DEVELOPING TOURISM WITHIN A DEPENDENCY NETWORK: THE CASE OF GAMBIA

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ABSTRACT

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Underdevelopment structually links less developed countries to the world community in a dependent manner, and has given rise to serious problems of economic viability and social change. Thus, it is imparative that any development alternative employed to counteract these institutional arrangements be carefully analyzed and actualized if history is not to repeat itself.

The concern of this thesis is with the possible impact of a tourist industry on the socio-economic milieu of less developed countries. On the surface, less developed countries generally appear to have an enormous potential for successful development of a tourist industry because of the expansion and growth of international tourism demand, in general, and favorable trends to these areas of the world, in particular. Moreover, many less developed countries are richly endowed with cultural and natural touristmagnetic attractions and because of little exploration present fresh markets to tourism's advocates.

The two most significant ways in which tourism could assist less developed countries in their pursuit of economic and social development is through the creation of more employment opportunities and the attainment of a more favorable balance of payments situation. While this study acknowledges the potentialities of tourism, it also demonstrates that this potential is historically, economically and socially relative.

Part I of this thesis focuses on the important changes in the world order that gave rise to international tourism and how it gradually came to be considered a viable development alternative by less developed countries. Secondly, emphasis is placed on the need for understanding the institutional arrangement in which tourism is being developed, i.e., underdevelopment and structural dependence as they act as constraints on developmental endeavors.

The main body of this thesis consists of a case study of tourism in The Gambia. It was found that tourism did not affect a significant break with The Gambia's historical past of dependence, but further involved it in a dependency network. In the past The Gambia was dependent on industrialized markets for the export of its groundnuts. Through tourism it is now dependent on them as sources of demand flows for its tourist industry, to provide foreign private capital, and through the importation of foodstuffs, liquor and infrastructural materials.

From the empirical case of The Gambia, it was found that tourism's potentialities for aiding development were substantially reduced. The data indicate The Gambia earns little if any revenue from its tourist industry because of non-Gambian ownership of tourist plant, lucrative investment incentives, the high import content of the industry and infrastructural requirements. All of these factors reduce the actual foreign exchange earnings that accrue to The Gambia. While it has increased employment quantitatively, qualitatively it leaves much to be desired as the better paying jobs are filled by expatriates and the seasonal nature of tourism results in unemployment and underemployment for part of the year.

While it is true that tourism has some socially redeeming qualities in The Gambia, the major over-all affect has been to produce social strain. This has taken a number of forms such as cultural erosion, dislike and resentment of foreigners, environmental despoilage and a premature departure to modernization through an odd injection of western values eminating from visiting tourists.

The defects in the reality of tourism's development in The Gambia, as opposed to its potentialites, stem from internal as well as external factors. On the one hand, government officials failed to identify relevant drawbacks and limitations of this development alternative and were dilatory in effectively dealing with the problems generated by its expansion. On the other hand, the underdeveloped state in which most less developed countries find themselves gives them little control over the supply and demand factors that ultimately affect their tourist industries.

From the case study of The Gambia some key areas were identified in which less developed countries might encounter difficulty in establishing a successful tourist industry and some policy measures were suggested. The probable result of the implementation of these measures would be a decrease in the volume of tourism and the possible loss of interest on the part of foreign private investors. The overall conclusion from this study was that few if any less developed countries should rely soley on tourism to bring about development.

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To my mother

In appreciation for all those painstaking years

A man that hath traveled
knoweth many things;
And he that hath much experience
will declare wisdom.
He that hath no experience
knoweth little;
But he that hath traveled
is full of prudence.
When I traveled, I saw many things;
and I understand more
than I can express.

Ecclesiastes, Chapter 34

CHAPTER I

PART I: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Tourism: A Significant Social Reality

Perhaps history will show that in the mid-twentieth century, tourism exceeded all other influences in creating a pervasive impact on world economic, cultural and social behavior. At present, however, the concept of international tourism is relatively new and only dimly understood by most economists and social philosophers. It has nevertheless exploded into a world already overcrowded with international complexities, yet gaining recognition and growing interest as a tool for economic development.

Due to the vastness of tourism as an international industry, even those who have elected to study this phenomenon are inevitably forced to deal with it in limitation rather than exhaustively. There is perhaps no other industry more complex. Parodoxically tourism is relatively easy to identify, yet hard to define and statistically slippery. Its origin is difficult to pinpoint but its growth has been prodigious. Uniquely, "tourism is confined to no one place, no one clientele and no one type of service."[1]

A no less elusive, but more concrete explanation of tourism would be the entire world industry of travel components being hotels, transportation and all other coterminous industries permeated by tourism which serve the needs and wants of travelers.

Tourism is somewhat different from other sectors of the economy, since it is an industry based more on the movement of people rather than on goods. For this reason, it is particularly susceptible to subjective considerations quite apart from the play of economic forces. Tourism has significant implications for cultural heritage (for example, the restoration of ancient monuments); aesthetic values (the preservation of ecological harmony); social change (urbanization, migration and increased cross-cultural interaction); and political administration (tourism exerts increased strains on the bureaucratic machinery).

Thus, tourism is not a clear-cut sector but a multifaceted one, necessitating inclusive consideration of its economic, social, cultural and political ramifications.

Statement of the Problem

The concern of this study is with the socio-economic realities of tourism promotion by the less developed world. Heretofore, the task of analyzing tourism and its relevance for less developed countries (LDC's) has been largely left up to economists and institutions like the World Bank, the International Union of Official Travel Organizations and the United Nations. All have been overtly concerned with the economics of tourism rather than a thorough investigation of its total ramifications.

Generally, economic theory reduces the effects of tourism to some common denominator: the value of additional net worth due to tourism. Effects which cannot or have not yet been reduced to this yardstick are ignored, as exemplified in the work of Frank Mitchell, an East African tourist expert. Mitchell believes that the economic value of tourism is distinct from the political, social and cultural consequences of the activity.[2] "These consequences may be important and interesting but their analysis does not fit into present economic theory. This does not mean that no comparison can be made between the 'economic' and non-economic consequences of tourism."[3] But, it does mean, in his view, that economic theory provides no concepts with which to measure these effects. Such an approach to the study of tourism is based on artifical distinctions which ultimately are but a measure of the incapacity of "established" economic theory to deal with reality.

It is the intention of this study to digress from the traditional perspective of viewing tourism in an economic vacuum, as the latter is both conservative and unsuited to the problems of development confronting the less developed world today.

What is theoretically true about tourism's potential as an engine of growth becomes historically, economically and socially relative when applied in an empirical manner. Thus, a more appropriate methodological approach to the study of tourism would involve the interconnectedness of these factors.

The ahistorical manner in which tourism has been previously analyzed comouflages certain difficulties of its development encountered by less developed countries. Such analyses have proven to be misleading and the first correctional task is to provide an appropriate historical framework.

> The decade of the 1960's opened with a new wave of optimistic expectations on the part of less developed countries. There were, first of all, the massive decolonization efforts, which to many implied the eclipse of imperialism and the possibility of meaningful economic reconstruction by the former colonial people, now that political power was an indigenous phenomenon.[4]

> Secondly, even the United Nations General Assembly enthusiastically designated the 1960's as the Development Decade, expressing the 'desire of the world community to accelerate the development process in the less fortunate areas of the world.' In fact, the General Assembly also expressed its conviction that the expansion of trade and the resulting increase in foreign-exchange earnings offered the most rapid method of aiding the development of new nations.[5]
>
> But, as the so-called development decade gradually wore on, it became increasingly evident that these political winds of change and the promised international efforts were not being accompanied by commensurate economic prosperity and well-being in less developed countries.[6]

The obvious question is why not?

Theotonio Dos Santos, Professor of Economics at the University of Chile, views the apparent and persistent inequality among nations to be a <u>structural</u> element of the world economy, i.e., development of parts of the system occurs at the expense of other parts.[7]

> While traditional theories of economic development (typically emanating from developed countries and hence reflecting their biases) admit the existence of an external dependence, they are unable to perceive it as a consequence and part of the process of the world expansion of capitalism, a part that is necessary to and integrally linked with it.[8]

There is a growing body of sociological literature that supports the tenets of structual dependence in analyzing the problems of development for Third World countries. Representative of this recent body of literature are the works of Cockroft, Frank & Johnson, <u>Dependence and Underdevelopment</u> and Walter Rodney, <u>How Europe Underdeveloped Africa</u>. These works trace the origins of the inequality between nations to the historical relationship of dominance by metropolitan powers over the former colonial countries in Latin America and Africa respectively. The concept of underdevelopment translates into exploitation and the manifestation of this situation over time results in structural dependence. These concepts permit one to see the continuity between historical dependence and present-day problems of development.

In this study the framework of structural dependence will be utilized to ascertain the merit of tourism as a development alternative for less developed countries. From this perspective it is hoped that more appropriate policy considerations and decisions can be generated, i.e., what are the necessary and available resources for the development of tourism; how does it affect government revenue and expenditures; how does it affect the growth and stability of employment; does it further involve less developed countries in forms of growth suggested or dictated externally? The advantage of this approach, over its predecessor, is the totality of relationships - internal, external, historical, economic and social - inherent in the conceptualization of structural dependence. An understanding of these factor interrelationships is, in the view of this author, essential to an understanding of the effects of tourism on less developed countries.

This study will attempt to redress two other weaknesses that persist in analytical works on tourism.

> The economic costs associated with tourism's development have received scant attention in the literature. Many have admitted the presence of such costs, but the general impression is that they are negligible compared to the benefits.[9]

Secondly, the socio-cultural impact of tourism's development has often been treated as an externality or minimized in a way that is hardly scientific.

> Although the specific relationship between economic and social development has been a matter of controversy, it seems generally accepted that economic progress, unless it goes hand in hand with social advancement, is likely to become stunted and mishapen.[10]

Therefore, this study will attempt to establish the effect of tourism on social development in less developed countries. Since these effects are largely unquantifiable, no attempts will be made to measure them as such. However, certain inferences can and will be made, supported by the data presented in this study.

In response to the aforementioned weaknesses and omissions, the purpose of this study is to expand upon the scope of tourism analysis, such that a comprehensive and more meaningful perception of its effects on less developed countries will be the end result.

To facilitate this task, within structural limits, use will be made of the case-study approach. The evolution and growth of tourism in The Gambia was chosen with respect to the following criteria.

It is suggested that The Gambia reflects in microcosm the issues and problems which would confront almost any less developed country promoting tourism, especially in light of the fact that she is Africa's smallest and poorest nation.

It has many features in common with other less developed countries such as:

1) few basic exports generally signifying an agriculturally based economy

2) the reliance on export markets in industrial countries

3) fairly rapid population growth, in the face of growing unemployment

4) uneven distribution of property, land and incomes in extremity

5) inadequate levels of skill, education and native entrepreneurship

6) and a common strand of history: colonial rule by a metropolitan power.[11]

In addition, The Gambia has already gone some considerably way in expanding its tourist sector, has invested public money in tourist infrastructure and promotion, and has benefited to some degree as well as suffered from the social and economic parameters associated with tourism. In fact, The Gambia has the fastest growing rate of tourist arrivals in West Africa.[12]

While The Gambia may have earned more prestige than actual hard cash so far from its tourist industry, its touristmagnetic attractions make it one of the few West African countries with any real prospects for development of a successful tourist industry. The greatest attractions are the clean and relatively safe beaches and the agreeable weather. Since 1965, until present, The Gambia remains the scene of an annual Swedish deluge and is a growing competitor of the Canary Islands as a winter sunshine center for Scandinavians.

Lastly, the regional location of West Africa affords the opportunity to do some pioneering research, as the tendency in the past has been to focus on tourism in East Africa, where its growth has been more prodigious as well as reflecting a different kind of tourism. Tourism in East Africa is a game-watching affair, where the tourists are whisked from the airport to the game parks, located away from the residential areas. Tourism in West Africa is predicated more on climatic considerations and culture-seeking tourists which implies a greater degree of social confrontation between foreign tourists and the indigenous population.

The data for this case study was gathered from available resources in the United States. Extensive use was made of Gambian newspapers, African periodicals, travel-related journals and documents of international organizations and agencies concerned with development.

While a single case study cannot establish the existence of a patterned effect of tourism on less developed countries, the information presented and the method of investigation used in this study could suggest questions to be asked and issues to be raised by other less developed countries which have embarked, or are proposing to embark, on a tourist development programme.

Since it is important to consider any activity in light of the institutional arrangements in which it takes place, the concern of Chapter Two is establishing the general context of this study. Attention is focused on the position of tourism with respect to historical precedent and development in Africa.

Chapter Three moves from the general to the particular. The historical, political, economic and social parameters that pertain to The Gambia's background are examined. The growth and structure of tourism are then examined within this particular context.

Drawing upon the data presented in Chapter Three, Chapter Four is an analysis of the relationship between the Gambia's tourist industry and socio-economic and political changes that have accompanied its growth.

Lastly, Chapter Five is concerned with alternative policy choices, generated by the case study, that would reduce the dependence, loss of revenue and negative social effects experienced by many less developed countries as a result of tourism promotion.

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FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 1

[1]Somerset Waters, "The Domestic Travel Industry - An Invisible Sleeping Giant." A paper read before the Travel Research Association Conference, Rye, New York, October 9, 1963, p. 1.

[2]F. M. Mitchell, "The Economic Value of Tourism in Kenya," University of California, 1971, p. 21.

[3]Ibid., p. 18.

[4]J. F. Reweyemamu, "International Trade and the Developing Countries," The Journal of Modern African Studies, 7, 2, 1969, p. 203.

[5]U.N. General Assembly Resolutions 1710 and 1707 (XVI), Passed on the 19th of December, 1961.

[6]Rweyemamu, op.cit., p. 203.

[7]Theontonio Dos Santos, "The Structure of Dependence," American Economic Review, Vol. LX, May, 1970, p. 231.

[8]Ibid., p. 231.

[9]John M. Bryden, Tourism and Development (Cambridge: The University Press, 1973), p. 2.

[10]Jafar Jafari, Role of Tourism on Socio-Economic Transformation of Developing Countries, A Thesis presented to the faculty of the graduate school of Cornell University for the Degree of Master of Science, 1973, p. 156.

[11]Bryden, op.cit., p. 3.

[12]UN-ECA, Tourism in Africa, Annual Bulletin, 1972, March 5, 1973, p. 2 of Addition 1, E/CN .14/TRANS/94.

CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF INTERNATIONAL TOURISM AND THE DEPENDENCY CYCLE OF LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. The chapter begins with an examination of the concept of travel and traces its evolution into modern-day international tourism. The role of tourism in the international economy, especially in relation to developing countries, is examined and statistical data relating to tourist arrivals and receipts are analyzed. Since the general context of this study is Africa, its place in the overall picture is also identified.

Secondly, this chapter attempts to analyze some of the underlying reasons for the impotence of less developed countries to effect the "economic take-off into sustained economic growth." The purpose for so doing is to provide a conceptual framework of the institutional arrangements of the international economic system in which tourism is being developed. Hopefully one will gain some historical insight into why tourism has often failed to be of assistance to less developed countries.

A. The Emergence of International Tourism

As far back as time itself, one finds evidence of human movement from one geographical area to another, making the history of travel an expansive field of study. Such an undertaking, however, would go beyond the scope of this study which is concerned with the most recent chapter in this long saga, i.e., the growth and evolution of international tourism. Yet an historical perspective would be instructive for understanding international tourism's break with the past.

After migration, trade has been the mainspring of travel.[1] Little imagination is needed to appreciate the hazards encountered by travelers in all but the most highly developed periods of civilization and travel usually taken as the last resort and rarely associated with the idea of leisure or pleasure.[2]

In these days when leisure is taken for granted as one of the fundamental rights of man, it sometimes goes unappreciated that less than 100 years ago, leisure was almost nonexistent except for the privileged few. The concept of travel was to soak up the picturesque surroundings and enjoy works of art and the general atmosphere of being abroad.[3] "The image of the tourist was embodied in the German Herr, the English lady, the American couple, the French family and the Dutch girl."[4] Even 50 or 60 years ago there was very little leisure and holidays of more than one week were almost unheard of in offices and factories across the industrialized world.

The birth of international tourism took place shortly after World War II as favorable economic and social conditions emerged, augmented by technological and scientific advances. Higher real incomes, longer leisure time, demographic expansion and increasingly cheaper and varied tourist amenities provided the essential conditions for the growth of tourism.

The spread of education has created greater cultural awareness and/or curiosity and stimulated the desire to travel. The progress of

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industrialization and urbanization has helped to create a psychological propensity to mobility and an urgent need for relaxation and recreation.

Greater solicitude for social welfare has led large numbers of governments to introduce progressive legislation for longer paid holidays. It is forecast that by 2000 A.D. the present 40 to 48 hour work week in industrialized countries, the main tourist generating countries, will be reduced to 30 hours and the present four-week annual paid holiday increased to 12 weeks.[5]

The "tourists," in fact are a fairly recent phenomenon. Their social origins are more varied and so are their tastes. Their period of leisure is longer than their predecessors and they demand a much greater range of diversions to occupy it. Tourists are generally considered temporary visitors making at least an overnight stay in the country visited, the purpose of whose journey may relate to: leisure (recreation, holidays, health, study, religion and sports) business, conferences and a variety of other personal reasons excluding those for gainful employment.[6]

One way to demonstrate the growing importance of international tourism is to follow its growth pattern, in terms of international arrivals and receipts.

Another way to assess the significance of tourism growth is to measure it against the performance of other items of world trade.

Table One shows that in 1948, international tourist arrivals numbered 14,413,400 and total receipts from international tourism amounted to 1.4 billion.[9] By 1971, international tourist arrivals numbered 181,000,000 and international tourist receipts at 19.9 billion.[10] Although great circumspection must be exercised in comparing

TABLE ONE[7]

Growth of International Tourism 1948-1971

Year	International Tourist Arrivals: Number Millions	International Tourist Arrivals: Increase over previous year	International Tourist Receipts: ($Billions)	International Tourist Receipts: Increase over previous year
1948	14,413,400	N.A.	1.4	N.A.
1958	55.3	N.A.	5.4	N.A.
1959	63.0	13.9	5.8	7.3
1960	71.2	13.0	6.8	17.0
1961	75.3	5.8	7.3	7.3
1962	81.4	8.1	7.8	6.8
1963	93.0	14.3	8.3	6.4
1964	108.0	16.2	9.6	15.7
1965	115.5	6.9	11.0	14.6
1966	130.8	13.2	12.5	13.6
1967	139.5	6.6	13.4	7.2
1968	139.7	0.1	13.8	3.0
1969	154.9	9.4	15.5	12.3
1970[a]	168.0	8.4	17.4	11.2
1971[a]	181.0	7.0	19.9	11.2

Sources: International Union of Official Travel Organizations, Economic Review of World Tourism, 1972 Edition (Geneva 1972); Handbook of International Trade and Development Statistics (United Nations publication, Sales No. EF.69.11.D.15); United Nations, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, Vol. XXV, No. 7, July 1971.

[a]Figures for 1970 and 1971 are provisional.

TABLE TWO[8]

Comparison of Performance of International Tourism with Other Items of Trade, 1960-1971

(US $bn)

	1960	1963	1966	1971	Average Annual Increase (percent) 1960-1971
*International Tourism Receipts[a]	6.8	8.3	12.5	20.9	+10.8
World Exports - Total (fob)[b]	128.3	154.3	203.9	346.0	+ 9.4
World Exports of Agricultural Products[b]	40.0	44.5	52.3	70.0	+ 5.2
World Exports of Minerals[b]	21.4	25.5	33.7	54.5	+ 9.0
World Exports of Manufactures[b]	64.0	81.5	114.2	215.0	+11.6

*International tourist receipts are the receipts from payments of goods and services made by foreign visitors in the country visited, out of foreign-exchange resources (IUOTO, International Travel Statistics, 1968 ed., p. 5).

[a]IUOTO, Economic Review of World Tourism, 1972.

[b]International Trade, 1971 GATT.

these figures, it is nevertheless significant that world tourism, measured in terms of arrivals and receipts, has grown thirteen times over in the last twenty-three years.

It is predicted that by 1980 international tourism will account for between 250 to 280 million arrivals and nearly 1,000 million persons will take holidays by 1990.[11] As a result, tourists will become increasingly important to world economics and add a new dimension to social and cross-cultural interaction.

B. Tourism and Less Developed Countries

From traditional affluent playgrounds, mass tourism has now spilled copiously into the fresh markets presented to its advocates by the less developed countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Patrick Rivers (reporting for Africa Report) sees this as no accident.

