

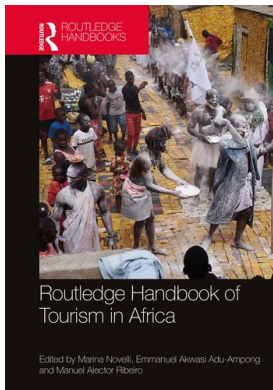
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Tourism in Africa – continental issues and regional contexts

*Emmanuel Akwasi Adu-Ampong,
Marina Novelli and Manuel Alector Ribeiro*

Introduction

A consensus seems to have been reached between academics and practitioners regarding the potential of tourism as a vehicle for economic growth, job creation, environmental conservation and poverty alleviation in both developed and developing countries. At the global level, the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO, 2019) estimates that tourism is the world's third largest export category after chemicals and fuels, and ahead of automotive products and food. Notwithstanding the occasional shocks, tourism has demonstrated strength and resilience over the past years contributing to 10% of global GDP and representing one out of ten jobs. The sector makes up 30% of all services export and contributes to USD 1.4 trillion or 7% of the world's exports (UNWTO, 2018). The tourism sector has enjoyed continued expansion with international arrivals and receipts reaching 1.4 billion and USD 1.4 billion, respectively, in 2018 (UNWTO, 2019). Much of this continued growth is to be found in emerging economies in Asia and the Pacific as the fastest-growing tourism region in 2018 followed by Africa.

Indeed, that travel and tourism is a potential major contributor to Africa's economy is an increasingly discussed topic (Christie et al., 2014; Novelli, 2015; UNCTAD, 2017). However, in an era of growing tourist arrivals at global level and especially on the African continent, the phenomenon of tourism in Africa requires deeper consideration in terms of its potential and challenges, as much as its inconsistent and questionable implications for development at the regional and local level (Novelli, 2015). Given the economic, social and environmental importance of tourism in Africa, there is a need for a comprehensive and readable overview of the critical debates and controversies in tourism at regional level and the major factors that are affecting tourism development now and in the foreseeable future. It is thus these inherent arguments and paradoxes regarding the under-utilising of tourism's potential in Africa that this book attempts to address.

This chapter offers a brief introduction to a number of theoretical perspectives on the relationship between tourism and development and provides a critical account of the state of tourism in Africa. The chapter provides a broad examination of current issues and stumbling blocks to sustainable tourism development in Africa, many of which will be specifically addressed in the chapters that follow.

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Figure 1.1 Map of Africa and list of countries in Africa

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

Tourism and development – theoretical perspectives and outstanding issues

One of the myths surrounding the relationship between tourism and development has been the assumption that “initiatives, projects, and investments in this activity systematically result in strong and sustainable development effects for the countries and regions involved” (Fayos-Solà et al., 2014: ix). This myth about a straightforward relationship between developing the tourism sector and corresponding effects on national development has been fostered

and echoed by stakeholders including businesses, governments and local and international organisations with varying vested interests in the tourism sector. Given the growing size and importance of tourism to the global economy, one of the greatest challenges is how to utilise the potentials for improved development outcomes of tourist destination. Currently, the call in the tourism and development literature has been for a deeper understanding of the nature of tourism as a powerful social force, the end product of which is shaped by a variety of factors (Spenceley and Meyer, 2012). Thus, while tourism as a socio-economic and political phenomenon can no longer be ignored in the context of development efforts, outcomes are anything but systematically guaranteed. Consequently, a renewed focus on understanding the nature of tourism's relationship with development is a critical first step.

It is following the end of the Second World War that tourism began to be linked to economic development with the development of the jumbo jet, the growing affluence of Western countries and the rise of charter tours in the 1960s marking this optimism. The rise in travel was perceived as an opportunity for newly decolonising countries to gain needed foreign currency, generate employment and income and to generally stimulate economic development – ultimately leading to poverty reduction (Harrison, 2001). Initially, tourism was considered as being functional to development in line with modernisation theory. It was generally believed that the benefits of tourism would result in a greater multiplier effect that would stimulate local economies. During this period of the late 1960s and 1970s, the economic case for tourism was overstated and the sociocultural cost almost completely neglected (Boissevain, 1977). This view meant that the state's role was reduced to essentially one of enacting incentive-based policies to promote foreign investment in the tourism sector and to then allow market forces to bring about the expected benefits to the economy.

Low multiplier effects, high rates of leakages and perceived widening of inequalities in tourism communities led to the questioning of the economic case for tourism. In what is considered a seminal article in tourism studies, Britton's work on the political economy of tourism in the South Pacific found that up to that point, "discussion of tourism is typically divorced from the historical and political processes that determine development" (1982: 332). Using the idea of centre-periphery as a critique to the functionalism of modernisation theory, Britton argued that tourism companies from the metropolitan countries dominate "Third World tourist destinations" (1982: 331). Metropolitan companies have direct contact with tourists, control the means of travel and have the capital resources that provide them with a competitive advantage over companies in the periphery of the international tourist system. His conclusion was that this situation results in peripheral destinations in developing countries having a development mode, which reinforces dependency on, and vulnerability to, the core developed countries. Unlike the *laissez-faire* role for governments advocated by modernisation theory, Britton suggested that governments in developing countries take up a deliberately central redistributive role in the organisation of the tourism industry and the benefits accruing thereof.

The need for the state to play a critical role through deliberate governing and institutional design of the tourism sector had earlier been articulated in a seminal volume edited by de Kadt in 1979. The title of this volume "Tourism: Passport to Development? Perspectives on the Social and Cultural Effects of Tourism in Developing Countries" reflects the uncertainty felt of the relationship between tourism and development even at this time. The various contributors to the volume highlighted the positive contribution tourism can make to employment and income, as well as the negative tendency of the sector to worsen existing inequalities. Although no consensus was reached on the role of tourism in economic development in these early

debates, what became clear was that the state had a critical role to play in order to minimise the negative impacts of the sector, while encouraging the positive impacts. This was considered most significant for developing countries, in order not to fall in the trap of dependency.

The evolving debates in the 1970s and 1980s centred on tourism as a developmental tool without specifying exactly how this was to benefit the poor. Harrison (2008) contends that the critical question of how tourism specifically affects poverty in a significant way was deflected through the broadening of the debates to include community participation. Up to the 1990s, there were rarely empirical assessments of tourism's impact on poverty reduction, and what little evidence there was offered contradictory conclusions. However, the debates were moved forward in the late 1990s, when it became focused on how tourism as a developmental tool can specifically bring benefits to the poor (Harrison and Schipani, 2007). It was in this context of moving the debates forward that the idea and movement of 'pro-poor tourism' emerged at the turn of the millennium (Bennett et al., 1999). Since then, tourism continues to be touted as having the potential to turn around the economic fortunes of countries. In some cases, tourism is regarded as *a* vehicle, if not *the* vehicle for socio-economic development and poverty reduction. It is however important to situate the changing view of tourism's potential for economic development within the wider evolution of development theory and practice.

Notwithstanding the increasing attention being paid to tourism as potentially a vehicle for economic development and poverty reduction, there has been relatively few attempts in the tourism literature and the wider development literature to situate this view of tourism vis-à-vis the evolution of development theory and thought (Sharpley, 2000). There have of course been very notable exceptions to this critique – Britton (1982), Lea (1988), Dieke (1995, 2000), Harrison (2001), Konadu-Agyemang (2001), Sharpley (2003), Scheyvens (2007), Scheyvens (2011), Holden (2013), Sharpley and Telfer (2002, 2015). Many other studies of tourism's role in development tend to gloss over how this is situated in the wider ongoing development context. To assess tourism's potential role as a vehicle for development, it has to be held up and viewed in the light of broader developmental context in which it is to contribute.

The term development is characterised by a lot of ambiguities and thus appear to be beyond definition. Thus development in the words of Cowen and Shenton (1996: 2) "seems to defy definition, although not for a want of definitions on offer". Much has been written on the meanings of development since the post-war era when development studies as a field of inquiry emerge with the dawn of development economics. Whether in descriptive and/or normative terms, development is used to characterise the socio-economic condition of a given society. On a most basic level, "development means making a better life for everyone" (Peet and Hartwick, 2009: 1). This definition, which on first reading appears simple and appealing to all, masks over the contentious and bitter arguments surrounding how to interpret this idea of development and the approach required to make this idea a reality. Development theories and thoughts have evolved over time to reflect both academic debates and, but most importantly, the empirical evidence of the development conditions of various societies around the world. Thus "from the economic development theories of the 1950s to the 'basic human needs approach' of the 1970s – which emphasized not only economic growth per se as in earlier decades but also the distribution of the benefits of growth" – (Escobar, 1995: 5), through to the human development approach and the current UN Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development and related Sustainable development Goals (SDGs), the development enterprise has been concerned with improving a lot of societies in both advanced and less advanced economies.

