is the package.

Obviously, tourism generates establishment of support businesses, and the final package purchased by the vacationer would be unobtainable without intermediate inputs of transportation and communication, including the various other components of infrastructure suggested above.

It must, however, be remembered that costs are incurred in

securing infrastructural improvements. These are usually borne by governments - both directly or indirectly - through provision and maintenance, respectively, of a range of infrastructure (unavailable in the tourism receptor country) and which is crucial to tourism. Further costs are incurred because of tourism seasonality factor, which inevitably, places additional demand burdens on services to a stretching limit or capacity.

Government realises revenues, mainly in the form of taxation, from the tourism sector, to offset part of the costs. Taxes and duties directly derived from tourist expenditure, and indirectly, taxes collected from tourist establishments and facilities, together support further infrastructural expansion.

#### 2.2.5 Price Level

One feature of a developing economy is its inability to increase output quickly. To the extent that this is a major constraint, this is compounded by increased tourism demands and expenditures, both, taken together, constitute additional tourism development cost.

As mentioned earlier, tourism creates an increased demand for imported goods because of spending by tourists, and the demonstration effect it has on the host population. Also, expenditures are made to provide tourist facilities and services in order to cause reasonable infrastructural

change. These, in themselves, can create inflationary pressures on domestic price levels.

Similarly, any supply-demand imbalance of goods and services the industry needs has the negative effect of making prices escalate. This is significant for supply, especially if demand levels and trends are not consistent, as is the case during off-peak periods, because of the seasonality nature of tourism activity. Another example can be given. If imports of goods not produced locally do not keep pace with demand, obviously the prices of such goods are bid up. Paradoxically, importing will thus mean inflation.

It is mainly through land price shifts that tourism-induced inflationary pressures are clearly visible. As the market prices for land appreciate on account of escalating demand, and tourist-needed structures are built (good news for land and property owners, respectively), it must be remembered, however, that land is a commodity with a limited supply. Land speculation can also boost demand, as with hoarding of land. All this has the negative impact of pushing up land prices. Local products, primarily of handicraft industries which tourists eagerly patronise, do usually have improved prices.

#### **2.2.6 Economic Dependence**

It has already been pointed out that tourism can bring in

a large foreign exchange revenue yield and create greater employment prospects. Through the multiplier mechanism, the earnings from it ripple through the economy, redistributing wealth among members of the community, and causing changes in infrastructural levels. We can certainly go further and suggest that tourism complements other exporting sectors of the economy.

Nash (1978: 33-47), for one, is firmly convinced that tourism is a new form of imperialism, and that, as a result, the economy is affected by external interests. The "...metropolitan centres have varying degrees of control over the nature of tourism and its development, but they exercise it...in alien regions." Invariably, this means that tourism economy is dependent on a number of exogenous factors, over which it cannot control. It is sensitive to income and price changes, together with political developments in the countries of origin of tourists; to seasonal fluctuations in employment, as well as to changes in consumer buying patterns.

There is no doubt that these issues might be regarded as immutable features of tourism. And, therefore, it might be difficult to control them for two reasons: (1) management problems: the existence of indigenous interest groups who wield political power, and further interest of the multinational corporations (M.N.Cs.), examples are tour operators, and so on; (2) future of tourism: what the long-term role that tourism plays in a country's economic

development processes. In the latter case, The Bahamas is perhaps an excellent example of a country which has no realistic alternative means of development other than through developing its tourist potentials.

Despite the fact that tourism is considered a growth industry (World Bank, 1972) because of an increased demand for it following continuously rising living standards, these anxieties are valid. Bryden and Faber (1971) have drawn attention to the dangers inherent in overdependence upon tourism as a source of revenue: "the case for advising the islands' governments to assign still more of their scarce financial resources to the encouragement of tourism has quite definitely not been made out." Thus, Khan (1983:11) concludes: "Tourism is useful as a means of diversification, but it is not advisable that countries should install this industry as the pivot of their economies, given its inherent instabilities." Given the peculiar situation of the Bahamas noted above, this obviously contradicts the author's view. One may then wonder what Khan's reaction to this observation would be?

### 2.3 Non-Economic Arguments

Drawing from the categorisation of Pizam and Milman (1984:11-14), with one modification, the non-economic aspects of the tourism enterprise are the socio-cultural effects of the industry on the host communities because of interactions with tourists. These effects are in the

following areas: demography, occupation, culture, norm, consumption patterns, and environment.

According to the authors, these aspects refer to "the ways in which tourism is contributing to changes in value systems, individual behaviour, family relationships, collective life styles, moral conduct, creative expressions, traditional ceremonies and community organization." It is possible, despite the preceding views to argue that the extent of such effects will depend on the level of guest-host association, particularly how much the local inhabitants (as mirrored in the policies their leaders pursue) are prepared to accommodate the new dispensation.

In the context of this research, therefore, one can certainly go further to add to the analysis, by suggesting that one other area of non-economic aspect is the effect tourism development has on administrative planning and control. For one thing, our investigation largely refers to two newly developing African societies, which, in an effort to break out of economic doldrums, have embraced tourism. Ironically, these societies need tourist revenues in order to develop or succeed; at the same time, they will suffer from tourist inflows. For another, as it has been said, over and over again, resource bases of these societies are weak. Hence, there is the need for careful management of the resources.

At this point, several observations and/or questions are made/posed. The first arises from the planning problem inherent in the above argument relating to tourism. It is the question of long-term gains from tourism and how these compare with equivalent investments in other export industry. Second, for policy purposes, how do tourism policies relate to an objective function: African countries' development aims and planning priorities, in terms of the present performance of the industry?

Smith (1977) notes that tourism system is composed of host and guest cultures. Miller and Ditton (1986: 5-7) remark that these cultures are influenced by management culture: public and private. Likewise, some authors (Bosselman, 1978; de Kadt, 1979; Gunn, 1979; and Gee, et. al., 1984) have observed that tourism policies are disjointed, imbalanced, poorly implemented, and weakly integrated with private sector programme. This is not common to tourism, it is common to other areas of the economy, as de Kadt (1979: 9) notes: "The problem is of course not unique to tourism; similar comments apply to commodity production, import-substitution, manufacturing, and export-oriented processing and assembly." But first, a review of the non-economic effects issue.

### 2.3.1 Demography

One logical outcome of the employment effect of tourism is the development of urbanised, new settlements, in two main



ways: migration and immigration of workers. The industry retains members of a local community as a labour force, who would otherwise emigrate to other neighbouring areas in search of jobs, had it not been for tourism. At the same time, it attracts outsiders interested in job opportunities the enterprise offers, and who consider tourism-related employment better than other sectors of the economy, particularly agriculture (de Kadt, 1979: 35-36,43; and Cohen, 1983).

### 2.3.2 Occupation

The occupational results point in one principal direction – changes in society as a result of employment opportunities. Earlier, we discussed importance of employment in, and economic dependence on, tourism. We emphasised that employment generates income.

One can, in fact, argue here that the employment-income-dependence situation has the twin effects of solving social problems: first, relating to attitudes; second, in preserving social systems.

Studies by Pizam (1978: 8-12) and Rothman (1978: 8-13) establish correlation between economic dependency on tourism and host population attitudes (although correlation is no proof of causation). Both authors point out that the workers in tourist services perceive tourism as a good business, but those outside this sector think differently.

As far as preserving social systems are concerned, we have presented the case before about how tourism employment helps to discourage migration, especially of youths. By implication, it means, for example, as noted by Deitch (1977: 173-184) that the indigenous population (of Indians) stays together; and that the demand created by tourism for Indian arts means positive bourgeoning of the people's identity, pride in their heritage. (This may be another form to justify enclave tourism development). Their local income is derived mainly from their craftsmanship of art rather than from reliance on tourism-job-seeking related migration tendency.

Tourism has also an impact on the division of labour primarily in two ways: (1) between the sexes, and (2) work patterns. Tourism gives new status to young women at work. De Kadt (1979: 43-44) notes that they work in hotels; Boissevain (1979: 83-84) and Swain (1977) remark that young women's workforce role is noticed in the handicraft industries where they are engaged in the production of crafts and souvenirs for the markets. (This implies that the job is for young women because they are more trainable than older people). Jones (1978), Cohen (1982), O'Grady (1982) and Wahnschaft (1982) state that the young women engage in prostitution in tourism. This enhanced position sets an uncomfortable imbalance on family life: women's relationships with parents and husbands, and care and

control over children.

### 2.3.3 Culture

A review of some studies done to date on the cultural results of tourism on host societies point in two opposite directions. First, in positive terms. Some writers, such as Sethna and Richmond (1978: 30-31) see tourism as providing positive opportunities from intercultural experiences, or Aspeline (1977). Boissevain (1979: 340-344) and Wilson (1979: 230) relate the phenomenon to aspects of conservation and preservation of local culture (archaeology, folklore, monuments, landscape, traditional architecture, and the arts, and Deitch (1977:173-184) addresses artistic productivity through tourism. A similar view is expressed by Andronicou (1979: 252-253), writing on Cyprus, Boissevain (1977: 532-534) on Malta, and Cohen (1983) on Northern Thailand, who believe tourism furthers the survival of an otherwise moribund folk art. Similarly, Graburn's studies (1976) on the Eastern Canadian Arctic add additional understanding that tourism stimulates the development of new arts or styles.

On the negative front, Greenwood (1977) remarks that the need to cater for mass tourists means 'commoditization' of host culture. And in his earlier work on the Fuentarabia (Spain), Greenwood (1972:87) has characterised this situation in these words: 'Fuentarabia's cultural heritage has been a commodity, a new Basque facade packaged and

promoted for tourists,' implying a commoditization and, perhaps, a deterioration of standards. By the same token, Forster (1964: 226) considers tourism as a debaser and destroyer of customs and the arts, leading to the emergence of a 'phony-folk culture.' Likewise, Khan (1983: 13) cites Bali as an example of a society which has become secularised as a result of tourism:

'Sacred dances are performed for the entertainment of tourists, and traditions, typically based on religious values, are corroded. Tourists themselves, because of ignorance or thoughtlessness, transgress local customs, for instance by entering mosques with heads uncovered and wearing shoes. They may, shedding conventions, cause native youths to believe this kind of behaviour is 'modern' and thus to be emulated.'

Adapted to tourists' expectations (Boorstein, 1964: 106-107), the dances and rituals have consequently been shortened, the arts altered or faked (Graburn, 1976: 19-20). Butler (1978: 187-201) and Gamper's (1981: 432-446) studies exemplify ways that the indigenous language can give way to that of the 'external' public.

#### 2.3.4 Transformation of Norms

Pizam and Milman (1984: 11-12) define 'transformation of norms' as a change in societal 'values, sexual role, morals' brought about by tourism-oriented host-guest interactions. They observe that the change can be at three levels - community, individual, and family. Aspects of such changes in society have been discussed in the preceding

sections, in different contexts, but they can only be reviewed briefly here.

Cohen (1984: 385-387) assembles evidence to support the view that tourism is an agent of change - 'of social norms and moral values' (to use Pizam and Milman's term).

Community participation in tourism means involvement in an 'internationalised' system (Lanfant, 1980), generating aspects of dependency, and thus ensuring loss of local autonomy relating to direction and control of its welfare.

At the same time, social organisations now reflect the 'commoditized' orientation. Emphasis is placed on economic power which obviously become the yardstick for determining attitudes and interpersonal association among the citizenry and in their dealings with tourists. One writer (Khan, 1983: 12) gives an accurate reading of this position: "Local residents preserve a dualism between the tourist and domestic population. There may be one set of values and prices which are reserved for the 'outsiders'."

The job opportunity provided by tourism gives the young women prominence in society. Their acquired emancipation, plus the nature of work patterns, put them in a difficult posture, in their performance of family obligations, to husbands and children.

Nicholas (1976) ascribes deviance of various kinds -

begging, fraud, theft, prostitution - to tourism. Although it has been reported that these activities do occur in tourist resorts, it remains to be seen how tourism phenomenon is responsible for them. Mathieson and Wall (1982) conclude that existing studies are not definitive and conclusive about the etiology of such social ills. Cohen (1984) expresses the same opinion, and believes these claims attributed to tourism have been exaggerated. Although this is true, we could not expect a similar impact in a range of countries.

#### 2.3.5 Consumption Patterns

Tourism encourages 'development mindedness.' As such, as we have indicated, the effects seep through the host society, by increasing employment and income opportunities. It brings changes in their consumption patterns. The demonstration effect of tourists' way may stimulate the native population into striving to improve its own living standards. Also, the demonstration effect can be of some benefit, especially if this were directed towards the provision of required facilities, like the provision of electricity and sanitation. The improved infrastructure, superstructure, facilities and services, provided by the industry, now enjoyed by the hosting population, are treated as positive.

On the negative side of the equation, although the demonstration effect may set standards for desirable

change, and bring a dramatic increase in material standards of living of the people, it has too often taken the form of propagating undesirable changes. An example is 'conspicuous consumption,' as seen in the demand for esoteric articles like imported food items, and tourists further become 'a major luxe which fastens the eyes of those they meet on virtually unattainable conditions elsewhere' (Smith and Turner, 1973: 59).

The result is twofold, though related: frustration and escapist attitude. For example, in Barbados and the U.S. Virgin Islands, the species 'Beach Boys' proliferates. Also, Cohen's 'Arab boys, tourist girls' (1971) attests to the result. The main treatise here is that youths become convinced that the 'promised land' lies elsewhere, and thus see in the tourist girls the means to escape from their own society.

What is important for our consideration here is that, by tourists' reckless spending mode and behaviour patterns, together with demands imposed on society by the industry, tourism distorts social standards. However, there are prospects for controlled development, geared towards meeting specific country overall development objectives. The I.U.O.T.O. report (1975: 34-35) spells out possible directions: (1) enclave development; (2) pricing or other controls to reduce tourist traffic; (3) the tapping of alternative markets to diversify the sources of visitors

and their attendant cultural impacts, and (4) official policy to encourage spatial tourism development, through zoning.

### 2.3.6 Environment

Cohen (1978: 215-237), in his summary of the numerous publications on the consequences of tourism on the physical environment, makes a valid point. 'Physical' environment is not only nature, but also the physical aspects of the man-made historical and cultural environment.

Travis (1982: 258) notes that scale of impact is skewed; it may be regional as in the instance of Archer<sup>4</sup> or Henderson<sup>7</sup>, the focus on specific environmental heritage locations, as in Bosselman's work<sup>8</sup>, or consideration of the effects on developing countries, or parts of them, as in de Kadt's writings<sup>9</sup>. In assessing the impact, at least, for this work, the emphasis is on de Kadt's.

Here again, there are bipolar views: that which argues that the effect is totally beneficial, and that which stresses its negative, detrimental aspects. Cohen spells out the factors which determine environmental impact: resort user level, resiliency or absorption level of the ecosystem, implication of profit-making operation on environment in terms of time horizon, and, finally, ability to switch around, or substitute resources for alternative development purposes.



Rather than attempt to give pointers, or present a detailed assessment of the impact, the present author believes, in the interest of this investigation, that it is more appropriate to make general observation; but draw specific attention to the crucial role of proper planning in a successful development effort.

There is consensus that tourism development disturbs and destroys various ecological elements. By implication, this means, in the opinion of Saddler and Archer (1974), that "uncontrolled tourist development can damage environmental conditions, spoil the aesthetic appearance of the affected parts of a developing country and prejudice the future of rare wildlife." Careful planning of tourism, on the other hand, can help to preserve particular environmental and ecological heritages. Various conservation measures have been adopted for environmental protection - of historic sites and monuments and wildlife. It is clear that these resources are valuable assets, whose protection is paramount to a viable tourism development activity.

In broad terms, Cohen (1978) lists two such measures: those protecting for tourism and those protecting it from tourism. For this research, there is the need to emphasise the second type of measures, particularly as developing economies are most vulnerable to pressures from multinational corporations. Saddler and Archer (1974) cite one specific example - "education tourism" - as one

positive measure which has aided the development of the national park system in many developing countries.

Realising that all forms of economic development, tourism included, lead to changes in the environment, a distinction has to be made between tourism-induced and non-tourism-induced environmental changes. We are concerned not with these environment changes per se, but with whether similar changes could occur by the development of sectors other than tourism.

If an overall assessment indicates a negative effect on the environment, it can indicate that planning and implementation programmes are poor. It suggests that carrying capacity has been exceeded, in terms of infrastructure and other facilities. (These statements imply that it is only over-capacity or overcrowding which can lead to degradation. This may be the case in India in the areas of over-fishing, grazing. There could be other reasons contributing to degradation). However, such developments do not conduce to a good development omen. The onus now lies on the government, as policy makers, and public organisations, as executors of such policies, to live up to expectation. They have a responsibility to ensure that the local inhabitants are protected. As van Houts (1979) has suggested, "there must be environmental limits to the development of tourism in the same sense in which such limits exist for the expansion of different

industries; so it can be possible to institute a policy which sets firm limits on the maximal number of tourists." This, although a function of scale, is the practice in the Kingdom of Bhutan which puts a strict ceiling on the number of tourists it admits into the country at any one time. In Greece and Barbados, for example, such a policy is not possible. But to achieve the target espoused here may require that monitoring measures must be devised to ensure full compliance as set out in the policies.

### 2.3.7 Administrative Planning and Control

A brief review of some literature suggests that the advantages of development of tourism lie in the areas of administrative planning and control (Jursa and Winkates, 1974: 47). Central to these is the role of the government in tourism. Usually, government, in wanting to ensure a proper balance of resources, especially for fragile economies, would wish to control both the pace of development and demand, in line with overall national development objectives. But because distribution and other factors outwith government control, government cannot do these. In terms of development planning, tourism, for most poor nations, is located within a single ministry or government department - a linkage believed to permit centralised planning.

Although this is considered advantageous, the shallowness of this argument may worry some observers. One should

perhaps remind oneself that "comprehensive planning does not augment resources, it only concentrates power" (Bauer, 1972: 72). But as we have observed earlier, government involvement in tourism (among other considerations), has been to secure economic advantages from it - a source of hard currency. This, indeed, is a key bottleneck in development struggle by weak or feeble economic systems.

Some writers (Jenkins and Henry, 1982: 501-503) have distinguished between two types of government involvement in tourism - passive and active. Passive is where government's action is not intended primarily for tourism but has implications for the sector. In other words, the action does not discriminate in favour of tourism. On the other hand, active involvement is a deliberate, selective but specific action by government to encourage tourism. Such an action is based on the understanding that the government recognises the needs of the industry and pursues a certain line of action, or takes certain policy initiatives geared towards the achievement of stated objectives. For the purpose of this research, it is the second definition that has relevance to our understanding of 'involvement/intervention'.

There are clear reasons why governments in developing countries actively intervene in tourism, as Jenkins (1980: 239) has noted. Briefly put, it can be said that in developing countries, the private sector is small, and

lacks entrepreneurial experience. As a result, government has to assume both managerial and development roles.

In order, therefore, to find practical forms of intervention, tourism should be co-ordinated with other activities in a national economic plan (Martyn, 1970: 47). Such co-ordination requires planning for tourism: "a government plan, devised in consultation with the tourist industry...is probably the single most important step any (developing) country can take to ensure a balance program of investment in the development of tourism" (Davis, 1967: 1-8).

According to van Houts (1979: 83), citing Noronha's review (1977) of the literature, the elements of tourism planning include:

'the selection of goals and the development of policy, the selection and weighting of social indices, the choice of alternatives, the creation of backward linkages and local participation.'

These are some of the various issues that African governments will be addressing themselves to in their planning and development of the tourism sector.

In terms of active involvement cited above, they can do it by "not only (setting) tourism objectives (possibly in a tourism development plan), but also (introducing) necessary organisational and legislative support to attain the

objectives" (Jenkins and Henry, 1982: 502). What is important again, as Jenkins (1980: 27) has remarked, is that "strong government control is necessary to prevent exploitation and obvious waste, and to ensure that the benefits from tourism are optimised."

By implication, these are policy issues. And so the present research will be guided by a consideration of these, and will, therefore, be focusing on them at various stages in the work.

#### 2.4 Dependency Paradigm

It would be recalled that this research derives its theoretical framework from two disciplines - tourism management (planning) and political economy (development). Up to now, only one aspect, planning, has been discussed. This section concentrates on the second part, political economy.

By 'political economy', the author connotes an examination of historical factors shaping economic and political structure, organisation and development processes of world economies; emphasis here is on the Third World countries. At the core of these factors is the 'dependency theory.'

Britton (1982a: 334) defines 'dependency' as "the subordination of national economic autonomy to meet the interests of foreign pressure groups and privileged local

classes rather than those development priorities arising from a broader political consensus." Essentially, dependency has many variants, as Soldatenko (1982: 35) notes: that there is "no specific dependency theory; instead a series of related theories exist that form different branches of a particular dependency tree." Roxborough (1976: 120) expresses the same view: "the notion of dependency defines a paradigm rather than a specific theory. Within the paradigm there are a number of competing theories and explanations of the nature of dependency."

Therefore, rather than attempt a rigorous discussion of this concept, we will present a brief but general outline of the main themes. In this section, we can only focus on two aspects of the debates which have general relevance for our purposes, namely economic and political facets.

#### **2.4.1 Economic Facet**

Proponents of the dependency paradigm trace the roots of Third World countries underdevelopment to the colonial times when the Western colonial power (the centre) was undergoing rapid expansion, and the colonised territories (the periphery) co-operated with the imperial powers in this process. The results were threefold (Ollawa, 1983:127-128): the unilateral transfer to the metropolitan economy capital produced out of the material and human resources of the underdeveloped satellites, deprived the periphery of economic surplus for real internal development process.

Second, there were changes in demand at the global level, resulting in great expansion in both production of commodities and trade. The advantages from mercantilist ventures paved the way for an international division of labour, which provided a signboard for the industrial revolution which took place in developed metropolis and seriously deprived the overseas territories of similar technological and economic advancement.

Finally, development efforts of the periphery were aimed at reflecting the interest of the capitalist centre, since the former served both as a source of raw materials and as a market for the finished products. These were the major factors influencing the scramble for overseas territories and the actual policy of colonisation.

Dos Santos (1970: 231) has aptly summarised these results:

'In a world market of commodities, capital, and even of labor power...the relations produced by this market are unequal and combined - unequal because development of parts of the system occurs at the expense of other parts. (Combined because) trade relations are based on monopolistic control of the market, which leads to the transfer of surplus generated in the dependent countries to the dominant countries; financial relations are from the viewpoint of the dominant powers, based on loans and the export of capital, which permit them to receive interest and profits; thus increasing their domestic surplus and strengthening their control over the economies of their countries.'



#### 2.4.2 Socio-Political

This relates to the existence in the developing countries of well-placed individuals, whose exercise of their political power, not only furthers the interest of the metropolises, but also paves the way for increased penetration and exploitation. These are the people, among others<sup>10</sup> who, in Fanon's words (1967: 122-123), with respect to Africa and Asia, perform the function of "transmission lines" for international monopoly capital.

#### 2.5 Trends in Contemporary Third World History

A close but brief look at contemporary third world history indicates certain epochs which, arguably may not represent a march forward. The 6% or 8% growth (Khan, 1983) - the capitalist measurement of growth rates - has eluded most Third World countries. The use of the term 'growth without development' (Clower, et. al., 1966) is common in current literature on West Africa. The achievement of well-being of the population, in terms of provision of housing, food and clothing, is equally a mirage. Foreign investment shifts towards import-substitution to spur rapid industrialisation and cut off the outflow of surplus, is gaining popular acceptance, especially as seen in the development plans of developing countries. This is a strategy which economists call 'branch-plant economy' (Rodney, 1981: 120), as it enhances multinational corporations' monopolistic control over the dependent economies, but also, by the corporations' international network, they begin to flex

their muscles to influence policies affecting investment incentives and development programmes of national governments. This point is treated again later in this research in the discussion of various development strategies in Africa.

Political trends show variations. In Africa and Asia, for example, there is deterioration - of military coups, or civil revolts, or of emergence in dictators - leading to constant changes of governments. These traumatic experiences would tend to bring to sharp focus an indication of economic and political dependency.

What is worse, post-independence era saw the emergence of new forms of political manipulation by the ex-colonial masters. The reasons are obvious:

'Firstly, within Third World countries under the control of imperialism, there is created nationally a sort of political vacuum arising from the fact that power does not reside locally. The national government of petite bourgeoisie has little control over production, and is endowed with a very feeble political base. They of course have police and military forces which are intended to serve as means of coercion of the population, but nothing else...We also find that the petty bourgeoisie in the Third World countries are not as capable as the bourgeoisie in the metropolises when it comes to playing a certain kind of political game. They are not capable of granting to their own population participation in bourgeoisie democracy because the colonial situation is antithetical to any form of democracy - even to bourgeois democracy' (Rodney, 1981: 121).

In the midst of such political intimidation and assassinations which ensued, how then have African countries pursued their development efforts?

## 2.6 Patterns of Development in Africa

In terms of development, post-independence Africa, especially in the period between 1950's and 1970's, saw many African countries formulate national plans (Helleinar, 1972) which sought to emphasise new goals of development policy. Initially, development planning tended to show an exclusive concern with growth in gross domestic product and build-up of infrastructure. More recent plans and policies seek to bring about more fundamental changes in economic structure and also to stress at least some concern for issues such as rural development (diversified and balanced growth) and income distribution. Economic development, however, continues to be the primary objective.

As might be expected, the performance of each country has differed, as performance is a function of: the natural and other resources of each country, the specific development strategy pursued, the priority accorded to development, and the amount of outside assistance received (Kanarck, 1976: 83-84). Also, one could argue that no matter how a country is developed, without managerial talent, it cannot be considered developed.

As a starting point, let us take one factor - strategy - to illustrate the point. While some countries have encouraged private sector participation, as with construction business in Africa, some other countries have pursued a policy of absolute state ownership and control of the local economy. An example of this approach is clearly seen in Ghana, especially in the hotel sub-sector, where government influence is considerable. A corollary would be steps, countries in this last category, have taken to secure long-established links with the mother country. Instead, they now prefer to initiate the new economic relations with other partners, and even seek to indigenise many parts of the economy.

Hence, there has emerged in recent times, in the literature on Africa, the 'self-reliance' development strategy, which implies, to some extent, withdrawing from the international economic system so as to reduce vulnerability to the vagaries of that system (Renninger, 1979: 12). This usually entails the elaboration of indigenous models of development, since the acceptance of models based on the experience of the industrialised world would lead to demands for certain products and modes of living that could not possibly be satisfied from local resources - an indigenous development model which Wiarde (1983:442) characterises as revolving around 'tribalism.'

Diop and Okigbo (1976: 1) assess the confusion emerging therefrom:

'It is now more than a decade since most African countries attained political independence. But no African country is, as yet, within striking distance of self-sustaining growth and economic independence and the welfare of the majority of the people remained unchanged.'

While we may agree with Diop and Okigbo that economic security<sup>11</sup> continues to elude African countries, it is, however, not clear how Africa can ever achieve 'self-sustaining growth and economic independence' - at least the authors have no prescriptions. First, Africa's economic malaise must be evaluated within the context of its post-independence economies - as legacies or extensions of colonial phenomenon, structured to meet the needs of the erstwhile European power. Again, what one should worry about is the notion that Africa should strive to achieve economic independence. When viewed against the understanding that we live in a world of interdependence, one begins to see the weakness in that argument. What is worse, the experience of the Sahelian countries with the draughts illustrates one other factor outwith the control of African countries.

Adedeji (1976: 4) believes that

'if the countries of Africa are to achieve self-sustained growth, co-operation and distribution of strategic goals and services on a multinational basis in Africa must be seen by each and every one of the governments of Africa as a necessary condition for the successful achievement of their respective national socio-economic goals.'

The present author, however, believes that this would require a fraternal will and some uniformity that seem similar to the days of the 'Empire'. But based also on the current level of development and sophistication attained by these countries, particularly the unequal nature of the developments, such a co-operation in development, which is what Adedeji is suggesting, may be difficult to achieve, and so the view does not seem a realistic one.

#### 2.6.1 Development Strategies

Be that as it may, the development strategies adopted by African countries fall into 8 broad categories (Ake, 1981: 143-170). These include, not necessarily listed according to any priority criteria: increase and diversification of export commodities; import substitution; export promotion; the unified approach; integrated rural development; regional co-operation; the New International Economic Order; and regional integration and collective self-reliance.

From the point of view of this study, the issues involved in many of the strategies are indeed too far beyond the concerns of this work. Although a few general comments are in order, and have in fact been mentioned previously, only two of the strategies listed above are for close examination. They are 'import substitution' and 'export-led' strategies. The author believes that these two aspects

of the debate on Africa's development efforts bring out the highlight of this research - the issue of dependency. Crucial to the discussion is the investment role of multinational corporations in deepening the import-export dependency. As Langdon (1974: 123) has said: "One of the more obvious signs of dependence in less developed countries is the major role of large-international firms inside most local economies."

### 2.6.2 Import Substitution

This can be described as an inwardly-directed development strategy which is believed to have the potential to stimulate local production of consumer goods hitherto imported from abroad. By so doing, it accelerates industrialisation within the society as it cuts the outflow of surplus. Wallerstein's article (1974b:101) makes this point quite clearly; that import substitution "is the classic solution and accounts, for example, for the expansion of industrial activity in Russia in the late nineteenth century or of Brazil and Mexico or South Africa in the wake of the Great Depression of 1929."

It is only fair to suggest that import substitution may require authoritarian rule to implement, examples are in Nigeria and Ghana. But in a truly democratic country, it is not possible. It is questionable whether Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Korea are good examples of import substitution. But Japan may be the best example.

Paradoxically, the people to be most hurt by import substitution are the minority group - the expatriates and certain indigenous elites whom Ollawa (1979: 219) believes have vested interest in the prevailing pattern of income inequalities, and besides profit directly from the structural linkages in the international capitalist system. Some authors (Campbell, 1975; Langdon, 1975; Ollawa, 1979: 2203-219; Ake, 1981: 102-104) cite cases of some African countries, notably Cote d'Ivoire, Kenya, Nigeria, and Zambia where the practice of this development approach (for consumer goods) does not generate backward linkages to indigenous resources, considering import intensity, particularly the absence of internal linkages.