> The tourist industries bankers, developers, hoteliers and transporters were keen to maintain their phenomenal post-war growth and boost profits still further. So they put together an attractive package of benefits, guaranteed to appeal to tourist ministers and leaders of most countries desperate to find a cure for crippling economic ills.[12]

In response, it seems that many less developed countries look upon international tourism as manna from heaven which can assist in alleviating foreign settlement difficulties.[13]

However, the lion's share of the international travel trade has so far gone to Europe and North America. Given the sustained increase in the standard of living and leisure in the world's richest nations, it is not surprising that Europe and North America together attract as much as 80 percent of international receipts.[14]

In spite of this, the contribution that tourism can make to less developed countries is generally recognized. The United Nations Conference on International Travel and Tourism, for example, described it as an invisible export which can, and does, make a vital contribution to their growth.[15]

The participation of less developed countries in world tourism is very weak despite the widespread optimism. This is due neither to the lack of tourist attractions nor to a lack of appreciation of tourism's economic potentialities, but rooted in pre-independence conditions of economic instability.

The problems facing the underdeveloped nations, in terms of tourism development, prior to the decade of the sixties, can be summarized as follows:

1) no effort was made to develop tourist resorts by colonial powers, nor was tourist traffic encouraged as the colony was the closed preserve of imperialism

2) many of the outstanding tourist attractions were not even known to the outside world

3) a dearth of technical know-how subverted the possibility of developing countries to organize and effectively advertise tourism abroad

4) the means of communication, both internal and external, linking the developing countries to the rest of the world were poor

5) the developing regions were not properly connected by air services to permit free flow of tourists

6) those air services that were available were prohibitive cost-wise to the cross-section of the middle-class tourist population of tourist-generating countries

7) lack of tourist facilities and amenities in developing countries

8) and difficulties in procuring foreign exchange to finance hotel, airport and public works infrastructure.[16]

On the other hand, the international travel trade to the developing countries has been growing at a somewhat faster rate than that of the developed countries, particularly in recent years. The relative significance assumed by tourism at the current time, when the developing countries' share of world economic growth is declining, is manifest in Table Three.

In fact, in tourism, the underdeveloped nations have certain advantages over their industrialized counterparts;

1) the tourists from the industrialized nations find the slower paced way of life in these countries a pleasant and relaxing experience

2) tourist money tends to go where prices are cheaper and these countries offer vacation bargains

3) underdeveloped nations circling the bottom half of the globe have warm climates permitting year-round operation of the tourist industry

4) investment climate is good because of higher profit realization by investors

5) manpower and cheap labor are in abundance

6) and a wealth of unexplored attractions beckon.[18]

At the present time about 20 percent of international tourist spending goes to the underdeveloped nations, and if this ratio is maintained, it would mean that by 1978 these countries would be earning about eight billion from tourism.[19] At best this involves only minimal net flows of foreign exchange from developed countries to developing countries and at worst a net flow of foreign exchange to the developed countries.

TABLE THREE[17]

Comparison of Rates of Tourism and Trade Receipts in Developed and Less Developed Countries, 1965-1971

	(percent) 1965-1971	1965	1966	1967	(percent) 1968	1969	1970	1971
Tourism[a]								
Developed Countires	+9.8	83.4	83.2	82.8	81.7	80.2	79.3	80.8
Developing Countries	+13.0	16.6	16.8	17.2	18.3	19.8	20.7	19.2
World Exports[b]								
Developed Countries	+14.4	78.0	78.8	78.2	78.4	78.9	79.6	79.8
Developing Countries	+11.9	22.0	21.2	21.8	21.6	21.1	20.4	20.2

[a]IUOTO, [b]United Nations: Review of International Trade and Development and Monthly Bulletin Statistics.

NOTE: Excludes certain East European countries.

C. The African Component of International Tourism

The growth of tourism has reached significant proportions in Africa, as evidenced by Table Four and Five.

These figures indicate that tourist arrivals in Africa rose fourteen percent (1969-70) as compared with the world rate of nine percent and tourism receipts rose fifteen percent in Africa as compared with the world rate of twelve percent. Though the rate of growth is down compared with the year before, when arrivals rose nineteen percent and receipts eighteen percent, the performance in 1970 exceeded the IUOTO forecast prepared in 1966 and statisticians estimate an even faster growth rate over the next ten years.[20]

Recognizing, however, that simple analysis of tourist arrivals and receipts tells one little more than it is being actively promoted, one must necessarily go beyond this point in assessing its impact, both economic and social.

D. The Implications of Tourism Development for Less Developed Countries

Many areas of the world are characterized as being less than developed. They tend to have a relatively inflexible economic system dominated by an agricultural sector with low levels of productivity, capital accumulation and savings, a very rudimentary industrial sector plagued by inefficient methods of production utilizing antiquated technologies, a semi-literate population, accentuated by high birth and death rates, unemployment and underemployment and poor existing infrastructure. All of these characteristics contribute to low real per

TABLE FOUR

International Tourist Arrivals 1969-70 (in millions)

Regions	1969	1970	percent increase 1969/70	percent increase 1968/69
Africa	2.07	2.36	14	19
America's	29.39	31.15	6	9
Europe	116.26	126.70	9	10
Middle East	2.36	2.48	5	2
Pacific & East Asia	3.44	4.46	30	26
South Asia	0.72	0.83	15	8
World Totals	154.0	168.0	9	10

Source: International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO).

TABLE FIVE

International Tourists Receipts 1969-70 (US $M)

Region	1969	1970	percent increase 1969/70	percent increase 1968/69
Africa	338	390	15	18
Americas	4,439	4,840	9	13
Europe	9,602	10,690	11	11
Middle East	240	255	6	5
Pacific and East Asia	811	1,090	35	24
South Asia	117	135	15	9
World Totals	15,500	17,400	12	12

Source: International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO).

capita income, an over-dependence on agricultural exports and an environment of economic and social stagnation.

Faced with the need to bring about development in LDC's, a variety of alternatives have been tried. Some policy makers have concentrated their efforts on stimulating change in the agricultural sector. Others have tried to bring about change in the industrial sector. In others, concentration has centered on the foreign sector or on a number of key sectors. Still others have tried to broad frontal attack on all the sectors simultaneously. Regardless of the strategy implemented, LDC's have repeatedly run up against the same constraints:

> Low income levels lead to low levels of savings; low levels of savings contribute to lack of capital accumulation; a lack of capital accumulation contributes to low levels of productivity; and low productivity levels brings about low levels of income.[21]

And so the vicious cycle repeats itself. Because of this difficulty in raising needed resources internally, many LDC's have tried to find those resources externally. Reliance has been placed on exports, foreign aid, and foreign investments and loans. Unfortunately export markets for agricultural products tend to be relatively unstable, foreign aid often comes with strings attached and foreign investment carries with it debt service and political problems. In summation, economic development has been an elusive and fretted attempt for less developed countries.

Thus, given the constraints mentioned above, one may wonder why, in a LDC where most of the citizens live more than ten miles from any kind of road, funds are being devoted to improving the dual carriageway linking the capital city with the airport. Or when the majority of the people carry every drop of water they need more than a mile from the nearest stream, why scarce resources are devoted to providing piped supplies for tending the green lawns of luxury hotels. Or why scarce foreign exchange is expended on buying the latest jet aircraft from Europe and America when most people know airplanes only as vapor trails in the sky.[22]

When asked if LDC's should pursue a course of development, put in these terms, it stands to reason that most people would answer with a resounding no. Yet countries as different as Tanzania, The Ivory Coast, The Gambia, Botswana, Tunisia and Egypt are continually making decisions about national priorities which involve a positive answer to this question.[23]

Essentially, the interest of a less developed country in the promotion of tourism derives from the interrelatedness of foreign-exchange earnings and the balance of payments. Foreign-exchange refers to the transfer of one national currency into another required to effect payment. Since the value of national currencies are regulated by differeing governments, the price of a unit of one national currency is exchanged for another in accordance with respective values.

The balance of payments is a systematic record of all the economic transactions between one country and the rest of the world, normally reported on an annual basis. The balance-of-payments statement influences a government's determination of the value of its national currency, hence the exchange rate of the national currency.

Most less developed countries are confronted with a shortage of foreign-exchange because of their over-dependence on agricultural economies (fluctuations of prices and instability of production), and consequently have difficulty financing their economic development. For most less developed countries the export sector seems to be the engine of growth; therefore, an expansion of exports, like the promotion of tourism, increases foreign exchange and is generally given high priority as a contributory factor to improving the balance-of-payments situation.

Conversely, there are those who doubt whether tourism confers any economic benefits at all, and who are convinced that it is socially very damaging.

Cumulative causation theorists, such as Roaul Prebish, cast serious doubts on the capability of less developed countries to achieve the economic take-off with the aid of tourism. Essentially the Prebish thesis focuses on the dependency cycle of most less developed countries because of inadequate foreign-exchange earnings. This inadequacy constitutes a severe constraint on economic growth rates in these countries, and in efforts to increase earnings of foreign exchange, the periphery nation must accept more adverse terms of trade.[24]

Social critics of tourism expansion point to the various strains which are caused by its development in less developed countries, examples being the distortion of indigenous cultural expressions, alienation of land, the perpetuation of racial inequalities and the erosion of dignity.[25]

Recently, the Greek Orthodox Church issued this prayer:

> Lord have mercy on the cities, the islands, and the villages of our Orthodox Fatherland, as well as on The Holy Monasteries, which are scourged by the worldly touristic wave.
>
> Grace us with the solution to this problem and protect our brethren who are sorely tried by the modernistic spirit of the new Western invaders.[26]

E. Tourism Development and Dependency Networks

Three or four years ago, a few people and organizations began looking more closely into what was happening in countries being "developed" with the help of mass tourism. They were a mixed group: individuals such as ecologists, economists, sociologists, writers and politicians; agencies such as the World Council of Churches, the Caribbean Travel Association, the United Nations, UNESCO; and governments in less developed countries themselves. They didn't always like what they unearthed, and they said so.

> At a consultation in Nairobi in 1970, the African operators pointed out how little spin-off there was for the host country: the beneficiaries of tourism, they claimed, were chiefly investors, air-charter companies and foreign hotel owners, who shipped most of the profits to Europe.
>
> And two years later at the First World Congress on Air Transport and Tourism, Knut Hammarskjold, Director General of The International Air Transport Association, was warning that 'the essential objective is not the easy head count and statistical victory, but the real contribution which tourism should make to the national economies of the countries involved,' and he quoted from an earlier report from The Association of African Airlines that 'very little revenue is left in Africa by the cheap charters.' The tickets are paid for in Europe, the hotels are mostly owned by Europeans and even the fuel used by the charters has to be imported with only a small bit of the revenue remaining in Africa.[27]

The apparent discrepancies between tourism as a "dream industry" and actual fact stem from two factors. Tourism is perceived as a viable development alternative by many LDC's. However, tourism is a product of traditional development theory, which is questionable, as far as explaining (in any causal terms) the situation in which less developed countries find themselves today, i.e., underdeveloped. Traditional development theory emanated from Western scholars, and for the most part corresponds to Western institutional settings, and has not, so far, been concerned with the realities of underdevelopment. Therefore, if uncritically applied to these problems, the theories become inapplicable.

This is clearly the situation as regards tourism. Tourism is a form of trade; it is an export. Thus utilizing the theory of trade, one assumes that trade starts a movement towards income equalization, while instead a quite normal result of unhampered trade between two countries, of which one is industrialized and the other underdeveloped, is the initiation of a cumulative process towards the impoverishment and stagnation of the latter.[28] Essentially these theories exclude from the analysis the institutional arrangements under which production and distribution take place.[29]

Secondly, the institutional arrangements in which tourism is being developed in Africa are those of underdeveloped and structural dependence. The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an analysis of these key concepts. The point of departure for this analysis will be discussion of what constitutes development, as perceived by this author. The necessity for this clarification stems from the varied interdisciplinary and cross-cultural perspectives on development, which have generated ambiguity and confusion, further confounded by idological differences and variance in the level of analysis. The relevance of this undertaking is ultimately to see hour tourism affects this developmental process. Secondly, the concept of underdevelopment will be discussed in as much as it characterizes the present condition of African economies. Consideration will be given to historical relevance and mythical assumptions surrounding this phenomenon as both have been instrumental in shaping and reshaping intellectual alignment on the subject of underdevelopment. Thirdly, the discussion will focus on structural dependence in Africa, which in the past, present and foreseeable future results in the development of underdevelopment. By super-imposing tourism development on this discussion, it will be shown that it is part and parcel of an established pattern of structural dependence.

1. Selected Perspectives on the Idea of Development

"More often than not, the term development is perceived in an economic vacuum, the justification being that the type of economy is itself an index of other social features."[30] Thus, development is commonly defined, by such economists as Rostow, Myint, Herrod, and Domar, as a long-term sustained increase in real output per capita.[31] This is essentially a carefully operationalized definition of the more general concepts of human productivity and change. For a given group of people we must see an increase in the real output of their labor, sustained over time and measured in decades or generations.

The strengths and weaknesses of this technique are the subject of an extensive literature.[32] However, attention will only be called to those issues that give direction to this author's understanding of the process of development.

Horowitz (Three Worlds of Development) writes that this approach to development generally asks the right questions, i.e., since development is a process of change, how is this change measurable? The difficulty is that it asks the right questions in a biased manner, with specific ends in view, irrespective of both the instrumentalities employed and/or any contravening variables.[33]

In apparent agreement with Horowitz, Pi-Sunyer and De Gregori (Economic Development: The Cultural Context) contend that economic growth must be viewed as a particular facet of a larger cultural transformation.

> Economics do not change in isolation from other patterned activities characteristic of a particular people, and in the majority of cases significant shifts in other areas of belief, behavior, or social organization will find a reflection in changed economic patterns . . . economic and technological behavior is fully understandable only in terms of the total social and cultural context.[34]

The advantage of a quantitative measure of development is frequently pointed out by proponents of this view of development, such as Gayl D. Ness (The Sociology of Economic Development). According to Ness, any conceptualization of development which lacks this measurable dimension is at best insightful and suggestive but not testable.[35]

However, André Gunder Frank (Dependence and Underdevelopment) refutes the notion that economic growth measured in annual increases of per capita national income or product is a good measure of development. "Growth without development is a frequent experience in the past and present of the now underdeveloped countries."[36]

The line of criticism calls for a distinction between growth and development.

> Growth is a term borrowed from biology and genetics implying an organic process of progressive change. In its economic context, it has come to be understood as an endogenously-produced quantitative, rather than qualitative, increase in physical output, or per capita income, of a society. On the other hand, development is consciously, deliberately stimulated growth. It implies the introduction of exogenous directional decisions. However, there need be no contradiction between growth and development. The latter may accentuate or run parallel to the former, though of course the one may also restrain the progress of the other.[37]

(The validity of Frank's contention would require a discussion of underdevelopment which will be taken up at a later point in this chapter).

Real development, as defined by Frank, involves a structural transformation of the economy, society, polity and culture of a country that permits the self-generating and self-perpetuating use and development of a people's potential.[38] At this juncture, one can see some validity in Ness' preoccupation with measurability: Frank provides no explicit means for understanding how this structural transformation comes about.

What is needed then is a definition of development that can account for change, which does not minimize the economic importance of this endeavor while taking into consideration those variables that account for the structural transformation of a society.

Development, as defined by Rodney (How Europe Underdeveloped Africa), meets these criteria. A society develops economically, according to Rodney, as its members increase jointly their capacity for dealing with the environment. This capacity for dealing with the environment is dependent on the extent to which they understand the laws of nature (science), on the extent to which they put that understanding into practice by devising tools (technology) and on the manner in which work is organized.[39]

What this definition should mean to less developed countries is that the problem of development is not exclusively one of technological or natural resources or exclusively one of human resources, but rather the interrelation and interpenetration of the two.

> The more 'mature' a society becomes, the more it needs instruments for orderly change. Similarly, the greater the technological achievement, the more the social system is pressured to accommodate such achievements. Any prolonged and exaggerated imbalances between the social and technological sectors lead to stagnation, and the pressures for development are such that stagnation is intolerable over a sustained period of time.[40]

2. The Nature of Underdevelopment

Definitively underdevelopment can be identified as the product of a prolonged and exaggerated imbalance between the social and technical sectors of a society; however, one is still faced with explaining the cause(s) of this condition. Earlier formulations on the causes of underdevelopment give rise to a number of erroneous assumptions that must be dispelled before a true appreciation of the concept is possible.

Underdevelopment is not an original stage of history, through which the developed countries passed long ago (W. W. Rostow - The Take-Off Into Self Sustained Growth). Obviously, underdevelopment is not absence of development because every people have shown a capacity for independently increasing their ability to live a more satisfactory life through exploiting the resources of nature, which means, in effect, that every continent can point to a period of economic development.[41] Thus, underdevelopment denotes stunted development, not absence of it.

Secondly, as pointed out by Frank, neither the past nor the present of the underdeveloped countries resembles in any important respect the past of the now developed countries. "The now developed countries were never underdeveloped, though they may have been undeveloped."[42] Undeveloped means that a country has not yet realized its potential for using more capital. labor or natural resources to effect the concomitant structural transformation of the society. On the other hand, underdeveloped signifies that a society has developed but short of the aforementioned developmental process.

Thirdly, underdevelopment of a country cannot be understood as a product or reflection solely of its own economic, political, social and cultural characteristics or structure (The Harrod-Domar Model, Hagen - How Economic Growth Begins, McClelland - The Achievement Motive in Economic Growth).

The concept of underdevelopment, according to Rodney, makes sense only as a means of comparing levels of development whether one compares the economic conditions for the same country, at two different periods to determine whether or not it has developed, or whether one compares the economies of any two countries at any given period in time. But more importantly, the concept of underdevelopment is very much tied to the fact that human social development has been uneven and from a strictly economic viewpoint some human groups have advanced further by producing more and becoming more wealthy.[43] Furthermore, uneven development has always ensured that societies have come into contact when they were at different levels, and any prolonged and effective contact between two societies of different sorts will seriously affect the rate and character of change taking place in both, to the extent that entirely new patterns are created. Two general rules can be observed to apply in such cases:

> 1) the weaker of the two societies (i.e., the one with less economic capacity) is bound to be adversely affected and the bigger the gap between the two societies concerned the more detrimental are the consequences.

> 2) assuming that the weaker society does survive, then ultimately it can resume its own independent development if it proceeds to a level higher than that of the economy which had previously dominated it.[44]

An even more indespensable component of underdevelopment (as reflected in the current literature: Sos Santos - "The Structure of Dependence," Galtung - "A Structural Theory of Imperialism," O'Connor - "The Meaning of Economic Imperialism," Rodney - How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Frank - "The Development of Underdevelopment," Johnson - "Dependence and the International System," Brenner - Theories of Economic Development and Growth) is that it expresses a particular relationship of exploitation: namely, the exploitation of one country by another.[45]

It is instructive to discover what can be gleaned from history on this matter.

> It seems that in addition to man's exploitation of his natural environment in order to make a living, at a certain point in time, man also exploited man for this purpose. Then a stage was reached by which people in one community, called a nation, exploited the natural resources and the labor of another nation and its people. Since development deals with the comparative economics of nations, it is the last kind of exploitation that is of interest here, i.e., the exploitation of nation by nation.[46]

One of the commonest means by which one nation exploits another and one that is relevant to Africa's past and present is exploitation through trade.

> The things which brought Africa into the capitalist market system were trade, colonial domination and now capitalist investment. (47) International trade, which has existed as far back as the late 15th century, drew Africa and Europe into common relations for the first time; (48) colonial rule began in the

> late 19th century and has almost disappeared; and the investment in the African economy has been increasing steadily in the present century.
>
> Throughout this period that Africa has participated in the capitalist economy, two factors have brought about underdevelopment. In the first place, the wealth created by african labor and from African resources were transferred to Europe; and in the second place restrictions were placed upon African capacity to make the maximum use of its economic potential, which is what development is all about.[49]

With respect to Africa, one gets the notion, from Rodney, that a dialectical relationship exists between development and underdevelopment; that is to say, the two help reproduce each other by interaction. The contention here is that over four and a half centuries of continuous contact, Africa helped to develop Western Europe in the same proportion as Western Europe helped to underdevelop Africa.[50]

Underdevelopment, as perceived by this author, signifies inequality (comparatively speaking) and while the nature or means (exploitation) of the inequality may change, the basic unequal relationship remains.

Thus, African economies seem to be integrated into the very structure of the developed capitalist economies, and integrated in a manner that is unfavorable to Africa, ensuring that she is subordinately dependent on the capitalist world. This situation has been termed structural dependence in the current literature.

3. The Structure of Dependence

"The concept of dependence, as it has been elaborated in recent years, refers to the situation that the history of colonialism has left and that contemporary imperialism maintains in underdeveloped countries."[51]

Theontonio Dos Santos has provided the clearest conceptualization of dependence. He suggests that dependence is not an external factor, as is often believed. Rather, dependence is a "conditioning situation" in which the specific histories of development and underdevelopment transpire in different regions and countries.