Since the emergence of the development enterprise in the aftermath of the Second World War, a number of complex development thought has been put forward. Paradigms of different variants continue to appear and recede. It has been noted that the various development theory and paradigms never totally disappear, even as their prominence is usurped by new paradigms. Ideas in old paradigms get recycled and recast to meet the needs of emerging paradigms (Cowan and Shenton, 1996; Craig and Porter, 2006; Rapley, 2002). The idea of development has evolved beyond simple economic criteria, to include other measures such as sustainability and cultural and human development. However, there remains a preoccupation with economic growth as a significant means to poverty alleviation (Sharpley, 2000). Consequently, a number of economic sectors have been prioritised as being essential for overall economic growth and development. Tourism is one such sector, which for a long time has been considered to have the potential to serve as a catalyst for development. Despite years of tourism-focused development interventions, the results have been anything but certain. The literature on tourism's role in development reveals a surprisingly inadequate attention to the issues of governance and political analysis. Moreover, the questions of why many tourism centred development interventions have failed to yield expected results remain unresolved and few analytic tools are available for examining the governance context within which tourism centred development interventions take place.

Scheyvens (2011) makes a distinction between liberal, critical, alternative, neoliberal and post-development perspectives to development theories, with differing effects on tourism's perceived role in economic development. The first major theory in international development came from within the liberal tradition of linearity and evolution (Holden, 2013) and is commonly referred to as modernisation theory. In its most basic essence, modernisation theory posits that the path to a society's socio-economic development is an evolutionary and linear one, propelling traditional societies into modern societies. Adherents of the idea of stages of economic growth see development as being synonymous with economic growth. From the late 1960s, modernisation was challenged and critiqued on several fronts – especially with the emergence of the neo-Marxist school of dependency theory of mainly Latin American writers. Dependency theorists for one have pointed out that modernisation theory is a camouflage ideology used by the West to justify their domination of developing countries. Moreover, the unidirectional development path advocated by Rostow was critiqued as being incorrect, as was the inherent assumption in the model that traditional values were incompatible with modernity (So, 1990).

Many tourism studies in developing countries are implicitly based on modernisation theory (Telfer, 2015). Tourism is continually touted as a means of achieving development through employment creation, foreign exchange generation, technology transfer and the promotion of a modern way of life based on Western values (Ashley et al., 2000; Goodwin, 2008; Mitchell and Ashley, 2010). In the 1960s and 1970s, several tourism research works explicitly drew on Rostow's work. For instance, Krapf (1961, cited in Pearce, 1989: 11) worked on the economic growth of tourism drawing heavily on the modernisation model of Rostow. The argument was also made by Van Doorn (1979, cited in Pearce, 1989: 12) that “tourism cannot be considered outside the context of the different stages of development countries have reached”. He therefore proposed a typology linking levels of socio-economic development with the stage of tourist development. The Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) as outlined by Butler (1980) is widely considered to be synonymous with tourism research with an implicit basis on modernisation theory. The TALC is based on a product life cycle and traces the evolution of tourist resorts through six stages – exploration, involvement, development,

consolidation, stagnation and decline/rejuvenation stages. In more recent times, Sharpley's study of tourism development in Cyprus provided evidence that "tourism has proved to be an effective growth pole, underpinning both dramatic economic growth and also the *fundamental structural modernisation of the economy*" (2003: 254, emphasis added). In contemporary times travel and tourism are now ubiquitous to the modern way of life, with places and people being commoditised and consumed under the tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen, 2011).

Initially, much of the research influenced by modernisation theory focused on the positive impacts of tourism. Tourism was seen as being functional for the socio-economic development of countries. It was generally believed that the benefits of tourism would result in a greater multiplier effect that would stimulate local economies. However, as the expected trickle-down effect failed to materialise, attention was turned to questioning the value of tourism with its associated environmental issues (Britton, 1982; Brohman, 1996; de Kadt, 1979).

Critical perspectives and tourism

When the expected 'trickle-down' of development to the poor promised in modernisation theory failed to materialise, a number of critiques emerged against the then prevailing liberal development thought. A basic primer of dependency theory is that developing countries are kept in a dependent and exploitative relationship with developed countries due to internal and external political, institutional and political structures. Thus, while development was taking place in developed countries, developing countries were being simultaneously underdeveloped. Underdevelopment and development were considered by Andre Gunder Frank to be a simultaneous process rather than sequential – the 'development of underdevelopment' (Cowen and Shenton, 1996: 58–59). Although many nuances and variants emerged, including work by post-colonial writers, the overriding thrust of dependency theorist remained that "as long as third-world economies were linked to the first world they could never break free of their dependence and poverty" (Rapley, 2002: 18). It was argued that a way to sever these ties was for the State to actively partake in development through autonomous national-development strategies.

In tourism research, dependency theory has been one of the dominant paradigms that have underlined a number of studies (Akama, 2004; Bianchi, 2002; Britton, 1982; Chaperon and Bramwell, 2013; Lea, 1988; Mbaiwa, 2005; Mowforth and Munt, 2009). Inspired by the critical perspectives of dependency theory, postcolonial writers have also highlighted how international tourism in many cases leads to exploitation and entrenchment of poverty and inequalities. There was a shift from the 1970s away from the earlier modernisation idea that tourism de facto will lead to poverty alleviation (see for example de Kadt, 1979). Postcolonial writers such as Wels (2004) have shown how contemporary tourism is still rooted in colonial and postcolonial relationships with tourism marketing infused with neo-colonial ideas of the 'exotic other' (see Said, 1978). The taken for granted power relations within international tourism has also been questioned by for example Akama (2004). Furthermore, it has been noted that the structure of international tourism is a new form of plantation economy (Hall and Tucker, 2004: 5; Telfer, 2015: 46) in which tourist destinations in developing countries as the periphery – especially island nations – are no more than a production location within a trade and production system in which power and control are held in the core developed countries.

Alternative perspectives and tourism

From the 1970s onwards, there was a widespread dissatisfaction with mainstream development models – be they based on modernisation theory or dependency theory – within the

international development community. This dissatisfaction led to the critique of the mainstream theories and a search for alternatives which tended to be mainly people-oriented approaches (Pieterse, 2010). In practical terms, alternative development has been primarily centred on the needs of people and the environment. The key point in alternative development is that it is about development from 'below', particularly in reference to communities and NGOs' involvement. In many discussions, alternative development has come to be associated with and reinforced through issues and processes such as the peasant movement, new social movements, green thinking, feminism, anti-capitalism, empowerment, indigenous knowledge, endogenous development, agency, local control over development policies, participatory approaches and other grassroots approaches emphasising a bottom-up approach to development (Escobar, 1995; Peet and Hartwick, 2009; Pieterse, 2010). Concepts such as sustainable development, human development, Agenda 21 and international environmental conferences like Rio '92 and Rio+20 have all come under the umbrella of alternative development. Furthermore, the rise of national and international NGOs in various fields of development and environment represents a key defining feature of alternative development.

In line with the dissatisfaction of mainstream development theory, the disillusionment with mainstream or mass tourism and its many problems led to many tourism researchers advocating for 'alternative tourism' development. In an edited book by Eadington and Smith (1992) – *Tourism Alternatives: Potentials and Problem in the Development of Tourism* – the authors acknowledge the existence of critical perspectives on tourism. Nonetheless, the point was put forward that tourism can contribute to development when it is approached in an alternative way. After years of rapid mass tourism development, many locals and tourists alike experienced a retrospective disappointment about the ultimate outcomes of tourism developments. A key source of this disappointment was how tourism development created 'winners' and 'losers' in the local communities without a commonly agreed way of ensuring equitable redistribution (Eadington and Smith, 1992). The turn to alternative tourism however did not come with precision as Butler (1992: 31) was quick to note that,

alternative tourism has emerged as one of the most widely used and abused phrases of the last decade. Like sustainable development it sounds attractive, it suggests concern and thought, a new approach and a philosophy toward an old problem, and it is hard to disagree with...[but] the phrase can mean almost anything to anyone.