Ollawa (1983: 130-133) has made similar points with respect to Africa, arguing that three distinctive features characterise the import substitution strategy adopted by the African countries, namely: (1) the location of their manufacturing plants and the degree of imported inputs that go into the production process lack forward and backward linkages to the local economy, thereby undermining the process of national economic development<sup>122</sup>; (2) the techniques required to produce most of the goods and services are often beyond the capacity of the African countries to provide<sup>123</sup>; (3) the final aspect is closely tied to the interconnectedness between foreign companies and underdeveloped countries, and relates to the issue of comparative advantages not only in terms of product or



consumer choices but also with regard to the opportunity to decide where and how manufacturing industries should be established. Vernon and Wells (1976: 17) describe this as 'global scanning.'

#### 2.6.2.1 Failure of Import Substitution

##### (a) Divergence of interests

Multinational Corporations (M.N.Cs.) possess tremendous monopoly power, in the areas of finance and technology, and by the international scope of their operation (Vernon, 1977), not to talk of a keen competition amongst developing countries for foreign capital investment and industrial skills. These comparative advantages enable the M.N.Cs. not only to take advantage of lucrative investment opportunities available in the Third World countries, but indeed also to influence policies of national governments. The O.E.C.D. Interfutures project (1979: 115) attests to this point:

'Whatever their development strategies, developing countries will have to rely heavily on capital investment, be it to satisfy the basic needs of rapidly expanding populations, to increase productivity in the agricultural sector, to implement industrialization programmes, whether these are based on import substitution, export promotion, 'self-reliance' policies or valorization of domestic primary resources.'

Szentes (1976) is convinced that import substitution experiment is a failure, as the experiences of most African

countries with regard to transnational corporations indicate, and also as subscribed to by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (U.N.E.C.A.) study (1977). And so moving beyond this generality to cite specific instances, one begins to see some of the ways in which import substitution has failed in Africa. In the context of tourism, import substitution is unworkable - in that there may be particular problems relevant to the development of tourism, such as the issue of demonstration effect.

Perhaps, the most fundamental reason is divergence of interests (Ollawa, 1979: 132-133), and this delineates into two aspects (Ake, 1981: 147-149). On one hand is the incompatibility of interests of African governments and those of foreign capital, and, on the other, is the conflict of interests between African governments and overseas suppliers.

#### African Governments and Foreign Capital

There is a general concensus among African scholars that capital is believed to be the major contribution of foreign businesses to the local economy. The concept of 'global scanning', noted above, dictates that M.N.Cs. have the leverage on where and how to invest the capital, the guiding principle being, of course, profitability, in an economic sense. But as Ollawa (1977: 41) has observed, there is more to this:

'institutions which provide the investment capital and industrial skills necessary for economic growth...are too closely tied to external interests who are not 'neutral' as regards either the choice of these sectors of the economy which they wish to develop, or the disposal of the investible surpluses derived from their capital.'

The Nigerian example is illustrative of the African experience of import substitution efforts (Ake, 1981: 147). The evidence is available that in Nigeria, even in post independence period, the economy was still greatly monopolistic because of the controlling voice of foreign-owned merchant companies doing businesses in the country. Among those companies were John Holt, Societe Commerciale de l'Ouest Africain (S.C.O.A.), The United African Company (U.A.C.), Compagnie Francaise de l'Afrique Occidentale (C.F.A.O.), The Union Trading Company (U.T.C.), and Peterson Zochonic (P.Z.), to mention but a few. Even when the government attempted import quota rationing, cartel arrangements, and the wide range of products they catered for, to curb the excesses of these companies, and indigenise some areas of the economy, these companies were defiant. The companies had the potential to make the import substitution work. Their loyalty was divided, often tilting naturally in favour of their own conveniences. Rather than allow the development of manufacturing in Africa to take place, thereby constituting competitive threats to their financial investment in the home countries from which they imported, the merchant companies were not enthusiastic about import substitution; for the import trade made their

export trade more profitable by reducing overheads.

One must not fail to point out at this juncture that these claims are statements of opinions which may be difficult to substantiate. However, Peter Kilby's (1969) earlier study emphasises same claims:

'as a rule of thumb, UAC will consider an industrial investment if it represents the protection of an established merchant interest, which is both sizeable and profitable. Productivity-wise the industry must be within the competence of the company, the Unilever organisation, or a principal supplier who can be persuaded to join the venture as a technical partner.'

Similarly, studies of Ghana (Hutchful, 1979) and Zambia (Ollawa, 1979: 202-205) reveal the same dependency trend. Despite the indigenisation programmes of these African countries, the profit opportunities of the M.N.Cs. did not diminish. New extortion mechanisms emerged, hence such terms as 'management contract', franchising', and, prior to internationalisation of domestic market, 'transfer pricing' (the present double accounting) - all became household words. The M.N.Cs. perfected dubious practices to beat tax payments to the governments, as were seen in cases where their sales to their peripheral subsidiaries were overpriced and purchases from them underpriced.

### African Governments and Overseas Suppliers

Relationships between African governments and overseas

suppliers did not fare any better either, because the interests of each group were at cross purposes. For the latter, they undertook limited productivity activities in Africa instead of enhanced exportation, only to the extent that such production operations did not jeopardise their traditionally established market. In pursuance of this belief, rivalries over supremacy ensued among the various business groups. This development ran counter to the aims of import substitution. Again, Ake (1981: 148-149) gives instances to support this claim, and assesses the outcome:

'One example which rapidly comes to mind is the rivalry between two exporters to Nigeria of asbestors cement products, who between them accounted for 95% of the import of Nigeria. These were Turner and Newall of Britain and Eternit of Belgium. As soon as Eternit formed a partnership with the Western Nigerian Development Corporation to build a plant in Nigeria in 1960, Turner and Newall immediately embarked on a similar project even though it was quite clear that the market could only support one of these plants...The tendency for overseas suppliers to respond to the pressure for import substitution by market protection investment helped to frustrate the achievement of the goals for which the African leadership undertook import substitution in the first place. It limited the potential of import substitution for achieving diversification and even independence. It caused inefficiency and waste, especially as the enterprises were able to obtain from the government very high protective tariffs inflated by the cut-throat competition.'

(b) Morality

A second controversy on the factors which contributed to the collapse of import substitution relates to what this author has called 'Africa's concept of morality and

government affairs', as epitomised in such expressions as 'national cake', 'common wealth.' These expressions refer to various unscrupulous practices which most African leaders pursue, for selfish ends, to undo governments' attempt at an improvement of the overall conditions of the citizenry.

It is noted that the performance of government parastatals in Africa has been appalling. For most of the time, civil servants (used as fronts) lacking in relevant business experience, are usually charged with the responsibility for running them. The emphasis on 'get-rich-quick' terms to encourage collusion with foreign businesses, at the expense of the local economy. One example of this kind of behaviour, which easily comes to mind, is the issue of the 'inflation of contractual obligations and costs' (West Africa, 1982: 1750-1751) - a problem, though rampant in Ghana and Nigeria, is not, by any means, an isolated one. Investigations of other African countries provide the same startling revelations (Hutchful, 1979). The result is that the newly produced goods (as a result of import substitution) are likely to be more expensive than the original imports or comparable goods and services in the developed countries, producers (in Africa) not yet having maximised their economies of scale.

### 2.6.3 Export Promotion<sup>2,4</sup>

This is another approach which many developing countries have adopted. It is geared to tackle the development problems hitherto unsolved by the limitation of reliance on import substitution as a vehicle for development. Such problems are in the areas of self-reliance, a better balance of trade, insufficient foreign exchange savings, and the diversification of the economy.

In determining the extent to which African countries have fared in export promotion strategy, it is necessary to understand the three elements (Torre, 1974:135) which are critical to the export process: (1) marketing barriers to goods from developing countries; (2) the advantages of the foreign subsidiary over a domestic firm in overcoming these barriers; and (3) subsidiary's involvement in export activity.

#### 2.6.3.1 Marketing Factors

Viable exports are crucial to economic development of emerging countries. These countries have cheap and abundant labour supply, and exports from them, if they are of a high labour component, give these young economies a comparative advantage; this is the neo-classical position.

In applying this notion to world trade patterns, this view is not fully satisfactory, and for a number of reasons which we shall come to discuss below. Instead, it has been

suggested (Wells, 1972:3-33; Vernon, 1966) that global trade and investment trends are determined by the Product Life Cycle (P.L.C.) dynamics. Each product's life stage is marked by certain characteristics peculiar to it. Just as the 'global scanning' concept, noted earlier, gives M.N.Cs. leverage to site businesses in any place and time they choose, so also do changes in inputs, product and demand features, over a time, influence the M.N.Cs. to re-orientate themselves to the most economic production location and trade patterns at any specific time in the product's life. In terms of exports, therefore, Wells (1972) argues that it is only at the mature stage of the product that these characteristics, identified with that stage, are seriously regarded a contender for export purposes.

Torre (1972:227-259) supports this position. Based on Bain's (1956) marketing entry barrier definition, he goes further to identify a number of export parameters or behaviours and mature product attributes or constructs, to establish the existence of a close correlation between the two. To Torre (1974:137), the existence of these relationships between marketing characteristics and export behaviour is significant. It supports the proposition that 'market knowledge and marketing skills are necessary conditions for exploiting export markets to a degree that varies with the marketing characteristics of the products' (Torre, 1974:137).



Viewed from this perspective, for the M.N.Cs., this is good news, but for the developing countries, it spells doom. Again, as Torre has concluded:

'Purely domestic firms exhibit lower performance in exporting highly differentiated products than in exporting products with negligible marketing barriers. This could be attributed to the fact that the requisite marketing skills and knowledge seem to be relatively scarce resources in developing countries.'

#### **2.6.3.2 Advantages of the Foreign Subsidiary Over Domestic Firm**

The two major aspects of institutional structures of large foreign enterprise (control and market power) reviewed earlier shield the subsidiary company against such marketing barriers just outlined, and to which the local firms are subject. The subsidiaries are thus in a position to gain greater access to market information, distribution channels, experience and marketing skills than do domestic firms. Also, with their access to those corporate resources, the result is that the subsidiaries show a higher propensity to export more than domestic companies.

#### **2.6.3.3 Subsidiaries' Involvement in Export Markets**

The indication is that the corporate enterprise monitors the activities of the subsidiary through some control mechanisms. The parent company exercises this control in one of these two ways - ownership in the subsidiary, or control over the subsidiary's marketing activities (Torre,

1974:142). It is this corporate strategy that determines the export involvement of M.N.C. subsidiaries in developing countries.

Ownership control is a function of the overall marketing strategy of the firm. Where the strategy emphasises limited product line through differentiated product, the tendency is to play down joint ventures, especially as such ventures involve products with high marketing requirements, in an export sense. The firm's belief is that such joint ownership will compromise its competitive market strategy. Thus, full ownership of the subsidiary, is one of the three ways the corporate foreign enterprise can control the export activities of the subsidiary.

Full control involving a corresponding retention of management, technological, or marketing control of the subsidiary, enables the corporate body to exert its influence on export decisions also. Two possible explanations can be given for this situation. Right or wrong, the parent thinks that the likelihood of export by the subsidiary is minimal. Another is that the parent's control over export matters is one insurance measure to streamline its global operations.

Finally, but where the multinational firms allow the subsidiary to carry out export functions, the scope of these functions will be limited, as the parent is poised to

protect its competitive marketing strategy.

#### 2.6.3.4 Developing Africa and Export Promotion

The preceding insight is important, but what is really of interest to us is to assess the policies and performances of African countries in encouraging export promotion strategy.

The recently published data from the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa (1986:89), on the performance of African economies, indicate that, on the whole, export promotion strategy was a dismal failure. According to the U.N.E.C.A., Africa's share of world export trade in 1983 made up 4.5%, 4.3% in 1984 and 4.2% in 1985. Africa remains weak in the developing world in terms of exports. In 1984, for example, its share of world export was 4.4% compared to 7.4% for the Americas.

These poor results can be attributed to several factors. In the first place, the highly competitive nature of world market provides no haven for African states, when it is realised that their economies are underdeveloped - the high capital-output ratio, the rudimentary development of infrastructure, the limited opportunities for linkages and economies of scale. These made it difficult for export promotion policy to succeed. To compensate for their productive handicaps, the countries resort to subsidising their own manufactures, contrary to export promotion.

Further, at one time or the other protectionism was tried; it never worked. The nature of export promotion was such which meant an increase of value added to semi-finished goods imported from abroad; a good example here is the automobile assembly. This approach did not provide a springboard for substantial manufacturing, as this manufacturing would require overcoming manpower problem, together with the provision of chemical and base metal industries.

What is worse, the industrialised countries have blocked Africa, and indeed, other countries in the developing world category. This is because they have been having problems marketing their own products, and encouraged countries such as Japan to absorb more imports to reduce the balance of payment problems of deficit countries. The threat posed by the newly industrialised countries in the Asia region, for example, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and India, poses a challenge to the Western countries. Various efforts were made by interested groups on both sides of the Atlantic to produce various trade pacts, notably Lome Conventions, between the E.E.C. countries and the 58 A.C.P. countries. The trade pacts guarantee free entry to virtually all the products of the A.C.P. countries.

#### 2.6.3.5 Implication

In terms of development theory, two lessons come out strongly from the above analysis. The first emphasises that

the institutional structure of the M.N.Cs. typifies the transnational corporation as an agent of 'dependency', and thus constitutes a critical element in the underdevelopment of poor countries. The second points to governments' attempts to reduce dependency culture in the planning policies they adopt. Put differently, and in a question form, it is: How does the notion of 'dependency' influence the formulation of tourism policies? It is within these two areas of concern that now appear to be at the centre of the current debate. First, why and how does tourism exhibit this dependency behaviour?

## 2.7 Structure of Global Tourism

As several writers have suggested, dependency has relevance to the study of tourism. It is true that Rodney (1981) may have some reservations about tourism as a development strategy for developing countries, and is, therefore, very critical of tourism, especially its dependency connotations, as his writings on the subjects seem to suggest.

However, some others (Britton, 1982a; Wood, 1981, 1979; Matthews, 1978; Perez, 1973; Turner, 1973), who study tourism in the context of dependency, envisage the international tourism system as a three-tiered hierarchy. It is the relationships of the three parts that have given dependency its structural basis. At the uppermost level are international corporate actors, located in the tourism

source countries, who dominate the industry, in the three main sectors - hotels, airlines, and tour operations. The intermediate level contains a range of the travel trade representatives or corporate subsidiaries operating in conjunction with domestic tourism firms, in the destination Third World countries. At the lowest level are government agencies, such as the National Tourism Organisation (N.T.O.), connected with tourism, and whose operations, though marginal, nonetheless, depend on, and liaise with, the tourist companies of the second category. It is the interaction of these three hierarchies that has, in addition, given tourism an internationalised image (Dunning and McQueen, 1982; Lanfant, 1980:23). It is only by examining tourism from this perspective, by looking at the links with these three levels, that we begin to appreciate how tourism has taken the vulnerable dependency relationships position.

### 2.7.1 Multinational Corporations and Tourism

Studies by Britton (1982a:331-358; 1982b:252-274) and the reports by the United Nations Transnational Corporations (U.N., 1981) and Ascher (1985), remain to date, perhaps the most comprehensive and influential analyses of the global and regional involvement of multinational corporations in the tourism field with particular reference to developing countries. The data presented by the publications cover the three major types of tourism-components of M.N.Cs.' operations - hotels, airlines, and tour operator

businesses.

The studies examine the role of the M.N.Cs., in broader themes in operations, structure and impact of these three sectors on the development of tourism in developing countries. Britton, on the other hand, harnesses these aspects to give focus on the metropolitan control over the tourism industry of several Pacific island nations, although his conclusions have implications for most other developing nations. In regard to these, this part of the study, therefore, is a continuation of the debate on Third World tourism development and the place of the M.N.Cs. in such an activity.

For the moment, we would like to emphasise three-related topics: (1) the corporate nature of international tourism; (2) corporate linkage between core-periphery tourism industries; and (3) a critique of the dependency paradigm.

### 2.7.2 Corporate Nature of International Tourism

The emergence of corporate organisation in the sphere of tourism is in response largely to the conglomerate nature of tourism activities. The industry is composed of many economic sectors, and essentially these various components require a careful modification, proper organisation and co-ordination in order to meet the best overall interest of the tourist, while at the same time, remaining in business. As one report has stated quite frankly: "one can, however,

easily appreciate that the fabrication and execution of the tourist product is the complex undertaking which requires organisation and co-ordination of the elements involved" (U.N.D.P./I.C.A.O. Project, 1977:69). At all events, one notices that tourists are becoming more demanding than ever, their interests and needs, travel motivation and modes, ever changing.

Coupled with this, the packaged nature of tourist product, in the opinion of Burkhart and Medlik (1974:213-214), creates difficulty for potential tourists, about the holiday type to take, or the destination to visit. The logical outcome of this situation requires adjustments in various marketing strategies to remain competitive. Britton (1982a:336) thus ascribes the corporate context of tourism to three factors: (1) the growth of size of companies and their amalgamation into larger corporations to take advantage of economies of scale; (2) the move towards horizontal and vertical integration of airlines, hotel chains and travel agencies' sub sectors of tourism; (3) the intervention of non-tourism capital to capitalise on expanding tourism market opportunities.

### 2.7.3 Corporate Linkages

The corporate context has implications for developing countries' tourism, as it puts transnational corporations in a pivotal position, and underscores inequitable relationships. Commenting on foreign interest in tourism development, de Kadt (1979b:43) wrote: "Knowledge,



communication and organization are the basic assets and sources of power of transnational enterprises for promoting and developing tourism."

De Kadt leaves us in no doubt that corporate linkages exist between core-periphery tourism industries. The M.N.Cs. have good knowledge of both the destination countries, in terms of facilities and services available locally, and the needs and demands of the tourist clients who reside in the metropole. This knowledge has been derived from their (M.N.Cs.) establishment in the receiving (developing) countries their subsidiaries, and also in the core countries in which are located their corporate headquarters. It is in the latter that the M.N.Cs. are always in direct touch with tourists. This knowledge enables them to offer packaged holidays, and which, in turn, enhances the position of industry intermediaries.

One such intermediary is the tour operator, who, in Jenkins' words (1980:26), citing Leonie Dobbie (1977), 'interpretes the market needs of his client and packages these needs into destinations.' The metropolitan tourism corporation can thus influence the volume of tourist traffic to any one market. The Tunisian situation is a case in point (Marfurt, 1983:20), where a German travel organisation cut Tunisia's quota of tourists to one-fifth its former size, as a reprisal to Tunisia's refusal to grant a bigger profit margin to the company. This control

of tourist flows means also that foreign interests become directly involved in the destination tourism industries, and for most part, dictate the manner in which a peripheral tourism destination will be developed and articulated within the international system. This, indeed, is a major policy problem in tourism development.

Apart from creating the demand for Third World tourism products, the M.N.Cs. also provide the means by which the tourists consume the products. They control international transport - mainly the airlines - by which the tourists travel to developing countries destinations. The airlines and metropolitan tour companies are the principal agencies in this regard. The airlines, for example, offer discount concessions to tour companies. Both sectors use their pivotal positions in the market to diversify vertically - in the development of international hotel chains to accommodate the passengers they carry. The automated reservation systems enable them to ensure higher occupancy rates for any of the hotels they link to such a system.

There is a marketing perspective. Again, tour companies and airlines are the principal agencies in the creation of tourism marketing and advertising promotion. They create images of a destination, and thus partially manipulate tourist expectations in the context of such images. The marketing strategies and tourist perception of the host country, in terms of images, and transportation modes, all help to form the tourism product group, although one must

be reminded that "...the main problem, as ever, is related to defining those activities which constitute tourism" (Jenkins, 1987).

Foreign tourism companies, by their international organisation, control industry managerial expertise, especially in the hotel sub-sector. Although they do not own the hotels, their monopoly is limited to contractual arrangements - an arrangement which ensures their effective corporate control and profits, with no investment strings attached. They then use their critical role to win various incentive programmes from the host developing country governments.

Britton (1982b:341-343) captions the above discussion in what he has called 'Enclave Model of Third World Tourism':

'Tourists arrival points in the periphery are typically the primary urban centers of ex-colonies, now functioning as political and economic centers of independent countries. Within these towns are located the national headquarters of foreign and local tourism companies and retail outlets of travel, tour, accommodation, airline, bank and shopping enterprises. If on package tours, tourists will be transported from terminals to hotels and resort enclaves. The transport, tour organisation and accommodation phases of their itineraries will then travel between resort clusters and return to the primary urban areas for departure while residents in the resort enclaves, tourists will make brief excursions from their 'environmental bubbles' in artisan and subsistence sections of the economy for the purchase of shopping items, entertainment, and sightseeing.'

The repercussions on the Third World tourism, of this organisation, are clear. The structure ensures that Third World destinations have a largely passive and dependent role in the international system. The inability of agricultural and manufacturing sector to supply appropriate inputs to tourism facilities means a reliance on imported supplies, with a high degree of foreign exchange leakages, use of foreign capital, and material and manpower. The M.N.Cs.' control over, and creation of, demand subjects developing countries tourism to market forces of the metropolitan countries. Enterprises of the Third World feature prominently in informal sectors, for example, handicraft, minor transport services - sectors which are outwith the business interest of major tourism companies. The result is that much of the revenue or capital accumulation goes in favour of the foreign tourism companies - an issue that raises the fundamental question of how to change the situation. This is clearly seen in the dependence of developing countries on foreign enterprises to manage and market their tourism products.

#### 2.7.4 A Critique of the Dependency Theory

Matthews (1978:79-81; 85-86) shares a similar view that corporate tourism generates Third World dependency relationship with the metropolitan countries. His critique of this dependency approach to studying tourism corroborates the notion widely held of tourism as a new form of colonialism and imperialism. Founded upon the

Machiavellian idea of 'the end justifies the means', corporate tourism manipulates and controls local elites through agents of metropolitan interests. The result is that foreigners come to dominate or at least heavily influence decision-making in the host communities.

Matthews' critique also recognises tourism dependency as a new type of plantation economy, indeed, a resurgence of old plantation economy trend which is typified by a 'master-servant relationship' situation that does not add anything to an improvement of local resources. Added to this is the basic question : are there alternatives? What is worse, by virtue of its operation mode, corporate tourism shields from host countries information about its accounts books - what the profit picture is, or how the calculation has been arrived at, in order to evade tax payment.

#### 2.7.5 Conclusion

If it is true, as Zartman (1976:341) has asserted, that dependency is 'a means of keeping up pressure and sensitizing participants,' in the context of this research, this raises the question, already posed, now asked again for emphasis: How does the notion of dependency influence the formulation of tourism policies? This may lead to our asking other related questions: Whether African governments are sensitised to the dependency issue, in the tourism planning policies they adopt?; whether there is an organisation to put through the policy guidelines. These

are a few of the various policy considerations, among others, which we will be addressing in this study.

## 2.8 Characteristics of Tourism in the Third World

The post-World War II era has seen a steady growth in demand for international tourism, despite the fuel crisis in the early 1970's. Various sources (Bryden, 1973; Erbes, 1973; U.N.C.T.A.D., 1973; Archer, 1979; Cleverdon, 1979; Young, 1973; and I.T.Q., 1982) have given an indication of the rate of growth. Young (1973: 52) reports that in 1950 there were still 25.3 million international tourists; in 1960, 75.3 million; in 1970, 169.0 million; and in 1981, 291m (Cohen, 1984:377). Domestic tourism apparently grew at an even steeper rate and was estimated at 2.3 million in 1981 (I.T.Q., 1981:1). Quoting the W.T.O. report, Cleverdon (1979:11) states that, between 1963 and 1978, international tourist arrivals rose at an annual average rate of 7.7%, whilst receipts from global tourism activity recorded an average growth of over 13.6% per annum in current terms.

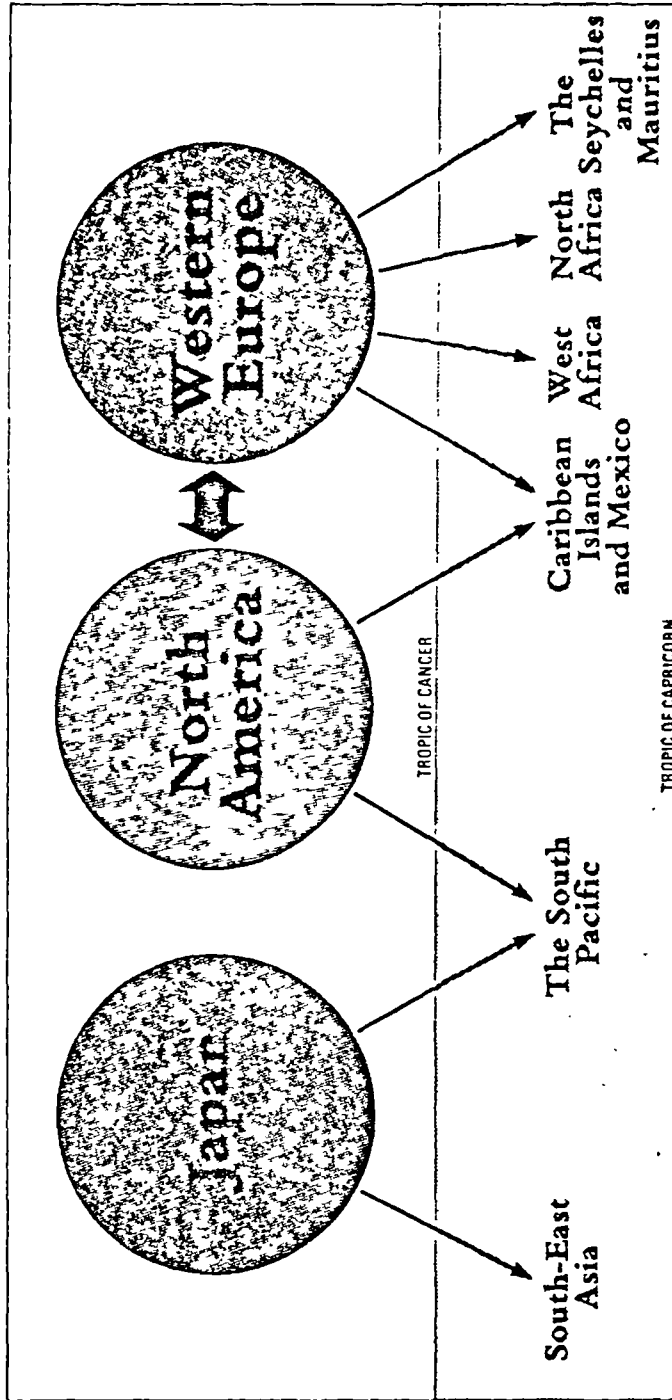
According to Gormsen (1984:1-5), as quoted by Theuns (1984), the composition and direction of international tourism demand, based on the theory of waves and zones, take the following pattern. Gormsen distinguishes four waves in the development of international coastal tourism originating from West Europe with four corresponding geographical zones. The first wave starts around the mid-1750's and covers the North Sea and Baltic areas. The

second, beginning around 1850, extends to southern Europe. These two are essentially for the elite class. The third epoch - which ushers in the mass tourism period - commences about the 1960's and extends beyond European coasts, to incorporate the Mediterranean zones. For tourism originating from North America, this stage covers countries to the south, principally Mexico and Caribbean. The last zone reaches out to around the 1970's, to embrace long-haul destinations of the developing world, notably East Africa, South-East Asia.

A number of related observations can thus be made from this scenario. The global tourist system identifies Western Europe, North America, and lately, Japan, as tourism trigger markets. North America is also important to most West European countries. Expanding on the factors of the nature described above, Weaver (1983:49) graphically indicates spheres of influence of tourism source markets, as shown in Figure 2.1.

It has been suggested (Brodsky-Porges, 1981) that this phenomenon derives its impetus from the Grand Tour 'which provided the geographical backbone from which the system expanded into more and more peripheral areas' (Cohen, 1984). Although this movement has initially been between Western Europe and North America, its expansion into the world's 'pleasure periphery' (Turner and Ash, 1975) has

FIG 2:1 : PRESENT TOURISM PATTERNS: THE EVOLUTION OF 'PLEASURE PERIPHERY'





been restricted not only mainly to those Third World countries which are in closest proximity to the trigger markets (as specified above), but essentially also to other Third World warm-climate islands and coastlines which provide the natural assets of sun, sea, and sand which tourists from the developed countries desire. In this regard, Bastin (1984:79) refers specifically to the South Pacific and the Caribbean islands as being the most vulnerable. These regions are 'surrounded by a mythology of moral and sexual laxity which appeals to many people who feel constrained by Protestant ethics.'

There is therefore no dispute that the evolution of tourism in the Third World has been extraneously induced. For although these developing countries now participate in tourism, historically, their development sequence varies, as with the level of sophistication. The Caribbean islands, for example, have a long-established tradition of tourism, well before the 1920's (Henry, 1983) and gained ascendancy during the 1960's and early 1970's - the package tourism 'boom' or 'Golden Age' days. Next is the South Pacific. The rest are trailing in a distant third, and are yet to experience a great deal of tourism. For Africa, it can be asserted, based on its entry period horizon, in the the tourism race, that it is a new-comer - a continent, where the idea of a holiday is both foreign and elitist: "Africans naturally are neither leisure conscious nor basically tourism oriented...the industry is yet regarded

as a luxury to most African consideration...." (Adejuwon, 1986:20-21)

These categorisations only go to confirm Gray's (1970:13) two basic types of tourist - sunlust and wanderlust - indicated earlier. In terms of Third World tourism, Theuns (1984:4) observes that wanderlust (or cultural) tourism is by the elite, first to relatively nearby Third World zones and later, with the introduction of jet aircraft, to long-distance destinations. Sunlust (coastal) tourism is for the masses, to the relatively nearby areas. In order to appreciate how tourism has developed in these peripheral zones, the characteristics of tourism in these places are thus explored below. First is low volume.

