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Tourism and Development



Editorial

Tourism in Developing Countries

The tourism industry increased in quantity and income in the last decade. This was not only the fact in developed countries but in developing countries as well. Today, tourism is the major source of income in every third developing country. However, there are also negative impacts. Especially for developing countries one should ask for real economic gains and appropriate strategies for tourism development, which neither have a negative impact on society nor on culture and environment. This TRIALOG issue deals with tourism in developing countries and focuses on problems, transferable experiences and current approaches towards a solution.

The first article by **Matthias Beyer** deals with tourism and developing cooperation and asks for a strategy to combine both issues. For **Nicole Häusler**, the need for a stakeholder dialogue in tourism development is a crucial issue.

The next three articles deal with tourism development in World Heritage Cities. Cultural tourism can help to preserve heritage, but can also have negative impacts on culture and society. **Meinolf Spiekermann** evaluates the outcomes of a GTZ-project for the rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo.

Wolfgang Scholz and **Mwalim Ali Mwalim** critically review the tourism development in the Stone Town of Zanzibar/Tanzania. The first article presents the point of view of a foreign investor while the second one is written by the responsible local director of the rehabilitation.

The problems of new, less developed tourist destinations are focus of **Ulrich Malisius** dealing with Bolivia.

How can tourism in developing countries be better organised? **Christine Plüss** transfers the concept of Fair Trade to tourism and **Jennifer Seif** presents examples of Fair Tourism in South Africa.

Tourismus in Entwicklungsländern

Die Tourismuswirtschaft konnte im letzten Jahrzehnt große Zuwächse und Gewinne verzeichnen. Diese beziehen sich nicht nur auf Industrieländer, sondern auch auf Entwicklungsländer. Inzwischen stellt der Tourismus für jedes dritte Entwicklungsland die Haupteinnahmequelle für Devisen dar. Doch ist dies auch mit negativen Auswirkungen verbunden: Speziell in wenig entwickelten Ländern stellt sich daher sowohl die Frage nach den realen ökonomischen Vorteilen als auch die Frage nach geeigneten Strategien für eine touristische Entwicklung, die weder das soziale Gefüge noch das kulturelle Erbe und das ökologische Gleichgewicht in Mitleidenschaft ziehen. Die vorliegende TRIALOG Ausgabe versucht, dieses komplexe Thema näher zu beleuchten und von unterschiedlichen Seiten zu hinterfragen. Es werden Probleme und übertragbare Erfahrungen dargestellt und Lösungsansätze aufgezeigt.

Der erste Beitrag des Heftes von **Matthias Beyer** setzt sich mit dem Stellenwert des Tourismus in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit auseinander und fordert ein entwicklungspolitisches Strategiekonzept für touristische Aktivitäten durch die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit. **Nicole Häusler** hinterfragt kritisch die dabei geforderte Stakeholder-Beteiligung und zeigt anhand von Beispielen aus Südostasien deren Grenzen auf.

Die drei folgenden Artikel setzen sich mit Tourismusentwicklung und Bewahrung des kulturellen Erbes auseinander. Die Beiträge zeigen, dass Kulturtourismus wichtig für die Erhaltung und Instandsetzung von bedeutendem Kulturerbe sein kann. Allerdings kann dies auch mit negativen Auswirkungen auf die Kultur und das Sozialgefüge der Bevölkerung verbunden sein. **Meinolf Spiekermann** zieht eine Bilanz des GTZ-Projekts zur Rehabilitation der Altstadt von Aleppo. **Wolfgang Scholz** und **Mwalim Ali Mwalim** bewerten die Tourismusentwicklung des Weltkulturerbes Stone Town von Sansibar kritisch. Aus Sicht eines ausländischen Investors und des verantwortlichen Leiters der örtlichen Behörde in Sansibar werden hier zwei Sichtweisen dargelegt.

Eine noch wenig entwickelte und jüngst in die Krise gekommene Destination ist Bolivien. **Ulrich Malisius** zeigt die Schwierigkeiten einer Tourismusentwicklung in einem problematischen Umfeld auf.

Wie kann Tourismus in Entwicklungsländern besser gestaltet und organisiert werden? Dieser Frage geht **Christine Plüss** nach und zeigt am Beispiel des Fair Trade - Konzepts Möglichkeiten zur Übertragung in den Tourismus als *Fair Tourism* auf. **Jennifer Seif** beschreibt abschließend eine Anwendung dieses Konzeptes in Südafrika.

Wolfgang Scholz, Matthias Beyer

Tourism and Development

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Wolfgang Scholz, Matthias Beyer

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Tourismus und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit – wi(e)der besseren Wissens?!

Matthias Beyer

Tourism and Development Cooperation – against best knowledge?

For a long time tourism had no specific importance for the German development cooperation. Because of the enormous increase and development of tourism in many less developed countries in the past and in conjunction with its manifold ecological, social and economic impacts, sustainable tourism became relevant also for the German agencies in the last few years. Nevertheless development cooperation in tourism has no priority. Until now there do not exist an integrated concept for the development and management of sustainable tourism.

Der (Fern-)Tourismus in Entwicklungsländer

Wer hat nicht schon davon geträumt, einmal an einem unberührten Strand in der Karibik, in der unberührten Natur eines afrikanischen Nationalparks oder in den Gebirgsketten des Himalaya seinen Urlaub zu verbringen, um den eigenen Alltag für kurze Zeit so richtig hinter sich zu lassen?

Die eigene Sehnsucht nach ein paar unbeschwerten Tagen in dieser – nach unserem Empfinden – so anderen und außergewöhnlichen Welt lässt einen dabei schnell vergessen, dass das erträumte Reiseziel nicht selten in den Ländern dieser Erde liegt, die ausgerechnet zu den sogenannten 'Entwicklungsländern' zählen. Ländern also, die sich trotz ihrer für uns so reizvollen kulturellen und ökologischen Vielfalt und Andersartigkeit tagtäglich mit zum Teil gravierenden politischen, sozialen, ökonomischen und ökologischen Problemen auseinandersetzen haben, die nun so gar nicht in das Klischee eines Urlaubsparadieses passen wollen.

Dieser Tatsache unbenommen, unterstreichen die Statistiken der letzten Jahrzehnte, dass (Fern-) Reisen in Entwicklungsländer einen wahren Boom erfahren haben und bis heute ihre Attraktivität nahezu ungebrochen ist. Wurden 1978 noch 27,3 Mio. Ankünfte in Entwicklungsländern registriert, waren es 1998 bereits 189,7 Mio. Der Marktanteil der Entwicklungsländer am Welttourismus ist in diesen zwanzig Jahren kontinuierlich von 11% auf 30,34% gestiegen, wobei die durchschnittliche Wachstumsrate in den Entwicklungsländern zwischen 1990 und 1998 mit 4,84% deutlich über dem Weltdurchschnitt von 3,98% lag. Auch die Einnahmen der Entwicklungsländer aus dem internationalen Tourismus haben der World Tourism Organization WTO zur Folge enorm zugenommen und sind allein im Zeitraum von 1990 bis 1997 um 9,7% gewachsen. (Aderhold et al. 2000)

Der tendenzielle Boom des Tourismus in Entwicklungsländer korrespondiert mit der globalen Gesamtentwicklung, die beim Tourismus in den letzten Jahrzehnten – zumindest quantitativ – zu verzeich-

nen war. So stiegen zwischen 1950 und 1999 die Einnahmen aus dem internationalen Tourismus von 2,1 Mrd. US-Dollar auf 455 Mrd. US-Dollar.

Seit Mitte der 1980er Jahre wachsen die Tourismuseinnahmen schneller als der restliche Welthandel (1989-1998 durchschnittlich 8,1%). Und auch bei den Beschäftigungszahlen stellte das World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) fest, dass 3,1% aller weltweit vorhandenen Arbeitsplätze direkt, 8,2% direkt und indirekt vom Tourismus abhängen. (Ebd.) Für jedes dritte Entwicklungsland ist der Tourismus inzwischen die Haupteinnahmequelle für Devisen! (Häusler 2001)

Die Terroranschläge vom 11. September 2001 in den USA, die darauf folgenden Bombenattentate auf touristische Ziele (z.B. auf Bali und in Djerba) sowie die öffentliche Diskussion und Sorge um die Sicherheit von Urlaubsreisen haben diesen Entwicklungstrend jedoch zunächst zum Erliegen gebracht. Nach dem 11. September 2001 gingen die Touristenankünfte im letzten Quartal des Jahres 2001 (im Vergleich zum selben Zeitraum des Vorjahres) weltweit um 10,9% zurück.

Waren die Einbußen in Europa mit 6,2% noch erträglich, verzeichneten insbesondere die USA (-24%), der Nahe Osten (-30,2%) und Südostasien (-24%) erhebliche Verluste bei den Touristenankünften. Doch auch Regionen (vor allem Entwicklungsländer), die in der politischen Diskussion um die Ursachen und Folgen der Terroranschläge in den USA keine Rolle spielten, bekamen ebenfalls die allgemeine Unsicherheit und Angst vor Reisen zu spüren. So verzeichnete Südamerika einen Rückgang der Touristenankünfte um 18,4% und Mittelamerika und die Karibik um 15,2%. (Welthungerhilfe 2003)

Aktuelle Untersuchungen belegen allerdings, dass derartige – speziell für Entwicklungsländer fatale – Einbrüche selten von Dauer sind.

Die jüngsten Ergebnisse der deutschen Tourismusanalyse 2003 des B.A.T. Forschungsinstitutes widersprechen allen Aussagen zur Verunsicherung der Verbraucher.

Nach Einschätzung von Opaschowski, dem Leiter des Forschungsinstitutes, konnten auch die jüngsten Konflikte in Afghanistan und Irak die Reiselust der Deutschen nicht stoppen. "Wieder einmal bestätigt sich eine touristische Erfahrung: Touristen haben ein chronisches Kurzzeitgedächtnis. Nach einer längeren Phase der Problemgewöhnung setzt schnell die Nachfrage wieder ein. Die Reisebranche profitiert vom Nachholbedarf: Fast jeder zweite Bundesbürger sitzt gedanklich auf gepackten Koffern." (Teletour 2003). Mit einem Blick in die Vergangenheit lassen sich in der Tat eine Reihe von Beispielen finden¹, die diese für den deutschen out-going-Reisemarkt getroffene These Opaschowskis (auch international) stützen und mit Recht die Vermutung nahelegen, dass der touristische Wachstumsprozess – von ein paar 'Dämpfern' abgesehen – weltweit (und damit auch und gerade in den Entwicklungsländern) weiter voranschreiten wird.

Das Engagement der deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit im Tourismus

In Anlehnung an den allgemeinen Entwicklungstrend der vergangenen Jahrzehnte bei Reisen in Entwicklungsländer verwundert es nicht, dass sich auch die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit dem Thema Tourismus schon recht früh annahm. Bereits in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren gab es erste Initiativen der deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit mit touristischem Hintergrund.

Das Engagement erstreckte sich von "some programmes to support participation in tourism fairs and to encourage investments in tourism infrastructure" bis hin zur Beratung von Tourist Boards, dem Aufbau von Hotelfachschulen sowie der Ausbildung in touristischen Betrieben (Lengefeld 2000). Dieses Engagement war jedoch nicht von Dauer. Im Laufe der 1980er Jahre fuhr die deutsche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit ihre tourismusbezogenen Aktivitäten in Entwicklungsländern immer mehr zurück, bis sie nahezu vollständig eingestellt wurden (iz3w 2001).

Gründe für diese Entscheidung gab es viele. In erster Linie sahen sich die Entwicklungsorganisationen einer wachsenden Zahl an (internen und externen) Kritikern gegenüber, die die nicht mehr zu übersehenden Konflikte und Probleme anprangerten, die der Reiestrom von Nord nach Süd mit sich brachte. Besonders die soziokulturellen Auswirkungen (Zerstörung gewachsener Kulturen, Akkulturationseffekte, Kinderarbeit, Kinderprostitution etc.) sowie die ökologischen Probleme und Umweltbelastungen (intensiver Flächenverbrauch, Zerstörung und Verschwendung natürlicher Ressourcen, Klimaschädigung etc.) wurden vermehrt als Argumente gegen eine Förderung des Tourismus (aber auch gegen den Tourismus in Entwicklungsländern an sich) verwandt. Darüber hinaus wurden Zweifel an den ökonomischen Vorteilen durch den Tourismus erhoben.

¹ Einige Beispiele aus den 1980er und 1990er Jahren: Mordserie an ausländischen Touristen in Miami/ USA, Terroranschläge auf touristische Ziele und Entführungen von ausländischen Touristen in der Türkei durch die PKK, Terroranschläge auf touristische Ziele in Spanien durch die ETA und in Ägypten durch islamistische Fundamentalisten, Entführungen ausländischer Touristen in Costa Rica oder auf den Philippinen etc. Unfraglich steckt hinter dem Thema "Tourismus und Terrorismus" eine besondere Brisanz, die im Rahmen dieses Artikels jedoch nicht näher behandelt werden soll.

Nachhaltiger Tourismus ist mehr als das übliche Klischee vom Traumurlaub
(aus: ded Brief Nr. 1/ 1998, Foto: Elke Krüger)





Nachhaltiger Tourismus braucht interkulturelle Begegnung auf Augenhöhe

Man fürchtete, dass der Tourismus vielerorts einer monostrukturellen Entwicklung in den Entwicklungsländern Vorschub leiste und nur wenige, zudem unqualifizierte und häufig saisonale Arbeitsplätze zu schaffen vermag (Strasdas 2001).

Auch die erhofften volkswirtschaftlichen Effekte wurden häufig als "enttäuschend" eingestuft, da nach Ansicht der Kritiker der Tourismus in Entwicklungsländern hohe Devisenabflüsse und nur geringe trickle-down-Effekte zugunsten der armen Bevölkerungsgruppen nach sich zieht (ebd.).

Letztlich fehlten den Entwicklungsorganisationen in dieser Phase die Konzepte (aber auch der Mut, die Zeit und die Lobby), um Wege aufzeigen zu können, wie entwicklungs- und tourismuspolitische Erfordernisse und Ziele unter Umständen doch in Einklang zu bringen sind. Die scharfe Kritik, der sich die Befürworter einer touristischen Förderung in den Entwicklungsorganisationen seinerzeit ausgesetzt sahen, hat (so ist es zumindest zu vermuten) bis heute ihre Spuren hinterlassen. Denn noch immer gilt die Devise, dass der Tourismus aus entwicklungspolitischer Perspektive als "nachrangige Angelegenheit" einzustufen und daher als "Posteriorität" zu behandeln ist (Rauschelbach 2000).

Diese Haltung bestätigt auch eine Aussage der amtierenden Bundesministerin für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung, Heidemarie Wiecek-Zeul, im Rahmen einer Pressekonferenz anlässlich der Internationalen Tourismusbörse (ITB) 2000 in Berlin. Dort sagte sie: "Wir sind der Ansicht, dass es in der Tourismuswirtschaft genügend Kapital und Know-how gibt, so dass eine Entwicklung auch ohne unser Eingreifen erfolgen kann" (BMZ 2003). Auch wenn die deutsche Entwicklungszusammenarbeit den Tourismus auf der einen Seite als "Sache der Privatindustrie" begreift, der sich "auch ohne Entwicklungshilfe" zu entwickeln vermag, so ist auf

der anderen Seite nicht zu übersehen, dass seit Beginn der 1990er Jahre organisationsübergreifend eine erneute theoretische und auch praktische Auseinandersetzung mit dem Thema Tourismus eingesetzt hat (Tippmann 1997).

Wie ist dieses abermalige, wenn auch noch recht zaghafte Engagement zu erklären?

Die in den 1970er und 1980er Jahren vor allem von Nichtregierungsorganisationen getragene Kritik an einer touristischen Förderung durch die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit bzw. am (Fern-)Tourismus in die Entwicklungsländer hatte sich im Nachhinein (bei aller prinzipiellen Berechtigung) in manchen Positionen als allzu dogmatisch und undifferenziert herausgestellt. "Die pauschale Behauptung, der Tourismus leiste in jedem Fall einen positiven Entwicklungsbeitrag, hat sich als ebenso unhaltbar erwiesen, wie das Postulieren des Gegenteils." (Aderhold et al. 2000).

Zudem belegen die – vorab genannten – Zahlen zur weltweiten Tourismusentwicklung, dass trotz aller Tourismuskritik keine Kehrtwende bei Reisen in Entwicklungsländer (z.B. im Hinblick auf die Zahl der Ankünfte) eingetreten ist. Dies bekamen (und bekommen) nicht zuletzt auch zahlreiche Entwicklungsvorhaben in Entwicklungsländern zu spüren, die beispielsweise im Rahmen von Projekten zur ländlichen Entwicklung oder zum Ressourcenschutz immer wieder mit Tourismus konfrontiert werden, ohne jedoch konzeptionell und fachlich in der Lage zu sein, diese Thematik adäquat zu behandeln. National wie international vermehrten sich daher im Verlauf der 1990er Jahre erneut die Stimmen derjenigen, die der ablehnenden Haltung der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit gegenüber dem Tourismus mit dem Argument entgegentraten, dass "durch die Nichtbeschäftigung mit diesem Thema keine Steuerungsmaßnahmen gegen negative oder für positive Auswirkungen entwickelt werden können" (Häusler 2001).

Als Lehre aus den negativen Entwicklungen, die der (Fern-)Tourismus in vielen Entwicklungsländern mit sich brachte, sowie unter dem Einfluss der UN-Umweltkonferenz in Rio de Janeiro von 1992 und dem danach einsetzenden globalen Nachhaltigkeitsdiskurs galt fortan die Umsetzung einer nachhaltigen Tourismusentwicklung in den Entwicklungsländern als neue Ziel-Vision für ein wiederbelebtes Engagement der deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit in diesem Bereich. Unter dem Begriff *Nachhaltiger Tourismus* wird ein Tourismus verstanden, der "satisfies criteria of social, cultural, ecological and economic sustainability. It is socially just, culturally appropriate, ecologically sustainable, and economically rational and productive" (GTZ 2001).

In den 1990er Jahren wurden eine Reihe von Studien und Veröffentlichungen publiziert, die sich

dem Thema Tourismus in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit annahmen. Hervorzuheben ist hierbei ein Leitfaden, der erstmalig versucht, Akteuren der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit den praktischen Umgang mit nachhaltigem Tourismus (als Teilkomponente!) in Entwicklungsvorhaben zu erleichtern (Steck et al. 1999). Dieser Leitfaden ist vor allem deshalb von Bedeutung, da der Tourismus in der Projektpraxis der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit – von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen – bisher ausschließlich als Teilkomponente und eben nicht als eigenständige Zielsetzung von Entwicklungsprojekten aufgetreten ist.