Notwithstanding the imprecision of alternative tourism development, Brohman (1996: 65) identifies several key characteristics and recurring themes that see alternative tourism development as being small-scale community organised tourism, that encourages community participation and local ownership of businesses, in a way that does not denigrate host culture. Some of the alternative tourism that have been advocated include 'ecotourism/green tourism', 'volunteer tourism' and 'justice tourism'. Tourism researchers have therefore built on the alternative development perspectives on empowerment, gender-sensitivity, participation and grassroots development in their analysis. Community-based tourism (CBT) emerged strongly during this period and the literature has noted how these initiatives were often led by foreign interests (Mowforth and Munt, 2009; Tosun, 2000) rather than local priorities, more often than not leading to implementation challenges, in terms of empowering the 'poor' as actors rather than spectators, generally associated with the lack of local capacity and CBT's controversial, mainly top-down and tokenistic development approaches (Moscardo, 2008; Novelli and Gebhardt, 2007; Novelli and Tisch-Rottensteiner, 2011; Tosun, 2000). The need for

community participation in tourism planning continues to be stressed within the literature (Adu-Ampong, 2016, 2017; Bramwell and Lane, 2000; Jamal and Getz, 1995; Melubo and Lovelock, 2019; Tosun, 2000, 2005). There are however some institutional challenges that make it difficult for increased community participation and empowerment within the tourism planning process.

Neoliberal perspective and tourism

From the 1970s onwards, the liberal perspectives of development theory discussed earlier were usurped through a surge of support for neoliberalism. The exact definition of neoliberalism remains contested and elusive (Peck, 2013). However, there are certain socio-economic and political features that are associated with it. Öniş and Şenses (2005) argue that neoliberalism was a counter-revolution in development theory and a direct assault on state-led national developmentalism practiced by many postcolonial and post-independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. As a theory of political economic practices, neoliberalism

proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices.

(Harvey, 2005: 2)

Thus, neoliberalism as a new mode of development centres on privatisation, deregulation, trade liberalisation, the primacy of individualism and a retraction of state involvement to allow a market-led development process among other things. These and other characteristics underlined by an unquestionable belief in and acceptable of free market and less state involvement came to be termed as the 'Washington Consensus' (Williamson, 2009).

Surprisingly, it was under the upsurge of neoliberalism that a strong focus on poverty and poverty alleviation came to the fore. This was however after the realisation that the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) initiated by the World Bank and IMF and implemented in many development countries failed to achieve the intended goals (Owusu, 2003). The socio-economic policies were implemented under the SAPs have also come in for severe criticism. The SAPs focused on short-term economic measures at the expense of more structural transformation resulting in a high social cost. These dire social conditions included falling wages, cuts in social welfare, increasing the cost of basic items and a general shrinking of national economies. In effect the SAPs ironically contributed to the growth of poverty and threatened the long-term development prospects of countries – especially in sub-Saharan Africa (Owusu, 2003). The paradox of neoliberalism's focus on the poor is that the very pro-poor policies that are to increase equity and reduce inequalities within countries are dependent on policy strategies requiring strong state interventionism and protectionism. These policy strategies are however the very opposite of neoliberal strategies of free market, trade liberalisation and a limited state role focusing on macroeconomic stability and spending conducive to private sector growth (Frenzel, 2013).

Tourism development under a neoliberal perspective continues to represent the biggest proportion of tourism product development around the world. International and regional level

financial institutions like the World Bank, the Inter-America Development Bank (IDB), the Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the African Development Bank (AfDB) continue to fund tourism projects as a development strategy and pathways to economic growth. Development agencies such as the Netherlands' Development Agency (SNV), the UK Department for International Development (DFID) and the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) have also played a leading role in tourism development under a neoliberal perspective. Tourism research under the liberal/neoliberal perspective focused on the propensity of tourism to contribute to foreign exchange earnings, job creation and income generation. Schilcher (2007: 168) shows that while on one hand, international tourism directly benefits from the neoliberalism's facilitation of free movement of capital, labour and consumers under an open economic environment, on the other hand, notwithstanding the high degree of volatility associated with it, tourism represents a viable option for economic development in destinations, like small island states that lack alternative means of accelerated economic development. Thus, in some respect, tourism within the (neo) liberal perspective was held up as a panacea for economic development prior to the emergence of criticisms about the environmental costs and issues of sustainability.

In a study of how the implementation of the World Bank and IMF's SAPs affected tourism development in Africa countries, Dieke (1995) shows that the liberalisation of the economy made way for local private sector and foreign investment in the tourism sector. The impact of the SAPs was to consign the role of the state to that of an enabler rather than an operator for the tourism sector. Konadu-Agyemang (2001), however, contends that in Ghana, for example, the implementation of SAPs resulted in higher leakages of tourism revenues due to increased rates of foreign and private sector involvement. Moreover, SAPs brought about increased and entrenched socio-economic and spatial disparities some of which persist to date. This is because tourism development for instance focused on areas in the south of the country that had the potential for a quick return on investment at the expense of areas with sufficient tourist attraction but lacking needed infrastructure. Thus, while the SAPs enabled tourism to be positioned as a development strategy, the lack of active state control resulted in uneven development and sharing of benefits because the SAPs lacked a humane face (Dieke, 1995; Konadu-Agyemang, 2001).

Post-development and tourism

As an umbrella term that covers the diverse reactions to the development dilemmas at the end of the 20th century, post-development thinking includes among others, postmodernist, post-colonialist and post-structuralist thought (Scheyvens, 2011: 42). As Pieterse (2010: 110) puts it, the starting point of post-development is the basic realisation "that attaining a middle-class lifestyle for the majority of the world's population is impossible". The possibilities promised by development were seen as achievable by only a few, while everyone was made to pay the price in terms of environmental degradation and breakdown of social cohesion. Upon this realisation, post-development critique is centred on questioning 'development' and contesting the grand development theories. Post-development thinking tends to reject reductionist view of the world. While some variants of post-development thinking proclaimed the death of 'development' noting that the idea has become outdated and has grown obsolete, other variants reject the reductionist perception of 'development' as either a force for good or for evil. In this respect, post-development critique shares overlap with critical theory and ecological movements (Pieterse, 2010: 110).

Given the variety of perspectives within post-development thinking, the counter-critiques tend to be varied. For detailed counter-critiques to the various strands of post-development thinking see for example Peet and Hartwick (2009: chapter 6) and Pieterse (2010: chapter 7). The basic counter-critique to post-developmentalists' rejection of 'development' is the question of: 'what do you propose?' Three main positions emerge from post-developmentalists in response to this question. According to Rahnema (1997, cited in Peet and Hartwick, 2009: 228–230) these three are (1) radical pluralism – the need for local actions to make a difference rather than grandiose global action, (2) simple living – life centred on both ecological and spiritual harmony and (3) reappraisal of non-capitalist societies – the idea that social and economic life in 'non-developed' societies was not too bad because, although they did not have modern consumer materials, they had "effective personal and collective moral obligations" that ensured they had their basic needs fulfilled. Thus, post-development thinking rejects current ways of thinking about modern development and instead calls for revitalised non-modern (non-Western) perspectives.

Post-development thinking within tourism research basically rejects the reductionist perspective of seeing tourism as either a force of good or a force of evil. Tourism is seen as a system that involves a range of actors (e.g. public sector, private sector, civil society and communities) across multiple and varying scales (Adu-Ampong, 2017, 2019; Dredge and Jamal, 2015). Post-development thinking in tourism attempts a holistic study of tourism – both as an industry and as a system. The interest is therefore to understand how tourism systems and processes work and how these shape the interactions between people and places (Cornelissen, 2005). Importantly, the interest is to understand the role of culture and power in shaping the actions and inactions of tourism stakeholders in a given destination (Bramwell and Meyer, 2007; Cheong and Miller, 2000; Church and Coles, 2006). Within such a perspective, research considerations can be given to how communities based on their own interests and that of other stakeholders engage in tourism. Communities are not to be cast as simply powerless victims of tourism, but rather they are seen as powerful actors who adapt, embrace or reject tourism (Beeton, 2006; Scheyvens, 2002, 2011).

Tourism research rooted in post-development thinking offers a nuanced understanding of the shaping effects of the tourism phenomena on both communities and tourists. Within this perspective, tourism is seen neither as a panacea nor the sources of all negative issues in a destination (Scheyvens, 2011). Since tourism involves multiple stakeholders across various scales of interactions, tourism acts as a social force that is shaped by various interests – sometimes for good, sometimes for bad. Informed by alternative theoretical and philosophical perspectives that include ecocentrism, community development and post-structuralism, Wearing et al. (2005) have argued for a 'decommodified research paradigm' in which neoliberal thinking in terms of profitability no longer takes precedence at the expense of social and environmental consequences. Indeed, for Higgins-Desbiolles (2006: 1192) "tourism is in fact a powerful social force that can achieve many important ends when its capacities are unfettered from the market fundamentalism of neoliberalism and instead are harnessed to meet human development imperatives and the wider public good". Unfettering tourism from the market fundamentalism means questioning and examining actors – local and international – in the tourism process, their power differentials and how these shape interactions and outcomes.

As a highly contested concept, the nature of development and its outcome is shaped by a range of socio-economic, political and environmental considerations, each with sometimes compatible, most times incompatible value sets. What has been made clear so far is the contentious relationship between tourism and development over the years. Table 1.1 provides an overview of this.