### 2.8.1 Low Volume

Various studies have looked at some variability of tourism in developing countries. The 'volume approach'<sup>13</sup> was pioneered by Bryden (1973:91) who distinguished between a 'tourism' from a 'non-tourism country', on the basis of Gross Tourism Receipts (G.T.R.) as a portion of revenue from exports of goods. The distinction was based on two criteria.

Bryden defined a tourism country as one where receipts from tourism exceeded 5% of national income; or where 10% of visible exports is accounted for by tourism receipts. Using these criteria, Cleverdon (1979:49-56), who examined 44

developing countries, concluded that 17 fell into Bryden's classification of a tourism country - where (in this case) G.T.R. represented more than 10% of visible exports:

'All the Caribbean region countries examined (with the exception of Trinidad which has a high oil export income), three of the six Central American countries (though none of the seven South American countries), four of the ten African countries, two of the 13 Asian countries and sole example from Oceanic qualify as tourism....'

Also emerging from the 5% national income criterion, as tourism countries, were 12 countries: "three Caribbean Islands and Bermuda, only Panama amongst the Central and South American countries, only the two North African countries of Morocco and Tunisia from Africa, three of the 13 Asia countries, Fiji and Malta."

The general implications of these classifications or observations are: (1) that such yardsticks indicate the significance of tourism to a country's national economy; (2) related to this is that particular country's level of dependence on tourism; (3) on a macro level, in terms of international arrivals, the criteria signal developing countries' share of traffic at destinations.

From the point of view of both receipts and arrivals, it is clear that developing countries' share of the world-wide tourism traffic has been small, as some studies have shown. For example, the I.U.O.T.O. report (1975) found that around one fifth of tourism expenditure accrued to developing

countries over the period, 1962 to 1973. During the same period, however, developing countries relative share of world tourism receipts appreciated (from 18.8 to 20.8%) more than their share of international trade (from 20.5% to around 18%). Cleverdon (1979:13) issues a cautious note, to the effect that despite the optimism that developing countries achieved, between 1968 and 1973, about 16% per annum growth in tourism arrivals, 'in terms of receipts, however, their progress was nowhere near so marked - a 13 per cent average annum increase but an improvement in market share of only 2 percentage points', thereby losing out to developed countries in terms of earnings per tourist over the period. The trends just noted have continued to this day, although with varying degrees.

It is calculated that one reason for the low receipts can be because tourists to developing countries are spending less (relative to visits to developed nations) each trip to the developing countries: "Of the US\$65 billion that was spent by tourists in 1983, only a small proportion was spent in the South. Since the traffic is not all one way, the net benefit to the South was around US\$1 billion" (Bolton, 1985:55). In the longer term, however, this may change.

As regards tourism arrivals, Bolton has again made the following remarks:

'The North still has the lion's share of world tourism. nearly 200-million tourists go to Europe each year, and France emerges as the world most popular destination, with 30-million tourists annually. The US, Spain and Italy all have more than 22-million tourists a year and Austria, Canada, West Germany, the U.K. and Switzerland all get more than 10-million. The levels in the South are much lower. China recorded 8-million tourists in the latest year for which figures are available. The figures are smaller for Yugoslavia (2.6 million). Several have over a million visitors each year, but most count their tourists in the hundreds, even tens, of thousands.'

Thus, from the standpoint of these asymmetric patterns, it can be asserted that Third World tourism is characterised by relatively low volume, although this lowness differs very widely from one country and region to another. For example, a record of 1 million tourist arrivals in India in any one year may be considered high, but by West European standards, the number is low. In the same way, tourist receipt of say £1 million, for India again, may seem high; in an European sense, it is the reverse (that is, low). A variety of factors affect the volume and level of receipts.

As argued elsewhere, this may be due primarily to the control exercised by companies and organisations of the West (the Tunisian-German tour operators encounter is a one-off example). It may be due to how the locals in the developing countries see vacations - mainly for the elite; or that resources - physical or material, financial, and human) may be limited - hence government has to intervene.

A number of other considerations are usually taken into account. They include: (1) government development policies and initiatives for tourism: such as the type of market for which it has chosen to cater - low spending versus high spenders. Another aspect is scale of development: carefully controlled tourism, setting a limit on the number of tourists to be admitted each year (as is the case in Bhutan); or a laissez-faire: "the degradations imposed on Thai women in Bangkok may not be typical, but they illustrate in their cruelty the influences of 'tourism out of control'" (South, 1985:56); (2) average length of time spent by vacationers in each country; (3) tourist expenditure patterns (themselves the result of a number of factors) - for example, relative prices and spending opportunities in the destination.

### 2.8.2 Nature of Tourism Development

The second characteristic of tourism in the Third World countries relates to the nature of tourism developed in such a country, especially as such tourism development must be specific to that particular country. For one thing, almost as difficult would be to compare one developing country with another in terms of its tourism attractions. For another, there are different types of tourists, with each classification having different travel motivation.

Two broad remarks can be made here: (1) It is important to emphasise that the nature of tourism development covers a

very wide spectrum. It is concerned with the type of visitors the government wants to attract. It is dependent on what facilities and services are available at destinations; it is directly concerned with organisations which influence the tourism system, also how the trigger markets encourage demand. These are some, but not all, of the spheres which directly impinge on, and, indeed, have implications for, tourism. As Lanfant writes (1980:22):

'Tourism indirectly causes the different national societies to become gradually interlinked in economic, social and control networks that are organized internationally on the basis of a central decision-making body and that at the same time cut across national reference systems.'

Following from such remarks, our main concern in the discussion below, is to look at whatever ramifications these underpinnings have on the industry. (2) The second remark is that the field of tourism development dynamics has remained to date one most controversial area in tourism thinking. It is controversial because there is yet no consensus among scholars on a generally acceptable model of tourism growth. Forster (1964:218) whose 'genetic approach' later finds support in Greenwood's (1972) study of the Spanish Basque community, states that tourism is a process which "creates a type of 'cumulative causation' and ultimately a new economic base." This retains some significance in shaping subsequent thoughts.

Advancing further our knowledge in this general area,

Noronha (1977: 17-27) conceptualises a three stage model of tourism development as involving discovery, local response and initiative, and institutionalisation. The model assumes that, tourism, in a relatively novel place, derives its initial development impetus from local initiatives, based on spontaneous considerations or factors. The second stage is constrained by a lack of strong local resources base to sustain continued expansion. As might be expected, this situation heralds, or paves the way for, external involvement, of the corporate tourism type presented above; to usher in the third stage, marked by industrial tourism, to cause facilities to be increased, in terms of both numbers and standards.

The general implication of the model is that as the industry develops, a host community loses control and its relative share in the total benefits from tourism generally declines. (Rodenburg, 1980: 186) Jenkins (1982), however, holds a different view and argues that the impetus such tourism provides may not suffice to stimulate sustained local development.

Another school of thought maintains that local tourism systems delineate into two: those whose growth is organic and those whose initial growth is induced from the outside. Stansfield's (1978) 'resort cycle' and Butler's (1980) 'tourist area cycle' are some examples of organic development, at least in a geographical sense. Butler gives five development stages: (1) evolution; (2) involvement;



(3) development and consideration; (4) stagnation; and (5) decline and/or rejuvenation. The relevance of this model is limited to describing many resorts in the developed world which grew organically.

### 2.8.3 Implications

As noted earlier, Third World tourism growth has been extraneously triggered. For example, Togo tourism developed because of German tour operators. Demand is on mass-packaged tourism. In relation to the five factors - scale, type of tourists, facilities, organisation and trigger market - the nature of this development has consequences for the industry.

Various typologies have been used to classify tourists, depending on the point of view of each writer. The U.N.D.P./I.C.A.O. report (1977:72) uses the terms 'sedentary' and 'migrant'. Gray (1970:13) chooses 'wanderlust' and 'sunlust', while Cohen (1972) opts for 'institutionalized' and 'non-institutionalized' terms to describe type of tourists. Basically, these expressions are similar, apparently indicating two distinct categories of visitors, at different evolutionary stages. At one end is an individual interested in 'getting away from it all' (migrant, sunlust, institutionalised), and at another end is the person who perhaps is motivated most by curiosity (sedentary, wanderlust, non-institutionalised), and describes a vacation as meaning "to see, do, and

experience a variety of things, preferably in different locales" (U.N.D.P./I.C.A.O., 1977:72).

What the classifications do suggest is that, except for a consideration of revenue maximisation, arguably the most crucial policy decision a government of any developing country faces in tourism planning and development is the intended tourist population. This is important in view of the fact that the population influences the type of tourist to a destination, room capacity to accommodate the visitors, control of the industry, impact on the host community, and so on.

The government of a developing country would appear to face two mutually exclusive tourism planning options. Either it puts a ceiling on tourist population, to attract non-institutionalised visitors, and thus to reduce possible social disruption. This, of course, is a function of a) bargaining power b) location c) scale. Unfortunately governments cannot exercise these choices because tourism for Third World countries is exogenously determined.

The second alternative way open to the government is to go for large-scale tourist market. But viewed from the notion that tourism development is an evolutionary, but not spontaneous, process in which shifts in tourist tastes and whims impact on the system, it is, therefore, only reasonable to assert that the choice between the two

categories of visitors is not as 'cut-and-dry' as these would seem. Rather, what is of interest, for our present purposes here, as Bastin (1984:81) has suggested, is that the choice be used actively "to inhibit the growth process in order to retain a particular type of tourism."

At a micro level, in the context of visitor motivation the desire to experience host country culture may be impossible, especially when the number of visitors is increased. On the other hand, institutionalised tourism may result in contrived cultural experiences - a situation Cohen (1972) reckons is made possible by two factors: (1) the pseudo nature of attractions provided, to use Nagenda's words, "to woo tourists" (1969:15); (2) mass tourists' connivance with cultural 'voyeurism' which does not involve any strenuous efforts on the part of the tourists.

The non-institutionalised tourists view the absence of cultural authenticity as a challenge, because it deprives them of the opportunity to establish real contact with the host society - an important aspect of holiday experience. The result - the tourists move on to another competitive location. The question that arises is: Why not tailor the facilities to meet the needs of a particular group? In many cases, this is what tourists want.

At a macro-economic level, increased visitor level sets in motion a chain of related reactions. There is a derived demand for increased accommodation for the tourists. From

a business management principles viewpoint, this may cause the indigenous people to lose their control of the accommodation sub-sector, by not only passing locus of control to external agencies, but indeed, actually encouraging dependency. In this regard, Hoivik and Heiberg (1980:89) have expressed an optimism that "maximal use of permanent facilities in peripheral countries often demands government participation in the administration process." One way it can do this is through exerting legislative control over the enterprise, to determine the size of, and focus on, tourism development through building regulations. In another direction, the government is handicapped by the fact that it lacks the adequate capital to sponsor large-scale tourism venture, and so, it seeks outside sources, thus deepening dependency.

Increased visitor level may mean decreased economic returns, because of lower per capita spending. This might offset increase in employment opportunities. Again, the multiplier or 'spread' effect of income may not be realised, particularly because of the prepayments pattern of tourists in their home countries.

#### **2.8.4 Point-to-Point Versus Regional Circuit Tourism**

The third feature of tourism in developing countries is point-to-point and/or regional circuit possibilities. By 'point-to-point' tourism, we mean either (1) a single-centre, single-destination travel, involving tourist point

of origin, for example London, and destination, Nairobi;

(2) Or the term can also mean a multi-centre, single-destination travel, implying London and Nairobi, but includes trips outside the Nairobi area, but limited to within the Kenyan borders. However, in most cases, though this is expensive, some tourists take 'side trips', on excursions to neighbouring countries, perhaps of the same sub-region. At best, 'point-to-point' can be regarded as 'single-destination'. This has two broad dimensions.

From the perspective of tourist motivations discussed a while ago, most developing countries or regions offer enough attractions and facilities - historical sites, beaches, folklore, ideal climate, wildlife, mountains, and fascinating marine life - to satisfy the two extremes of the tourist spectrum (sunlust and wanderlust). Countries within this category can be regarded as 'single-destination' countries, in travel industry jargon, because their product offering is similar. The term also can be used to qualify a destination which appeals to certain nationalities - French, British, and others, who travel either on scheduled airlines or by charter flights, paying low fares.

Regional circuit tourism, on the other hand, can be described as a multi-centre, multi-destinations travel arrangement in which two or more contiguous countries participate. The regional circuit may have some good

aspects to it. For the cooperating countries, it offers them the chance to promote their various attractions, on a regional basis, in order to attract foreign exchange and provide more jobs; and to take advantage of economies of scale. For the tourists themselves, such a consortium arrangement enables them to enrich their experience over wider areas.

Problems, like infrastructure available, may hamper efforts at success. However, co-operation, at various levels, is the key to success. First, with tour operators and travel agents in tourism generating countries, in soliciting their views as to the feasibility of the programme; second, with civil aviation - as air transport is the means mostly used in regional tourism. For at the end of the day, it is the tour developer, who has the most decisions to make: how much to spend and what is the return on the investment.

#### 2.8.5 Trigger Market

The case argued here again is that the trigger market presupposes that certain Third World destinations attract certain nationalities. As we have seen, demand for such regions is based on mass-packaged tourism, induced from the outside. It is through either charter flights or scheduled airlines that this demand is met.

Weaver's (1982) framework, referred to above, indicating source markets for Third World countries tourism, confirms

the view that demand in tourism is exogenous, over which the host country has limited control. Again, since the determinants of demand are outwith the influence of receiving countries, therefore, strong reliance on a single market will weaken the receiving country by increasing its dependency. Thus, this developmental approach to tourism, accentuates the very risky nature of the tourism trade. This can be seen in two ways.

Analysis of tourism demand and studies by various U.N. specialist agencies reveal the overall distribution showing sources of foreign tourists to developing countries. Hoivik and Heiberg (1980:75), in their 'country-to-country matrix for southbound European tourism' demonstrate the extent to which certain developing countries depend on specific countries for their tourism business. Also, recently, Allcock (1986:565-588), writing about the tourism industry in Yugoslavia, has indicated how the country depends on a limited number of customers; how West Germany in particular, has come to dominate other nationalities, as the largest single source of overseas tourists; and the risks which this trend entails.

Although the Yugoslavia situation may not be typical of what goes on in young developing countries, it is nevertheless possible to discern some common problems, as Allcock notes:

'The risks entailed by this situation became apparent in 1982 when a downturn in

the German economy coincided in a spate of bad publicity in the German press, concerning shortages of foodstuffs in Yugoslavia. The numbers of Germans visiting the country fell by 17%...and a half of the total decline in the demand for Yugoslavia's tourist product in that year is accounted for by the fall in demand from this one country.'

The second aspect of risks relates to the tourism product offered. The risks become apparent if Gray's (1970:13) schema is applied to Third World tourism, especially one particular type of resort - the seaside. Tourists are price sensitive; various Third World countries offer similar production - sun, sea, sand and sex - packaged by the tour operators. The idea of substitutability of these, means that destinations do compete for customers.

One crucial question remains unanswered. The various features so far examined lead to *dependency*, but we are interested in knowing what can be done about this - perhaps by creating an organisation or management to handle it. Conscious of this, one may venture to ask: Are there bases for development of tourism which might mitigate dependency evils?

#### 2.8.6 Seasonality

Seasonality is the fifth characteristic of tourism in developing countries. The term refers to a relatively short span of the tourist season. Seasonality is determined by two factors. It reflects the point of view of the tourism



generating countries, in terms of holiday period. This is usually heavily concentrated at traditional vacation times: summer, Christmas and Easter. From the standpoint of the holiday-country, the climatic condition is a factor, and also points to implications this has on the local economy.

Van Houts (1979:116) notes that these two factors cause an imbalance between demand and supply. According to him, the tourism season in developing countries is longer than in most developed countries. Most of these countries have a minimum season of six months, which can decrease the negative effects of the peak periods. The lack of domestic tourism, on account of their underdevelopment, does not compensate for the absence of foreign visitors.

A U.N. (1982:3) report clearly considers this seasonality feature to be a disadvantage:

'Although tourism can generate revenue and valuable foreign exchange, marked dependence on tourism can also create problems of an economic or socio-cultural nature, particularly for a small country. Heavy reliance on revenue from tourism can result in sharp revenue fluctuations since the industry is very seasonal, as well as being subject to changes in taste or fashion, fears of political instability, allegations of health hazards, etc....A high degree of seasonality not only cause large fluctuations in earnings from tourism but also implies considerable social costs in terms of under-utilization of productive capacity and, in particular, high levels of seasonal unemployment.'

The I.U.O.T.O. (1975) assessed the impact of this

characteristic on employment, noting that 25% of tourism employees are temporarily unemployed or seek another job. The people most hit by temporary unemployment are the less qualified; in this category women are often victims (Bryden, 1973).

In terms of planning and management, Hoivik and Heiberg (1980:89) suggest that under seasonality, there are possibilities of tourist facilities being utilised for purposes other than vacation tourism, such as conference the trade.

For investment purposes, the seasonality factor means that for many developing states the whole of the investment on tourism must be amortised over a few short months of the year, realising the central place of payback, and risk element in the industry. Price policies such as offering substantially reduced rates for hotel accommodations and allied features can be practised.

These analyses highlight the disadvantages of seasonality. The O.E.C.D. Secretariat (1980:66-68) has suggested many advantages that a country or region can obtain by spreading peak demand for its tourist facilities over a longer period:

'a number of private capital facilities, in particular hotel accommodation and related facilities are built for peak capacity. Reduced peak demand, which stretches over longer holiday periods and in some case eliminating weekend demand would reduce

cost (both public and private) and increase the rate of return on all investment.'

Tisdell (1984:13) agrees that a country can gain by transferring some of the peak demand to a period of lower demand. At the same time, he believes that the practice of such policy can also result in a loss to the country concerned. His arguments in support of this hypothesis are, however, beyond the scope of this study to explore.

#### 2.8.7 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the main features of the ways tourism contributes to development in young economies. But, of course, in looking at these, there are alternatives. Central to the discussion is the core-periphery issue. One problem is that for Africa, with little or no domestic and regional tourism, thrust for developing is through international tourism which is a dependent activity.

The chapter has provided an insight, but certainly the theoretical investigation is not complete. It is possible to explore policy aspects, since dependency is a policy problem for the development of tourism in Third World countries. As such, it presents a challenge to policy makers responsible for tourism; to consider the relevance of policy-making applied to tourism. Beyond that, further discussion will examine whether these general conclusions are applicable to Kenya and The Gambia.

## NOTES

1. This observation is made to indicate that there is another side to the argument - that is, that although tourism is beneficial, there are some costs associated with its development.
2. For a fuller discussion of this, the reader is referred to Service World International (1974), 10:13-18; and Davis, H. David and Jones A. Simmons' articles.
3. For a fuller analysis of the multiplier concept see B.H. Archer (1976a, 1982)
4. The main categories of expenditure incurred by governments are: (1) development expenditure on research, planning, publicity and training; expenditure on government supervision of the industry; (2) infrastructural costs, including utilities; (3) direct involvement in running tourism facilities, including airlines, etc.; (4) incentives and aid to different sectors of the industry; (5) expenditure arising from the indirect effects of tourism expansion.
5. Francois Perroux is commonly recognised as the originator of pole theory and is responsible for a lengthy list of contributions to the subject dating back to the 1950's.
6. See B.H. Archer (1976b and 1977).
7. See Henderson and Cousins (1975).
8. See Bosselman (1978).
9. See de Kadt (1979).
10. This political control takes a number of forms: there is the classic colonial form; there is the utilisation of white settlers; and most important in the recent period, there has emerged in Africa and Asia, indigenous strata who conduct locally the activity required to support the international economy.
11. By economic security we mean the ability to provide for the most basic needs of the population and to secure stability in the world economy.
12. This situation is due to the general trend in African countries of establishment in major cities of the employment and manufacturing industries, thus causing an increasing migration of rural labour to the cities in search for employment opportunities.
13. The logical outcome of this situation is for these

countries to negotiate with multinational corporations with the requisite technological know-how, investment capital, and management capacity to initiate the relevant manufacturing process either in partnership with the state or with parastatal bodies.

14. Access to export markets is one of the three major inputs foreign investors make to the host nation investment (development) environment. The other two are capital and technology.

15. 'Volume' is taken here to mean, namely: (1) the tourism arrivals; (2) tourism receipts. Receipts subdivide into high volume of low-spending tourists (mass tourism) and lower volume of high spending tourists.

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## CHAPTER 3

### POLICIES AND PLANNING FOR TOURISM

#### 3.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a perspective of the role of policy in tourism. The discussion is structured into six sections. Part one defines 'policy', and, placing this definition in context, sets out to bring together some relevant issues in tourism policies. From this, we identify an interplay of three elements which surround tourism policy. These are: (1) formulation of tourism development plans; (2) planning process to achieve the policy objectives; (3) and, implementation. In part five, because of the multi-sectoral nature of tourism, we look at some of the problems which may exist in, and which hinder the development of, tourism policies. Finally, in particular, in order to throw more light on the influence of the main interest groups in tourism, whether at international, regional, or national levels, attention is focused on the attitude of major institutions and 'actors' towards tourism. Indication is given of how international interest and efforts influence tourism in the developing countries, in the areas of policy formulation, finance, and project analysis.

#### 3.1 Definition of Policy

The term 'policy' does not denote a single concept

(Guba,1984). Rose(1984a:4) distinguishes at least four distinctly different ways that the term is used. It is a synonym for a problem or issue area; for example, when one speaks of a housing policy or an economic policy. It is a statement of intentions about what government ought to do; for example, during an election campaign candidates and parties often refer to policies they intend to promote if elected. The term can refer to a programme - which is a set of laws that confer specific competence upon public organisations to deliver particular services for more or less clearly stated purposes. Finally, the term can refer to the impact of a government programme; for example, the consequences of an urban renewal programme may not be the same as its intention nor vary the programme design intended. Policy is, to a large extent, understood to consist of, to use Easton's expression (1953:128), a "web of decisions and actions that allocate values" (emphases added), and perhaps more. As Gray, Stringer and Williamson (1983: 32) have said:

'Policy can be seen as an abstraction of reality and is defined as a group of decisions taken by authoritative decision makers which can, at least analytically, be linked with some degree of coherence and which are concerned with the selection of prime goals and the means to achieve them.'

Four major points emerge from the definitions. Thain (1987:68) argues, citing Heclo (1972:85), that policy must be purposive: "It is not enough for decision makers to make statements, the intent must be to lead to concrete

actions." Any wonder then that Rose (1984b:182; 1985) analyses government policy initiatives or activities in terms of programmes. As stated earlier on, the programmes represent "concrete legal and bureaucratic attempts to translate general policy intentions into specific government actions. They are means to the end of realising larger if not necessarily well-defined political goals and values." The second observation relates to the notion that policy involves both inaction and action. According to Lukas (1974:16-20), decision makers may choose consciously not to act when they are capable of so doing. To illustrate, government may choose not to increase taxes in line with inflation or may choose not to respond to increases in the growth of the money supply.

Third, policy definition is arbitrary, it depends on the perception of the spectator. As Hogwood and Gunn wrote:

'The confidence with which we often speak of policy fields, processes, participants, purposes, and outcomes may suggest that these are self-defining and objectively knowable phenomena. Usually, of course, they are not' (1984:23).

This indication may seem similar to the ideas embodied in policy sciences field and its sub-set, policy analysis (deLeon, 1981:1-7). The distinction is made between the two: policy science is primarily concerned with knowledge of, and in, the policy process; it is explicitly value directed. Policy analysis is more concerned with specific

policy problems, applications, and resolutions. In the sense in which the argument above is advanced, the arbitrariness of policy definition could be appreciated when it is recognised that each policy problem is different. And depending on the orientation of the policy analysts, and the milieu within which they operate, each individual may tend to interpret the concept from a situational point of view.

Fourth, Majone's view (1975:50) is that "policies are in fact, tentative theories - about the nature of social processes and the working of social institutions..." Following from this, Thain (1987:68) makes a point when he likens the policy-maker to an experimenter who sees a problem, evaluates the environment and puts into effect a series of programmes to change the environment.

Elaborating on this theme, Pressman and Wildavsky (1979:21) picture a theoretical continuum situation, from one extreme (policy) is "hypothesis containing initial conditions and predicated consequences" - to the other extreme (programmes) via "authoritative action (when) the initial conditions are created."

### 3.2 The Concept of Tourism Policy

Reference has already been made to the inter-relationships between the political and economic systems as one of the

sources from which this research derives, in the main, its theoretical framework. This political economy orientation delineates into two: the first considers the impact of economic factors on political power, structure, and processes. Again, as we have seen, our discussion of dependency, of M.N.Cs., etc. all build on this idea. Another focus of political economy relates to the place of government, at least in a capitalist sense, as a self-perpetuating institution having an independent impact on society and economy. This approach centres more on what Easton (1965;1969:1051-1061) has termed 'withinputs'; also described by Susan B. Hanson (1983:18) as "policy preferences and political entrepreneurship by persons with government, seeking to maintain or increase their own power and to define social needs to suit their own interests."

In contrast to the viewpoint expressed by Alberto Sessa (1983:111-168) that tourism policy must be studied from an economic sphere, this author argues that there is also a political dimension, at least in the context of this study. The case made here has something to do with the joint contribution of economics and politics to the study of tourism policy issues; and it is only by seeing the interlocking phenomenon that one perhaps begins to appreciate the sense in which we define 'tourism policy' here.

### 3.2.1 Economic Argument

When we speak of tourism policy in the economic sense, we

mean two things (Sessa, 1983:150-152). In more concrete terms, we mean the implementation of a specific economic policy by the various national decision-making centres to promote, on behalf of tourism, national development. At a lower level of abstraction is the scientific concept of tourism policy, quite distinct from the concrete. This branch of economics (economic policy) studies certain objectives that led to implementation. In the opinion of Sessa, the scientific study of economic tourism policy should exist side by side with the analysis of tourism economics, and he argues: "there is a gap between analysis and action that is traditionally filled by economic policy, since it concerns the economic situation."

The above premise thus sets the stage: that by tourism policy, we may mean the action of national community to promote the development of tourism activity (concrete meaning). If we embrace the scientific sense, all understanding with concrete policy ceases, and we are now in a different focus. We now begin to objectively discuss the different development policies, suggesting certain measures for a country. The concluding remark is that tourism policy is an integral part of a country's overall economic policy. As will be seen below, similar to most nations' economic policies, tourism policy, in the scientific notion, builds a 'bridge' between tourism analysis and concrete measures. It takes its roots from

"the agreed-upon objectives, formulated to meet set goals" (Mill and Morrison, 1985:249). Of course the determination of goal have been piloted by the rational study of the problems of tourism growth, from which spring the objectives and, subsequently, for concrete action. Descriptive analysis will be utilised to explain the phenomena designed to guide action. The objectives are unknown; hence the emergence of programmes.

### 3.2.2 Political Argument

The study of tourism policy must not neglect the political component of tourism activity, for three reasons: (1) There is the proposition that tourism, as both a public policy issue and an important commercial and private sector activity, has always entailed political presuppositions that have guided the analytical effort, as Britton's seminal article seems to indicate (1982:331-358). (2) The other is set forth in the view of relations between economics and politics in the study of tourism policy, in the light of preceding consideration of political presuppositions (Mead,1983:247-250; Wagner,1983:251-257). (3) If it is accepted that one meaning of politics is the art of making choices, then one would not lose sight of Richters' five types of policy choices faced by planners (1985:201-217). The political aspects of tourism policy are heavily influenced by these views, and perhaps more.

To address the many issues involved here, a distinction has

to be made between tourism policy and implementation of tourism policies. The debates seem to indicate that the distinction is weak or non-existent; if anything, both are inter-related (Gray, Stringer and Williamson, 1983:47). For example, Majone (1975:57) states that "implementation is regarded as an essential part of decision making, rather than a matter of administrative routine, because new constraints are very often discovered in the process of implementation." Similarly for this work, one may want to say that Majone's policy for implementation is a neglected aspect of tourism development planning, for the difficulty has always been with when the plan is on the shelf. It is, therefore, important, in this study, to determine the extent to which implementation is a problem, and also to what extent attention has been given to how planning has been implemented.

These views, as expressed by these authors, also influence the political framework. This is evident in two respects. First, that tourism policy (subdivided into programmes), which sets out the goals of government action, contains within it guidelines for implementation. The 1981 U.S. National Tourism Policy Act sets out the aim of tourism policy (to promote U.S.-inbound tourism as an export), and the actions which would be taken to achieve the aims. This is through a programme of the U.S. Travel and Tourism Administration to help the U.S. travel supplier to promote and sell his product or service to the foreign travel buyer



at the wholesale, retail, and consumer levels. Second, both the goals of policy and the chosen to achieve these goals are subject to change and are influenced by problems encountered at the implementation stage. As Pressman (1979:176) has suggested implementation involves changes and that

'the continuous adjustment of objectives is called for as much as modification of instruments for attaining them. Implementation ceases to be static; it becomes dynamic by virtue of incorporating learning of what to prefer as well as how to achieve it.

The case has been presented before about the role of key institutions agencies and their personnel in tourism. In terms of tourism policy, these 'actors', broadly referred to as the environment also influence the implementation of policy and hence influence policy objectives. Thus, it may be safe to say that tourism policy is very much the product of the interplay of both public and private interested parties: public, because it enables both co-ordination and the administrative structure for tourism; private sector interests, which may be expressed by commercial bodies themselves, through trade organisations or from the perspective of employees through trade unions. Ideally, private sector operates within the parameter set by public sector, for example, private sector interests with trade unions.

While we may now be able to begin to see the relevance of

politics in tourism policy, the description thus far in no way presents a complete picture. Nowhere are some of these made more profound than to compare the role of economics and politics to the study of policy. Mead (1983:247-250) describes the interface in three ways: Tourism policy connotes a concern with both policy analysis and the policy process. Economics most often gives us the former and politics the latter. In an analytic situation, economics evaluates options on the basis of merits, and, preceding from there, politics asks whether government would carry out the preferred option. The options chosen are (1) a function of what government is able politically to do and (2) administratively to carry out. In the alternative, there may be provisions for changing the institutions, as suggested above, for better options than hitherto. In effect, use of both perspectives offers a kind of systems analysis linking questions of policy with questions of process.