Inhaltlich haben sich im letzten Jahrzehnt drei übergeordnete Bereiche herauskristallisiert, in denen deutsche Entwicklungsorganisationen wieder touristische Aktivitäten im Sinne eines nachhaltigen Tourismus entfaltet haben:

Tourismus und Ressourcenschutz/ Biodiversität

Hier steht die Frage im Vordergrund, in wie weit Tourismus und Ressourcenschutz in Einklang zu bringen sind und ob (Öko-)Tourismus (insbesondere in Großschutzgebieten) ein Instrument des Naturschutzes sein kann. Auch wird darüber nachgedacht, inwieweit Tourismus zur Umsetzung der Biodiversitätskonvention beitragen kann. (Arbeitsgruppe Ökotourismus 1995; Rauschelbach 1998)

Community-based Tourism (CBT)

"CBT is a form of tourism in which a significant number of local people has substantial control over, and involvement in its development and management. The major proportion of the benefits remains within the local economy."

Beim CBT wird somit eine aktive und umfassende politische wie ökonomische Partizipation der lokalen Bevölkerung an der touristischen Entwicklung angestrebt. Wesentlich ist, dass der Tourismus nicht als Ersatz für traditionelle Wirtschaftsaktivitäten der lokalen Bevölkerung begriffen wird, sondern als "helpful additional side-income".

(Häusler et al. 2003)

Public Private Partnership (PPP) im Tourismus

Dieser Bereich ist erst in den letzten Jahren aufgenommen und verfolgt das Ziel, Kooperationen zwischen den (staatlichen) Entwicklungsorganisationen und dem touristischen Privatsektor zu initiieren.

"So werden etwa Reiseveranstalter ermutigt, Reiseprogramme zu entwickeln, bei denen Urlaubern Gelegenheit gegeben wird, Projekte vor Ort zu besuchen und so Einblicke in die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit zu bekommen. Auch "direkte privatwirtschaftliche Investitionen mit einem Bezug zum Tourismus" werden als Teil dieser Aktivitäten begriffen. (GTZ 2003)



Nachhaltiger Tourismus braucht Planung



Nachhaltiger Tourismus braucht lokale Initiative

Tourismusförderung und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit

Eines wurde aus den vorangegangenen Ausführungen bereits deutlich. Das Thema Tourismus fristet in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit nach wie vor eher das Dasein eines "Stiefkindes", das von Außen in die entwicklungspolitischen Bemühungen eingedrungen ist, um das man sich daher notgedrungen auch bemüht, das jedoch dennoch die Mehrheit nicht so Recht annehmen und integrieren möchte. Diese Haltung ist auf den ersten Blick nachvollziehbar, wenn man die zahlreichen Zielkonflikte berücksichtigt, die zwischen Tourismus und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit ohne Zweifel bestehen (z.B. zwischen Tourismus und Ressourcenschutz).

Auch mag man Verständnis dafür aufbringen, dass viele Entwicklungsexperten auf Grund ihrer mangelnden Erfahrung mit dem Themenfeld Tourismus in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit sich allzu voreilig der stereotypen Kritik in der Frage des Umgangs mit Tourismus angeschlossen haben und vielleicht etwas zu emotional an dieses Thema herangegangen sind.

(Fotos S. 6; 7: Thomas Petermann, aus: InWEnt: Sustainable Tourism, 2002)



Quellenangaben:

Aderhold, P.; Von Lassberg, D.; Staebler, M.; Vielhaber, A. (2000): *Tourismus in Entwicklungsländer. Eine Untersuchung über Dimensionen, Strukturen, Wirkungen und Qualifizierungsansätze im Entwicklungsländer-Tourismus* – unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des deutschen Urlaubsmarktes. Studienkreis für Tourismus und Entwicklung. Ammerland/ Starnberger See.

Arbeitsgruppe Ökotourismus (1995): *Möglichkeiten zur Erhöhung der Attraktivität von Naturschutzvorhaben*. Forschungsbericht des Bundesministeriums für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung (BMZ). Band 116. Weltforum Verlag, Köln.

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Häusler, N. (2001): "Stiefkind" Tourismus in der EZ? In: *cim* aktuell 1/01. Mitteilungen des Centrums für Internationale Migration und Entwicklung. Häusler, N.; Strasdas, W. (2003): *Training Manual for Community-based Tourism*. InWEnt-Internationale Weiterbildung und Entwicklung GmbH. Zschortau.

Lengefeld, K. (2000): *Travelling for Development? A View from Central America*. In: *D+C Development and Cooperation*, Nr. 5, S. 17.

Rauschelbach, B. (1998): *(Öko-)Tourismus: Instrument für eine nachhaltige Entwicklung? Tourismus und Entwicklungszusammenarbeit*. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) GmbH. Max Kasperek Verlag. Heidelberg.

Wirklich begründet oder gar hilfreich sind derartige Haltungen und Herangehensweisen vor dem Hintergrund der real existierenden Tourismusentwicklung und ihrer Probleme allerdings nicht. Natürlich gibt es noch viele ungeklärte Fragen, um letztendlich beurteilen zu können, inwieweit beispielsweise durch ein touristisches Engagement das oberste Ziel der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit – die Armutsbekämpfung – erreicht werden kann oder wie Flugreisen aus Industrie- in Entwicklungsländer mit dem Anspruch einer nachhaltigen Tourismusentwicklung in Einklang zu bringen sind.

Solche grundsätzlichen Fragen bzw. Zielkonflikte sind jedoch in allen Tätigkeitsfeldern der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit zu finden und daher kein originäres Phänomen des Tourismus.

Darüber hinaus bleibt festzustellen, dass die in den 1990er Jahren von einigen Protagonisten in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit gestarteten Aktivitäten im Tourismus konzeptionell deutlich ausgeprägter und zielführender sind als noch in den 1960er und 1970er Jahren. Zudem basieren sie ausnahmslos auf dem heute geltenden entwicklungspolitischen Paradigma (Nachhaltige Entwicklung, Armutsbekämpfung, Ressourcenschutz, Bildung, Partizipation etc.).

Ein fundamentaler Widerspruch zwischen dem derzeitigen entwicklungspolitischen Engagement im Tourismus und generellen entwicklungspolitischen Anforderungen im Rahmen der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit lässt sich daher zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt kaum ausmachen. In der Konsequenz ist eine ablehnende Haltung gegenüber einem fortwährenden touristischen Engagement momentan nur dann als glaubwürdig und überzeugend anzusehen, wenn das vorherrschende entwicklungspolitische Paradigma an sich in Frage gestellt werden würde.

Eine solche Position ist jedoch in der derzeitigen Debatte – wenn überhaupt – eine Ausnahme.

Wenn nun zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt im Prinzip nichts gegen weitere touristische Aktivitäten der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit spricht, stellt sich für die Zukunft die Frage ihrer Intensität und Form.

Die Rolle eines Stiefkinds jedenfalls, die der Tourismus derzeit entwicklungspolitisch einnimmt, wird bereits mittelfristig kaum noch zu rechtfertigen sein, wenn man sich allein die immense (vor allem ökonomische) Bedeutung vergegenwärtigt, die der Tourismus schon jetzt für viele Entwicklungsländer besitzt. Die hohe touristische Nachfrage in vielen entwicklungspolitisch relevanten Regionen der Erde wird über kurz oder lang eine ständig steigende Nachfrage in den Entwicklungsländern nach Beratungsleistungen durch die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit nach sich ziehen, die von aktiver Tourismusförderung bis hin zu Lösungen gegen die negativen Begleiterscheinungen und konkreten Auswirkungen des Tourismus reichen wird. Allein diese Herausforderung offenbart die Notwendigkeit einer umfassenden konzeptionellen und strategischen Auseinandersetzung mit dem Tourismus in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit.

Hierfür allerdings bedarf es eines weitaus längeren Atems und Durchhaltevermögens auf Seiten der entwicklungspolitischen Entscheidungsträger, als dies zu Beginn der 1980er Jahre der Fall war. In der Konsequenz sollte das Stiefkind Tourismus deutlich mehr als bisher in die 'entwicklungspolitische Familie' integriert werden. Nur auf diesem Wege können die bestehenden Zielkonflikte und offenen Fragen tiefgründig behandelt und weitere Belege für die Sinnhaftigkeit touristischer Maßnahmen erbracht werden.

Denn die Beweislast hinsichtlich der entwicklungspolitischen Tauglichkeit des Tourismus liegt zunächst einzig und allein bei der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit bzw. -politik selbst und nicht etwa beim Tourismus.

Was müsste in Zukunft geschehen?

Die entwicklungspolitischen Entscheidungsträger in Deutschland sollten (möglichst organisationsübergreifend) darin übereinkommen, dass zunächst für einen festgelegten Zeitraum (z.B. fünf Jahre) sowohl in finanzieller und personeller als auch in organisatorischer Hinsicht Rahmenbedingungen geschaffen werden, die die Erarbeitung eines umfassenden entwicklungspolitischen Strategiekonzeptes für den Tourismusbereich ermöglichen. Das Strategiekonzept selbst müsste zwei Betrachtungsebenen integrieren, denen jeweils eine eigene übergeordnete Fragestellung und Zielsetzung zu Grunde liegt.

Touristische Betrachtungsebene

Fragestellung:

Wie lassen sich die bisherigen touristischen Erfahrungen und Aktivitäten (vor allem) in den Bereichen Ressourcenschutz/ Biodiversität, CBT, PPP und berufliche Bildung zu einem strategischen Gesamtkonzept verknüpfen?

Zielsetzung:

Entwicklung von konkreten Instrumenten und Strategien für die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, mit Hilfe derer eine nachhaltige Tourismusentwicklung (oder besser: Nachhaltigkeit im Tourismus) in den Entwicklungsländern aktiv gefördert werden kann.

Entwicklungspolitische Betrachtungsebene

Fragestellung:

Wie lässt sich ein strategisches Gesamtkonzept für den Tourismus mit den vorrangigen entwicklungspolitischen Zielen (Armutsbekämpfung, Partizipation, good governance, nachhaltige Entwicklung) verknüpfen und strategisch wie methodisch in Einklang bringen?

Zielsetzung:

Erarbeitung eines entwicklungspolitischen Strategiekonzeptes für den Tourismus, das tourismus- und entwicklungsspezifische Anforderungen integriert und beide Seiten äquivalent behandelt.

Ist dieser Schritt getan, stände der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit ein konzeptionell tragfähiges Fundament zur Verfügung, mit dem der Übergang von der Theorie in die Praxis eingeleitet und über

die Durchführung entsprechender Modellvorhaben und Projekte vollzogen werden könnte. Sowohl die Entwicklung eines solchen Strategiekonzeptes als auch die darauf basierenden Praxiserfahrungen würden letztendlich die Möglichkeit eröffnen, im Rahmen einer Gesamtevaluierung (d.h. auch unter Einbeziehung der Entwicklungsländer!) den realen entwicklungspolitischen Nutzen eines touristischen Engagements – qualitativ wie quantitativ und deutlich konkreter als bisher – zu ermitteln.

Stellt sich bei der Gesamtevaluierung heraus, dass die Vorteile deutlich hinter denen anderer entwicklungspolitischer Aktivitäten zurückbleiben, wäre es nur richtig und konsequent, in Zukunft auf ein touristisches Engagement der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit weitgehend zu verzichten.

Zeigt sich hingegen, dass entwicklungspolitisch motivierte Aktivitäten im Tourismus sehr wohl soziale, ökologische und ökonomische Probleme in Entwicklungsländern zu minimieren oder gar zu lösen vermögen (manche Anzeichen sprechen dafür!), dann sollten die Entscheidungsträger der Entwicklungspolitik ein deutliches Zeichen setzen und künftig die aktive Förderung eines nachhaltigen Tourismus als Priorität und nicht länger als Posteriorität behandeln.

Ein Aspekt darf in diesem Zusammenhang allerdings nicht übersehen werden. So wenig wie auf der einen Seite die Tourismusbranche die Verantwortung für den Nachweis der entwicklungspolitischen Tauglichkeit touristischer Aktivitäten durch die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit trägt, so wenig trägt auf der anderen Seite die Entwicklungszusammenarbeit die Verantwortung dafür, ob Nachhaltigkeit im Tourismus umgesetzt wird und gewollt ist. Dieser Nachweis kann nur durch die Tourismuswirtschaft, die Tourismuspolitik und nicht zuletzt durch die Touristen selbst erbracht werden.

Bleibt abschließend zu hoffen, dass beide Seiten sich ihrer Verantwortung bewusst sind und diese auch (mehr als bisher) wahrnehmen und miteinander integrieren. Denn die langfristige Vision kann nicht darin bestehen, touristische Traum-Inseln entwicklungspolitischer Glückseligkeit zu produzieren, sondern den Tourismus in seiner Gesamtheit so umzugestalten, dass über und mit einer umfassenden Nachhaltigkeit im Tourismus auch der notwendige umfassende entwicklungspolitische Nutzen eintritt.

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The complexity of Multi-Stakeholder Dialog in Ecotourism – The example of Southeast Asia

Nicole Häusler

Zur Komplexität des Multi-Stakeholder Dialogs im Ökotourismus – das Beispiel Südostasiens

Der Begriff des ‚Multistakeholder-Dialogs‘ spielt mittlerweile neben Termini wie Partizipation, Gender und Nachhaltigkeit eine wichtige Rolle in der internationalen Debatte zum Thema ‚Entwicklung und Zusammenarbeit‘. Im Internationalen Jahr des Ökotourismus 2002 wurde beklagt, dass einige Stakeholder – vor allem Nichtregierungsorganisationen und lokale Gemeinschaften – aus der Debatte ausgeschlossen wurden. Anhand von Südostasien wird aufgezeigt, dass es für die mangelnde Beteiligung nicht nur finanzielle sondern vor allem kulturelle Gründe gab. Hierzu zählen soziale Hierarchien, die ethnische Vielfalt, Kommunikationsprobleme durch die Vielzahl der lokalen Sprachen und Schriften sowie die unterschiedlichen politischen Rahmenbedingungen. Ferner wird der Frage nachgegangen, wie sich die Stakeholder definieren, d.h. welches Mandat ihnen überhaupt zukommt.

The concept of Multi-stakeholder Dialog or Process has become a ‘must-word’ along with others such as Participation, Sustainability and Gender in the international debate on development and cooperation. All parties also emphasized this at the ‘International Year of Ecotourism - IYE 2002’. A multi-stakeholder dialogue is a desirable process in which all stakeholders can put forward their points of view and ideas, as well as participate equally in the on-going debate about a sustainable development of tourism.

“The term multi-stakeholder processes (MSPs) describes processes which aim to bring together all major stakeholders in a new form of communication, decision-finding (and possible decision-making) on a particular issue. They are also based on recognition of the importance of achieving equity and accountability in communication between stakeholders, involving equitable representation of three or more stakeholder groups and their views. They are based on democratic principles of transparency and participation, and aim to develop partnerships and strengthened networks between stakeholders.” (www.earthsummit2002.org/msp/)

However, local communities, non-governmental organizations and indigenous people have complained that they were not able to take part at international conferences and meetings during the IYE because of their limited financial resources, and that due to this state of affairs, decisions about tourism development were dominated by tourism organizations and international institutions such as UNEP. There were those who even questioned the legitimacy of certain activities, decisions and processes that were submitted and subsequently dealt with (Frei 2002; www.groups.yahoo.com/group/iye2002, 11 June 2002; Tourism in Focus 2002).

At the World Ecotourism Summit, which took place in Quebec, Canada from 19 – 22 May 2002, the lack of participation of these stakeholders in the consultation process was noted in the final declaration:

“The participants to the World Ecotourism Summit [are] aware of the limitations of this consultative process to incorporate the input of the large variety of ecotourism stakeholders, particularly non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and the local and indigenous communities,…” (Québec Declaration on Ecotourism 2002)

In the following treatise, it will be demonstrated that the causes for the insufficient representation of these groups is not only due to the often-lamented lack of financial support. There are other more complex reasons that can be traced back to the organizational, cultural and regional structures in which these players move. There will also be discussion as to what extent the demand for a multi-stakeholder process with equality of rights can be realised under the given circumstances. This will be followed by an analysis of who the actual players are in this debate and what kind of mandate they have.

The examples will be taken from Southeast Asia and will refer to the author’s own experiences in organising and chairing the Southeast Asian Preparatory Conference for Quebec, which took place in Chiang Mai, Thailand from 3-7 March 2002¹. One must keep in mind that the challenges and discussions regarding an equal and fair multi-stakeholder process are not limited to the tourism sector but to other parts within the development debate as well. Therefore, the examples mentioned in this article can be adapted in most ways into the general discussion of the multi-stakeholder process.

Stakeholders – often mentioned but rarely named

„Stakeholders are those who have an interest in a particular decision, either as individuals or representatives of a group. This includes people who influence a decision, or can influence it, as well as those affected by it.” (www.earthsummit2002.org/ic/process/stakeholders.htm)

In nearly every discussion on the subject ‘Sustainable Tourism Planning’ the term ‘stakeholder’ is used.

¹ The author was coordinator of this conference. Further information on this conference titled „Community Based Ecotourism in Southeast Asia“ is available at: www.ecotour.in.th.

Everyone seems to know whom and what is meant by this, but whether the structures and dependencies of these stakeholders actually exist or are even legitimate is very seldom questioned or openly addressed.

On the web-page of the World Summit on Sustainable Development 2002 in Johannesburg, it is pointed out that stakeholders have a right to be part of the decision-making process but that it is also their duty and responsibility to play their part in a sustainable development. (www.earthsummit-2002.org/ic/process/stakeholders.htm)

Stakeholders must adhere, for that reason, to the following principles: responsibility, flexibility, good governance, transparency and to willingness for dialogue and learning. These abilities are required not only as a prerequisite for accepting different points of view but also to ensure that they can be integrated in a complete concept so that a win/win rather than an win/lose situation can be guaranteed. Most important of all is that each contribution must be understood as a component of the "Big Whole" and that stakeholders are requested to support one another in overcoming stereotyped prejudices.

What is easily formulated in theory is difficult to realise in practice, according to UNEP:

"Multi-stakeholder partnerships are not an answer to every problem, nor are they easy. They require a difficult balance of idealism and pragmatism, creative vision and practical hard work, a strong commitment to principles and willingness to compromise. Most are extremely complex and many fail to live up to their expectations." (www.merck.de/english/responsible-care/english/basics/conflict.htm)

Communities are not homogeneous units

The 'Key Stakeholders' in tourism are definitely the communities as they are directly affected by the economic, ecological and cultural effects of tourism in their regions.