> Dependence is a situation in which a certain group of countries have their economy conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which the former is subject. The relation of interdependence between the two or more economies, and between these and world trade, assumes the form of dependence when some countries (the dominant) can expand and give impulse to their own development, while other countries (the dependent) can only develop as a reflection of this expansion which can have positive and/or negative effects on their immediate development.[52]

Dos Santos' construct of underdevelopment, in its structural framework, takes the form of three historical periods of dependence:

> 1) colonial dependence, trade export in nature, in which commercial and financial capital in alliance with the colonialist state dominated the economic relations of the Europeans and the colonies, by means of a trade monopoly complemented by a colonial monopoly of land, mines, and manpower (serf or slave) in the colonial countries.[53]

It should be pointed out that the early roots of economic underdevelopment in Africa date back to the slave trade, where European decision-making power was exercised in selecting what Africa would export in accordance with European needs.[54] Thus, colonialism, in Africa, only represented in structural form those features that were already rooted in Afro-European relationships in the preceding period.[55]

> 2) financial-industrial dependence which consolidated itself at the end of the nineteenth century; characterized by the domination of big capital in the hegemonic centers, and its expansion abroad through investment in the production of raw materials and agricultural products for consumption in the hegemonic centers.[56]

The capitalist institution which came into the most direct contact with African peasants, during this period, was the colonial trading company: that is to say, a company specializing in moving goods to and from the colonies. The most notorious were the French concerns of Campagnie Francoise D'Afrique Occidentale (CFAO) and Societé Commerciale Ouest Africaine (SCOA) and the British-controlled United Africa Company (UAC).[57]

Under financial-industrial dependence a productive structure grew up in the dependent countries devoted to the export of products needed and dictated by Europe.[58] As rationalized by Brenner (Theories of Economic Development and Growth):

> Colonies were looked upon as part of the organic whole, part of the economic structure which united them with the mother country . . . therefore it appeared reasonable that development policies in the colonies were primarily, and often exclusively, directed towards the stimulation of those industries for which the countries seemed best suited. At the same time all unsuitable industries were discouraged.[59]

As a consequence of colonial policy, the economic sector of most African countries, today, is overwhelmingly characterized by the production of agricultural products for the export market. The fact that numerous African countries have one-crop economies only serves to exacerbate the situation as exemplified by Ghana's dependence on cocoa, Senegal and The Gambia on groundnuts, Dahomey on palm kernels, The Sudan on cotton, Ethiopia on coffee and Somalia on bananas.[60]

> 3) In the postwar period a new type of dependence has been consolidated, based on multinational corporations which began to invest in industries geared to the internal market of underdeveloped countries. This form of dependence is basically technological-industrial dependence.[61]

According to Rodney, the technological-industrial dependence in Africa actually grew out of colonial development and welfare policy geared towards developing African resources to offset postwar economic conditions that placed Europe in a disadvantaged situation vis-a-vis Russia and the United States.[62]

> The so-called development funds for Africa went almost exclusively into the building of economic infrastructure and into the provision of certain social services. (63) The high proportion of the 'development' funds went into the colonies in the form of loans for ports, railways, electric power plants, water works, engineering workshops, warehouses, etc., which were necessary for more efficient exploitation in the long run. In the short run, such construction works provided outlets for European steel, concrete, electrical machinery and railroad industries, jobs for white expatriates and profitable outlets for bankers and financiers.[64]

It is with respect to this new form of dependence that tourism assumes immediate relevance to this discussion. At this juncture, one may question the utility of the dependency concept, since the world has now become an international community and no country is completely independent of others. The crucial issue here is whether this interdependence is between equals or whether it is between unequals, as different ramifications will ensue respectively. Robert Erbes (Development Centre Consultant-OECD) states that international tourism has the effect of creating certain special relationships of dependence between countries generating (DC's) and receiving (LDC's) international tourists. The effect of these relationships is to make possible transfers of income in favor of the generating countries.[65] The remainder of this discussion will focus on these relationships.

4. The Mechanism of Dependence Through International Tourism

The financing of imports depends increasingly on other sectors of the economy such as invisibles.[66] To be more precise, an increasing number of LDC's rely on their receipts from international tourism to maintain or develop their imports and their debt service payments.

The parodox of this situation, as pointed out by Dos Santos, is that industrial development is dependent on the export sector for the foreign currency to buy inputs used by the industrial sector.[67] With regard to tourism, this point is substantiated by Jursa and Winkates, who advise LDC's to be cognizant of the possibility of having to pull resources out of the agricultural and other industrial sectors in order to make the original investments in the tourist sector.[68]

> The first consequence of this dependence is the need to preserve the traditional export sector, which limits economically the development of the international market by the conservation of backward relations of production. And in the countries where these sectors are controlled by foreign capital, it signifies the remittance abroad of high profits, the political dependence on these interests. It is important to re-emphasixe that the industrial development of these countries is still dependent on the situation of the export sector, the continued existence of which they are obliged to accept.[69]

Thus industrial development in LDC's is strongly conditioned by fluctuations in the balance of payments. This leads toward deficits due to the relations of dependence themselves. Dos Santos delineates three causes of this deficit:

a) trade relations take place in a highly monopolized international market, which tends to lower the price of raw materials and to raise the prices of industrial products, particularly inputs.

b) for reasons already given, foreign capital retains control over the most dynamic sectors of the economy and repatriates a high volume of profit; consequently capital accounts are highly unfavorable to dependent countries, i.e., the amount of capital leaving the country is much greater than the amount entering. To this must be added the deficit in certain services which are virtually under total foreign control, such as freight transport, royalty payments, technical aid, etc.[70]

Because touristic development is capital intensive (contrary to popular belief), the availability of funds, expecially at the outset is critical.[71]

c) the result is that foreign 'financing' becomes necessary, in two forms: to cover the existing deficit and to finance development by means of loans for the stimulation of investments and to 'supply' an internal economic surplus, already decapitalized to a large extent by the remittance of part of the surplus generated domestically and sent abroad as profits. Thus foreign capital and foreign 'aid' fill up the whole that they themselves created. In addition, overcharges and repayment in local currencies means that underdeveloped countries are really paying for all the aid they receive.

Finally, industrial development is strongly conditioned by imperialist centers. Underdeveloped countries depend on the importation of machinery and raw materials for the development of their industries. However, these goods are not freely available in the international market; they are patented and usually belong to big companies which do not sell machinery and processed raw materials as simple merchandise. They demand either the payment of royalties for their utilization or, in most cases, they convert these goods into capital and introduce them in the form of their own investments.[72]

These factors oblige national governments of underdeveloped countries to offer lucrative investment incentives. For instance, to draw foreign capital for tourism promotion, countries such as Senegal, The Ivory Coast, Togo and Ghana have recently approved rather liberal investment codes with respect to tourism. Tax holiday, tax exemptions, repatriation of profits, the granting of government lands, discounted utility rates and the temporary exemption of all import duties are elements of these and other new investment codes.[73]

Thus tourism, when viewed from the perspective of structural dependence, emerges as a continuum of a larger historical dependency network that ensnares the less developed world and frustrates attempts to redress the situation.

At the beginning of this section, attention was drawn to the key concepts of underdevelopment and structural dependence as the institutional arrangements in which tourism is being developed in Africa. To distinguish how these economic states differed from development, it was first necessary to define this term, i.e., the joint capacity of a society to deal with the environment. From this, underdevelopment was defined as a prolonged and exaggerated imbalance between the social and technical sectors of a society. And structural dependence, the conditioning of the economies of certain countries, by the development and expansion of another economy, to which the former is subject, was identified as the underlying cause for underdevelopment.

It can be reasoned that underdevelopment and structural dependence have historically acted as constraints on the development process, and any development alternative, such as tourism, that does not affect a significant break with the past is destined to expand upon this dependency network.

The validity of these concepts and ideas will be subjected to empirical reality by discerning the extent to which they are applicable to the case study of The Gambia, Part II of this work.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 2

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[69]Dos Santos, op. cit., p. 233.

[70]Ibid., p. 233.

[71]Paul Jursa and James Winkates, "Tourism as a Mode of Development," Issue, Vol. IV, No. 1, Spring 1974, p. 45.

[72]Dos Santos, op. cit., pp. 233-234.

[73]Jursa and Winkates, op. cit., p. 45.

CHAPTER III

PART II: CASE STUDY OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE GAMBIA

The Gambia and the Structure of Tourism

If tourism cannot be considered outside of the contextual framework of the international economic system, neither can tourism, in The Gambia, be considered without some attention being given to this particular environment. It has been necessary to go into some historical depth to explain the geopolitical and economic make-up of The Gambia, which in turn makes comprehensible the choice of tourism as one development alternative.

In keeping with the need to understand the institutional arrangements in which tourism development takes place, there are certain supply and demand factors that must be taken into consideration. This chapter draws attention to these factors as they relate specifically to The Gambia, as well as to the tourist industry in general.

A. Background to The Gambia

The Gambia was once part of the great empires to the East.[1] During the 5th to the 8th centuries A.D. most of Senegambia was part of the empire of Ghana, whose rulers were of the Serahuli tribe. The Ghana empire was gradually superseded by the Kingdom of the Songhais, whose rulers were also Serahuli. They became Moslems and vigorously promoted Islam.[2]

About the 13th century A.D., tribes of Mandingoes and Susus from Guinea established themselves in what is now Mali and assumed overlordship of The Gambia, which was then mainly inhabited by Wolofs. The Mali empire declined after 1580 A.D.[3]

Today, there are five distinct major peoples inhabiting The Gambia. They are the Wolof, Mandingo, Fula, Jola and Serahuli. The largest ethnic group in the country are the Mandingoes. Fula's and Wolofs are about equal in number, with the Wolof community predominating in Banjul (formerly Bathurst). These are followed by Jolos and the Serahuli in relative size.[4] Gambians are a diverse people, speaking different languages and having different cultural and historical backgrounds. However, Islam has had an overriding influence on Gambians as a whole; 85 to 90 percent of the population are devout Muslims.[5]

The labor force in The Gambia is related to the population through a complex of social, demographic and economic factors. The population of working age is normally defined as the age group 15 to 64, but there is some argument for using 10 to 15 plus as this group may provide a significant proportion of the labor force in LDC's.[6]

Table Six shows that The Gambia had a total population of 494,294 in 1973 which was thirty-three percent higher than the 1963 census.[7] Forty percent of the population is under the age of fifteen. This rapid population growth rate and consequent age structure of the population could mean a relatively small to moderate population of working age.[8]

As is common elsewhere, the participation rates of women are lower than for men in the industrial sector. Of the 8,000 wage earning

TABLE SIX

1973 Census of The Gambia: Population by Age Group

Age Group	No. in Pop.	Percent of Pop.
0-4	83,191	16%
5-14	121,777	25%
15-49	232,744	47%
50+ Years	53,749	11%
Not Stated	1,751)	
Persons in	0	1%
Hotels & Ships	1,082)	--
Total Population:	494,294	100%

Source: Africa Contemporary Record, 1973/74, p. B-641.

employees in 1971, only 655 were women.[9] However, it is believed that the tourist industry has altered these figures in recent years.[10]

For the economically active population as a whole (1969) the structure of employment in The Gambia is shown in Table Seven.

As is indicated in Table seven, most of the adult working population is engaged in farming. The ILO Report indicated that the structure of the economy (rural based) and employment (agriculturally based) would probably remain the same for a considerable time to come.[11]

Government is by far the largest employee of wage and salaried employees in The Gambia.[12] Tourism is expected to become a close second.

Ninety percent of all Gambians are illiterate, obviously lacking formal training in vocational skills.[13] Consequently, there is a surplus of unskilled labor and a lack of high-level manpower.[14]

The Gambia has existed as a sovereign state for almost a decade, gaining independence from Britian, its former colonial ruler, on February 18, 1965. The president-elect has remained Sir Dawda Jawara, a Mandingo and former veterinary surgeon. The president and vice-president are elected for five-year terms; the cabinet is appointed by the president and the legislature is a unicameral parliament composed of thirty-seven representatives. Politics in The Gambia is a low-keyed affair. There has never been a political coup and The Gambia has one of the few remaining civilian and multiparty governments in West Africa. The three parties sitting in parliament are the progressive People's Party (the president's party), the Opposition United Party, and the People's Progressive Alliance.[15]

TABLE SEVEN

Total Estimated Employment in The Gambia - 1969

Category	No. in Pop.
Wage and Salaried Employees	16,000
Self Employed:	
1) Farm Families	61,100
2) Merchants	9,300
3) Oysterers and Fishermen	1,500
Total Working Population	87,900
Total Population (estimate)	359,000

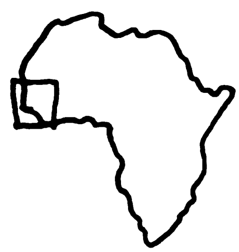
Sources: ILO Report (Manpower Assessment and Planning), 1969.
Third Development Programme 1971-72 - 1973/74.

Since independence the question of whether economic viability will ever come about remains a debatable issue. The nature of The Gambia's viability problem is essentially twofold; it is first a function of its size and location, but more importantly it relates to a traditional unhealthy over-dependence of The Gambia on a one-crop economy.

It is truly surprising that The Gambia exists at all. It is possible to overlook it entirely on a map. Essentially it is the valley of the naviagable Gambia River, a long thin ribbon of land, two miles wide at its narrowest point and thirty miles at its widest point, extending eastward on either side of The Gambia River for 292 miles. In most

Figure 1

Profile of The Gambia

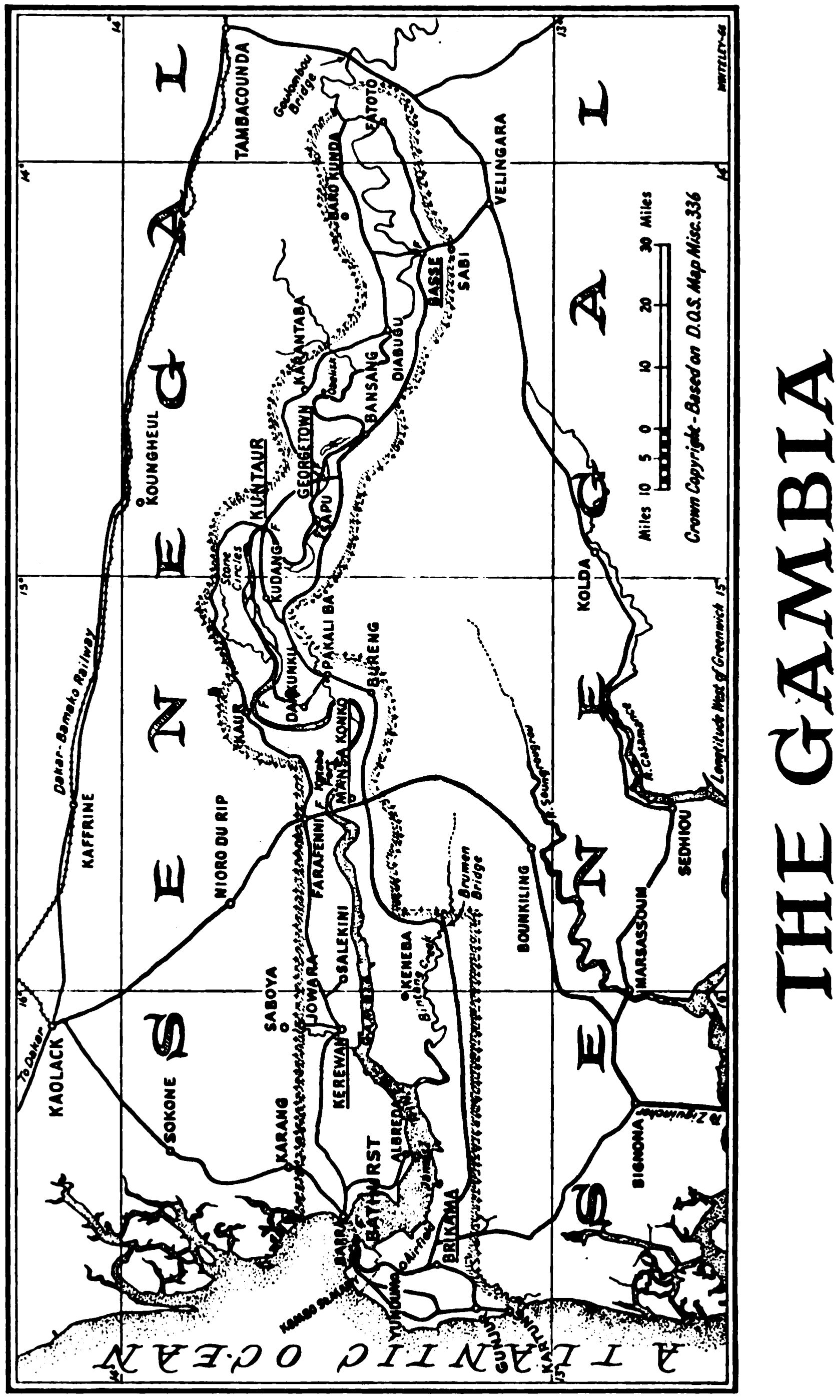


places the country is about fifteen miles wide.[16]

In terms of size, arable land and population. The Gambia fits well into Demas' definition of a small country by a considerable margin, i.e., a country with less than five million people and 10,000 to 20,000 square

FIGURE 2

MAP OF THE GAMBIA



Source: The Gambia in Brief, Eyre and Sporttiswoode, (ed.) at Grosvenor Press Portsmouth, pp. 22-23.

miles of useable land.[17] In land area, The Gambia consists of 4,261 square miles,[18] of which 1,767,000 acres are potentially arable land.[19] The territory is about four-fifths the size of Connecticut and much of its 4,261 square miles is water, mangrove and fresh-water swamp. Its population of 494,000 barely equals that of Indianapolis, Indiana. And after 150 years, its capital, port and only major city, Banjul, has no more inhabitants than East Lansing proper.[20]

The Gambia has few economic advantages to offset its size. Its sandy soil offers insufficient sustenance for lush vegetation, although it can accommodate certain cash crops like groundnuts, cotton and rice.[21] The Gambia is Africa's poorest country in terms of natural resources,[22] the only natural resource in plentiful supply being fish.[23] The Gambia has modest resources of rubber, timber and ilmenite (a mineral used in the manufacture of white paint). However, in the past 150 years it has not been able to tap these resources successfully.[24]

Except for a forty-mile coast line, The Gambia is mostly land-locked.[25] It is bounded on the north and east by Senegal proper and on the south by the narrow Senegalese territory of Casamance. Thus, the boundary of The Gambia excludes it from its natural hinterland, Senegal.[26]

In order to understand why The Gambia exists at all, one must necessarily view it, not from its present position, but in reference to its role in the "Scramble for Africa" which took place in the late 19th century.

In the 1860's and 1870's The Gambia was used by Britian as a pawn in negotiations with France with the aim of exchanging it for more desirable territory elsewhere. The fact that the colony remained in British hands was the result of pressure from British merchants trading there, together with the failure of the government to strike a satisfactory bargain with the French. In 1889, a boundary settlement was reached with France which drew the present demarcations of The Gambia, making it a small spike in the side of Senegal.[27] Thus, what was viewed as a temporary expedient has turned out to be a permanent political reality.

Had The Gambia remained a part of Senegal, Banjul, which has one of the finest natural habors in West Africa, might have become a thriving trading center, rather than the backwater it has become. It is bascially underutilized because the French-speaking countries that surround The Gambia, trade predominately with France and with one another and almost not at all with their English-speaking neighbors.[28]

Another consequence of this historical accident has been to place The Gambia in a vulnerable geopolitical situation. From the official Senegalese standpoint The Gambia is an inconvenience, both on the grounds that it divides Senegal physically and because it is a smuggling base. The Gambia enclave stands in the way of Senegalese continuity, neatly dividing Northern Senegal from the rice-growing area of Southern Senegal (The Casamance). The people of Casamance feel less Senegalese than the Dakar government would like. Should the separatist sentiment in The Casamance result in secession or a challenge to the central government, invasion of The Gambia seems a real possibility, as it could easily be used by Senegal as a base for subversion.[29]

As regards smuggling, for many years an appreciable though inestimable proportion of The Gambia's economy has derived from what government officials like to call "trans-frontier transactions."[30] Smuggling of manufactured imports into Senegal goes on because the Gambians have freer access than the Senegalese to world sources of supply and because the over-valuation of the CFA franc makes imported manufactures cheap relative to Senegalese manufactures, provided they can be gotten free of duty or at Gambian rates of duty, which are generally lower than Senegalese rates.[31]

Population, produce, livestock, imported goods and currency all cross the frontier in substantial volume in both directions. One estimate states that revenue from smuggling is close to a million pounds per year, making smuggling The Gambia's second largest source of revenue next to groundnuts.[32] The bulk of the population feel that the country would die if smuggling were stopped. The drive by the Senegalese government against smuggling has led to minor border incidents between the two countries,[33] and a customs union of the two territories has been under fitful discussion since 1964.[34] It is difficult, however, to see any advantage of Gambian residents in an alignment of The Gambia's tariffs with those of Senegal, or in preferential treatment of Senegalese manufactures in Gambian markets.[35] Many Gambians regard the formation of a customs union as an act of economic aggression on the part of Senegal.[36]

This geopolitical situation of The Gambia keeps future amalgamation with Senegal in constant review on the part of both countries. However, this inevitability will also be fraught with difficulties. Although there exists close tribal ties between Senegal and The Gambia, this cohesive factor is muted by the overriding devisive factor of different colonial heritages: Senegal, French and The Gambia, British. Furthermore, sovereignty is a politically potent force, and it is not easily given up or submerged into a larger unit.[37]

Thus, under the best of circumstances, The Gamiba, artificially constricted to its present narrow boundaries, would have experienced economic and political difficulties. However, the additional handicap of a one-crop economy is perhaps the most pressing problem facing The Gambia today.