A second and related way to put the interface of economics and politics is to say that economics deals with norms for policy-making (as indicated previously in regard to scientific aspects), politics deals with realities (or actual). Economists tend to see tourism policy-making as a straightforward instrumental action. Policy is a means to political ends. From a combined perspective, however, the preferred option, as it emerges from tourism policy analysis, becomes itself an end, and policy-making

processes as means. As Burke has said, the policy-maker cannot in fact achieve his goals directly through policy, but only indirectly through the particular institutions he has at hand. He must choose the policy and the regime together. Tourism policy analysis must do the same.

Politics, on the other hand, lacks an authoritative normative dimension. Politics often describes the tourism policy-making process as if it were an end in itself. It often assumes that any policy emerging from that process must serve the public interest in some valid sense. It often, as well, criticises policy in light of abstract norms drawn from political theory, but no particular formulation of these goals commands the consensus or deploys the analytic apparatus that norms of utility maximisation do within economics.

A third and perhaps best way to state the difference between the disciplines may be to say that economics deals best with those aspects of policy choice that proceed from individual action, and politics those that proceed from collective action. Setting the ultimate goals of tourism policy and actually making and implementing the policy are collective activities, so politics has the most to say about them. The contrast is between 'political' behaviour, in which actors seek to use or respond to influence and power, and 'economics' behaviour, in which they optimise their position relative to other forces without seeking to

influence them.

In summary, policy and process, the normative and the actual, individual and collective action - tourism policy has too many facets to be reduced to a phrase. But because economics and politics seem to align themselves along all three of these dividing lines, we can use the disciplines to get a handle on our subject. They divide but also unify it. We can assume that studies combining perspectives from both disciplines will most likely capture the essence of what we call 'tourism policy.'

In their recent article, the Richters (1985:201-217) briefly reviewed tourism programmes and policies of seven South Asian countries. The study revealed considerable variety in the form and extent of government involvement in tourism development, ranging from encouraging, managing, to regulating tourism activities. But what is worthy of note, for our purposes here, is that the specific policy choices of these countries differ, with regard to tourist audience. The policy choice pursued depends as much on political and cultural considerations as upon economic factors. It is conceded that although there is no one clear 'high road' to tourism development, what the experiences of these countries tend to suggest is that, even in countries not traditionally identified with tourism, a great variety of triangular policy approaches have been followed and with some remarkable success.

### 3.2.3 Tourism Policy in Context

One major consequence of the state of flux in policy analysis is that there is a bewildering array of definitions of the most basic terms. The previous discussions of policy and of tourism policy make this point quite clearly.

In defining tourism policy in context, Jenkins (1978:15) argues that there is "little in the way of consistent conceptualisation of the term" and that "the problem may be to provide an account that captures the detail and intensity of the activities embraced by the policy area". Similarly, from the point of view of our present purpose here, the following comments refer specifically to the way this concept has relevance to the study.

In this research 'tourism policy' is used to refer to: 1) a set of guidelines, indicators, or parameters to formulate tourist development plans. Mill and Morrison (1985:244) indicate that the parameters are "to determine which specific objectives and actions should be pursued to meet the needs in the particular destination areas under investigation"; (2) planning process to achieve the policy objectives; (3) guidelines for implementation and co-ordination of various programmes.

Tourism policy is of two broad types: explicit and

implicit. Explicit is where a specific document, labelled a tourism policy statement, is issued; for example, a tourism plan. On the other hand, even though no document is issued, there may be a series of decisions and actions taken which, implicitly, support tourism; this is the second type. This may be broad statements of programmes to be undertaken, for example a statement made by a member of government in an address or speech. Subsequent sections of this chapter will be dealing with these three definitions of tourism policy given above.

#### 3.2.4 Reasons for a Tourism Policy

In the last chapter, the indication was given that numerous developing countries not traditionally identified with tourism are now beginning to promote their countries as potential vacation destinations, ostensibly because of the importance of the tourism sector towards their development efforts. The case was also made that, because tourism provides jobs, income, 'hard' foreign currency, it is an attractive and viable development strategy for these countries. Again, tourism is not vulnerable to trade or quota restrictions, as is the case with many other export industries.

On the other hand, it was argued that tourism has some disbenefits which transcends economic considerations: although, invariably these disadvantages add to compound the already weak resources bases of these communities, as

well as undermine societal fabric. What is worse, the private sector in most developing countries is weak, both in terms of expertise and finance. As a result, government, as developer and manager, assuming an entrepreneurial role, intervenes to ensure a proper balance of scarce resources, as with balancing the interest of the tourism host community in line with overall national development objectives.

The distinctions were also made between the levels of government involvement - active and passive. In the interest of successful tourism programme, government intervention should be active, for various reasons: (1) prudent management of resources on the basis of integrated planning; (2) the realisation, as argued above, "that the fabrication and execution of the tourist product is a complex undertaking which requires organisation and co-ordination of all the elements involved" (U.N.D.P./I.C.A.O., 1977:69); (3) As Jenkins has pointed out (1980:27), in developed countries tourism can be regarded as a mainly social activity with economic consequences: in developing countries it is largely an economic activity with social consequences."

There is therefore the need to give tourism a sense of direction - what goals, objectives, actions or policies are needed, and how to go about them. As a corollary, other questions such as type and scale of tourism to develop are

equally important. These are some of the issues that a tourism policy is expected to address, and hence the need for a policy.

### 3.2.5 Policy Areas in Tourism

Jenkins (1986) and Richter (1985:201-217) offer the student of tourism policy a number of different but important areas of tourism requiring policy attention, covering the following choices: (1) public-private tourism; (2) international-domestic tourism; (3) integrated-enclave tourism; (4) scale of tourism; (5) centralised-decentralised tourism; and (6) Class-mass tourism.

Rather than concentrate on describing each of these policy choices, we will, in the interest of the research, ask some questions (see Appendix 3A) which will assist us in determining how far Kenya and The Gambia tourism authorities have pursued their policy planning and development of the tourism enterprise.

But as Travis (1985:103) has rightly observed: "It is the complex interaction of these sets of policies (policy questions), that may comprise the system of policy-planning for tourism...."

### 3.3 Formulating a Policy for Tourism

The purpose of this part is to briefly introduce some key



elements involved in establishing a tourism policy, and thus set the stage for a fuller discussion of these in subsequent sections. First, tourism goals.

### 3.3.1 Tourism Goals

Adapted from different sources, Mill and Morrison (1985:245) have proposed a schema for establishing a policy for tourism. First is 'goal-setting'. It is expected that tourism goals should (1) predate policy development; (2) agree with the broad national interest; (3) complement the specific objectives of national bodies in related fields; (4) be developed along four lines - economic, consumer, national resource and environmental, and government operations. The United States case is illustrative here<sup>1</sup>.

### 3.3.2 Tourism Objectives

Unlike goals which are broad and general, tourism objectives are specific, carefully thought out. The setting of objective may lead to inter and intra goal conflicts. To illustrate, in Kenya a legislation may be introduced against indiscriminate shooting of wildlife. Such legislation may be consistent with an economic goal, but it may conflict with consumer (usually the tourist) goal. But what is the main concern here is that National goals should preside over individual or group goals, and a quick settlement of such row, is the basis for a rational policy, if a policy is the instrument for achieving the objectives.

### 3.3.3 Tourism Policy

From the foregoing text, it is evident that tourism policy is the result of, as stated before, "the agreed-upon objectives, formulated to meet set goals. The experience of Trinidad and Tobago suggests how such agreement can be secured to arrive at a basic policy statement"<sup>2</sup>

### 3.3.4 Tourism Programmes

The set policy is subdivided into programmes to achieve the stated objectives. In precise terms, the programmes are the actions which would be taken to meet these aims. Some examples would include programmes to set education and training schemes, programmes to sell the destination, and so on. These action-programmes are not immutable, but are subject to change, and are influenced by problems encountered in the implementation stage. Therefore, the entire activity has to be monitored, evaluated to ensure that everything is on track. The rest of the chapter will be devoted largely to a discussion of these issues.

### 3.4 Tourism Planning Process

As was discussed, planning in tourism is needed for two reasons: (1) to achieve maximum and best results out of limited resources, based on a rational and priority resource allocation; (2) to minimise tourism's potential problems and thus set a framework for development, requiring inputs from both the public and private sectors.

These reasons are clearly intimately linked to the objectives of tourism planning which, though may differ from country to country, nonetheless delineates into economic and social considerations.

Also, two types of tourism planning were identified - physical (hardware) and organisational (software). The physical focuses on identifying where and what the physical potential of a country is for tourism development. According to Gunn (1979:250-263), the elements of physical planning include "natural resources, cultural resources, existing service-facilities, and transportation". For the scope of this study, we indicated that problems of physical planning would be ignored in the analysis, because: this type of planning is a specialist area on its own, and is therefore not generally within the scope of macro-planning.

The second aspect, which is the thrust of the research, addresses the programme issues that need action and how they might be implemented. A consideration of the factors of organisational planning requires the asking of the following questions. The questions in turn reveal the range of issues involved:

'What policies are needed? What agency or organisation is to assume the responsibility for the development of tourism policy? Is a new agency or organization needed for this purpose? What programs - information, signs, advertising, marketing research, socio-economic studies - are needed in order to improve tourism and meet the overall goals of tourism

planning?' (Gunn,1979:246).

But first, planning process.

Some authors (Gunn, 1979; Hawkes, 1986; Jenkins, 1986) have expressed various viewpoints on the basic planning stages in tourism. Gunn suggests a five-step approach as : setting objectives which, other than profit-making, should generate widespread interest in planning and cause specific action steps to take place; the objective is to produce both a descriptive and directive planning blueprint. The research stage concentrates on foraging for information about the country in two broad topics - physical and programme factors - that are important in the planning of tourism. Third, the synthesis-conclusions level brings pertinent data about these factors (as in first and second above) into new relationships that are important to the whole. The fourth stage translates facts and conclusions about the country into tourism development concepts.

Finally, there is a summary presentation to stimulate and explain overall tourism development in line with national strategic planning guidelines.

Hawkes talks of four basic stages as involving establishment of aims; survey of potential tourism assets and market demand; analysis of potentials; and preparation of plan and policy proposals - all somewhat similar to Gunn's approach just reviewed.

Jenkins emphasises four-process steps - first, an evaluation of tourism supply, in which major and subsidiary tourism attractions, now and potential, are identified and ranked against other competitors (in terms of availability, quality and price), and an indication is given of marked segment. Second, the analysis of tourism demand seeks ways to boost and possibly diversify, market demand. 'Tourism sector growth targets' aspect covers both demand forecasting and development options, and touches on the nature of tourism development: number and type of visitors the government wants to attract, as well as the costs (economic and non-economic) of such development. Whatever growth level the government wishes to pursue, its implication has to be linked with existing tourism sector components, for example accommodation, transport, tourism direct services including tour guides), which in themselves vary from country to country. Some further refinement of these steps are discussed briefly below, organised on the basis of broad categories of concern. Later, attempts will be made to relate them to tourism policies.

#### 3.4.1 **Assessment of Programme Resources and Characteristics**

One step in the planning process is the data collection and organisation about the programme resources and characteristics of the country. This is the thorough study of those factors about the country, outwith the physical, that impinge on the tourism system. Although the factors

may be closely associated with the physical elements, they are dominantly those of action programmes and practices expressed by non-physical functional elements. According to Gunn (1979:263), the programme elements of the kind just described include factors such as: "markets, information-direction, socio-environmental, governmental, land availability, finance, available management and labor". These elements are briefly discussed below:

#### 3.4.1.1 Market Factors

Market factors in tourism are many, with contrasting characteristics - psychological or demographic. And since tourism is a highly differentiated market - group of travellers with different sets or patterns of activity - part of the planner's task is to harness both public and private market studies to relate to overall user information for tourism. Again, Gunn (1979):265) summarises the benefits of various marketing data about a country:

'Marketing data about a region supplies the planner with information on where present tourists come from; what selections of attractions, services and facilities they make; where these are located; what the socio-economic impact may be; how well satisfied the visitors are; and clues to what they might like to participate in if given the opportunity.'

#### 3.4.1.2 Information Direction Elements

The need to understand the country - its attractions, services and facilities - requires that the tourist's

information sources be monitored to ensure that they are beneficial to the visitor. Related to this, an assessment about directions which key service people provide in the form of signage, maps and oral directions, has to be made to assist the planner in making recommendations for overall improvement.

#### 3.4.1.3 Socio-Environmental

Data are needed on the ways in which tourism is presently exercising positive and negative impacts on society and environment. For example, it will be interesting to know the attitude of local communities towards tourism and tourists. While some welcome visitors and the enterprise, other people, on the other hand, view these negatively.

#### 3.4.1.4 Governmental Element

The dual roles of government in tourism are regulatory and developmental. In a country where there is no codification of both roles, steps should be taken to have this done. And, there is the need to recognise regulatory problems that relate to tourism, for example, in the area of land use, which usually involves public and private interests.

To implement and co-ordinate tourism plans when completed, an administrative structure - indeed, a legally constituted and responsible organisation - is required. Where none exists, the creation of one and establishing its policies may be a first step.

#### 3.4.1.5 Land Availability and Finance

Some assessment is required to determine the extent to which present development and landownership-control precludes or allows further expansion of tourism. At the same time, understanding the characteristics of a country's financial support for development is an important part of the planning process.

#### 3.4.1.6 Available Management and Labour

As part of the planning process, there should be a labour review - an evaluation of the extent to which visitors, developers and managers would act if new development for tourism were to take place.

#### 3.4.2 Inter-relationships of Programme Factors

Another important issue in the planning process relates to the need to review the data on programme factors to develop worthwhile inter-relationships. Gunn (1979:287) again raises a number of questions that need to be asked during this process:

'How do the programs of advertising and promotion relate to the characteristics of the market? Is there evidence that certain markets need more informative materials on tourist activities? Do the social values toward tourism development in some localities relate to the high or low availability of finance, management and labor pools? What characteristics of local government influence tourism planning, for



and against?'

### 3.4.3 Conceptualising Ideas for Programme Development

A third principle of the planning process is that of translating facts and conclusions about a country into tourism development concepts. It is the stage in which the value of the two earlier stages may now be seen, and the actors begin to formulate a few ideas, and guidelines for future development of tourism that satisfy the goals and objectives for strategic planning - begin to emerge.

### 3.4.4 Documentation

This step completes the planning cycle, providing a planning document that not only formalises the directions and guidelines covered in the three other stages for people to follow, but also makes some recommendations on programme development factors - how and when development is to take place, together with programming needed for development.

A number of results follow from the strategic planning for tourism: (1) the establishment of a responsible planning body to sponsor, perform and implement tourism planning; (2) the emergence of broad policies to define the scope of its duties, its overall goals, its interface with existing tourism agencies.

### 3.5 Relationship Between Tourism Policies and the Planning Process

Jenkins (1986:18-21) presents a number of tourism sector components and illustrates the various ways planning of, and policies for, tourism are intimately linked. These component activities are in the areas of (1) tourism investment incentives; (2) manpower planning and training; (3) the accommodation sub-sector; (4) land use policy; and (5) transport policies. In terms of programme factors discussed above, one may go further to add to this list, the following: (1) marketing policies; (2) social planning; (3) political aspects of planning.

#### 3.5.1 Tourism Investment Incentives

The issue of tourism investment raises two fundamental options - either to maintain the present tourism growth level and thus utilise existing services and facilities, or seek new investment opportunities. As would be expected, the policy choice, in most cases, is on the latter. This, in turn, leads to questions of who finances it, under what terms and conditions, whether foreign is preferred to indigenous investment; which investment incentives are offered in either case and at what level?

As noted, for either a lack of domestic capital or reluctance to commit funds to tourism investment, perhaps because of the highly risky nature of tourism, or both, a majority of the developing countries encourage foreign

investors by providing generous investment incentives, while at the same time denying these to locals. What is important for our concern is that the nature and extent of these incentives is crucial to tourism policy making, as Chib (1980:235) has noted, when he referred to "the quantum of incentives or measures promoting investment in tourism development" without which the tourism industry will cease to be viable. And, in general, tourism investment is an area where only the government can legislate.

### 3.5.2 Manpower Planning and Training

The policy decision to expand tourism investment also has implication for manpower planning and training; it thus underscores the need for comprehensive planning for tourism. This requires to be provided a profile of future job requirements, as to the number and type. Job requirement estimation should include the country, industry, occupation, income range, and education range of potential tourism employees.

Job profile can be correlated with the visitor profiles in order to point out the sensitivity of job generation to different visitor profiles. These findings may in turn be used by the planner to determine the desirable job training requirements of the tourism industry. Given that a quality of a country's tourism personnel is a key factor in how well the visitor perceives the country as a resort destination, the onus on the government then is to ensure

that the training targets are both selective and realistic. In relation to the need to indigenise labour, tourism manpower training programmes are essential for the successful matching of local residents with tourism jobs. Further, such programmes are necessary if the importation of foreign labour is to be avoided, as Kelsh (1982:173-174) has stated:

'As the visitor industry grows, additional service personnel will be needed, and where local talent or workers are avoidable, the jobs will be filled by out-of-country personnel. Public education programs in tourism management and vocational training are necessary to make residents competitive with expatriates for skilled jobs in tourism. Likewise, orientation programs in the primary schools are needed to make tourism jobs socially acceptable to future employees in the industry. If residents are prepared technically and psychologically for jobs in the visitor industry, then the number of expatriates and their associated costs are kept to a minimum. Unemployment costs are also minimized and the cost-benefit ratio for tourism becomes more acceptable.'

These are policy issues for the government to face.

### 3.5.3 The Accommodation Sub-Sector

The case advanced here is that increased level of investment in tourism has implications for the accommodation sub-sector, and raises a number of fundamental questions which may concern tourism policy planners: (1) whether the present accommodation can sustain the growth target; (2) to what extent will expansion affect occupancy level? (3) how will the expansion of hotel

capacity influence quality of facilities and services offered - or will there be an upsurge in quality? (4) how long will it take to complete new hotel structures, to cope with the accelerated demand?

It is suggested that the minimum building gestation period may be put at 2-3 years, provided that the local construction industry is able to cope with the demand for building supplies, and that equipment is available. For the latter factor, the assumption is that the tourism project scale is large - a situation which underlines the 'think big' or 'white elephant' project idea of many developing countries. The aim here, right or wrong, is to boost the country's image, and is geared to attracting big spenders.

#### 3.5.4 Land Use Policy

A number of reasons may be put forward to support the need for a land use policy. Land use policy planning for tourism involves harmonising the needs of the tourism sector with the competing demands of other sectors. One reason offered is environmental. There is the need, especially in developing countries, where the main tourism attractions are natural environment and habitat, to safeguard these, through controlled development and use. As Dasman, et. al. (1973) have commented: a critical concern is to balance tourism development with the problems of conserving and protecting the natural environment.

There are also social reasons. Large scale tourist development has had the effect of not only rapidly increasing the price of land, but also pricing it beyond the reach of most locals. In some other instances, tourist enclaves or ghettos have been created.

Ownership of land is another area of concern, particularly if foreigners are allowed to acquire land; this situation must be carefully considered or watched in any tourism development strategy. As an example, if the majority of land is in public ownership, new conditions of permits and leases should be suggested whenever needed for tourism development. Where private ownership prevails, identification of opportunities and constraints should be discussed. Are land pricing problems symptoms of other problems, such as unequal tax allocations? What programmes should be recommended?

### 3.5.5 Transport Policies

Transport policy for tourism implies two considerations - movement of tourists to holiday destinations and the distribution of tourists within the countries visited.

For the first arrangement, many developing countries rely on air transport to bring tourists to their countries, particularly those routes which are long hauls from the main tourist-generating countries. Most tourists to those destinations fly by either scheduled or charter airlines -

the scheduled offering the assurance of transport on which the public can count. Fares vary, for each subject to certain conditions of minimum and maximum stays, cities that may be visited, ground arrangement which must be paid for.

The second type of movement relates to ground arrangements to move tourists around once they have arrived at their destinations. The 'surface transport', as is usually called (Heraty, 1986:97), has been divided into: (1) 'transport to and from the airport'; (2) 'transport for group sight-seeing tours'; (3) 'transport for individual travel by tourists within the country'; and (4) 'transport for cruise ship passengers.'

In a country where tourism is important, the existence of a national transport policy is a critical aspect of tourism development planning. Without the ownership and operation of a national carrier, a developing country would have to depend on foreign carriers to transport tourists. And one aspect of international tourism demand is the ability to vary level/nature of services and capacity offered, as well as to offer various types of reduced fares for tourists, to accommodate both types of air services - scheduled and charter.

### **3.5.6 Marketing Policies**

There are two main points involved here - market analysis

and economic projections - the over-riding consideration is related to ways to increase, and possibly diversify, demand.

An important constraint on the marketing of tourism product is the creation of a need/want that might lead to tourists' choice of a destination (Meidan, 1984:171). Although choice of a destination is determined by (1) tourist social and personal behaviour; (2) tourism stimuli factors; (3) destination characteristics; in terms of 'information-direction' elements noted above, there are marketing factors affecting tourism development.

The main marketing tools are product development, promotion, pricing, and distribution/location; all determine and influence the three variables just listed above, in various ways. To illustrate, advertising, promotion and the travel agents (distribution) shape the tourism stimuli, and to some extent, the quality/quantity of tourism information as well as the image, cost/value, and expectations of a destination. Tour operators in particular, and to some extent also, travel agents, influence (potential) tourists' behaviour, through package tours development. In this connection, the process of developing 'new' tourist packages to suit various tourists' needs, pricing and location decisions also play important roles.

Contrary to these arguments, from the perspective of policy



planning for tourism marketing, the crucial question is not whether marketing plays a role in tourism development, but what facts about these markets properly describe them so that the promoters can launch suitable promotional efforts? How do these relate to existing markets? What trends suggest new potential? To what extent have competitive lures from other destinations been considered? These and other questions should be examined so that the many actions within the tourism system can know market factors would influence changes if the tourism plan were carried out. An analysis of these matters are at the root of our next discussion of market analysis and economic projections, as aids to marketing policy planning.

#### **3.5.6.1 Economic Projection**

Economic projection will develop policies and standards regarding the role of tourism in relation to other primary sectors of the economy, the expected population level for the future, and the visitor market potential in the future. The study will establish both a floor (in terms of need) and a ceiling (in terms of potential) for future growth of the visitor industry.

#### **3.5.6.2 Market Potential**

Market analysis establishes the potential for visitors. Market projections can be extrapolations of historical trends or causal models based on variables affecting travel

to the area. Visitor profiles may be as important as the number of visitors in terms of revenue and employment opportunities.

The government should be attentive to the effects of industry's marketing efforts which will affect the economic cost-benefit ratio of tourism to the community. In its zeal to attract more visitors, the private sector may initiate programmes aimed at attracting the type of visitor who contributes little to the economy, and who consumes large portions of government services provided to the industry. Government marketing policies should be directed at determining the profile of high-income/yield visitors (assuming this market segment exists for the country) so that industry and government marketing programmes may be directed at attracting that type of visitor whose expenditure pattern and activities yield an acceptable cost-benefit ratio.

The experience of many developing countries shows that in looking for high/low yield visitors, part of the planning process is to determine whether this market segment exists for a particular country in question. This may not be a right policy, for in most cases, this type of market does not exist, or may not exist. For example, how does one determine what yield comes from expensive visitor segment, from different types of markets; again, what does one mean by 'yield'?

Another marketing situation the government should monitor is the number of markets in which private and public advertising is being focused. Initially, emphasis should be placed in a limited number of potentially successful markets. However, as these markets are penetrated, the success of the industry then becomes dependent upon the economic viability of those markets. Governments should cooperate with the private sector in their developing new market areas in order to provide the industry with a broader, more suited economic base.

#### 3.5.7 Social Planning

Marketing concerns may express the need to increase and perhaps diversify growth of the visitor industry, social planning assesses implications of this trend, and specifically looks at how the adverse effects associated with these conditions can be minimised in part through policy decisions which regard the interests of residents as the most important.

Residents perceive tourism as an industry and tourists as individuals. These perceptions may or may not be founded on true attitudes towards tourism and tourists. There are a number of changes which occur as a result of increased visitor arrivals.

Social interaction can be a positive effect on tourism growth. Tourism often provides residents and visitors alike

with an opportunity to experience different social and cultural contacts. Local art forms and handicrafts can be perpetuated as a result of tourism development. Visitor interest in authentic and high quality handicrafts and art form characteristic of indigenous cultures can strengthen residents' sense of pride in their own diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds.

On the other hand, resident exposures to products and services which are primarily directed towards the visitor market can create local demand for such products and services, thereby altering traditional life-styles. An increase in resident hostility is partially related to the increasing number of visitors which makes personal contact with residents more difficult. Increased population pressures from any source threaten the quality of life. Burglaries, robberies, prostitution, and pornography can accompany an increase in the visitor population as a result of visitor mobility and activity. Here lies then the need for social planning for tourism.

Although policy decisions are necessary to arrest the situation from deteriorating even further, the government needs to provide residents with an accurate depiction of tourism's social, economic, cultural impacts. This requires the development of means by which government can better inform its citizens in such matters. The public must be made aware of the substantial efforts of tourism on the

local economy, employment, population. The closer that resident perceptions are aligned with fact, the better chance there is for making sound policy decisions which will help to fulfil the needs and desires of the residents. It is the duty of government to present its citizens with the best possible information upon which they may base their decisions. A framework designed to consider the above concerns would be a comprehensive approach to social planning for tourism.

In this research, it is proposed to determine (1) the extent to which Kenya and The Gambia are aware of the need for social planning; (2) whether there is anything in development planning for tourism in both countries to indicate whether social planning is needed. Therefore, the author will be looking for existing studies on monitoring planning done on this matter.

### **3.5.8 Political Aspects of Planning**

One last area of concern relevant to tourism is the political dimension. In the not distant past, planners considered themselves apart from politics. This was demonstrated through the development of autonomous planning commissions and was intended to stress the non-partisan and independent status of a planning function. Today, this concept is outdated. In an attempt to get tourism plans and proposals implemented, the planner must participate in various ways in the process of implementation. In most

cases, this means being directly involved in political decision-making. Today, the planner must realise that he must be sensitised to all conditions that affect the success of his programme. One of these is the power structure of the community. Murphy's works (1985; 1983:180-193) throw more insights into this aspect of thinking. A collection of individuals from public, professional, and other strata provide a touchstone for public proposals and who are best able to gauge the rate at which change will be accepted, and what the character of change might be. What is required is interaction between the planner and elected officials so that he obtains an idea of what is possible and what is not possible.

### 3.6 Implementation

Planning for tourism and the application of measures designed to formulate, implement and co-ordinate policy objectives require the setting up of an administrative structure. Such a machinery may take various forms, its functions also varying from country to country, according to: (1) the structure of public administration (2) the importance of tourism to the economy (3) the status assigned to it by the government (4) the national economic system (Wahab, 1976:73).

Mill and Morrison (1985:251) have identified four possible forms of organisation for tourism: (1) it may be governmental - part of a civil service system as either an

autonomous ministry, or as a part of another; (2) it may be a government agency or bureau responsible for tourism; (3) it may be a quasi-public government-funded corporation, board, or authority; (4) it may be a private industry or association indirectly supported by government funding.

As the U.N.C.T.A.D. Secretariat's study (1973:30) has noted, regardless of the structure of such a body,

'What matters is that it should be endowed with sufficient authority to represent the interests of tourism when decisions affecting tourism are taken, to initiate proposals, and to advise departments on questions of tourism within their respective fields of competence. It must also ensure, directly or indirectly, the implementation of Government policies and programmes. Such a body should also serve as the focal point for consultations with commercial and other enterprises and associations concerned with tourism and for receiving and reviewing proposals that may be made by them.'

Subsidiaries of this national tourism body may be established at the local level to carry out local level tourism development programmes.

As has been pointed out elsewhere, policy which sets goals of government action, contains within it guidelines for implementation. Given that planning in tourism is typified by a 'top-down' approach (Sessa, 1983:159-160), and granting that the cardinal implementation issues in general relate to the idea of 'who has to do what, when, and how?', to adopt Lasswell's terms; and accepting that planning and implementation revolve around an ongoing controversy

between advocates of two different analytical perspectives conveniently identified as 'top-down' (again for emphasis) and 'bottom-up' (Wittrock and deLeon, 1986:47-48). a number of basic questions may be asked:

- (1) Why and how has tourism developed in Kenya and The Gambia?
- (2) How is tourism organised?
- (3) How do the components interact? What are the consequences of interaction?
- (4) What pressures are being placed on the countries by competitors?
- (5) How do the authorities concerned react to them in the planning policies they adopt?
- (6) How do they encourage tourism?
- (7) How do they monitor tourism (performance vs. expectation), i.e. what power do they exert to achieve the defined aims?
- (8) How effective have such policies proved to be?
- (9) What is the basis for their success?
- (10) How successful - any constraints?

### 3.7 Some Problems in Developing Policies for Tourism

The basis for a planning effort is a broad set of policy statements with regard to tourism development. But cognizant of the multi-sectoral nature of tourism, some concern has been expressed about the existence of problems which may hamper the formulation and implementation of such policies. Although these problems have, in earlier parts of this work been looked at in one form or the other, no attempts have been made to articulate the various issues. The aim of this section therefore is to discuss the key aspects of the problems and demonstrate how tourism policies are constrained by these shortcomings.



In discussing these matters, two underlying assumptions are made: the role of actors in the policy process and the extent to which they (actors) can influence policy implementation. Here, 'actors' is used to embrace tourism bodies - whether they be labelled governmental 'Ministry'; 'agency' or 'bureau'; 'corporation' or 'board', or 'authority'; or, private 'association' - at a national level. Next, distinctions are made between the problems pertaining to the management of these government bodies themselves from those (problems) of the tourism industry.

The Actors: Perhaps one way to analyse the role of the national tourism body (N.T.O.) involved in the formulation and implementation of tourism policies is to distinguish between policy sponsors and policy implementers, although in some cases, the N.T.O. may have only an implementing role. This approach may be valid when it is realised that the N.T.O. is usually created out of a government statutory action. Politically, this means that, as a collection of individuals from public, professional, and the other sectors, the body must be sensitive to the power structure in the country, as well as the success of its programmes.