Nevertheless, one must always take into consideration that communities do not necessarily form a homogeneous unit due to their members' different goals and interests. Members of a community may for instance have a common interest in advancing the development of tourism in their village. Some of them may especially hope for economic growth and a subsequently higher income for their families. Others may not only be thinking about the financial advantage, but may also wish primarily to strengthen and increase the value of the traditional culture, thus reducing the migration of the youth into the large cities, as has often been the case with ethnic minority groups of Northern Thailand. Therefore, in the call for participation of communities in the



'Community-based Tourism'-
Workshop/ Northern Thailand

Giving answers to the question:
"What are the (dis-)advantages
of tourism"?

multi-stakeholder debate one must remember that members of these small nuclear units in tourism have different agendas and that all sides have the right to express their different goals and opinions in public debate. Moreover, this is where it starts to become complicated:

Who can present the goals and demands of these communities in the public arena when these communities themselves do not have a central, uniform opinion? On the one hand, this could be the village mayor or an 'elder.' It could also be an independently chosen member of the community, as was shown at a conference in Thailand: Three Thai non-governmental organisations, the 'Regional Community Forestry Training Centre for Asia and the Pacific' (RECOFTC), 'Responsible Ecological Social Tours' (REST), both from Bangkok and the 'Project for Recovery of Life and Culture' (PRLC), based in Mae Hong Son, invited more than 40 community representatives to a meeting in January 2002.

Not only were experiences in the field of community-based ecotourism² exchanged, but also five representatives for Thailand were elected to take part in a Southeast Asian regional conference in Chiang Mai two months later. However, to organise a national conference as a participative preparation process for a regional conference is time-consuming and expensive. A local organisation must be ready to not only take on such a conference, but also to find sponsors who are prepared to finance it.

Furthermore, in many of the countries of Southeast Asia national organisations with the knowledge and capacities for such an undertaking do not yet exist. Another important aspect that must be considered is the political climate that dominates certain countries.

² For the terms Ecotourism, Community-based Tourism or Community-based Ecotourism, see Nicole Häusler & Wolfgang Strasdas: Training Manual for Community-based Tourism, Zschortau/Germany, 2003, p. 3.



In authoritarian states such as Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (not to mention Myanmar/Burma) projects that involve the local people are in their early stages. Representatives from villages who might have the confidence and knowledge necessary to present their experiences at conferences need to be nurtured. Such a task takes years to develop.

And perhaps it should simply be admitted that eventually, local communities may not have a particular interest in taking part in these debates as they are simply not accustomed to this very western-oriented conference culture style. They often just feel overwhelmed. Monette Flores, an ecotourism consultant from the Philippines and elected representative for Southeast Asia in Quebec makes her point: *"There are countless community-based tourism projects in the Philippines that work well and are run independently by communities. They simply get on with it and do not talk much about it. They do not have the time to keep up with these kinds of endless discussions!"*

As juxtaposition, we should look at these demands in the light of a European context as well. Why is it that at conferences on the subject of tourism and the environment in Europe the demand to invite stakeholders like mountain pasture farmers from the Alps to participate is never put forward? Is it perhaps because we realised that the two different worlds will collide and that these farmers will only get a little out of this academic 'talkathon'? Could this also be the case in the countries of the South?

To avoid any misinterpretation: Representatives of communities should certainly participate in these debates if they have an interest to do so, but it should be emphasised that this participation can only be built up through a long and expensive

process. It should not be recklessly implemented because of legitimate but overhasty demands. The community representatives may end up feeling even more rejected than they already do due to unreasonable challenges and lack of experience. Furthermore, one must always remember that communities are made up of groups that are not homogeneous and have different concepts and opinions about the development of tourism.

Ethnic minorities – a jungle of different cultures, languages and interests

Upon entering a jungle one sees a single colour at first – green. After a while, one realizes that there are hundreds of different shades of green. It is just so with another group of stakeholders, indigenous people, who are listed in the following text as ethnic minorities or indigenes respectively.

Southeast Asia (SEA) has a variety of different indigenes and ethnic groups that is hardly matched in any other region of the world. The countries Myanmar/Burma, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Malaysia, East-Timor und Brunei are part of SEA. As regards to linguistic and ethno-cultural factors in the northern areas, certain regions of southwest and southeast China can also be considered as an integral part of Southeast Asia.

The island state Indonesia alone accounts for more than 360 ethnic groups³ and a large part of the tourist fascination for this region stems from the differences among all these people. In all the countries of Southeast Asia, the contrast between the majority who wield the power and the minorities is tangible. The term 'majority' means something different in each country. In Thailand, about 75 % of the population belongs to the majority, called

³ The term ethnicity is not clearly defined in anthropology and controversy surrounds the meaning. The most frequent definitions are common ancestors, a special name, the same culture and language. This criteria does not hold for religion as many ethnic groups already belong to different religions.

Thai, who began its migration from China in the 6th century. The number of Barma in Burma lies at approximately 70 %. In Laos at least 60 % belong to the majority group of so called Lao. However, there are 68 other minorities apart from this group. Minorities are then subdivided into urban and rural minorities, mostly so-called mountain tribes. A further uniqueness of Southeast Asia is the many transnational minorities due to the long-standing north to south migration of these groups. They can be often found in more than one state territory.

The word 'Indigenous' is often used instead of the term ethnic minority. Indigenous are actually the descendants of the first settlers of a region ('The First') who were later subjugated, colonised, partially expelled from their original settlements and altogether thrust aside to the very edges of the national society⁴. In literature and in the multi-stakeholder debate, these two groups are often equated with one another and this is not always accurate. Ethnic minorities in Thailand such as the Karen, Meo, Hmong, Akha, all migrated in the past 200 years into the mountain regions of Thailand, i.e. hundreds of years after the majority, the Thais. They are definitely not indigenous, but are often equated with them in the political struggle for the rights of indigenous.

A regional institution in Southeast Asia that represents the interests of all the ethnic and indigenous groups in this part of the world does yet not exist. There are governmental agencies at the national level in which the ethnic groups do not entirely feel fairly represented. Single ethnic groups are cared for by international or by local NGOs on a provincial level. However, an umbrella organization which has been established by ethnic and indigenous groups, and which owns a mandate representing their interests, does not exist in Southeast Asia.

Numerous reasons for this state of affairs can be put forward here: There is not one common language in the region, creating many missed opportunities for communication. Ethnic groups separate themselves consciously from one another, often having historical and cultural roots that are completely different. Political conflicts within an ethnic group frequently occur (e.g. the Karen in Burma) or between different groups as has been the case again and again in Indonesia in recent years. Asking for elected representatives of ethnic minorities directly affected by tourism to participate in a multi-stakeholder debate, as well as demanding that this is done with an official mandate, opens up a hornet's nest of problems.

Non-Governmental Organizations – whose voice do they represent?

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are named as another disadvantaged group in the

multi-stakeholder debate. NGOs are active in different areas of tourism. There are the 'Campaign' NGOs, like tim-team from Bangkok, who usually take a critical approach towards all kinds of tourism development and can procure for themselves a great deal of media attention because of their agenda and structure. For this reason, there have been frequent hints in publications that *the* non-governmental organizations of the South in particular have criticized the International Year of Eco-tourism. Unfortunately, hardly anyone has noticed in this supposed solidarity pact of southern NGOs that there are numerous NGOs in the field trying, in painstakingly small ways, to establish sustainable tourism projects in cooperation with local communities. Most of the staff of these NGOs are trained social workers or village helpers who do not have the time or the experience, and quite often neither the language skills, to participate in this debate.

Should there be mention again in future that *the* southern NGOs criticize this or that, one should bear in mind that they also do not form homogeneous groups in the field of tourism, but pursue different interests and goals, and are often not willing to cooperate in any way.



Tourist experiencing local tradition

In the context of NGOs one should therefore always ask, whose voice they are representing independent of the direction in which they appear to be moving. I do not wish to undermine the need for the strength and competence of the numerous NGOs who perform a worthy duty for their respective societies based on their work, and which are therefore granted certain legitimacy. However, it should not be forgotten that they have no worldwide democratic mandate from the perspective of constitutional law.

4 The Adivasi in India with their estimated 70 million make up the largest recorded percentage. The Maori in New Zealand also belong to these groups, as do the Aborigines in Australia or the Inuit in Alaska, Canada and Greenland. www.gfbv.de/voelker/indigene



Hosts and guests in a Karen Village in Northern Thailand
(Photos: Nicole Häusler)

There is a huge number of NGOs in the South with no membership base. They have no more than one or two employees and are completely dependent on financing by sponsors abroad⁵. The work of these small NGOs can certainly be effective and is worthy of promotion, but it must be asked repeatedly whether these NGOs actually receive any support from the population or whether they simply propagate their own ideas and ideologies in the name of the poor and oppressed. This questioning is particularly relevant to NGO workers from the South who were too quickly and uncritically romanticized in the past. This led a certain number to self-aggrandisement and having an uncritical attitude towards their own work (Bliss 2003; Nuscheler 2001; Schmitt 2001; Upadhyay 2003).

It is not my intention here to discredit NGOs, as the need for their contribution is undisputed, especially in the promotion and establishment of tourism projects at the local level. In this arena, they often take on an important and influential role as mediator or facilitator between the communities, the private sector and the government. It is because of this role, and the accompanying status, that NGOs need to develop a stronger critical self-awareness and more transparency towards their own work and goals.

Language – A Power Factor

The problems in communication due to the language diversity in Southeast Asia have already been highlighted in this article. Yet we need to look even closer at this phenomenon, which up to now has not been granted the inspection it deserves. In this day and age no-one likes to admit that s/he has not mastered the important trade languages such as English, French and Spanish. However, this is a vital reason for the miniscule presence of community representatives, local NGOs and ethnic groups in these debates.

In Southeast Asia there are hundreds of local languages and national languages, such as Thai, Khmer, and Bahasa Indonesia; but there is no Lingua Franca that is spoken by the majority of the region. English is often mastered only by an intellectual elite (with the exception of Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines). Furthermore, elders of an ethnic group can often only speak their local language, but not the official national language like Thai. This means that even in the distribution of information in a regional network it would be necessary to find people who were not only interested in undertaking this task, but who could also translate the information. This would be a painstakingly difficult process that would require enthusiastic supporters who would also need to be paid for their efforts. A web page in Southeast Asia that could be of use to most stakeholders would need to be not only published in at least ten languages, but also printed in six different types of script (Roman, Burmese, Khmer, Thai, Laotian and Chinese).

Another cultural reason for the sketchy enforcement of participative partnerships in a multi-stakeholder process is to be found in the hierarchic mind-set of Southeast Asian societies. This is based on seniority, which means that the decisions of the elder or elders in a family, village, or on a cooperative level, are obeyed. In the demand for a participative partnership with the local population, one must take into consideration that the representatives of these groups often do not meet western standards of an elected representative, and the 'bottom-up' approach does not work in a way that is satisfactory to the western contingent. In addition, there is reluctance in this region, where open conflicts are to be avoided at all costs, to participate in public debates, as one might lose face. It is preferable to solve problems and differences of opinion in private or via a personal network. The Philippines are an exception in this case, as their culture has been strongly influenced by Spaniards and Americans.

Who is who?

Coming back to the main question – who actually belongs to what stakeholder group - I will give an example, which will demonstrate once again the complexity of this issue. A participant, Mrs. Win (name has been changed), from Burma, attended the previously mentioned regional conference in Thailand. She has lived in the capital Yangon since birth, heads a small travel agency there and has been active in the establishment of a small community-based tourism project. She perceives this project along the lines of classic NGO work as she receives no financial gains from it. Mrs. Win is educated, speaks English fluently and wears traditional Burmese dress. However, she belongs to the Karen ethnic group, which is a repressed minority both in Burma and in Thailand. Is it possible in this multi-

⁵ The label NGO has been extended in recent years to terms such as BINGO (Big-Institutional-NGO), GINGO (Government-Influenced-NGO), GONGO (Government-Organized-NGO), NGI (Non-Governmental-Individual-NGO) consists only of one, maximum two people); PINGO (Private-Interested-NGO) etc.

⁶ Astonishingly the role of the tourist, the main target or client in this industry, has hardly been considered in the tourism debate. Paul Pacheco-Vega (In: Collaboration Theory applied to Tourism Policy-Making. An examination of a Case Study in Sayulita, Mexico. Vancouver, B.C. May 18, 2001) is therefore alluding to the "invisible" or "diffused" stakeholder, who is part of an intangible group and therefore cannot produce an elected representative with mandate. But s/he should be vigorously integrated into the debate with the help of surveys.

stakeholder debate to place Mrs Win under the 'ethnic minorities/ Indigenous' banner, or better yet, under the 'private sector' with a 'bit of NGO thrown in', as she is already urbanized and a successful business woman who supports a community-based tourism project in an voluntary capacity?

Consequently, the problem of identifying the stakeholder has an important but up to now mostly unacknowledged role in this debate. It is advisable that indicators, e.g. considering regional structures for each stakeholder, be put into place to prevent disrespect and misunderstandings concerning the mandate.

A round table or one with sharp edges

Due to a lack of space, it will not be possible to consider the role of other stakeholders e.g. the private sector, the tourists⁶ or the governments. However, it must be noted that the larger travel agencies in Southeast Asia showed no interest in participating in the preparatory conference as they felt the programme was too 'NGO-oriented' for them. On the other hand, some of the participants complained that there was too much emphasis on business issues. As long as all the stakeholders cannot concede that the concerns of each player have an intrinsic value in this multi-stakeholder debate, the dream of a 'round table' will remain just a dream and the debate medium will stay 'square and edgy'.

The demand for a fair multi-stakeholder dialogue will not work if the following points are not openly addressed and the will to deal with them is not a committed one:

Financial support for local communities, indigenous/ethnic minorities and NGOs must be guaranteed. The financial support given by donor organizations in the International Year of Ecotourism, as shown by their willingness in this small way to cover travel expenses, participation fees and translators, played a huge role in the Southeast Asia conference and other conferences as well. Many organizations are still not ready to accept tourism as a potentially important factor in village or regional development projects, and are therefore not willing to finance tourism projects, trainings or, indeed, participation in conferences. However, it would appear that as a result of numerous meetings and discussions on this subject in recent years, donor organizations are slowly coming around. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has announced that it wishes to change

its tourism policy away from the traditional economic idea of foreign exchange and job-creation towards a 'Pro-Poor Tourism' concept, which has been designed primarily to promote the fight against poverty in local areas (Muqbil 2002).

In addition, as has been previously mentioned because all stakeholders have not only rights but also duties, participation on a financial level by local representatives should also be demanded – in accordance with the local situation of course. When the stakeholder has his/her own share in the project, no matter how tiny that may be, this will show that there is a real interest in the task ahead.

The request for a regional, or even world wide, common platform for communities and indigenous/ethnic groups should not be carried out impetuously just to show good will. Many of the well-meant demands and comments from the English-speaking contingent may not represent the opinions of a large part of these communities. More important is the support for the creation of a micro-network, in manageable units, which can extend if their structures are to become firmly rooted.

Furthermore, because of the reasons stated above, one should accept that in reality indigenous as well as local communities will largely be represented by engaged (NGOs) persons in the next several years, at least in Southeast Asia. These will be people from the educated urban middle and upper classes in Bangkok, Jakarta and Manila. These people will have never worked in a rice field or be directly affected by the impacts of tourism. This is a fact that everyone can live with easily as long as these individuals represent their (absentee) mandate from this position and do not claim to be able to speak in the name of all the oppressed indigenous and local communities.

However, it is apparent that the most difficult topic will likely be not only the acceptance of different points of view, but also the attempt to integrate them into a total concept that has a place for compromise as well as capability for fair dialogue.

"Multi-stakeholder Processes are not an universal tool. Not a panacea for all kinds of issues, problems and situations... They are suitable for those situations where dialogue is possible, where listening, reconciling interests, and integrating views into joint solution strategies seem appropriate and within reach." (www.earthsummit2002.org).

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Urban Heritage Preservation and Tourism Development in the Old City of Aleppo

Meinolf Spiekermann and Anette Gangler

Erhalt des kulturellen Erbes und Tourismusentwicklung in der Altstadt von Aleppo

Die Altstadt von Aleppo, UNESCO-Weltkulturerbe und eine der ältesten durchgehend bewohnten Städte der Welt, ist aufgrund ihres reichen Schatzes an baulichen Zeugen ihrer Geschichte und der lebendigen, traditionell orientalischen Lebenskultur ein wichtiger Anziehungspunkt für Kulturtouristen im Nahen Osten. Seit Jahren ist sie jedoch von der Verarmung der Bevölkerung und von baulichem Verfall bedroht. Deshalb arbeiten die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) und die Stadtverwaltung von Aleppo zusammen, um die Zukunft der Altstadt durch einen integrierten Sanierungs- und Entwicklungsprozess zu sichern. Die Förderung eines nachhaltigen, sozial und ökologisch verträglichen (Kultur-) Tourismus ist Teil dieser Strategie.

Introduction

Aleppo is one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. Five thousand years of urban history and development and of social and cultural transformation have made it an exciting place in the Near East - to live in or to be visited. In 1986, UNESCO has classified the Old City as World Cultural Heritage, primarily for its unique urban fabric which is still entirely intact and mirrored by an authentic mixture of functions, land uses, and lifestyle displaying traditional oriental culture and vitality. However, for about 80 years Old Aleppo has experienced a loss of its sheltering function, and the city-administration has not been quick enough to recognize socio-economic changes going on outside its walled entities.

As a result the Old City is threatened by physical deterioration, economic decline and pauperization. Since 1994 a Syrian-German cooperation, the "Project for the Rehabilitation of the Old City of Aleppo" aims at strengthening the urban management capacities to rehabilitate the Old City and supports the rehabilitation process. The project is carried out by the City of Aleppo and the German Technical Cooperation GTZ. Tourism development is part of the rehabilitation strategy; relevant interventions comprise urban renewal and building's restoration, direct promotion measures, but also the support and the facilitation of a participatory opinion-building process to elaborate a tourism policy; the latter shall guide tourism development to consistency with the overall goal of preserving the urban fabric and improving living conditions in the Old City.

The City of Aleppo

The historic part, which expands over more than 350 ha around one of the most impressive citadels in the Middle East counts more than 16,000 mainly traditional buildings, with 240 classified historical monuments. The traditional courtyard-houses which constitute up to today the absolute majority of

residential buildings in the Old City, are the ideal built-up fabric for the human and social relations in the given socio-cultural and ecological context. Still today, the largest and very vibrant oriental bazaar and countless Caravanserais give the rhythm to the Old City's economy. Daily life enjoys the peaceful co-existence of different religions, cultures and living patterns for which the city has been a model during her 5000 years old history. It is this comprehensive traditional urban fabric, together with a vibrant social and cultural authenticity that made UNESCO in 1986 declare Aleppo's Old City a World Cultural Heritage Site, – and this is what cultural tourists seek for.

Grown through its strategic position as one of the major trading centers along the silk road, the city is nowadays challenged once more by an immense pressure of growth and as a consequence of economic, social and cultural change. Metropolitan Aleppo is today the second biggest city and the industrial centre of the Syrian Arab Republic. Since the middle of the 20th century, Aleppo's population has increased from 250,000 people who lived to a great extend in the organically grown historic parts intra- and extra-muros, to more than 2.5 million inhabitants in the metropolitan area today. However, from the end of the Ottoman period urban development was oriented to new areas at the western fringe of the Old City. While in the early 1950es, 180,000 Alepineans still lived in the traditional courtyard-houses inside the historic areas, the Old City's population has been reduced to about 100,000 people today. At the same time its social structure has changed drastically. Inhabited for hundreds of years by a powerful political and a wealthy merchant class which has moved to newly built European style areas, a poor class of mainly rural immigrants has settled in the Old City and on the eastern belt of the metropolis. Enhanced by declining public attention, this resulted in the decay of the technical and social infrastructure, further out-migration of residents, insufficient maintenance, inadequate use of the housing stock for commercial or other functions, and generally threatens the living

and housing environment. Until the 1970s urban planning even contributed actively to the demolition of whole neighbourhoods, and large roads were cut through the grown-up tissue along which high-rise buildings sprang up dominating the traditional court-yard houses. In the second half of the 20th century physical deterioration and economic decline made obvious that the Old City had been the 'looser' in this urban change process. However, this may turn into advantage today.