The almost exclusive export of groundnuts by The Gambia makes it a classic monoculture. Today, groundnuts constitute ninety-five percent of The Gambia's exports, which is a fragile basis for a nation's livelihood.[38]

This situation is historically rooted in The Gambia's colonial experience as a periphery nation in which its economy was conditioned by the development and expansion of Britain, its former colonial ruler.

The present economic impotence of The Gambia tends to mask the historical realities of British financial policy as it was applied to all colonial areas up to 1940. The basic policy was that each colony, however large or small, should be economically and financially self-sufficient. A colony could not be a drain upon the treasury of the mother country. Any capital developments that were to be instituted would have to be paid for out of the earnings of the colony itself. Such a policy, when applied to relatively rich areas in West Africa acted as a break upon important developments which would have cost large sums of money in the initial stages. When it was applied, however, to an unwanted and bascially poor area such as The Gambia, the results were devastating;[39] British colonial policy left The Gambia totally dependent upon groundnuts by the mid-twentieth century.[40]

It is true that the major agricultural export product of The Gambia was groundnuts at the time of the assumption of British rule over the Protectorate in 1889.[41] From the time the Portuguese first brought peanut plants from Brazil until the nineteenth century, Gambians cultivated them, but for local consumption only. However, with the decline of the slave trade, groundnuts assumed greater importance in the Gambian economy.[42]

Groundnuts were first exported from Bathurst in 1835 and thereafter rapidly displaced the beeswax, ivory and skins, which had formerly been the main items of trade.[43] However, The Gambia was not a complete monoculture by 1889.

For centuries most Gambians had been forced by circumstances to be as self-sufficient as possible. The planting of certain compound crops and field crops had been a basic feature of economic activity in The Gambia throughout most of the nineteenth century. These crops varied with geographical location but generally the peoples of The Gambia cultivated lentils, cassava, yams, eggplant, bitter tomatoes, red peppers and okra as compound crops. On a very small scale they produced fruits such as limes, pawpaw, mangoes and bananas. Cereal crops were cultivated on a rather large scale because they were the basic food supply for most Gambians. The common cereals cultivated were millet, sorghum, maize and rice.[44]

In addition to the self-sufficiency subsistence economy that existed in The Gambia during the nineteenth century, there were other crops outside of groundnuts that had certain export potential, the main ones being cotton and rubber.[45]

In the late 1890's a pilot project was done in The Gambia with cotton production. However, Britian was not convinced of its potentiality to replace the production of groundnuts and refused to subsidize the venture. In subsequent years, the importation of cheap English cotton destroyed the indigenous cotton industry.[46]

Rubber was another product that for a time seemed to have a certain amount of potential for export. Had there been any type of long-range plan or government control over the harvesting, this could have become, perhaps, a major source of revenue for The Gambia.[47]

No attempts were made until after World War II to provide The Gambia with a second source of export income.[48]

The first attempt was The Yundum Egg Scheme, which was to foster the production of poultry, eggs and possibly hogs. Poor administration and over-estimation of the profitability of this project resulted in a financial disaster for Britain.[49]

The experiment of mechnized farming of rice lands at Wallikunda was another project that never got off the ground. Interest was curtailed by the necessary overhead of machinery and other expenses, and the project was reduced to an experimental farm.[50]

Two other attempts were made in the 1950's by private firms to exploit mineral resources of The Gambia. The discovery of ilmenite deposits in The Gambia resulted in only a few years of mining, because the deposits proved to be less extensive than first believed. And exploratory drilling was done in The Gambia in the hope of finding oil, following its discovery in the Sahara. Needless to say, the results were negative.[51]

There were two major consequences of these failures. Britain adopted the attitude that little potential gain would accrue from development projects in The Gambia. Thus, much-needed capital investments in The Gambia, not only to improve agriculture but to develop its infrastructure, were not appropriated. "The failure of these projects also meant that the Gambian economy would be based in the future totally on the export of groundnuts."[52]

An analysis of export figures shows clearly the traditional unhealthy dependence of The Gambia on the export of groundnuts. The figures in Table Eight indicate the extreme fluctuations in the total harvest available for export in any given year and the wide range of world market prices that have been offered for groundnuts. The basic unhealthiness of this situation is exacerbated when one takes into consideration the fact that bad harvests have seldom coincided with low market prices.[53]

Since 1856, government expenditure has exceeded income. This situation combined with the continued depressed groundnut market after 1958 forced the Gambian government to retrench in certain services and to approach Britain every year for grants to meet the government deficit.[54]

Conscious of the vulnerability of a single crop economy, The Gambia's economic policy since independence has been one of diversification.[55] This effort has had its attendant problems.

The Gambia, even after colonial exploitation, still has modest but worthwhile resources. The estuary and coastal waters of The Gambia,

TABLE EIGHT

Groundnut Exports (1890 - 1974)

Year	Tons Exported	Value (£)	Approx. Price Per Ton (£)
1890	18,262	129,817	7
1899	34,353	210,005	6
1910	58,456	387,943	6.10 s
1915	96,152	400,435	4
1925	48,700	693,097	14
1930	74,761	867,630	12
1935	45,110	368,887	8
1954	46,000	N.A.	32
1955	56,561	N.A.	25
1956	77,396	N.A.	22
1957	96,000	N.A.	25
1958/59-1963/64	64,000	N.A.	
1964/65	56,000	N.A.	
1965/66	55,000	5.9 m	28
1966/67	50,000	6.3 m	27
1967/68	60,000	5.4 m	27
1968/69	68,000	7.4 m	28
1969/70	63,000	6.6 m	30
1970/71	48,000	8.0 m	34
1971	124,000)		
1972	100,000) Total Crop		
1973/74	135,000)		

Sources: Harry A. Gailey, A History of The Gambia (New York: Praeger, 1965), p. 161.

The Gambia's Third Development Plan, pp. 2-3.

West Africa, September 1974, p. 1158.

for example, teem with marketable fish. Douglas Botting notes that before 1971 only solitary elderly Gambian fishermen attempted to capitalize on this venture while Russia and Japan extracted the bulk of the wealth.[56] However, in 1971, two modern industrial fish-processing plants with a combined capacity of 670 tons annually were commissioned by the Gambian government. In 1972, The Gambia exported 116 tons of fish and shrimp valued at D119,607 and further expansion is expected.[57]

Similarly, there are 230,000 head of cattle in The Gambia and the number is increasing. These could provide important exports, but cattle owners refuse to sell, because of the traditional prestige value of cattle. As of 1969 more than half the cattle slaughtered in the Banjul (formerly Bathurst) abattoir are imported from Senegal.[58]

Cotton could be a more important crop than it is at present but The Gambia has only one rainy season and cotton and groundnuts compete for labor.[59] In 1972, cotton seed production reached 94,000 pounds from 200 acres and after increasing from 312,140 pounds in 1972-73 to 600,000 pounds in 1973-74 production of seed cotton is expected to reach 8,000,000 pounds during the year 1977-78, dependent on whether financial backing will be forthcoming from the African Development Bank.[60]

Limes grow well in The Gambia. They are free from disease and in quality are as good as West Indian limes. But a complex system of land tenure, scattered holdings and an increasing local demand on land would make it difficult for a big company to invest in large-scale plantations.[61]

Only in the case of rice production has The Gambia made substantial gains in diversifying her agricultural crops.[62] Under the joint Gambia-Taiwan Rice Project, the area under irrigated rice production has increased sharply to over 3,000 acres, nearly 1,500 more than was anticipated, yielding 40,000 tons of paddy in 1971/72.[63] Presently, two-thirds of all the country's rice requirements are now grown internally. A substantial improvement but Ł500,000 a year is still spent on importing rice.[64] A lorry driver who earns perhaps Ł14 per month has to spend nearly half of this on buying rice for his family.[65] A planned World Bank project is expected to add 3,000 acres within three years to bring The Gambia close to self-sufficiency in rice production.[66]

Despite a number of new ventures in The Gambia, there is comparatively little industry. The difficulty in any manufacturing project is that The Gambia provides a very small domestic market. As other African states have found, there is not a great choice of available small-scale plant, and even the smallest machinery can be capable of producing far too much for their modest domestic needs.[67]

The government would obviously welcome new industrial enterprises for two reasons: they would either produce import substitutes or earn foreign exchange for exports, and they would help to absorb the growing number of unemployed.[68]

There has been no lack of examination of prospects for industry in The Gambia. In the 1972/73 budget speech it was announced that soap manufacture and tire retreading were being considered. Investigation into the feasibility of mango and tomato juice and tomato puree production has begun. Advice is being sought on the exploitability of the ilmenite and kaolimite clay deposits in The Gambia, although they are probably too small and of too low quality for large-scale commercial exploitation. Seismic surveys by the Aracca Petrolium Exploration Company on an off-shore concession have re-kindled hopes of oil resources.[69]

What has recently become a new source of income for the country is a mass winter migration of Swedish tourists.[70] Tourism is described as being Gambia's most important and rapidly expanding industry,[71] hardly existing at the time of independence in 1965.[72]

While many feel that union with Senegal is an inevitability, for The Gambia, the fact remains that it has been independent for nearly a decade. In addition, it has managed a satisfactory economic performance, mainly due to increases in prices and production of groundnuts in recent years, as well as Gambia's efforts and achievements in diversifying its economy.[73]

B. The Gambia as a Tourist Destination

The following discussion provides a background to the evolution of tourism in The Gambia. Important determinants of this evolution are the number of people who come, their reasons for coming, where they come from, the mode of transport, average length of stay, seasonality of travel and how much money they spend.

1. Tourist Arrivals to The Gambia

One measure of growth in a tourist industry is the growth in tourist arrivals to a particular tourist destination. Table Nine shows the growth of tourist arrivals to The Gambia since 1964.

These figures represent a very steady and rapid increase in tourist arrivals over the last ten years with an expansion rate of about 100 percent per annum,[74] the fastest growth rate in West Africa.

Taking the 1970/71 base year as an example, it can be seen from Table Ten that The Gambia far surpassed neighboring countries in percent

TABLE NINE

Number of Tourist Arrivals to The Gambia (1964 - 1974)

Year	Tourist Arrivals
1964	Under 200
1965	450
1966	300
1967	723
1968	700
1969	1,000
1970	2,500
1971/72	8,000
1972/73	16,000
1973/74	24,000

Sources: Africa, An International Business Economic and Political Monthly, August 1972, No. 12, p. 85, July 1974, No. 35, p. 60.

Africa Contemporary Record, 1972/73, p. 589.

Susan Blumenthal, Bright Continent: A Shoe-string Guide to Sub-Saharan Africa (Garden City: Doubleday, 1974), p. 65.

New York Times, January 31, 1972.

Quarterly Economic Review of Ghana, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Liberia.

Peter Schwab, "Tourism in Gambia's Development Plans," African Development, March 1971, p. 16.

The Gambia Echo, May 16, 1968, April 14, 1969, June 25, 1971.

"Tourism in Africa," U.N. Economic Commission on Africa, May 7, 1972, E/CN .14/TRANS/54.

"Tourism in The Gambia," A Report Prepared for the Government of Gambia by Comprehensive Planning Associates, 1972.

West Africa.

TABLE TEN

Number of Tourists to West Africa (1970 - 1971)

Country	1970	1971	Percent Increase
Dahomey	11,000	11,000	0
Equatorial Guinea	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
GAMBIA	2,300	7,000	204
Ghana	35,000	35,000	0
Guinea	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Ivory Coast	44,826	48,820	9
Liberia	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.
Mali	6,908	7,000	0
Mauritania	19,700	16,900	-17
Niger	1,500	1,500	0
Nigeria	25,000	40,000	60
Senegal	51,000	75,000	47
Sierra Leone	12,000	12,000	0
Togo	15,000	16,000	7
Upper Volta	4,031	6,369	47

Source: UN-ECA Tourism in Africa, Annual Bulletin 1972 E/CN.14?TRANS/ 94, March 5, 1973.

increases in tourist arrivals.

Estimates for tourist arrivals to The Gambia by year 1980 run as high as 250,000.[75] However, the oil crisis and general inflation in European countries are factors that have adversely affected tourist arrivals to The Gambia in recent years.[76] In 1973, difficulties were experienced in marketing The Gambia and the season ended earlier than scheduled. Hotel-occupancy rates during the peak tourist season of 1974 declined from a range of eighty-two to ninety-nine percent in January to a range of thirty-four to seventy-seven percent in February. In light of these unexpected developments, estimates concerning the growth rate of tourist arrivals has been put at 15 percent over the next five years.[77]

The average length of stay in The Gambia if fourteen days and tourists are estimated to spend twenty-five pounds each during their stay.[78]

2. Cruise-Ship Visitors

Cruise-ship visitors are the only other significant category of visitors to The Gambia. However, economically speaking, they do not provide much revenue to The Gambia, as the average length of stay is less than twenty-four hours resulting in non-utilization of shore accommodations.

In 1969 two cruise ships made weekly arrivals from Las Palmas (The Canary Islands), one German and one Yugoslavian.[79] By 1970, cruise ships arrived in The Gambia on a day-to-day basis and brought in 3,000 passengers in that year.[80] In 1972, four cruise ships were servicing The Gambia, the additional two chartered by Vingressor, a Swedish travel agency.[81] The Gambian government expected a total of twenty-seven cruise ships to call at Banjul during the 1973/74 tourist season carrying 8,000 passengers.[82]

A survey carried out by the British Research Services in 1968 estimated that day excursionists spend on the average about two pounds each in The Gambia.[83]

3. Sources of Visitors to The Gambia

While The Ivory Coast, with its Club Mediterranee and Riviera, appeals to the French jet setter, Ghana and Nigeria, with tangible evidences of rich history, are Meccas for Afro-Americans, and Togo and the Cameroon are still over-run by former colonizing Germans, The Gambia has become a haven for Swedish Scandinavians.[84]

The first thing that impresses the newcomer to the Nordic concern with West Africa is the length as well as the strength of that connection.[85] It would be far-fetched to suppose that the Swedes, like the Germans, have a "social-romantic enthusiasm" for Africa based on past glories, or a colonial history that could somehow be revived through African manifestations of friendship.[86]

Sweden's unprofitable and fleeting experience as a colonial power in Africa in the seventeenth century does not encourage a neocolonial role, or even an archcolonial one. However, the Swedes were colonists for a time.[87]

The Swedish Africa Company, under a Dutch director, established a colony at Cabo Corso in what is now Ghana in 1649. Sometime later, during the seventeenth century, Denmark seized the trading post and war broke out between the two countries. In the end, the colony became a Dutch settlement and Sweden's colonial aspirations in Africa began to fade. Thereafter Sweden's interests in the continent remained either scientific or religious until the twentieth century.[88]

The latest connection between Sweden and West Africa is tourism in The Gambia. It started as the private enterprise of local Banjul hoteliers, Joseph and Robert Madi. They built the Gambia's first hotel, The Atlantic, in the early nineteen-fifties and soon after independence in 1965, interested Vingressor, a gaint among Swedish travel agencies, in The Gambia's endless beaches, only two hours' flight from the main "colony" of The Vingressor empire, the Canary Islands.[89] Hence, over the past ten years, The Gambia has gradually been moving into competition with the Canary Islands for the Swedish market.[90]

Although it is cheaper to go to the Canary Islands (two weeks - $190.00 round-trip with three meals) than to The Gambia (two weeks - $300.00 round-trip breakfast and dinner), the Swedes who choose the latter think of themselves as pioneers and say that the Canary Islands have become a Scandinavian Miami Beach, with 20,000 tourists a day.[91] It should be noted that The Gambia is still relatively cheap when compared with other tourist destinations in West Africa.

The Swedes who come to The Gambia tend to be middle-aged middle-class office workers who come for the waters.[92] The beaches of The Gambia are considered safer for swimming than the average West African beach, especially those in the estuary of The Gambia River. And during the height of the European winter, November to April, The Gambia enjoys sunny weather with temperatures around 70°F, no rainfall and low humidity.[93]

Another factor that has some bearing on the attraction of The Gambia to Scandinavian tourists is the fact that it is the closest English-speaking country to Europe in West Africa and seventy-five percent of Scandinavians speak English.[94] Three other attractions of The Gambia worth mentioning are its close proximity to West Africa's finest game reserve, Niokoiokoba, in Senegal;[95] the Abuko Nature Reserve registering over 400 species of birds;[96] and ocean and river fishing in one of the world's richest sea areas in terms of fish variety.[97]

Tourism in The Gambia began with the Swedes and to date largely remains so.[98] However, it is expected that the rationalisties of tourist arrivals will eventually demonstrate a greater spread than the current predominate Scandinavian input.[99] Already noticeable is a small influx of German, British and American tourists on holiday in The Gambia.[100] By the 1976-77 season the following breakdown of tourists visiting The Gambia might be expected:

TABLE ELEVEN

Sources of Visitors by Declared Residence (1976/77)

Country	Percent of Total
United Kingdom	30%
West Germany	25%
Scandinavia	25%
France	10%
Other (including W. Afr. Seaboard)	10%
Total	100%

Source: Comprehensive Planners Associates, Tourism in The Gambia, a Report Prepared for The Gambian Government, 1972.

Characteristically speaking, the vast majority of Swedish visitors to The Gambia are what H. Peter Gray terms "sunlust" as opposed to "wanderlust" tourists. The main differences between the two types of travelers can be seen from the comparative listing of their attributes in Table twelve.

TABLE TWELVE

Characteristics of Sunlust and Wanderlust Tourists

Sunlust	Wanderlust
Resort vaction, business; one country visited; travelers seek domestic amenities and accommodations; special natural attributes a necessity, especially climate; travel a minor consideration after arrival at destination; either relaxing and restful or sportive; relatively more domestic travel.	Tourist, business; probably multi-country travelers; seek different cultures, institutions and cuisine; special physical attributes likely to be man-made; climate less important; travel an important ingredient throughout visit; neither restful nor sportive; obstensibly educational; relatively more international travel.

Source: H. Peter Gray International Travel International Trade. Lexington: Heath Lexington Books, 1970, p. 14.

The holiday sunlust visitor, furthermore, tends to expect a first-class luxury-type accommodation, a European cuisine, many amenities and substantial comfort. Few African countries possess hotels of this nature and where they do exist, the cost is prohibitive, for all but the wealthy. Coupled with distance as a deterring factor, few sunlust tourists will be likely to venture farther than the North African coast unless special package or group rates become available.[101]

4. Seasonality in Gambian Tourism

With few exceptions, tourism is characterized by a seasonal rhythm which creates economic difficulties and organizational problems for all tourist undertakings.[102] The dependence of Gambian tourism on weather and climatic conditions is reflected in quite marked seasonal fluctuations of tourist activity. The rainy season in The Gambia coincides with the summer tourist months of Northern Europe, and tourists can obtain first-class conditions much more cleaply nearer home at this time.[103]

"Thus, seasonality implies an incomplete and unbalanced utilization of the means at the disposal of the economy."[104] Recent statistics for The Gambia show irregular movements in the number of foreign-visitor arrivals and hotel-occupancy rates (two other commonly used measures of demand characteristics) with clearly marked peaks and troughs, corresponding to the dry and rainy seasons, respectively, in The Gambia. (See Table Thirteen).

A recent article by Paul Jursa and James Winkates, on "Tourism as a Mode of Development," suggests that the heavy rainy season in West Africa, would almost require an eighty to ninety percent occupancy rate in the dry season to permit a reasonably profitable year.

