

TOURISM IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES - TRICK OR TREAT?

A REPORT FROM THE GAMBIA

Research Report No. 31

Tina Esh
Illith Rosenblum

TOURISM IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES - TRICK OR TREAT?
A REPORT FROM THE GAMBIA

- The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies -
Uppsala 1975

Tina Esh, B.A., The Swedish Medical Research Council.
Illith Rosenblum, B.A., Swedish Water and Air Pollution
Research Laboratory.

ISBN 91-7106-095-2

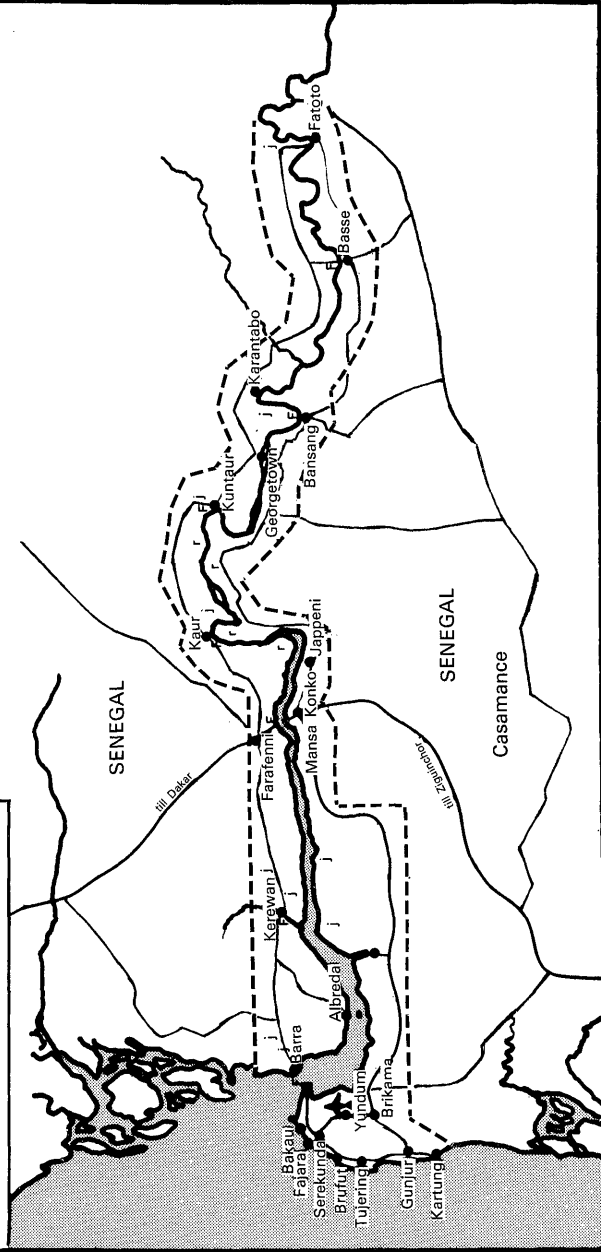
© Tina Esh, Illith Rosenblum and Nordiska afrikainstitutet
1975

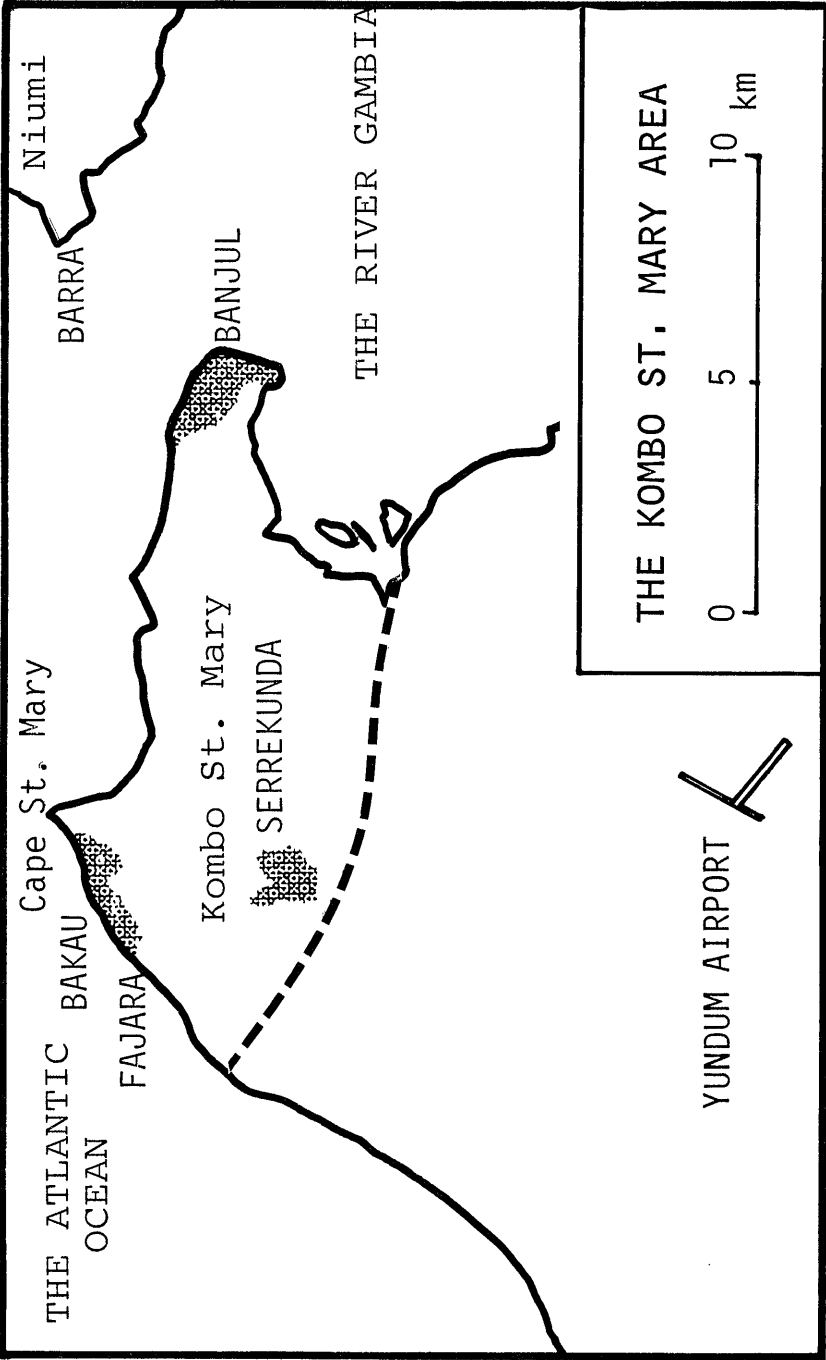
Printed in Sweden by
Uppsala Offset Center AB
Uppsala 1975

CONTENTS	Page
INTRODUCTION	9
THE GAMBIA	12
COLONIAL BACKGROUND	12
POPULATION	13
LANGUAGE	14
COMMUNITY	14
RESOURCES	14
THE TOURIST INDUSTRY	
BACKGROUND	16
THE TOURISTS	16
THE HOTELS	18
EMPLOYMENT THROUGH TOURIST INDUSTRY	19
FUTURE PLANS	20
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION	21
LABOR SURVEY	
INTRODUCTION	24
CHARTER-TOURIST HOTEL EMPLOYEES- CHARACTERISTICS	25
POSITION ON THE LABOR MARKET	28
WORKING CONDITIONS	31
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION	35
ATTITUDE SURVEY	
GAMBIAN CHARTER-TOURIST EMPLOYEES	41
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION	45
NEWS MEDIA	49
EXPATRIATES	55
CONCLUSIONS	58
NOTES	62
BIBLIOGRAPHY	63
APPENDICES	64

Gambia

- boundary
- main roads
- other roads
- i j ground-nuts
- r r rice
- F ferry





THE KOMBO ST. MARY AREA

0 5 10 km



YUNDUM AIRPORT

INTRODUCTION

The introduction of mass tourism in developing countries has more and more come to be considered as an alternative investment for purely commercial agencies, such as the tour operators, in the industrialized countries but also for such international organizations that are geared towards various forms of assistance.

The International Labour Organisation is acting as Executive Agency in education and training programs in the tourism sector. Largely as a result of ILO's initiative, a number of comprehensive education and training programs have been started in countries such as Cyprus, Iran, Lebanon, Singapore and Tunisia, largely financed with UNDP funds.

The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has in recent years financed a number of studies of historic monuments and sites and their potential tourism aspects, including plans for their restoration and preservation.

The United Nations and UNCTAD Secretariats, as well as the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), have produced valuable studies of worldwide tourism trends and tourism developments in individual member countries."¹

In addition, one of the projects of the World Bank includes a financing program for the years 1972-1976 which includes total investment and lending of approximately \$404 million for 44 tourism projects. This does not, however, include investments in infrastructure originated through the tourist industry."²

Hence, there seems to be a considerable interest in tourism on the part of the industrialized countries and in most cases it is probably hard for the developing countries in question to reject the efforts of introducing tourism as a means of revenue for foreign exchange, particularly when an organization such as the World Bank is acting in their behalf.

At the same time there is a substantial need for "getting away from it all" to a different environment on the part of the urbanite especially from the industrialized societies. In this latter world of strenuous working conditions, crowdedness, stress and polluted environment, to name a few of those factors city dwellers have to endure, there is a definite demand for places to escape to. Increased leisure time, incomes and the development of efficient transport systems such as large jet planes, are additional favorable factors for the expansion of world tourism. Charter tourism provides one answer to this need by offering low-cost package tours to exotic places.

By introducing charter tourism to developing countries in particular a whole new set of problems is also introduced on the economic, social and cultural levels.

The aim was to first identify the various aspects and factors involved in the problem complex and place them in the context of the Gambia. This entailed an attempt to get an insight, during a limited time period, into the country, its existing general needs and resources, society and culture as well as analyzing the nature of the 'tourist industry' and its impacts so far, emphasizing the local point of view. The authors hoped to be able to isolate relevant and acute issues for further research and to provide eventual practical recommendations.

The practical situation also ruled out any attempt to make a wider survey of the urbanized population of the Banjul - Kombo St. Mary area. Admittedly such a survey would have yielded results which would be applicable to that specific population as a whole and hence representative for almost 20% of the total population. (Banjul and the urban-like settlements of Bakau and Serrekunda have a total population of approximately 75 000 while the total population of the Gambia is 440 716.) This kind of study would also yield results elucidating how and to what extent the impact of tourism has affected the social, cultural and economic life on a wider basis. Such a study was, however, not possible

under the existing circumstances. Instead we undertook a survey of the employees in the newly introduced charter tourist hotels. During the time period January 14 - March 17, 1974, a sample population from the four charter tourist hotels was interviewed. The information obtained through the interviews included economic, social and cultural aspects. From March 18 until April 22 a provisional treatment of the material collected was carried out and important data which was lacking was supplemented.

The material presented herein thus represents information obtained through the above mentioned survey of some of the Gambians directly involved in the tourist industry, i.e. the employees at the charter tourist hotels; a review of the tourist industry and attitudes towards the same seen from a Gambian point of view.

It is hoped that the information contained herein will be of some use, first of all to our Gambian readers and friends, but also to researchers, planners and others interested and involved in the tourist industry.

This work was supported in part by grants from the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) and the Swedish Research Council for the Humanities (Statens humanistiska forskningsråd). Vingresor kindly assisted the authors with travel arrangements. We would like to thank the Gambian personnel at the charter tourist hotels for their kindness, helpfulness as well as their patience with us during the interviews. Remembered are also all those Gambians who befriended us and made our stay much more than just a research project. This study, would, furthermore, not have been made possible without the positive attitudes of the charter tourist hotel managers and their efforts to assist us in any way possible. Thanks are also extended to all other Gambians, including members of the Government, who helped us and put up with our endless questions as well as to the expatriates.

Stockholm in June, 1974

The authors

THE GAMBIA

The Gambia is located on the west coast of Africa and is surrounded by Senegal. The country lies 13°16' north of the equator and approximately 14-17° west of Greenwich. The area of the country is about 11 000 sq kilometers of which 20% consists of saline marshes. The Gambia is divided lengthwise by the River Gambia which is the most navigable river in West Africa allowing ships drawing 8 meters to reach Kaur and those drawing 4 meters to reach Georgetown.

The national road system is dependent on ferries for cross-river connections. There is an international airport at Yundum which is situated some 30 kilometers from Banjul.

Banjul is the capital with a population of 39 476.³ Close to Banjul are the urban-like settlements of Serrekunda and Bakau with 25 505 and 9 337 inhabitants respectively. The majority of the other settlements have a population of less than 2 000.⁴

The landscape consists mainly of savannahs except for mangrove swamps along the river banks. The Gambia has a tropical savannah climate with a rainy season from June-October. The dry season has occurrences of "harmattan" which are hot winds bringing desert sand. During this period the sky is also mostly covered with a light haze.