Increasing awareness and UNESCO

In the late 1970s it was understood that Old Aleppo's urban fabric was unique and urgently deserved national and international attention for being preserved. Backed by a study led by the UNESCO, a handful of highly committed Syrian and international individuals reached a political decision to stop further demolition – and as a consequence, the 1974 Masterplan was abandoned. This helped to stop the active demolition of the historic fabric. However, it proved insufficient to reverse the process of dilapidation. Only a combined strategy of conservation and development could save this urban ensemble from either dilapidation or 'museification', both of which would have been a disaster for the Old City. In 1983 an international symposium for the conservation of the Old Aleppo was convened, and subsequently, it was declared World Cultural Heritage in 1986 for having preserved the integrity of both a historic urban fabric and the authenticity of culture, tradition and social life.

The Project for the Rehabilitation of the Old Aleppo

Since 1993, the City of Aleppo and the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) are joining efforts to rehabilitate the Old City and to improve living conditions there. Over the time, various other international institutions have joined the project, which is considered to take 30 to 40 years for a first cycle of renewal: the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (AFSED), the Aga Khan Network for Development (AKDN), the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC), to name the most significant ones. The coming EU-financed 'Municipal Administration Modernization Project' (MAMP, planned to start in 2004) intends to enhance municipal administrative capacities in Aleppo and other cities, thus complementing the Rehabilitation Project under various aspects. It is expected that further funds emerging from the 'Syrian - German Debt-Swap Agreement', which have already been used for social and technical infrastructure renewal projects, will be made available for further rehabilitation measures. The main national institutions involved in this process are: the Directorate for the Antiquities, the Directorate for Tourism Development, the National Water Department, the Health and the Education Depart-



ments, and the Wakf (religious endowment and biggest property owner). Activities are coordinated by the Directorate of the Old City of Aleppo (DOC) which has gained a remarkable competence in managing urban rehabilitation over the years. Currently more than 70 architects and engineers are working here, to which local and international experts are seconded in order to achieve the expected results, as well as to further qualify the DOC's staff.

The project aims at strengthening the urban management capacities in Aleppo, in order to pursue a balanced and careful policy in rehabilitating the old city, to take measures for revitalization, and to secure additional sources of financing. It supports the development, the financing and the implementation of a comprehensive package of interventions such as strategic development instruments, technical and social infrastructure renewal, improvement of environmental conditions and social services, urban design and development, monuments restoration, traffic management, financial aids for housing rehabilitation, local economic development,

*above: A street in Farafrah
below: On the bazaar*

tourism development, community and cultural development, and tries to induce synergies between relevant measures undertaken by public and/or private stakeholders. Being the only integrative urban rehabilitation project in Syria, the Project has already set standards for innovative city planning and development in the country, in particular for the preservation and the renewal of old cities.

First signs of a trend reversal towards a new and positive perception of the Old City as an attractive residential and commercial place are visible; it is now necessary to further support this development and to guide it towards the overall project goal, which is to secure and to improve living conditions for those who live and work here while preserving the grown and historic urban fabric together with its social and cultural heritage, and at the same time to create modern living and working conditions. The project generally follows a poverty alleviation and gender orientation. Tourism development is part of this strategy. It shall contribute to finance the rehabilitation bill. However, possible negative effects must be avoided or mitigated.

Syria's tourism performance

The country's weak tourism performance, compared to the neighbouring countries of Lebanon, Jordan and Turkey, can be explained to a great extent by its deficits in relevant infrastructure, marketing, and management. Central and Local Governments undertake endeavours, with the support of the EU, the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and others, to develop strategies and to improve site management and services in the country, but they haven't shown the expected effects so far. Apart from the political insecurities prevailing in the region, national administrative regulations and procedures still let foreign investors be reluctant to engage in the country.

Moreover, 9/11 has almost led to a complete collapse of tourism in the region in 2002 and early 2003. Arrivals have slowly covered up during the autumn season. As a matter of fact, the city's huge potential for cultural tourism is undoubtedly under-used.

A comprehensive strategy for tourism development would help, and professional management of sites and services would certainly motivate tourists to extend their duration of stay in the city. The Project for the Rehabilitation supports local endeavours in this regard.

Tourism and urban heritage preservation in Aleppo

The treasures of urban and civilization history, the traditional urban fabric and oriental life styles, the extensive traditional souqs (bazaars) as well as the large number of remarkable historical buildings and monuments render Aleppo's Old City amongst the most original and beautiful oriental cities. Numerous archaeological and historical sites which can be reached from Aleppo are adding to the city's potential for cultural tourism.

Apart from the various general urban rehabilitation measures which certainly contribute to make the Old City more attractive and comfortable for visitors, a number of measures specifically contribute to promote and to guide tourism in Aleppo:

1. Land use & urban design:

Tourism activities may some times conflict with other land uses, in particular in residential areas. The land use concept adopted for Old Aleppo¹ allows for residential areas, business areas (with the main souk), open/green space, tourism areas, as well as mixed areas. Hotels and restaurants are therefore to be concentrated in the touristic areas of Jedeideh and around the Citadel. Public spaces which can be used by both the visitors and the residents for commercial, cultural or recreational activities are being rehabilitate. They display a high quality of urban design which is adequate for a world cultural heritage site but also for the specific function of the public space. As an example a public square which has been rehabilitated in Jedeideh is now greatly adopted by the residents as a centre for social life, and tourists can be seen 'taking a bath' in that lively and authentic socio-cultural scenery.

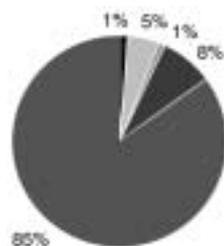
2. Community action projects and cultural events:

Rehabilitation measures which are concentrated in „action areas“ and organized as „action projects“ or as “immediate action measures”(such as ‘campaigns’ aiming at emphasizing individual responsibility for the up-keep of the neighbourhood, or social infrastructure projects etc.), meet the very needs of residents; they are planned and implemented in close cooperation with the neighbourhoods. Thus they contribute to a self-assured

Markets:

- Incentive
- Individual
- Cruises
- Pilgrims
- Cultural Tourism Groups

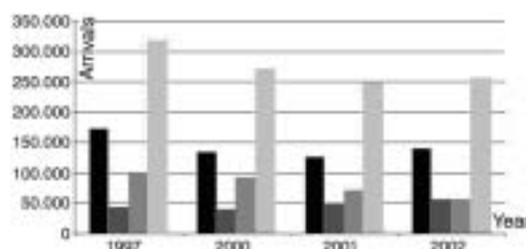
(Source: Siritours, own graph)



Arrivals:

- Syrian
- Arabic
- Foreign
- Total

(Source: MOT, own graph)



„Old City awareness“. Recently, school-children have been invited to draw their vision about living in the Old City. The drawings which are amazingly witnessing the children’s love to their home are exhibited in the Shibani-building, a former catholic convent near the main bazaar which is under rehabilitation. A specific cultural program undertaken together with various local and international cultural institutions (the Goethe Institute, the French Cultural Centre, the British Council, various local institutions and NGOs) further fosters resident’s identification with „their“ Old City. These events are usually frequented by tourists, too.

3. A permanent exhibition about the rehabilitation process:

In 2003 the project team has opened an exhibition about the rehabilitation process in the Old City in the Shibani-building. The objective is to inform Alepinians, urban development professionals and tourists about ongoing and planned developments and to witness from the continuity of urban development in one of the oldest cities in the world. It also hosts some architectural elements from the Old City which had been presented at a very successful tour through various museums in Germany in 2000 and 2001, entitled "Damascus - Aleppo, 5000 years of urban development in Syria". These items have been brought home to Aleppo. The exhibition has kindly been sponsored by a German travel agency and attracts both residents and visitors. It turned out that tourists coming to Aleppo and having in mind to see historic places and traditional oriental life are in general surprised, but highly interested in discovering the continuity in urban change, when they visit the exhibition. Over the years the rehabilitation process has become itself a tourist attraction.

4. Direct tourism promotion measures & public-private partnerships (ppp):

In co-operation with Governmental institutions, the local Directorate for Tourism Development and local investors, some historic monuments have been restored under a public-private partnership (ppp), and are now used as hamams (public baths), restaurants and/or hotels, excellently bringing traditional building styles into harmony with modern economic activities. Again undertaken as ppp, the project team has designed flyers with different tourist trails (“The Souqs and the Citadel”, “Bab Quinasreen” and “Jedeideh”) displaying tourist facilities and the historic and archaeological sites, as well as providing short information concerning the history of the monuments and other interesting points throughout the Old City. Printing cost had been born by the business community. Also a signing system of international standard for cultural heritage sites has been developed and partly been implemented. In 2003, the Syrian Ministry of Tourism and the Rehabilitation Project have run a common



stand at the ‚Reisepavillon - FORUM INTERNATIONAL‘ (TFI), a special international fare for cultural and eco-tourism at Hanover/Germany. The objective was to better position the Old City on this special segment of the tourism market. Booth rent fees had kindly been sponsored by the Ministry for Economy, Technology and Traffic of the German Federal State of Lower Saxony. In February 2004 three gtz-supported ‘old city rehabilitation’- projects will jointly exhibit at the TFI under the leitmotiv “common heritage – shared responsibility, urban development. In the historic cities of Aleppo/Syria, Shibam/Hadramaut, Yemen and Sibiu/Romania”.

5. Urban development and monuments restoration:

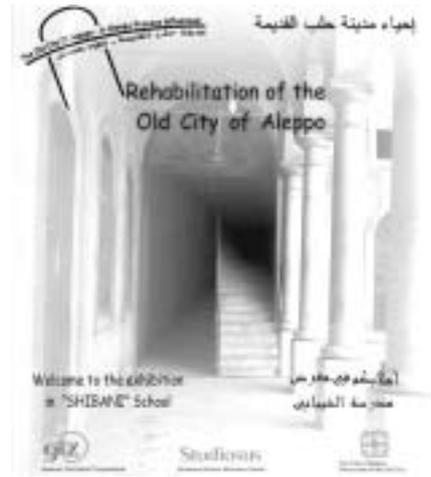
The Citadel of Aleppo is one of the most impressive cultural heritage sites in the Near East. It is both a recreation area for Alepinians and one of the most significant tourist attractions in the country. It is presently being developed for tourism through a joint effort undertaken by the National Department of Antiquities and the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC). A comprehensive “Masterplan” for the touristic development of the Citadel integrates strategies and measures concerning architectural preservation, structural safety, archaeological excavations, tourism facilities and locations for cultural events and maintenance.

above: Land use plan
left: The Old City in the eyes of the children
right: Cultural events in the Old City



left: Tourism and cultural heritage preservation: Aleppo and Heidelberg cooperate

right: The exhibition about the rehabilitation process



In addition, the plan includes tourist trails and relevant services (information, transportation, hotels, restaurants, shops, museums, recreational areas) on top of the Citadel and at the surroundings. Physical restoration and rehabilitation are undertaken according to international standards.

A very important sub-project in terms of both urban rehabilitation and tourism development is under way at the perimeters of the Citadel. The area, which is reserved in the Old City Development Plan for tourism activities and which has traditionally been and yet is a very vibrant place of urban life shall be upgraded by means of traffic reduction, restoration of buildings and public places, and green areas. Through-traffic will be eliminated and pedestrian areas be created in order to develop the area into a zone with a high potential for both a cultural urban life and tourism. Ideas to excavate historic sites (dating back to the Hittite and even earlier eras) and to create an archaeological park are considered, too. At present, respective plans are made by a group of local and international architects, in close cooperation with the Directorate of the Old City and the GTZ; the job is financed by the Aga Khan Trust for Culture (AKTC).

Plans are also studied to un-cover and/or to restore the western city wall or parts of it, so as to re-activate a major part of the city-wall which reaches over almost 2 km from Bab el Faraj via Bab Antakia to Bab Quinasreen. The wall and the gates (the latter are very well preserved and in healthy structural conditions) have been partly hidden by 'illegal' buildings (mainly shops) over the years. Studies are prepared at present, to re-locate the shops at other places which are convenient for the shop-owners; relevant plans will be drawn in close cooperation with the concerned people. New green areas, 'freed' parts of the city wall and the three big gates on the western borders of the Old City would up-grade the area for both residents and visitors. The project also offers a good chance to integrate purposes of Old City rehabilitation and

tourism promotion on the one hand, with developments neighbouring the city walls in the 'new city' on the other hand.

The main souq (grand bazaar), which is still the economic heart of the Old City, has up to date impressively maintained its traditional style – a potential for resident's identification with 'their' city, and for tourism, too. Goods offered and clients coming to the souq demonstrate that it is still authentic – however, the risk of getting "touristified" (such as parts of the traditional souq in Old Cairo) and thus losing its authenticity, is obvious and real, and must be taken into consideration. The attempt of preserving this certainly goes beyond the capacities of a rehabilitation project, since economic macro-trends and changing consuming patterns cannot be influenced on a local level. Nevertheless, shop-facades shall be given a consistent and more 'classical' or traditional design, in order to maintain the character of the traditional and historic, organically grown bazaar. To that end, the project team has proposed various design-patterns, they are presently being applied in one segment of the souq. In other parts of the Old City such measures have proven very successful, since upon a similar and punctual initiative, shop-owners have renewed their facades and extended this practice on their own over a whole neighbourhood in the quarter of Jedeideh.

As for the tourist areas in particular, one has to define corresponding modes and rules of urban interventions which aim at different purposes, such as to develop tourism facilities, to preserve authentic souk functions, to provide or to improve recreational areas and to initiate cultural activities. In the attempt of restoring the historic monuments and of valorising them for cultural tourism, a priority list for restoration, which includes proposals for their future functions and a description of relevant rehabilitation measures and costs, is under preparation. The document serves as a tool for lobbying for financial support for the restoration of monuments.

6. A consistent policy for tourism development:

The central challenge with regard to the development of tourism in Old Aleppo (as well as in other living historic places) lies in establishing the appropriate balance between economic (here: tourism-) activities on the one hand, and protecting the socio-cultural authenticity of living in the Old City, on the other hand. In the ongoing process of rehabilitation of the Old City it is understood that 'protecting the socio-cultural authenticity' includes of course the option of modernizing living and working conditions to today's standards. But this must be done in the framework of a traditional built-up and socio-cultural context. This holds true also for tourism development. Regarding the relevant attempts of various public institutions and interest-groups in Aleppo there is no comprehensive tourism strategy in place which would combine both components of an overall guideline (policy) and a comprehensive action program, both of them aiming at the challenge mentioned above. In an urban cultural heritage site such a strategy must ensure that tourism activities are in line with the purpose of urban rehabilitation. A tourism development strategy shall therefore be embedded into the overall rehabilitation purpose which is in the case of Old Aleppo to improve living conditions in the Old City through an integrative preservation and development process. To find the right balance between „marketing the city for tourism“ and the privacy of residents and the authenticity of life there is the challenge, where the project's „mediating“ role is imminent. "Tourists feel comfortable where residents feel at home" could be the central guideline for a tourism development policy. This leitmotif is borrowed from the German City of Heidelberg, with which a cooperation has been agreed in order to support the city in establishing a general guideline for the development of tourism in the Old City. The three-fold model (Aleppo – Heidelberg – GTZ) provides a good chance for establishing a city-to-city cooperation on a very practical and low-cost level. As a first step, an opinion-building process involving the major public and private stakeholders to develop a tourism policy is being facilitated by the Rehabilitation Project – where-in the City of Heidelberg offers technical advice. At a later stage, an action program shall be elaborated, based on the relevant policy framework for Old Aleppo.



The exhibition about the rehabilitation process



Restoration of the Shibani building



Touristic signs
(Photos: gtz Aleppo)

Fortunately, the risks of mass-tourism can be neglected in Aleppo - the city has been and will only be interesting for cultural tourists, whether they are of local, regional or international provenience. As in any other city in the world, the economic and the cultural and the social conditions are in a permanent process of transformation with considerable consequences on the urban fabric. Thus, the city tells a story by itself, and visitors get the opportunity to discover it on their own. Aleppo fascinates by its lively heritage from the past, which is both a burden and a potential for the present. It is precisely this tension which provides the energy for future development and visions.

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Can Cultural Tourism Preserve a World Heritage? The Stone Town of Zanzibar between Tourism Development, Conservation and Local Residents

Wolfgang Scholz

Kann Kulturtourismus ein Weltkulturerbe bewahren? Die Stone Town von Sansibar zwischen Tourismusentwicklung, Denkmalpflege und Bewohnerinteressen

Im Jahr 2000 wurde die Stone Town von Sansibar/Tansania in die Liste der World Heritage Sites aufgenommen. Nach langer politisch motivierter Nichtbeachtung wurde die Altstadt von Sansibar als Kulturerbe erkannt. Doch schon lange zuvor war Sansibar ein Reiseziel, zumeist von Rucksacktouristen. Mit der 1984 einsetzenden Wirtschaftsliberalisierung in Tansania stiegen auch die Investitionen in Tourismus und die Touristenzahlen. Obwohl Tourismus die Sanierung der Altstadt erst ermöglichte, hat er auch negative Auswirkungen auf Kultur und durch Gentrifizierung auch auf das Sozialgefüge der Bewohner. Auf Grundlage eines Interviews mit einem seit langer Zeit auf Sansibar lebenden Investor in Tourismus und Altstadtrestaurierung wird sein Konzept für einen Kulturtourismus und die dazu nötigen Rahmenbedingungen vorgestellt.

Introduction

Zanzibar is a small island in East Africa of 1,600 sq.km, which today forms together with its sister island Pemba and the former British Protectorate Tanganyika the United Republic of Tanzania. Zanzibar Town is the only town on the island with about 210,000 inhabitants (Census 2002). The Stone Town, the historical centre, is located on its western part. In 2000, the Stone Town of Zanzibar became World Heritage. After a long period of political neglect, the rich architectural value of the Swahili Town on the East African Coast is now recognized on international and local level¹.

The development of tourism as a tool to protect and preserve cultural and architectural heritage is well recognized and high on the list of suggestions of international donor organisations and experts. However, tourism development includes the advantages of necessary (foreign) investment in restoration of the buildings as well as disadvantages of negative impacts on the culture and even on the architectural heritage, and it often neglects the needs of local residents. The story of Stone Town, the demand to preserve this unique architectural value and its tourism development started earlier than its inscription in the World Heritage list. This article is based on experiences of local and foreign experts, investors in tourism and restoration and especially on an interview with Emerson Skeens².