Thus, The Gambia, even in the tourist year 1976/77 will still be underutilizing hotel tourist plant. Furthermore, the low year-round maximum occupancy rate of forty-three percent predicates a strict requirement for low-capital-cost accommodations and other facilities.[105] An examination of hotel construction and size will be dealt with at a later point in this chapter. The implications of this seasonal-demand

TABLE THIRTEEN

Forecast Seasonal Distribution of Tourist Arrivals 1976/77

Month	Percent of Tourist Arrivals	Hotel Occupancy Rates	Climatic Condition in The Gambia
November	12	68%	
December	16	90%	DRY SEASON
January	14	79%	Average
February	13	73%	Occupancy
March	13	73%	Rate of
April	11	62%	74%
May	6	34%	
June	4	23%	RAINY SEASON
July	2	11%	Average
August	2	11%	Occupancy
September	2	11%	Rate of
October	5	28%	20%

Source: Report on Tourism in The Gambia, done by Comprehensive Planning Associates for The Gambian Government, p. 18.

factor in Gambian tourism have important economic and social consequences which will be discussed in Chapter IV.

C. The Structure of Tourism

One of the selling points of tourism to less developed countries is the fallacy that little more than the basic elements of sun, sand, sea or scenery, plus a readiness to accept foreign capital and expertise are needed to successfully develop this industry.[106] In reality, tourism requires certain basic elements, quite apart from the aforementioned, and conforms to certain principles, made operative by its structure, that also must be taken into consideration.

Tourism components fall broadly into what is termed supply and demand factors. Demand is the subsequent consumption or use of the facilities at a destination. Supply refers to the necessary facilities to service demand such as transportation, accommodations, ancillary services and adequate infrastructure.

The following discussion examines the supply and demand factors that characterize The Gambia's tourist industry.

1. Transportation

Given the fact that demand for a tourist destination is, to a great extent, related to cost, transportation becomes an important variable, as it is generally the largest single item of tourist expenditure.

Considering the distance between The Gambia and its major tourist market, Europe, airline policy, with particular reference to airfare, figures prominently in the demand for The Gambia as a tourist destination;

prohibitive travel costs will stop people from vacationing in the most idyllic of resorts.

The complexities of air travel present a hybrid mixture of independent, national and charter lines, which subdivide into scheduled and non-scheduled flights, giving a many-sided picture to what is simply considered by a tourist as departing from one place and arriving in another.

The administrative unit of the airline network is the International Air Traffic Association, which functions as the "U.N." of the air.[107] I.A.T.A. determines the schedule of all airfares subject to the unanimous approval by all its members. A prerequisite for membership in I.A.T.A. is that a country have a national flag carrier, and those who do not, have no insurance against the possibility of discriminatory fares.[108]

In general, regular airfares within Africa are higher than those within Europe and almost twice as high as internal fares in the United States. And international airfares between Europe and Africa and between North American and Africa are considerably higher than those between Europe and North America.[109] What has apparently happened is that the lack of demand for travel to Africa, prior to the 1960's, dicated higher airfares; however, few policy changes have taken place in accord with increased demand in recent years.[110]

One complication in the Gambian flying scene came with the revaluation of the Dalasi (the local currency). The change from five Dalasi to the pound sterling to four to the pound did not bring a cheaper flight on a British Caledonia plane, a fact lamented by travelers from Banjul to London, and a matter that the Gambian Government took up with I.A.T.A.

The organization's promise was for "sympathetic" consideration of the matter.[111]

As a result of higher airfares on scheduled services to Africa, the situation has brought forward non-scheduled flights on planes owned or chartered by the big tour operators.[112] While it remains true that the cheaper airfares offered by charter flights enable people to travel to Africa who might not otherwise be able to, they still leave Africa handicapped by higher airfares. For example, the charter-flight-fare for the 6,317 km route from Zurich to New York costs $268 per person against $388.40 for the charter flight for the 6,034 km route from Zurich to Nairobi.[113]

Charter flights also have certain demand characteristics that have to be taken into consideration by the host country. A charter flight is a flight booked exclusively for the use of a specific group of people who generally belong to the same organization or who are being treated to the flight by a single host and is not open for sale to the general public.[114] Charter planes must carry full passenger loads to be economical and therefore require large hotel capacity to accommodate full plane loads of tourists. Charter flights also necessitate a large travel market with a strong enough demand for travel as expensive as that to distant Africa.[115]

Thus charter flights do not encourage travel to places with small hotel capacity; they tend to be highly seasonal, attract the middle-income tourist market and block smaller travel agencies from the African market.[116]

2. Accommodations

Hotel accommodation is the second largest tourist expenditure, following transportation.

In the last ten years The Gambia has gone from one hotel to more than fifteen, averaging about one and a half new hotels per year.

This rapid increase in hotel construction was in response to the bed shortage, resulting from the rapid increase in tourist arrivals to The Gambia as well as the need for larger-capacity hotels to accommodate charter flights bringing large numbers of tourists at one time.

Until recently, most hotels were booked to capacity during the tourist season. Current setbacks in terms of demand suggest that supply at this point may outstrip demand.[117]

3. Ancillary Services

Ancillary services refer to tourist consumer demand for items other than accommodation, such as restaurants not located in hotels, cafes, various types of excursions, night clubs, sports installations and shops handling products mainly intended for the tourist trade (souvenirs).[118] The investment needed to install ancillary services is relatively small and is generally left entirely to individual initiative. But the Gambian government, on an equal partnership basis with Vingressor, formed a private company in 1969, Wing Afric , Ltd., to provide for ancillary services in The Gambia. The rationale for this move is contained in a 1970 press release concerning the matter:

> It should be noted that tourism is a very competitive world-wide industry and any country which wishes to make any headway in it must be prepared to provide services of an acceptable

TABLE FOURTEEN

No. of Hotels and Hotel Beds Available in The Gambia 1964/74

Year	No. of Hotels	Hotel Beds Available
1964	1	76
1965	2	133
1966		N.A.
1967	3 to 6	N.A.
1968		N.A.
1969		N.A.
1970/71	7	N.A.
1971/72	-	400
1972/73	11	1,049
1973/74	13	1,509

Sources: Africa, An International Business, Economic and Political Monthly

Quarterly Economic Review of Ghana, Sierra Leone, The Gambia and Liberia, No. 3, 1974.

Le Messager - Special Issue on The Republic of The Gambia

Standard Bank Review

Tourism in The Gambia, A Report prepared by Comprehensive Planning Associated, London, 1972.

> standard which the tourists have come to regard as normal. These services must, among other things, be efficient and dependable.
>
> The emergence of Wing Afric may therefore be regarded as a desirable improvement and reinforcement of the existing services. It is normal that services of such high standards are provided by individual citizens of a country. In the absence of such effort, government considers it right to step in on behalf of all Gambians.[119]

Since 1970, Wing Afric, Ltd. has acquired a virtual monopoly on transportation to and from Yundum Airport as well as excursions to tourist sites. The company has also acquired a number of bicycles which are available to tourists on a daily hire basis.[120] In addition, Wing Afric is a travel agency, the only one in The Gambia. Its functions in this respect are producing publicity and advertising material, running a hotel booking service and planning excursion programs.[121]

Outside of these ancillary services, provided by Wing Afric, there are truly few other services of this nature in The Gambia.[122] There is a numerical paucity of restaurants with a distinct Gambian setting, serving traditional Gambian food.[123] There are four or five night clubs, several open-air cinemas and dancing at several of the hotels.[124] A craftsman's market has been created and tourism has generally encouraged business at local curio shops.[125]

On the other hand, the Swedes are not great spenders or nightbirds, and it takes some urging to get them from the beaches during the day and from retiring early at night.[126] The tendency has been only to buy inexpensive handicrafts,[127] and night life in The Gambia is only mildly patronized as many Scandinavians and Englishmen content themselves with a beer and a stroll after dinner.[128]

4. Infrastructure

The arrival of foreign visitors presupposes the existence of airports, seaports, roads and other terminal facilities[129] and always entails a sharp increase in total demand on public utility infrastructure. This involves developing the existing infrastructure and creating new infrastructure specifically to meet tourist demand.[130]

Infrastructual development at the time of Gambian independence can only be termed modest. Consequently, developing the tourist industry is going to involve considerable expansions. Major projects pending, as of the undertaking of this study, include the extension of electricity, water supplies and other services, road construction and important improvements to the Banjul Harbour and Yundum Airport.[131]

5. Matching Supply with Demand: the Trend Towards Integration

The provision of ample tourist supply to meet anticipated demand poses certain problems. The difficulty stems from the fundamantal property differences of these two factors, when applied to the tourist industry.

The demand for tourist goods and services is not considered constant, such as that for basics such as food. It is generally characterized by elasticity, i.e., subject to wide fluctuations in time and space. Elasticity of demand in the tourist industry is shown not only by its peculiar sensitivity to fluctuations in personal income and changes in the cost of tourist goods and services, but it is also painfully obvious during periods of economic and political crisis.[132]

In recent years, countries like The Gambia, which have invested heavily in tourist plant, have been adversely affected by the present world-wide threat of recession and the oil crisis with attendant rises in airfare costs.[133]

The law of substitution also applies to tourist demand for goods and services, which have to compete with the attraction of durable consumer goods (such as household appliances, television sets, jewelry, furs, cars, etc.) as well as other tourist destinations.[134]

Exaggerated optimism, on the part of some economists, concerning the ability of tourist demand to expand indefinitely is very misleading. Tourism is an amenity, if not a luxury, resulting in extreme sensitivity to changes in the world order.[135] Thus, by its very nature tourism demand is and will presumably remain a highly volatile, even fad-oriented characteristic of tourism.[136]

On the other hand, supply in the tourist industry is essentially rigid. Immobility in time and space and the impossibility of keeping stocks of tourist services are the causes of this inelasticity of supply. Tourist services are "manufactured," so to speak, at the moment of consumption. Therefore, they can hardly be kept in stock.[137]

Most tourist activities consist of providing services or selling goods, such as local handicraft to consumers.[138] Secondly, all tourist activities are based on certain specialized installations which are generally costly (hotels, restaurants, transportation services) and cannot be moved in response to a demand suddenly arising at some other place.[139] Consequently, no matter how small the number of tourists (which translates into utilization rate of hotels and transport services), the fixed costs (amortization, maintenance, interest on capital, etc.)

remain constant.[140] The existence of these fixed costs means that the largest possible movement of tourists with a constant flow is most desirable. But in actual fact, a somewhat rigid supply is confronted with an elastic tourist demand and cannot adapt itself readily to demand fluctuations.[141]

The trend towards vertical integration has, to some extent, created a more favorable balance between supply and demand factors. Vertical integration is mainly achieved through different types of medium - or long-term contracts associating the various branches into a package, through direct control by one branch over one or more of the others.[142] Figure Three gives a visual representation of this process.

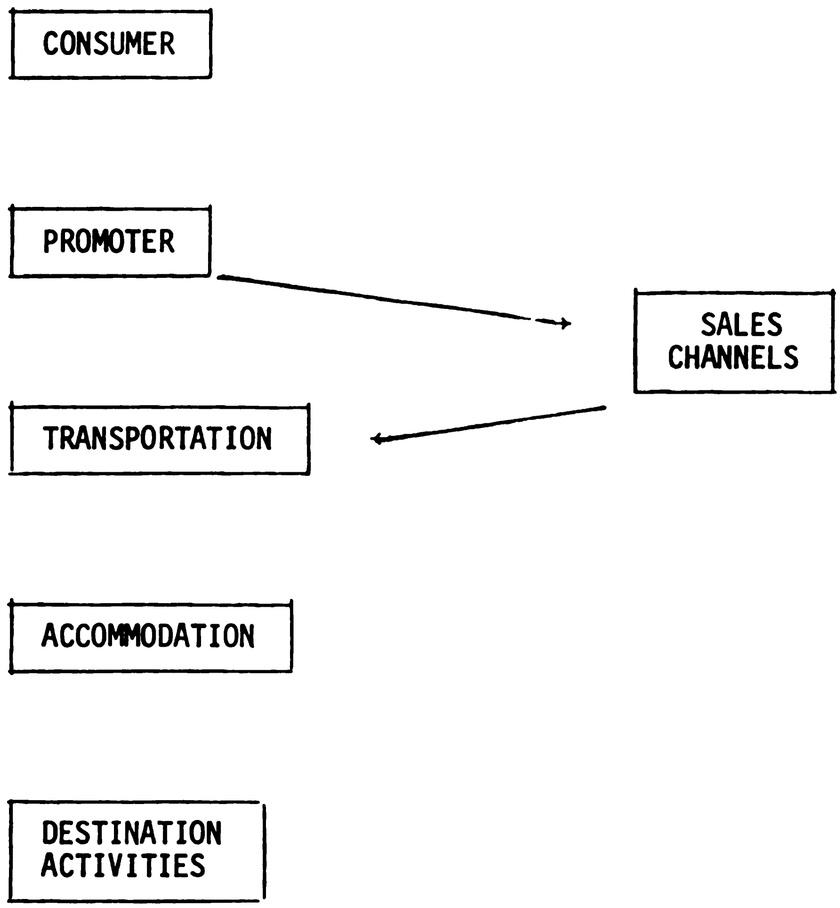
This trend towards vertical integration has turned the tourist industry into a business dominated by very large-scale holiday tour operators (HTO's). They represent an extremely powerful commercial force in the hands of the tourist-generating country. Vingressor, for example, runs its own extensive fleet of charter planes. Once arriving at such destinations as The Gambia, the tourists are lodged and entertained by the same company in its own hotels or those of its choosing in accordance with contract arranagements made a year or more in advance.[143]

Less developed countries generally cannot effect integration because of the lack of control over supply and demand factors. The advantage of these combined arrangements are that a steady flow of tourist traffic can be expected along with greater utilization of tourist plant (hotels, infrastructure, ancillary services, etc.).[144]

The disadvantage, however, is the increasing monopolistic control over their tourist industries by holiday tour operators. The combination of the large-scale tour operator and transportation operator means

FIGURE 3

VERTICAL INTEGRATION



Source: <u>Tourism, Principles, Practices, Philosophies</u>, Robert McIntosh, Ohio: Grid, Inc., 1972, p. 230.

that the foreign company is able to exert a tight control over demand.[145] They are the ones who choose the places to be visited and the itineraries to be followed; can fill the means of transport and accommodation to capacity or leave them empty; impose standards and partly dictate prices, especially for accommodation in less developed countries.[146] It may therefore be claimed that industrialized countries, through HTO's, can "suggest" the responses of the less developed receptor countries, if not actually dictate terms to them. In this manner, less developed receptor countries are increasingly reduced to the status of sub-contractors of the hotel tour operators in the industrialized countries.[147]

The starting point of this chapter was a background to the historical, geopolitical, economic and social parameters of The Gambia. The picture that emerges from these considerations is one of underdevelopment and its concomitant, structural dependence. As a consequence, The Gambia was shown to have limited alternatives as well as resources for development. Tourism was introduced as its fastest growing industry and examined in some detail. Due regard was paid to the necessary requirements of the tourist industry and certain of its structural aspects as both have important implications for the outcome of tourism development in The Gambia. The purpose of this chapter was to lay the foundation for the subsequent analysis of tourism's impact on Gambia's development, which is the concern of Chapter IV.

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CHAPTER IV

CHANGING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF TOURISM

Tourism is often discussed in terms of its potential to be of assistance to less developed countries rather than its actual impact on these countries. The distinction is important in relationship to the context of underdevelopment and structural dependence as tourism's potential is unlikely to be fully realized under these circumstances.

The concern of this chapter is with the actual impact of tourism on Gambia's development. However, to establish a comparative base, attention will be drawn to both theory and fact. In Chapter One, it was stated that development was a hand-in-hand situation between economic and social progress. Therefore, any meaningful analysis of the impact of tourism should involve this dual assessment. Purely as an organizational measure, the discussion in this chapter is developed in three parts. The first two deal with the impact of tourism on The Gambia's economic development and then its impact on social development, albeit that the two are related and inseparable. (It must be borne in mind that tourism is a contributory factor in most cases, rather than the sole cause of any effects that can be attributed to it). Lastly, this chapter deals with government regulation of the tourist industry as it is a key determinant of how tourism has so far impacted on the economic and social milieu of The Gambia.

A. The Economic Component

In Chapter Two, an appealing argument was stated for considering a foreign-travel industry to be a potentially valuable attribute to most less developed countries. This potential was identified as the contribution tourism could make to the balance-of-payments situation, as an earner of foreign exchange. While this is perhaps the most conspicuous and most frequently cited benefit of tourism, it is also widely held that tourism creates an increase in employment opportunities. Together these benefits constitute the major direct effects that tourism is reported to have on an economy.

The major indirect effects tourism is thought to have on an economy are: a rise in gross national product as a result of the income multiplier, the stimulation of secondary industries such as construction and manufacturing, and the correction of regional economic imbalances through the implantation of tourism in areas devoid of other industries. Each of these effects will be examined in turn.

1. Tourism as a Source of Foreign Exchange

In the 1972/73 fiscal year, gross foreign exchange earnings from tourism were estimated at seven million Dalasi. This figure compares with gross domestic product of ninety-seven million Dalasi in that year. While agriculture made up about fifty percent of the gross domestic product, the Minister of Finance stated that the contribution from tourism has risen to fifteen percent.[1]

These encouraging statistics camouflage the fact that the net gain of foreign exchange accruing to The Gambia is considerably smaller than seven million Dalasi. It is likely that as much as eighty-five to ninety percent of total tourist expenditures is lost revenue to The Gambia.[2] The two major contributory factors that generate this loss stem from non-Gambian ownership of necessary tourist plant and costs incurred by the government through tourism's promotion.

a. Non-Gambian Ownership of Tourist Plant

Gambia Airways was established in 1964, as a partnership between the Gambian government and British United Airways. Control of the company has, until recently, rested with British Caledonia (formerly BUA) which held sixty percent of the shares in the company.[3] In 1973, Gambia Airways came under government control, converting the partnership to a sixty/forty arrangement in which The Gambia has the majority share. But this nationalization still leaves British Caledonia managing the company and providing training for staff.[4] Most of the skiller personnel are still being brought in from overseas;[5] however, BUA does provide free overseas training for a number of Gambians.[6]

Gambia Airways is one of the few national airlines in the world without a single aircraft of its own.[7] The only real function of the company is maintaining ground staff for handling the traffic of other airlines,[8] with only modest earnings accruing from this service. As regards tourism development, one finds that The Gambia is completely reliant upon one or more foreign-owned carriers for the transport of its tourists. The three main companies servicing The Gambia are Vingressor in Stockholm, Spies in Copenhagen and the British Far Horizon out of London.[9]

Not only is The Gambia serviced mainly by charter flights, but they also tend to be all inclusive-tours. An all-inclusive tour is a travel plan for which pre-arranged return transportation, wholly by air or partly by air and partly by surface, together with ground facilities (such as meals, hotels, etc.) are sold for a total prive.[10]

The disadvantage of inclusive tours, to The Gambia, are twofold. Charter inclusive tours do not encourage additional spending by tourists and directly they spend very little money in The Gambia. Swedish tourists, in particular, have been accused of parsimony by local merchants.[11]

Secondly, charter inclusive tours are paid for in the country of the tourists' origin.[12] Except for the small portion that is remitted to The Gambia, from airport taxes, etc., much of the profit remains in Sweden. Consequently it is Sweden's balance-of-payments which is most favored by the expansion of tourism in The Gambia.

From Table Fifteen one can ascertain that a very high proportion of hotels in The Gambia are foreign-owned. As new hotels are developed, however, there has been a tendency for the Gambian government to have some holdings.[13]

Generally speaking, involvement of indigenous entrepreneurs is confined largely to the small guest houses which generally account for a smaller proportion of beds and a smaller proportion of gross tourist receipts. Some plausible reasons for the reluctance of indigenous owners of capital to enter the new hotel industry have been summarized by John M. Bryden, who did a similar study in the Caribbean. They are as follows;

TABLE FIFTEEN

Hotel Characteristics in The Gambia

Name of Hotel	Location	Year Established	No. of Beds	Ownership	Foreign Capital Inflow
The Atlantic	Banjul	1954	140	European	£65,000 (1968 addition)
The Adonis	Banjul	1965	57	Gambian	---
Palm Grove Hotel	Mile 2	)	38	Vingressor	£40,000
Uncle Joe's	Banjul	)	---	European	---
Hotel De La Paix	Banjul	)	---	Lebanese	---
Chiefs Rest House	Banjul	)	(Reserved for Political Personage and Civil Servants)	--	---
Venus	Banjul	)	---	--	---
Teranga	Banjul	)	---	--	---
The Banjul	Banjul	1969/70	---	Gambian (Same as Adonis)	---
Wadner Beach	Mile 3	1970	450	Swedish	£120,000
The Fajara	Mile	1971	436	Vingressor & Lilsenbergs	£400,000
Carlton	Banjul	1971	88	European	---
Sunwing	Cape St. Mary	1972	320	Vingressor Britain & The Gambian Govt.	£333,000
Bungalow Beach	Kotu Stream	(Under)	224	--	---
Apollo	Kotu Stream	(Construction)	88	--	---

Sources: Bright Continent: A Shoestring Guide to Sub-Saharan Africa, Susan Blumenthal, 1974.
Traveler's Africa, Arron & Segall, 1973.
The Gambia News Bulletin.
The Gambia Year Book 1964/65.
Africa, A Business Economic and Political Monthly.