COLONIAL BACKGROUND

The Gambia was part of the empires of Ghana, Mali and Songhai respectively from the 8th until the 16th century. In 1455 the Portuguese king, Henry the Navigator, sent out the first expedition in search of the River Gambia and there were no difficulties in descrying the mouth of the Gambia from where the ships continued up river. Later on the Portuguese settled along the river banks for trading and missionary purposes and in the early 17th century there was a Portuguese settlement over 100 miles up the river at Gassan and another near Kaur. The hold of the Portuguese on the Gambia was never very strong

and the later European arrivals required little effort in replacing them. The English arrived in the beginning of the 17th century and James Island eventually became the British trading station, while the French had established themselves in Senegal. Their trading station was situated at Albreda across the river on the north bank. From this time and for more than 200 years onward France and England fought constant battles over who was to have the power in the Gambia.

In 1765 the Gambia and Senegal were joined into one British crown colony, Senegambia, after a treaty where the French were satisfied with their trading station at Albreda and the Island Gorée at Cape Verde. England showed no greater interest in this new colony and the French penetrated West Africa once more while the British were occupied with the North American War of Independence (1775-1783). Senegal went back to France as a result of the Versailles Peace Treaty while England kept the Gambia.⁵

During the last colonial period there was a 'council' administered by a governor as well as a 'legislative assembly' and the majority of the bodies' members were British and all were appointed by Englishmen. In 1947 a change was made allowing one member of the legislative assembly to be appointed by election. The Gambia experienced discontent and economic problems and statutes allowing for a larger number of Gambians in the Council and Assembly became inevitable. General election was established in 1962, autonomy in 1963 and the Gambia became independent in 1965.

POPULATION

The population of the Gambia is 440 716 according to the latest census carried out in April 1973. In addition there are 52 783 (11%) non-Gambians living in the country of which the majority, close to 50%, comes from Senegal. The Mandingo tribe is the largest, 42%, while the Wolof dominates in the Banjul - Kombo St. Mary area. There are close to 1 000 Lebanese living in the country who play a predominant role in the business life. Over 90% of the population belongs to the Muslim religion.

LANGUAGE

English is the official language and it is used as the basis for education. The two major tribal languages are Mandinka and Wolof of which the latter is the principal indigenous language in the urban areas.

COMMUNITY

The compound is the basic village unit and its head is traditionally the eldest in the generation lineage. The family system is of the extended type. One family usually lives together in the village compound while several families may share a compound in the urban areas. In the rural areas the family farms as a group and it is the head of the compound who distributes the work.

The village compounds combine into kabilos which are combinations of compounds sharing a group interest. Besides this compound kabilo-village hierarchy there exists a system of age groups, known as "kafo" in Mandinka, which may be organized within a kabilo or between kabilos. A kafo is a community group of a specific age group which shares communal work or undertakes a group task. Either men or women carry out communal tasks in kafo. This system is, however, receding with the increasing impact of paid labor.

RESOURCES

The Gambia is mainly an agricultural country and the national cash crop is ground-nuts which represents more than 90% of the exports. It is also the major source of Government revenue. Ground-nuts are planted in June and harvested in November.

Cotton has been grown in the Gambia for many years on a small scale. The Department of Agriculture has since 1965 been carrying out experimental work which has shown that the development of commercial cotton growing is technically feasible.

The average area cultivated to rice each year is believed to be in the region of 75 000 ac. Most of this is grown during the rainy season and projects have been undertaken by out-

side experts for irrigated rice developments including double cropping.

Other food crops include maize, millet and sorghum. There is also fruit and vegetable growing on a small scale.

The men are involved in the growing of cash crops while the women generally tend to the food crops and gardening.

Animals

There are presently some 270 000 cattle in the Gambia with an estimated net rate increase of more than 4% per annum. In addition there are more than 100 000 goats, 90 000 sheep, 2 500 pigs but very few horses or mules. Oxen are being used increasingly in agriculture while their replacement of tractors are eagerly awaited.

Mining

Mineral resources of industrial interest are negligible in the Gambia. The following should, however, be mentioned: Sand is now being extracted from various beaches and is used for concrete, roads and as guard paving.

Stone (ironstone/laterite) is used for road construction and in the building industry.

Ilmenite. Previous processing of this mineral was closed down due to economic reasons. A new technique has been found, however, and Iceland is now interested in its extraction.

Kaolin has been found near Basse. This clay could be used for tiles, sewer pipes and household utensils.

Fishing

Fish are plentiful along the Atlantic coast as well as in the rivers. This has not yet been developed into a meaningful industry. A Japanese and a Swiss company with Japanese economic backing were established in 1971 in Banjul.

THE TOURIST INDUSTRY

BACKGROUND

In the middle of the 1960's a Swede, active in the tourist industry, visited the Gambia in search of a new charter spot in addition to the Canary Islands. He found a country containing the basic factors which are the prerequisites for this kind of tourist clientele - miles and miles of unspoilt beaches lined with palm trees and a warm, sunny climate which guaranteed no rain during the European winter months.

Tourism began in the Gambia in 1965/66 when it was estimated that about 300 tourists visited the country. There existed, around this time, three hotels of which one was located in Banjul and two along the beach. All three were owned by local Lebanese. 528 tourists came in 1966/67 with the Swedish tour operator, Vingresor/Club 33, which was the sole tourist agent operating until 1971/72 when the Danish Spies and later Far Horizon and Wings of Great Britain began bringing tourists to the Gambia. Atlas Resor of Sweden started bringing tourists in the 1973/74 season.⁶

From 1968 and onward, cruise ships have been visiting the port of Banjul during the tourist season.

THE TOURISTS

The great majority of tourists arriving in the Gambia are charter tourists on 'package holiday tours' - "a holiday where the tourist is provided with a return flight by charter aircraft and hotel accommodations consisting of bed, breakfast and one more meal of the tourist's choice".⁷ The average length of stay is 14 days and the tourists are concentrated to the coastal area of the Kombo St. Mary including the capital, Banjul. The dominating age group is represented by tourists between 30-49 years old although there is a tendency for an increase among the younger age group, 20-29 years old.

Number of tourist arrivals since 1966/67

The table below shows the number of charter tourist arrivals since the 1966/67 season up till the present time.

Table 1. Charter tourist arrivals 1966/67 - 1973/74
Absolute numbers

Year	Number
1966/67	528
1967/68	796
1968/69	806
1969/70	1 207
1970/71	2 601
1971/72	8 031
1972/73 ¹	15 584
1973/74 ¹	20 000

Source: Tourist Statistics for the Gambia
1966/67 - 1972/73

1. Source: Estimate by Vingresor, personal communications

Nationality

The majority of the tourists are Swedish and the distribution by nationality is shown in per cent in Table 2 below. Figures for the seasons of 1966/67, 1967/68 and 1973/74 were not available.

Table 2. Charter tourist arrivals by year and nationality
Numbers in per cent

Nationality	Year				
	68/69	69/70	70/71	71/72	72/73
Swedish	87.0	72.7	78.2	75.0	68.8
Danish	6.6	8.0	7.6	15.1	18.5
Other Scandinavians	3.9	5.5	3.3	3.6	5.2
British	0.2	5.1	3.9	3.2	4.9
Others	2.1	8.8	7.0	3.0	2.5
	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Tourist Statistics for the Gambia 1966/67-1972/73

Tourist expenditures

A tourist staying for 14 days will on the average spend around 300 dalasis (Dl=£0.24; ~Sw.Cr.2.90) according to the survey carried out by the Gambian Central Statistics Division.⁸ Percentage distribution of expenditures showed that 31.1% of the money was spent at the hotels, 20.7% was spent on trips, 28.3% on souvenirs, 5.3% in night-clubs and 8.2% on taxis. It should, however, be kept in mind, that a person who is asked about the amount of money spent tends to overestimate this figure. This was also the opinion of the personnel at the Statistics Division although they had not made any attempt to adjust this figure in any way.

THE HOTELS

Out of the total of 14 hotels (including guest houses) in the Gambia, 9 are local (mainly Lebanese) enterprises with a bed capacity of 435 beds. Five hotels are, for the main part, foreign enterprises with a total bed capacity of 1440.

The Charter Tourist Hotels

The first Swedish owned hotel was built in 1970. This was the first of the four hotels included in this study which we have classified as charter tourist hotels (henceforth denoted as C.T. hotels). The second, partly Swedish owned hotel in this category, was completed in September 1971. The third hotel, which was financed by Vingresor in cooperation with the Gambian Government, was ready in March 1972, and the fourth hotel in our study had completed its construction for the 1973/74 tourist season. This latter hotel is owned by a Swedish individual.

The hotels lease the land for 31 years and as an incentive to tourism the Gambian Government offered foreign investors something called a five-year Development Certificate which includes tax exemptions for tourist hotels built under this plan for the above mentioned time period. The Certificate also allows the hotels to import building materials and non-consumable goods during the same length of time.

The development of the tourist industry in the Gambia has been very rapid and has become a major industry in the past three years. It should, however, be pointed out that it is only a seasonal industry since the charter tourist hotels close down at the end of April and do not re-open until the beginning of November. Most of the Gambian hotel employees are laid off during the off-season, i.e. during six months. The recruitment to the hotels is also quite low at the beginning of the tourist season and reaches a peak during December-March. When the reduction of tourist arrivals begins in April there is also a constant reduction of the hotel employees until the final seasonal closing.

EMPLOYMENT THROUGH THE TOURIST INDUSTRY

Out of the total population in the Gambia of about 205 000 persons are under 15 years of age. It was estimated in 1970 that 165 000 Gambians were employed. Even when allowing for an increase in employment during the past three years it is not unlikely that the present rate of unemployment is around 100 000.

The four C.T. hotels included in this study provided direct employment for around 750 people at the peak of the 1973/74 season, i.e. mid-January 1974. This figure must be put in relation to these hotels' total bed capacity of 1 396. From these figures an estimate can be made as to the number of people employed by the other hotels with a total bed capacity of 479.

Indirect job opportunities are provided through the tourist industry for taxi drivers, the producers and sellers of souvenirs and consumable goods such as bread, meat, vegetables and fish, etc., for which no statistical data was available. There is one form of trade which should also be mentioned in this context and that is batik work. This is a traditional handicraft which more or less was dormant until the tourists started to arrive. It is the women in particular who have renewed this activity and several 'batik industries' are now in existence. Quite a few people seem to be engaged in this kind of enterprise; the authors were,

however, unable to obtain actual figures as to the number of persons involved.

FUTURE PLANS

The Atlantic coast of the Gambia has been projected to accommodate a great increase of tourists in the future. A detailed plan has been outlined (1971-73) in collaboration with several national ministries, international agencies and consultants.

The tourist development project "represents a total and coordinated approach to the development of tourism in the Gambia. The adopted annual increase in the number of hotel beds is 500, reaching a total of 7 000 beds after 14 years. The project consists of the planning and development of infrastructure (access, utilities, sewage, electricity) for the resorts and for the urban areas of Kotu and Brufut, planned respectively for 25 000 inhabitants each".⁹

Tourism is thus planned to act as a generator in the national development. It is assumed that for each additional 1 000 "tourist beds", community facilities and infra-structure would need to be provided for 5 000 people who would find new jobs in the tourist industry.

A partial aim is to direct the hotel development southwards from the capital, Banjul, towards the rural villages of Kotu and Brufut and to create urban settlements for the labor force with access to transport, water, sewage and solid waste disposal, electricity, health and education, and thus integrate the development in urban and rural areas to minimize regional disparities.

Recreational facilities and shopping centers are planned for the extended tourist area. Hence, the development of the tourist area is planned to take place simultaneously with the development of a 'labor support area'.

Investment costs for construction, contingency fees and charges are estimated to be about \$32.5 million, and the foreign exchange component of the whole project is estimated

to be 77%.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

A number of specific features inherent in the tourist industry became apparent through this brief survey.

It was shown that the expanding industry is based almost exclusively on 'charter tourists'. This category of tourists can be said to show two specific traits; a) The tourist purchases a 'package-tour' which includes flight, and accommodations consisting of bed, breakfast and one additional meal, which is paid for in the home country with corresponding currency. The expenditure by the tourist in the country visited is thus mainly limited to superfluous disbursements for such things as souvenirs and taxi fares (28.3%; 8.2% respectively) which go directly to the local entrepreneurs or for tours and extras at the hotels (31.1%; 20.7% respectively) in which case the money ends up with the foreign entrepreneurs. b) The consumer's demand is essentially for warm, sunny weather and wide stretches of beaches. Vingresor has in a brief summary¹⁰ given account of the most important factors contributing to the expansion of tourism in the Gambia. They are:

1. Pleasant climate during the European winter
2. Nearest country from Europe that can guarantee 100% sunny climate
3. Extensive sandy beaches
4. A stable government; a friendly, tourist-minded people
5. Communication is easy since English is the official language
6. Interesting excursions, a 'touch of Africa'.

The above mentioned tourist demands are, however, indifferent with regard to a specific resort since the charter tourist goals offered by the travel agencies are direct products of these agencies' advertisement campaigns, where "favorable factors" and the price of the package tour are of major importance and the choice of country per se is secondary.