The Stone Town of Zanzibar

The Stone Town of Zanzibar is one of the Swahili towns along the East African Coast, basing on trade between the inner Africa and the Arab Peninsular and India. More than 1000 years ago, Arab traders came with the monsoon winds to East Africa, started to establish their business, and mixed with the local people of African origin. Together they created a new culture called Swahili (for "coast" in Arab), based on Muslim religion, Muslim culture, and trade. The Swahili culture adopted the Arab concept of living in towns as well, while most Africans lived



right: Map of Stone Town and N'gambo in 1892.

next page:

- a) Arab house
- b) Indian house
- c) Swahili house

(Source map and ground plans: Aga Khan 1996)

in small villages. Today, most Swahili are of African origin or mixed, native Arabs are only a few. From Somalia to Mozambique, many independent city-states were founded. Zanzibar itself is a late foundation, but became the most powerful one under the rule of Omani Sultans in the 18th and 19th century. The Omani rule differed from the first Arab traders because they freed the Swahili towns from the Portuguese, but remained as conquerors and established an independent Sultanate by excluding the natives from political power and access to land. In the 19th century Zanzibar was the most important trading place for slaves, ivory, and gold in East Africa. Omani landlords introduced large clove and coconut plantations on the island, where natives and slaves were forced to work. Indian merchants followed to Zanzibar.

The Stone Town of Zanzibar and the majority of the buildings originate from this period. On a peninsula at a size of 90 ha about 1700 multi-storey buildings in Arab and Indian style with rich architectural details were constructed and showed the wealth of their owners. The Stone Town Master Plan describes it as follows:

"The Stone Town is the product of at least three centuries of continuous settlement, but it was only after 1830 that Zanzibar took on a wholly urban character and that stone buildings were built in consistent numbers. ... Although almost all physical traces have now vanished, the legacy of the pre-nineteenth century town remains in the loose street pattern and the dense fabric of the clustered buildings, which is particularly evident in the older parts of the town. ... Thus, within in the relatively short period of 150 years, the confluence of several distinct cultures and religions and the island's cosmopolitan development produced the rich and diverse architectural heritage we see today." (Aga Khan Trust for Culture 1996).

However, during that time the native African Swahili people and slaves from the mainland lived in poor mud and pole constructions in N`gambo (Swahili for the *other side*) and were well separated from the Stone Town by a creek³.

There are three main types of private buildings in Stone Town, reflecting the different origin of the builder and their culture (Aga Khan Trust for Culture 1996):

Omani buildings:

They are massive, roughly square in plan and fundamentally simple two- or three storey structures built around a central interior courtyard. Architectural decoration is minimal, the buildings and the facades are introverted reflecting the cultural based need of privacy. Only the large, wooden door is elaborately carved and represents the wealthy and social status of the owner.

Indian buildings:

These are mainly structures used for commercial activities and residential uses. In the ground floor, there is a shop, directly open to the street, and storage, while the upper floors with highly decorated balconies are for living. This type is located along the bazaar streets and represent about one third of the total building stock.

Swahili buildings:

These are the traditional rectangular buildings of the natives, a one storey structure with a front house for living, an inner courtyard for housework and a backyard house for storage and toilet. Later on, the multi-storey buildings of Arab or Indian style replaced this traditional type.

All these types provide a semi-public space in front of the house called baraza, a stone platform for sitting and talking with guests who are not supposed to enter the privacy of the house.

In 1964, the unbalanced political and economic situation between the rich Omani and poor African led to a bloody revolution, the overthrowing of the Sultan and most of the Arab and Indian left the island. The new Socialistic Government took over

the empty buildings in Stone Town and let poor people move in at very low rents. Those rents never met the demand for maintenance of the buildings. It is understandable that for a long time the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government saw Stone Town and its buildings as a product of the former regime and therefore neglected them. Its architectural value and uniqueness were not recognised while the historical buildings were only seen as cheap accommodation for landless people from the countryside and used for administrative offices of the Government, too. Due to the lack of maintenance, the buildings gradually deteriorated and even killed their residents by collapsing. It was high time for a programme to save the Stone Town and its unique architectural value and cultural heritage. The Government faced economic problems and had no funds for maintenance of Stone Town because of decreasing prices on the world market for the main cash crop of the island cloves.

Maybe it was a historical coincidence that the need for economic changes on the island and the need to deal with collapsing buildings changed the mind of the politicians to see Stone Town as a value and to use it for the development of tourism as a tool to earn foreign currency.

In the early 1980`s, local architects supported by the DED (German Developing Service) founded the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA) to preserve the architectural heritage. For the first time, Stone Town now was seen as a value and being part of Zanzibar's history. However, it took a long time to convince all politicians and local residents of that idea.

Heritage and Tourism Development in Stone Town

Heritage needs an economic base. Funds from donor organisations can never meet the demand for reconstruction and rehabilitation of an old town with such an amount of historical buildings like in Stone Town. Moreover, foreign subsidies can never establish a sustainable economic base for a heritage. Tourism can be used as a tool to preserve heritage and stimulate economic activities, because tourists are exactly looking for the built up environment of the past.

1 Justification for the Stone Town for its Inscription (<http://whc.unesco.org/sites/173.htm>): *Criterion (ii)*:

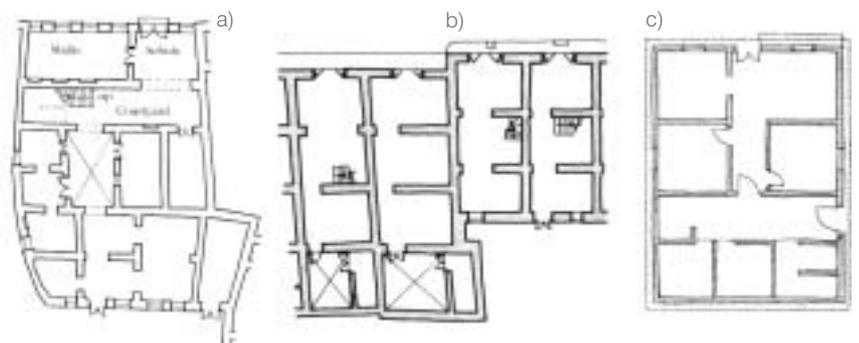
The Stone Town of Zanzibar is an outstanding material manifestation of cultural fusion and harmonization. *Criterion (iii)*:

For many centuries there was intense seaborne trading activity between Asia and Africa, and this is illustrated in an exceptional manner by the architecture and urban structure of the Stone Town. *Criterion (vi)*:

Zanzibar has great symbolic importance in the suppression of slavery, since it was one of the main slave-trading ports in East Africa and also the base from which its opponents such as David Livingstone conducted their campaign.

2 Emerson Skeens, an American (Amateur-) Architect came to Zanzibar for the first time in 1981. In 1987, he decided to stay on the Island. His idea was to invest in tourism to restore buildings in Stone Town. He did the first private restoration, opened a small luxury hotel called Emerson's House. Today, he is still partner in hotel businesses but his work is more focussed on NGO's dealing with cultural and social activities. In 1997, he founded the Zanzibar International Film Festival (ZIFF), and the Festival of the Dhow Countries. In 2001, he added the Academy of Popular Music of the Dhow Countries and in 2003 he initiated another school, the Institute for Contemporary Regional Art. Furthermore he initiated an idealistic social and economic development on Chole, Mafia, based on cultural tourism which has become a yardstick for the measuring of social involvement by the tourist sector.

3 For more details on urban development of N`gambo see: Myers, Garth Andrew: *Reconstructing N`gambo: Town Planning and Development on the Other Side of Zanzibar*. Los Angeles 1993



However, there has to be a balance between a glorification of the past in a well-preserved museum-city and a living city of today. For a World Heritage in developing countries like the Stone Town, there are hardly any alternatives using tourism as a tool for restoration and economic development.

No other economic sector on the island can provide enough funds and combine restoration and a new economic use of the buildings.

The question simply is, as we will see later, how and for what goal this tool should be used and how to control it for the benefits of all.

Development of Tourism

Tourism on Zanzibar developed slowly: During the socialist period in the 1960`s and 1970`s, Zanzibar was mainly a destination for political motivated travel, only a few tourists found their way to the island. In the 1980`s, tourism slowly began to develop and the arrivals rose by ten times up to 45,000 until 1984 (Scheerer 1988).

In 1983, a report by experts from the United Centre for Human Settlements (UNCHS) suggested tourism development in Stone Town as a tool for conservation and economic stimulation (UNCHS 1983), but it took a long time before Zanzibar became a tourist destination. In the same year, the WTO (World Tourism Organization) launched a tourism development plan for the Government (Inskeep 1983), which followed the optimistic ideas of tourism development as a problem and side effect free tool. According to WTO, focus of tourism development should be the Stone Town and the beaches.

The adoption of this report was a total change of policy of the Government as tourism now was seen as a problem-solving tool (Scheerer 1998).

The Government of Zanzibar however, preferred beach resorts, far away from the residents to reduce social impacts on the society, to provide employment opportunities in the hinterland and to avoid new construction in Stone Town (Scholz 1993).

Tourism development in Stone Town was not on the agenda. At this time, the Government was aware of the future problems of tourism in Stone Town. The first step towards real tourism development was taken in 1984, when the Government liberalised the economy and allowed private business.

However, problems of transport facilities, mistrust of investors to the socialistic one party Government, lack of administrative support and missing trained staff hindered the tourism development in the first years.

Today, this could be seen as an advantage, because the Government could have had enough time to get prepared for tourism development, to learn how to deal with global investors and tour operators, to understand tourist`s needs and to combine it with local needs. Due to the fact that no adequate tourism policy was introduced, the administrative staff was not trained and existing laws (e.g. envi-

ronmental law) not fully implemented or did not match with the attitudes and "dirty tricks" of global investment and a global industry, time was wasted to get prepared (Scholz 1993).

In the 1990ies, facing more economic problems, the Government advised by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), launched a programme to invite foreign investors by reducing taxes and allow free transfer of currency. Since 1991, the governmental Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency (ZIPA) supports foreign projects. 45 % of these projects went into tourism business and cover with about three mill. US\$ (until 1997) more than two thirds of the total investment on Zanzibar (Riegler 2000). When from the 1990`s tourism took off, the island was not prepared to deal with this dynamic development. The tourist arrivals doubled from 1990 to 2000. While there is no alternative for foreign investment, the dependency of the island on tourism increased. As we have learnt from September 11th, tourism is not an always-growing economy but it is risky business, too. In 2001 and 2002 as well, Zanzibar was effected by the global decrease of tourism as many other destinations (East African 2003).

Tourism development took place on the beaches and also in Stone Town, the implementation of the policy to concentrate tourism on the beaches failed. The Stone Town was too attractive for investors and tourists while implementation and control of tourism was too weak. The development of tourism in Stone Town itself is not the problem, but the missing guiding policy. Tourism in Stone Town was able to grow step by step in a "zone free of control", from one small local guesthouse to the other, from buying out only a few people to the gentrification of whole neighbourhoods, from well working local groceries to a cluster of souvenir shops, from a few street vendors to curious shops as tourist`s traps.

Potentials and Constraints of Tourism in Stone Town Today

The situation in Stone Town, 20 years after the UNCHS report, can be described as follows: Today, the main streets of Stone Town looks like a souvenir bazaar, many new guesthouses and hotels were established in old buildings, restaurants – even with Italian or Thai cuisine – opened and Forodhani, the traditional night food market of the residents is overcrowded by young backpackers. Even beer and other alcoholic drinks are available in the Muslim town, discotheques and bars are open until morning. Young boys try to make "business" with tourists by offering cheap trips on the island, half-nude tourists from the beach hotels are walking around in the Muslim Town, bureaus de change and internet cafés are everywhere, even drugs are available and prostitution (for both gender) is going on.

(Source figure: Commission for Tourism, Zanzibar 2002)

YEAR	TOURIST ARRIVALS
1990	42,141
1991	50,827
1992	59,747
1993	68,597
1994	41,433
1995	56,415
1996	69,159
1997	86,495
1998	86,455
1999	86,918
2000	97,165
2001	72,515

Is Zanzibar now a tourist's paradise?
 Do the historical town and its residents now face a better future or is that the price to be paid to get foreign investment and some jobs?
 Is the present situation the unavoidable result of tourism development in a heritage?

During the last ten years, the Stone Town has changed dramatically. It is not only the physical shape but also the economy, the culture and the society. Stone Town provides about 1,700 beds in 61 hotels (Commission for Tourism 2001). Only three of them are luxury hotels, up to ten are middle-class hotels, so the majority of the beds are low class and tourists visiting Stone Town are mostly backpackers. A third group of tourists are the day trip tourists, who come for half a day from the beaches to Town.

Emerson Skeens, one of the foreign investors in tourism on Zanzibar and living there for about 15 years stated⁴: *"For me, tourism should be still one of the priorities for a World Heritage Site like Stone Town. Tourists should enjoy the architectural beauty of the city, like in other historical places, and should spend more to stay in the historical centre as in the periphery. However, here in Zanzibar it is the opposite: Most of the cheap guesthouses for backpackers for about 10 US\$ are located within the World Heritage Site while most of the expensive hotels are on the beach. This kind of tourism has not only strong negative impacts on the environment, culturally and environmentally. In addition, this distribution influences the policies and attitudes of the Government: The money Zanzibar Government gets out of tourism comes from the beaches instead from the Heritage Site, so the interest of the Government on tourism in Stone Town and the protection of Stone Town is lower than possible. The right tourism can help to protect Stone Town. The aim should be to have fewer tourists in Stone Town, but those who are more appropriate. Tourists in a World Heritage Site should be aware of knowing where they are, should take care and spend more money for being there. There is the need for more quality of tourism in Stone Town and for better prices while having fewer tourists. Cheap guesthouses can be outside the Town in the suburbs providing accommodation for locals and backpackers. Low class tourists are usually less educated, less aware and looking for something else as cultural tourists and therefore they are the wrong target group for tourism in a World Heritage Site."*

Nevertheless, many buildings in Stone Town have been restored, which could have never happened without tourism. Most of them are converted into commercial tourist buildings, the process of the overall decline and economic stagnancy seems to be stopped. A lot of investment is concentrated in Stone Town, many new jobs have been created



by tourism, the shops are full of (imported) goods, and shortages of basic food as well as spare parts are now part of the socialistic history. The Stone Town is again the commercial centre of the Town. The land used for commercial purposes tripled between 1982 and 1993. Ten percent of the total building stock was constructed or under construction during the same period and 35% of the buildings were altered. (Marks 1996)

But what about the living condition in Town, is Zanzibar now a good place to live for local residents? What about the heritage of the architectural value? How do restoration and alteration of buildings for tourist uses meet the needs of architectural conservation and heritage?

The reality is ambiguous: Restoration takes mostly place for commercial, usually for tourist purposes. The donor-funded restoration covers only some few five to ten remarkable buildings. Those projects also support the tourism business⁵. While the uncountable commercial restoration of buildings is concentrated on some areas along the coastline, other areas remain neglected.

above: Internet cafés are all over in town. 30 min of Internet use costs one third of the average daily income.

below: The former Bazaar Street is now a curious shopping street.

⁴ Interview of the Authors with Emerson Skeens on March 31st, 2003

⁵ The former Sultan Palace is converted into a museum, the "House of Wonders", the most remarkable building at the seafront is used for exhibitions (funded by EU), the Old Dispensary is now a cultural centre and used for commercial activities (funded by Aga Khan).



left: Mislaid restoration: Inappropriate design of the façade.

right: Neglected area with collapsed buildings just one street from the main attractions.

(Photos p.25; 26: Wolfgang Scholz)

The former more or less balanced shape of the Islamic town becomes a fragmented one. The rents increased and the prices on the market for food as well. Stone Town became an expensive place to live, gentrification is going on, and cheap rents are only available in non-restored governmental buildings. Those residents, who are not involved in tourism business and therefore have low paid jobs are marginalised. (Marks 1996)

Problems do not only occur in the unbalanced spatial distribution of the investments, and the social impacts but also in architectural and heritage aspects. Marks (1996) described the changes in Stone Town as follows: *"The first is a cultural and economic change generated by the tourist trade and economic liberalisation (...). The second relates the ongoing deterioration, destruction, and alternation of the physical fabric."* Or Emerson Skeens: *"Many restorations were not according to the architectural heritage e.g. with wooden applications on the facade or inappropriate materials. This was undertaken during a period when the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority was somehow misled by foreign experts. There is a need to distinguish between the original architecture, necessary changes due to the change of uses and the modern taste of tourists and the ideas of investors thinking what tourists wish to see. Unfortunately, some wooden applications let some buildings look like a cuckoo clock now."*

One can say conservation matters seem to become part of the tourism industry and follow its rules while local needs are neglected. Another opinion that is foreign investment in tourism is the only chance for restoration of the Stone Town and for better living condition of their residents.

Cultural Tourism as a Solution?

While there are no alternatives to tourism, the question in this discussion is: How should tourism look like and what kinds of tourists are appropriate for Stone Town and the Zanzibari?

The following statements base on an interview with Emerson Skeens and his ideas and opinions and can be used as starting point for further discussion.

Cultural tourism

Emerson Skeens suggest a concept of cultural tourism: *"I love to restore buildings in this World Heritage Site. However, to upgrade the built environment is the easiest part. The more difficult part is to save the culture and that is why I went in these activities, too. I see and I saw the importance of the cultural heritage during the development of the ZIFF (Zanzibar International Film Festival). It highlighted the threat to the local culture in the globalising world. Cultural institutions can help local people to come along with their daily life and let them protect their own culture against the influence of the western world, which is also caused by tourism. The built environment of the World Heritage of Stone Town can also be helped by the development of the cultural environment. The buildings used for cultural or educational activities are not only protected and restored but they also create the environment for cultural or educational tourism. From this kind of tourism (scholars and cultural interested tourists), the local people can benefit, too. It is not only the money visitors spend during the festivals or their courses but it also gives local people the opportunity for their own education by subsidising the courses for locals."*

These cultural institutions will change Zanzibar into a destination of cultural tourism, which is a more appropriate way of tourism as the one today with tourist laying naked on the beach and walking in beach dresses through the historical Muslim Stone Town. In addition, cultural activities are a more appropriate use for the buildings in Stone Town. It will provide the same income generation opportunities for locals. Students from abroad coming to Zanzibar for educational reasons or because of cultural studies will also spend money here and create jobs and income. They can subsidise as well the educational system of locals. In addition, they back the cultural heritage by supporting the cultural activities here, either by buying local art products or studying local culture like music, dances, theatre and art. Low class tourism can never do so."

Today, ZIFF and other cultural events have a great impact on the culture and the awareness building of the residents for their own culture. However, those events could become part of the tourism industry with the focus on external needs and not the local ones. It is still a tricky issue. It is important not to lose sight of local goals.