The sponsors also play a role in policy implementation since the government is responsible for overseeing macro-economic policy and is dominant in decisions about tourism.

The term 'actors' means more than just Ministers and

Officials in the public sector. Other societal actors also influence the implementation of policy and hence influence policy objectives. The inclusion of such groups - often referred to broadly as the environment - is common in the public policy literature (Jenkins, 1978:21-25; Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975:471-471). In the case of tourism, several groups form part of the policy environment. These interest groups are in both the public and private sectors, domestic and foreign, such as the accommodation, transport, tour operating sub-sectors, whose activities contribute heavily to the development of the tourist industry. By focusing on such organisations the analyst is recognising implicitly that policy sponsors face structural obstacles in their attempt to implement the original policy. Any wonder then that Wahab (1976:73-74), writing some years back, had this to say:

'Tourism, by its very nature, includes extensive activities that activate the economic system through complex dealings and continually renewed injections into it...These different activities in their interaction to form complementary parts of the tourist experience give rise to difficulties and problems within any one country which need to be managed.'

The problems can be dichotomised as (1) those relating to the N.T.O., and (2) those pertaining to the tourism industry. Wahab again (1976:75), referring to the first type, identifies them as touching on functional, operational and socio-economic issues. Functional problems of the N.T.Os. are those relating to the scope of their

activities. These are restricted to promotional activities. Operational (or internal) problems are mainly concerned with organisation, planning, direction, motivation, internal co-ordination, and control of result achieved by the N.T.O. Socio-economic (or policy-oriented) problems entail those of the external environment in the destination where the N.T.O. operates. These environmental factors in tourism receiving countries include the general attitude of the population towards foreign tourism, the prevailing socio-cultural framework and its impact on tourism, the status of investments in tourism and in general the stage of economic development of the destination where the particular N.T.O. operates.

It is further argued that economic constraints prevailing in the tourism generating countries likewise exercise an important impact on the roles played by the N.T.O. at destination. The economic uncertainty due to continual inflation, currency fluctuations and protective limitations would have an influence on the tourism industry at destination and thus on the N.T.O.'s activity.

Middleton (1974:25) argues that total tourism flows are generated by, and respond to, basic economic and technological forces, and that tourism promotion and development as a causal factor is of persuasive influence for a minority of tourists. This is true, but not to the extent that the choice of destinations by tourists is concerned. Destinations whether having similar or different

attractions compete in attracting tourists and the effect of their promotional activities and co-operation with distribution channels cannot be underestimated.

Any considerations of tourism policy and planning environment reveal a set of practical problems of the tourism industry. As Jenkins (1980:22-29) has shown, in his critique of tourism in developing countries, these concerns have been described as endogenous (internal) and exogenous (external) to the destination. Elements of the endogenous factors include: "the nature and type of tourism industry that is desired, the pace of development, location and incentive policies, and manpower planning for tourism." Viewed from the perspective of a developing country's tourism planning and development initiatives, the policy decisions involved here are within the determination and control of the particular country concerned. The rest of this chapter will concentrate on a discussion of these endogenous and exogenous factors.

### 3.7.1 The Nature and Type of Tourism Desired

The case was presented previously to say that the nature of tourism developed must be specific to a country because of differences between countries: what each country can offer, its attractiveness, and what policies the government wants to pursue. Again, the existence of the two categories of vacationers, sunlust and wanderlust, by implication, means that policies of a nation must seek to accommodate the

varied interests of the tourists. Another policy implication is that this situation may lead to increasing hotel capacity, to take in the visitors. The fact that local resources are inadequate for the new demand, may involve the host country in seeking outside assistance, which, invariably would be a return to the dependency situation. But as noted elsewhere, this dependency situation is not avoidable as dependency is a cost of development, in the short run, but in the long term, dependency may be reduced through a careful policy choice.

### 3.7.2. The Pace of Development

Attracted by the prospects of continued tourism demand and the resultant economic advantages, most countries have pursued policies directed towards large-scale tourism. This consideration has brought with it a number of problems. The policy question then is: how does the particular country align this scale to national objectives as set by the government.

Government lack of control could have further implications: the private sector interests will triumph, gaining such prominence that the greater majority of the population is disadvantaged. De Kadt (1979:20) sums up the confusion emerging therefrom, thus:

'An important component of tourism policy is to reconcile any conflict between the pursuit of private profit and the desire for social gains. Where the state is

determined to maximise social benefits, investors will tend to find its regulations onerous, and they will probably exert themselves considerably to avoid those regulations. They may bargain with the State on particular projects or even attempt to influence regulations. Beyond that, it becomes a question of finding loopholes in the law or of corrupting officials to bend the rules. Where enforcement machinery is weak, the rules and regulations may simply be ignored.'

### 3.7.3 Location and Incentive Policies

As remarked, in developing countries, governments' entrepreneurial role in tourism is because of the deficiencies and under-development of the private sector. As such, government has depended on alien expertise to formulate plans for tourism. This raises two policy areas of concern: (1) that relating to non-economic impact of tourism development on host communities - whether tourism developments should be integrated into an existing-based site or developed as an enclave project; (2) when incentives are offered, should some areas of investment be 'reserved' for local investors if available? Should differential incentives be given to the locals to encourage their participation in tourism development?

### 3.7.4 Manpower Planning for Tourism

Tourism manpower planning is of paramount importance. Cleverdon (1979:111) quotes the U.N. report which highlights the requirements:

'Training has formal education, non-formal educational and public educational aspects. Special schools or special programmes in the already established educational institutions are needed for the training of high level professionals. For the training of middle level personnel, both lower level formal training courses are needed. Training for upgrading the existing personnel is also important. Moreover to ensure the proper functioning of tourism facilities, operational standards should be established and followed up by the responsible government agencies.'

These requirements are, however, hampered by problems, such as the setting and operating tourism training centres in a particular country. On most occasions qualified candidates are difficult to recruit for various reasons. There are usually difficulties in finding qualified teachers, normally drawn from university graduates and the industry. Most graduates normally lack knowledge in professional practice, whereas those in the industry are deficient in the academic demands of the profession. What is worse, the high cost of mounting training schemes and of recruiting foreign teachers required during the early years, are equally problematic.

Among the exogenous factors militating against tourism policies are the unpredictable nature of tourism demand conditioned by the economic situation in the generating countries, the seasonality factor; and the formidable influence of the multinational corporations.

### 3.7.5 Policy Bodies at the International Level

There are numerous bodies world-wide involved in tourism policies. At the national level, as discussed, are the N.T.Os., and specialist institutions, such as development banks, have been created. At the regional level, there is, for example, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (O.E.C.D.), established for general economic growth and stability. The O.E.C.D. has a Tourism Committee which deals with tourism policy and international tourism trends in the member states. This particular arm of the O.E.C.D. issues an annual publication - Tourism Policy and International Tourism in O.E.C.D. Member Countries - a comprehensive source material that touches on policy issues and tourism data. Examples of other regional bodies dealing with travel and tourism matters include: The Pacific Area Travel Association (P.A.T.A.). African Travel Association, to promote travel in the Pacific and African areas, respectively; the Caribbean Tourism Association and the European Travel Committee, also to promote and facilitate travel and tourism to their specific regions.

The World Tourism Organisation (W.T.O.) is the only world-wide, inter-governmental tourism policy body. Formed in 1975 from the defunct International Union of Official Travel Organisations (I.U.O.T.O.), the W.T.O. is the official tourism agency of the United Nations (U.N.). Its brief is primarily research oriented, rather than operational, and it does not take a direct role in



financing tourism developments. Its membership numbers 108, according to Structure and Membership of the Organisation and of its Bodies, 1986-1987 publication, consisting largely of developing countries, although there are 153 affiliate members. The affiliate membership consists of international bodies, both inter-governmental and non-governmental, as well as commercial bodies and associations whose activities are related to the aims of the Organisation. The affiliate members can assist in the work of the W.T.O., make recommendations to the Organisation's organs and carry out their own programme of work in the framework of the Organisation's activities, by means of working parties. The working parties cover topics such as (1) Tourism Investment (2) Tourism and Remote Data Processing (3) Tourism and Health (4) Tourism and Employment (5) Youth Tourism.

The W.T.O. Operational Activities By Regions 1976-1985 shows the W.T.O. regional structure, covering six subsidiary organs or commissions - in Africa, the Americas, East Asia and the Pacific, Europe, Middle East, and South Asia. The Regional Commissions ensure that the decisions and recommendations of the W.T.O. General Assembly and Executive Council are implemented within the regions.

Operational Activities. The W.T.O.'s compendium details the programme of work carried out in the regions by the Secretariat where appropriate with the co-operation and

support of the Regional Commissions, so as to transfer to interested States, Members and non-members of the Organisation alike, the knowledge and expertise acquired by the W.T.O.

Covering the first 10 years of W.T.O.'s existence, these activities represent the Organisation's direct contribution to the development in each region of tourism, travel and movements of persons. The operational activities breakdown as follows:

(1) Commission Meetings. These meetings are held once a year to enable the Commissions, in their capacity as subsidiary bodies of the General Assembly, to consider the implementation within their regions of the Organisation's General programme of work.

(2) Technical Meetings. This is the term applied to the various meetings dealing with technical subjects, such as the seminars, symposia, workshops and meetings of working parties that are held in the various regions or at the Organisation's headquarters in Madrid, Spain to enable technicians in the various disciplines to compare their knowledge, with the support of the W.T.O. Secretariat General and, whenever appropriate, the assistance of outside experts.

(3) Operational and Sectoral Support Missions. These are field missions carried out at the request of government and financed mainly by the U.N. Development Programme (U.N.D.P.). The basic object of these missions is to identify the main sectors of tourism in which W.T.O.'s technical assistance would be desirable, taking into account the social and economic development aims of each country, and to determine the best means of providing the countries with the services they are entitled to expect from the Organisation.

(4) Technical Co-operation Projects. The U.N.D.P. is the main source of funding for these projects, which are implemented by the W.T.O. in its capacity as an executing agency on the basis of procedures established by the U.N.D.P. The recipients may be countries, regions or sub-regions.

It is clear from this discussion that well-developed structure of international organisations exists to safeguard and represent the interests of the tourism industry. It is equally clear that there is in place ample machinery for dealing with most international tourism policy issues. Therefore, in this concluding part of this chapter, we look at the role of this external forces in tourism policy planning.

### 3.8 The Role of External Forces

We have indicated that the international environment is partially a very important viable factor influencing the policy for, and planning of, tourism. Nearly all of the countries of the developing world are poor and dependent upon external sources of capital, technology and expertise. Similarly, they may need assistance in drawing up the tourism plans, as well as to implement their tourism development plans. This is what W.T.O., U.N.D.P., as such similar world bodies are all about. Although the tourism planning objectives, economic and social, of developing countries are: earning foreign exchange, creating employment, increasing income, better income distribution, supporting economic growth, satisfying the growing demand for recreation of their own population, and supporting and improving mutual understanding and communication among nations (Koch, 1978:20-21), very few of these countries can hope to reach these goals without considerable outside assistance. Furthermore, the rather precarious economic situation in which most developing countries find themselves places external forces in a potentially powerful position to influence policy decision-making for tourism. Such external forces include foreign governments, international agencies and foundations, and transnational corporations.

It is contended, for example, that major agencies for tourism, notably the W.T.O., International Finance

Corporation (I.F.C.), International Development Association (I.D.A.), International Labour Organisation (I.L.O.), The World Bank (before its tourism interest section was abolished in 1979), and the M.N.Cs., either by acting as 'catalytic' forces or in some other role, have influenced policies by (a) forming consortia to pool resources to be placed at the disposal of tourism projects; (b) they can also be of assistance by providing support at the initiation of tourism projects when the setting up of such projects can be quite expensive. The I.F.C. and I.D.A. are the most vulnerable here. The institutions that are established are also likely to need technical assistance from a considerable period of time (W.T.O. plays this role); since it is unlikely that the developing countries forming the scheme will have sufficient personnel with the requisite skills to man the new institutions (the role of the I.L.O., U.N.E.S.C.O. readily comes to mind, and is invaluable in this regard).

Finally, these international bodies could be quite effective in providing funds for many tourism projects. Chib (1980:233-234) talks of funds coming from the I.F.C. for private industry, concentrating on tourism projects, believed to develop untapped potential or, in some cases of urgent need, would augment the existing facilities; or from private foreign sources - the consortium of banks lending Eurodollars; funds given as bilateral or multilateral aid, on a government-to-government basis.

But the basic questions recur: (1) What have these world organisations done to encourage and promote tourism in Kenya and The Gambia? (2) Have they attempted to use their influence to promote solutions to tourism problems in the two countries? (3) Have they acted as 'catalysts' in tourism promotion in these countries, or have they tended to adopt passive roles? (4) How much assistance have the bodies given to the two countries in raising funds, or helped in their manpower, training and development programmes, biased towards tourism? We shall find some answers to these questions in our next chapter.

## NOTES

1. According to the U.S. National Tourism Policy Study, typical tourism goals are:

(a) Economic: to optimise the contribution of tourism and recreation to economic prosperity, full employment, regional economic development, and improved international balance of payments.

(b) Consumer: to make the opportunity for and the benefits of travel and recreation universally accessible to residents and visitors; to contribute to the personal growth and education of the population and encourage their appreciation of the geography, history, and ethnic diversity of the nation; to encourage the free and welcome entry of foreigners, while balancing this goal with the need to monitor persons and goods entering the country with laws protecting public health.

(c) Environmental and natural resource: to protect and preserve the historical and cultural foundations of the nation as a living part of community life and development; and to ensure future generations an opportunity to enjoy the rich heritage of the nation; to ensure the compatibility of tourism, recreational, and activity policies with other national interests in energy development and conservation, environmental protection, and judicious use of natural resources.

(d) Government operations: to harmonise the maximum extent possible federal activities supporting tourism and recreation; to support the needs of the general public and the public and private sectors of industries involved with tourism and recreation; to take a leadership role with all those concerned with tourism, recreation, and national heritage conservation.

(Source: Mill and Morrison, p. 248).

2. Because the country's resources and facilities must be directed primarily to serving the needs, comforts, and enjoyment of its own citizens, the general public is guaranteed access to all beaches in the country and no discrimination is allowed against any person on the ground of race, colour or, class, or religion.

Although the major attraction for tourism arises out of the culture of the islands, any program for tourism development must include positive measures to protect the country's art forms and the artists who perform them from wanton destruction.

Because tourism employs either directly or indirectly a large number of persons, it is important that clear evidence exist that a person of any race, class, colour, or religion be expected on merit to aspire to the highest positions of employment in the industry.

A fair share of the investment in tourism must be reserved for the small entrepreneur, either by way of participation in larger projects or by way of small hotels and guest houses.

Firms engaged in tourism development will be required to show that effective decision-making is vested in citizens of the country.

The entire industry must take steps to reverse the trend of relying heavily on imports, and it must more vigorously seek to maximise the use of local goods and services, particularly in the fields of food, drink, entertainment, and professional and consulting services.  
(Source: Mill and Morrison, pp. 249-250).



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PART 3

STUDY AREAS' BACKGROUNDS AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENTS

Chapter 4 : Tourism Development in Kenya  
and The Gambia - An Overview

## CHAPTER 4

### TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA AND THE GAMBIA - AN OVERVIEW

#### 4.0 Introduction

This chapter begins with a general profile of Kenya and The Gambia; looks at the way tourism has developed and nature of tourism activities in these places, and considers private-public sector involvement in the industry.

#### 4.1 KENYA

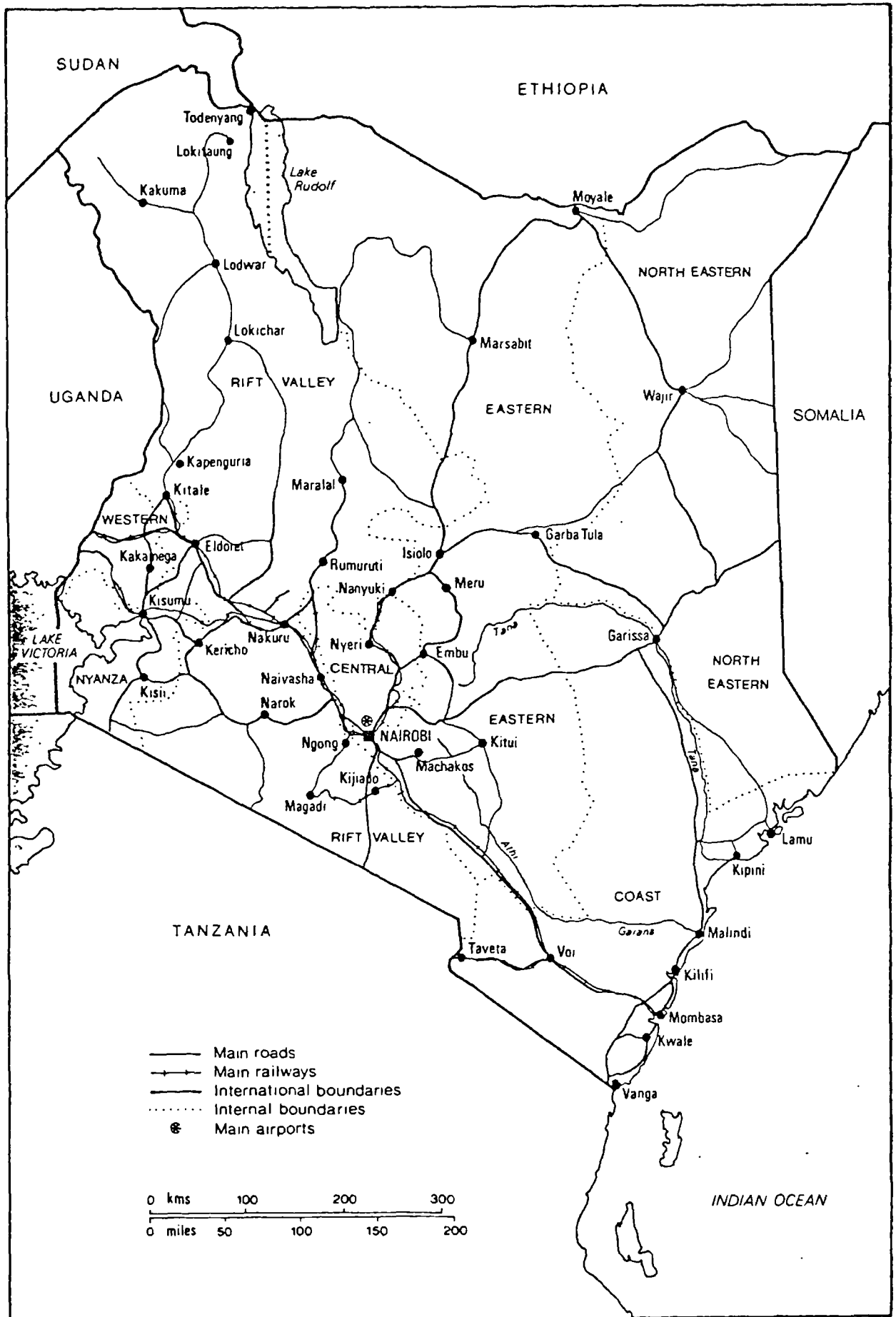
##### 4.1.1 Geography

Kenya is located on the eastern part of Africa (see Fig. 4.1). It shares boundaries with Uganda to the west, Tanzania to the South, and Ethiopia in the north. It is also bordered by Sudan in the north-west and by Somalia in the east. In the south-east, the country is bordered by the Indian Ocean - an important outlet and means to the sea. This ocean contact is focused on Mombasa, Kenya's main gateway to, and from, the sea. Mombasa also serves both Uganda and northern Tanzania. Kenya is located approximately between latitudes 4°21'N and 4°28'S, and between longitudes 34° and 42°E. It is also bisected by the equator and by longitude 38°E.

The total area of Kenya is 582,646 sq.km.(224,960sq.ml.), 13,396sq.km.(517sq.ml.) is surface water, and the remaining

Kenya

FIG. 4.1 : MAP OF KENYA



569,253.5sq.km.(219,789sq.ml) is dry surface land, of which about two-thirds are either semi-deserts or deserts. Thus, between only 549,47.3 and 53,189.7sq.km.(142,313 to 189,561.3sq.ml.) of Kenya can be used by the inhabitants.

The location of Kenya, astride the Equator and the Indian Ocean seaboard, largely determines the climatic conditions of the country. The varied typology is such that whereas in the highlands the weather is temperate, the Mount Kenya area supports small glaciers. For most of the country, near Lake Victoria, and in the highlands west of the Rift Valley, rain falls in one long rainy season. East of the Rift Valley there are two distinct seasons: the long rains (March-May) and the short rains (September-October). Rainfall is greatest at the coast and in the highlands, but the extensive plains below 1,200 are arid or semi-arid. In the highlands, rain is greatest on the easterly or southerly aspects.

Kenya falls into seven administrative provinces and one provincial district unit. The provinces are: the Rift Valley, Eastern, North-Eastern, Coast, Nyanza, and Western. The Nairobi area is the district unit.

#### 4.1.2 Population and Culture

Kenya Official Handbook (1983:18-21) reports that the population of Kenya is diverse. It is composed of two broad groups - African and non-African. The 1979 census of the



country indicated a total population of 15,327,061: 15,101,540 African and 225,521 non-African, representing an increase of over 40% on the figures given a decade earlier.

Of the total African population, over 99% are Kenyan in origin. The Bantu linguistic group of the 'Niger-Congo' linguistic family forms the largest African population (about 63%) of the entire Kenya population. This group is located around the Lake Victoria basin, the east Rift Highlands and the coastal belt. The other African groups are the Nilotic, represented by the Luo (12.7%), Kalanji and Maasai, and related people (25.1%); and the Cushite (3.4%).

The non-African group consists of persons of European and south-west Asian descents. Persons of Asian and Arab origin form 4% whereas those of European origin constitute about 2% of the whole population. Most of the non-African group are to be found in the urban centres, principally in the cities of Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, and Nakuru.

Persian and Arab influence at the coast is seen in the islamic culture and the Swahili language which has become a lingua franca, although English is widely used.

#### 4.1.3 Economic Background

At independence in 1963, Kenya inherited a weak economic resource base. The years preceding 1963 had seen such

problems as reduced investment, corresponding capital shortage and serious unemployment. To combat these difficulties, the Government pursued policies which outlined the future course of economic development, basically in three directions - acceleration of growth, the Kenyanisation of the economy and its diversification<sup>1</sup>. Thus, steps were taken to diversify the economy, develop the rural areas, establish infrastructures, and to build institutions.

The policy objects and the measures required to implement policies are discussed in African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya (1965). Detailed statements of economic policies are also to be found in the various Development Plans of the country, since 1966 to present (1988). All these plans share common features which underscore the long-term objectives of Kenya. These include: individual freedom; freedom from want, ignorance, disease and exploitation; and the expansion of the economy with equitable sharing in its benefits. Each development plan is drawn on the basis of past and current problems (these being geared to emerging trends in the world and national economies) and lays down the priorities of Government policies, along with a programme of public investment as well as guidelines for private enterprise. Apart from seeking overall growth, Government policy in the current 5th plan period (1984-1988) has been directed at improvements in the distribution of income. The plan argues that per capita income is rising rapidly and hence the

necessity of equitable distribution of it.

Looking towards the 6th Development Plan beginning 1989, the Government in 1986 policy document entitled Economic Management for Renewed Growth indicated that the focus of the plan would not depart from its belief that economic growth based on sound management that stabilises the economy over the short-run and promotes vigorous growth over the long-term was crucial. To this end, the Government has begun implementing stabilisation measures aimed at ensuring steady and less inflationary growth.

#### 4.1.4 Gross Domestic Product

The economy of Kenya is divided into two products - 'non-monetary economy'<sup>2</sup> and 'monetary economy'<sup>3</sup>.

It is widely believed that as a result of Government economic policies, Kenya has made commendable economic growth<sup>4</sup>. Now, the Gross Domestic Product at constant 1982 prices has risen from K£3,035.80m in 1983 to K£3,384.41m in 1986 (Economic Survey, 1987:8-11), showing a growth rate of 3.8% per annum in real G.D.P. - a growth which could have been higher were it not for the 1984 drought which decelerated it to a low 0.9%. However, the economy emerged strongly from the drought, with a real G.D.P. growth of 4.4% in 1985. A growth rate of 5.7% in the real G.D.P. was attained in 1986. The G.D.P. growth was accompanied by a rise in per capita income, from a decline of 2.9% in 1984

to an increase of 1.8% in 1986.

#### 4.1.5 Sectoral Contribution

The 1987 Economic Survey also gives a breakdown of contributions made by various sectors to the economy. Agriculture value-added increased by 3.5% and 4.8% in 1985 and 1986, respectively. The building and construction sector in the monetary economy went up by about 17% in 1985. As a result of abundant rains, there was increased country-wide fishing activities - a rise of 13% in the overall economy in 1986. These compare favourably with the rise of 9% witnessed in 1985. Real value-added in manufacturing rose from K£372m in 1982 to K£449m in 1986 - an annual growth rate of about 5%.

#### 4.1.6 Employment

Reference has already been made to the 5th Development Plan (1984-1988) and to the Sessional Paper 1986, both of which stress the importance of employment creation to absorb the fast growing labour force. As the Sessional Paper emphasises, the private sector and the small-scale enterprises (urban informal sector) employ the bulk of the work force.

Wage employment in the modern sector increased by 46,100 new jobs or 3.9%. Employment in the small-scale enterprises, formerly known as the urban informal sector,

expanded by 10.4% compared with 9.1% in 1985.

The total wage payments increased by 13% in 1986 compared with 14.6% in 1985. Average nominal wages rose by 8.8% while average real wages increased by 4% - perhaps as a result of the decline in the inflation rate.

#### 4.1.7 Tourism

Since 1984, the tourism industry has performed well. In 1986, earnings from tourism rose by 25%, from K£197m in 1985 to K£247m. However, the number of visitor arrivals and departures rose more slowly in 1986 compared with 1985. Continental Europe, including the United Kingdom, continues contributing the highest number of tourists. Although the total number of days stayed by tourists and the number of bed-nights occupied rose appreciably in 1986, the average length of stay has remained almost at the 1984 level. A total of 14,609 delegates attended the 29 international conferences held in 1986 compared with 28,844 delegates who attended 35 conferences in 1985. The number of conference days, however, increased to 210 in 1986 from 197 in 1985. This resulted in a rise in the occupancy rate at the Kenyatta International Conference Centre from 54% in 1985 to 58% in 1986.

#### 4.2 Tourism Development in Kenya

Tourism in Kenya may be roughly viewed as developing through four evolutionary phases (Rajotte, 1983:2-5). The

first stage probably began during the latter part of the 19th-century and expanded into the end of World War 11. It developed in response to the interest of esoteric-pleasure-seeking European settlers and Americans, the rich and adventurers, in hunting and seeing or photographing game (Marsh, 1975:15; Martin, 1973:240). It was individualistic in organisation in contrast to the modern mass tourism which is packaged. The second stage covered the period between the end of the war and 1963, and was characterised by an increase in both foreign settler population and visitor numbers. The former later formed private organisations to provide the latter with some facilities needed for a vacation. The third stage took place in the post-independence time, and lasted until the early 1970's - coinciding with the great surge in international tourism. This era saw favourable improvements in real incomes of citizens of the industrialised countries, improved transport technology - both of which, together made movements relatively easy. The final stage began in the 1970's to present when the industry would appear to have reached full blossom. Two significant changes mark this last phase. The first is rapid growth in visitor arrivals and the second is a shift in the regions of tourist interest in Kenya. The fastest growth has been at the coastal beach areas. Such sea-side resort cities like Mombasa and Malindi owe their rise to the development of tourism.

In this research, the emphasis is on the last stage, for two reasons. First, this period is marked by some interesting characteristics, some endogenous, others exogenous, both, of course, shape the direction of tourism development of Kenya. Second, the phase underlines the role that tourism plays in national development in Kenya - what problems the authorities encounter, and how they are coping with these issues and problems. It is the discussion of these features that we now turn to.

#### 4.2.1 Nature of Tourism Development

There is no doubting that tourism in Kenya is a success story, at least this is the official Government view. The country leads the rest of sub-Saharan Africa in the enterprise, as the U.N.E.C.A.(1978:3) has confirmed: "...Kenya is looked upon by many countries as an example of successful tourism development in Africa." Its success is perhaps due, partly to the country's varied tourism attractions of wildlife<sup>s</sup> and beach resources, located in three major tourism areas of the country - up-country game parks, Nairobi and its environs, and the coastal areas; and partly to active support from the private and public sectors, resulting in an impressive growth of the sector, in value and volume terms.

##### (a) Wildlife Tourism

Kenya's wildlife resource upon which much of the tourism industry depends, is extensive. As can be seen from Figure

4.2 and Table 4.1, this resource is distributed in well over forty locations, in what are known as National Parks<sup>6</sup> and National Reserves<sup>7</sup>.