1) a lack of past experience and expertise in the hotel industry. This applies particularly to the larger hotels beyond the capacity of family management;

2) a relative shortage of domestic savings associated with high restricted capital markets;

3) the relatively easier availability of financing of foreign entrepreneurs;

4) and steep rates of local income taxation and estate duties.[14]

The cost of tourism to public funds may be classified in three main categories: various incentives which may be held out by the government to tourist enterprises, involving a loss of earnings to the state; government spending on imports to satisfy tourist demands and infrastructural costs incurred in tourism's expansion.

b. Government Policy on Investment Incentives

It is not inappropriate to provide various kinds of incentives to private investment for tourism development. Such measures are frequently applied to other sectors of the economy and in particular to those which, like tourism in LDC's, are largely export-oriented.[15]

In view of the competing claims for limited resources and of overall budgetary and financial constraints that generally confront less developed countries, domestic financial resources can be usefully supplemented by finance from abroad on appropriate terms and conditions.[16] It is however, self-evident that where private investment does take place in the tourist industry, the investment climate will be influenced by the expected rate of private return.[17]

It does not follow that investment incentives should be applied as a matter of course. Due regard should be given to cost in terms of tax revenue foregone and of budgetary and other resources which could, in the absence of fiscal concessions, have been devoted to other purposes. Moreover, incentive schemes for the tourist sector should not be needlessly generous in as much as they constitute a community subsidy of the cost of money for the private sector.[18]

In The Gambia, government policy, attitudes, laws and regulations are more than favorable to private investment. Under the 1965 Development Ordinance a project which has received a certificate is accorded customs exemptions (duty free entry) for its capital construction goods, plant and equipment, and for specified materials entering into the manufacturing process. It may also be accorded an income-tax holiday of five years.[19]

Under the Income Tax Ordinance, company income tax is at the rate of 45 percent (no profit tax) but the following concessions are made, independently of any concessions under the Development Ordinance:

1) Newly incorporated companies in The Gambia whose profits do not exceed ₤3,000 per year are granted a special tax exemption on a tapering basis during the first six years;

2) "pioneer" undertakings as defined in The Third Schedule to The Income Tax Ordinance may be exempted from income tax for five years;

3) capital allowances include "initial allowances" of 40% and annual depreciation allowances at appropriate rates on machinery and equipment and "initial allowances" of 20% and annual allowances of 10% on industrial buildings. In the case of "pioneer" undertakings the capital allowances may be enjoyed in full after the tax holiday period;

4) no restriction is placed on the repatriation of profits and capital in the currency appropriate to the country of residence of the original investor;

5) the government has stated that it does not intend to nationalize or expropriate foreign or indigenous industries.[20]

Some sources suggest that The Gambia's tax laws on foreign private investment are too lenient, and according to Susan Blumenthal, (Bright Continent, 1974), an entrepreneur can regain his initial investment in The Gambia in little over thirty months.

On the whole, private capital investment in The Gambia has mainly been concentrated in hotel construction. A very high proportion of investors have taken advantage of the incentives offered, and hotel investment during the period under study remained at a high level.

It is difficult to assess the affect of these incentives on investment in the hotel industry as other factors favoring hotel investment in The Gambia were also operative, namely, 100 percent increase in demand per annum, relatively low wages and price index, and general political stability. Therefore, one might have expected a substantial proportion of investments in hotels, even with substantially reduced incentives. To the extent that this is true, then incentives represent a cost to the government concerned.

The dominance of foreign-owned hotels in The Gambia also has some important implications. The control of a high degree of profits and potential domestic savings lies in the hands of non-nationals, and to the extent that these profits are remitted overseas and not reinvested locally, constitutes a loss in savings to The Gambia. Thus, the dependence on foreign capital is reinforced since the potential sources of savings is not in fact reinvested locally. This dependence on a continued flow of foreign capital necessitates the continuance and even strengthening of concessions, and may influence government to pursue policies which receive the approval of foreign investors, but which may not be in the best interest of the indigenous population.

In general, the major disadvantage of all types of incentives is that they can lead to over-investment and a subsequent waste of scarce capital.[21]

> Where there is little government control over the industry, its rate of growth will depend on the rate of profit as compared with alternatives. If the rate of private profit should, however, exceed the rate of social profit in the industry, there will be a tendency for the industry to grow too rapidly from the point of view to society, and resources will be bid away from other socially profitable uses. There will also be pressure on the government to keep up with the rate of growth of private investment in the industry in terms of its contribution to tourist infrastructure.[22]

c. Importation, Inflation and the Cost of Living

It would be salutary if the development of a tourist industry would stimulate import substitutes, but the experience of a variety of countries, including The Gambia, suggests that, with the exception of certain construction materials, the import substitution effects are negligible.[23] In order to satisfy tourist demands, most of the liquor and foodstuffs utilized by The Gambia's tourist industry are European imports. The importation of these goods have contributed substantially to the present situation of widespread inflation in The Gambia. Through what is called the demonstration effect, indigenous people begin to imitate the consumption patterns of tourists and prefer foreign-made goods to local ones. The Gambia in effect is importing the current world-wide situation of inflation.[24]

Tourism in The Gambia is also threatening to distort local prices in the market place.[25] Some hotels, restuarants, etc., do buy some foodstuffs from local entrepreneurs. In past seasons, this has resulted in Gambian housewives not being able to purchase meat at the market because the hotels were buying in such large quantities.[26] In effect, hotels are competing with the indigenous people for local produce and the resulting scarcity of goods has driven prices up. In addition, prices fluctuate upwards in response to the tourist season and over time this has contributed to the general rise in prices.[27] The combination of these inflationary factors has resulted in a cost of living increase of twenty-five percent for Gambians since 1969.[28]

d. Infrastructural Requirements

In most countries, the government tends to have the principal responsibility for the provision of infrastructure, its benefit being mutually shared at-large by the general public. Consequently the service is paid for through general taxation.[29]

By and large, tourists make demands on the same infrastructual services as other consumers, and theoretically this additional use cannot be divorced from the wider context of the provision and financing of infrastructure. However, infrastructure specific to tourism such as hotel accommodations, airport facilities, and site development, not utilized by the majority of Gambians, but paid for by them, constitutes a significant cost to the nation.[30]

In order to elucidate on this cost, even though in the last resort it must be a matter of degree, it is convenient to make a broad distinction between general infrastructure and specific infrastructure for tourism. The former includes the national network of distribution systems for transport, water, electricity, telecommunications, town sewers, public health, protection and sanitation.[31]

Specific infrastructure for tourism is that necessitated by the creation of new accommodations and the general expansion of the tourism sector. It includes connections to the networks already mentioned, extensions and improvements to them, stepping up their capacity to serve accommodation centers and carrying out a variety of development projects in tourist areas.[32]

Developing the tourist industry in The Gambia is initially going to involve the government in quite a lot of expenditure.[33] Table Sixteen shows the capital outlay necessary, in order to implement the infrastructual changes recommended by Comprehensive Planners Associates, estimated over the ten-year period 1972-1982. Although some of this public investment will earn revenue over and above tourist receipts, such as payments to public utilities, a substantial cost remains which will be borne by the government via the taxpayers.

The infrastructure provided is intended to be comparable to that enjoyed by tourists in their countries of origin. As this expenditure is linked to the presence of tourists from the most highly developed countries, the costs of infrastructure, for technological reasons, rises faster than the general price level. Therefore, international tourism

TABLE SIXTEEN

Breakdown of Expenditure on Tourism Specific Infrastructural Costs (1972-1982) (Dalasis)

Infrastructural Costs	1972/73	1973/74	1974/75	1975/76	1976/77	1977/78	1981/82
Site Development	375,000	375,000	375,000	375,000			
Roads		105,000	60,000	60,000			
Electricity	900,000	1,150,000	1,025,000	1,025,000	900,000		
Water	435,000	584,000	1,220,000	150,000	505,000		
Sewage		400,000	200,000	200,000			
Airport	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000	750,000		
Other Costs							
Development Corp.	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	... 50,000
Tourism Authority	225,000	225,000	225,000	225,000	225,000	225,000	... 225,000
Medical Services	75,000	75,000	75,000	75,000	75,000	75,000	... 75,000
Wild-Life Conservation	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	... 50,000
Hotel School	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	50,000	... 50,000
Total Cost	2,910,000	3,815,000	4,080,000	3,010,000	2,605,000	425,000	525,000
Net Revenue for Utilities	775,000	2,150,000	3,300,000	4,700,000	7,475,000	6,350,000	6,350,000
	-2,155,000	-1,665,000	-780,000	1,690,000	4,870,000	5,925,000	5,925,000

Rate of Return: 40%

Source: Comprehensive Planners Associates, Tourism in The Gambia, A report done for the Gambian Government 1972.

leads to an increase in a category of expenditure which increases more quickly than it would do in the absence of tourism.[34]

At the time of this writing, little information was available concerning how much of this development program had been undertaken by the Gambian government, except that work has been initiated on Yundum Airport and the harbor at Banjul.[35]

Because of importation and infrastructural requirements, Gambia's tourist industry is in effect making demands on the very foreign-exchange that it earns. Consequently little remains in the way of foreign-exchange to provide imports needed in the agricultural sector and other industrial sectors of the economy.

2. Tourism's Effect on Employment

The largest single employer of labor in The Gambia's private sector is the tourist industry.[36] In the 1972/73 tourist season, 1,000 persons were employed. It was expected that the number would increase to 1,400 persons during the 1973/74 season[37] and by the year 1978, the industry is predicted to employ over 5,000 persons.[38]

These figures represent employment in the hotel branch alone. Available data on employment in the tourist sector, as a whole, is difficult to obtain because of the arbitrary bounds of the non-hotel branch. All the same, the figures given in this section are useful as a broad indicator of the relative increase in job opportunities as a result of tourism.

The quantity of jobs created by the tourist industry may be quite distinct from the quality of this achievement. In the case of The

Gambia the former is misleading when confronted by the latter and merits further examination.

An analysis done by Robert Erbes, of the hotel-employment structure, yields the following classification:

1) management; comprising the high-level responsible staff: managers, assistant managers, department managers, etc.;

2) technicians; comprising supervisory staff, i.e., head receptionist, staff manager, chief accountant, non-hotel technicians employed by a hotel group (plumbers, electrians, etc.);

3) skilled staff; comprises house steward, head cellar man, head waiter, head wine waiter, barman, specialized kitchen worker, etc.;

4) unskilled personnel; comprises luggage porter, watchman, page, cloakroom attendant, miscellaneous kitchen and scullery staff, maids, etc.[39]

The picture that emerges from this analysis suggests that skilled labor is a very necessary part of the total personnel employed in the hotel branch.

The Gambia, which has opted for rapid expansion of its tourism sector, at first failed to give serious thought to this matter. Robert Erbes feels that there is a common assumption made, on the part of LDC's, that employment in the hotel sector is merely a matter of dipping into a population of working-age people who are unemployed, underemployed or eager for a change of occupation.[40] However, one does not easily transform agricultural workers into waiters, cooks, managers and administrators. These individuals will have to be trained, a venture that will not be inexpensive and will entail use of already scarce resources.[41]

In recent years great importance has been placed on the training of hotel personnel in The Gambia, to redress the situation. In 1972, an agreement between the government of The Gambia and the United Nations Development Program provided for the first government training program in The Gambia. Under the terms of the agreement, the U.N.D.P. provided expert instructors as well as equipment for running the courses.[42] A second project, sponsored by ILO, UNDP and the Gambian government was established in July 1973, to assist in the organization of more training courses for hotel and catering personnel.[43]

Given the recency of these efforts, The Gambian Government is still beseiged by reports of lack of opportunities for Gambians to participate in the management sectors of the hotel industry.[44] This suggests that the better-paying jobs have been and largely remain occupied by expatriate workers.

As a consequence of the seasonal nature of demand, a varying proportion of employment in the tourism sector is insecure. A fairly large number of jobs are seasonal so that during the off-season those affected must either find another job or remain unemployed. Even with the allowances paid to staff in training during this period and the labor force classified as permanent, it is likely that they are underemployed during the off-season so that there is some concealed unemployment. The marginal productivity of a variable fraction of the labor force is therefore low or nonexistant during a variable period of the year.[45]

Unemployment is already a pressing problem in The Gambia, especially in and around the Banjul area. This is caused mainly by the rapid population migration from rural to urban areas and the steady increase in school leavers seeking employment.[46] As mentioned earlier, the development of tourism in The Gambia has largely taken place in and around the Banjul area. The creation of more employment opportunities in this area can only increase the migratory trend.

In addition, unemployment in Banjul becomes an inflammatory situation during the off-season of tourism. It is true that this off-season coincides with the harvesting of groundnuts, and if workers could be persuded to return to the rural areas, a more balanced employment situation could be achieved. However, once drawn into the tourist sector, the tendency has been to remain in the Banjul area even in the event of unemployment.

This movement of agricultural workers to Banjul has put pressure on the government to increase investments in schools, housing, streets and police protection. It also suggests that, in the long run, total agricultural output may suffer.

3. The Tourism Multiplier

Supporters of the view that less developed countries should promote tourism as a means of raising national income lay much stress on the multiplier effects of this industry.[47] Net tourist receipts directly generate income which is shared between factors of production used in the tourism sector and factors employed in the sectors supplying it. But there is also indirect income generated by spending on the part of those who have received direct income. This indirect income in turn generates other indirect income.[48] The unbroken series of conversion of visitor money, before taken out of circulation through leakages, constitutes the multiplier effect.[49]

The final increase in income is higher than the initial increase, by an amount depending on the proportion in which successive recipients of income spend it to purchase goods and services produced in the tourist-receiving country. At this juncture, several important factors come into play with regard to the tourism multiplier in less developed countries.

The first of these concerns the content of the income which is multiplied. Normally this relates to gross domestic product (GDP) derived by summing the gross profits, gross wages and salaries, and rent and interest received in each sector. The multiplier is an income rather than a transaction concept;[50] therefore, the most relevant aggregate is income to nationals (ITN).[51]

Differences arise between GDP and ITN because of foreign ownership of factors of production and because of employment of non-nationals in the economy of many less developed countries.[52] In view of the significance of foreign ownership in The Gambia's tourist industry, the employment of non-nationals and the option of repatriation of profits and wages, it seems likely that the ITN multiplier may be significantly lower than the GDP multiplier.

Secondly, expenditure on imports represents a leakage from the economy and, therefore, is of importance in the assessment of the multiplier,[53] Clearly, less developed countries, such as The Gambia, where a higher proportion of expenditure by tourists and indigenes alike is met by imports, tend to have lower multipliers than more self-sufficient economies.[54]

While is is appropriate to consider the multiplier effects of the expenditures to visitors, these effects are only one element in the whole picture, and since other forms of expenditure have similar effects, undue importance should not be attached to this one element,[55] unless multipliers differ radically from one sector to another.[56] Paradoxically, in some cases the tourism multiplier is believed to be quite low when compared to that in such industries as agriculture, mining, furniture manufacturing and the like, which require fewer imports in their operation.[57]

4. The Stimulus to Secondary Industries

In Chapter Three it was noted that tourism had given impetus to a moderate increase in ancillary services in The Gambia, such as for entertainment, theaters, shops, restaurants and in particular the formation of Wing Afric, its first travel agency. In addition, there are a host of trades that service the Gambia's tourist industry, that have been stimulated by its expansion.

The horticultural[58] and handicraft industries[59] have perhaps received the greates stimulus. Demand for agricultural and livestock produce has increased.[60] And there is some evidence that Gambian construction firms[61] and furniture manufacturing outlets[62] have been utilized in the hotel industry. In addition, tourism has prompted the construction of a soft-drink and beer plant in The Gambia, despite the fact that most of the country is Muslim. The plant is expected to reduce European imports of these commodities.[63]

While these developments are generally looked upon as favorable in The Gambia, Walter Rodney challenges the notion that industrialization,

<u>per se</u>, is the answer to underdevelopment. Tourism, according to Rodney, with respect ot stimulating secondary industries, is a part of the new "branch plant economy:"

> This is a very subtle development, the negative effects of which remain unperceived from some time, because many people have been pre-occupied with looking at the <u>old forms</u> of the international division of labor; the dichotomy was simply industry versus agriculture or processing versus the export of unprocessed goods.
>
> Now, imperialism has been able to circumvent the criticism that it reduces less developed countries merely to primary production, through the encouragement of import substitution. What in fact this means is that the capitalist structure in the metropoles have reached the stage where the export of consumer goods is no longer really critical, but export of certain capital goods is much more crucial; namely, the <u>plants</u> that manufacture the beer, cigarettes, cars, etc., which allows for greater exploration and manipulation of market potential.[64]

5. <u>Dispersion of Development</u>

According to Michael Peters, whose book on international tourism is the most comprehensive work recently published on the subject, tourism by its nature tends to distribute development away from the industrial centers towards those regions in a country which have not been commercially developed.[65] Contrary to Peter's prognosis, the Secretariat of The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) suggests that private investment, if left completely on its own, does not produce an optimum investment pattern. Private hotel interest and also travel agents and tour operators are mainly attracted to the most popular and established localities and regions, where the commercial risks are smaller and the chances of quick profits greater. They are on the whole less adventuresome in pioneering and opening up new areas.[66]

As was noted earlier, most of the tourist-related development in The Gambia has taken place in and around the Banjul area. Geographically speaking, of the fifteen hotels in The Gambia, two-thirds are located within the city of Banjul while the remainder are situated one to two miles outside of the city along the beaches. It was only in 1971 that the Gambian government seriously began talking about introducing hotel legislation in an effort to spread out development.[67]

B. The Social Component

The social, cultural, social-psychological and political effects of tourism development in technologically advanced societies are normally implicitly supposed to be favorable or at least not unfavorable. This supposition is unacceptable with respect to tourism in less developed countries.[68]

To be sure, tourism has its beneficial side. It can be argued that Gambians will eventually utilize the infrastructure that is now mainly associated with tourism; however, the issue then becomes one of priorities. Tourism has certainly increased cross-cultural awareness; however, this has both its good and bad sides. Since the tourist invasion began, a number of Swedes have "adopted" Gambian youngsters, paying their airfare to Sweden and subsidizing their studies there.[69] Tourism has also been responsible for the revitalization of interest in such historic sites as The Gambia Stone Circles (believed to be an ancient burial ground), stimulated interest in Abuko Natural Reserve and has led to consideration of establishing a museum in The Gambia.

It must be remembered, however, that an important distinguishing feature of tourism is the fact that tourists have to come to the tourist-receiving country in order to consume the product. This is in contrast with other exporting activities, and indeed most exchange relationships where producers and consumers are separated and rarely confront each other in person.[70]

Most less developed countries are in the throes of economic and social change, an internal source of conflict. This makes a society highly susceptible to external disruptive forces as well. Consequently, an odd injection of foreign ideology (that of tourists, no less) from developed nations can create an unexpected situation resulting in undue social strains.

On the balance sheet, the negative effects on Gambian society far outweigh the positive ones. The four potentially demaging effects examined in this section are cultural erosion, xenophobia, environmental despoilage and premature departure to modernization.

1. Cultural Erosion

a. Conflicting Value Systems

In their analysis of tourism as a mode of development, Jursa and Winkates postulate that a chief consideration of any new venture is its potential impact on prevailing values, which in part determines the receptivity of the indigenous population to the new venture.[71] The classic example of value conflict given by the authors was that of Swedish visitors to The Gambia.

Nude bathing is considered a distinct part of Swedish mores[72] and since their invasion of The Gambia it has been fairly common on Gambian beaches. Bikini-clad women are also reported to amble around town and visit the market places.[73] In a country which is 90 percent Moslem and overwhelmingly traditional in its value orientation, the nude Swedish bathers and scantily clad women are an affront to the Moslem sense of public decorum.[74] The Gambia Tourist Board even made mention of an application, refused for obvious reasons, by an overseas group to open a nudist camp in The Gambia.[75]

The introduction, illegally, of pornographic literature has been another problem. A case was reported in which two Gambian girls were coerced into taking part in pornography by some Swedish undesirables under the guise of tourists.[76] What has truly become legendary in The Gambia is the Scandinavian visitors' uninhibited search for partners at any price.[77] If the account of Susan Blumenthal (Bright Continent, 1974) can be taken literally, only two Gambian prostitutes were in Banjul before the advent of Swedish tourists. Presently, however, there are many, not only women, but young boys.[78]

On the other hand, some Gambian tourists have taken offense at being accosted. A case in point involved two British women who were bird watching. To avoid alienating this component of visitors to The Gambia, the police assured British representatives that they would police tourists areas to keep out prostitutes. The net effect of this policy has been the denial of Gambians' access to their own beaches, parks, etc., as prostitution is an ever-increasing problem.