Training and education

The problem is that there is a need for special skills to deal with cultural tourism, which local residents often do not have. The concept of cultural tourism might face the same problem as eco-tourism: Both represent western based concepts for the benefit of the (cultural or eco-) tourist and their preferences and ideas. Local investors and untrained staff in tourism can deal with guesthouses for backpackers, but how do they satisfy cultural tourists? Does this concept mean taking the second step before the first?

Emerson Skeens answered: *"Low class tourism based on local investment is a good starting point for locals to come into the business and I try to encourage this very much. I advised some of them of what tourists require and how to run the hotel in a better way. I am proud to say that those, who have followed the advice are now in a better position. They have slightly better standards, get some more money, are better paid and they can reinvest money to raise standards again."*

There is a high demand for training of locals in tourism to reach the goal of less low class and more middle class and high class tourism.

The need of long-term investment

Another aspect, covered by Emerson Skeens is the fact that not every investor coming with some money is also a good investor for the island: *"The Governments should not only have a look at the financial background of the investor and his list of the implemented projects. More important is whether it will be a long-term investment. Only those will take care of the built and social environment, the others will just make fast money and leave later on a maybe spoilt place."*

Responsibility of investors

His advise, not only for Zanzibar is: *"I also think it is the responsibility of those who undertake developments here to take care of these people. For example when I was taking over a building, which was occupied, I provided sufficient funds for them to move, to find an appropriate place, to restore it and maintain the new place. I think that should be the responsibility of all developers here. Another approach is to restore a building and rent the comfortable two upper floors to Europeans as apartments and the lower two for locals. Locals can, in this way, participate of the renovated, well-serviced building, which will be paid by the rent of the upper floors."*

Transparency and participation

"I would like to advise the responsible persons in World Heritage Cities to go on one further step, which we did not managed to do in Zanzibar, to make sure that everything is completely transparent and published for the local people so they can understand what is going on. Therefore, they will know what kind of place it is, what its heritage is and what they can do for it. In Zanzibar, decisions are not transparent and understandable for the residents, they are not involved and so they are not aware what to do and how to do it and how to benefit from it. Moreover, this is a loss of much potential because local people usually have the best ideas."

Long-term experts

Very critical he sees the role of experts: *"I think if you really like to do something you have to be in a place for a long time and not like those experts from developing agencies coming only for a short trip or one or two years. They will not understand a place like Zanzibar in that short time and their expertise might be even making things worse. I think the agencies must commit for a longer time to enable the experts to penetrate the surface and really go inside. One of the worst things in developing countries is these short-time experts coming up with quick solutions, which are neither very precise nor adapted to the reality on the ground. Most importantly, we must enhance the status, income, and opportunities of our local experts."*

Conclusion

Zanzibar managed to stop the physical and economic decline. New economic development, based on tourism, has started. The architectural heritage is better condition as before and the physical survival of the Stone Town is secured. Tourism took off and Zanzibar became one of the important destinations of international tourism.

However, tourism has still even growing negative impacts on the culture and the society. Today, when dealing with the global industry of tourism and global impacts on culture and society, there is a need for local based discussions and decisions on what to strive for and what to reject. Special skills and knowledge are needed to implement this. Therefore, a strong south-south network of similar World Heritage Cities, to enable the exchange of knowledge and the training of (higher) administrative staff and politicians might help to create alternatives to stereotype solution from western experts.

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Tourism Development and Heritage – The Stone Town of Zanzibar/Tanzania

Mwalim Ali Mwalim

Tourismentwicklung und kulturelles Erbe – Die Stone Town von Sansibar

Mwalim Ali Mwalim, der Direktor der Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority beschreibt im Detail die Projektionen und Vorstellungen von Forschern und Reisenden auf eine Insel und Stadt. Aufgrund der Insellage und der damit verbundenen geographischen und kulturellen Besonderheit werden diese oft überhöht. Obwohl Sansibar und seine Stone Town seit Jahrhunderten ein Ziel von Händlern und Reisenden war, ist der derzeitige Tourismusboom mit großen Problemen behaftet: Auswirkungen auf die bauliche Umwelt durch unangemessene Restaurierung und v.a. negative Auswirkungen auf Kultur und Gesellschaft der Bevölkerung. Er schlägt Kulturtourismus als adäquate Tourismusform für ein World Heritage vor anstelle des derzeitigen Rucksacktourismus.

Zanzibar and its integration in trading routes.

(Source: Aga Khan 1996)



Specificity of Island Habitats

Island habitats, throughout times, have never ceased to amaze people, whatever the proximity to the mainland. Some are remotely located, making their contacts with the outside somewhat protected, hence conserving their pristine beauty, at least till the advent of modern transportation systems. Some still remain as such. Others are of different geological history from the mainland, which combines with the local weather and current systems to make them not just unique habitats on earth but also differ distinctively from their mainland neighbours in terms of climate and topography, and therefore flora and fauna. For many years the crossroads of world maritime trade routes, some islands have accumulated material and cultural diversity hitherto unmatched by their immediate mainland neighbours, while the strategic positions of some have made them international power strongholds if not the very venues for the struggle, albeit at times.

Thus when such island habitats are associated with globally renowned events, legends, people or ideas, they become even more prone to the attention of the curious. Islands, as a result, are among hot tourist destinations of the World. No doubt properties within islands feature very prominently in the coveted World Heritage List, whether they are entire habitats like the Galapagos Islands, whole historic parts of the towns like Rhodes or sanctuaries like the Aldabra Atoll in The Seychelles.

The Zanzibar Stone Town

Located some 40 kilometres west of the East African Coast, Zanzibar islands (Zanzibar (Unguja) and its sister island Pemba) are a low lying coral formation with a population of around 1 million inhabitants and an area of about 1640 sq.km. Its tropical climate and fertile soil made it a ready supply of the building materials needed for the eventual urban development of the Stone Town, its commercial and administrative capital. This Stone Town is located in the western tip of a peninsula projecting to the Zanzibar

channel, along the main island, Unguja. The Stone Town, on the merits of being a physical reflection of cultural fusion and harmonization, of being a reminiscent of millennia history of maritime trade between East Africa and the rest of the World, and of bearing a significant symbolic importance in the slave trade and its abolition, was inscribed in the World Heritage List in 2000.

Its world fame even before the inscription in the List had already made it an important tourist spot. As early as the 8th century, it was already a commercial, logistics and geographical centre of the Zanj Bar, a loose confederation of Eastern African coastal city states. This Persian name for *the Land of the Blacks* was later transliterated to Zanzibar and became confined to the commercial centre, a former port and trade centre for ivories, spices and slaves. By the mid-19th century the city traded over 50,000 slaves annually, and was also a major centre for the export of cloves trading centres.

The Stone Town is therefore not new to strangers. Many visitors have at various times passed through the Island, leaving behind documented memories of their passage. These nostalgic memories, if anything, perpetuated the beauty and/or specificity of the Isles, thus attracting even more visitors. First hand accounts of visitors mentioning Zanzibar by name include Vasco Da Gama's in 1499, when he "*came close to a large island called Jangibar which is peopled by moors*" (Lancaster 1923)".

Pedro Baretto de Rezende, a European sailor, described Zanzibar in 1634 as an island "*... for the most part inhabited by Arabian Moors who have A Moorish king. There is also a church with a vicar of the order of St. Augustine to whom the king does all possible favours*" (Burton 1872).

A 1690 published English sailing manual described Zanzibar as a fertile and peaceful island "*... governed by a queen of yellow coloure and ye Portuguese have a small factory not affected by ye natives but they force a trade with them for Elephants teeth,*

Ambergris and Gold which they have from ye maine, here is a plenty of hogs, fowles etc." (Lancaster 1923).

Captain Thomas Smee of the British research Ship *Ternate* en route from Bombay in 1811 explained Zanzibar's population as comprised of slaves by three quarters and that some 6,000 to 10,00 slaves were exported to Muscat annually. He described the Town as having a "good number of stone houses" (Smee and Hardy 1844).

Richard Burton, the British explorer while launching his expedition for the search of the Nile in 1856 described the Town as having, in the centre of the sea front, ".....a square curtained artless fort, conspicuous withal, and fronted by a still more contemptible battery.....the Imam's palace..... consulates.....the large parallelogrammic buildings of the great, a tabular line of flat roofs, glaring and dazzling like freshly white-washed sepulchers, ...did their best to conceal the dingey matted hovels of the inner town" (Burton 1872).

H.M. Stanley the journalist and explorer described Zanzibar as somewhat changed in 1887 compared to his visit eight years earlier. "There is a telegraph cable, a tall clock tower, a new Sultan's Palace,.... There are horses and carriages and steam rollers and lamp posts" (Ruete 1888).

These curiously tantalizing yet confusing chronicles, coupled with the earlier ones generally attributed to Zanzibar from – among others – Ptolemy in the *Peripulus of the Eurethrean Sea*, Masoud the Arab navigator and Ibn Batuta the learned Muslim explorer and Pilgrim from Tangier, helped make Zanzibar a very strange and curious place to visit.

Many attributes included in the chronicles are the very qualities that attract tourist to any destination till today: Peace, cleanliness, security, exotic culture, hospitality, religious-ethnic tolerance and modernity are but some of the key factors attracting visitors to foreign destinations. To many of them, Zanzibar was a mystic place whose woman ruler made it arguably match able to the Biblical Sabeen Kingdom. Others, especially following Burton's translation into English of the Stories of the Arabian Knights after his return from Zanzibar, confused it as among the sites of the legendary Thousand and One Nights episode. Still others were curious to see the little island which governed the politics and economics of the entire region to the extent that – as it was then said – when they played the flute in there, they all danced in the Lakes!

No doubt that well before the inscription in the World Heritage List, many visitors believed it to have been already a World Heritage Town!

It is therefore a matter of difficult research to see the real tourist influx to the Town as an impact of the Inscription.



(Source p.29: Department of Lands and Surveys, Zanzibar 1987. Sheet 1 and 2. Original scale 1:5000)

The Stone Town and the attached N'gambo today

Tourism and Heritage in Zanzibar Stone Town

Coincidentally, the period between 1985 and 2000 in which the rediscovery of Stone Town as a national heritage rather than a relic of colonialism, which it was considered to be after the 1964 Revolution, was also the era of trade liberalization policies in Tanzania. As fate would have it, this was also the period when globalization assumed its current recognition. With the Town predominantly commercial in the ground floors and residential on the upper ones, it took little time with slight convincing and assurance to have local businessmen revive the commercial glory of the Town. Worth noting here is that although the Stone Town accommodates slightly more than 10% of the Zanzibar Municipality, within its confines are the Port, the Central Business District while still being the seat of the Zanzibar Government.

Unlike many inner cities elsewhere, the Zanzibar Stone Town is the most well developed part of the municipality in terms of services, amenities and infrastructure. Thus when the Government decided to withdraw from trade and business in favour of the private sector, it did not take long for Stone Town to regain its former glory as the main trading post of Zanzibar, soon to attract retailers from as far away as Burundi and The Comoros. The blood relationship between Zanzibar and the Gulf/Arab States made business transactions between the two sides even simpler compared to other countries in the region, making the imported commodities in Zanzibar relatively cheaper than in the neighbouring countries. A good number of businessmen received goods for free from their Gulf relatives as a means of sustaining family incomes.



left: The "New House of Wonders", an inappropriate structure commercial uses in Stone Town.

right: The "modern" style: Inappropriate use of materials and colours. (Photos: Wolfgang Scholz)

This situation rapidly emphasised Zanzibar's position as the renewed trading hub along the East African coast. Profit realized from the business was later invested to renovate old buildings in Stone Town into tourist hotels, although there were other investors, especially through joint ventures with foreigners, who directly moved into the (hotel) business. Between 1985 and 2003, tourist hotels in Stone Town increased from three to more than 100 (Commission for Tourism 2002). This increase in tourist hotels necessitated the provision for services to the tourists. Restaurants, curio-shops, cyber-cafes, discotheques, tour operators' offices, bureaux-de-change and other important tourist facilities had to be proportionately provided. Gradually, residential function had to give room for tourist activities, thus diminishing the residential quality of Stone Town.

Impact of Tourism to Stone Town

This pressure for development became among the important challenges facing the Stone Town both as a World Heritage Site and an urban human settlement. Second to perhaps the dichotomy of interests between tourism on one hand and resident culture on the other. Whereas, for instance, tourists are fascinated by the vibrancy of the Garage Club Discotheque at Shangani with its ready supply of prostitutes and (seemingly) drug traffic, the neighbouring residents have at so many times officially petitioned the Government to relocate it in order to save their children from permanent loss of their inherent moral virtues, while also reclaiming the desired tranquillity of a residential neighbourhood.

From the conservation point of view, this pressure for development has greatly challenged the social structure of the Stone Town. Gentrification is rampant, as poorer tenants are moved outside the conservation area for the wealthier business community to live and trade instead. This greatly disturbs the ethnic distribution of the town; one of the important characters reflected by the Town's physical planning.

The unregulated change of use of buildings within Stone Town is also a problem, as it disturbs the traditional land use balance. The resultant polarization of Stone Town into a predominantly commercial and touristic pivot along the eastern and western frontiers respectively, leaving the areas in between under-conserved, is a result of this unregulated change of use of buildings.

Another problem arising from this pressure for development is the unethical restoration, mostly by businessmen. Many businessmen are attracted more with increased space than better conservation. They would not mind a sky scrapper in the middle of the Stone Town, an example existing in the form of two towering structures at Vuga, the southern neighbourhood of Stone Town.

With the increase in commercial and tourist functions in Stone Town, the residential quality of Stone Town is diminishing with the day. Though they may hardly realize it, residents of Stone Town have to walk sometimes further than their village counterparts for their basic daily needs like food and fuel. Children's religious unstruction schools, a necessity for Muslim Children predominant in Stone Town and Zanzibar, are fewer and far between with the day. And so forth.

Tourism Outside Stone Town

One, however, should not be led into thinking that Stone Town is the only tourist attraction in Zanzibar, although it is absolutely true that it is the main attraction. Besides Stone Town, tourists are attracted to the white, sandy beaches particularly along the East Coast of the island. This beach tourism has led to a number of tourist hotels, besides some luxury resorts mainly in cheap traditional construction to spread throughout East Coast.

Majority of the tourists, however, are budget travellers in the form of vacationing students and expatriate communities working within the region. Only some select beach hotels are caring for package tours mainly of middle class tourists from Europe, who pay for most of their services in Europe and are ferried by weekly chartered airplanes to and from Zanzibar. These tours are sometimes complemented by visits to the Natural Rain Forests of Jozani and Ngezi, also by spice tours where tourists are guided to different spice plantations to see, test and sometimes consume the different spices through dishes prepared specifically for them.

Heritage Tourism, a Solution?

To many young residents of Stone Town and Zanzibar, tourists are rather "the young European backpackers roaming around Stone Town and the East Coast, willing to pay slightly more than the normal price of services or commodities". They would never rightly recognize the tourists as "the persons travelling for pleasure, who will probably spend at

least one night away from home" (Microsoft 2002). That's why majority of tourists visiting Zanzibar and Stone Town are European low budget travellers.

One would therefore expect that the inclusion of Stone Town in the World Heritage List to both enhance the overall marketing of the Stone Town to take on board its new status and also inspire the tourist industry to think in terms of the new but expanding phenomenon in the industry: heritage tourism. This is the type of tourism based on heritage, where heritage is the core of the product that is offered, and heritage is the main motivating factor for the consumer. Whether as the primary motivation or a secondary factor besides another attraction, heritage in Zanzibar is an attraction and can be made easily accessible with average investment, given the size of the isles themselves and the location of even the remotest of spots being near or around the sea. With the internationally expanding popularity of heritage tourism (Ratz 1999), Zanzibar and Stone Town would benefit more from heritage tourists for many reasons: Firstly, because usual heritage tourists have a better than an average education. They therefore will pay more respect to the culture and other intangible heritage of the locals, which is good for the sustainability of the heritage itself. They have higher than average income hence higher per diem spending. Heritage trips are usually short as they include a number of different places, which reduces the negative impacts of tourism to any one site.

It is important therefore that in and outside the World Heritage Site, the past should be reconstructed for it to be relived, experienced and enjoyed. This is the basic challenge in heritage tourism today, and it needs thorough interpretation describing the historic facts, creating understanding or emotional response, increase appreciation, awareness and enjoyment (Herbet 1989).

Well presented and interpreted Stone Town and Zanzibar will greatly complement and elevate the heritage sites that are not yet internationally recognized but still possess outstanding intrinsic values to be marketed equally well. These include cultural events like the traditional New Year celebrations, the Zanzibar International Film Festival, the Zanzibar Cultural Festival, cultural landscapes and areas of scenic beauty like the caves at Mangapwani, etc. These hitherto less known attractions are currently not themselves the major determinants

in the choice of Stone Town and Zanzibar as a destination, but have sufficient value to make tourists visit them once they arrive (Jenkins 1993).

Inference

It is a dangerous setting that the Stone Town is the de-facto physical tourist attraction in Zanzibar. Unless specific efforts are concentrated towards arresting the situation, the statistics don't convince of a natural solution, and soon. Currently there is a monthly average of 6000 tourists. Most of them are from Europe, particularly Italy, UK, Germany and the Scandinavian Countries. Of these, 90% reside or have a long stay in Stone Town. 100% visit the Stone Town (Commission for Tourism 2003). It is therefore a forgone conclusion that the only way out is to perceive Stone Town and its tourism programs not in isolation but as an integral part of the whole Zanzibar. Heritage spots outside the Stone Town need to be marketed and supported so as to alleviate the pressure Stone Town currently faces in terms of tourism demands and facilities, along with their counterpart commercial and service activities.

Yet there is another problem which is unfortunately taken for granted. That is the lack of domestic tourists in Stone Town on one side and the lack of Zanzibarian tourists outside. Tourism needs to be a mutual endeavour, where both the visitors and the hosts need to benefit economically, socially and culturally. Such is never the case if one part only plays the host role, or the other always playing the visitors role. One of the key attractions to any cultural/historic town is its culture, even if the visitors do not consciously recognize the fact. Culture itself is always dynamic. It has to gradually change with time and circumstances. The best mechanism of regulating such change is the dual exposure. Unless this is so, there is a great potential of the host culture regulating according to the wishes of the visitors. Such situation where the visitors define and dictate the cultural heritage of the hosts is not a healthy one. It compromises the very authenticity of the heritage itself. With it, the built heritage will equally lose authenticity. That is the start of the vicious cycle in which the visitors will no longer be interested in the town. And the completion of the boom and burst phenomenon. Unless both visitors and hosts – entire mankind – realize this potential problem, that is what may befall Stone Town. And the rest of the World Heritage Cities is in a similar situation. The time to act is now.