One factor which may add to the exogenous risks inherent in the tourist industry is the dependency upon tourist arrivals from one country in particular as is the case in the Gambia

where the great majority of the tourists are Swedes. Tourist demand has a high income elasticity^{11, 12} and is, like cash crops, sensitive to fluctuations in economic conditions on uncontrollable and distant markets. Economic decline or measures of currency restrictions in Sweden will severely affect the total number of tourists travelling to the Gambia.

Apart from the strong reliance of the industry on the economic conditions in a single foreign country, it also causes a dependency on the political sphere. Tourism shows a much stronger sensitivity to public opinion than traditional export commodities. Tourists will stop travelling to a country once news is spread that the "stable government" is no longer stable and the "friendly, tourist-minded people" have changed their attitudes. In cases of "unsuitable" political development the news media, as well as the travel agencies, may produce such propaganda that will guide the tourists to other places, thus possessing means of latent political pressure. Traditional export commodities are, under such circumstances, less sensitive since people will continue to purchase them regardless of the political situation in the exporting country.

A tendency towards oligopolistic control and vertical integration of the tourist industry can also be seen in the case of the Gambia.¹³ One company has interests in the travel agency, the airline, hotels, tour operators and is to some extent, responsible for the import of supplies to its hotels. The same company has similar interests vested in other popular tourist countries and is in a strong position to manipulate effectively demand and supply.

The newly built C.T. hotels are constructed and furnished with imported materials where the interiors reflect Swedish ambience. "A touch of Africa" has been added to the decor in proportions which allow the tourist to become aware that he is in an exotic country but the immediate environment is, after all familiar in design and purpose. The standard is generally on a level with hotels in Sweden and the tourist has no need to fear unexpected confrontations with unfamiliar surroundings, food or appliances as long as he stays within the hotel.

Employment generated by the tourist industry in the hotels and local transport is relatively capital intensive when considering investment costs,¹⁴ and is moreover seasonal and limited to 7-8 months of the year at the most.

The need to supply European tourists with the commodities and standards they demand causes a high import ratio. The import quota is furthermore increased due to the lack of local production; hence, everything from food stuffs to building materials and know-how has to be imported. This import of goods, which the tourist is accustomed to from home, (ranging from type and make of furniture, to meals cooked with Swedish ingredients and garniture) is one of the prerequisites for a successful charter tourism. Direct demonstration effects caused by contacts with the tourists have also been shown to increase the demand of the local population for foreign commodities.

Extensive plans exist for the future development of the tourist industry in the Gambia. This is also the case for the Eastern Caribbean where, for example, Carlozzi makes the following, seemingly general comments: "A kind of tourism mystique exists among government planners. Formulae are produced to show, for example, the relationship between hotel rooms and jobs, tourist man-days and average annual per capita incomes, and jet aircraft traffic and gross domestic product."¹⁵ Yet calculated employment effects per new bed, do not account for the actual room occupancy; the 1973-74 season has already showed a lower increase of tourist arrivals than was expected. The majority of tourists are from urban areas with corresponding tastes and values. Hence, the general effect of tourism tends to resemble an urbanization process where a concentration of people and their waste products becomes limited to a densely populated (tourist) area. Demands for service and comfort often put severe pressure on existing systems for sewage disposal, water supply, garbage collection, etc. The need for transport increases the number of imported cars to be used as taxis and car rentals, thus generating air pollution; a planned yachting and water sport facility area will eventually lead to a certain amount of water pollution;

densely populated tourist areas with appertenent beaches tend to degenerate rapidly at a certain point with regard to cleanliness and the "miles and miles of unspoilt beaches" eventually cease to exist. Hence, the original factors which attracted the tourists will be transformed into deterring factors for future tourism.

In the Gambia, as well as in the Caribbean, the decision about hotel location, exploitation of water and other resources, etc., "reside in the continental tourist market ... and the market will assure its own immediate supply response simply because it contains the capital to create the supply facilities".¹⁶

LABOUR SURVEY

INTRODUCTION

The data presented in this chapter represents material collected from the middle of January to the middle of March 1974, from employees in four "charter tourist hotels" (C.T. hotels) in the Gambia. C.T. hotels are here defined as hotels

1. which close down during the rain period, i.e., June - October;
2. where the great majority of guests come on package tours and;
3. which are owned totally or partly by foreign investors.

Swedish interests are represented in all four hotels while the Gambian Government has a 1/3 interest in one of the hotels. All four C.T. hotels are located in the Kombo St. Mary area.

The present hotel bed capacity in the Gambia is around 1 800 beds. Out of the four C.T. hotels the distribution is as follows:

Hotel A	540	beds
" B	400	"
" C	236	"
" D	220	"
Total	1 396	beds

The hotels have been classified according to size rather than period of existence. The largest hotel employed around 300 people in January 1974. 20 of these were expatriates, while the smallest one employed a total of 117 persons. The total number of C.T. hotel employees at this time was 810 of which 62 were expatriates.

Swedes are in great majority among the expatriate staff while the rest are Europeans. All expatriates are senior staff.

For the purpose of this study a simple, random sample of 253 persons was taken of the Gambian staff, i.e. 748 persons. Included in the category 'Gambian staff' are a few other Africans.¹⁷ A basic omission of cases amounted to 13% of the total sample thus leaving 221 Gambians to be interviewed.

The underlying, primary material comprises a questionnaire (Appendix II) as well as an interview schedule (Appendix III) with information obtained from 15 expatriate department heads and four hotel managers.

The basic data is founded on the assumption that the information received was truthful; a check was made whenever possible.

THE C.T. HOTEL EMPLOYEES - CHARACTERISTICS

The information contained under this heading pertains to the following items: Tribe, Sex, Age, Civil Status and Education of the 221 individuals included in the samples.

Tribe. The largest tribe in the Gambia is the Mandingo (42%) followed by the Fula (18%) and the Wollof (16%). When categorizing the C.T. hotel employees according to tribe it was found that the distribution in per cent more or less followed that of the nation as a whole. One deviation could be discerned, however, with regard to the Wollof and Fula groups when compared to the distribution of tribes among the total Gambian population. The Wollofs are more numerous among the C.T. hotel employees than the Fulas. This may be explained by the fact that the Wollofs are concentrated to the coastal areas (where the C.T. hotels are located) while the Fulas, who are

herdsmen to a large extent, mainly inhabit the eastern part of the country. The Serahulis are also slightly underrepresented, also probably due to their residence in the eastern regions.

At this early stage of the development of the tourist industry preference by any particular tribe to work in this industry cannot be discerned.

Sex. Out of the 221 Gambian employees the great majority, 81%, were males while only 19% were females.

Age. The majority, 69%, of the Gambian employees are found in the age groups 20-24/25-29. (Female employees show a tendency to be somewhat younger. The majority is still within the 20-24 group but the inclination here is towards the previous age group, i.e. 15-19.)

Civil Status. Out of the total 221 employees the majority, 55%, were single while 44% were married (two, i.e., 1%, were divorced). Among the women the distribution was 50-50.

Education. The Gambian national school system is based on the British system. There are, however, no institutions for higher education (e.g. universities) in the country.

A majority, 53%, of the Gambian employees had a high school education, 48% had an education above Form 3 in the Secondary School. The level of education among the female employees showed a similar distribution. Among 37% employees who were classified under 'No formal education', seven individuals (3%) attended Arabic school and the majority of these persons had Koran schooling between 7-16 years.

It should moreover be pointed out that, to our knowledge, the only formal schools available up to 1945 were four mission schools (two Protestant and two Catholic) and one boarding school, Armitage School, Georgetown. Unfortunately, we have no information as to the development of the school system after this year. There are some indications, however, that a national school system was in progress by the early 1950's.

It is plausible that knowledge gained about the development of the school system during the time period 1945-1950 would make a correlation between age groups and formal education meaningful.

In addition to a formal education there exist possibilities for those interested in the tourist industry to attend a hotel training course. This project is mainly financed by UNDP (United Nations Development Program) although it receives contributions from the Gambian Government as well.

The project started in December 1971 and its aim is "to help the Gambian Government in its promotion of tourism and to train Gambians in the hotel business."¹⁸ UNDP and ILO (International Labor Organization) jointly adopted the program and, after a recommendation from an ILO consultant, it was determined that 600 trainees/year were needed in order to fulfil the hotels' requirement. The first course commenced in the beginning of 1972. Until November 1, 1972, the course offered on-the-job training for 385 students. The curriculum was divided into: Front Office (i.e. reception), Restaurant/Bar and Housekeeping (i.e. rooms).

By the off-season, 1973, the course had moved into the classroom. There were 53 students during July 1 - September 30, 1973. Up to the present time there have been two more courses, October 23 - December 21, 1973 and January 2 - March, 1974. The number of students were 37 and 48, respectively. The increase of students during the latter period is explained by the fact that a new curriculum was added, namely Kitchen. It is estimated that 10% of the students drop out before the completion of each course. So far there exists no certificate as to completed course since it has not yet been decided whether this kind of education falls under the Ministry of Tourism or the Ministry of Education. (See Appendix IV for a list of subjects taught).

25 (11%) persons out of our sample (221) had at one time or another attended this course.

POSITION ON THE LABOR MARKET

In this section the following questions are dealt with: Recruitment of the labor force, number of seasons in the hotel industry, occupation during the 1972 and 1973 off-seasons and future aspirations. The first item concerns geographical recruitment as well as recruitment from a potential labor force, i.e. the unemployed and/or from other sectors of the economy.

Place of Birth. Out of the total sample 15 individuals (7%) were born outside the Gambia (mainly in Guinea and Casamance/Senegal). In three cases the place of birth was not identified. 107 persons were born outside the Kombo St. Mary area while 96 were born and still live in this area.

Out of the 107 employees who had moved to the Kombo St. Mary area 39 (36%) moved before 1969 which excludes the finding of work in the tourist industry as a motive for migration. 68 (64%) individuals did, however, migrate to this area after 1969. 34 persons out of the 63 who moved after 1969 came from villages within the Kombo-Niumi districts, i.e. from a distance of 40 km at the most from the location of the C.T. hotels. It may be considered reasonable that in this case the new industry attracts employees from a surrounding area of approximately 40 km. Hence it is doubtful whether the change of residence which may occur as a result of employment in this industry can be classified as migration. The majority moved alone while the rest moved with their families (in this case the nuclear family).

There are, in our opinion, 34 cases which can be classified as actual migration with regard to the tourist industry. This is defined as migration which took place after 1969 from areas other than the Kombo and Niumi districts. This de facto migration amounts to only 17% out of the total 203 Gambian born employees investigated. It may be of interest to note that out of these 34 persons who migrated 18 individuals migrated alone, leaving their families behind while 16 persons lived with their nuclear family in the Kombo St. Mary area.

It can be concluded that recruitment of Gambian born employees to the C.T. hotels was concentrated to a large extent (83% of 203) to individuals who already lived in the Kombo St. Mary area or, to a lesser extent, to persons who came from villages located within a distance not exceeding 40 km from the hotel sites.

Previous Occupation. In this part it was of interest to find out from which sectors of the economy the present C.T. hotel employees had been drawn.

The C.T. hotels have so far primarily recruited their personnel from those who had previous experience of hotel/bar and domestic work (20%). 24 persons had had no previous remunerated work while another 24 had attended school prior to their employment in one of the C.T. hotels. The rest, 58%, had some kind of previous occupation. 25 people out of this latter group had been engaged in traditional activities such as farming and petty trading. The large majority, however, i.e. 90 persons, came from more established sectors of the economy. Included herein are: the government sector, commerce, craft, labor, clerical and others which include singular and odd jobs such as driver, sailor and cinema operator.

It is necessary to emphasize that information with regard to duration and permanence of employment was not available. With this reservation in mind, however, it is still doubtful whether the tourist industry now and/or in the future alleviates unemployment. On the contrary it is possible that the tourist industry attracts the young and relatively well educated people (see Appendix, Table VI and VIII) who, from the outset, have a fair chance on the labor market when compared to older (25 + years of age), unemployed persons with little or no education. (This will probably not apply, however, if the tourist industry undergoes an explosive expansion within the next 5-10 years thus generating pressure on the labor market.)

Number of Seasons Employed in the Hotel Industry

Out of the four C.T. hotels only one hotel (C) has been in

operation for 4 seasons. Hotel A has been operating for 3 seasons, hotel B for 2 seasons and hotel D for 1 season. When making inquiry as to how many seasons the C.T. hotel employees had worked in the hotel industry as of January 1974, it was found that the majority had been employed for 1-3 seasons with an emphasis on the second season. This seems reasonable when taking into consideration that the first C.T. hotel opened up only four years ago and that all four hotels had a lower bed capacity in the initial stage.

Occupation during off-season. As has been mentioned before the C.T. hotels close down during the rain period. This lasts from June to October and the great majority of the C.T. hotel employees are laid off during this period.

Information obtained from the workers as to their activities during the last two off-seasons is lacking due to the following reasons: 1) The majority (55%) of the 221 employees interviewed in mid-January 1974, had not started their employment in one of the C.T. hotels until the fall of 1972 or later, hence the question regarding their off-season occupation during the summer months of that same year did not apply. Out of the same sample many employees (24%) had begun their employment as late as the fall of 1973 and were thus omitted since the question was not applicable. 2) Here, as elsewhere in the text, the data is limited due to a lack of time perspective which prevents an elaborate analysis of the information obtained. 3) It has not been possible to examine the extent and permanence of the activities during the off-season at this phase of the investigation. 4) Circumstances prevented the authors from examining the social and economic conditions of the employees during their lay-off period.