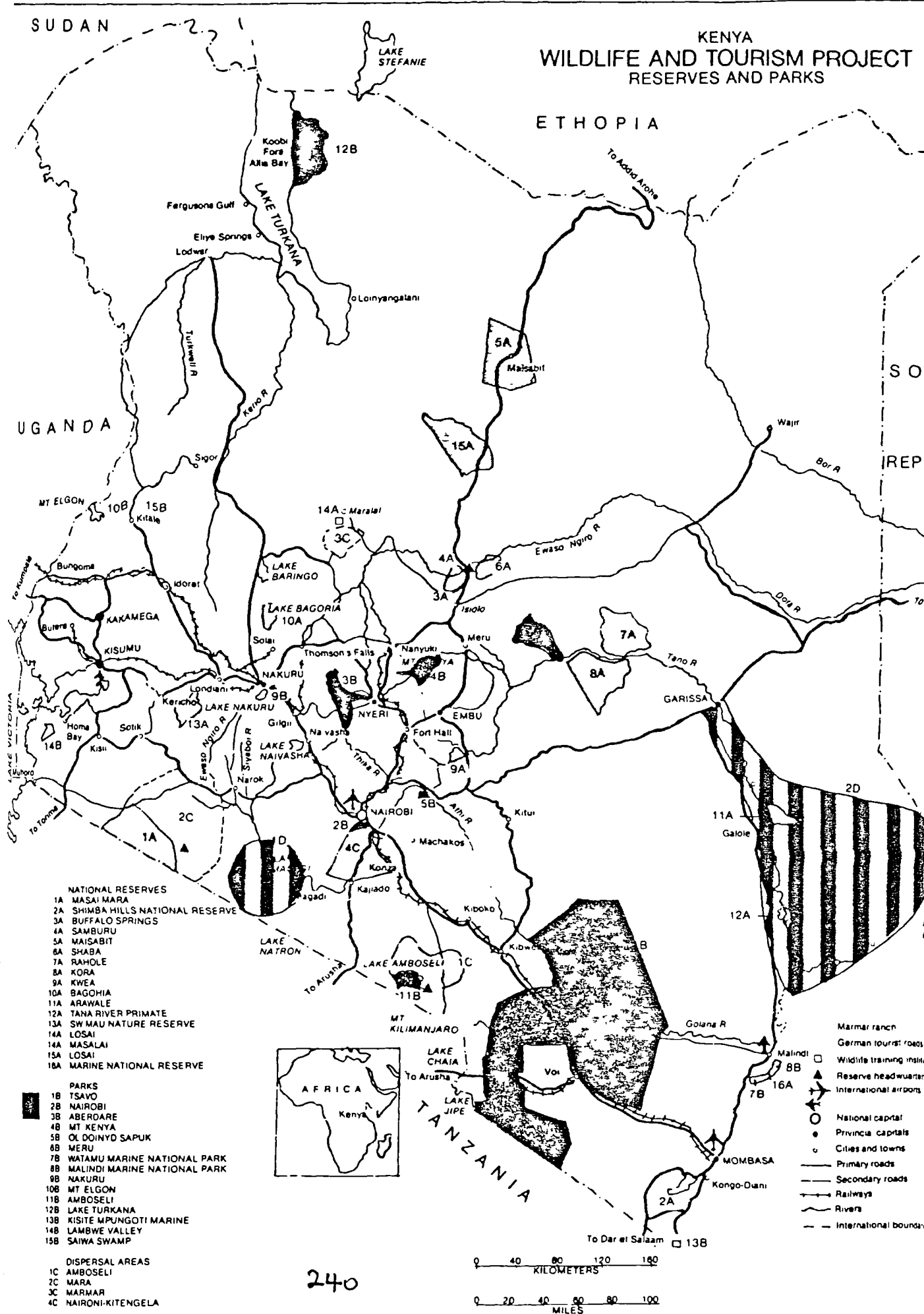
Table 4.1 : Kenya National Parks and Game Reserves

| <u>Name</u>                   | <u>Area(Hectares)</u> | <u>District Located</u>                |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| *Nairobi                      | 11,721                | Nairobi                                |
| *Tsavo(East & West)           | 2,082,114             | Taita/Taveta                           |
| *Mount Kenya                  | 71,559                | Embu/Meru/Nyeri/<br>Laikipia/Kirinyaga |
| Lake Nakuru                   | 5,763                 | Nakuru                                 |
| *Aberdares                    | 76,519                | Nyandarua/Murang'a/<br>Nyeri/Laikipia  |
| *Meru                         | 87,004                | Meru                                   |
| *Ol Doinyo Sapuk              | 1,842                 | Machakos                               |
| Kisite/Mpunguti Marine        | 2,301                 | Kwale                                  |
| *Mount Elgon                  | 16,923                | Trans Nzoia                            |
| *Sibiloi                      | 157,024               | Turkana                                |
| *Amboseli                     | 39,026                | Kajiado                                |
| *Malindi & Watamu             | 23,587                | Kilifi                                 |
| *Saiwa Swamp                  | 207                   | Trans Nzoia                            |
| Shimba Hills                  | 19,251                | Kwale                                  |
| *Lake Bogoria<br>(Hannington) | 10,705                | Baringo                                |
| Marsabit                      | 208,842               | Marsabit                               |
| Arawale                       | 53,324                | Garissa                                |
| Kora                          | 169,229               | Tana River                             |
| Boni                          | 133,960               | Garissa                                |
| Shaba                         | 23,910                | Isiolo                                 |
| Buffalo Springs               | 33,915                | Isiolo                                 |
| Dodori                        | 87,739                | Lamu                                   |
| Tana River Primate            | 16,807                | Tana River                             |
| Rahole                        | 130,810               | Garissa                                |
| Masai Mara                    | 167,274               | Narok                                  |
| Losai                         | 180,680               | Marsabit                               |
| Ngai Ndethya                  | 21,209                | Kitui                                  |
| Mwea                          | 6,803                 | Embu                                   |
| Samburu                       | 16,000                | Samburu                                |
| Lambwe Valley                 | 30,800                | Homa Bay                               |
| Ngong                         |                       | Kajiado                                |
| Tsavo Road & Railway          | 11,205                | Taita/Taveta                           |
| West Chyulu                   | 37,500                | Taita/Taveta                           |

Source: U.N.D.P./F.A.O. Project KEN:71/526 Wildlife Management in Kenya Document No. 8  
\* National Parks



FIG 4.2 : MAP OF GAME PARKS AND RESERVES



The history of wildlife activities in Kenya is both long and controversial - long because explorers like Burton (1860), Speke (1863), and Stanley (1890), and missionaries like Krapf (1860) and Livingstone (1874) have described the African situation and by whose writings on the subject the western world has become aware of it all. The quotation below does help the layman thread his way through the maze of views:

'There are no words that can tell the hidden spirit of the wilderness that can reveal its mystery, its melancholy and its charm. There is delight in the hardy life of the open, in the long rides rifle in hand, in the thrill of the fight with dangerous game' (Roosevelt, 1909:583).

Roosevelt's African Game Trails (1909) and Schillings' With Flashlight and Rifle (1906) are symptomatic of the thinking at this time. They indicate that the first two decades of the 20th-century Kenya were a period of big game hunting safaris. There were no available figures for the number of such visitors, but according to Mascarenhas (1971:316), it was understood that "given the conditions of travel then prevalent they could not have numbered more than a few hundreds emanating from the rich, influential, and leisured class of western Europe." The activity of such affluent foreigners able to afford weeks or months to enjoy a safari has been described, and usually glorified by such other writers as Hemmingway (1963) and Hunter (1952).

The history is controversial because even before the coming

of the European visitors, threat to wildlife in Kenya had started since the Bantu migration. The increase in foreign settler population combined to expand the scale of such depredation on wildlife, particularly with the introduction of firearms. Stories of such wanton destruction of animal life by native population and settlers are amply documented in Noel Simon's Between Sunlight and Thunder (1962) and Meinhartzen's Kenya Diary (1957) writings. Such was the background to the game conservation legislations and subsequent creations of game reserves and parks; to control the indiscriminate slaughter, and to ensure that such a tourist attraction is available today. The wildlife controversies are looked at again in chapter 8.

(b) Beach Tourism

The second feature of Kenya's tourism is beach holidaying in the areas around Malindi and Mombasa on the Indian Ocean (see also Fig. 4.1 ). Although this is a fairly recent phenomenon, there are reports that Kenya was visited even in the pre-Christian era by traders and conquerors than leisure-seekers (African Report, 1979:48). Their number was few and the visitors had no organisation.

The establishment of British rule in Kenya towards the dawn of the 20th-century paved the way for leisure travel to the Kenyan coast. Again, as with wildlife tourism, the trips to the beach resorts were focused primarily to serve the white settlers from the Kenya highlands and Southern Rhodesia,

and occasional adventurers from Europe and was also for the elite class. This was during the 1920's, and the facilities - consisting essentially of small family-operated hotels and beach cottages - were owned by individuals - settlers and later by a few Asians. Further expansion of these facilities were to follow in the years to come. Malindi first developed as a popular beach resort, followed by Mombasa.

#### 4.2.2 Expansion of the Sector

The Government of Kenya has, since independence, been keen to understand and to develop tourism fully. Thus, it budgeted large sums of money for tourism development. In the 1970-1974 plan period, for example, the Government calculated to provide 5,000 new beds in hotels and game lodges and to continue to develop new and existing tourist attractions. Total Government expenditure on the development of the industry for 1970-1974 was put at £14 million. Again, the tourism programme over the five years, 1984-1988 aims to double by 1988 the number of foreign tourists from 362,000 in 1982; and to achieve a target number of well over a million by the turn of the century (Development Plan, 1984-1988). The expansion of the industry also envisages a diversification of attractions in order to remain competitive.

Following improvements in transportation systems occurring at this time, the tourism industry in Kenya was quick to

respond to market opportunities offered by cheap package tours. As a result, the industry experienced rapid expansion, although there were fluctuations - a trend which has continued to this day, as Table 2 below illustrates:

**Table 4.2 : Kenya Tourist Traffic, Length of Stay and Expenditure, 1963-1986**

| Year | Total Visits ('000) | Total Days ('000) | Average Days Stayed | Total Expenditure (K£m.) | Average Expenditure (K£) | Average Expenditure/person (K£) |
|------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1963 | 110.2               | 1039              | 9.4                 | 9.0                      | 8.7                      | 81.7                            |
| 1964 | 120.8               | 1081              | 8.9                 | 9.4                      | 8.7                      | 77.8                            |
| 1969 | 276.0               | 2352              | 8.5                 | 16.7                     | 7.1                      | 60.5                            |
| 1970 | 338.8               | 2973              | 8.8                 | 18.5                     | 6.2                      | 54.6                            |
| 1972 | 428.4               | 4768              | 11.1                | 27.3                     | 5.7                      | 63.8                            |
| 1975 | 386.1               | 4963              | 12.9                | 33.4                     | 6.7                      | 86.5                            |
| 1976 | 424.2               | 5308              | 12.5                | 41.1                     | 7.7                      | 96.9                            |
| 1981 | 352.2               | 5345              | 15.2                | 90.0                     | 16.8                     | 255.5                           |
| 1982 | 362.4               | 5682.2            | 16.2                | 118.0                    | 20.8                     | 325.6                           |
| 1983 | 324.4               | 5094.4            | 15.9                | 122.0                    | 24.0                     | 376.1                           |
| 1985 | 541.2               | 8423.8            | 15.9                | 197.0                    | 23.4                     | 364.0                           |
| 1986 | 604.0               | 9427.1            | 15.9                | 247.0                    | 26.2                     | 408.9                           |

Source: Official Kenya Government Statistics

From the above table, it is clear that tourist traffic has shown a steady growth, reaching a peak in 1972 (478,400) and dropping to an ebb which compares to the 1970 figure (338,800). Thereafter, it picks up again and reaches a record height of 604,000 in 1986, although in 1983 tourism in Kenya performed rather poorly compared with 1982. But since 1967 the length of stay, as with expenditure level, has almost doubled. The sharp increase in expenditure since 1975 is probably a reflection of increase in prices rather than purchases. But the remarkable rise in tourist

receipts, from 1982 to 1986, may be due either to price hikes or possibly to the fact that Kenya is attracting high-spending tourists.

As Table 4.3 below shows, there has been an annual growth in bed occupancy since 1972, and the coastal beach hotels have been most vulnerable. The reason is obvious as Table 4.3 below shows.

**Table 4.3 : Hotel Bed Occupancy,  
1972-1986 ('000 bednights)**

|                                       | 1972 | 1977 | 1982 | 1986   |
|---------------------------------------|------|------|------|--------|
| Long-term occupants (a)               | 190  | 356  | 312  | 210.4  |
| Kenya residents                       | 469  | 642  | 773  | 837.1  |
| Residents from Uganda<br>and Tanzania | 98   | 98   | 74   | 102.2  |
| Residents of other countries          | 1718 | 2741 | 3470 | 3860.3 |
| Total beds occupied                   | 2475 | 3838 | 4629 | 5010.0 |
| Total beds available                  | 4980 | 7028 | 9011 | 9371.3 |
| Bed occupancy rate (%)                | 49.7 | 54.6 | 51.4 | 53.5   |

Source : Economic Survey, 1987

(a) Persons staying one month or more in one hotel - includes some block bookings for aircrew.

Table 4.4 gives the pattern of bed occupancy and which also reflects the pattern of tourists' nationality. Kenya's four major source markets in 1986 - West Germany, the United Kingdom, Switzerland and the United States - account for over 50% of all hotel bednights in the prime areas of Nairobi, the coast and wildlife parks (lodges). Nationals from these four countries come to Kenya for different reasons. It is clear that the two largest groups, the West

Germans (over 1.2 bednights in 1986) and the Swiss (501,800), show a strong preference for lying on the beach; over 80% of their bednights were at the coast. A similar but slightly less strong preference is expressed by the British (512,200 bednights of which about 50% at the coast) and the Italians (for whom the comparable figures are 261,000 and over 60%). The only large group with the opposite preference are the Americans, who spent only 16% of their 396,500 bednights at the coast. Apparently, to the Americans, beach holiday is of periphery interest. Similarly, for the other four groups, wildlife is of minor priority.

**Table 4.4 : Hotel Bednights by Area  
and Country of Residence, 1986 ('000)**

| Country of Residence   | Nairobi       | Coast         | Lodges       | Others       | Total         |
|------------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Permanent Occupants    | 169.5         | 28.7          | 0.6          | 11.6         | 210.4         |
| West Germany           | 70.2          | 1058.8        | 87.5         | 13.2         | 1229.7        |
| Switzerland            | 28.4          | 416.7         | 48.3         | 8.4          | 501.8         |
| United Kingdom         | 155.9         | 259.4         | 65.2         | 31.7         | 512.2         |
| Italy                  | 31.3          | 188.0         | 34.6         | 7.5          | 261.4         |
| France                 | 41.9          | 121.9         | 45.7         | 9.1          | 218.6         |
| Scandinavia            | 39.2          | 33.2          | 8.2          | 7.1          | 87.7          |
| Other Europe           | 61.2          | 127.5         | 39.6         | 7.8          | 227.0         |
| Kenya                  | 249.4         | 302.9         | 44.5         | 240.3        | 837.1         |
| Uganda                 | 45.3          | 11.9          | 0.5          | 3.9          | 61.6          |
| Tanzania               | 29.5          | 9.0           | 0.5          | 1.6          | 40.6          |
| Other E. & C. Africa   | 68.2          | 16.7          | 0.6          | 1.4          | 86.9          |
| West Africa            | 25.8          | 1.9           | 0.6          | 1.6          | 29.9          |
| North Africa           | 15.8          | 1.8           | 0.6          | 0.7          | 18.9          |
| United States          | 183.7         | 52.1          | 119.2        | 41.5         | 395.5         |
| Canada                 | 21.3          | 9.4           | 8.6          | 3.8          | 43.1          |
| Other America          | 15.1          | 0.7           | 2.4          | 1.3          | 19.5          |
| Japan                  | 12.4          | 2.5           | 1.9          | 2.3          | 19.1          |
| India                  | 8.6           | 1.1           | 0.6          | 1.2          | 11.7          |
| Middle East            | 9.8           | 1.1           | 2.5          | 0.9          | 17.6          |
| Other Asia             | 38.2          | 11.6          | 7.6          | 4.8          | 62.2          |
| Australia & N. Zealand | 6.9           | 1.5           | 2.8          | 0.7          | 11.9          |
| All Other Countries    | 49.1          | 24.2          | 8.9          | 4.5          | 86.7          |
| <b>Total</b>           | <b>1390.5</b> | <b>2688.9</b> | <b>552.9</b> | <b>407.7</b> | <b>5010.0</b> |

Source: Economic Survey, 1987.

One competitive advantage Kenya has over its rivals elsewhere is the closeness of its beaches to areas of wildlife reserves, thus enabling tourists to combine beach with safari holiday - a factor that is perhaps responsible for the continued upward trend in hotel bed capacity, as has been suggested. It is also possible that new hotel structures embarked already or to be embarked upon by the Government and foreign companies have helped to boost bed capacity.<sup>2</sup>

In general, bed occupancy rates, for 1980-1986, point to modest decline (See Table 4.3), except in the coastal beach areas, as can be seen from Table 4.5 below, where occupancy rates have increased from 43% in 1980 to 47% in 1986.

**Table 4.5 : Hotel Bednights Occupied  
by Area, 1980-1986 ('000)**

| <u>Area</u>    | <u>1980</u>   | <u>1981</u>   | <u>1982</u>   | <u>1983</u>   | <u>1984</u>   | <u>1986</u>   |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| <u>Coastal</u> |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Beach          | 2055.3        | 2939.1        | 2096.9        | 2000.3        | 2080.6        | 2353.0        |
| Other          | 345.5         | 344.2         | 328.1         | 336.2         | 337.5         | 336.0         |
| <u>Coastal</u> |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Hinterland     | 134.9         | 131.2         | 115.9         | 106.6         | 115.4         | 132.0         |
| <u>Nairobi</u> |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| High Class     | 609.8         | 586.9         | 543.7         | 497.9         | 553.9         | 548.9         |
| Other          | 904.3         | 890.0         | 857.0         | 829.4         | 843.5         | 841.6         |
| Central        | 318.4         | 343.8         | 329.9         | 331.1         | 353.3         | 359.8         |
| Masailand      | 193.5         | 193.3         | 211.7         | 224.1         | 243.3         | 248.6         |
| Nyanga Basin   | 101.5         | 104.7         | 89.6          | 86.6          | 91.6          | 104.8         |
| Western        | 43.2          | 48.5          | 47.6          | 51.1          | 56.3          | 76.7          |
| Northern       | 10.9          | 9.3           | 8.1           | 8.1           | 8.9           | 8.6           |
| <u>Total</u>   |               |               |               |               |               |               |
| Occupied       | <u>4717.3</u> | <u>4691.0</u> | <u>4628.5</u> | <u>4472.1</u> | <u>4684.3</u> | <u>5010.0</u> |
| Available      | 8324.9        | 8525.5        | 9011.0        | 9207.5        | 9203.8        | 9371.2        |

Source : Economic Survey, 1987.



Game lodges' occupancy in the wildlife conservation areas of Masailand (Table 4.5) has gone up slightly, 4% in 1980 to 5% in 1986. However, city centre hotels in Nairobi (Table 4.5) have registered a continued fall in occupancy rate, 13% in 1980 to 10% in 1986. Despite the fact that (1) Nairobi has, since 1973 when the K&4 million Kenyatta Conference Centre was opened for business, hosted many international conferences; (2) many world agencies or bodies - the United Nations and its specialist organs, for example, locate their regional offices (for South and Central Africa) in Nairobi, it is not clear why there has been this decline. One possible conjecture is that the timing of most conferences and conventions could be wrong. Most such meetings are held in July and August, which conflict with the high season for safari lodges. All safaris begin and terminate in Nairobi, and the block booking of Nairobi hotels for conferences discourages tourists from coming to Nairobi. From this point of view, it is thought that most probably the ideal timing for conferences would be between March and June.

Another explanation is political. In the past, political events in Tanzania and Uganda have had an adverse impact on Kenyan tourism. For example, in February 1977, Tanzania closed its borders with, and banned tourist arrivals from, Kenya. Also the activities of Idi Amin in Uganda led to virtual closure of Uganda to tourists from Kenya because of terrorist activities in and out of Uganda. These two countries had, prior to the instability in these countries,

provided multi-centre, multi-destination tours for tourists coming from Kenya. In this connection, of particular interest is the United States market. Unites States tourists to Kenya prefer to combine Kenya with other countries in their tours. Political upheavals in many countries, including of course Kenya (the coup plot of August, 1982 itself is a case in point), led to cancellations of complete packages. So, the drop in holiday visitors and in hotel occupancy in 1983 can be partly attributed to this, even though this was short-lived.

Now, political developments in Tanzania and Uganda are favourable. Kenya's normalisation of relations with Tanzania (the border was opened in December, 1983) and with Uganda (since January, 1986 political events are improved) is good news - thereby reopening the possibility of multi-country safari holidays.

Another source of worry concerns recent publicity in western press and media to the incidence in Kenya, especially in the coastal areas, of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (A.I.D.S.). Although the tourism figures for 1987 are not yet published, it is feared that the A.I.D.S. affair will have a tremendously negative effect on Kenyan tourism, in terms of arrivals and earnings.

Yet another factor that has reduced occupancy rates in

Nairobi is the fact that with the extension of Mombasa Airport to take bigger planes, most tourists coming for beach holidays no longer have to spend some time in Nairobi.

#### 4.2.3 Private-Public Sector Involvement

The success of Kenya's tourism is due to the role of the private and public sectors which have set the structural basis of the industry. Jommo's (1987) recent study argues that case.

##### (a) The Private Sector

Private sector initiative goes back to 1948 when the East African Tourist Travel Association (E.A.T.T.A.) was founded to promote, foster and maintain tourism in and out of the East African territories of Tanganyika (now Tanzania), Uganda and Kenya. Attractions and advantages of East Africa as a holiday alternative zone were its publicity weapons. The organisation also kept records and published statistics of tourist arrivals and expenditure of East Africa, and above all, provided the visitors with some facilities. The activities of this private body to foster tourism in the East African region have been well documented by Ouma (1970). But specific attention is drawn to the first statistics ever to be published relating to tourist arrival in the sub-region. For Kenya, tourist arrival record was not kept until 1946. It has been suggested that even before the breakup of the E.A.T.T.A. in 1965, the group had been

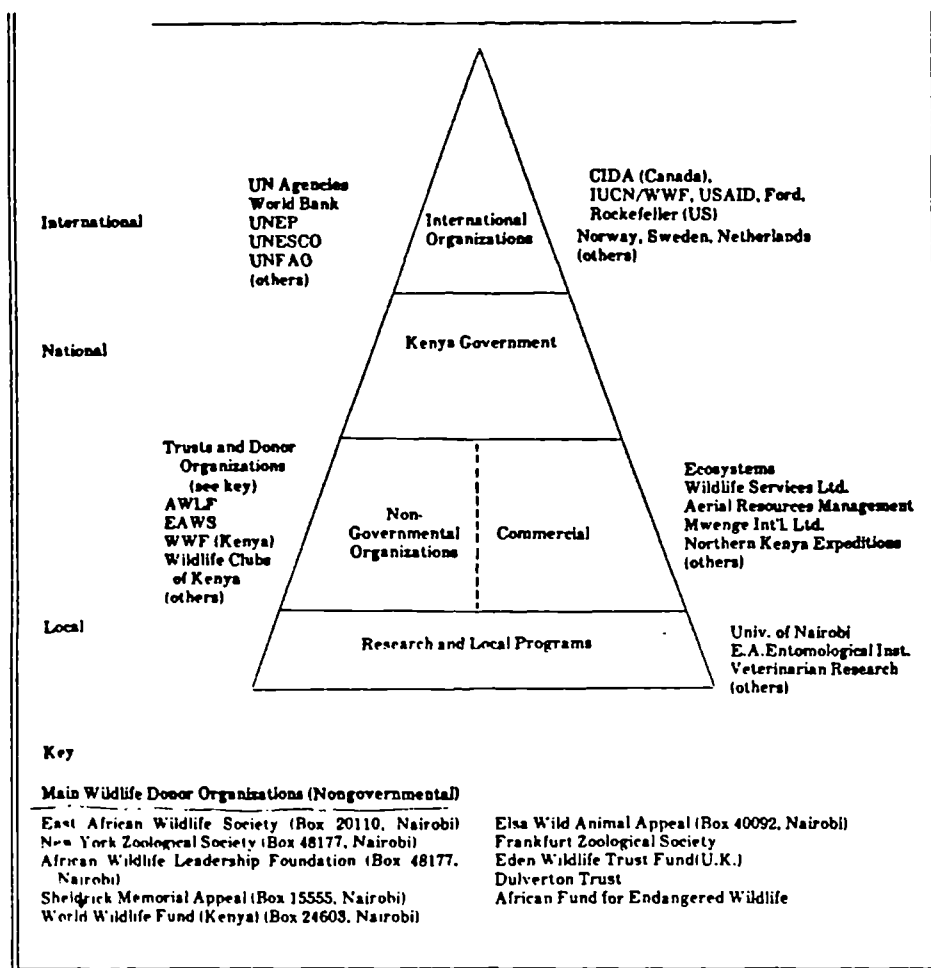
useful towards the course of tourism in Kenya. For example, 1949, Kenya hosted the 3rd International Congress of African Touring which helped to boost Kenya's pride as a tourism leader in sub-Saharan Africa. Delegates to the conference were given East African tourism progress report, and the issue of possible tourism expansion and development programme for Africa was discussed. Of particular interest to Kenya was the information about the existence of air links between Nairobi and Europe. Such air services were operated by former British Overseas Airways Corporation, South Africa Airways, Air France and Scandinavian Air Services.

Dissatisfaction within the organisation members over the unfair proportion of financial benefits that Kenya was reaping from the tourist trade, and the fact that the E.A.T.T.A. was giving more publicity to Kenya, and indeed had started the trend of making Nairobi the base for the East African tourist trade, led to the breakup of the E.A.T.T.A., and the three countries went their separate ways.

In the area of wildlife, private sector contribution is evident, although Miller 1982:4-6 indicates that the organisations range from governmental, non-governmental, philanthropic to private bodies. Three levels of participation are identified - international, national and local. At the international level are the U.N. agencies,

private foundations, and some bilateral organisations, and a number of commercial consultancy groups. Research projects and specific programmes focus on wildlife at the local level. These levels have been identified in Figure 4.3 below.

**Fig. 4.3 : Organisations Involved in Wildlife Activities in Kenya**



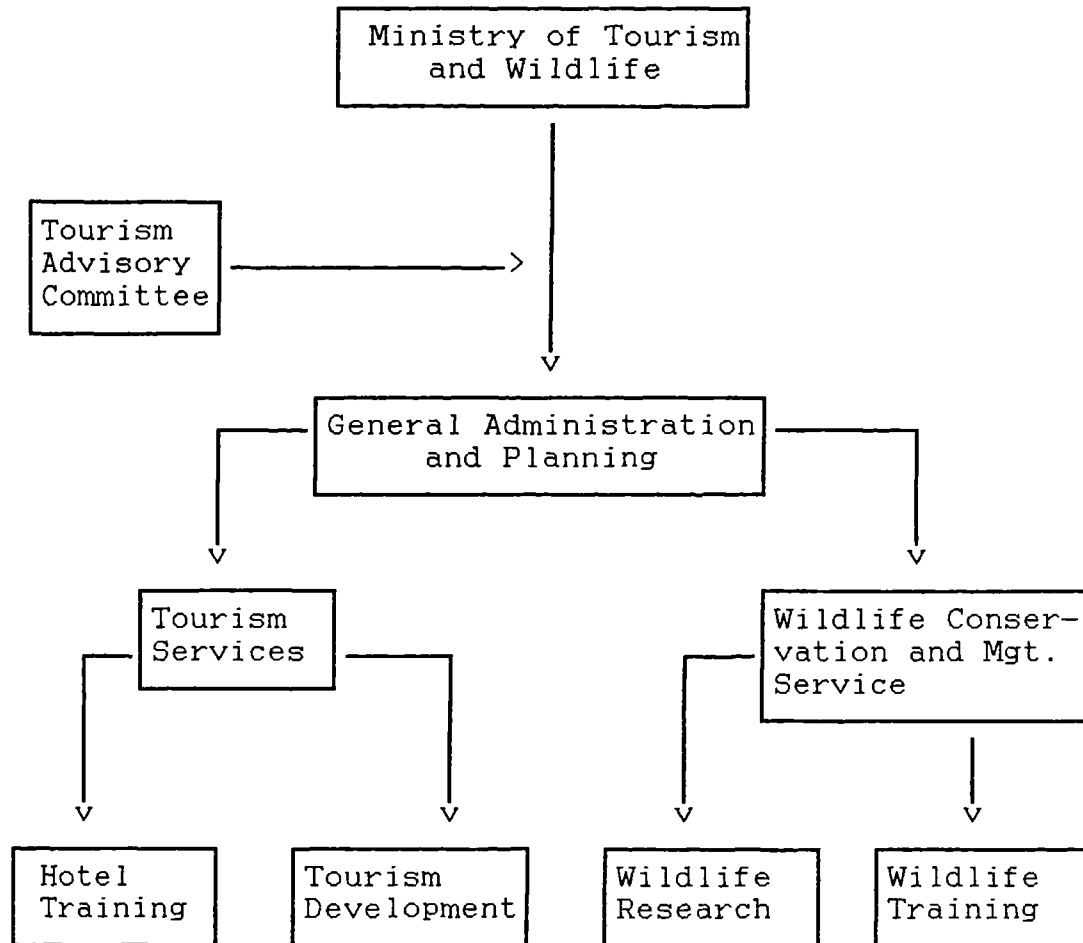
In this research, our main concern here is with the role of Kenya Government (at a national level) in tourism/wildlife programmes. International, non-governmental/commercial, or local aspects are completely excluded from the discussion because they are not part of government macro-planning, even though these agencies establish informal links with the Government, through co-operation on specific projects.

(b) The Public Sector

The role of the Government of Kenya in tourism and wildlife matters essentially point in three significant directions: (1) strong Government participation and encouragement of a commercial nature; (2) Government pursuit of policy objectives; and (3) Government attention to non-economic ramification of tourism. But these issues can be divided into two levels of consideration - organisation and policy formulation.

The Government has assigned broad issues of tourism and wildlife affairs to both the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife (M.T.W.) and Tourism Advisory Committee (T.A.C.), and wildlife matters per se to the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources. These agencies co-operate with one another for a successful tourism-wildlife programme. Figure 4.4 below shows the organisational structure of the M.T.W. Key departments of this Ministry and their functions are briefly discussed.

Figure 4.4 : Organisational Structure of  
the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife



(1) General Administration and Planning

Created in 1966, the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife is the main policy-making organ of the Government in tourism and wildlife matters. It sets tourism objectives and policies, in line with overall government's development plan. It also allocates resources to cover tourism activities carried out by other departments.

(2) Tourism Advisory Committee

This is purely an advisory body. It is composed of a number of relevant Government and non-Government authorities and interest groups involved in tourism. Examples include African Tours and Association.