Historical evolution

Modernisation	[1950s–1960s]	[1970s onwards]	[1980s onwards]	[late 1990s onwards]	[2000s]	[2010s+]
	Tourism can contribute to modernisation thorough economic growth, employment generation and the exchange of ideas. Benefits will trickle down to the poor.					
Economic Neoliberalism	Initial symptoms of neo-colonial approaches to tourism development, exploiting natural resources by developing countries.	Foreign direct investment is seen as the way to stimulate stagnating economies and investment in tourism adds a possible dimension attracting foreign exchange.	Tourism offers a way out of indebtedness; 'trade your way out of poverty'. It encourages foreign investment and private sector development while providing employment and generating foreign exchange earnings.	Tourism is promoted hand-in-hand with free trade, democratisation and anti-poverty agendas. Investment in tourism in third world countries gives foreign companies a presence in major or growing markets. Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers identify tourism as an economic sector that can contribute to poverty reduction. Public-private partnerships encouraged. Tourism is seen as a means of helping to overcome poverty and inequality, which can breed terrorism.	Under the UN Millennium Development Goals, various organisations such as the UNWTO set aside actions to make tourism an effective contributor to development. Tourism is at the core of economic development debates, with dilemmas concerning the issues related to climate change and the Rio+ Agenda.	Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development spans across nations as the panacea for the future. Seventeen Sustainable Development Goals are agreed and launched for implementation. Tourism becomes increasingly core subject of sustainable development debates, with specific SDGs – 8, 12 and 14, for the very first time recognising tourism as a key economic sector.

(Continued)

	[1970s–1980s]	[1980s onwards]	[late 1990s onwards]	[2000s]	[2010s+]
Critical	Tourism is associated with enclave development, dependence on foreign capital and expertise, growing social and economic disparities and repatriation of profits (leakages). It often undermines local cultures, social networks and traditional livelihoods (i.e. people's relocation to give space to national parks establishment)	Post-development writers view 'local culture and knowledge' as the base for any tourism development. The concept of tourism is based around solidarity and reciprocity and came to the fore. Tourism policy must focus on direct democratic processes and on traditional knowledge systems, or at least a combination of modern and traditional knowledge.	Anti-globalisation lobby sees tourism as a way of advancing the forces of capitalism into more remote places and cultures. Postcolonial writers comment on the allure of the 'other' – poverty attracts tourists, as poor places are associated with 'authentic' experiences of culture and nature. Strong class differences between 'hosts' and 'guests' are noted.	There is a struggle in the determination of guidelines and parameters to establish tourism success in contributing to poverty reduction. The notion of tokenistic involvement of communities is introduced. The failure of numerous ventures is a symptom of a failing global development agenda, which has at times been worsened by a 'poorism' mentality.	There is still a struggle in the understanding of how to measure success, for instance, what needs to be done to achieve the set of 17 SDGs and related targets, making this potentially another utopian project. Although the inclusion of tourism in the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development and related SDGs is seen as a positive improvement in the recognition of the importance of tourism, many argue that tourism has the potential to contribute, directly or indirectly to all the 17 goals and this should be better articulated to enable a clearer and more effective way forward. The UNWTO increases its campaign to promote ways to achieve the SDGs and a number of international development agencies such as the World Bank commit funds to support developments in this direction.
Alternative	Alternative forms of tourism that are small-scale, involve education of tourists and more local control over tourism, are seen as worthy of support (i.e. justice tours, conservation tours).	The 'green agenda' of the 1980s leading to the 1992 UN Summit in Rio de Janeiro renews the emphasis on the environment including ecological and social sustainability. Ecotourism comes to the fore.	Tourism offers poor communities a way of diversifying their livelihood options. Communities can actively participate in tourism and be empowered through their experiences.	The main barriers to tourism and development are linked to broader grievances about socio-economic development.	Climate change is declared a global emergency. Aviation takes centre stage in the blame game. Undoubtedly adaptation actions are urgently required, however, those who have worked to develop tourism in remote destinations and those destination communities that have tourism as one of their few economic options feel under threat. Alternative markets are explored as alternative to the traditional ones.

Capacity building emerges as one of the key required action to enable tourism to truly contribute to community development and empowerment.	Plastic and waste becomes of increased concern not only for the wellbeing of and attractiveness of tourism destinations, but most importantly as a global health issues. The tourism sector starts using alternative materials and exploring circular economy adaptation strategies, but the move remains negligible.
The possibilities promised by development were seen as achievable by only a few, while everyone was made to pay the price in terms of environmental degradation and breakdown of social cohesion. Upon this realisation post-development critique emerged as centred on questioning 'development' and contesting the grand development theories.	Post-development thinking within tourism research rejects the reductionist perspective of seeing tourism as either a force of good or a force of evil. Tourism is seen as a system that involves a range of actors (public sector, private sector and civil society) across multiple and varying scales. Transforming the traditional tourism growth paradigm takes centre stage. Both academics and practitioners advance solutions to well-traversed issues such as the excessive growth of tourism and the effect of overtourism that affects certain destinations. Conscious travel behaviour emerges from a desire to ground any travel and tourism activities in line with the on-going global crisis.
Post-development	

Recognition of the complexities of development offers a lens through which to understand the complexities of using tourism as a tool for local economic development and poverty reduction – an aspiration for many African countries. What has been clear so far is that, given the complexities of the tourism–development nexus, there is a need for state intervention in tourism development planning in order to harness the potentials of tourism while offsetting the negative impacts. Undoubtedly, there is a role for the state to play in tourism and economic development planning, but the extent to which this happens effectively in the African and other developing contexts remains debatable.

The current state of tourism and development (research) in Africa

Beginning from the pre-colonial through the colonial periods to the current postcolonial era, certain stereotypes and myths about African countries have built up. These stereotypes have proven difficult to discount and/or eradicate, as they are constantly portrayed and shared across the global media. It is undeniable that African countries exist within a complex socio-economic state of affairs that calls for economic diversification. In such context, however, tourism has increasingly emerged as an avenue for such diversification, growth and ultimately development.

Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development and the SDGs, the challenge of climate change and the integrity of the destinations in Africa have become paramount, both in terms of its long-term survival and the responsibility we have to take action for the preservation of the very resources – natural and human, that attracted tourists in the first place (see Boluk et al., 2019). Tourism aspires to be a more stable, higher-yielding, responsible and sustainable, delivering tangible and equitable benefits to communities, preserving the natural environment, fostering inclusive growth, peace and stability, and ultimately achieving the SDGs. However, there is an increasing danger in approaching tourism only from a commercially focussed perspective and reacting purely to shifting market demands, which will not deliver the aspired responsible forms of tourism that promote and enhance long-term inclusive growth and sustainable development in Africa (Novelli, 2015).

In relation to Northern Africa, the *2017 World Economic Forum Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report* highlighted that the “natural and cultural resources remain mostly under-exploited, international openness is still limited, and security perceptions remain the biggest hurdle” (WEF, 2017: 17). For sub-Saharan Africa, the report highlights that, on aggregate,

it remains the region where travel and tourism competitiveness is the least developed. Although regional performance has increased, it has improved less compared to other parts of the world. Southern Africa remains the strongest sub-region, followed by Eastern Africa and then Western Africa. Yet, on average, Eastern Africa is the most improved region, while Southern Africa has experienced a slight decline.

(*WEF, 2017: 18*)

Air connectivity and travel costs remain challenging as well as visa policies and infrastructure. While tourism in the region is mainly driven by nature-based tourism, there is significant room for improvement in protecting, valuing and communicating cultural resources (WEF, 2017).

The *Economic Development in Africa Report 2017: Tourism for Transformative and Inclusive Growth* (UNCTAD, 2017) examines the role that tourism can play in Africa’s development

process. It argues that tourism can be an engine for inclusive growth and economic development as well as being complementary to development strategies, aimed at fostering economic diversification and structural transformation within the right policy context.

To unlock the potential of intersectoral linkages to contribute to structural transformation, cross-sectoral issues need to be aligned with, and integrated into, policy frameworks at the national, regional and continental levels... Beyond generating economic benefits and boosting productive capacities, tourism has the potential to foster inclusion by creating employment opportunities among vulnerable groups such as the poor, women and youth.

(UNCTAD, 2017: 6)

African destinations have primarily concentrated on attracting international tourism and what is also of key relevance is the reference made by the UNCTAD (2017) report to the increase of continental and intraregional tourism in Africa and the opportunities associated with this phenomenon, for economic and export diversification.

African countries would benefit if they made further progress with the free movement of persons, currency convertibility and liberalizing air transport services. This would facilitate greater access to tourism destinations and boost the competitiveness of destinations. It also requires regional economic communities and countries to comprehensively plan for intraregional and continental tourism.