Information with regard to the 1973 off-seasonal activities is somewhat more complete, the item 'non applicable' amounted here to 24%.

Many (26% of 167 available informants) of the laid-off workers had found no other work during the five-month period in question. 40 individuals (24%) continued their employment

in the hotel (this category mainly included guards, gardeners and persons working in the repair and maintenance department) and 36 persons (22%) were engaged in farming.

Future aspirations. In this context it should be pointed out that the available alternatives are rather limited. 59% out of the 221 persons interviewed wished to return to one of the C.T. hotels when they open up for the 1974/75 season, if possible. Another 36% were interested in doing something different while 5% did not know. The majority of the people in this latter group gave the answer "I cannot say" in accordance with their religious belief which indicates that Allah decides what happens to people and hence man is unable to say anything about his future.

WORKING CONDITIONS

The intention was to examine the informant's employment and working conditions with regard to extent of employment, hours of work, wages where also the question of support has been taken into account, as well as other factors influencing the basic wages such as income tax, overtime, sick pay and payment during off-season. Criteria for employment and dismissal have also been recorded.

Extent of employment. The 1973/74 tourist season in the Gambia started around September-October 1973, with around 700 Gambian employees (total for all four C.T. hotels). The tourist season generally reaches a peak during the months November-March during which time the number of hotel employees increases to some extent. (The number of Gambian employees amounted to 748 in mid-January 1974.) From around the middle of March the C.T. hotels start reducing their staff continually until the hotels close down for the season. The closing of the 1973/74 season occurred at the end of April. Out of the 748 Gambian employees approximately 640 individuals were employed for the whole season, i.e. 7-8 months. The rest were employed for about 4-5 months.

The length of the seasons fluctuates according to evaluations

made of the seasonal tourist intensity. During the on-going season the number of tourist arrivals causes inter-seasonal fluctuation resulting in the reduction of hotel employees already mentioned.

Hours of work. Generally the working hours are 48 hrs/week, 6 days/week. In two of the hotels (A and C) the employees in the Housekeeping Department worked 56 hrs/week, 7 days/week. In hotel B the majority of the employees in the Housekeeping Department worked 4 hrs/day, 7 days/week.

Wages. Average wages¹⁹ paid in the four C.T. hotels were calculated to amount to D. 66.16²⁰ per month at a daily rate of D. 2.54 for the majority of the workers. Supervisors received an average salary of D. 103.71 per month. For each department there is generally one supervisor and each hotel consists of eight departments on the whole.

Income tax in the Gambia is paid on incomes exceeding D. 1 000 per year. Since the employment in the C.T. hotels is seasonal (7-8 months at the most) and the average salary is relatively low there are very few of the Gambian staff who earn enough by their work in the C.T. hotels to be eligible for income tax deduction.

Dependents. The number of persons directly dependent upon the hotel employees' wages can be seen from the following table. The figures are, however, underestimates since the number of people sharing a compound has been divided among the people employed who live in the same compound. For the great majority of the people interviewed applies that they were living with the nuclear and/or extended family. The family members to be provided for have been divided among those who were employed regardless if the informant said that he supported more individuals than we have allowed for. Occasional financial aid, although quite common, has moreover been excluded. Hence the figures in Table 3 represent a general idea rather than an accurate picture of each employee's financial obligations.

Table 3. Distribution of C.T. hotel employees' financial responsibilities according to number of dependents mid-January 1974. Numbers in per cent

Base:	219								
Number of dependents:	0	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-18	19-21	Total
Per cent:	3	29	30	26	8	2	-	1	100%

Note: Percentage do not add up to 100 due to rounding. Information was not available for 2 persons out of the 221 interviewed.

As can be seen from the table the great majority (97%) of the C.T. hotel employees have financial obligations to a varying number of people. The concentration is here on 4-6 dependents. When comparing this information to the average salary of D. 66.16 it should be kept in mind that the figures for number of dependents are underestimates.

Overtime, off-season payment and sick pay. Since only the wage rates have been obtained the actual earning of each employee will vary as a result of overtime work, tips when applicable, and, to some extent, employment and/or payment during the off-season for some of the employees. Days lost due to illness also influence the actual earning.

The information gained with regard to overtime work was so varied that it was not possible to draw any conclusion from it except that overtime work occurs regularly in all four C.T. hotels and then mainly in the Kitchen and Restaurant Departments.

Approximately 130 persons continue their employment in the hotels during the off-season. Those are mainly guards, gardeners and repair and maintenance workers. In one of the hotels around 20 individuals receive D. 20/month during the period mentioned.

With regard to the question of sick pay there was again multifarious information. The following regulations could, however, be ascertained:

- Hotel A - Full pay provided a doctor's certificate could be shown. Two department heads in this hotel said, however, that no sick pay was given.
- Hotel B - Full pay provided a doctor's certificate could be shown.
- Hotel C - Full pay provided a doctor's certificate could be shown but only to persons who had been employed by the hotel for at least 6 months and who received monthly salary.
- Hotel D - Full pay provided a doctor's certificate could be shown but only if the hotel was liable.

Extent of reemployment. According to the response to the question of extent of reemployment for the coming season (1974/75) the figures for all four C.T. hotels coincided more or less. Three of the hotels would like to rehire 85% of the existing staff while one hotel would like to rehire 75%. The tendency is thus for the hotels to keep experienced personnel.

Employment criteria. Employment criteria for the C.T. hotels were rather arbitrary. The following guidelines seemed to be among those most frequently applied: A two-week trial period, references, previous experience, recurring interviews, recommendation from acquaintances (preferably in high positions within the Government), type of person and looks.

Reasons for dismissal. The reason for the dismissal of personnel were likewise varied. All hotels have, however, at one time or another during the season dismissed staff due to excessive personnel. Individuals are also fired when theft is suspected and/or proven. The consumption of alcoholic beverages during working hours, tardiness, unsuitability for the job, carelessness and disobedience are other reasons for dismissal. Dismissal has also occurred when the Gambian personnel has had justified claims. Eleven out of fourteen employees in a department in one of the hotels were immediately fired after they had gone on a sit-strike as a result of the management's refusal to grant a wage increase which had been prescribed by the Gambian Government about 3 months prior to this incident. The other three hotels had by this time (mid-March) put this wage increase into effect.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The characteristics of the C.T. hotel employees have shown that the tribal composite largely corresponds to the residential pattern in the country as well as the tribal distribution of the population. At this early stage of the development of the tourist industry a preference by any particular tribe to work in this industry cannot be discerned. Neither did we find any significant correlation between job categories and tribes.

The great majority of the employees were young (between 20-29 years of age), single males. The female employees tended to be somewhat younger. Out of the very small number (19%, N=221) of female employees it was found that the Mandingos (12%) were particularly underrepresented while the Wollof (29%) were over-represented. Several factors may contribute to this situation and it would be of interest to look into the traditional role of the Wollof women in the economic life for example. Job opportunities for women in the C.T. hotels are limited by each department head's arbitrary preference as to male or female employees. The largest hotel in our study used for examples only male employees in the Rooms while the second in size only employed women in that department. If the industry expands and employs more women it may be possible to draw conclusions as to the correlation between employment and female tribal composite.

The C.T. hotel employees were shown to have a relatively high education. In his study about the tourist industry in Guatemala Schawinski²¹ has similarly found that hotel employees had reached a higher level of education especially when compared to employees in the processing industry.

It has been maintained that the development of a service sector and particularly a tourist industry would be suitable for a so-called underdeveloped country where education is a scarce factor.²² Our results as well as those of Schawinski show, however, that the personnel recruited to the tourist hotels represents the better educated who, from the outset, are in a more favorable position on the labor market and

whose resources could be more productively utilized in other sectors. This does in no way imply that work in a tourist hotel is facile. On the contrary it demands great dexterity, especially in jobs which put the hotel employee in direct contact with the tourists. It takes skill to achieve a balance between the role as a friendly, tourist-minded individual and the role of a professional who knows to keep his distance especially since this behavior is dictated by foreign cultural norms. In this context it could also be mentioned that the behavior of the Scandinavian tourist differs quite distinctly from that of the British colonialists who were the previous Europeans to whom the Gambian people were exposed.

When investigating the place of birth of the C.T. hotel employees we found that no significant migration had taken place. Migration is here defined as change of residence after 1969 and from areas other than the Kombo and Niimi districts. The recruitment of Gambian born employees to the C.T. hotels was concentrated to a large extent (83% of 203) to individuals who already lived in the Kombo St. Mary area or to a lesser extent, to persons who came from villages located within a distance not exceeding 40 km from the hotel sites.

Although the data obtained for the item 'Previous Occupation' is incomplete in so far as no examination was made of extent of previous employment and whether the job was permanent or temporary it is still possible to discern a tendency in the material on hand. When excluding those who had attended school prior to their C.T. hotel employment only 11% of the 221 persons interviewed had had no previous remunerated work. Hence it can be said that the great majority had to some extent had experience from the labor market. The question remains whether the people interviewed regard themselves as an integrated part of the labor market or whether they see it as an on-the fringe participation.

Since the work in the C.T. hotels basically is seasonal it was also of interest to inquire into the employees' off-

seasonal occupations. This information is far from comprehensive due to a number of reasons. When investigating the number of seasons worked in the hotel industry the data showed that the majority of the people interviewed only had worked two seasons or less. The results obtained for off-seasonal occupation during 1972 and 1973 do not cover length or extent of employment and, furthermore, the omission is so extensive that only a very superficial interpretation can be made. With regard to the 1973 off-seasonal occupations it can be established that 43 persons out of a total of 167 were unemployed, 40 persons remained at the C.T. hotels as maintenance staff while 36 persons were engaged in farming.

The question of off-seasonal employment is a central issue in the case of the tourist industry in the Gambia. A lack of time perspective prevented us from elucidating the problem from its various angles as well as arriving to an understanding of its impact. It is not known how the individuals solve the problem of off-seasonal unemployment and neither do we know the direct and indirect influences on the people and society. It is, however, recommendable that the problem gets solved through a conscious policy rather than awaiting the appropriate time perspective for further studies.

Coming back to the question whether the C.T. hotel employees regard themselves as an integrated part of the labor market it is possible to assert that the great majority would at least like to consider themselves as part of the labor force. Only 13 persons out of the 221 expressed a desire to return to traditional occupations. 38 of the people interviewed would like to go abroad, mainly for studies. It can be assumed that this latter group for the greater part has been directly influenced by tourism.

It is probable that the figure (131) shown for those who wanted to continue to work in the C.T. hotels is slanted since the employees were anxious to secure employment for the following season and since very few job alternatives are available. This is, however, of secondary importance since the prime objective of the persons interviewed to

have work, preferably all-year around.

With regard to extent of employment for the tourist season in question (1973/74) it was found that approximately 640 individuals out of the 748 Gambian C.T. hotel employees were employed for the whole season, i.e. around seven months, while the rest were employed for about four months. These figures do not include the rate of turn-over, however. The extent of employment is also influenced by seasonal and inter-seasonal fluctuations. There is a direct correlation between number of tourist arrivals and number of people employed at the C.T. hotels hence the employees are totally at the mercy of the whims of tourism.

Generally it can be said that the average hours of work for full-time employees are 48 hrs/week, 6 days/week.

When trying to attain figures for wages there were certain problems involved in obtaining unitary information for each category and hotel. It was, however, calculated that the average salary per month was D. 66.16 which was in accordance with informal information obtained by the authors (not including supervisors or overtime). As comparison it could be mentioned that the price of a bag of rice, lasting one month for an average family of six, was around D. 30 in February 1974. During the tourist season in the Gambia it was also claimed that prices for food stuff and transport increased quite considerably thus reducing the effect of wages earned during this period.²³

A provisional estimate was made with regard to the C.T. hotel employees' financial responsibilities according to number of dependents. It was calculated that 30% out of a total of 219 persons supported between 4-6 persons, 29% had between 1-3 dependents and 26% had financial obligations to 7-9 persons (Table 3). It should, however, be noted that the figures shown in Table 3 are underestimates since the number of people sharing a compound has been divided among the total number of people employed, at the time of the interview, who live in the same compound. For the great majority of the

informants applied that they were living with the nuclear and/or extended family. The family members to be provided for have been divided among those who were employed regardless of whether the informant said that he supported more individuals than we have allowed for.

Although the method of participant observation was outside the actual scope of the study on hand it is inevitably a form of registering phenomena inherent in being present and participating in local community life. In this way it was observed that economic obligations existed towards the coinhabitants of the compound and this is also supported by our findings obtained from the questionnaire. It was also observed that financial aid was given to conjugal and extended family members living outside the compound. Economic aid was furthermore distributed to friends and as charity to poor people in a rather regular manner. It appeared moreover that this distribution of funds served a social function which we unfortunately were unable to investigate the nature of at this time and hence only gave origin to a number of questions.