(3) Tourism Services

This department breaks down into training and development wings. Training is done at the Kenya Utalii College, where professional training is offered to cover aspects of the hotel and tourism industries. Tourism development section is concerned with promotion and marketing of the industry, both locally and abroad. Locally, there are field officers who man the tourist information offices, spread throughout the major towns in the country. Promotion and marketing activities abroad are carried out through Kenya Tourist Offices located in a few European and American cities. The section is also involved in hotel development schemes through the Kenya Tourist Development Corporation



(K.T.D.C.).

(4) Kenya Tourist Development Corporation

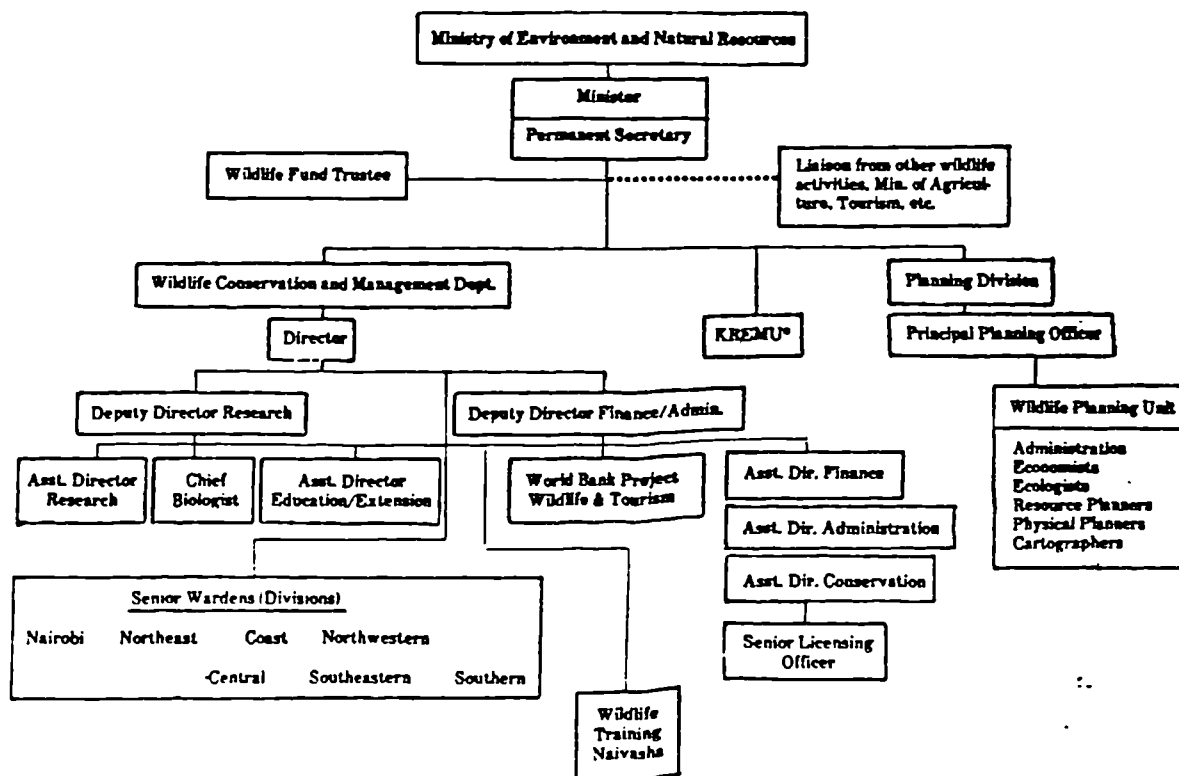
Created by an Act of Parliament in 1967, the K.T.D.C. is empowered to ensure a properly managed development of tourism resources. It maintains a close scrutiny of the operation of all hotels, lodges and other forms of accommodation, refreshment or recreation. It investigates proposed new projects and formulates plans for the expansion of existing enterprises, decides which projects or organisations to support financially or otherwise, depending on the likely benefits to Kenya. It has responsibility for providing, maintaining or improving transport facilities. It supervises the development and preservation of wildlife and the natural flora and fauna of Kenya. And, in order to bring to fruition all its other activities, the K.T.D.C. is also responsible for the promotion of tourism to Kenya, the provision of information and booking facilities for tourism.

(5) Wildlife Section

In relation to broad wildlife implementation programmes, these are carried out mainly by the Wildlife Conservation and Management Service Department of the Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources. Figure 4.5 presents the organisation of this ministry, and notes the liaison role, particularly with the M.T.W. and the Ministry of

Agriculture. The M.T.W. is concerned with a number of wildlife issues such as maintaining the parks and resources, providing education, research and extension activities and policy planning. The Agriculture is charged with various veterinary projects. The Wildlife Conservation and Management Services Department is responsible for the maintenance and development of Kenya's parks and reserves, plus a few small sanctuaries. The Wildlife Department controls hunting by visitors and residents, undertakes game control measures where necessary to protect agriculture, and manages wildlife in all important areas outside National Parks.

**Fig. 4.5 : Organisational Structure of the Environment and Natural Resources**



\*Kenya Rangeland Ecological Monitoring Unit.

Source: Wildlife Planning Unit, May 1961.

#### 4.2.4 Policy Framework

The main objectives of the tourism and wildlife programmes in Kenya, as contained in the 1984-1988 Development Plan, are to:

(1) increase tourism's contribution to the growth of Gross Domestic Product; (2) raise the foreign exchange earning capacity; (3) create more employment opportunities; (4) increase Kenyan ownership and management of the industry; (5) reduce any undersirable social or environmental consequences; (6) conserve, protect and improve environment and wildlife.

In order to achieve the targets set out, the Government has made tourist development plans in the form of two programmes. The first involves developing tourist facilities along the coast. This means expanding the hotel capacity to meet increasing demand, making optimum use of local resources and fighting pollution. The second involves improving and expanding the facilities of three of Kenya's big reserves - Masai Mara, Amboseli and Samburu/Buffalo Springs. Alongside direct investments in tourist services and institutions, there are plans to support activities such as training and anti-poaching measures.

Problems have been encountered in the process and the Government has responded to the challenges, although in an ad hoc basis. Hence, the observation by de Kadt (1979:40)

might well be addressed to Kenya: "...much tourism planning may be characterised as 'shutting the stable door after the horse has bolted.'"

Richards (1980:154) has articulated the problems. First, in coastal tourism context, it is argued that growth has been very rapid and questions are beginning to be asked about consequences of a continuation of unplanned 'ribbon developments' - a legacy of the past. What is more, resources at the coast, in terms of facilities and services, are severely strained from tourist traffic, especially at peak periods. Thus, accommodation capacity is inadequate to meet demands.

In response to these issues and problems affecting coastal tourism development, the Government initiated two separate study groups, respectively in 1971 and 1974, to explore possibilities of integrated tourism planning and development framework for the coast: (1) The Government Working Party (1971) was utterly critical of the economic, social, cultural and environmental dangers posed by sustained unplanned 'ribbon development', and recommended planning guidelines based on balancing maximum economic advantages with minimum social costs and disbenefits. (2) Diani Beach Resort Complex Study (1974) was to translate the Working Party's planning scenario into a reality. It identified Diani Beach, some 30 km. south of Mombasa, for this development.

The significance of these sensitisation programmes, particularly Diani's, was that they laid the foundation for Government future control of tourism development at the coastal fronts in a wider perspective than hitherto when developments were disjointed. Planning became integrative: new and existing projects were linked together; mutual understanding established between tourists and residents; and linkage set with tourist areas and outlying areas - all in consonance with overall development priorities. (Richards, 1980). There is, however, no hard evidence as to how these were achieved or done.

One area this integrative planning is visible is in the establishment of the Kenya Utalii College - on the principle to "provide education and information for both residents and tourists...to bridge the wide gap in social and cultural backgrounds...to promote greater understanding on both sides so as to reduce social friction." (Migot-Adholla, 1982:38). In this regard, an acronym, M.A.P.A.T.A., for 'Multi-Media Analysis of Problems in African Tourism' has been developed, and forms the basis of the College's curriculum (Blanton, 1979:17).

M.A.P.A.T.A. is a Swahili word for 'gains' or 'rewards'. According to Blanton, its adoption as the basis for curriculum development, is a modest but conscious attempt, among other things, to (1) help tourism to work as a force for social cohesion and cultural identity; (2) increase the

chances of a healthy and productive interaction between tourists and East Africans. In short, the programme deals with questions of human relations, motivation, and self-image, particularly as they apply to East Africa, although at times these questions overlap with concerns of sub-Saharan Africa as a whole.

The Government has continued to sponsor further studies, like those of Mitchell (1968), Appraisal of the Wildlife and Tourism Project (1976), Economist Intelligence Unit (1979), as well as the I.L.O. (1987), to mention but a few.

There are problems associated with wildlife development activities; these are different from those at the coast. They relate to (1) a combination of growing livestock numbers (bred to provide subsistence for a pastoral population rising by over 4-5% per annum), (2) changes in land tenure, (3) illegal hunting, and more recently, (4) to serious visitor congestion in some parks and reserves. Aware of these problems, the Government of Kenya has relied upon two main lines of policy to prevent further decimation of wildlife and by so doing ensure better management of wildlife resources.

The first was to pass laws requiring licences for all hunting of game animals for sport or profit. These laws were and are administered and enforced by the Game Department (now the Wildlife Conservation and Management Service). The ban on hunting has increased the protection

of wildlife resource. A second and more recent policy was the declaration of Game Reserves and National Parks. In the former case, hunting was prohibited; and in the latter, all activities in conflict with wildlife preservation were prohibited. Reserves and Parks were established in areas harbouring high densities of wild animals whose survival was believed to be threatened by other land uses. Most Game Reserves were on Trust Lands. They were established by decisions of the County Council in which the Trust Land was vested.<sup>10</sup> National Parks and National Reserves were the responsibility of the Trustees of the Kenya National Parks, a statutory body which derived its revenues from fees, private donations and Government grants.

In relation to the second policy, there is today one major policy change. The Game Department and Kenya National Parks have been merged into Wildlife Conservation and Management Service Department, thus bringing under a single integral control the two primary components of a progressive wildlife policy: the primary resource, wildlife itself, and the environments in which wildlife-based tourism is developed, the parks and reserves.

One cannot fail to point out at this time that wildlife-land use issue is a highly emotive one. The arguments surrounding the matter are outwith the concern of this present chapter, more of the controversies are examined in chapter 8. But from a policy perspective, all that can be

said now is that the Kenyan Government has set out a series of policies designed to overcome the problems; the policies are clearly stated in the Development Plan (1974-1978 to the present, 1984-1988), and in Sessional Paper, No. 3 (1975).

A fundamental policy is to encourage landowners (pastoralists) to harbour wildlife on their land by enabling them to earn direct returns from it. The returns may come from consumptive utilisation (hunting, cropping) or from tourism (rentals from lodges and campsites, for example).

To halt the damage to the ecology of the parks and reserves which tourism growth has brought about, the Government intends to provide more careful planning of parks and reserves, and more sensitive development of trade networks. Also, in an attempt to limit the poaching of ivory in the short run, the Government has issued a legal notice abolishing private trade in raw ivory.

A look at the current national development plan, indicates further strategic policy directions of the Government. Throughout the plan period, wildlife planning unit (W.P.U.) and Kenya Rangeland Ecological Monitoring Unit (K.R.E.M.U.) will jointly concentrate in providing baseline-data on wildlife resources and their habitats for planning and management purposes.



## 4.3 The GAMBIA

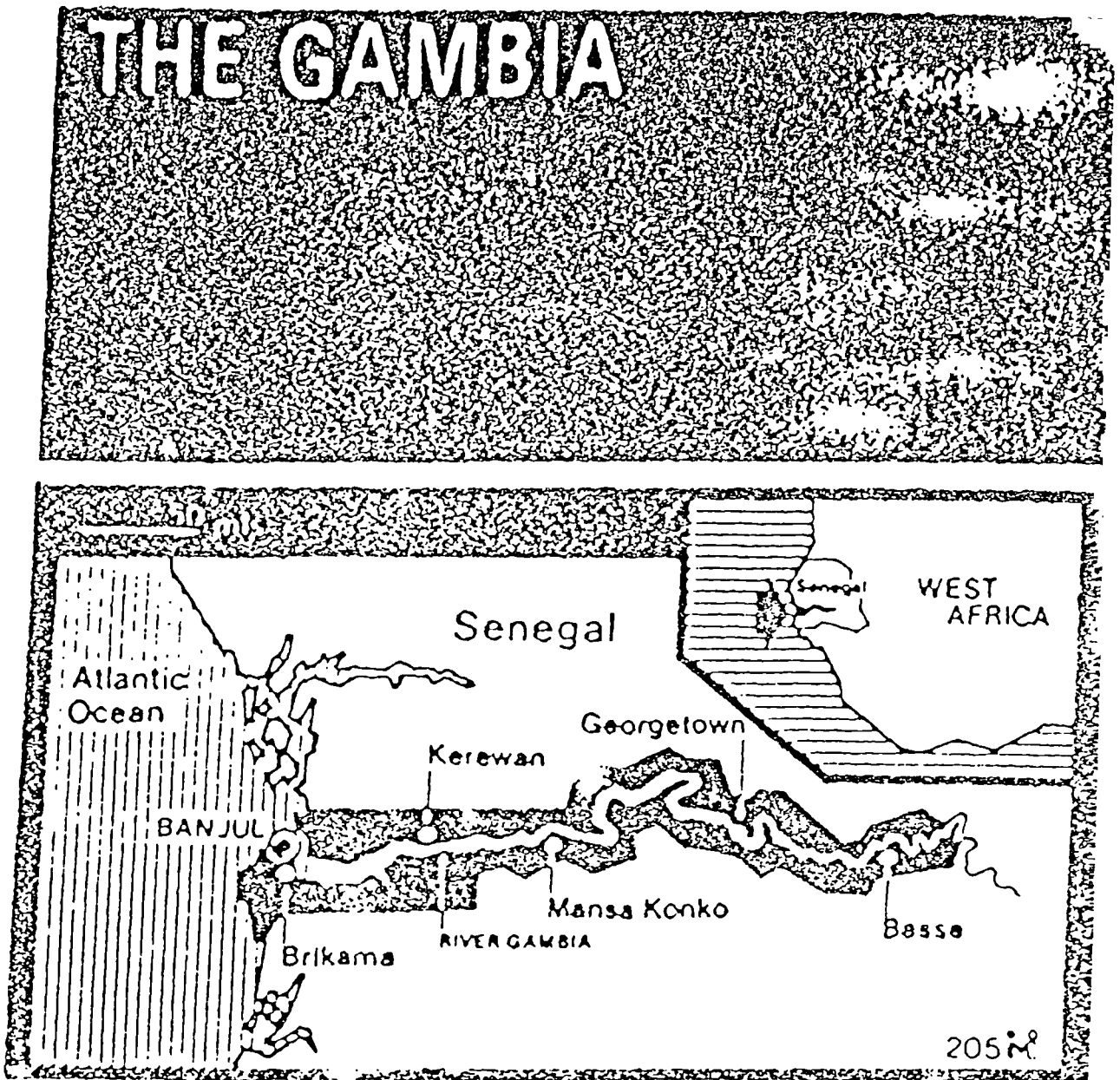
### 4.3.1 Geography

The Gambia is a small,<sup>11</sup> mainland<sup>12</sup> state, located on the west coast of Africa (see Fig. 4.6). It lies between latitude 13° north of the equator and 14° west of Greenwich. Stretching inland from the west coast for some 320 km (199 miles) on both sides of the River Gambia, the country is a narrow strip of terrain which, except at the coast, is entirely surrounded on its three landward sides by Senegal, its closest neighbour. Thus, it covers a total surface area of approximately 11,295 sq.km. (4,361 sq. miles) - 1,000 of which constitutes river and water area.

The climate throughout the year is warm and tropical savannah with an average day temperature of about 30°C. Seasonal changes are determined by two types of weather which occur during the year. One type is characterised by dry, mild/cool winds, brought by the northerly harmattan, and generally extends from December to April. The other type extends from May until September. Heavy rains with winds are generally experienced during this period. The landscape consists mainly of savannahs - flat and sparsely forested - except for mangrove-swamps along parts of the river banks.

For administrative purposes, The Gambia has been divided into a set of five divisions, namely: Western, Lower River, North Bank, Maccarthy Island, and Upper River. The capital,

Fig. 4.6 : Map of The Gambia



Continent/Region: West Africa

Banjul (formerly Bathurst), is a separate administrative zone, making a total of six administrative areas.

#### 4.3.2 Population

The population, according to the April, 1983 preliminary census returns, is approximately 697,000. When matched against the land area of 11,295 sq. km. (4,361 sq. miles), as stated previously, this makes for an average population density of 62 per sq. km. - reportedly the highest in mainland Africa. With the present population growth rate of 3.2% per annum, it is projected that by 1990 the population would be about 783,000 (E.I.U., 1987:44). A provisional report on the Population and Housing Census, giving a wider view of the country's demographic characteristics than the 1983 preliminary figures, is currently being prepared.

#### 4.3.3 Ethnic Groups, Language and Religion

The people of The Gambia represent some 12 different ethnic groups. The three major ones, Mandinka, Wolof and Fula (Peul), each of which, according to the 1983 census figures, represents 44%, 12.3%, and 17.5%, respectively, of the total population. English is widely spoken, being the official language, both at school and in government. The two main indigenous languages are Mandinka and Wolof of which the latter is popular in the urban areas, particularly in Banjul, the capital. The great majority of the inhabitants belong to the Moslem religion, and a few are animists.

#### 4.3.4 Economic Background

As is perhaps typical of most small states, The Gambia has a narrow resource base on account of its small land area, and has virtually no known important mineral resources or oil reserves. However, the country has managed to sustain its economy through agriculture which accounts for about 25% of Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.). Subsistence crops like rice, cotton, millet, maize, sorghum, cassava and vegetable, and cash crops like groundnuts, are grown. Groundnut cultivation is dominant, and this, according to World Bank estimates, accounts for about 90% of total exports. Sectors like fish and fish products and tourism have been major sources of foreign currency and government revenue.

It is reported (E.I.U., 1987:46) that during the first national development plan (covering 1975/76-1979/80), the Gambian economy underwent severe reverses, with growth rate reaching as low as 1.8% per annum in real terms. Similarly, although the G.D.P. growth<sup>13</sup> was projected at 5.1% per annum, this was not realised as a result of a number of crises - severe drought, huge public sector deficits, external debt burden, and so on. As one report notes, the "G.D.P. is thought to have contracted by 10 per cent in 1983/84 and another 2.8 per cent in 1984/85, followed by a fall of as much as 8-9 per cent in 1985/86" (E.I.U., 1987:47). In addition, Hughes (1987:468) reports that

'The country's gross domestic product (G.D.P.), having increased from D594.4m<sup>4</sup> in 1982/83 to 776m in 1983/84, fell sharply in 1984/85, to D518.3m, as a result of poor agricultural production, due to drought, and of the increased cost of imported food and fuel. The Gambia's gross national product (GNP) per head, according to estimates by the World Bank, declined from US\$360 (at average 1980-82 prices) in 1982 to \$290 (at 1981-83 prices) in 1983....'

With help from the World Bank and the I.M.F., the Government of The Gambia introduced in the 1985/86<sup>1</sup> budget new austerity measures by launching an Economic Recovery Programme (E.R.P.) in August, 1985. The E.R.P. covers 1985/89 period and is aimed mainly at redressing the internal and external economic disequilibrium which the country was experiencing, resulting in "severe shortages of essential commodities, a decline in domestic output, the emergence of a parallel foreign exchange market, and an erosion of The Gambia's international credit worthiness." (Budget Speech, 1987).

All the same, the Budget Speech would appear to send an optimistic signal as a result of the Government's E.R.P. stabilisation programmes. The G.D.P., at current market prices for fiscal year 1986/87 is provisionally estimated at D1,056m compared with the revised figure of D870m for the fiscal year 1985/86 - a nominal increase of 21.4%. In real terms, therefore, G.D.P. at constant 1976/77 market prices is estimated at D436m in 1986/87 compared with D414m in 1985/86. These data imply a level of average per capita income at constant prices of D554 in 1986/87 and D542 in

1985/86, representing an increase of 2%.

Figures revealed by the 1987 Budget Speech show that total employment in establishments with five or more workers - the formal sector - was provisionally estimated at 22,988 at the end of December 1986, with 15,270 (70%) in the public (that is, government and parastatals) and 7,028 (32%) in the private, sector. Personal, Community and Social Services absorbed the highest employment in the public sector with 4,169 (27%) followed by Transport and Communications with 2,605 (17%) and Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing with 2,505 (16%). In the private sector, industries such as wholesale, retail trade, restaurants and hotels, had 2,321 (33%), Construction had 1,228 (18%) and Personal and Community Services had 1,086 (16%).

These figures compare with a total of 24,080 at the end of December 1985 - 16,332 public (68%) and 7748 (32%) private - suggesting that 1,782 (nearly 8%) of the formal sector work force became unemployed during 1986. Similarly, the trend compares with a total of 27,339 at the end of 1984, indicating that 3,259 (12%) were jobless in 1985 - a downward trend which is very unlikely to be reversed as a result of the E.R.P. rationalisation policy. For example, according to government figures, some 2,284 temporary or daily-paid public sector workers and 459 established civil service employees lost their jobs in the 1985/86 fiscal year.

Food and Agricultural Organisation (F.A.O.) and Central Bank of The Gambia sources suggest that as of December 1986, there was a labour force of more than 400,000, of which 80% make up the agricultural sector work force, and 30% of that total labour force lives in urban areas. This perhaps indicates a substantial degree of unemployment and under-employment in the towns, realising that formal sector jobs are in the range of 20,000-30,000.

Although the gross domestic product at current market prices for 1986/87 is provisionally put at D1,056m, in real terms, the G.D.P. at constant 1976/77 market prices stands at D436m in 1986/87. The largest contribution to G.D.P. was from agriculture, forestry and fishing (29.2%), followed by trade sector (23.8%), government sector (10.2%), manufacturing (9.3%), tourism (7%). Service and banking and construction contributed the balance.

As far as its external trade is concerned, the country's total value of international trade for 1986/87 is estimated at D1,060m, compared with D696m recorded in 1985/86 - a large increase attributed to improved economic climate. Imports for fiscal year 1986/87 stand at D827 million compared with D492m in the previous year - an increase of 68% - implying a high food import bill. Domestic exports in 1986/87 are put at D233 million relative to D204 million for the preceding year. Groundnuts and groundnut derivatives account for the largest share, with corresponding increase in exports of fish and fish

preparations. For the current year (1986/87), the balance of trade was D594 million in deficit, as against D288 million in fiscal year 1985/86. Such deficits as seen above are partly the main concerns of the E.R.P. which attempts to reduce them. Tourism is main foreign exchange earner. Current estimates indicate that D25.2 million was spent by tourists during this period, representing an increase of about D2.3 million over last year (1985/86).

#### 4.4 Tourism and the Economy

##### 4.4.1 The Birth and Growth of Tourism

Beach-based tourism in The Gambia is a relatively recent development. The impetus for its initial development did not originate locally; it was spontaneous. It all began, more by chance than design, when, in the early 1960's, on the initiative of a Swedish tour agent operating to Las Palmas (in the Spanish Canary Islands), 'discovered' The Gambia in an attempt to extend a trip to Senegal. Thus, as one writer notes: The Gambia did not "turn to tourism as a development enterprise. Nor is tourism in this country the result of publicity from Alex Hailey's novel, *Roots*<sup>14</sup>,...Tourist agents discovered the Gambia." (Harrell-Bond, 1978:5).

It would appear that Vingressor, the Swedish tour operator, was impressed by tourism potential of The Gambia - with its dry and sunny winter climate, long sandy Atlantic palm-



fringed beaches, and proximity to major tourism source markets (of Western Europe); according to Facht (1976), other principal assets include "stable, democratic government...interesting culture allowing attractive excursions," and most importantly, the fact that the Gambians are friendly and polite to strangers, is perhaps positive setting for tourism development. One promotional literature has described the territory as "the smiling coast." These excursions, as noted above, are made possible because of the River Gambia which, according to one report (I.T.Q., 1983:18), offers an alternative to sea and sun, and provides opportunities not only for shorter boat trips but also fishing expeditions - to farming and fishing villages, markets, distant beaches, to entertain tourists.

Hence, in 1965, Vingressor brought to The Gambia the first group of charter-inclusive tourists, estimated at 300, predominantly Swedish, who spent their vacations on the Gambia coasts. The following year (1966), it increased tourist numbers to 528. For the first five years, this agency maintained a monopoly of tourist charter flights in and out of The Gambia as a result of contract agreement with both the government and a small Scandinavian tour operator, Harding. The beginning of 1971, however, saw a break in this monopoly, when other Scandinavian operators joined in, followed by other nationalities, such as the British companies, like Far Horizon, Wings, and the Danish Spies; these began to serve The Gambia. Although most tourists arrived by air charters, there were others who

came on non-charter air basis; some arrived by sea, others land.

As Table 4.6 below shows, so from a modest beginning in 1965/66, with only 300 tourist arrivals, Gambian air charter tourism has grown by leaps and bounds, reaching in 1984/85 season approximately 46,000. Again, in 1971/72, over 200% increases in arrivals were recorded. There have, of course, been some reverses, relating mainly to conditions in competition. For example, the peak of 1978/79 was eroded later by oil price hike. The coup in The Gambia of July, 1981 had an adverse effect on the 1981/82 season.

**Table 4.6 : Charter Tourists Visiting  
The Gambia by Air 1965/66-1984/85**

| Period  | Total Arrival | Change on Previous Yr. |       |
|---------|---------------|------------------------|-------|
|         |               | Number                 | %     |
| 1965/66 | 300           | --                     | --    |
| 1966/67 | 528           | 228                    | 76.0  |
| 1971/72 | 8,031         | 5,430                  | 208.0 |
| 1972/73 | 15,584        | 7,553                  | 94.0  |
| 1977/78 | 15,769        | -3,736                 | -19.2 |
| 1978/79 | 25,907        | 10,138                 | 64.0  |
| 1983/84 | 39,491        | 12,746                 | 47.7  |
| 1984/85 | 45,861        | 6,370                  | 16.1  |

Source: Central Statistics Department, Gambia  
Tourism Statistics, 1984/85

Table 4.7 below indicates the contributions to the total visitor arrivals made by charter and non-charter tourists

in The Gambia by mode of transport from 1972/73 to 1984/85, namely air, sea and land.

**Table 4.7 : Total Visitor Arrivals by Means of Transport, 1972/73-1984/85**

|         | A I R   |             | S E A    |               | L A N D |             | TOTAL  |
|---------|---------|-------------|----------|---------------|---------|-------------|--------|
|         | Charter | Non-Charter | Tourists | Excursionists | Charter | Non-Charter |        |
| 1972/73 | 15,584  | ---         | --       | 5,065         | 39      | ---         | 16,128 |
| 1973/74 | 20,383  | ---         | --       | 3,113         | 1270    | ---         | 24,766 |
| 1977/78 | 15,769  | 5,878       | 119      | 2,756         | 3213    | 3878        | 31,613 |
| 1978/79 | 25,907  | 10,603      | 47       | 2,637         | 2845    | 2175        | 44,214 |
| 1983/84 | 39,491  | 15,442      | 243      | 796           | 2957    | 5179        | 64,108 |
| 1984/85 | 45,861  | 18,504      | 279      | 955           | 2512    | 5742        | 73,853 |

Source: Tourism Statistics, 1984/85

Notes: 1. 'Tourists' refers to non-charter tourist  
2. 'Excursionists' refers to charter tourist

As can be seen from the above table, in the 1984/85 tourism season, for example, there were 73,853 arrivals. Of this figure, both charter and non-charter each made a respective contribution of 49,328 (69%) and 24,525 (33%) of the total traffic, broken down as follows: air, 64,365 (87%), sea, 1,234 (1.7%) and land, 8,254 (11.3%).

Up to 1976/77, Scandinavian tourists dominated Gambian tourism, constituting about 90% of the air charter traffic. From 1977/78, however, with the arrival in The Gambia of approximately 2,000 German tourists, this predominance (of Scandinavians) was threatened. This period also saw more

French, Swiss and Austrian parties competing for Gambia tourist market share. In 1978/79, with the arrival of the British tourists in their thousands, this monopoly of the Scandinavians was broken,<sup>17</sup> with the British now maintaining a clear market share of tourism in the country, in terms of volume arrival. Table 4.8 below shows how each nationality serving the Gambia is represented, in air charter tourism.

**Table 4.8 : Air Charter Tourists  
Classified by Nationality 1981-85**

| Nationality          | 1981/1982 |      | 1982/1983 |      | 1983/1984 |      | 1984/1985 |      |
|----------------------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|-----------|------|
|                      | No.       | %    | No.       | %    | No.       | %    | No.       | %    |
| British              | 4,407     | 33.1 | 10,121    | 37.8 | 15,061    | 38.1 | 33,742    | 51.8 |
| Swedish              | 5,561     | 41.7 | 6,059     | 22.6 | 5,669     | 14.4 | 5,911     | 12.9 |
| France               | 11        | 0.1  | 2,402     | 9.0  | 4,054     | 10.3 | 5,330     | 9.4  |
| Danish               | 2,279     | 17.1 | 2,376     | 8.9  | 2,644     | 6.7  | 2,636     | 5.7  |
| German               | 166       | 1.2  | 1,099     | 4.1  | 2,140     | 5.4  | 2,106     | 4.6  |
| Swiss                | 9         | 0.1  | 728       | 3.5  | 2,309     | 5.8  | 1,414     | 3.1  |
| Italian <sup>1</sup> |           |      |           |      | 908       | 2.3  | 838       | 1.8  |
| Finnish              | 192       | 1.4  | 315       | 1.2  | 325       | 0.8  | 669       | 1.5  |
| Norwegian            | 222       | 1.7  | 465       | 1.7  | 946       | 2.4  | 701       | 1.5  |
| Austrian             | 16        | 0.1  | 1,393     | 5.2  | 2,653     | 6.7  | 502       | 1.1  |
| Americans            | 55        | 0.4  | 90        | 0.3  | 176       | 0.4  | 256       | 0.6  |
| Belgian <sup>2</sup> |           |      |           |      |           |      | 76        | 0.2  |
| Others               | 413       | 3.1  | 1,497     | 5.6  | 2,598     | 6.6  | 2,680     | 5.8  |
| Total                | 13,331    | 100  | 26,745    | 100  | 39,491    | 100  | 45,861    | 100  |

Source: Central Statistics Department, Tourism Statistics 1984/85.