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Tourism Development with Obstacles – The Case of Bolivia

Ulrich Malisius

Tourismentwicklung mit Hindernissen – Das Beispiel Bolivien

Bolivien ist eines der ärmsten Länder, aber auch eines der interessantesten Reiseziele Lateinamerikas. Die Infrastruktur ist unzureichend ausgebaut und verlangt von Reisenden viel Eigeninitiative und Flexibilität. Das enorme Potenzial an Attraktionen ist bei weitem nicht ausgenutzt. Das reichhaltige Mosaik an verschiedenen Landschaften und Kulturen und der starke, pittoreske Gegensatz zwischen kolonialem und indigenem Erbe machen viel von seinem Reiz aus, ist aber auch die schwerste Hypothek für die Zukunft des Landes: eine ausgleichende soziale und ökonomische Entwicklung ist noch nicht in Sicht. Die Kombination altbekannter Kolonialstädte wie Sucre und Potosí mit den weniger bekannten Naturattraktionen wie Salzwüste von Uyuni und Dinosaurierspuren von Cal Orcko bei Sucre sollen das zentrale Hochland auf die Weltkarte des Tourismus setzen. Ansonsten setzt man eher auf kleine, lokal verwaltete Tourismusprojekte.

Die Demokratisierungsbemühungen und kommunalen Verwaltungsreformen der letzten zwei Jahrzehnte erleichtern es, touristische Projekte gezielt für nachhaltige ökonomische und soziale Entwicklung zu nutzen. Der Begriff des Ethno-Öko-Tourismus wurde dafür geprägt. Der Artikel beschreibt einige kleinere Projekte im Department Chuquisaca und in der Umgebung der Stadt Sucre, in dessen Stadtverwaltung der Autor tätig ist. Die aktuellen politischen und sozialen Konflikte im Februar und September/Oktober dieses Jahres, die latent schon länger existieren, drohen allerdings alle Projekte und Bemühungen im Tourismus um Jahre zurückzuwerfen.

The article describes some of the recent developments in tourism in Bolivia, a country which always has fascinated individual travellers and adventurers, but which has difficulties to provide an adequate infrastructure for professional mass tourism. Due to the inheritance of a colonial-feudalistic society there are major contradictions between the small oligarchy and the mass of the rural population. A sensitive and responsible approach in tourism projects and strategies is needed, to enhance the social, cultural and political equilibrium. The general state reforms of decentralization and participation are instrumental in order to support participation also in tourism projects. Sustainable tourism and ethno-eco tourism for a number of new destinations are concepts which seem to be adequate. Project examples from the Department of Chuquisaca are described. Intercultural dialogue is not only needed between foreign tourists and residents but also between the Bolivians themselves.

This landlocked country in the heart of South America has been and is one of the “underdogs” of the continent. Several lost wars, a civil war between competing capitals, a poor infrastructure, an economy based on cash crops, the legendary – now almost disappeared – mining industry with the once most revolutionary avant-garde of labour unions in the world are not a good record for national pride and self-confidence. The stronger brother nations and neighbours Argentina, Brazil, Chile and even Peru are much more in the focus of international attention. Also in number of visiting tourists the country is far behind countries like Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil and Chile.

Foreign Tourists in the countries of the Andean Community in 1998

The income generated from tourism in 1999 was US\$ 179.2 millions and in 2001 was 162.7 millions of US dollars, which is around 12% of the income from export of products and services¹. But underdogs often do have their own charm and qualities, only they have to be understood and to be discovered.

Spectacular landscapes and dramatic contrasts from arctic, to moderate and tropical climate, a mosaic of indigenous cultures, the world's largest salt desert, the famous lake Titicaca basin, the remains of the Inca empire and of other empires, the legendary jungle tracks of the Che Guevara guerrilla, huge national parks with rainforest and other unique ecological zones, the jewels of colonial Hispanic architecture and cities form a picturesque scenario and background, to present one of most authentic, archaic and unspoiled countries in Latin America.

These attractions combined with a warm-hearted, helpful and friendly population and one of the lowest price levels in the continent makes Bolivia a paradise for adventure- and individual travellers. People who can communicate with the population and who have the flexibility to organize their visits themselves meet a country and population extremely rich of possibilities to discover a fascinating and exiting country. But Bolivia has never made strong efforts to develop tourism and to establish a reliable and professional infrastructure, like e.g. Peru or Ecuador or Brazil. A variety of individual tours are offered and organized throughout the country, however the frequency of visitors is often below the point of



positive economic results. Slowly the government understands that there is a need for concerted actions and investments in infrastructure and marketing, as the examples of the more successful neighbour countries show.

In the recent years, the number of tourists even dropped significantly due to a number of factors. The euphoric years after introduction of democracy in 1985 are now followed by disappointment and stagnation. It is not automatically that democracy creates more economic growth. The ongoing economic crisis has increased the social unrest and conflicts. Many strikes and road blocks made transport for tourists sometimes to a lottery. The “black February 2003”, where police and army fought against each other and against the government in the Capital La Paz is a sign of a deep political and socio-economic crisis. Tourism business is always reacting sensitive to such problems.

In September this year the Embassies of Germany, the Netherlands, Argentina and Chile recommended their compatriot tourists to avoid travelling in Bolivia. Reason is the road blocks of labour unions and indigenous organizations in many parts of the country. Hundreds of inhabitants and 40 foreign tourists in the lovely town of Sorata could not leave the town for more than one week. The government decided to evacuate them with a military convoy. 6 people were killed and 3 dozen’s hurt in a confrontation between the military convoy and the road-blockers. All tourists were saved well, but who wants to risk to be trapped like this? The aims of the Government are quite ambitious and can only be achieved with the stability of the political and social environment. For the year 2007 it is aimed to increase the number of annual visitors up to 800,000 per year, and the income generated up to US\$ 500 millions.

Tourism development strategies, supported by foreign donors

The development organization Swisscontact has initiated a good pilot project in the constitutional Capital Sucre, and the mining town Potosi. With the assistance of the late eco-tourism expert Prof. Jost Krippendorf a concept of regional integration and coordination was implemented in 2000-2002. The main attractions Salt desert of Uyuni, and the colonial world heritage towns Sucre and Potosi were grouped together in one product, logo and website: Sucre-Uyuni-Potosi (see: www.Andeanjewels.com). Potosi is the legendary town with the silver mines of the Cerro Rico (rich mountain), where hundred thousands of indigenous slaves died. The contrasts of wealth in the past and poverty in the present could not be bigger. Sucre is the traditional seat of the Spanish colonial administration, and the most homogenous of the

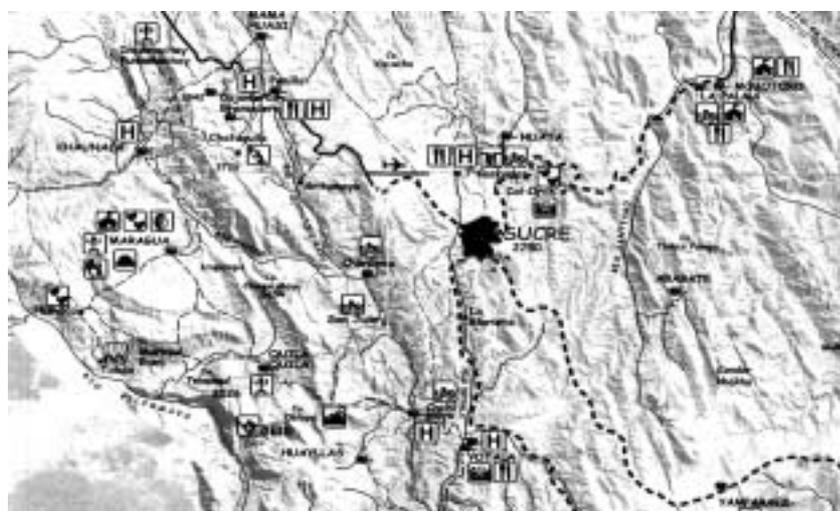
COUNTRY	NUMBER OF FOREIGN TOURISTS	INCOME IN MILLIONS US\$
Bolivia	387,500	69,2
Colombia	841,000	939,0
Ecuador	510,600	291,0
Peru	724,200	856,5
Venezuela	837,100	961,0

2001 (p)	308477	
2000 (p)	317192	
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1998	387520	
1997	354971	
1996	313052	
1995	283977	(p) Provisional

historic towns from colonial times, with a lot of architectural masterpieces influenced by Spanish architecture from Andalusia. Krippendorf saw in this integration of several attractions the only chance for Bolivia to compete with the world famous attraction Machu Picchu in Peru, which is a magnet for the entire continent.

Additionally, all private and public tourism institutions and actors were organized under one umbrella: Organización de Gestión de Destino Sucre-Uyuni-Potosí (OGD). In this way, the scarce and until now scattered resources can be used in a much more coordinated and efficient way and the partners can learn from each other and establish links between each others. The chaotic marketing of thousand individual products is now in a cluster much easier accessible and less casual.

Swisscontact has successfully terminated the project in Sucre and started the same exercise in another region: in the lowlands of Santa Cruz. The Titicaca-La Paz Region may follow later. Apart from that almost every municipality and department has their public tourism offices and committees, but due to various reasons they do not work efficiently. A better approach is the ongoing organization of the municipalities in “mancomunidades”, that means inter-communal entities for coordination and collaboration of several municipalities in one region.



Foreign Tourists in the countries of the Andean Community in 1998

(Source: Estadísticas de Turismo de la comunidad Andina)

Number of foreign visitors in Bolivia

(Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística)

1 Lic. José Hidalgo, Viceministerio de turismo; “Política Nacional para el desarrollo turístico de Bolivia. Turismo y Cultura. Conferencia Patrimonio, Cultura y Turismo, Sucre 26.-29.3.2003.

Traditional music and dance of young Indios from Miskamayu-Tarabuco



Weaving is an ancient indigenous handicraft tradition



With support of various donors they have a more professional approach towards utilization of the vast tourism potential of the regions. (see: www.enlared.org.bo).

Examples from the rural districts of Sucre, Department Chuquisaca

The Capital Sucre of the Republic Bolivia (founded 1825) lost a civil war in 1890 against the more dynamic town La Paz and consequently all government institutions were transferred to La Paz. Sucre remained "Capital constitucional" and is since that time more a symbol of nostalgia, colonial tradition, history and stagnation, rather than of dynamic growth. With a semi-arid climate and eroded poor soils and a spectacular, but difficult topography there is hardly any economic activity in the region around the once richest towns Sucre and Potosi. The department is one of the poorest of modern Bolivia.

The contrast between Spanish colonial lifestyle in the Historic Centres and the archaic indigenous lifestyle in the rural areas reflects the 500 years deficit of equilibrium. In the last 30 years a continuous migration from rural areas to cities has dramatic consequences. The only way to slow down

this migration are economic activities in the villages, and one of the few alternatives is rural tourism.

Eco-ethno-tourism is the new topic. Government, departmental and municipal authorities have tourism development as one of the highest priorities in their agendas. But, how to implement this in practice, in an underdeveloped region? Additionally all public institutions change their personal almost every year, sometimes even every month, due to the orders of political parties, who have the right to place their party members according to political quota in almost all public posts. Therefore continuity and growth of competence is always interrupted.

The distribution of foreign tourists in Bolivia per year is very much concentrated on the two towns with international airports, La Paz and Santa Cruz. Sucre is by far not using its potential, due to unreliable air connections (difficult airport depending on weather conditions) and lack of tarmac road connection. There are existing plans to construct a new airport, but the project is not yet financed.

The recent development plan of Sucre (Plan de desarrollo municipal PDM 2000-2004) points out the district 8 with the greatest potential of rural tourism, most of the attractions in 1-2,5 hours (25-55 km) from the town centre. Basically it is an ideal supplement for the traditional urban tourism. At 25 km distance is the Sanctuary of Chataquila at 3600 m height. On a spectacular footpath of 7 km one reaches from there a nice spot with rock paintings in 2 caves. With the municipal tourism section we implemented a project, to improve the footpath and to protect the paintings with a circular stone wall and a small house for a guide. The local people of a village nearby were trained to control the place and guide the tourists. They will get all income created by the visitors. The first challenge of the project was to integrate the technical expertise of several experts, to improve the project proposal. The next challenge was to sensitise the local community, that their own heritage is a resource which they should appreciate, maintain and utilize for income generated by tourism. However the following incidents show that a lot of patience and pedagogical efforts are needed. Under the eyes of the wall building team of locals one day the paintings were spoiled with new colours. Of course nobody wanted to have seen, who vandalised the paintings. The resources of the country always have been extracted by the oligarchy, leaving an exploited and passive rural population, which is now full of suspicion against the urban population. Only in very patient and honest dialogues this historic heritage might be overcome.

Also the two days training course for the local guides seem to have no impact: at recent observations the guide just charged the entrance fee from the tourist, but did not supervise the visit and did not guide either. Technical trainings alone are not sufficient.



left: Monastery San Felipe Neri in the historic centre of Sucre. The colonial architecture is inspired by the andalusian style of southern Spain.

The church of Quila Quila, built 1632 by the Spaniards with mud bricks (adobe)



Detail of rock carvings in Quila Quila

General education towards responsibility is needed, otherwise all efforts are useless.

In the final phase of the project we will cooperate with the Bolivian Research Association of Rock Arts (SIARB, www.Bradshaw.com) in order to repeat the training of guides more systematically and to elaborate a site management manual.

One of the loveliest spots in the district with the best tourism potential is the valley and village of Quila Quila, at 25 km distance. It is an area of beautiful scenery, high mountains and rocks, picturesque villages with a beautiful colonial church from 1632 and a rich cultural heritage with rock carvings and a thermal water spring. It is also a very traditional area, where still the old indigenous pre-colonial administration form of Ayllu is alive, a form of political-social neighbourhood organization, which is very strong. The Ayllus have been accepted as political entities, in the recent emancipation of the indigenous population.

But so far almost everything what could go wrong went wrong in Quila Quila: earlier a Priest of the church has stolen most of the valuable old paintings, leaving the church as an empty hull. Some people wanted to extend the opening of the thermal water spring with dynamite, with the result that it was completely destroyed. Other people did not like the rock carvings exhibited to tourists, destroyed part of them and covered others with stones.

The area, rich of limestone, is a potential resource of raw materials for the cement factory in town.

The conflict on the rights of exploitation divided the population in 2 groups; the Ayllus, who want to preserve the landscape not using the limestone at all, and the villagers from the labour union, more controlled by the political parties and administrators of the town. Additionally there are some disputes

on traditional and modern rights of land use, which split the community. The conflict has now paralysed every development in the past 5 years. A proposal to build a local museum to expose the cultural and natural richness was stopped due to that. Even day tourists hardly come, because they have to fear road blocks. As in the entire country, the art of conflict is in Bolivia more developed than the art of compromise. It is obvious that violent conflicts make many investors hesitating, especially in tourism business. The tourism section of the Municipality of Sucre tries now a strategy to talk individually to the responsible leaders and to offer them projects, which are not conflictive, in order to train their skills and their will of cooperation, e.g. in common programmes of sensitisation and capacity building.

Colonial Haciendas

A widely neglected heritage in the rural areas are the numerous colonial haciendas, feudalistic farmhouses of often highest architectural and landscape qualities. Located down in the valleys along the rivers, they have a better micro climate, fertile and arable soils with gardens, and an ideal environment to accommodate tourists in rural areas.

However many haciendas have disappeared or are in ruins, since the 1952 revolution, where many of them were taken over by small farmers or collectives. Some are intact as holiday residences of the owners, and a few can accommodate tourists.

Often did they belong to former presidents of the country and rich families of the oligarchy, like e.g. Ñucchu, a lovely place with old mills. One can dream back to old days. But the haphazard flow of visitors does not yet justify major investments. Some of the haciendas are converted to schools, like e.g. Pitantorilla.



The recently constructed mountain-footpath (3600 m.a.s.l.) to the rock paintings of Inkamachay

Paradoxically the most impressive project of revitalizing a ruined hacienda was made by a retired German expert in Huata, 5 km from Sucre. In several years of handsome work he created an oasis of beauty and exquisite and original style with rich gardens and fruit terraces. But he did it for himself, because he liked the challenge, and not for tourism. If all places would be restored like this one could easily arrange a chain of high quality and exclusive accommodations all over Bolivia, like it is done with castles in France or rural farm houses in Italy.

Worlds largest dinosaur-tracks

The cornerstone of the future tourism development of Sucre however will be the natural heritage site of Cal Orcko (Spanish-Quechua: mountain of lime). The cement factory FANCESA, founded 1960, has a big quarry just 5 km from town centre of Sucre. A huge, spectacular stone wall of 75% inclination, 1200 m length and 20-100m height has been excavated over the recent decades. In 1995 dinosaur tracks have been discovered on that wall, the largest site of that type in the world with over 300 tracks, with a big variety of animals and individual tracks of more than 500 m length. The tracks are from the Cretaceous Period, approx. 68 millions of years old. Before the creation of the Andes there was a lake shore, where the animals looked for food and water. In 1998 one of the world leading specialist in dinosaur tracks, the Swiss Palaeontologist Dr. Christian Meyer undertook a systematic research and survey with an international team, proving that Cal Orcko is the most important site of that kind in the world. The Bolivian authorities and politicians got much excited; they expected that UNESCO would immediately pour money into this project as a natural monument. A presidential decree was

immediately released, which declared Cal Orcko a national monument. The negotiations with UNESCO need however professional, careful and patient hard work. When the politicians realized that no money was released their interest dropped and the project was dead.

In 2002 we undertook a new start, convincing the three owners Prefectura, FANCESA and Municipality to invest 32000\$ in a restoration and development plan, to be prepared by the team of Dr. Meyer. In March 2003 this job was done and now there is a much better base to promote the project nationally and internationally. Nicely developed Cal Orcko could be the ideal promotion and stepping stone for visitors to make them curious and extend their visits in the region and villages, where there are a lot of fascinating geological and paleontological sites in a radius of 50 km around Cal Orcko.

The rural tourism in the district could get a big push. We start now the application process to include this natural monument in the UNESCO world heritage list, and to develop it as a tourist site with a Cretacic Parque adjacent to the monument. Would we succeed with that, a sensational quartet of World Heritage sites in the region would be complete, thus being able to compete with Machu Picchu: The quartet are the cultural heritages sites Sucre and Potosi (colonial towns), and the Natural Heritage Sites (under process of application) Salt desert of Uyuni and dinosaur tracks Cal Orcko.

Already now, with a minimum infrastructure it is with 12000 visitors a year one of the most important tourist attractions of Sucre. Not yet clear is who will take the ownership and responsibility, local authorities want a foundation, foreign experts say a private investor is better and more efficient.

Tourism as a tool of decentralization?

Also the non-governmental Organization ASUR (Antropologos de Sur Andinas) in Sucre is, apart from their excellent museum of traditional textiles, working with villages, to promote local culture as attraction for rural tourism. They have a qualified staff with academic knowledge about the indigenous culture and the language Quechua. In most of the projects we cooperate with them, because they have experience with the indigenous culture. Sucre is one of the municipalities, where the local administration reform towards decentralization has come further. The municipality is subdivided in 3 rural and 5 urban districts with Subalcaldes. We use tourism development in the villages to support the process of decentralization. In all parts the local communities need leaders and people who know to survive in a modern society and to compete with investors from the towns. Especially the Ayllus are very sensitive, to keep control of the tourism development, in order to prevent that all benefit is taken by more experienced and clever town people.