In this context the question arises as to other financial-social obligations. According to Lowe's observations²⁴ from rural areas in the Gambia the people strive to satisfy many variables involving obligations to kinship, family and friendship, ethnic affiliation, religious ties, caste/status preoccupation and the production of sufficient wealth to achieve desired social ends. It is plausible that economic obligations towards some of the above mentioned categories also apply to the people living in urbanized areas, i.e. the areas around the C.T. hotels.

Our observations also showed a tendency for a (traditional) flow of people from the rural areas to the urbanized areas during the dry period (i.e. the low season in agriculture) and vice versa which also was in accordance with the observations of Lowe.²⁵ This took the form of visits of longer or shorter duration with relatives. In this context it was also noted that there was a tendency for a flow of money during the tourist season from family members employed at the C.T.

hotels to the rural areas and the question arises whether this is a form of reciprocity where the village people assist the urban family members during the rainy season when the latter are out of jobs (in the case of most of the C.T. hotel employees at least). It would furthermore be of interest to find out what form of social relations are maintained through this eventual reciprocity. Another question is if and to what extent a change of status has occurred of the previous member (particularly young, male) of a village community, now employed in the urbanized area, vis-à-vis members of the same age group occupied in farming.

With regard to the financial aid to friends previously mentioned it was observed that this economic distribution was according to tribal affiliation. In this context it would be of interest to find out whether this aid is a form of 'insurance' (or saving) whereby the donor is able to receive financial aid from the recipient at a later date when the former is out of money. Hence it could also in this case be a matter of reciprocity.

In reference to the information obtained for the items Overtime, Off-season payment and sick-pay; Extent of re-employment; Employment criteria and; Reasons for dismissal, it can be established that statutory regulations either are non-existent or often are applied arbitrarily by the employers. The haphazard labor practice by the employers is facilitated by the fact that the hotel workers are unorganized, i.e. not members of labor unions, hence there is nobody to look after their interests vis-à-vis the employer. A few regulations could be discerned, however, although they will have to stand unspecified since we did not have time to obtain verification from the appropriate sources. There is apparently a quota law which only allows the C.T. hotels (in this case) to employ a limited number of expatriates. Provided the C.T. hotels used the optimum figure during the time of this study it would seem, judging from our employment figures (Appendix I, Table II), that this would amount to approximately 10% expatriates of the total staff/hotel.

There are also laws specifying minimum wages as well as maximum working hours/week. We were, however, unable to find any laws regulating the other items mentioned above such as reimbursement for overtime, sick-leave, off-season, etc. Neither did there seem to be any laws protecting the employee's security of job: people were fired without prior notice, vacation/vacation pay is unheard of and, at the end of the season most employees (except for those laid off previously) receive a slip of paper stating that their services no longer are requested by the hotel, thank you and goodbye. Then begins the long, uncertain waiting period, lasting all through the rainy season until the hotels open their doors again. Since it is the policy of the C.T. hotels not to let their employees know whether they will be reemployed the following season or not, all they can do is sit and wait - for 4-5 months.

ATTITUDE SURVEY

An attitude survey was carried out among three different groups. The first group was represented by the 221 C.T. hotel employees interviewed where the attitude survey was part of the questionnaire used (Appendix I). The next group came from the newsmedia plus one Government member and took the form of loosely structured interviews while the third group included expatriate staff. In the last case we used definite questions as guidelines for the interviews. In addition we have included extracts from some of the newsheets in order to achieve additional knowledge about the local feelings towards the newly introduced tourist industry.

GAMBIAN C.T. HOTEL EMPLOYEES

The last part of the questionnaire used in our study dealt with each informant's views on tourism and the question asked was "what do you think are the positive respectively negative effects of tourism, if any". It was hoped that the answers would give some inclination as to how these Gambians who are directly exposed to the tourist industry experience it.

Positive effects

"When the tourist season starts one goes to work and gets money". The answer most commonly given was that the tourist industry provides more jobs.

"Many people work in the hotels that did not have work before".

"People are able to support their families".

"Traders, taxi drivers, women selling batik, they all benefit from tourism".

67 people out of the 221 persons interviewed considered the increased job opportunity to be a positive effect of the tourist industry. A few people thought that the industry provided jobs for school leavers especially. Some pointed out that the consequences of this new job opportunity were that the whole family would be better provided for.

"Tourism helps to develop the country."

"It is a great help to the Gambia, it increases the national income".

"New roads are built".

"It brings more money to the country".

"The Government benefits through taxes".

Approximately 12% of the Gambian C.T. hotel employees interviewed were of the opinion that the tourist industry in various ways helps the country. Some people answered that the Government receives airport tax which it uses for national development. It was also said that the increasing economic progress could be seen in new roads, electricity, water supply etc., which also benefit surrounding villages (i.e. not only the immediate tourist hotel area).

"The tourists are friendly and kind."

"The Gambia is getting known all over the world."

"One hears news by talking to tourists."

"Exchanging ideas."

"People come to hear more about Africa, some boys are taken abroad to further their education."

Other positive effects voiced were: Tourism unites different people and leads to exchange of ideas as well as friendship. The tourists aid Gambian youngsters by paying school fees or by bringing boys and girls to their country for education or job. Several of the persons interviewed appreciated the gifts and pocket money received from the tourists.

But there were also people who thought that positive effects of tourism were non-existent.

Negative effects

The negative effects of tourism were, just as the positive, conceived on two levels; the national and the personal, although many of the effects tourism has upon the individual will eventually concern society as a whole.

"School children following tourists instead of going to school"

One problem of which no tourist who visits the Gambia can be unaware of is the hordes of young boys of school age who wait outside the C.T. hotels with the hope of acting as informal guide and friend to the foreign visitor. Sometimes these youngsters' parents do not have enough money to pay school fees but, according to our informants, it was not uncommon for school boys to be truant just in order to pick up whatever the tourists are willing to pay for their services. One very serious consequence is that all these children never get an education. Another is that when the tourists are absent during the off-season so is the money.

"Tourism spoils the culture of the country"

Several of the people interviewed spoke of corruption of morals and beliefs. It was said that the tourists have brought prostitution, petty crimes (such as stealing) and the use of alcoholic beverages in their trail. Since most Gambians are Muslims it is understandable that several of our informants remarked on the consumption of alcohol as well as the tourists' way of dressing. Muslim women are not allowed to show their body from the waist down and suddenly the tourists came and were seen with next-to-nothing on; women wearing shorts and

bikini on village tours; sun worshippers on the beaches, having shed all their clothing.

Some people saw this on-going influence of a foreign culture in its various aspects as a threat to the Gambian culture and tradition. Ideas, attitudes and modes of dress change and people are asking themselves for what, to which end.

"It is bad that hotels close down in off-season, there is lack of work and money then"

Some people complained bitterly over being forced to 'sit down' during the rain season and the difficulties of starting the work after the break, besides the financial difficulties during their lay off period.

Some employees were grieved over the tourists' attitudes towards them.

"Even if you work hard and try to do your best to please some tourists are rude and reject your efforts"

There were complaints over low wages and 'too many responsibilities in work', and lack of security of employment. Difficulties to adjust to new demands placed on the employees due to inter-departmental changes of the expatriate (department heads) staff. Incidents occurred where Gambian personnel was accused of theft when it was the tourists who were careless with their property.

Some of the people interviewed were aware of the fact that the C.T. hotels are owned by foreigners and they were of the opinion that the hotel owners keep the profit and bring it back to their own country, instead of reinvesting it in the Gambia. The Gambian Government's share of the incomes derived from tourism was seen as minimal and hence the country could not be said to be benefiting from this new industry. On the contrary it was seen as a form of economic exploitation of the people who live in the Kombo St. Mary area since several persons claimed that prices on food, transport, etc, really increase during the tourist season.

The plans to build hotels all along the coast were also a cause for concern because the land would then be occupied by the tourist industry which would limit the possibility of building up other kinds of industries.

It was obvious that the Gambians interviewed felt great concern for their country and as one young man said when asked about the effects of tourism "I'm really worried about the Gambia's future; this whole thing (the tourist industry) is ruining the country".

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The most commonly given answer among the C.T. hotel employees as to the positive effects of tourism was that it provides more jobs. This must be put in relation to the existing reality which is that there are very few job opportunities in the Gambia. Almost any job will under these circumstances be accepted and appreciated since it provides the means to support oneself and family. This allows for a labor market where the employer has total control and where the employees can be regarded as a suspendable commodity since there are always others to take their place.

There is no doubt, however, that the industry does provide more jobs, the question is only to whom and to what extent. Will it alleviate unemployment or will it provide job alternatives for the young and relatively well educated people as our findings, at this very early stage of the industry's development, tend to show.

With regard to the opinion that "it helps to develop the country" it may be more advantageous for the Gambian Government to invest in new roads for example rather than in agriculture at this early stage of the tourist industry since the physical effects are more apparent. The effects of investments in agriculture are long-term and not immediately visible while the construction of a new road is there for all to see. According to one of the expatriate agricultural experts we spoke to there is already a tendency for the Gambian Government to

show precedence towards the development of infrastructure in the tourist intensive areas rather than investing in the agricultural sector.

On the whole it can be said that the people interviewed had a positive attitude towards the tourists as individuals and ideally the Gambians would like to exchange ideas with the tourists. They are not only interested in learning about the Scandinavian countries but are very eager that the tourists should learn about life in the Gambia. In reality, however, there is generally a very superficial interest on the side of the tourist since his contacts with the local population more takes the form of *curiosa* - a visit to a Gambian compound becomes 'something to write home about'. His personal contacts are on another level and mostly have their roots in his home country. This, as well as the following is also referred to by Schawinski and others.²⁶ The tourists represent a group with rotating membership and partly due to the shortness of their stay as well as the purpose of the visit, i.e. relaxation in the sun by the sea, the tourists neither have the time nor the interest to establish closer contacts and to gain further insight into the Gambian way of life.

Another aspect is that although the Gambians now think of the tourists as friendly and helpful while the tourists think more or less the same of the Gambians these attitudes may very well change as has happened in for example Mexico and Puerto Rico between the local population and the North American tourists. The reason for this is mass tourism and especially in the form of one dominating national group.

It seemed to be a rather wide-spread idea among the people we came in contact with that there was a possibility of going to Scandinavia with some tourist who would then provide education or a job in that country. How often this happens is not known and neither are the intentions of the tourists known when it does occur. The ensuing consequences of bringing a Gambian youngster to Sweden for example or giving gifts and money on location must also be taken into consideration. Even though the tourist may have the best of intentions the effects may

be more harmful than advantageous to the Gambian involved due to the ignorance of his benefactor with regard to Gambian life and society as well as the possibility of the individual to benefit from knowledge in a strange society.

The problem of children of school age who wait out-side the local gates with the intention of accompanying tourists instead of going to school is a negative aspect of tourism which was of great concern to our informants. Not all of these children have the possibility of going to school since they lack school fees but it was the opinion of the people interviewed that many children play truant from school in order to act as guides to the tourists for which they get paid. A serious effect of this is of course that their education is neglected which will lead to grave consequences for their and their country's future. Another aspect is the economic one whereby the child gets reimbursed by an amount which perhaps exceeds what his father earns for several days or even a week of hard work. The effect this has on the child and his family relations may be disastrous. One cannot help but speculate over the tourists' thoughtlessness in this case. Surely they would not accept the services of school children in their own country at a time when they know the children should be in school.

The ignorance and/or indifference of the majority of the tourists also cause the local population to find their behaviour offensive. It is not only a matter of being half-dressed in the streets and public places, such as local restaurants, or the usage of alcohol with the ensuing behaviour that is seen as offensive but rather the general conduct of the tourists. There is, for example, a whole ceremony around greeting one another in the Gambia which is totally alien to Europeans. Even when asking directions of a stranger it is natural to first of all regard the person as an individual and exchange greetings, including inquiries as to one another's health, family etc. If this traditional way of greeting a person is ignored before asking a question for example one may well receive the question in return "What am I, a dog perhaps?" There is probably a fear among the elders

in particular that the Gambian youngsters will pick up this indifference the Europeans show other people in their way of not greeting people, for example, thus resulting in a breakdown of respect between the older and younger generation.

This ignorance and indifference of the Europeans towards local customs, norms, values, etc. also become apparent when it concerns religion. If the tourists informed themselves about the Gambia and of the fact that it is a Muslim country and how certain habits of the tourists may be seen as offensive by the local population and if the tourists would show some respect with this knowledge in mind many of the problems which are of great concern to the Gambians could be alleviated. The tourists can certainly get their quota of sun-tan from time spent on the beach and there is no need to walk around town in shorts or bathing suits. To prohibit the consumption of alcohol in bars and restaurants is hardly realistic but for the tourists to offer alcoholic drinks to their newly found, local friends is unnecessary and unjust. To instigate and encourage prostitution by offering gifts and money to a people whose possibilities of making a decent livelihood is limited to say the least is such a horrendous act of conduct that it is more appropriate to speak of cruelty and exploitation than ignorance and indifference. The tragic and serious consequences this commerce with human beings lead to is well known and documented from such places as Havana under the Batista regime, San Juan in Puerto Rico and Hong Kong, to name a few places.