Notes: (1) Italians were classified under 'Others' in 1981/82-1982/83.

(2) Belgians were classified under 'Others' in 1981/82-1982/83

One feature of Gambia charter tourism is its seasonality.

Table 4.9 below shows how spread this factor is.

**Table 4.9 : Seasonal Pattern of  
Air Charter Tourist Arrivals**

|           | 1984  | 1985  |
|-----------|-------|-------|
| January   | 6,104 | 7,363 |
| February  | 5,933 | 6,477 |
| March     | 5,336 | 5,965 |
| April     | 3,563 | 4,479 |
| May       | 774   | 2,025 |
| June      | 738   | 640   |
| July      | 1,164 | 819   |
| August    | 927   | 920   |
| September | 955   | 934   |
| October   | 2,471 | 2,779 |
| November  | 5,884 | 7,006 |
| December  | 6,659 | 8,176 |

Source: Monthly Bulletin Oct.'85-April'86  
Statistics Dept.

As seen, tourism starts at a low activity level in October, appreciates quickly in November, and peaks from Christmas to March. From April actual decline in numbers sets in, even though at this time, the weather is still good and the rains do not begin until around June. What is more, destinations much closer to Europe offer more attractive and much cheaper beach holidays than the Gambia. Hotels record occupancy rates of about 85% during peak season, and about 45%, or even much lower during the remainder of the season.

The development of tourism in The Gambia can be better

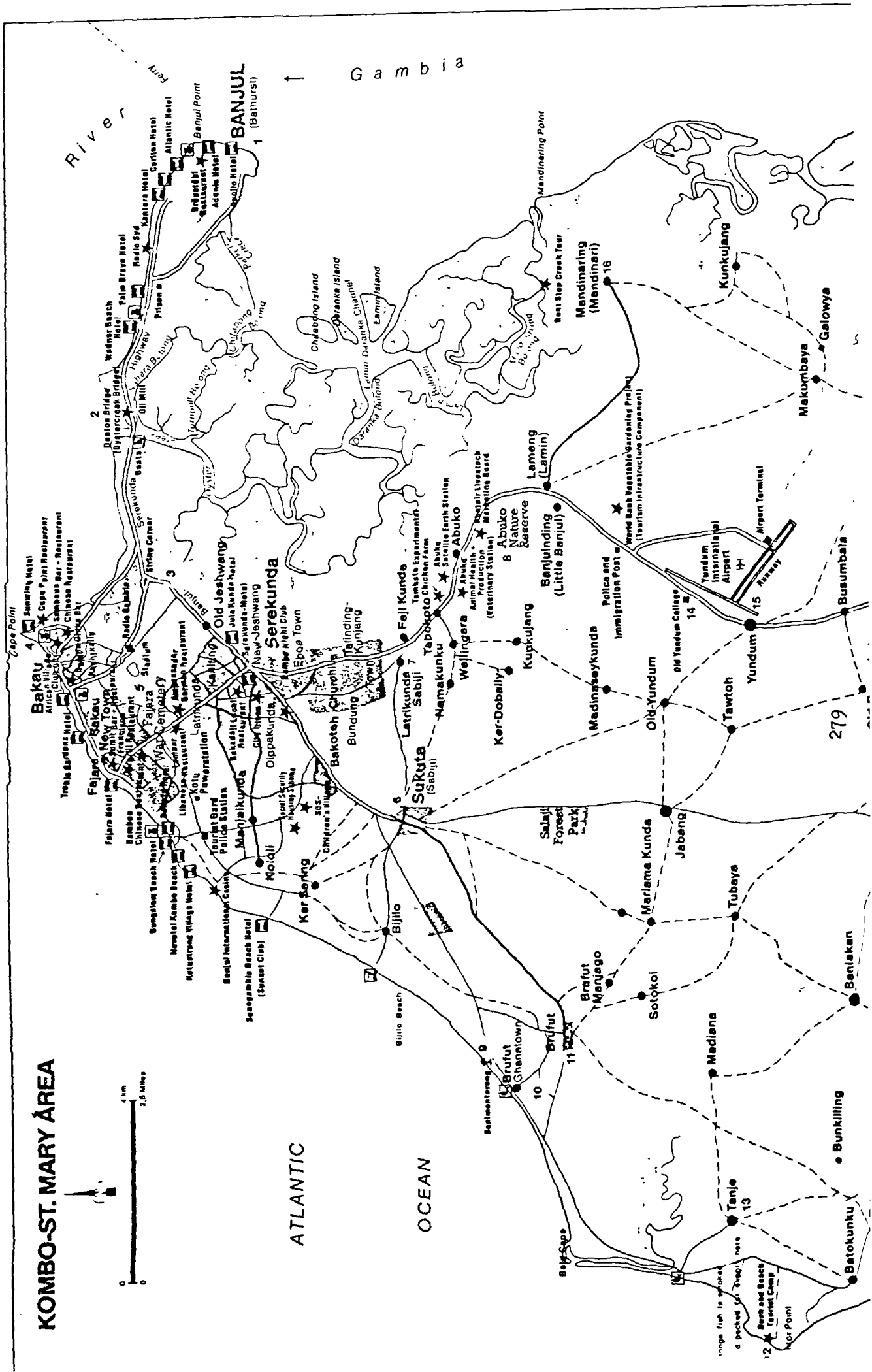
appreciated in context when one realises that, as observed before, one product, groundnuts, has dominated the economy. There is also absence of exploitable natural resources. And so since independence in 1965, the Government has made various efforts to diversify the economic base of the country by creating work opportunities outside the traditional sector. For this major reason, the establishment of international tourism has been welcome. Similar to expectations of other developing countries, The Gambia hopes that tourism will increase Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.), strengthen the balance of payments, and decrease the disparity between rural and urban per capita income.

In the 1970s, various international agencies, such as the United Nations and its specialist organs, and many development banks, like the African Development Bank, Credit Bank for Reconstruction (Germany) assisted many developing countries to develop their tourism potential. (Diamond, 1977:539) The Gambia also benefited from these aid packages, and received technical assistance and capital for tourism development. Such assistance was responsible for the emergence of 'The Tourism and Infrastructure Project' (T.I.P.)<sup>19</sup> of 1975-1980, otherwise known as the 'Bafuloto<sup>19</sup> Project', as Bolt (1974), the World Bank expert<sup>20</sup> has labelled it. The project was the first major boost to concerted tourism planning and development in The Gambia.

The project involved basic environmental and physical planning studies with a view to allocating International Development Association (I.D.A.) funds for the infrastructure required for tourism development. As noted, three main publications<sup>21</sup> resulted from the "expert's" investigations and were referred to as the 'pre-investment studies'. The findings of these studies were the basis for the I.D.A. funding, which eventually led to government massive promotion of a tourist development plan aimed at exploiting most of the available Atlantic beach-fronts in the Kotu area - the much famed 'Tourism Development Areas' (T.D.A.) of Gambian records (see Fig. 4.7).

The overriding objective of the tourism development project was to meet the demands of tourist accommodation in The Gambia by making substantial enlargement and other improvements on most hotel facilities and structures. At the present time, the project has been completed. It has a hotel bed capacity of 1,570 - providing over 40% of the needs of total tourist bed requirement. Thus, from the 1968 situation where there were only 400 beds, by 1984/85, there were altogether 3,865 beds, of which 90% catering almost exclusively for tourists. Similarly, total bednights capacity has risen from 129,000 in 1968 to over 1 million in 1984/85 tourist season.

FIG. 4.8: MAP OF THE T.D.A.





#### 4.4.2 Government Tourism Planning Efforts

It has been observed that the Tourism and Infrastructure Project indicates government interest in, and active encouragement of, planning for tourism. The project recognises the importance of tourism to The Gambia and includes provision for a progressive development in phases, of certain difficult areas considered good only for tourism purposes - hence the existence of the Tourism Development Areas (T.D.A.). Similar to the beliefs held by many tourism planning agencies that tourism appears to be one of the growth sectors in the national economy, the Government of The Gambia has stated that the economic benefits of encouraging the future development of the industry are enormous<sup>22</sup>.

If the growth of tourism in The Gambia - and indeed the demands that this growth places on available resources<sup>23</sup> - can be considered as 'external' catalyst to planners taking a greater interest in tourism planning, then the enactment, in October, 1972 of the Town and Country Planning Act can be considered as an 'internal' catalyst. The Government recognised the need to organise, co-ordinate and control tourism development and, by this Act, created the Tourism Liaison Board (T.L.B.). The Act seemed to have set in motion establishments of a series of Government parastatals whose functions impinged on tourism. It thus widened the scope of planning to incorporate economic and social matters, in addition to protection of the physical

environment. The result is that the planner's raison d'etre for involvement in tourism planning has become clearer. Another body was the Tourism Advisory Board (T.A.B.) - a forum for representatives of public and private entities concerned with the hotel industry - acting in an advisory level to the Ministry of Information and Tourism (M.I.T.) on all matters relating to the tourism sector.

Overseeing the activities of these two agencies was the Ministry of Information and Tourism. Created in 1974 to replace the Ministry of State for Information, Broadcasting and Tourism which had been set up in 1970, the M.I.T.'s responsibilities initially were limited to hotel training and supervision of the industry. These later expanded to incorporate planning, monitoring and controlling tourist activities.

It is important to mention that these government agencies or bodies were given the task to formulate tourism policies that would promote the economic and social well-being of The Gambians. So, right from the outset they regarded the development of tourism as an important component in Gambia's future and recommended to the Government that an immediate start be made on a comprehensive study of tourism with a view to incorporating policies in the national planning and development schemes. Subsequent sections of this research review some of the functions of these agencies and in particular focus on the role of tourism in promoting economic development in The Gambia.

#### 4.4.3 Government Bodies Responsible for Tourism

As just noted, three Government bodies are directly involved in tourism in The Gambia. These are (1) the Ministry of Information and Tourism (M.I.T.); (2) the Tourism Advisory Board (T.A.B.); and (3) the Tourism Liaison Board (T.L.B.). Let us now examine the functions of these, and how they relate to one another.

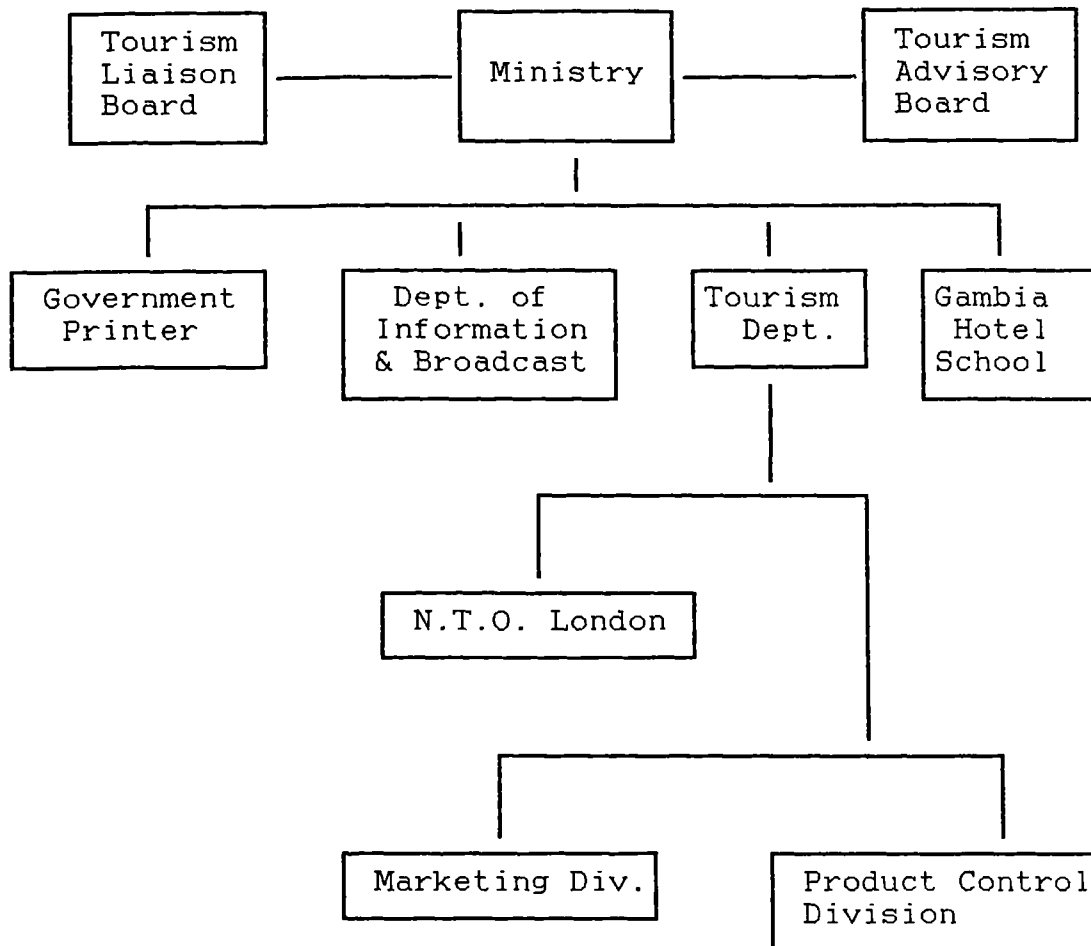
##### (1) Ministry of Information and Tourism (M.I.T.)

Figure 4.8 below presents the organisational structure of the M.I.T.

The Ministry of Information and Tourism comprises two main parts: the Information and Broadcasting Department and the Tourist Office. Whereas the first oversees the national radio system and government press, the second participates in the Tourism Liaison Board and Tourism Advisory Board deliberations and controls the two main tourism-related Acts - the Hotel and Restaurant Act and the Tourist Industry Licensing Act.

Established in 1982, the Department of Tourism<sup>24</sup> includes a development control unit to monitor present and future hotel standards. The department handles promotion, encourages the development of ancillary services, and - importantly - reviews the social impact of tourism on The

Fig. 4.8 : Organisational Structure of  
Ministry of Information and Tourism (M.I.T.)



Gambia itself. It does this by means of a weekly radio programme on tourist developments and local reactions to them, which include an educational element on how to behave to tourists; conversely, it arranges meetings with operators to air problems of tourists' behaviour to locals.

(2) Tourism Advisory Board (T.A.B.)

As the name connotes, the T.A.B.'s function is purely advisory: to advise the M.I.T. on all matters related to tourism, including immigration, transportation, crafts, tourist guards, and so on, and on the main inter-ministerial decisions deemed necessary.

(3) Tourism Liaison Board (T.L.B.)

Established under the October 1972 Town and Country Planning Act (referred to above), the T.L.B.'s responsibility is to control all applications for land acquisition, building permits, and such matters pertaining to tourism, particularly in respect of land allocation in the T.D.A.. It is composed of the following institutions: (1) Department of Physical Planning; (2) Department of Lands; (3) Department of Surveys; (4) Ministry of Local Government and Lands; (5) Ministry of Information and Tourism; and (6) National Investment Board. Of course, there are many areas of conflict among these bodies, and these will be referred to later in the discussion.

#### 4.4.4 Why Tourism?

There are perhaps two major reasons - social and economic - why the Gambian Government resolved to incorporate tourism strategy in the National Development Plan.<sup>25</sup>

First, there was the implicit statutory responsibility as defined in the provisions of the 1972 Town and Country Planning Act; in particular, the responsibility for national planning schemes to deal with the country's economic and social development. Specific to tourism, it was believed that tourism could make a significant contribution to the provision for social and economic opportunities to the employment of the people of The Gambia (social); and development of the national economy (economic). The formulation of a national tourism strategy is consistent with what is a major concern for the country - that is, the need to create additional jobs.<sup>26</sup> The key factor is the tourism industry's capacity to maintain and create employment opportunities. This then was the second reason for formulating a national tourism strategy. Namely, it was recognised that the tourism industry already made a significant contribution to the country's economic and social well-being, the Government considered that there was scope for additional investment (hence employment creation and income generation) in the industry. To develop the country's tourism potential would be a sound 'investment' because the tourism industry, unlike many other sectors of the economy, offers good prospects for maintaining and

generating employment opportunities, at least on a comparative basis.

#### 4.4.5 Constraints

The Second Five-Year Plan 1981/82-1985/86 has outlined the main constraints facing the tourism industry in The Gambia, and which these tourism bodies will have to contend with. These problems are: (1) very weak linkages with the agricultural, handicrafts, and manufacturing sectors of the economy; (2) continuing absence of an effective organisation with appropriate management and institutions for controlling and monitoring the industry without unnecessary interference; (3) very high foreign exchange leakages and a lack of control of foreign exchange operations in the hotels; (4) limited range and quality of supporting facilities and services, for example, sporting and excursion; (5) high prices not commensurate with standards of hotel and services; (6) absence of quality up-country tourism facilities, for example, motels and lodges; (7) limited Gambia participation in the ownership and management of hotels; (8) the seasonal nature and insecurity of employment and poor conditions of services; (9) ineffective control and management of government direct investment in the hotel industry; (10) lack of strict application and enforcement of labour laws and regulations for the tourist industry; and finally, (11) ineffective tourist promotion efforts.

#### 4.4.6 The Gambian Approach to Tourism Development

The approach to tourism development in The Gambia has been to adopt a strategic approach to national development by identifying possible future actions which could be undertaken by various agencies in the interest of the country. Hence, there are other state or parastatal institutions (other than the M.I.T., T.L.B., T.A.B., discussed earlier) which are directly or indirectly involved in tourism activities. These and their respective functions include: (1) Ministry of Local Government and Lands which is responsible for physical planning and leasing of land; (2) Ministry of Economic Planning and Industrial Development. This carries out investment promotion. (3) Gambia Utilities Corporation is responsible for administering the International Development Association's financing for the development of facilities in the T.D.A. (4) National Investment Board (N.I.B.) handles the Government interests in the hotel investment ventures. (5) The Gambia Port Authority operates the river boat services. (6) Civil Aviation Authority is responsible for handling operations at Yundum Airport. (7) Central Statistics Department deals specifically with statistics on tourism. Other bodies are: Ministries of Trade and Finance, of Water Resources, of Agriculture, including, of course, Office of the President.

The role of some of these government organs in respect of tourism planning is that of 'catalyst' or 'co-ordinator'



rather than that of 'implementer'.

Thus, the purpose of the tourist strategy is to (1) outline the objectives relating to the development of tourism in The Gambia; (2) outline the policies which should be pursued in order to meet these objectives; and (3) identify the agencies responsible for implementing agreed policies.

An attempt has been made to develop the tourism strategy within the overall framework of national objectives such that there is, wherever possible, an integration of tourism policies with national development policies, thereby strengthening the links between national development planning and tourism planning. In this context, the Second 5-Year Development Plan has assessed the principal national level tourism objectives to be : (1) overcome major constraints in order to derive more tangible economic and financial benefits from the industry; (2) consolidate existing developments and resources and to restrict superstructural development along the coast, that is, hotels, bars, restaurants, and crafts-markets (otherwise known as bengdulas); (3) create with the public sector an effective and efficient organisation and management framework for tourist promotion, and for monitoring and control of the industry; (4) increase the industry's linkages with the agricultural sector, for example, horticulture, fish, poultry, and meat; and manufacturing, like handicrafts and light manufacturing, sectors; and to increase Gambian participation in the industry; (5) develop

up-country tourist facilities; (6) adopt effective steps to control the social impact of tourism. The belief is that this tourism view is in line with national policy objective of economic growth, full employment and balance of payments, and that it will contribute towards their achievement.

#### 4.4.7 Tourism Objectives and Policies

Having defined the overall tourism objectives, a set of more detailed objectives for tourism was identified. The more specific objectives, as contained in the national plan, were:

1. A more business oriented organisation, under the general responsibility of the M.I.T., to monitor and control the industry and oversee the government's interest in, and evaluation of, hotel investment proposals.
2. Replacing the Tourism Liaison Board with an inter-ministerial consultancy body, since policies affecting tourism are multi-sectoral and cut across the responsibilities of different ministries and departments.
3. Develop Wing Afric Ltd. as the focus for local tours and excursions in competition with the private sector, and more encouragement to Gambian participation in this area.
4. Ceasing loan guarantees as a result of a policy of consolidation in the tourist sector, especially now that the industry has been well established.

5. Replication of the pilot horticultural scheme at Banjul and in other parts for the provision of sufficient and adequate vegetable supplies to the hotels, and to improve the marketing and storage of vegetables.
6. Improved conditions and terms of services for Gambians employed in the tourist hotels in terms of income and security of tenure.
7. more vigorous diversification in the sources of tourists, tour operators, and hotel management groups, and cost effective and sustainable professional marketing and promotional programme within the framework of a Tourism Marketing Plan.
8. Gambia diplomatic missions to be involved in the promotion of tourism and major tour operators to be encouraged to manage hotels.
9. More regular schedule airlines to The Gambia.
10. Enforcement of laws and regulations for the tourist industry, especially those on pricing, minimum standards and facilities, foreign exchange operations, and the hotel classification system for all hotels.
11. Modest investment in up-country tourism - motel, lodges, promotion of rural museums, in development of game reserve and model villages, and in conservation of historical monuments and relics.

12. Inter-country and intra-African tourism.
13. A national telecommunication programme.
- 14 . A hotel classification system and enforcement of all the laws and regulations relating to the tourist industry.

A series of policy actions relating to each objective was also specified, recognising the view that the implementation of the tourism strategy would depend on actions undertaken by a variety of agencies responsible for evaluating and implementing the policies.

The contribution of the Government of The Gambia, through certain policy actions, to tourism development in The Gambia can be summarised as follows: 1. Designation of certain areas - the Tourism Development Areas - considered unsuitable for alternative uses, assigned for tourism development in phases. 2. Government commitment to full loan guarantees to secure financing which enabled it to proceed with the construction of the large hotels, without which it could not have accommodated the present level of tourism. 3. Government participation in ownership of most tourist hotels. 4. Promotion of a series of laws to control the activities of enterprises catering for tourism, particularly as regards initiatives in the non-hotel category. 5. Establishment of a hotel school with an annual student intake of about 100. 6. Expansion of Banjul international airport to take in large aircrafts of DC 10

class. 7. Establishment in 1982 within the M.I.T. of a department essentially dealing with tourism, to promote The Gambia, both at home and abroad. 8. The setting up of two boards under the aegis of the M.I.T. - T.L.B. and T.A.B., whose respective functions are - organising and co-ordinating development in the T.D.A., and acting in an advisory capacity to the M.I.T. on all matters pertaining to the tourism sector.

Meanwhile, the Government is considering a major policy review for tourism. It proposes to withdraw sector investments, and to reduce financial risks (by withdrawing from loan guarantees). At present, our sources are sketchy, but it is understood that these and perhaps more, will form the basis for the New Development Act which is in the offing. In subsequent chapters, we will be reviewing how Kenya and The Gambia are carrying out their various policy objectives for tourism.

## NOTES

1. Acceleration of growth was established not only to overcome stagnation of the preceding years, but also to improve the lot of the ordinary man, for economic and social benefits and for greater control over the national economy. Diversification of the economy was required in a wider sense, in terms of the diversification of the ownership of assets and of economic activities.

2. This sector includes forestry, fishing, building and construction, water collection, and ownership of dwellings. The size of the subsistence sector is an indicator of the extent to which the transaction in the economy have been monetised.

3. This sector has three parts: (a) Enterprises and non-profit institutions, like agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining and quarrying, manufacturing, building and construction, electricity and water, trade/restaurants and hotels, transport/storage and communications, finance/insurance/real estate and business services, ownership of dwellings, other services, (i.e., private tertiary sector); (b) Private households (domestic services); (c) Producers of government services, like public administration, defence, education, health, and agricultural services.

4. The higher G.D.P. growth rate in 1983-1986 may be attributed to a number of factors. First, there has been extensive promotion of domestic exports through trade liberalisation policies. These policies, supported by lower oil and higher coffee prices in the world market, contributed to a 22% increase in domestic exports in 1986, compared with only 4% in 1985. Second, ample rains, coupled with attractive prices paid to producers boosted production in the agricultural and manufacturing sectors. Third, in line with favourable export achievements, domestic consumption rose appreciably. Fourth, during 1985 and 1986, there has been a strong recovery in fixed capital investment. Fifth, a mixed rise in tourism activity helped the distribution and commercial sectors to record substantial growth rates (Economic Survey, 1987: 18).

5. 'Wildlife' refers to all free-living plants and animals. The meaning here here includes wild animals appearing on Schedules One and Two of the Wildlife Conservation and Management Act (1976). In practice, this means most 'useful' species, sunbirds to elephants, although in general, three types of wildlife can be distinguished: 1. lower ruminants such as the various tribes of antelope and wilbeest; 2. the large herbivorous

ones mainly elephants, giraffe; 3. the carnivorous predators, for example, lions or leopards.

6. 'National Parks' refer to 'parcels of land belonging to, and fully administered and financed by, the Central Government.'  
(Sindiyo and Pertet, 1984: 16).

7. 'National Reserves' are 'areas set aside by local authorities (counties) for the conservation of wildlife but which are managed and partly financed by the Central Government.' (Sindiyo and Pertet, op. cit.). County Councils operate game reserves on trust lands for which they are responsible, and also participate in safari lodges or self-catering accommodations.

8. Giffin (1986:31) reports that 1,200 beds have been planned. A luxury International Hotel (200 rooms) was recently opened on the north coast, giving Mombasa a hotel of international standing for the first time. A new 200 room hotel is planned for the undeveloped Msambwani Beach, south of Diani Beach on the South coast, and a further 300 room hotel planned at the Safari Beach Hotel in the same district. African Tours and Hotels plans to spend \$2.5 million on the renovation of its four properties while extensions are planned for the Nyali Beach and Golden Beach hotels. In addition, the K.T.D.C. still aspires to build a Mombasa Hilton on Mombasa Island, thereby placing a luxury hotel within the city centre.

9. Swahili is the indigenous language of Kenya. In addition to the English language, Swahili is widely spoken throughout the country.

10. Government advised Councils on these matters, and the legal notice declaring the Reserve and the by-laws were issued by the Minister of Tourism and Wildlife under the Wild Animals Protection Act. Government also supported Reserves financially, through small grants for capital work and, in some cases, through the secondment to Councils of Game Department officers to act as Wardens.

11. Studies by the U.N.I.T.A.R. (1969), Robie (1984) and the Commonwealth Secretariat (1986) have defined a small state as one whose population is less than 1 million.

12. Also two types of states are identified - continental (or mainland) and island states, respectively described as: "small states that are situated next to other countries on land masses, and those that are separated from other countries by being islands." (Commonwealth Secretariat,

1986:11)

13. The growth of the G.D.P. or income is conventionally treated as one of the most important indicators of the economic performance achieved by a nation.

14. D=Dalasi is the local currency and the exchange rate was fixed at £1=D5 hitherto January 1986 when this fixed rate was abandoned and a 'floating' rate was adopted under the the Economic Recovery Programme (E.R.P.). Now, the new rate is £1=D11.5, i.e. at the time of field research in The Gambia (July, 1987).

15. Fiscal year begins July 1 and ends June 30.

16. Alex Hailey, an American Black, after conducting research traced his ancestry to the village of Juffure, in The Gambia. His story has been televised in a documentary series entitled 'Roots'.

17. Stanley (1979) offers two explanations for this Swedish downturn. First, during General Franco's reign, Sweden isolated its citizens from the popular Spanish resorts by discouraging SAS Airlines from providing air charter flights to Spain. Now this situation has changed and many Swedes take their holidays in the Canaries or on the Mainland. Second, the influx of Swedish tourists, most of whom are of low-to-middle class in background, has led to social dislocation, one which is causing real concern to The Gambia Government. Indeed, the situation once became so difficult that the Gambian Government informally requested the tour operators to reduce the percentage of tourists from Sweden.

18. The project included: 1. the basic infrastructure for the T.D.A.; 2. creation of the Hotel Training School; 3. a food market programme (later abandoned); 4. public utilities (water and electric power); 5. consulting services for Gambia Utility Corporation; 6. studies on the socio-economic impact of tourism. All, but one, of the above components, were implemented, although some were subject to certain modifications.

19. According to Bolt (1974), 'Bafuloto' is a local term meaning land between two rivers and has been used to name area reserved for the tourism industry as show on the map.

20. 'Expert' is the lable given to consultants employed by the United Nations.



21. The three studies by the UN 'expert', D. Bolt, are: 'Bafuloto: Basic Studies.' Parts 2 & 3; Physical Planning and Development Project.

22. See, for example, 1987 Budget Speech statement, pp. 28-30, and Second 5-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1981-1985/86, pp. 249-259; and the 1973 Development Act.

23. 'Resources' defined in the wildest sense to include economic, social, cultural and human resources in addition to physical (land use) resources. This wider definition of resources is implicit in the 1972 Town and Country Planning Act.

24. The Tourism Division of the M.I.T. consists of four departments dealing with Marketing, Product Control, Product Development, and Overseas Activities. The Marketing Department deals with trade representatives, the production of brochures and other printed materials, joint promotions with hotels and tour operators. The Product Department deals with the maintenance of operational standards of hotels, catering establishments, taxis, buses, river launches, and water sports facilities. The Product Development Department helps in designing and promoting new excursions, and in the introduction of new activities in hotels, restaurants and other places of entertainment.

25. The Second Five Year Plan outlines an economic and social development strategy and incorporates the tourism development strategy discussed in this part.

26. Labour force projections, as contained in the 1987 Budget Speech, p. 28, indicate that some 2,000 workers are presently employed in the hotel industry and a further 1,500 in the tourist-related services, while around 3,900 others are pursuing activities indirectly connected with tourism, with a multiplying factor of 3.7 which is in tune with world averages for tourism (i.e. Senegal 3.9, Tunisia 4.3). The Gambia's tourism labour force could be expected to increase over the next few years.

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