(UNCTAD, 2017: 6)

While tourism's potential for driving inclusive economic growth and development across Africa is undeniable, there are several challenges and key issues that continuously confront the sector on the continent. A summary of these is provided in Table 1.2.

While the region's situation has improved since the 2017 edition of the *World Economic Forum Competitiveness Report*, sub-Saharan Africa ranks at the bottom of the Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Index (TTCI), lagging behind the rest of the world across all parameters, with only Mauritius, South Africa and Seychelles scoring above the global average on the index. Concurrently, however, the region continues to outperform the global average in international tourism arrivals and receipts growth, with the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) forecasting that those Africa economies covered by the 2019s TTCI will have the second highest rate of growth in travel and tourism GDP between 2019 and 2029 (see Figure 1.2). As a result, it is envisaged that if SSA manages to maintain the level of improvement, investors will more likely view the region as an attractive investment opportunity to diversify from other more mature destinations (WEF, 2019a, 2019b).

According to the 2019 *World Economic Forum Competitiveness Report*, SSA's travel and tourism market is still very small. In 2018, the travel and tourism industry's GDP of African countries covered in the 2019 report totalled approximately \$42.1 billion, with 37.4 million tourist arrivals in 2017, about 1.6% and 3.0% of the global total, respectively. The 2019 Report also highlights that,

with the majority of the region's economies classified as low or lower-middle income, SSA lacks the robust middle class and economic resources required to generate intra-regional travel and tourism investment at the same scale as other parts of

Table 1.2 Tourism in Africa – current situation and development perspectives

<i>Key issues</i>	<i>Current situation</i>	<i>Development perspectives</i>
Governance and policy	<p>Governments increasingly recognise the benefits and income that tourism can bring to their countries and the need to develop initiatives to support the sector. However, the destructive style of political and economic leadership worsens the weak business environment. Lack of funding is very often a barrier to effective tourism development. Foreign and Direct Investment remains the main focus of Africa development policies, however increasing attention is placed on diasporas and newly emerging African middle classes (i.e. South Africa, Nigeria, Angola).</p> <p>The increasing influence of China in Africa is well debated and recognised by a number of Africa governments.</p>	<p>With many nations having unique attractions, in order to attract investors, governments have instigated policies to promote and manage the growth and created incentives, such as tax advantages, land concessions, marketing assistance, cash subsidies, business financing and skills development incentives.</p> <p>The dynamics associated with attracting BRIC countries need to be fully recognised. For example, in order to promote Africa to Chinese visitors, Approved Destination Status (ADS) is required. ADS countries are only granted to overseas destinations by the Chinese government through a bilateral government agreement. It is only concerned with tourism groups of specific Chinese travel retailers and excludes business and official travel abroad.</p> <p>The increased presence of Chinese investors emerging from bilateral agreements has evolved in the growth of interventions in the tourism sector particularly linked to grand infrastructural such as new airports constructions and expansions of existing ones.</p>
Socio-economic sustainability	<p>Tourism help diversifies exports as many Africa economies are narrowly focused on agriculture, mining, and, more recently, telecommunications. Export diversification is a key concern.</p> <p>Across Africa, a growing number of traditional and non-traditional investors are looking at hotels, restaurants, second homes, and passenger transportation as business opportunities.</p> <p>Tourism has accelerated change by encouraging pro-business policies and reforms that can help SME development and stimulate foreign investment.</p> <p>Tourism can benefit all layers of society, genders and age as well as geographical areas of a country.</p> <p>Tourism creates demand for non-tourism goods and services (i.e. transport, petrol, retailing, finance, real estate, agriculture, and communications).</p>	<p>Diversification makes economies less vulnerable to fluctuations in demand, more dynamic, and more agile in the face of change.</p> <p>By stimulating business investment in rural and peripheral areas, tourism has the potential to contribute to poverty alleviation and community empowerment, offering an alternative viable sector.</p> <p>By bringing foreign consumers to a destination, tourism provides an ideal opportunity for market-testing new products and diversifying exports. Success in tourism has a cascading effect on other areas of economic activity and contributes to increases in domestic consumption.</p> <p>By providing jobs for women, tourism can improve the non-monetary aspects of poor people's lives such as health, security, social mobility, and empowerment.</p> <p>By engaging young people in productive employment, tourism can provide an alternative to out-migration, urban poverty, and armed conflict.</p>

Environmental sustainability Africa's unique environments are benefiting from a growing awareness amongst government officials and visitors of the importance of responsible practices. Tourism generates income for biodiversity conservation and cultural heritage protection. Conservation International, the World Wildlife Fund for Nature (WWF), United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), and the Global Environment Facility (GEF) increasingly support tourism projects. Many neighbouring countries are establishing close co-operation in tourism activities, building on visitors who wish to see more than just one country in a trip, as well as learning from more experienced destinations. Peace Parks, otherwise known as trans-frontier conservation areas, are parks that straddle frontiers and require joint management by the governments concerned. However, a number of complexities are associated with the nature of the initiative (i.e. cross-border poaching, illegal migration of people and goods).

Destination image and ICT Successful tourism can change perceptions of a country and create a positive national image. Online services in Africa are lagging behind the rest of the world, with internet access available to only a very small section of the population. An estimated 6.2% of the population has internet access, although the percentage varies enormously according to country. The services available vary, with online users in some countries only able to access information and not make payments.

Despite the increasing number of organisations and individual committing to responsible tourism practices, it is evident that travellers are not yet willing to pay extra for green options, pushing the onus onto tourism professionals. Environmental incentives and initiatives are broadly linked to the issues of climate change and environmental management, a topic at the fore of many international organisations, national governments and civil society organisations. Funding to support these are limited, but yet available. Learning from the Schengen Visa experience, the current plans to implement a common visa scheme in East and Southern Africa is seen as a way to enable a significant increase in tourist arrivals in the region. The World Bank provides loans to assist in maintenance, and tourism is encouraged to the areas. Animals and people are allowed to migrate unhindered across the parks, which may have a boundary around them to prevent any unauthorised migration.

Africa has a long way to go to capitalise fully on the continent's tourism potential. Despite its unique attractions, poverty, security concerns, political instability and poor infrastructure hinder the development of tourism. Online sales have yet to make a significant impact on tourism and online services are primarily for marketing and information purposes. For many potential European and North American visitors, these can be the major source of data and research for their travel choice. Review sites, such as Trip Advisor and Virtual Tourist are remarkably useful, and tourism professionals need to ensure an up-to-date and accurate web presence to entice visitors.

(Continued)

Key issues	Current situation	Development perspectives
Safety and security - health and hygiene	<p>The importance of 'safety and security' as well as 'health and hygiene' conditions is a well-understood determinant for a country's tourism competitiveness.</p> <p>Security remains a concern for many tourists travelling in Africa, with the region having a perceived weak track record for safety and security.</p> <p>Safe and secure countries often suffer due to poor comprehension of an unrelated conflict in a neighbouring country.</p> <p>What is more of a travellers' concern is the risk of contracting malaria and other tropical diseases. This may deter some travellers from considering Africa as a holiday destination.</p>	<p>Governments' actions to ensure 'safety and security' and 'health and hygiene' are being increasingly being addressed.</p> <p>The lingering fears regarding countries, which have previously seen conflict (i.e. Rwanda and Uganda), are to be addressed by increasing the visibility of those increasingly safe to visit.</p> <p>Access within the country to improved drinking water and sanitation is important for the comfort and health of travellers.</p> <p>In the event that tourists do become ill, the country's health sector must be able to ensure they are properly cared for, as measured by the availability of physicians and hospital beds.</p>
Human resources	<p>The importance of addressing health and education issues in Africa is not a new subject. A number of initiatives are being implemented to improve human resources in all sectors including tourism.</p> <p>Formal education and training (primary and secondary) and informal private-sector involvement in human resources development are increasingly addressing the need for a qualified labour force.</p> <p>Flocks of international experts and volunteers travel to Africa on a daily basis to 'help' address a number of issues. Despite recognising the value of this, there is a need for a better-coordinated process addressing local problems rather than being international organisations' agendas' focused.</p>	<p>Quality human resources in the economy ensure that the industry has access to the collaborators it needs to develop and grow.</p> <p>Human resources development plays a pivotal role in stimulating employees' 'sense of belonging' to their work place, which is one of the most important employees' motivation factors in providing better on job performance.</p> <p>Train-the-trainers programme is amongst those capacity building initiatives enabling the creation of a body of locally available educators and trainers, rather than depending upon international experts and volunteers.</p>
Destination access and visa regimes	<p><i>Land transportation</i> is the most popular form of transportation in Africa, despite the growth of the air industry. However, it remains a slow and often difficult way to get around, as infrastructure is poor across the region and in need of investment. For many Africans with limited disposable income, land transport is the only possible way of travel, either by shared car, bus or taxi services.</p>	<p><i>Land transportation</i> A number of roads are being built and improved across this region. The African Development Bank has a number of projects in this area, along with many foreign investors, which often improve infrastructure as a by-product of their main project goals.</p> <p><i>Air transportation</i> Air traffic control requires major upgrades to improve the continent's baletful safety record. Policy challenges include strengthening regulatory oversight and achieving full liberalisation of the air transport sector.</p>

Air transportation is the second most popular method of transportation.