The petty thefts which sometimes occur are often due to the tourists' carelessness or opportunities of unreasonable temptation. Very hard pressure is put upon a person not to steal something easily accessible and of apparently minor value to the owner who lives in luxury without seemingly working for his money especially when the "prospective" thief works hard without ever being able to purchase the object in question.

The following two sections which include an attitude survey among persons from the newsmedia and one Government member as well as excerpts from some of the news sheets have been

left without a summary and discussion since most of the issues included have been commented on elsewhere in this paper.

NEWSMEDIA

It was also considered to be of interest to hear what other Gambians had to say about the tourist industry and the following is an account of what people from the newsmedia had to say as well as one member of the Government.

The newmedia in the Gambia consists of a number of stencilled news sheets of 4-6 pages each where the news are strictly local and two radio stations, Radio Gambia and Radio Syd. The latter station is owned by a Swedish woman who also owns one of the C.T. hotels. Radio Gambia broadcasts local news and music programs, mainly the kind where listeners write to the station in order to convey greetings to family and friends over the air while at the same time requesting a specific record to be played, Radio Syd broadcasts commercials mixed with music, local news, sport results from Sweden in Swedish, tips for the tourists in Swedish and Swedish popular music. International news may be heard once per day on Radio Gambia via BBC.

Newsmedia is in this report represented by the news sheets while the Government member came from the Ministry of Tourism. The interviews were conducted in an informal manner and many aspects mentioned would have been valuable to take up for further discussion but, unfortunately, this was not possible due to the time limit of the authors. The following is a summary of these conversations. Various opinions were revealed with regard to the tourist industry in context of some social and economic aspects.

The importance of providing more job opportunities and new means of income was generally recognized. The Gambian Government welcomed tourism six years ago and keeps encouraging its development since it provides work - directly at the hotels and indirectly for those engaged in sewing, batik work, the selling of souvenirs, etc. It also provides an incentive for

those engaged in horticulture for example. These new job opportunities in the urbanized areas are hoped to absorb some of the migrants from the rural areas. The Government would, however, like to restrain migration of young, agricultural workers by improving this sector and offering wages which are on par with those in the service sector in order to prevent an overflow of applicants to the tourist industry. Another solution would be to spread tourism to the provinces where motels and guest houses could be constructed. This would in turn bring water and electricity to those parts as well as job opportunities.

The Government's liberal policy with regard to the concessions given to the hotels gave rise to contradictory feelings. On the one hand it provides an incentive to tourism investments and on the other it raised the fear that it reduces revenues which could be gained through import taxes for example. The question also came up as to what will happen at the end of the five-year period which is the extent of the so-called Development Certificate. Will the hotel then change owner, when it is time to start paying import duties, so that a new five-year Certificate comes into effect?

The direct negative aspects of tourism were recognized as economic as well as moral. It was claimed that tourism is a form of superexploitation since hotels, travel agencies and tour operators are owned by foreigners and the only money which stays in the country is the money the tourists spend on souvenirs. Tourist demands lead to inflation and prices on staple foods are rising. The profit gained from the tourist industry is invested elsewhere; import of building materials and food stuffs affected the local producers.

There is not enough of certain foods for the local population during the tourist season since the hotels are supplied first of all. Due to the economic position of the hotels as well as the question of supply and demand there is an increase in prices. There are also transport difficulties for the local population since the existing taxi fleet mainly is at the disposal of the tourists. Also the cost for transport increases unreasonably during the tourist season.

The morals of the tourist are regarded as offensive with regard to their way of dressing (or, rather not dressing), their alcohol consumption, their attitudes and behaviour with regard to sex, etc. The youths copy the behaviour of the tourists which leads to serious conflicts at home with their elders which in time will create social problems. Prostitution, moral deterioration, easy money, alcohol problems are among the problems mentioned.

It can be said that the need for additional efforts to develop the country was advocated generally. There is a strong awareness of the Gambia as an agricultural country and much more should be invested in this sector. It was suggested that since the foreign investors claim to have a serious interest in the development of the Gambia they should contribute tractors which are urgently needed. Instead of importing as much as possible it was suggested that they invest in local, light industry whenever possible so that some of the goods needed could be produced nationally. Horticulture is another area where investments should be made on a local level. A more organized aid towards education is also desirable instead of the present practise of the tourists to give a few dalasis to some pupils for school fees which is neither here nor there.

The Press

Some of the topics which were discussed by the press with regard to tourism in the country included debates concerning the actual government revenues from tourism, and the concessions given by the Government to the industry; scarcity of food stuffs, especially during the tourist season; increased prices and specifically the increase in taxi fares; and the future of tourism in the Gambia.

With reference to a debate in a session of the Parliament, The Nation of January 29 '72, considered the question concerning the benefits the Gambians derive from tourism as "appropriate when we think of the increasing number of tourists coming into the country yearly. And the answer is that only a few benefits are gained since the income of the government from tourism is small."

A series of articles on the issue of tourism and African development appeared in The Nation and in the September 23 '72, issue the paper described the type of concessions demanded by the foreign investors:

- a) That private capital gets sole right to operate the whole tourist business in a given African country for a specific period, say five years.
- b) That they (the foreign investors) be allowed to build and own hotels necessary for the accomodation of tourists. That the commodities necessary for the construction of such hotels which must be imported into the country be allowed in duty free.
- c) That private capital be allowed to import the food stuffs and drinks which the tourists are used to, also duty free.
- d) That in case of suspicious activities on the part of the indigenous population close to or within the hotel and tourist areas the Government must be prepared to put at the disposal of private capital's management the forces of law and order.
- e) That private capital be allowed to ship out profits made freely.
- f) That no nationalization measures may be taken without warning and if such measures should be taken then fair compensation must be paid (private capital deciding what fair compensation is).

It is noted that in Tanzania Scandinavian tourism did not develop as planned because the Tanzanian Government refused to admit all the above concessions.

In January 23, 1974, The Worker criticised the five-year tax free concession which is granted to foreign investors. According to the paper, this concession enables the foreign investors "especially in the hotel industry to accumulate enormous profits that they can pack up at any time after without paying a butut as tax in the Gambia." Moreover the paper claimed that the hotels use this five-year Development Unit Grant "as pretext to expand deep into open commerce. They import their own alcoholic drinks, fruits, soft drinks, etc. without paying income tax and custom duty, instead of obtaining these things from local commercialists." This concession in the country without any known office and without known staff."

"For hotels and foreign businessmen to expand into open commerce without paying taxes supresses local Gambian businessmen and enterprises that pay taxes". "The position of the Gambian middleman is made impossible since the commodities are bought by the Europeans directly and are freed from customs duty and income tax unlike the Gambian businessmen who find themselves competing with Europeans who thus can offer lower prices." Another example is the hotel shops where the goods are ordered "directly from the suppliers instead of placing orders with Gambian businessmen."

The five-year tax free concession should, according to The Worker "either be stopped or continue to be granted to foreign investors with strict conditions and rules, or be granted to Gambian businessmen as well."

Extract from the President of the Republic of the Gambia, Sir Dawda Jawara's speach in the House of Representatives on the 18th of January 1972, as quoted in The Nation eleven days later: "With the rapid expansion of the tourist industry and the attendant demand for food stuffs, plans will be worked out to ensure that adequate and sufficient food supplies are available to meet the demand from the tourists and local consumers....". Scarcity situations for the local consumers arise however: "...as expected, the scarcity of meat for the average Gambian consumer has reared its ugly head during this tourist season - a period which opens up opportunity for ruthless exploiters." (The Nation, Dec. 29, '73). "...today tourism is given priority to select and purchase meat and the Gambians are expected to take what is available." (The Nation, Jan. 26 '74).

The increase in transport fares has been taken up several times by the papers. The Nation, Jan. 29 '72 - "...the activities of drivers since the arrival of tourists seem to show their determination to increase the fares. It is the experience of passengers to suffer these days from the exploitation of eager people. Standing by the taxi parks, it is quite clear that the drivers are determined to ignore the law by charging more than they should ... they (most of the

taxi drivers) would prefer to stand by the hotels for almost four hours to be hired by tourists rather than going about their normal routine...".

The Nation, Dec. 29 '73 - "...With other essentials like chickens, eggs, fish, the price is raised. In transport, in spite of the new tariffs, information so far received, is that drivers increase fares that are not in accordance with the law."

Sir Dawda reviews Government activities - The Nation (Jan. 26 '74): "Great strides have continued to be made in the promotion of tourism, with consequent benefits to our economy during the year that has just ended.....the construction of two other hotels with a combined capacity of over 1 000 beds are being planned. F. Hotel has been extended by additional 80 beds. Improvements have been made on the C. Hotel, S. and R. Hotels. The impact of the tourist industry in the provinces has continued to grow. The Tourism Liaison Board has recently approved applications for motels at Mansakonko and Basse and a camp at Ballingho."

According to The Worker tourism in the Gambia is on the decline (Feb. 21 '74): "Now, tourism so strenuously amplified by Government, is declining. Airlines are strictly economizing fuel, and so tourist package flights to the Gambia have dwindled greatly. This means less tourists this season, therefore less hotel business. Already some hotels have reduced their staff by some 50% and promise to reduce further or even close down since it is useless running empty hotels. And that is not all, the problem is a multifarious one. The socio-economic system of this country is such that if one sector is hit, the reaction becomes contagious and gradually engulfs all other sectors. This is because all things are interdependent in the Gambia." The Gambia Onward (March 8 '74): "Exports and tourism prospects are not so good as they were ...tourism revenues are bound to be adversely affected as fuel shortages reduce the number of ships calling in at Banjul...".

EXPATRIATES

Since the opinions of the tourists were outside the scope of this work it was at least considered as an item of interest to get some of the expatriates' views on the tourist industry in general. Hence the following questions were asked of 19 persons (14 Swedes, the rest other Europeans) - four were the managers for the C.T. hotels and the rest were department heads from each hotel.

- 1) How many years totally have you worked in the tourist industry (including herein are hotel, travelbureau, restaurant, tourist guide)?
- 2) Previous jobs since 1964?
- 3) Attitude to the future of tourism in the Gambia?
- 4) Concept of how tourism influences the economy, culture, etc. of the Gambia.
- 5) Concept of cooperation between expatriate staff - Gambian staff in the C.T. hotels.
- 6) Concept of the Gambia, its people and culture.

Fourteen of the expatriates interviewed had previous experience from the tourist industry while five persons worked within this field for the first time which was during the 1973/74 tourist season in the Gambia. Eleven of the informants had not previously worked in the Gambia hence this was their first season in that country. The same number of people had worked more than two years in the tourist industry. The rest of the persons interviewed came from occupational categories varying from lumberer to typist.

The distribution of married and single people, respectively, was about 50-50 while the large majority was in the age group 25-35 years old.

When asked about the future of tourism in the Gambia it was interesting to note that all expatriates interviewed at the oldest C.T. hotel had only negative opinions. The prerequisites for this type of tourism were recognized, such as the favorable climate and the unspoilt beaches, but not one of these informants believed in any future for this industry in the country mainly due to how they experienced the behavior and attitudes of the Gambians. In this hotel, where there

have been several conflicts between local and expatriate staff, the expatriates interviewed claimed that the Gambian staff were lazy, lied and stole articles from the hotel as well as from the guests. There was also alleged racism where the Gambians were supposed to dislike white people intensively. At the same time it was stated that the hotel business would not function without as many Europeans as possible in the supervisory positions. One person even claimed that white people had to be present in order to influence the Gambians with "high moral thinking".

The expatriates at the last built hotel were somewhat more positive and believed in a slow but relatively steady development provided that the Gambian Government keeps its tourism mindedness. But critical voices were also directed towards the Government tourism policy. In spite of the excellent existing natural conditions for a great expansion of the tourist industry it was considered that the Government's policy is directed towards "making a fast buck" instead of making long-term economically benefitting planning. The prices are now considered too high and since most goods from food and beverages to tools are imported by the C.T. hotels and are liable to custom duties it was suggested that a free-port would be a good thing. Concern was also voiced over various Government restrictions and quota laws allowing for example only a certain number of expatriates to work in each hotel. Another prerequisite for expansion is that development of systems for water supply, roads, sewage, transport, etc. are kept in pace with the planning and building of more C.T. hotels. To sum up, none of the expatriates interviewed seemed to believe in a flourishing development of the Gambian tourist industry without reserve.

This last point also generally ties in with these informants' idea as to how tourism influences the Gambian economy. On the whole tourism was considered to be economically benefitting to a very limited number of the local population. A small group of Government members were mentioned as the main profiteers while the hotel employees and a few other groups directly or indirectly gained such 'benefits' through tourism as jobs, thus being able to send more children to school, improving their compounds, and the number of cars and motorbikes

were said to have increased during the past couple of years. None of the informants believed, however, that the tourist industry in any way affected the Gambians who lived outside the immediate tourist area.