In 1972, a concerned group of religious leaders obtained an audience with The Minister of State responsible for Information, Broadcasting and Tourism, Mr. B. L. Kuti Sanyang, to express their dismay over the amoral effect tourism was having on The Gambia.[79] They pointed out the moral conduct of some tourists left much to be desired and nudism in any form should not be tolerated. They suggested that a brochure showing The Gambia's character and high sense of purity be circulated, at the same time informing tourists how they were expected to behave while in The Gambia.[80] Although it was emphasized by Vingressor that Swedish visitors should respect the customs and traditions of The Gambia, the 1973 season was not without its problems. Mr. Ennit, representing Vingressor, pointed out that, in an industry like tourism, such risks were attendant.[81]

b. Parading the Primitive to Woo the Tourists

> It is well known that Africa, in the minds of most foreigners, represents an exotic land, a place where civilization even now only has a slight hold on centuries of savagery, where the world "native" still has unique evocations. Tourists go to other places because of their long history, or because they are inexpensive, or geographically spectacular, or technologically awe-inspiring. But to Africa, Generally, they come to look at the vast natural zoo, and at the primitive.[82]

Support of this imagery comes from various media and advertising sources. Tour operators serving The Gambia print brochures that paint a picture that is still competitive with the established East African resorts: "exotic, tropical . . . happy-go-lucky natives . . . the jungle is never far away."[83] In 1973 a 100 percent duty on imported post cards was imposed in order to control the type of imagery of The Gambia being sold to tourists. Although a revenue increase was expected of 20,000 Dalasi, the measure was primarily a regulatory one as some of the post cards from abroad tended to emphasize the more primitive aspects of Gambian society.[84]

John Nagenda asserts that African countries should not advocate tourist programs which ruthlessly hide the elementary life lived by a great many Africans, especially those in the countryside. Apart from the consideration that such a policy would mean a tacit confession of shame at the way of life of such people, there would be the clear danger of having thrown out the baby with the bath water, for if Africa is just like anywhere else, then the tourist might as well not travel.[85] On the other hand, Africa is much more than a few naked countrymen.

The real danger of primitiveness when applied to Africa is the combined idea that Africans are lower beings. If travel agents and other concerned parties over-insist on selling the more primitive aspects of Africa, John Nagenda proposes a major rethinking on the part of African governments: monetary rewards or national pride?[86]

c. Staged Authenticity

Eric Goffman has described a structual division of social establishments into what he terms "front" and "back" regions. The front is the meeting place of hosts and guests or customers and service persons, and the back is the place where members of the home town retire between performances to relax and prepare. Examples of back regions are kitchens and maids' quarters, and examples of front regions are reception offices and front-room parlors.[87]

A touristic experience is circumscribed by the structural tendencies described above.[88] A common reason for taking guided tours of social establishments is that the tour organizes access to areas of the establishment that are ordinarily closed to outsiders. At the same time, there is a stage quality to the proceedings that lends to them an aura of superficiality, albeit a superficiality that is not always perceived as such by the tourists.[89]

The quality of the insight gained by touristic experience has been criticized as less than profound.[90] Settings are often not merely copies or replicas of real-life situations, but copies that are presented as disclosing more about the real thing than the real thing itself discloses.[91]

> Daniel Boorstin's concept of 'pseudo-event' is a recent addition to a line of specific criticism of tourists that can be traced back to Veblens 'conspicuous leisure' or back still further to Mark Twain's ironic commentary in The Innocents Abroad. In his use of the term 'pseudo-event' Boorstin deems tourist attractions elaborately contrived indirect experiences, an artificial product to be consumed in the very places where the real thing is as free as air. Tourist attractions are ways for the traveler to remain out of contact with foreign peoples in the very act of 'sight-seeing' them, i.e., they keep the natives in quarantine while the tourist, in air-conditioned comfort, views them through a picture window. They are the cultural mirages now formed at tourist oases everywhere.[92]

d. Commercialism

Related to the issue of staged authenticity is the commercializing effect that tourism has on the culture and attitudes of the indigenous population, especially in less developed countries. One finds that ceremonies, dances and traditional village life are being staged for the benefit of paying tourists.

In The Gambia the most popular Wing Afric excursion is the "village party" which is organized every Sunday afternoon. The visit includes performances of dancing, singing, drumming and wrestling.[93] For those who care to see "village life at first hand," arrangements can be made to stay at Tendaba Camp in simulated grass huts which border on surrounding villages.[95]

Tourism has also given rise to "airport art," which refers to hastily put together artifacts that are intended to extract the last tourist dollar before departure. Similarly, efforts to mass produce artifacts, that traditionally require time and precision have generally resulted in poorer quality merchandise.[96]

These commercialized practices are rapidly turning culture and tradition into a commodity, through mass consumption. In the same vein, tourists are also thought of as a commodity. John M. Bryden hypothesizes that in the early stages of tourist development the tourist is treated to traditional hospitality free from market calculation. The tourist is subsumed under the traditional category of "guest," while the behavior of the indigene most appropriate to their relationship is that of host. Such factors as increasing density of tourists, the growth of commercial outlets in general, the exposure of indigenes to the predominately Western value system which the tourist industry reflects, etc., will cause a change in this relationship as it becomes less and less practical to treat increasing numbers of tourists as guests, and for most of the indigenes the appropriate behavior towards tourists moves to that of the seller-customer type, in which calculations of the market place assume predominate importance in interaction.[97]

2. Xenophobia

The engagement of a country in the export of tourism may create or intensify what is known as xenophobia, a dislike for foreigners. Xenophobia may be generated in many ways.

a. The Psychological Impact of Tourism

In a tourismagnetic area where tourism is the main source of income to the community, all the economic and non-economic activities become gradually dependent on the tourist demand which is centered in a short tourist season.[98] Susan Blumenthal reports that the tourists have such an impact that Banjul in the low season is as languid and vacant as the winters on Nantucket.[99]

The year becomes focused on making preparations for the reappearance of the tourists. Yet this preparation may be mixed with anxiety and frustration, as many regard tourism as unpleasant. As was mentioned earlier in this chapter, Gambian housewives could not buy meat at the market places because the hotels were purchasing in such large quantities. Similarly, in the high season the drivers of the meterless taxicabs won't stop for Gambians, knowing they can get fat sums from naive tourists.[100] Usually the end of the tourist season is greeted by manifestations of relief that the tourists are gone. Thus tourism is boon and bane -- residents find the economic gains of tourism advantageous but often resent tourist presence and influence.[101]

It has also been intimated that the attitude of nationals to tourism in less developed countries is likely to be influenced by the maturity of the industry.[102] Gambians have repeatedly been portrayed as a very warm and hospitable people, initially overjoyed at being "discovered" by the Swedes. This first take has yielded to gloomy second thoughts as chartered planes disgorge ever greater numbers of Scandinavians.[103] Thus the attitude of residents can change over time:

an intitially warm attitude followed by subsequent disillusionment and growing resentment.[104]

b. Density of Tourists

In The Gambia, tourists often appear to outnumber the residents of Banjul. Bryden and Faber indicate that there may be a relationship between tourism density, expressed in the annual numbers of tourists as a proportion of the population or as a proportion of the land area, and the growth of resentment towards tourists. The inference is that tourism density is an indicator of the degree of confrontation between tourists and indigenes and that this confrontation gives rise to resentment of tourists.[105] With a population density of forty-seven per square km, The Gambia is already one of the most thickly populated countries in Africa.[106] Added to this is a tourism density of around fifty visitors per 1,000 local population.[107] It must, however, be remembered that in The Gambia, tourism is geographically highly concentrated in the Banjul area, so that the real impact will be even greater.

c. Relative Deprivation vs. Affluence

A third theoretical explanation of the growth of resentment on the part of Gambian nationals is offered by the situation of relative deprivation vs. affluence. The luxury required by the travel industry for its clients is in direct contrast to mass poverty. In this respect, the travel industry runs the risk of creating an enclave in which affluent foreigners are catered to and use resources which are not available to the masses of local people.[108] Discriminatory regulations are enforced in favor of tourists. They are accorded higher standards of sanitation and health services and efforts are made to beautify and maintain tourist routes and places of interest. This visible contrast between standards of living can be expected to evoke feelings of relative deprivation and resentment of the more affluent foreigner.

d. Perceived Servility

An explosive source of resentment on the part of nationals in less developed countries is their perceived status as tourism's handmaids. Disillusionment sets in when nationals surmise that they have exchanged one role of servitude for another in putting down the hoe and putting on the bus-boy jacket.

> This new role is trumpeted to the whole world through brochures, advertisements and television commercials in which they are identified in their own countries as waiters, cleaning maids, bartendens and cab-drivers.[109]

For many Africans the employment situation generated by tourism is reminiscent of colonial days they thought had gone by, in which Africans held positions subservient to whites.[110] In this respect, tourism may exacerbate feelings of resentment towards foreigners which local people may already possess.[111]

e. The Lack of Benefits to the Local Populace

Some development experts would call Gambia's venture into tourism irresponsible because it only benefits people already at the top of the financial ladder.[112] Existing airports, hotels, casinos, etc., will tend to be patronized primarily by the better-off members of the community.[113] Secondly, the growth of tourism is likely to benefit large landowners through the effect on land prices of real estate development potential.

Demas has raised the problem of the relationship between tourist development and inflation of land prices, where it is often impossible for local residents to acquire land to build a house or for any other purpose in their own country. Large-scale alienation of land is also a dysfunctional aspect of tourism, as land has traditionally been a communal aspect of African life. It represents a private capitalistic concept of the idea of land ownership. The implication is that more people will suffer than gain with regard to this shift and resistance as well as resentment undoubtedly has been generated by this situation.

David Greenwood's analysis of tourism as an agent of change indicates that tourism has a patterned effect of displacing local entrepreneurs. Essentially, it appears that large profits attract outside interest to tourism in less developed countries and enables them, because of scale and superior organization, to supplant the local interest.[115]

Taxicab drivers in The Gambia are a case in point. Justifiably, they have a claim to the local benefits accruing from tourism and resent the monopolistic tendencies of the Swedish companies. Part of the general expansion of Swedish business interests in The Gambia has been the introduction of bus services for their tourists. They charge extortionately for the privilege of traveling with them -- exceeding even local taxi rates for a full carload. Unlike the tour operators, the taxi drivers have to charge the strict government-fixed rates.[116]

With the reduction in airport and tour excursion fares, taxis are left with incidental tourist trips and the usual local business. Similarly this patterned effect can be detected in hotel ownership and utilization, ancillary services such as restaurants, night clubs and the handicraft business, guided tours, etc.

Although the government has done little to redress the situation of the taxicab drivers, efforts have been made to counteract the general tendency of displacement. Appeals were made to Gambian businessmen and owners of large sums of capital to come forward and join actively in the economic development of the country.[117] In 1973, provisions were made to supplement local financial resources with generous grants-in-aid for local authority; capital schemes and manpower training was begun to enhance the endeavor.[118] The effectiveness of this program, in reinstating the local entrepreneur, would require a longer period of observation.

f. The Fostering of Social Cleavages

Tourism has almost certainly accentuated existing social cleavages in less developed countries. For some ninety percent of the Gambians who live on and work the land at subsistence levels, expensive gourmet restaurants, luxury hotels and glittering night clubs, frequented by their more well-to-do counterparts, are irrelevant, unnecessary and counterproductive. Jursa and Winkates posit the question of how long before this constituency will begin to question governmental support of tourism as they witness the seeming emergence of two separate societies -- one to serve the foreign tourists and the national elite, and another for the vast majority of Gambians.[119]

Expectations were aroused by many African nationalist leaders at the time of independence; however, few of the promises made at that time have been fully realized. African leaders, who either cannot or will not focus on the agricultural sector, where the majority of the people find their livelihood, are increasingly coming under attack.[120] The potential for corruption, at the government level, as regards tourism, must also be a concern. In an industry where location, tax privileges and procedural delays are critical, and where large amounts of capital are involved, high-level payoffs either for contracts or privileges are ever present.[121] A significant tourist influx might encourage these actions, which in turn could generate anti-government sentiment and promote the establishment of xenophobic pressure groups.[122]

A factor far less speculative rests on where tourist development is encouraged and how tourist revenues are allocated.[123] Nearly all tourist-related expenditures such as infrastructure have been in and around the Banjul area. While the foreign exchange earned by the government is used for operating revenue or capital improvements throughout the country, tourist money spent in the private sector has remained in the Banjul area. This situation has contributed to regional jealousies. In 1974, President Jawara made a tour of the provinces, where his main concern was to refute suggestions that residents of the capital, Banjul, yielded too much power in his government. The tour was undertaken to counteract feelings of neglect on the part of Gambians living in the interior of the country.[124]

Finally, the tourist themselves also suffer a reaction, becoming infected by the resentment of the nationals, as well as suffering independent irritations. This may foster disrespect and mistrust towards the host nation and the inhabitants they visit while traveling. For example, "the impressions of tourists that they have been gouged and tricked financially induces a xenophobic state of mind in the returning travelers."[125]

3. Environmental Despoilage

If not administratively controlled, economically planned and wisely organized, tourism may have disastrous effects on the human environment. A recent study published by IUOTO on the ecological impact of tourism development sounds the alarm against dangers threatening the very basis of tourist movements.[126]

The flow of tourists towards tourismagnetic countries that are less developed has often resulted in developments that have modified or completely transformed the original landscape of tourist areas.[127] Banjul is still thought to be one of the most agreeable early nineteenth-century cities in the world, laid out by the Royal Engineers in straight lines with wide streets. However, the older buildings are slowly being demolished to give way to the touristic wave.[128] Reception facilities for tourists also tend to alter radically the aspects of resorts. Means of accommodation, in particular, are seldom designed to fit in with the surrounding landscape.[129] Susan Blumenthal speculates that in the near future old-timers won't recognize The Gambia. If a current feasibility study drawn up by a German firm is adopted by the Gambian government, there will be an Avis office at Yundum Airport, which will have a smart new terminal; a vast tourist center on the beach front with accommodations for ten thousand people boasting a safari lodge with runway, a yacht harbor, brewery, commercial radio station, casino, underwater restaurant, polo field, archery range, go-cart track, minigolf and medical center. The first phase could be completed as early as the 1975-76 season and then West Africa will have its very own Costa del Sol.[130]

Secondly, tourism contains an element of its own destruction, as it encourages changes in the very things that visitors come to see.

> It will put the men in trousers and the women into brassieres; it will mean that pottery, carvings and artifacts are produced in workshops and factories; the motor car and the buses will replace the trow-trow trucks and animal forms of transportation and homes are apt to take on a Western austerity.[131]

Another area of environmental concern relates to the preservation of Gambia's wildlife heritage. By 1970, the Ministry of Agriculture and Natural Resources had noted with concern the inroads visiting ornithologists and skin collectors had made into The Gambia's Auifauna[132] (a wild bird) and Situtunga[133] (a rare species of antelope) populations. In 1971, it was necessary to establish hunting laws in The Gambia which made the killing and export or destruction of protected wild animals, birds and fish a punishable offense. The Gambia's hunting laws were commended in a Swedish magazine by a zoologist at the University of Stockholm. In his article in Sveriges Natur, published by The Swedish Conservation Society, Peter Ohman mentioned that since July 1971 hunting by tourists has been totally prohibited. This, he said, must be considered as a very farsighted action taken by the government of The Gambia in order to put an end to the unpardonable hunting for pleasure which was previously practiced by Swedish tourists, among others.[134] Mr. Ohman also mentioned the fact that most large animals, presumably not protected by law, have become exterminated and that the only large animals tourists are likely to see are wort hogs, baboons, crocodiles and hippopotamuses. Crocodiles and snakes, he added, are threatened by the trade in animal skins.[135]

4. Premature Departure to Modernization

As noted earlier, a by-product of foreign visitors' presence in less developed countries is an altering demonstration effect on the life styles of indigenes. Tourists are a live presentation of Western values and cultural norms. When perceived to be more sophisticated than the indigenous culture, the western value system can stimulate new sets of values and ideologies for the inhabitants of less developed countries. In this respect, the tourism demonstration effect can contribute to the birth of a one-sided and premature imitation of "modernization" in less developed countries. The affluent tourist represents a life style of unimaginable ease and irresponsibility.[136] Thus, in many less developed countries, to wear native dress is now considered backward and local food and drink have become second best to imported ones. To live in the country is thought to be inferior to city life and farming is seen as strictly for fools.[137]

A devastating change in a local person's way of living may be brought about by initial employment, serving tourists, in a business establishment. An example might be a mother who is hired as a housekeeper and appears for work with her baby strapped on her back. The conformance to the Western notion of the work ethic can make traditional ways inconvenient and inappropriate. Similarly, institutions such as the extended family, tribal cohesion, traditional religion and social customs may be rendered vulnerable by these borrowed external influences.[138]

Of course, the change may be beneficial. The existing social system may be corrupt or unjust. Tribal cohesion may hinder national unity and international brotherhood and religious institutions may be reactionary and a barrier to almost any kind of progress.[139] Given that change is necessary for development, governments need to ponder more deeply those things that need to be changed and those things that should be preserved. Social change for development should come about by conscious deliberation, not accidentally and prematurely by the play of forces brought in for other purposes.[140]

C. Government Regulation of the Tourist Industry in The Gambia

National planning for development has become a recognized obligation on the part of governments, and a provision to this effect is embodied in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. Because of the need to establish priorities, most national plans inevitably concentrate on targets and measures for industry and agriculture and on the provision of general infrastructure, including training and education. However, tourism can become, as in the case of The Gambia, a significant element in a national economy, with important reprecussions throughout the economy. Consequently governments seeking to promote tourism in their countries should frame suitable policies. Even if tourism is not considered to be among the key sectors, but its expansion is nevertheless pursued, it is necessary to consider whether the general policy measures and associated institutional framework are adequate for the needs of tourism.[141]

In the preceding sections of this chapter the experience of The Gambia with regard to the development of tourism was reviewed and analyzed. In this section, the related issue of government regulation of the tourist industry will be examined.

Initially, tourism (a service industry) was a minor consideration in economic planning in The Gambia, with the major emphasis on the productive sector of agriculture. Moreover, there was generally little government coordination of the various branches that provide goods and services to tourists, or the action of the private and public sectors. Government policy on tourism in The Gambia divides neatly into two periods. The years 1964 to 1969 were characterized by little government control over the industry, while 1970 to 1974 featured the government in a more active role.

Tourism, in The Gambia, started out as the private enterprise of local Bathurst hoteliers.[142] It was first added to the money-making projects of the government in 1967 as a component of the Second four-year Development Program (1967/68 to 1970/71).[143] Tourism was also a feature in the Third Development Program (1971/72 to 1973/74). Tourism was encouraged verbally, but no special budget for improving facilities, stepping up promotional efforts or regulatory measures appear in these development programs.[144]

The first official tourist organization was established in 1966. This was The Gambia Tourist Association made up of a government committee and a private body (Vingressor) whose function it was to expand the tourist industry.[145] In 1967 the association was converted into a standing non-statutory consultative body renamed The Tourist Board.[146]

The first feasibility studies were done in 1968, four years after the establishment of tourism in The Gambia. One was the result of the Gambian government accepting the offer of Britain to sponsor the study. It focused on the existing facilities, the potential traffic and ways of developing more facilities.[147] The second survey was done by the African Development Bank within the framework of tourist potential in West Africa.[148] The recommendations that came out of these feasibility studies are not known to this author; however, it appears that there was no change in government policy until 1970.

During the period 1964 to 1969, Vingressor emerges as the most integrative force in Gambian tourism. In 1969, Vingressor was given the sole rights to bring charter-flight tourists (who make up the majority of visitors to The Gambia) to The Gambia.[149] The virtual monopoly over the transportation component of demand, coupled with superior advertising skills and accessibility to the Swedish market, substantial investments in hotels in The Gambia, and representation on the governing body concerned with the tourist industry, gave Vingressor more control over the industry as a whole than the Gambian government itself.