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

Rail transportation is limited and travelling by train remains a difficult and therefore limited option for tourists. Lines are not comprehensive across the region, and services are slow, with unreliable schedules.

Following economic liberalisation in many African countries and major improvements to the region's road network, most of the continent's railways lost their economic edge. A few classic train journeys have had their infrastructure restored and maintained to their former glory, such as the steam railway in Eritrea, as well as luxury journeys on the Blue Train in South Africa, and the Shongololo Express in Namibia.

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

Waterways transportation is possible, but remains a limited option for countries with a coastline over the sea or the African Great Lakes, as there are only few organised official ferry services. Private boat trips have diminished around the Horn of Africa, due to increased piracy.

Visa Regimes are viewed as one of the major hindering factors in destination accessibility and remains.

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

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

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

Multimodal transport, whereby roads, railways, airlines, and shipping operate in harmony, can contribute significantly to growth and productivity if the modalities are well integrated. In Africa, unfortunately, integration is not the rule. Corrupt customs administration and restrictions on entry into transport markets are blocking the development of multimodal transport. These and other impediments delay freight, raise the costs of moving international freight, and compromise the logistical systems on which global trade depends. Transportation costs increase the prices of African goods by a whopping 75%.

Visa regimes are under review in several African nations, with an increasing number of destinations looking at visa on arrival agreements as the way forward. While this is a progressing strategy across destinations in the continent, changing visa regimes remains a complex issue to resolve.

(Continued)

<i>Key issues</i>	<i>Current situation</i>	<i>Development perspectives</i>
<p>Accommodation</p>	<p>Independent hotels dominate the accommodation sector, with international chain outlets only present in significant numbers in key tourism hotspots such as South Africa, Mauritius, Kenya and Tanzania. Lodges are a traditional safari option and can range from basic facilities to the ultimate luxury stay. Hostels are a popular option amongst budget travellers, as are guesthouses, which are also seen as an economical choice.</p> <p>Home-stay accommodation both in rural and urban locations is a growing niche in the region. It is a relatively inexpensive option, and one where visitors can gain a more traditional African experience.</p>	<p>By 2011, Accor had outlets in 17 countries across the region, mainly the mid-range Ibis and Novotel brands. Starwood is also present in Africa, with its Sheraton brand present in Gambia, Nigeria, Djibouti and South Africa. South African group Protea has expanded throughout the region, with outlets in eight countries. A number of other international brands are making their way into the growing economies of Rwanda and Nigeria. In destinations like Kenya, global brands have increasingly taken business away from locally owned businesses, hindering their ability to survive on the market. The desire for increased foreign and direct investment in the sector to serve an assumed growing market has not been coupled with the need to guarantee equitable and inclusive access to the tourism market.</p>
<p>Traditional and niche products</p>	<p>Safari Tourism is the quintessential African travel product focused on 'big five' of elephant, lion, leopard, rhino and cape buffalo, with the key destinations being Kenya, Tanzania, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia. A growing number of other types of safaris are also emerging - i.e. gorilla tracking in Rwanda and Uganda, bird watching in The Gambia.</p> <p>Beach tourism is an important secondary product in East Africa and West Africa and, to a lesser extent, in Southern Africa.</p> <p>Nature/Adventure tourism is a growth area for Africa. The continent's varied terrain and remote locations make it an ideal location for many nature-based adventure sports, such as dune-boarding in Namibia and lemur tracking in Madagascar.</p>	<p>High prices and service standards remain problematic across the continent, with only a few pockets of excellence. A number of initiatives to improve service standards are needed and are currently taking place even in some of the most seasoned destinations like South Africa, The Gambia and Namibia.</p> <p>Despite recognising the challenges imposed by the high cost of running businesses in Africa, a full recalibration of accommodations' prices is required to guarantee destination competitiveness.</p> <p>Product diversification remains the greatest concern for any tourism destination. Safari tourism is increasingly packaged in conjunction with other activities, and this is used as a strategy to extend stay in the destination and increasingly as a strategy to encourage visitors to visit more than one destination.</p> <p>Beach tourism is highly competitive and environmentally sensitive and actions are required to maintain Africa beach resorts' comparative advantage mainly associated with the integrated product which is offered on the market - i.e. safari + beach experience.</p> <p>Nature/Adventure tourism offers development opportunities for some of the most remote and less known Africa destinations. There are a growing number of products for the most seasoned travellers, which travel to fulfil specific nature-based - i.e. geology, wildlife and/or adventure interests - i.e. extreme sports.</p>

Cultural heritage tourism is one of the fastest-growing segments of the tourism industry worldwide. Forty per cent of all international leisure tourism has a cultural component. Cultural heritage in Ethiopia, music in Cape Verde, and architecture in Pays Dogon in Mali are some of the attractions for cultural tourists to Africa.

Eco-tourism, community-based tourism and agritourism are growth sectors for Africa, attracting city dwellers wishing to experience rural life. Visitors are often hosted in eco-resorts, community camps, homestays and working farms, or spend time exploring community life, the development of crafts and food products, ranging from fish, meat, coffee and tea to cereal, fruit and vegetable crops. Ecotourism has become a buzzword across Africa, with almost every country claiming to offer holidays catering to this demand.

Volunteering is an increasingly common form of philanthropic travel.

A popular choice amongst young travellers, in particular those from Europe and North America, it entails participating and working within a local community, with board and lodging provided from the fee paid. Business travel is an important growth area for Africa. Unlike leisure travel, business travel flows depend on the dynamism of economic activity in the destination.

Diaspora tourism to Africa includes city tours, visits to historic sites, arts and crafts shopping, and trips to slave trade memorials. The continent contains many landmarks, build and relics connected with the trans-Atlantic slave trade, most of which are located in West African countries such as Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia and Senegal.

Intra-regional and domestic tourism may be the sleeping giant of Africa tourism. Already more than 10 million people are travelling across international borders every year within Africa for shopping, medical reasons, sport trips, religious journeys, business meetings and conferences, and visiting friends and relatives. Under the right conditions, the tourism sector can tap this growing wealth.

Cultural heritage tourism has great potential for Africa due to the continent's rich traditions in music, art, dance, literature, and culture. Cultural tourism generates economic activity and an enhanced sense of pride for residents. It also can generate resources for the conservation of historic sites and traditional activities.

Eco-tourism community-based tourism and agritourism very often, address the needs and requirements for many developing countries seeking sustainable economic development. However, while community-based tourism remains generally a western conceived concept highly dependent on external funding, agritourism provides an alternative to the main resort for those with a specific interest in rural life.

Volunteering - Although in parts recognising the value of this form of tourism, this is a sector that needs careful consideration and regulations as the good intention of those engaging in volunteering activities is not always matched by positive impacts on the ground.

Business travel – Global hotel groups such as Accor, Starwood, Intercontinental, and Kempinski are planning for growth in the business travel market. Business tourists tend to have a higher average daily spend and are less seasonal than leisure tourists. The development of high quality business hotels creates a large network of downstream benefits for the destination.

Diaspora tourism has great promise for further growth with visitors from Europe and the United States as product development is enhanced and value chains strengthened. There is a growing segment associated with what is known as dark tourism - i.e. slave trade in West Africa, genocide sites in Rwanda.

Intra-regional and domestic tourism - As the size of the middle class increases, the number of intra-regional tourists is likely to rise. Intra-regional travel in East Africa is already significant. Nigeria is a potential regional tourism powerhouse in West Africa. Zimbabwe and Angola also have potential as a large source market for intra-regional travel. Domestic travel in South Africa is driving growth. Kenya has already prioritised domestic travel. Zimbabwe, Ghana and Nigeria are starting to do the same.