With regard to questions 4-6 it must be said that the expatriates interviewed in general had very vague ideas as to a foreign culture, the role and effect of tourism as a new industry in a developing country, working relations and conditions among expatriates and Gambians, Gambian traditions and way of life. The informants' general concept (there were one or two exceptions) of culture, tradition and life style was strongly biased towards the Western European ideals and these aspects of the Gambian society were either considered as non-existent, inferior or totally incompatible to European concepts. The role and consequences of tourism (such as school truancy, alcohol, "taking advantage of the tourists", dreams of going to Scandinavia, "friends", theft, etc.) were often seen as the Gambia's problem rather than as being brought on by external forces. The following are some opinions recorded during these interviews:

"The Gambians should be educated about other countries (i.e. Scandinavia) so they understand our way of life."

"The development is going too fast for the Gambians."

"It did not take them long to learn how to exploit the tourists."

It was also considered, on the whole, that it was advantageous for the Gambians to learn a trade, i.e. hotel work such as waiting on tables, cleaning rooms, tending the lawns and flower beds, etc. although somebody said that it would seem more profitable for the country if foreigners would cooperate with the Gambian people and invest in agriculture by building irrigation systems, by introducing new crops, etc. and a few of the expatriates interviewed did criticize the behavior of the tourists while at the same time expressing concern over the disappearing Gambian culture and traditional way of life.

In addition we spoke to the Swedish Consul in the Gambia about the future of tourism. He is also the Director of one of the

C.T. hotels as well as of one of the agencies which arrange tours and hence in a position to view the development of tourism in the Gambia.

It was his opinion that the previous rapid expansion of tourism in the Gambia has come to its peak and that it has reached a point of stabilization thus making the planned project²⁷ of 500 new beds/year totally unrealistic. Increased fuel prices, the relatively high prices in the Gambia, lack of entertainment and other activities were mentioned as restraining factors on the tourist flow. The group of potential charter tourists in Sweden towards which the advertisement campaigns originally were directed now represents a more or less saturated market and a new group of potential customers must be found. This new target group will be represented by younger people (i.e. younger than the now dominating age group of 30-49 years old) in Sweden provided recreational and entertainment facilities are developed accordingly. At the same time there is a possibility, according to this informant, that Germany and Great Britain will provide new markets to replace the declining flow of Scandinavians in the future.

CONCLUSIONS

It has been shown that the tourist industry in the Gambia is based almost exclusively on charter tourism with the present domination of one nationality group. Other aspects discerned were: the domination of foreign interests; the dependency on and sensitivity to economic fluctuations in tourist-generating markets outside the country; the capital intensive character of the industry and the high import ratio and; the ascertained seasonality.

Tourism is today concentrated to the urbanized areas and so are the proceeds as well as the physical consequences, thus increasing the disparities between rural and urbanized regions.

The direct employment generated through tourism was of relatively high educated, young people from the urbanized areas who, to some extent, had in fact been previously employed.

Agriculture is the dominating economic sector in the Gambia and the lack of diversification of the economy was probably one of the reasons for the positive attitudes towards this new industry. This lack of diversification will, however, also enforce the negative exogenous influences inherent in the tourist industry enforcing the country's position of dependency.

Tourism is thus an industry which claims the scarce resources of the country. Foreign, private investments in tourism will not take place unless guarantees and liberal concessions are granted by the national government; land resources are allocated to an industry which only is in operation for seven months; the scarce group of relatively well educated people is absorbed; scarce resources are used to build the necessary infrastructure which almost exclusively serves the tourist areas. Demands are also made on an already strained administration to deal with many superfluous problems such as inflow of foreign entrepreneurs, each one bringing his own wild scheme; the running of a Ministry of Tourism, when another kind of ministry may be needed instead, geared to handling issues more pertinent to the Gambian population; "law-and-order" enforcement in connection with keeping the local population out of sights of the tourists on the public (!) beaches rather than utilizing the efforts involved herein more productively, etc.

The economic effects of introducing a luxury industry to a non-industrialized, agricultural country have their counterparts in the social and cultural sphere as well. Apart from causing an unjust and demoralizing comparison between local standards of living and the affluency of the tourist permits, it has also affected many of those we spoke to among the local population. Concern was shown towards the increasing prostitution; disregard for local customs stemming from attempts to "imitate the tourists"; young boys leaving school in order to be of 'assistance' to the tourists, with the ensuing serious consequences - the boys get no education and the country loses a potential force of educated people. Other justified worries were the severe increase of alcohol consump-

tion which, to start off with, is prohibited on religious grounds; the offensive behavior of indifferent and uninformed aliens. Undue conflicts and pressures are put upon the local population through the introduction of tourism since they on the one hand observe and are concerned about the negative social effects, while on the other hand they are worried that tourism will cease since this would mean the loss of a long awaited job opportunity.

One aspect which is a direct and immediate consequence of tourism is how the villagers are affected who are exposed to hordes of tourists, arriving in a bus to 'look at the natives'. In this case practically the whole village is mobilized to entertain the tourists while being pulled away from their normal routines. According to our information the goals for such 'village feasts' are changed regularly in order to keep the "freshness and authenticity of native life" intact for each new arrival of tourists. The impact of these excursions and all that it entails is enough for a study in itself.

It should also be of interest to look into the renewed and expanded handicraft of batik work and see how this effects the role of the women. At the same time there exists a project, which is being developed further, whereby the women grow horticultural products on a commercial basis and these two enterprises could be tied to other areas of female occupations in order to study the role of the women in the social and economic life.

The effects of the further exploitation along the coast which is being planned for the expansion of the tourist industry give rise to additional research. This concerns the fishing villages in particular.

Despite many factors acting towards an increase in world tourism there are several deterrents which may prevent a further, extensive expansion of this industry such as increased fuel prices and the general economic conditions of the western, industrialized countries. With regard to the Gambia a lower than expected increase of tourist arrivals was already noticed during the 1973/74 season.

Tourism is, however, a fact in the Gambia. In order to reduce some of the negative aspects of tourism it would be advisable to inform the tourists more thoroughly about the country, its society and culture in an attempt to mitigate some of the effects produced by 'offensive behavior' on the part of the tourists. It would also be more fair towards the Gambians if they got objective and balanced information about the tourists and their country of origin, put in its proper perspective.

But most important for the country as a whole would be to maintain tourism on a small, functioning level which eventually should become integrated into a wider sphere of economic activities, hence acting as an effective, although minor, sector of an integrated economy. In reality this entails investments into other sectors of the economy as well as the development of new ones. A better utilization of now existing resources is hence called for.

Resources should, to a greater extent, be allocated to the agricultural sector rather than to the expansion of tourism; local, light industry could be developed to satisfy local demands. To sum up, a process is necessary whereby existing resources are fully utilized and whereby existing and future sectors are integrated within the country in order to reach the highest national control possible over these resources and efforts. The production results will in this way serve the people of the Gambia to a greater extent rather than foreign profiteers.

NOTES

1. World Bank Operations, p. 394.
2. World Bank Operations, p. 394.
3. Population Census 1973.
4. Ibid.
5. Gray, J.M., A History of the Gambia.
6. Tourist Statistics for the Gambia 1966/67-1972/73.
7. Ibid.
8. Tourist Statistics for the Gambia 1966/67-1972/73.
9. Bafuloto Development Project.
10. Ennit, T., personal communications.
11. Schawinski, R., p. 217.
12. Carlozzi, C.A., p. 863.
13. Schawinski, R., p. 216.
14. Ibid., p. 117.
15. Carlozzi, C.A., p. 864.
16. Ibid., p. 866.
17. Other Africans are included due to their limited number.
18. Mr. Taaleb, Personal communications.
19. Average wages were calculated on different information for all C.T. hotels. See Methods for a description and Appendix V for a detailed table.
20. D.l=£0.24; ~ Sw.Cr. 2.90.
21. Schawinski, R., p. 126.
22. Ibid., p. 118.
23. The Nation, January 29, 1972 and December 29, 1973.
24. Personal communications.
25. Personal communications.
26. Schawinski, R., pp. 236-240.
27. Bafuloto Development Project.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- CARLOZZI, C.A., "An Ecological Overview of Caribbean Development Programs", in The Careless Technology-Ecology and International Development, ed. M.T. Farvar and J.P. Milton, National History Press, New York, 1972.
- DASMANN, R.F., MILTON, J.P. and FREEMAN, P.H., Ecological Principles for Economic Development, John Wiley & Sons Ltd., London 1973.
- GRAY, J.M., A History of the Gambia, University Press, Cambridge, 1940.
- MOSER, C.A., Survey Methods in Social Investigation, William Heinemann Ltd., London, 1958.
- PARTEN, M., Survey, Polls and Samples: Practical Procedures, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1950.
- REEVE, H.F., The Gambia, Its History, Negro Universities, New York, 1969 (reprinted).
- THEOLIN, S., Om turism i u-länder. Seminarieövning, Utrikesdepartementet, April 1973. Unpublished.
- SCHAWINSKI, R., Die socio-ökonomischen Faktoren des Fremdenverkehrs in Entwicklungsländern: Der Fall Guatemala, (Doctorial thesis), Paul Haupt, Bern, 1973.
- WORLD Bank Operations, Sectoral Programs and Policies, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1972.

SOURCES

- Bafuloto Development Project, Government of the Gambia 1973.
- Central Statistics Division, Tourist Statistics for the Gambia 1966/67-1972/73, President's Office, Banjul, July 1973.
- Central Statistics Division, Population Census, President's Office, Banjul, 1973.
- Division of Tourism, Hotel Directory, Schedule of Air Services and Cruise Ships and Other Useful Information, President's Office, Banjul.
- Gambian Newsheet: The Gambia Onward, The Nation, The Worker.

PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

- ENNIT, T., Swedish Consul to the Gambia; Director for Vingresor's enterprises in the Gambia.
- GIBRIL, M.A., Central Statistics Division, President's Office, Banjul.
- LOWE, G., Land Resources Division Project Office, Cape St. Mary, the Gambia.
- TAALEB, Head of ILO/UNDP Hotel Training Course.

APPENDIX I

TABLES I-XI: MATERIAL FROM QUESTIONNAIRE - C.T. HOTEL EMPLOYEES

Table I Gambian population by tribe. Numbers in per cent.

Tribe	%
Mandinka	42
Fula	18
Wollof	16
Jola	10
Serahuli	9
Serere	2
Aku	1
Mandjago	1
Bambara	0
Other Gambians ¹	1
Total	100

1. No tribe available

Source: Population Census, April 1973. Personal communications.

Table II Number of employees in the four C.T. hotels (mid-January 1974) by hotel, Gambians and expatriates. Absolute numbers.

	Gambians	Expatriates	Total
Hotel A	314	20	334
Hotel B	216	20	236
Hotel C	111	12	123
Hotel D	107	10	117
Total	748	62	810

Table III Sample size and basic omission of sample cases of Gambian employees by hotel. Absolute numbers.

	Sample size	Omission
Hotel A	110	17
Hotel B	82	9
Hotel C	31	5
Hotel D	30	1
Total	253	32

Of the total sample of 253 Gambian C.T. hotel employees a basic omission of cases amounted to 13% due to the following reasons: 24 (9%) employees out of the total sample left the hotels during the interviewing period (January 20-March 1, 1974); 2 employees were absent due to long-lasting illness; 2 employees were non-responsive and; 4 employees were impossible to locate.

Table IV Gambian employees in the four C.T. hotels by tribe, mid-January 1974. Numbers in per cent.

Base: 218

Tribe	%
Mandingo	46
Wollof	15
Fula	13
Jola	11
Serere	3
Aku	2
Bambara	2
Serahuli	1
Joroba	1
Others	5
Total	100

Note: Three individuals non-representive out of the total number of 221. Percentage do not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Table V Age distribution in five and ten year classes of the Gambian employees in the four C.T. hotels, mid-January 1974. Numbers in per cent.

Base: 221

Age groups	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-44	45-54	Older	Total
Per cent	11	43	26	7	6	4	2	100

Note: Percentage do not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Table VI Level of formal education of the Gambian employees in the four C.T. hotels, mid-January 1974. Numbers in per cent.

Base: 219

	No formal education	Primary			Secondary			Total
		1-2	3-4	5-6	1-2	3-4	5-6	
%	37	2	4	5	5	37	11	100

Note: From the total 221 individuals two cases were not applicable. Percentage do not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Table VIIa Number of C.T. hotel employees born outside, respectively within, the Kombo St. Mary area.¹⁾ Absolute and relative numbers.

	No.	%
Born outside the Kombo St. Mary area	107	53
Born within the Kombo St. Mary area	96	47
<u>Total</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>

1) The Kombo St. Mary area here includes Banjul, Bakau, Serrekunda, Abuko and Fajikunda as well as the two villages of Sukuta and Lamin which are located on the border to the Kombo St. Mary district.

Table VIIb Migration of C.T. hotel employees after 1969 from the Kombo and Niimi districts¹⁾ and from other districts, respectively. Absolute numbers.

From the Kombo and Niimi districts	34 persons
From other districts	34 "
<u>Total</u>	<u>68 persons</u>

1) Within a radius of 40 km to the Kombo St. Mary area.

Table VIII Occupational categories which the 221 C.T. hotel employees previously came from. Absolute and relative numbers.