Commenting on the respective roles of the private and public sectors an entrepreneurs in the field of tourism, H. David Davis points out that the tourist plant required to meet the needs of tourists is necessarily composed of a large number of operating units, making decentralization desirable, although coordination is vital. The industry therefore relies on a delicate balance between private initiative and public intervention.[150]

Investment in accommodation, the organization of group tours and excursions, and other amenities were largely in the hands of the private sector duing the first half of the ten-year period under study. The very rapid increase in tourist arrivals and hotel construction largely went unchecked. There were no incentive measures to assure an optimum pattern of investment, resulting in the concentration of the tourist industry in and around the Banjul area,[151] and no budgetary measures for infrastructure,[152] resulting in supply lagging behind demand. Thus, the considerable expansion of tourism in The Gambia up until 1969 appears to have been largely independent of direct public intervention and to be the joint result of foreign private initiative in Sweden and The Gambia. This situation clearly allowed private interest to establish the structure and pace of tourism's development in The Gambia.

In 1970, the minister responsible for tourism Alhaji A. B. N'Jie stated that the government had decided to take a more active part in the development of tourism.[153] Participation in hotel development, the setting up of a permanent office of tourism within the government structure, the provision of incentives to improve infrastructure development[154] and the emergence of Wing Afric Ltd., to provide ancillary services to tourists[155] were some of the major changes instituted by the Gambian government in 1970.

Efforts at regional cooperativeness were visible by 1971. In July of that year, The Gambia was invited to attend, as an observer, the Annual Meeting of Tourist Officers of the countries comprising the Organization of Senegal River States (O.S.R.S.), a suborganization of the Organization for the Development of African Tourism (O.D.T.A.).[156] O.D.T.A. links fourteen Francophone countries in West Africa and it seeks to promote the development of tourism within the West African region. The organization has cordial links with The Gambia.[157] There is also a Senegal-Gambian subcommittee on tourism.[158]

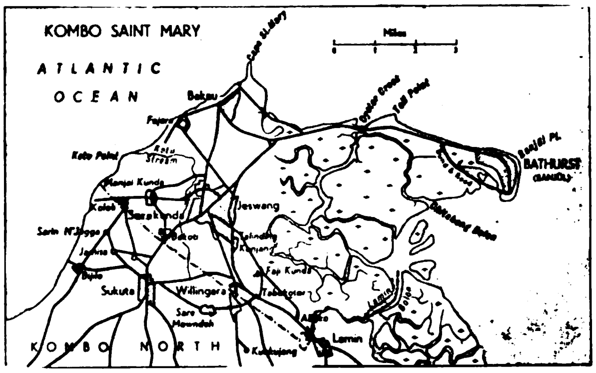
In an effort to diversify the source of visitors to The Gambia, the government let expire a three-year exclusive franchise held by Vingressor that previously brought in mostly Scandinavian tourists. By January of 1972, The Gambia was open to any travel agency wishing to organize charter flights into the country.[159] There were numerous interested parties: Spies[160] and Bang Raffels of Denmark,[161] Far Horizons, Wings and Sky Tours of Britain, Trans-Europa[162] and Atlas Resar of West Germany,[163] etc. However, Scandinavians, in particular Swedes, still dominate the Gambian tourist scene.

By 1972, tourism had already become a significant element in the national economy,[164] as well as having proved to be a socially sensitive area.[165] In his 1972 New Years Address, Sir Dawda Jawara, assured the Gambian people that government had not lost sight of the need to make a proper study of the whole tourist industry, so as to determine priorities[166] and to develop effective safeguards.[167] To this end a comprehensive feasibility study had been commissioned by the Gambian government in 1971.[168] Comprehensive Planning Associates, London, under assignment from the Overseas Development Administration, completed the report in 1972. Many of the recommendations, especially those related to infrastructure, physical planning and governmental responsibilities, have been implemented.

In 1973, a Tourism Liaison Board was formed. The purpose of the board was to approve all physical development related to tourism in The Gambia.[169] One of the first acts of the board was to set aside the coastal area from Kotu Stream to the Allahein River for tourism-development uses. This area is about ten miles away from Banjul.

Figure 4

Koto Stream in Relationship to Banjul



In the rest of the country, especially the capital-city area of Banjul, tourism development was being strictly discouraged.[170]

Nineteen seventy-three was also the year in which government passed a number of updating legislative measures with regard to tourism. A Development Act was approved, which brought up to date the terms of the 1964 Act, providing new incentive guidelines for future industrial ventures.[171] A hotel-bed tax was levied to assist government in meeting the cost of recurrent expenditure commitments associated with tourism, such as operation of Yundum Airport, the cost of training hotel staff, the strengthening of the staff of the tourism division, etc.[172] A 100 percent duty on imported post cards was instituted to control the tendency to emphasize the more derogatory aspects of Gambian society.[173] The Income Tax Act was under review for the purpose of removing imbalances which had been observed in the existing rate structure.[174] A Business Registration Act was passed in order to receive increasing up-to-date data on the business situation in the country and also to provide a ready basis on which to foster effective Gambianization in the private sector.[175] Insurance legislation was also proposed to provide adequate protection for the public and make insurance practice in The Gambia more efficient and competitive.[176] Finally in 1974, the government passed a bill for regulating the tourist industry. Under Act II, enterprises connected with tourism would have to be reviewed and licensed annually.[177]

Generally speaking, the Gambian government was not sufficiently prepared for the great upsurge of tourist arrivals after 1970, and their own programs relating to the infrastructure and to measures for tourism regulation in general nearly always lagged behind the pace of private initiative. The lack of a comprehensive approach, at least until recently, to the development of tourism in The Gambia is the general picture that emerges from the period under study. The World Bank, among others, considers this dilatory response to tourism development in LDC's to be one of the major problems in its development in these areas. Although training programs are increasingly available from different institutions and the United Nations Development Program (U.N.D.P.), the International Labour Organization (ILO) and various bilateral programs have already made significant contributions in sensitizing authorities, the need for training and technical assistance in tourism will remain a constraint on the tourism sector in less developed countries for some time to come.[178]

This chapter has been concerned with the value of tourism in Gambian development. As one trades off the potential of tourism for the reality of its development by a less developed country, its value has been shown to be substantially reduced. Because of non-Gambian ownership of tourist facilities, lucrative investment incentives, the cost of training manpower, the high import content of the industry and infrastructual costs, some analysts believe that The Gambia has actually lost money on its tourist-development scheme.[179] The data presented in this study would certainly support this contention.

Tourism has acted as a stimulus to secondary industries and employment; however, these are two-edged swords as the former has dependent overtones and the latter has added to unemployment because of the seasonal nature of tourism. Aside from the general inadequacy of the tourism-multiplier concept, the great amount of leakage in Gambian tourism would make the effect minimal at best. And the lack of planning has resulted in tourism being concentrated in and around the Banjul area.

The net economic result has been an increase of dependence on industrial markets and the transfer of income in favor of industrialized nations. Initially The Gambia was dependent on industrialized markets for the export of its groundnuts. Now it is dependent on them, as demand flows for its tourist industry, to provide private foreign capital to build hotels to the size and scale required by the large increase in tourist arrivals and through importation of foodstuffs and liquor.

Even if The Gambia had substantially gained economically from its tourist industry, the overwhelmingly negative social impact would militate against it. Tourism exacerbates the most obvious symptoms of social inequality through the demonstration effect, illustrating on a local scale a global situation.[180] Paradoxically, this kind of "imperialism" at the cultural level is seldom recognized, let alone resisted by less developed countries.[181] Indigenous people in pursuit of material signs of Western affluence hardly realize that they are conjunctively internalizing foreign values. Tourism in The Gambia has developed at an exceedingly rapid pace and has not been adequately planned for or controlled. This has resulted in maximum social disruption and environmental despoilage and has provided only minimal benefits for the masses of Gambians.

Professor N'Yang, a native Gambian who is no stranger to the ill-effects of tourism on his country, is of the opinion that it has created more problems than it has solved.[182] In light of recent government actions to redress this situation it can only be hoped that the further expansion of the industry will be less devastating.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER IV

[1]"Gambia - Progressive Budget," Africa, An International Business, Economic and Political Monthly, 1973, p. 58.

[2]Paul E. Jursa and James E. Winkates, "Tourism as a Mode of Development," A paper presented at The Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Arican Studies Association, Syracuse, October 31 - November 3, 1973, p. 7.

[3]"Gambia - New Look for Yundum," Africa, An International Business, Economic and Political Monthly, 1973, p. 31.

[4]Ibid., p. 31.

[5]"Gambia - Flying High," Africa, An International Business, Economic and Political Monthly, No. 9, May 1972, p. 41.

[6]The Gambia News Bulletin, August 29, 1970, p. 1.

[7]Paul E. Jursa and James E. Winkates, "Tourism as a Mode of Development," A paper presented at The Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Syracuse, October 31 - November 3, 1973, p. 7.

[8]"Gambia - Flying High," Africa, An International Business, Economic and Political Monthly, No. 9, May 1972, p. 41.

[9]Phillip M. Allen and Aaron Segal, Traveler's Africa (New York: Hopkinson & Blake Publishers, 1973), p. 472.

[10]Robert McIntosh, Tourism Principles, Practices and Philosophies (Columbus: Gird, Inc., 1972), p. 260.

[11]Machet's Diary from Bathurst, West Africa, January 1973, p. 5.

[12]Ibid., p. 5.

[13]Ibid., p. 3.

[14]John M. Bryden, Tourism and Development (Cambridge: The University Press, 1973), pp. 121-122.

[15]United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Elements of Tourism Policy in Developing Countries, Geneva, Switzerland, 1973, p. 28.

[16] Ibid., p. 47.

[17] John M. Bryden, Tourism and Development (Cambridge: The University Press, 1973), p. 78.

[18] United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, op. cit., p. 28.

[19] Eyre and Spottiswoode (ed.) The Gambia in Brief (Plymouth: Grosvenor Press), p. 33.

[20] Gambia for Visitors and Tourists (Banjul: Government Press, April 1964), p. 11.

[21] Tourism, A Sector Working Paper, World Bank, June 1972, p. 26.

[22] John M. Bryden, Tourism and Development (Cambridge: The University Press, 1973), p. 78.

[23] Paul E. Jursa and James E. Winkates, "Tourism as a Mode of Development," Issue, A Quarterly Journal of Opinion, Vol. IV, No. 1, Spring 1974, p. 46.

[24] "The Gamiba's Record Year," West Africa, July 15, 1974, p. 849.

[25] Africa Contemporary Record, 1972/73, B-594.

[26] Susan Blumenthal, Bright Continent: A Shoestring Guide to Sub-Saharan Africa (Garden City: Doubleday, 1974), p. 67.

[27] Robert Erbes, International Tourism and the Economy of Developing Countries, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1973, p. 64.

[28] "The Gambia's Record Year," West Africa, July 15, 1974, p. 849.

[29] United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Elements of Tourism Policy in Developing Countries, Geneva, Switzerland, 1973, p. 58.

[30] Ibid., p. 51.

[31] Robert Erbes, International Tourism and the Economy of Developing Countries, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1973, p. 11.

[32] Ibid., p. 11.

[33]"Gambia - The Realities of Tourism," Africa, An International Business, Economic and Political Monthly, October 1971, p. 49.

[34]Robert Erbes, International Tourism and the Economy of Developing Countries, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1973, pp. 98-99.

[35]The Gambia News Bulletin, January 4, 1973, p. 3.

[36]The Gambia News Bulletin, May 12, 1973, No. 51, p. 3.

[37]The Gambia Echo, July 30, 1973, p. 2.

[38]Africa Contemporary Record, 1972/73, p. 589.

[39]Robert Erbes, International Tourism and the Economy of Developing Countries, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1973, pp. 20-21.

[40]United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Elements of Tourism Policy in Developing Countries, Geneva, Switzerland, 1973, p. 51.

[41]Paul E. Jursa and James E. Winkates, "Tourism as a Mode of Development," Issue, A Quarterly Journal of Opinion, Vol. IV, No. 1, Spring 1974, p. 46.

[42]The Gambia News Bulletin, October 11, 1972, p. 1.

[43]The Gambia News Bulletin, July 3, 1972, p. 3.

[44]The Gambia News Bulletin, May 15, 1973, p. 1.

[45]Robert Erbes, International Tourism and the Economy of Developing Countries, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1973, p. 33.

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CHAPTER V

PART III: EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

Policy Choices and Implications

The impact of tourism development on The Gambia is not dissimilar to the experiences of other less developed countries, as evidenced by Bryden's findings in the Caribbean, Jursa and Winkates findings in Ethiopia and Greenwood's findings in Spain, among others. From these studies a case could easily be made against the further expansion of tourism in these countries, however, it would be unrealistic to assume that it's promotion would be halted as many LDC's have already commited themselves to the tourist industry through appreciable fixed-capital investments. In The Gambia 1/3 of all fixed-capital investments are related to tourist plant.[1] Nevertheless, there are few, if any, less developed countries which could, or perhaps even should, rely principally on tourism for their economic salvation.[2]

A more meaningful approach would be to delineate the areas in which tourism is likely to increase dependence, or otherwise negatively impact on less developed countries, and explore future policy choices which could assist in reducing these effects and raising net gain to LDC's. This study suggests eight key areas in which tourism is likely to increase dependence and/or result in substantial losses: first is the degree of foreign-ownership in the industry, which means that the surplus either accrues to developed countries or to individuals whose welfare does not form part of the welfare function which governments seek to maximize; secondly, the need for skilled labor, which has generally resulted in the employment of non-nationals rather than the training of the local populace; third, the extent of government provision of infrastructure and the granting of incentives, which involve a real resource cost to the nation; fourth, the import content of the industry, which uses up a great deal of foreign-exchange; fifth, the trend towards vertical integration, which means that holiday tour operators have more control over the industry than the receptor country; sixth, the rapidity of development, which could result in undesirable growth patterns; seventh, seasonality, resulting in uderutilization of manpower and tourist plant; and lastly, unplanned development, giving rise to a host of economic and social ills.

A. Alternative Tourism

So long as growth in the tourist industry is based on large luxury hotels then it seems almost inevitable that ownership will remain in foreign hands.[3] One alternative would be public ownership; however, as in the case of The Gambia, it may be difficult to raise funds for this investment which might mean that parnerships with foreign firms may be necessary as well as the necessity of hiring foreign firms that specialize in management of large hotels. Development of the more indigenous smaller hotels and guest houses, possibly withiñ the spectrum of a broader range of indigenous private investors as well as government, would seem to be worthy of closer examination, since experience in large bureaucratically organized business would be less important and the distributional implications might be more acceptable.[4]

B. Restructuring Employment Opportunities

Guest houses and smaller hotels require a somewhat different structure of employment catering as they do for simpler tastes and being less oriented towards the highly sophisticated standards of cuisine, accommodations and management thought to be required by the tourist market currently being tapped by the larger hotels in the region. But if large hotels remain, as seems likely, then work permits could be issued for the employment of non-nationals for limited duration and on the condition that the period involved should be used to train indigenous persons to fill the posts at the end of the period. Obviously, such work permits should be granted for well defined jobs only if indigenes are not available.[5]

C. Offsetting Government Costs

The future needs of infrastructural and utility instalations would seem to be worthy of closer analysis with a view to their minimization and possibly also to shifting the burden of their provision on to the private investor.[6] As regards lucrative incentive policies it is almost certain that they will yield low social benefits. If any incentives are to be given a case could be made for arguing that these should be to encourage indigenous participation in guest houses and smaller hotels, who are largely excluded from incentive legislation, in LDC's, through criteria relating to minimum size. "Systems which relieve taxes on imported luxuries, on the grounds that this increase tourist expenditures, are unlikely to be consistent with this objective."[7]

D. Import Reduction

The import content of consumer goods by the tourist sector varies considerably according to the less developed country concerned, and may not necessarily be higher than in other sectors, notably other export sectors. One cannot generalize on this point. The problem for each country is, on the one hand, to reduce to the minimum the import of consumer goods by its tourist sector, and on the other hand, to ensure that the import content is not appreciably higher than in other export sectors. If the import content of tourism is higher than for other export sectors import substitution and/or higher tarriffs, where feasible, might counteract this tendency.

> If it cannot be reduced through these measures perhaps a choice would have to be made between accepting the greater degree of dependence or giving priority to the allocation of supplementary resources to sectors with a relatively low import content and relatively high net foreign-exchange earnings.[8]

E. Alternatives to HTO Monopolies and Charter Tours

In the present state of demand for organized holiday tours less developed countries have a choice between two chief means of attempting to limit dependence factors in relation to developed countries. Both are located at the marketing level.[9] The less developed country may try to gain a footing in the markets of the developed countries as promoter-organizers of tourist-holidays to their own territory. For the less developed country this would mean setting up offices in the chief generating markets to organize inclusive tours as is done by other tour operators working the market. On the one hand this venture could prove to be exorbitant, as in the case of The Gambia, which would be obliged to acquire national flag carriers. On the other hand it would reduce dependence in the matter of transportation and accommodation price-fixing.[10] Regional cooperation is another alternative that would make counter-manoeuvres by established holiday tour operators more difficult.

Presently tourism, as it is perceived by many less developed countries, seems to be predicated on the assumption that the only market worth exploiting is that offered by mass tourism, as embodied in charter tours. A far more beneficial prospect for less developed countries would be the cultivation of the wanderlust visitor.[11] As a rule, wanderlust tourists constitute a smaller group than sunlust tourists and are less likely to disrupt a country socially. They are more likely to have a genuine interest in the indigenous culture, therefore less likely to give offence, and they are more inclined to accept less than luxury accommodations and transportation.[12] For these reasons less developed countries may gain more by spending less.[13]

Policy makers would do well to analyze the characteristics of the tourists they are tying to attract, or have attracted, as the foreign - exchange impact such tourists will have will be determined by their mode or arrival, the accommodations they desire and the spending habits of the tourists once they arrive at their destination.[14]

F. Controlling the Growth Rate

Tourism can be regulated through a number of avenues such as airport landing rights, currency and exchange controls, customs duties and inspection, minimum spending quotas, visa restrictions and entry and departure controls. These measures can be employed to curb visitor arrivals, or visitor arrivals can be encouraged by the absence of these measures. The International Union of Official Travel Organizations (IUOTO) has consistently recommended the elimination of these and other tourist restrictions because of the inconvenience to the tourist. Nevertheless, these measures have been employed by less developed countries on the grounds that they offer some modicum of control over the entry and behavior of non-nationals.

G. Staggering Holidays

In order to offset seasonality, units responsible for the promotion of tourism could encourage visitors from other areas that may take holidays at different times. For example, Swedes normally come to The Gambia during the winter months while Americans generally take their vacations during the summer months. It should be noted that this measure has generally met with limited success.[15] Furthermore the social desirability of year-round tourism, in less developed countries, is questionable.

H. Planning for the Tourism Sector

Governments cannot afford to be lax in their approach to the development of the tourist industry as the responsibility devolves to this organ to maximize its benefits and minimize its costs. In this respect, the role of the government revolves around coordination, planning regulatory legislation, entrepreneurship and research.

> Coordination of tourist activities is needed because it is a multifaceted activity with numerous components and divergent, often conflicting interests.
>
> There is common agreement that tourism can best be fostered if it is an integral part of a balanced economic and social development program. Tourism development plans are in principle selective as regards the sectors to be developed and indicative as regards the orientation to be provided to the private sector. The Government has to decide the appropriate rate of growth for tourism, whether to encourage mass tourism or a more select form of tourist traffic. It has to determine the respective roles of the public and private sector in financing investments, it has to fix the respective shares of domestic and foreign capital, it has to fix priorities as regards the areas to be developed and strike a proper balance between the development of tourist facilities and the promotion of demand.
>
> Tourism legislation concerns the operation and management of tourist enterprises (accommodation establishments, travel agencies, etc.), financial and fiscal incentives, organization of tourism inside the country, utilization of land and other natural resources for tourism development, frontier formalities, generation of tourism demand and businesses whose activities are of ancillary interest to tourism.
>
> The boundary line between the public and private sectors of financing and management is becoming blurred in modern economies, a fact that is particularly true in the case of tourism. Many governments have become investors and even managers of hotel establishments, whereas private groups have started to bear total or partial responsibility for financing the development of tourism infrastructure, which by and large, is still a primary responsibility

> of the public sector. Direct government investment in tourism superstructure is normally undertaken primarily for pioneering and path-setting purposes with the idea that in time private enterprise will follow suit. Once the momentum has been launched the government may transfer the operation to either the private sector or a mixed company. The government thus acts as a catalyst for private initiative by demonstrating the existance of demand.
>
> Inventories of national tourist attractions, inquiries into the holiday habits of foreign tourists, surveys of market prospects, etc., all help the government to formulate national tourism policy. Above all, there is a need for an integrated approach to research of the tourism phenomenon.[16]

The policy choices suggested by this study could somewhat increase the benefits to less developed countries from the development of tourism. If implemented, however, a corellary would almost certainly be a lower rate of growth of tourism in the region concerned, since the attempt to raise social benefits would sometimes raise private costs and/or loss of profits in the industry. On the evidence presented in this study this may not be a negative end result, though hotel proprietors, tours operators, travel agents and the airline industry may beg to differ.

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