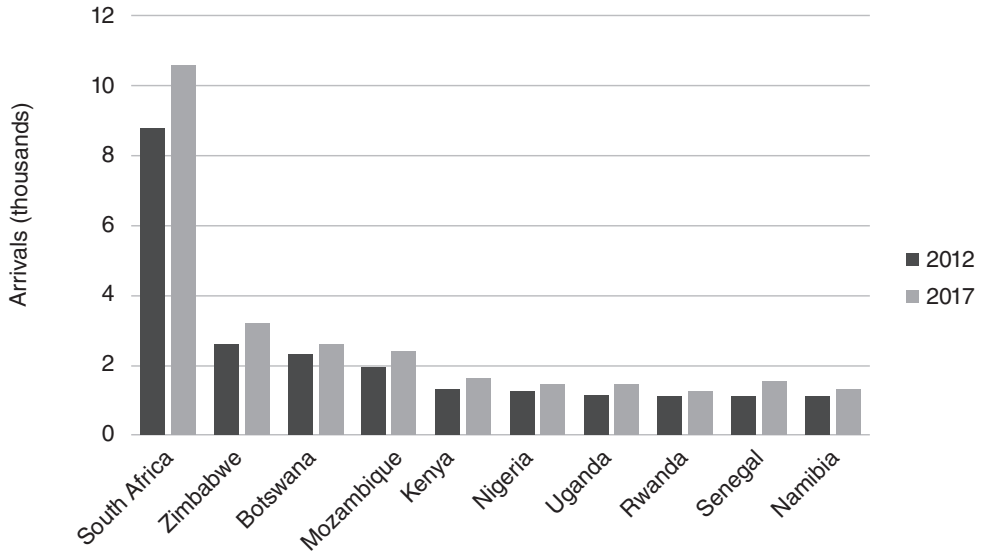


Figure 1.2 Sub-Saharan Africa's international arrivals by key destinations 2012–2017

the world, although both aspects are demonstrating steady growth. In particular, the current lack of investment means that the region has the least-developed infrastructure in the world, clogging up the vital arteries of travel and tourism. The region's air transport—infrastructure—defined by a weak domestic airline industry and a lack of airport density—greatly undermines local economies' ability to facilitate tourist and business travel, which are already hampered by the vast size and geographic barriers of Africa. Below-average international openness contributes to this issue.

(WEF, 2019a: 54)

In addition to this, the 2019 Report denounces “a pronounced lack of ICT adoption, [as] a vital requirement to attract visitors when travellers and industry players increasingly rely on technology” as well as the recurring health and hygiene concerns, which is SSA's most substantial gap with global averages. Despite the widely acknowledged attractiveness of SSA's nature (Soshkin, 2019), the combination of all these barriers may be behind the region's poor competitiveness performance also on TTCI indicators related to natural and cultural resources. Notwithstanding these broad issues, many sub-Saharan African and North African economies have made great efforts to improve their competitiveness. Table 1.3 provides further details on the continental conditions highlighted in the WEF (2019a).

Having analysed some of the key tourism issues in Africa and despite recognising the enormous potential of tourism development at continental level, five main interrelated constraints highlighted by Novelli (2015) to the fulfilment of the 'African tourism dream' remain. These are organised according to the World Bank terminology, as: (a) unpredictable and weak business environments; (b) institutional weaknesses; (c) inadequate access; (d) low level of linkages; and (e) price/value mismatch (see Table 1.4).

The chapters that follow provide a useful set of accounts to analyse those challenges and identify possible ways forward for the future.

WEF 2019 regional overview

WEF 2019 countries' specific highlights

North Africa scores lower than the Middle East, but demonstrates far greater improvement in overall competitiveness. The subregion outscores the Middle East on five pillars and bests the global average on four. North Africa is the most price competitive subregion in the world, with three out of its four members among the 12 least-expensive economies covered in the report. North Africa's greatest advantage relative to the Middle East is its natural and cultural resources – although it still underperforms the world on both the Natural Resources and Cultural and Business Travel pillars. The subregion also bests the MENA average in prioritisation of T&T and environmental sustainability, areas where it has improved since 2017. On the other hand, North Africa has underdeveloped infrastructure and T&T enabling environment, contrasting some of the high performers in the Middle East subregion. In particular, North Africa trails when it comes to tourist service infrastructure and ICT readiness. The subregion's strong rate of improvement is due to enhanced safety and security, overall T&T policy and enabling conditions and air transport and ground infrastructure.

Eastern Africa is a close second to Southern Africa in terms of competitiveness but did experience stagnation since the last edition of the report. Overall, Eastern Africa tops the broader sub-Saharan Africa average on nine pillars, ties on three, and is the top-ranked subregion on seven. Compared to the sub-Saharan Africa average, it maintains a minor disadvantage regarding price competitiveness, which is still its highest-scoring pillar, and a larger gap on ICT readiness. Eastern Africa's most significant advantages over Southern and Western Africa comes from better ground and port infrastructure. However, it is on natural resources where the subregion outperforms the global average. Eastern Africa lost competitiveness on seven pillars. The biggest declines came from cultural resources and business travel, health and hygiene and tourist service infrastructure. However, these losses were offset by strong growth in price competitiveness and enhancements to air and ground infrastructure.

All four members of the North Africa subregion increased their TTCI scores over 2017. **Egypt** (65th) is the subregion's top scorer and its largest T&T economy. The country is also MENA's most improved scorer. Egypt is price competitive (3rd) and has MENA's highest score for cultural resources (22nd). Its improvement comes from increases on 11 pillar scores. These include the world's second-best enhancement of safety and security (130th to 112th), albeit from a low starting base. **Morocco** (66th) demonstrates North Africa's slowest improvement in TTCI performance. The country is a close second to Egypt when it comes to overall competitiveness, boasting the MENA region's top TTCI scores on natural resources (63rd) and North Africa's best enabling environment (71st) and infrastructure (69th). However, TTCI performance improvement is tempered by declining safety and security (20th–28th), which remains well above the subregion's average, and a deteriorating combination of natural and cultural (41st–54th) resources. **Algeria** (116th), is the lowest scoring in North Africa, but nonetheless did move up two ranks globally. The country ranks low on business environment (118th), T&T prioritisation (132nd), tourist services infrastructure (136th), environmental sustainability (133rd), natural resources (126th) and international openness (139th). On the other hand, Algeria is one of the most price-competitive countries in the world (8th).

Of the ten economies ranked in 2017, five decreased in competitiveness and all but one dropped in ranking. For example, **Rwanda** (107th) experienced the biggest decline, dropping ten places, due mainly to worsening health conditions (112th–129th) that were caused primarily by a spike in malaria (118th–140th). **Burundi** (137th) is the lowest-ranked economy in Eastern Africa but had the highest percentage increase in competitiveness. Globally, it ranks last in terms of tourist service infrastructure and, in value terms, lags behind the Eastern Africa average in terms of T&T prioritisation (134th). Burundi's increased competitiveness came from improved T&T enabling conditions and, in particular, price competitiveness, where it moved up seven places to 75th. The highest-scoring country in the subregion is **Mauritius** (54th), which is also the highest scorer in entire sub-Saharan Africa. The country is sub-Saharan Africa's top scorer when it comes to T&T prioritisation – where it ranks fifth globally – due to government focus on the industry including relatively high government expenditure (fourth) in the sector. Regarding T&T GDP size, Eastern Africa is dominated by **Ethiopia**, **Kenya** and **Tanzania**, with Ethiopia (122nd) the largest of the three. The country has the subregion's largest population but lags behind Eastern Africa's average on the majority of the 14 TTCI pillars. Most notably, Ethiopia has an underdeveloped overall T&T infrastructure (128th).

(Continued)

WEF 2019 regional overview
WEF 2019 countries' specific highlights

Western Africa enjoyed the greatest increase in competitiveness in the region, yet it also ranks the lowest on the global TTCI. The subregion lags behind Southern and Eastern Africa in all areas apart from environmental sustainability, where it has a slight edge, and ICT readiness, where it ranks higher than Eastern Africa. Like the other African subregions, Western Africa scores highest on price competitiveness and lowest on cultural and business travel. Its greatest disadvantages, relative to the rest of sub-Saharan Africa, come from lower prioritisation of T&T, tourist services infrastructure and natural resources. Western Africa's competitiveness improvements from 2017 to 2019 are concentrated in nine pillars, with the most considerable improvement coming from increased international openness and ICT readiness. Moreover, Western Africa was the only subregion to show an overall improvement in the Health and Hygiene pillar. However, subregional economies experienced further decreased competitiveness on natural and cultural resources and tourist service infrastructure.

Southern Africa is the most competitive of the three subregions but experienced slow growth in competitiveness over the past two years. In 2019, it outperforms the broader regional average on 11 pillars. The subregion is also the most price-competitive in sub-Saharan Africa, which is also its highest-ranking pillar. However, Southern Africa's biggest advantages over the other two subregions come from tourist services infrastructure and prioritisation of travel and tourism, though the subregion does perform below the *global* average in both areas. Southern Africa's growth over its 2017 performance consisted of broad improvement in T&T-related policies and enabling conditions, especially price competitiveness and international openness. ICT readiness and tourist service infrastructure also improved, but this subregion's traditional lead in overall enabling environment and natural and cultural resources deteriorated. In particular, Southern Africa's Health and Hygiene pillar worsened, reinforcing the subregion's greatest disadvantage compared to the global average.