Occupational category	No.	%
Hotel/Bar 32}	44	20
Domestic Service 12}		
Government	34	15
School leavers	24	11
No work/At home	24	11
Farming	19	9
Petty trading 6}	18	8
Commerce 12}		
Craftsmen	17	8
Labor/Construction	7	3
Clerical	7	3
Various jobs ¹⁾	14	6
Others	13	6
<u>Total</u>	<u>221</u>	<u>100</u>

1) Persons who have worked in more than one of the categories included in this table.

Table IX Number of seasons that the C.T. hotel employees had worked in the hotel industry, mid-January 1974. Numbers in per cent.

Base: 219

No. of seasons	%
1 (first)	27
2	31
3	23
4	11
5	3
6	2
Longer	2
Total	100

Note: Out of 221 C.T. hotel employees information for two persons was not available. Percentage do not add up to 100 due to rounding.

Table Xa below is presented as a summary table since the item 'not applicable' amounts to 55% of the total 221.

Table Xa C.T. hotel employees according to occupational category during the 1972 off-season. Absolute numbers.

Occupational category	No.
Not applicable	122
Hotel/Domestic service	32
No work/At home	22
Farming	16
Temporary work	9
Hotel training course	8
Petty trading	4
Labor/Construction	3
Working abroad	3
Government	1
Others	1
Total	221

Table Xb C.T. hotel employees according to occupational category during the 1973 off-season. Absolute numbers.

Occupational category	No.
Not applicable	54
No work/At home	43
Hotel/Domestic service	40
Farming	36
Hotel Training Course	12
Petty trading	9
Temporary work	8
Government	7
Labor/Construction	6
Working abroad	3
Others	3
Total	221

Table XI C.T. hotel employees' future aspirations, mid-January 1974.
Absolute numbers.

Future aspirations	No.
Continue work in C.T. hotel	131 ¹⁾
Go abroad for studies	27
Return to school	8
Will take any job available	16
Find work abroad	7
Return to previous trade	6
Farming	4
Find permanent (all-year round) job	4
Go abroad	4
Commerce/Petty trading	3
Do not know	11
Total	221

1) This figure is probably slanted due to the employee's wish to secure employment for the following season.

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE - C.T. HOTEL EMPLOYEES

A) Hotel
 Name
 Date of birth Age Tribe
 Married No of wives No of children Sex Now living

B) Place of birth
 Where do you live now Since
 What persons are living in the same compound as you

How many of them work/are employed
 Who Where do they work

How many people are economically dependent upon you
 Who are they

(If not with family, where do they live
 How often do you visit them Duration of stay

C) Present occupation
 Previous occupation(s)

How many seasons have you worked in the hotel industry
 What have you been doing during the last two off-seasons
 (the rain period)
 1972
 1973

What do you want to do during the coming year (after the rain period)

D) Number of years in school
 What level did you reach in primary school secondary
 Other education/training

E) What do you think are the negative effects of tourism

Positive effects

Note

APPENDIX III

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE - EXPATRIATES

1. Wages
2. Sick days - compensation
3. Vacation
4. Extent of reemployment
5. Criteria for employment
6. Criteria for dismissal
7. Number of employees 1970/71, 1971/72, 1972/73 and 1973/74.
8. Income tax.
9. Hotel tax.
10. What/how many employees get paid during the off-season.
11. Number of working hours/week.

AVERAGE WAGES IN DALASIS FOR THE GAMBIAN C.T. HOTEL EMPLOYEES, END OF MARCH 1974.
 Source: C.T. hotel managers/administrators and Department heads (in the majority of the cases).

Department	HOTEL A ¹⁾			HOTEL B			HOTEL C			HOTEL D ¹⁾		
	Wages			Wages			Wages			Wages		
	Month	Day	Supervisor	Month	Day	Supervisor	Month	Day	Supervisor	Month	Day	Supervisor
Kitchen	59.80	2.30	111.28	62.92	2.42	95.00	65.78	2.53	N.A	65.52	2.52	123.50
Restaurant	65.78	2.53	104.78	66.24	2.55	100.00	61.10	2.35	N.A	65.52	2.52	136.50
Rooms	59.80	2.30	83.98	32.06 ²⁾ 60.32 ³⁾	1.24 ²⁾ 2.32 ³⁾	100.00	62.66	2.41	N.A	63.18	2.43	87.88
Garden	59.80	2.30	72.80	56.42	2.17	80.00	N.A	N.A	N.A	65.00	2.50	117.00
Laundry	N.A	N.A	N.A	60.06	2.31	100.00	N.A	N.A	N.A	-	-	-
Repair	78.78	3.03	111.80	62.66	2.41	80.60	53.30	2.05	N.A	65.00	2.50	117.00
Guards	59.80	2.30	109.20	56.68	2.18	100.00	53.30	2.05	N.A	65.00	2.50	N.A
Recept/Adm.	84.50	3.25	104.00	70.20	2.70	100.00	91.00	3.50	N.A	104.00	4.00	-
Bar	-	-	-	68.90	2.65	100.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	468.26	18.01	697.84	596.46	22.95	855.60	387.34	14.89	N.A	493.22	18.97	581.88
Average	66.89	2.57	99.69	62.71 ⁴⁾	2.41 ⁴⁾	95.07	64.56	2.48	N.A	70.46	2.71	116.38

Average monthly wage for C.T. hotel employees: D.66.16
 Average daily wage for C.T. hotel employees: D 2.54
 Average monthly wage for C.T. hotel supervisors: D.103.71

1. Average wage is calculated on highest and lowest wage within each department
2. Average wage is for 48 part-time employees
3. Average wage is for 12 full-time employees
4. Part-time wage excluded

APPENDIX V

CURRICULUM FOR HOTEL TRAINING COURSE

Course of Front Office (Medium Course)	Hours/week
Hotel technical operation	9
Auxiliary accounting	4
Hygiene	1
Hotel law	1
Tourism/Economy	1
Social geography	1
English	1
Swedish	2
French	1
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 21

Course of Restaurant/Bar (Medium Course)	
Technology	8
Drinks	2
Mathematics	2
Hygiene	2
Hotel law	1
Tourism/Economy	1
English	1
Swedish	2
French	2
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 21

Course of Kitchen (Basic Course)	
Technology	4
Practical work at Fajara	8
Mathematics	2
Hygiene	2
Hotel law	1
English	2
French	2
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 21

Course of Housekeeping (Medium Course)	
Technology	10
Mathematics	1
Hygiene	2
Hotel law	1
English	2
Swedish	2
French	2
Tourism	1
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 21

Source: Mr. Taaleb, Person in charge of the above mentioned course.

APPENDIX VI

MATERIAL AND METHODS; TREATMENT OF MATERIAL

Material

The labor survey was based on an empirical study of the employees in the four C.T. hotels (for definition see p. 25) in the Gambia. The underlying, primary material comprises a questionnaire (Appendix II) which contains information of 221 Gambian employees as well as an interview schedule (Appendix III) with information received from 15 expatriate department heads and four hotel managers. Supplementary census statistics were based on personal communications received at Central Statistics Division, President's Office, Banjul, the Gambia and information regarding the hotel training course was received from Mr. Taaleb, the person in charge of this program.

The fact that the material covers information obtained during the on-going tourist season should be kept in mind. We are well aware of the necessity for a complementary study during the off-season in order to present a more complete picture.

Methods

The labor survey took place from January 14 - March 17, 1974. It was limited to the four C.T. hotels operating in the Gambia at the time. Complete lists of all employees in mid-January 1974 were acquired from the above mentioned hotels. This population was then divided into two groups: Gambian staff (1) and Expatriate staff. Out of 748 Gambian employees a simple, random sample of 253 individuals was taken.

The aim of the questionnaire used was to furnish a large scope of information and the items relevant to the labor survey were selected for reasons mentioned below:

1. The following items were selected in order to provide a demographic picture of the population: (Section A) Tribe, Age (Date of birth), Sex, Civil status, Number of wives, Number of children, (Section D) Level of education and Other education/training.
2. An insight into the employees' position on the labor market and economic conditions was expected to be gained from the following: The items Place of birth and Present place of residence (Section B) were included in order to obtain information as to the geographical labor recruitment while the item Previous occupation(s) (Section C) was included with the purpose of getting information as to whether recruitment occurred from a potential labor force, i.e. the unemployed and/or from other sectors of the economy.

The items Household size, Number of people employed of those living in the same household, were used as complement to the item Number of dependents.

The items Length of employment in the tourist industry, Occupation during off-seasons and Further aspirations were also included.

Items excluded in the presentation on hand are: Number of wives, Number of children. The information from Section E is presented in the chapter Attitude survey.

1) Other Africans were also included due to their limited number.

From the population of 62 expatriate staff (senior staff) 15 individuals were selected and interviewed. Principles from the following departments were interviewed:

- Hotel A: Rooms, Kitchen, Restaurant, Repair & Maintenance
- Hotel B: Rooms, Bar, Kitchen, Restaurant, Administration and Reception
- Hotel C: Rooms, Kitchen, Restaurant
- Hotel D: Kitchen-Restaurant-Shop (1 person), Rooms

The managers of hotels A and B were also interviewed as well as the owners/managers of hotels C and D. Two Gambian senior staff members from hotels A and B, respectively, were moreover interviewed.

The interview consisted of two parts and the part relevant to the present chapter concerned information regarding employment and working conditions of the Gambian staff and included questions such as extent of employment, working hours, wages, overtime, sick-pay, off-season payment/employment, extent of reemployment and criteria for employment as well as dismissal.

Treatment of the material

Questionnaire: For each item selected for treatment from the questionnaire a sample space was defined and frequency tally was made from which frequency distribution tables were tabulated. Relative numbers (this through percentage) were given, hoping this would provide easy and quick access to the basic information.

This was the basic treatment of all items. The classification system used for each item and the further treatment of some will be described in the following pages.

The items: Tribe, Sex, Age, Civil status, and Formal education were directly carried over from the questionnaire to frequency tables without further treatment.

The Place of birth of the employees was first identified in a table where the distribution of places was classified according to geographical district and division. The individuals who had moved from their place of birth were further divided into two groups according to when this had occurred, i.e. those who migrated before, respectively, after 1969. The persons who had migrated after 1969 were moreover divided into two groups depending on their place of birth. This entailed movement from places situated in the Kombo and Niimi Districts or from places outside these districts.

The information obtained from the item Previous occupation(s) of the employees was classified into larger occupational groups with the purpose of identifying the various sectors of the economy from which the employees came.

The item Number of seasons employed in the tourist industry was directly transferred to absolute and relative frequency tables.

The information as to the employees' Occupation during off-season was also classified into larger groups, similar to the item Previous Occupation(s), indicating economic sectors. It became apparent that a great number of 'not applicable' appeared for the 1972 off-season. This prevented the drawing of any conclusion from the material, hence, only a summary table is presented. A significant omission appeared likewise for

the 1973 off-season. This date which thus proved to be lacking was important since it touched upon the subject as to whether the employees in the C.T. hotels can be integrated in the labor market or find other means of income during the rain period when the hotels are closed and the personnel laid off.

The item future aspirations was directly carried over from the questionnaire to a frequency table without further treatment.

With regard to the item Number of dependents it was treated in the following manner: The number and identity of the dependents were put in relation to the persons living in the same compound. When any other person(s) except the informant in that compound was employed the financial responsibilities towards the total number of compound dwellers was divided among those employed. The same applied to dependents living elsewhere.

The reasons for treating the information obtained under this item in this particular manner rather than recording the informants' actual answer to the question "How many people are economically dependent upon you?" are as follows.

The items included under Section B in the questionnaire were included for a two-fold purpose: to provide information for the report on hand and to provide a basis for a further study to be carried out at a later date.

It was necessary to correlate the items of how many of them were employed with the number of informant's dependents in order to achieve a provisional estimate of actual number of dependents. In order to obtain the correct figure for dependents as well as patterns of support would necessitate case studies using the methods of participant observation. This is, however, a project for the future.

Interviews. The same questions were put to a number of department heads, including the hotel manager for each hotel. All items except Wages and Extent of employment were summarized on a qualitative basis after a comparative evaluation (hotel wise) had been made due to varying information from the informants in each hotel.

In order to compute the average wage for the hotel employees according to the information obtained, the following procedure was applied. Information as to wages was obtained from each hotel manager or administrator as well as from each department head when possible (which applied to the majority of cases). Since there mostly was a discrepancy as to information gained for each department from the manager/administrator and department head, respectively, the wage figures were added and divided by two. The wages for Supervisors were treated separately from those of the rest of the employees and the same procedure applied.

The average wage obtained for each department was then added and the total divided by number of departments for each hotel. In this way an average salary for Supervisors and Other personnel, respectively, was obtained for each of the hotels.

Finally the average salary for each one of the hotels was added and divided by the number of hotels (4) and the result was average salary for the C.T. hotel employees (Supervisors and Other personnel).

The above described procedure was also applied when computing the daily wages. Twenty-six working days are here equalled to one month.

The item Extent of employment was treated as follows: The number of persons at each one of the C.T. hotels employed at the beginning of the 1973/74 season was added. This showed the total number of hotel employees at that time. Figures obtained for mid-season were then added to see how many persons were employed at the height of the season. The same procedure was applied to the number of employees at the end of the season. In this an imaginary curve was obtained as to the varying intensity of hotel employees according to interseasonal fluctuation.