Eight of the 12 economies in the subregion covered in both the previous and current edition of the TTCI improved their competitiveness. Yet only four of them rose in the rankings, demonstrating that there is still a long way to go for the area to become genuinely competitive.

Nigeria (129th) accounts for nearly half of the subregion's T&T GDP and is also its largest economy. However, it ranks in the middle of the pack regarding competitiveness and has the worst safety and security ranking (139th) in entire Sub-Saharan Africa.

Cape Verde (global rank of 88th) is Western Africa's highest-ranking member on the global index and sixth-highest in sub-Saharan Africa. The country is more competitive than its sub-regional counterparts in all areas except the cultural (128th) and natural (136th) resources indicators.

Benin experienced the largest growth in the subregion, moving up four spots to 123rd. The country drastically reduced its visa requirements, where it has risen to seventh globally.

Côte d'Ivoire had the sharpest decline, dropping ten spots on the index to 119th, due primarily to deteriorating road and port infrastructure (67th–98th).

Chad (139th) ranks the lowest in the subregion due in part to the worst enabling conditions in the world and second to last performance in infrastructure.

Southern Africa's growth is primarily due to the performance of **Lesotho**, which moved up four places in 2019 to a global rank of 124th. The country experienced jumps in price competitiveness (57th to 10th) and international openness (129th to 107th), caused by the lowest ticket and airport charges in the world as well as reduced visa requirements (110th to 28th). Three of the five other countries in Southern Africa that were ranked in 2017 lost places on the TTCI.

Botswana experienced the subregion's largest decline, dropping seven places to rank 92nd globally due to a worsened enabling environment (83rd to 99th), infrastructure (89th to 99rd) and natural and cultural resources (70th to 67th).

Angola (134th) is the lowest ranking member of Southern Africa, ranking near the bottom on most pillars.

South Africa (61st) currently accounts for approximately 70% of Southern Africa's T&T GDP and is the subregion's highest scorer on the TTCI, with a particularly strong lead over the countries in the rest of the region in areas related to cultural resources and business travel (23rd).

Table 1.4 Constraints to tourism growth in Africa

	Constraints	Examples	Possible solution
Unpredictable & weak business environment	Political instability, high crime rates, restrictive visa restrictions, unsafe roads, inadequate water, poor sanitation, high cost of electricity, poor construction practices, insufficient infrastructure and lack of health facilities result in unpredictable business environments.	Even in developed destinations such as Kenya and The Gambia, roads are limited. In Cape Verde and Ghana, water and sanitation services are serious constraints. The price of electricity and fluctuations in supply in Senegal and Uganda increases the cost of doing business and going on holiday in these destinations.	Policy reforms, prioritisation of basic infrastructural improvements, streamlined immigration and visa processing are crucial for tourism. Increased regional integration and the growth of regional trading blocs provide opportunities for greater ease in trans-border activity. Create institutional frameworks and mechanisms that bring together governments and private entrepreneurs.
Institutional weaknesses	Tourism is a complex phenomenon. It requires coordination between multiple government agencies, private sector bodies, civil society organisations and community stakeholders.	Transportation, communications, finance, education, sanitation and immigration are just a few of the many areas where greater coordination is required. When tourism growth goes unmanaged, the natural, cultural, and social asset base on which tourism depends becomes vulnerable.	Support services for tourism such as planning, marketing, regulatory frameworks, and monitoring are required to develop a sustainable tourism sector. Inter-ministerial and public-private collaborations and needed to formulate appropriate policies and strategies for human resource development in tourism.
Inadequate access	Africa distance from generating international and intra-regional markets creates an acute need for higher quality and more competitive air access both to and within Africa. Access requires attention not only for the development of the T&T industry, but also for the efficient movement of people and goods for the proper functioning of market economies.	Air service within Africa is characterised by expensive, infrequent services and multi-stop itineraries. Average one-way fares in Africa are twice as expensive as those in Latin America and four times as expensive as domestic flights in the United States. The seasonal nature of tourism in some areas further exacerbates this problem.	Investment in air transport represents a valuable opportunity throughout much of Africa. Vital for the ease of movement within the country is the extensiveness and quality of the country's ground transport infrastructure. Investment in air and land based transportation and infrastructure are essential.

	<i>Constraints</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Possible solution</i>
Low level linkages	<p>Despite increasing evidence of the multi-sector benefits from tourism, the sector is often regarded as elitist and dominated by foreign firms.</p> <p>Constraints to tourism value-chain development in Africa include poor quality products, lack of tourism awareness, and a problematic business environment.</p>	<p>In many cases local products (e.g. horticulture, produce, crafts, entertainment, transportation) are not sufficiently developed or are not of high enough quality to supply the tourism industry.</p> <p>In many destinations, sectors such as manufacturing, mining and agriculture fail to fully consider tourism sector demand.</p> <p>Further constraints to effective value chain development are lack of business knowhow and the difficulty that many MSMEs have in accessing loans.</p>	<p>Improve the quality of products and the value chain linkages.</p> <p>Increase the capacity of those working both in the formal and informal sectors directly and indirectly linked to tourism to improve the pro-poor effects of tourism.</p> <p>Create mechanisms that encourage private entrepreneurs to improve the quality of their performance and actively engage with tourism.</p>
Price/Value mismatch	<p>T&T services can be expensive and not necessarily matched by adequate services.</p> <p>Air transport, utilities, and access to land and to finance are constrained by the high cost of doing business in Africa. The reasons for elevated prices are the high cost of airfares and utilities, the need for imported goods and services, and high import duties.</p> <p>There is a lack of differentiation between business and leisure tourism markets at times leading to a disappointing experience.</p>	<p>T&T prices can be 25–35% higher than tours in other parts of the world.</p> <p>Accommodation in star-rated hotels can be as or more expensive than any hotel of similar rating located in Europe or the United States.</p> <p>Star rating and service delivery often do not reflect international standards.</p> <p>Staff poaching by global hotel brands is often reported as a hindering factor to the improvement of the sector service delivery in MSMEs operations.</p>	<p>Enable the production of good locally to avoid importing them.</p> <p>Create institutional mechanisms that bring together governments and private entrepreneurs and initiatives incentivising investments and capacity building.</p> <p>Product diversification and service quality should address different market needs (business vs. leisure travellers) and international level of service providing a better quality-value experience.</p> <p>Restructure formal tourism and hospitality training to match market needs.</p>

Source: Adapted from Novelli (2015).

Conclusion

This *Handbook of Tourism in Africa* aims at advancing the existing, but yet limited, body of knowledge about tourism in Africa, including chapters that offer both practical and theoretical perspectives, authored primarily by a growing number of African scholars and practitioners.

For organisational purpose and ease of reading, this *Handbook* comprises six parts which follows the United Nation's geoscheme for Africa in terms of regional division – *Northern Africa*, *Western Africa*, *Middle Africa*, *Eastern Africa* and *Southern Africa*. This introduction section has discussed some of the continental issues and regional context of tourism development in Africa. Part I is focused on “Africa and Tourism” and covers continent-wide issues more broadly. Part II on “Tourism in North Africa” focuses on several aspects related to gender, cultural heritage preservations and current issues of tourism in that region. Part III on “Tourism in West Africa” deals with topics associated with the political economy of tourism, community-based tourism, backpacking and sustainable growth. Part IV on “Tourism in Middle Africa” offers perspectives and case studies from that region on community participation and stakeholder's engagement in tourism development. In Part V on “Tourism in Eastern Africa”, the chapters address issues related to conservation, cultural heritage and development. Finally, in Part VI on “Tourism in Southern Africa”, there are discussion on urban tourism and wildlife tourism and conservation which are pertinent to that region.

The diversity of topics and countries covered in this *Handbook's* 30 chapters and the 10 InFocus contributions (short practitioners' pieces) offers the readers a rare opportunity to understand the challenges and issues of tourism and development in Africa. Undoubtedly, there are many other topics, themes and countries that are not covered in this volume. However, what is here provides a useful set of key critical insights into the issues, challenges and trends that Africa and African tourism is facing. By drawing upon research emerging from collaborations between a growing number of African academics and practitioners based in the continent and in the African diaspora as well as international colleagues, this *Handbook* is interdisciplinary in nature and diverse in content. This makes it appropriate not only to undergraduate, master and research students but also to consultants, industry experts and policy-makers. In a nutshell, we believe, as editors, that this volume will provide a valuable addition to the current body of knowledge on tourism in Africa.

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