One of the challenges is to give the villagers the chance to develop themselves as small entrepreneurs and managers in tourism business. With support of the German cooperation agency GTZ some villagers have organized themselves in the National Park Sajama, in the department of Oruro, and established a small Eco-Albergue in an abandoned Aymara Village Tomarapi. The traditional earthen architecture of the abandoned village was used as model for the new Albergue with 12 beds. We will use this model for training of our people.

Programmes of the Government

In 2002 the Government started a pilot-programme to support investments in tourism projects. The programme is under the Ministry of Economical Development with the Vice-Ministry of Tourism. Financing institutions are the Government and the Interamerican Development Bank (IDB). The implementing agency is FONDESIF (Fondo de Desarrollo del Sistema Financiero y de Apoyo al Sector Productivo). In September 2003 the third competition of projects will be published. The total annual volume of the programme is \$US 12.5 million. There are two different programmes: one for demonstration projects (between \$US 100,000,- and \$US 1,000,000,-) in the private sector, where the subsidy is up to 50% and another one for small projects (25,000,- and 100,000,-) in public ownership and 90% subsidies. Only a few projects can be selected and supported, but the extension for the programme is planned, if experiences are positive. The challenge of these programmes is that they demand an integrated planning and execution concept, this means aspects of environment and infrastructure of the entire community (water, sanitation, local culture, renewable energy, refuse collection for the community) have to be considered and included. In this way the projects should promote the community development and give sustainable impulses of development. The concept is quite interesting and ambitious. But in a country like Bolivia it is almost too ambitious: how can the rural communities, with their predominant indigenous population with low education levels ever meet the high standards of the application procedures? There is, like very often, the danger that educated people from towns will use their chances and dominate the rural tourism development – unless a group of young leaders and professionals from the villages will be educated, who can meet these qualifications.

What is needed?

It is still a long way for Bolivia to provide a competitive and professional tourist infrastructure. As one of the poorest countries in the continent it does not at all lack attractions, but competence and capital. The recent efforts and improvements however can easily fail, if the Government and the different groups of the population do not manage to solve their conflicts with non-violent and more predictable methods.

A sensitive approach to make the indigenous population to the owners of their own resources and projects is essential. To change their attitude from suspicion towards more self-confidence, proud and openness needs practical intercultural exercises and pilot-projects, rather than academic advises. The integration of local, regional and national attractions in coherent concepts and strategies and their systematic marketing is needed.

In traffic security and in communication the professional standards of western countries have to be adapted.

Public institutions need a new philosophy: instead of being committed to the egoistic interests of political parties the commitment to serve the long term benefit of their people and country should be given priority.



Stone quarry Cal Orcko with footprints of dinosaurs. The Swiss geologists investigate the hardness of the prints in march 2003.

(Photos: Ulrich Malisius)

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Fair Trade – also in Tourism !

Christine Plüss

Fairer Handel – auch im Tourismus!

Im Tourismus, dem heute wichtigsten Wirtschaftszweig der Welt, spitzen sich unter dem Druck der Krise die globalen Verteil- und Machtkämpfe zu. Umso dringlicher erscheinen die verschiedenen Initiativen in Nord und Süd, die – anknüpfend an die Erfolgsgeschichte des Fairen Handels – derzeit erproben, wie auch der Tourismus fairer ausgestaltet werden kann, so dass er der breiten Bevölkerung in den Zielgebieten effektiv mehr Nutzen als Schaden bringt. Der Ansatz ist viel versprechend und herausfordernd zugleich, werden doch im Fairen Handel jeweils die verschiedensten Akteure entlang der Leistungskette in Maßnahmen für eine gerechtere Ausgestaltung der Handelsbeziehungen involviert. Diese gilt es nun für den Tourismus zu entwickeln.

Besonders gefordert ist dabei die Tourismuswirtschaft, die Grundsätze des Fairen Handels als Ausdruck ihrer viel zitierten „Corporate Social Responsibility“ zum Unternehmensprinzip zu machen. Entscheidend ist aber auch der Einsatz der Regierungsverantwortlichen in Nord und Süd für gerechtere Rahmenbedingungen auf nationaler Ebene sowie in der internationalen Finanz- und Handelspolitik, damit die neuen Initiativen im Tourismus überhaupt zum Tragen kommen.

In view of the present situation in tourism, it sounds like the proverbial voice crying in the wilderness.

The players in the crisis-ridden tourism industry are currently fighting with their gloves off. For example, the Asian-Pacific partners of Kuoni UK have – despite their fierce protest – no choice but to accept the 20 percent price reductions planned by Kuoni after the SARS crisis in order to get business going again (Travel Trade Gazette Asia 2003). On the side of European tour operators, dismissals and short-time work are nothing unusual, while the price war is taking on grotesque features. A German tour operator has recently started to not only give away free flights to the Mediterranean, but also to include additional vouchers to the value of 25 euro, which may be used when making the next booking (akte-Kurznachrichten 3/2003).

“Fair” – What does that mean?

The tourism industry, spoiled by success for a long time, seems to see only one way out of the crisis: more bargains. Big tour operators are able to largely pass on the pressure for increasingly lower prices to the holiday destinations. For in the negotiations, the destinations are bound to lose out to transnational corporations, which have – in the course of wide-ranging concentration processes in the industry during the past few years – often combined airlines and hotels, operating, marketing and sales in complex alliances under one roof and may switch to cheaper destinations at any time. Forcing down prices belongs to the wide range of unfair competitive practices in tourism. This has also been put down in writing by the UN Conference on Trade and Development, UNCTAD (Diaz Benavides 2001). According to an UNCTAD report, it is due to these “predatory practices” of tourism companies that poor countries earn too little from tourism and to financial leakages, for example, for tourism-related imports. UNCTAD concludes that in certain cases, poor destinations even subsidise rich tourists. In order to survive in the face of global competition, many destinations offer generous conditions to foreign investors and companies, such as tax relief,

majority holdings in companies or free repatriation of profits. These investment incentives are usually granted in the context of measures against indebtedness, recommended by creditors and by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in order to generate foreign exchange by promoting tourism. All in all, however, this means a considerable loss of income for the public treasury, while the provision of expensive infrastructure such as airports, roads, water and energy supplies for tourism often continues to increase the debt burden. Since the mid-1990s, liberalisation to the advantage of foreign private companies has been continuously expanded. Under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) of the World Trade Organization (WTO-OMC), import barriers have been reduced and employing foreign personnel has become easier. The GATS is currently being re-negotiated. This has led to strong controversies in the member countries about the future of public services such as water supply or education. But the new round of negotiations also raises serious concerns on the side of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the South as well as in the North with regard to the future development of tourism. The Indian tourism NGO Equations, for example, criticises that the service agreement on tourism undermines national regulations and local self-government, and poses a threat to the livelihoods of people in the tourism destinations. Once the agreements have been concluded, it is almost impossible to insist on the obligation of foreign suppliers to train and employ local personnel, or to maintain social and ecological standards, to ensure consumer protection or to enforce restrictions, such as limitations to the number or size of golf courses or hotels and resorts in protected areas (Equations 2002, 2003).

What is puzzling, however, is that tourism leaders often demand further liberalisation, while in international fora the same leaders announce new measures for tourism to play a role in alleviating poverty and bringing prosperity (WTO 2002). The attribute “fair” comes up more and more often in the tourism debate. Tour operators advertise “fair

prices”, articles, flyers, even whole conference suddenly feature catch-words such as “fair travel”, “fair tourism”, which – like a magic formula – promise a new form of tourism. On closer inspection, however, there are not that many new aspects to be discovered behind those trendy terms. Different, however, are initiatives, which have started to do pioneering work in the South as well as in the North in order to develop linkages between tourism and the principles of Fair Trade. For example, in South Africa "Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa" (FTTSA), initiated by the World Conservation Union (IUCN), developed the first label for tourism products, designed in line with the criteria of Fair Trade (FTTSA 2002). In other countries, such as Namibia, The Gambia and The Philippines, „community based“ tourism projects and some small private enterprises have formed networks for joint training and marketing. They try to provide opportunities for broad-based participation in decision-making processes, and benefits for tourism service providers in line with the principles of Fair Trade. The London-based tourism NGO Tourism Concern has – as one component of a several-year programme co-financed by the European Commission – facilitated global networking of tourism initiatives in order to encourage the exchange of experiences and the work on criteria for Fair Trade in Tourism (Tourism Concern 1999-2002). In Italy, environment organisations and human rights groups have joint forces with Fair Trade organisations and have developed guidelines for tourists and service providers as well as for holiday packages, which are now being sold in Third World import stores. As diverse as these initiatives may be, they are all aimed at a fairer exchange with communities and service providers in destinations in the South. In order to achieve this, they follow the principles of Fair Trade and strive to pick up the thread of its success story.

Fair Trade on the road to success

About thirty years ago, the Fair Trade movement set out to achieve a more equitable distribution of the income from global trade relations, to enable producers especially from disadvantaged communities in the South to secure their livelihoods, to live their lives in security and dignity and to be the owners of their own development. What triggered it off was the increasingly urgent call from developing countries for “Fair Trade instead of alms”. In 1969, the first Third World import store opened in the Netherlands and was soon followed by others in several European countries. The pioneers of the Fair Trade movement were first smiled at as “ideological goodies”, but the movement stepped out of its homemade niche long ago: today, Fair Trade has a multi-billion turnover, and “being fair” is very much a current trend. “Fair Trade” is not at all based on a recipe that has been laid down once and for all; the term has neither been patented nor

is it a registered trademark. In the course of its exciting history, it has gone through various stages: the circle of Fair Trade partners has been extended, for example to wage-dependent workers; cooperation and sales strategies have been revised and expanded, in Switzerland, for example, to the sale of fairly traded products in supermarket chains; the criteria, for example with regard to environmental protection, and the instruments of implementation have constantly been refined. The profile of the minimum requirements of Fair Trade, for example, as recently laid down by the organisations united in the Swiss Forum For Fair Trade (Schweizer Forum Fairer Handel-SFFH), follows internationally agreed criteria:

- long-term, possibly direct trade relations in a spirit of partnership, which mostly include advisory services for the producers,
- fair prices that fully cover costs and earn the producers living wages, and which as a rule include a surcharge for social development, pre-financing and guaranteed orders,
- working conditions that are in line with existing legal regulations and with the minimum standards of the International Labour Organization (ILO),
- environmentally friendly production,
- full transparency for producers and consumers, thanks to independent control mechanisms and regular reporting,
- continuous consumer information and education in order to encourage responsible consumer behaviour.

Fair Trade is to promote sustainable development. Human rights and internationally agreed environmental and social standards are the basis of any Fair Trade (SFFH 2001).

Swiss travellers are interested in fair Tourism, 2003.
(Photo: Christine Plüss)



“Something Out of Nothing”

“Something Out of Nothing” is the name of Sarah Mhlangu’s workshop. In Mhluzi, not far from Middleburg in South Africa, Sarah collects waste and produces works of art from tins and garments from rags. With her recycling and arts centre, Sarah Mhlangu has not only created jobs for herself and others in the township, but also a tourist attraction: more and more guests come to visit the workshop, enjoy the food she prepares and are shown the various facets of life in the township by her daughter.

Sarah is not the only one, who, like a magician, creates an inviting tourism attraction out of nothing. In Southern Africa and Brazil, in the Alps and remote regions in Europe, innovative tourism initiatives are emerging. They offer a new kind of encounter and a unique holiday experience for tourists. At the same time, they provide new sources of income for local communities, respect local traditions and protect the environment.

In South Africa and Namibia, it is clearly visible that the new tourism projects are also signs of political change. After the end of Apartheid, the South African government has made it one of its objectives to encourage the historically disadvantaged majority of the population to seek new income opportunities in tourism. It has published comprehensive guidelines to promote the development of responsible tourism. These guidelines outline the economic, social and ecological responsibility of the actors in tourism. They are to guarantee the participation of disadvantaged groups of the population.

These guidelines make Fair Trade an integral part of responsible tourism. If implemented by the various actors involved, they offer a model framework for environmentally and socially sustainable tourism development.

Sarah Mhlangu has found a fair partner: a Swiss tour operator, who actively supports responsible tourism initiatives, adds important background information to her project and introduces it to Swiss tourists. He is an exception.

Most tour operators in the North have not yet discovered that they could actively contribute to environmentally and socially sustainable tourism by building new partnerships, that they could diversify their products and effectively cater to the growing demand for more responsible holidays.

The main orientation for the consumer is a transparent declaration of a fairly traded product, often in the form of a credible label, which is the result of a certification process. For a long time, it has been a matter of dispute among the various actors in the Fair Trade movement how the objectives of Fair Trade are to be implemented in detail and at which level measures need to be taken. In the meantime, however, a lot of ideas and approaches have been developed, which now often prove complementary. Apart from targeted product development to make a product comply with the standards of a Fair Trade label, ethical business practices are increasingly being added, including instruments such as codes of conduct and agreements between NGOs and private service providers and companies on social and environmental standards. From the basic resource to their final sale, complex products not only require wholesalers, but a whole range of steps in the chain of production in various locations. When introducing such complex products under “Fair Trade” schemes, binding agreements with companies are indispensable. The Swiss Max Havelaar Foundation, a fair labelling organisation and member of the network of Fair Trade Labelling Organizations (FLO) founded in 1997, has played a leading role in the recent introduction of new Fair Trade products. The Max Havelaar Foundation plans to work in close cooperation with the Clean Clothes Campaign in order to develop a fair label for textiles. The Clean Clothes Campaign has already put various groups in the textile industry under the obligation to observe and improve labour standards (akte 2003).

Admittedly, much effort has been made in view of the fact that fair trade has only an insignificant market share of about 0.01 percent in world trade. But its share is growing, even during recession times. Today, the annual growth rate of products with a “social surplus value” (as it is called in business jargon) is 15 to 20 percent. In Switzerland in particular, fairly traded products have gained popularity with consumers. In no other country is the fair trade turnover per person as high as in Switzerland. Nowadays, one out of four bananas consumed in Switzerland is a Fair Trade product. Fairly traded honey already has a market share of about ten percent (Max Havelaar 2003). Apart from the traditional actors of the Fair Trade movement, who are increasingly becoming more professional and improving the quality of their products, supermarkets such as Coop and Migros have contributed to these successful sales. For ten years, Coop has followed a consistent strategy of introducing credible products from organic production and fair trade suppliers. Food scandals and the growing health-consciousness of consumers have contributed to the success of these products: 55 percent of the Swiss population buy such products, spending twice as much as the Germans, as Coop disclosed

last year. For these products, Coop has become the Swiss market leader. Last year, the retail chain had a turnover of 63 million Swiss francs from Fair Trade products alone. This means a market share of 56 percent in Fair Trade in Switzerland (Surprise 2003). Another success factor is the labelling organisation Max Havelaar Switzerland. Its labels have such a high degree of credibility and familiarity among the Swiss that “Max Havelaar” has become almost synonymous with Fair Trade (akte 2003). Founded by aid agencies about ten years ago, the fair labelling organisation was in the black in 2002 for the first time and recorded a 33 percent growth in turnover as compared to the previous year. About 27.5 million francs out of a total turnover of 112 million francs directly reached the producers and plantation workers in the South - 30 percent more than they would have gained from their products if they had sold them in traditional markets (Max Havelaar 2003).

The effectiveness of Fair Trade, however, cannot be reduced to its growth in turnover (Misereor et al. 2002). The principles of Fair Trade have significantly contributed to making the idea of ethical business practices more tangible – practices which have become established as a precondition for sustainable development and which have been adopted by more and more companies. Furthermore, Fair Trade has proved to be one of the few areas that provide opportunities in industrialised countries to highlight the inequitable global trade relations – despite the fact that the interest in development issues has declined. We may criticise that this is not sufficient, as buying a fairly traded product only helps consumers to ease their conscience. It does not replace the political commitment necessary in order to effectively fight the existing injustice between the North and the South.

Nevertheless, fair trade offers consumers a simple way to change their consumption patterns and to use their shopping basket in order to set certain points.

Approaches to fair trade in tourism

Clearly, Fair Trade offers perspectives for the urgently needed new orientation in tourism. Demands for fair trade structures and a fair distribution of profits move socio-economic and political concerns to the centre of attention – the so-called „social dimension“, which had so far been largely neglected in the strive for sustainability in tourism.

This has also been admitted by tourism leaders on the occasion of the World Summit on Sustainable Development last year in Johannesburg (WTO 2002). Furthermore, in order to achieve Fair Trade, the various actors along the supply chain – producers and consumers, wholesalers, manufacturer and retailers – all have to become simultaneously active and make their respective contribution.

This framework of action goes far beyond the selective approaches of previous efforts towards sustainable tourism.

Sceptics might argue that in the current tourism crisis it is a hopeless venture to involve the various actors in measures that actually bring about Fair Trade in Tourism. The crisis, however, is – due to bomb attacks, kidnappings and wars – also an expression of the increasing insecurity of tourists. It is exactly this crisis, which encourages (or forces) actors in tourism to search for new, socially responsible approaches. The interest in Fair Trade in Tourism is growing. NGOs in the North and in the South that have always been the driving forces in Fair Trade, have already prepared the ground well and have at various levels of action laid promising foundations. These approaches are now to be linked, and consistent campaigning and advocacy must push for the implementation of Fair Trade in Tourism.

Thanks to the Fair Trade in Tourism project of Tourism Concern, tourism initiatives and NGOs from all continents were able to develop – sometimes in heated discussions – common criteria for Fair Trade in Tourism. They have continued to refine these criteria in their daily work. One result is the certification process of FTSA in South Africa, where a new label for individual tourism products has set new quality standards. This label has – unlike most other labels in tourism – been developed by the people actually concerned. It rings in a paradigm shift in tourism: the needs of local communities for (existential) security and quality (of life) rate at least as high as the demands of the tourists for quality and security which had so far been the only deciding factor in the design of tourism projects (even though the so-called needs of the tourists often corresponded to the needs of market research institutes and their weighty clients in the tourism industry). For such products, a clear, credible label on social responsibility can become an important marketing instrument. Many innovative tourism projects are currently making efforts to give local communities a fairer share in tourism in the South as well as in the North. All these projects will eventually need to get market access (see p.40 "Something Out of Nothing"). Many of these service providers bet on international tourism right from the outset.

For years, business leaders have been recommending tourism as a promising path to development. Recently, it has also been increasingly promoted as a tried and tested instrument of "poverty alleviation". These new initiatives, however, hardly find their way into the catalogues of tour operators, nor do they get access to global reservation systems where distribution channels, particularly in international tourism, converge. Every project is invariably

faced with the question of how much effort is involved in getting access to the international market, and how much dependency will result from trying to survive in a highly competitive globalised environment. Proven development experts have been justified in pointing out to the Fair Trade movement time and again that market access alone does not automatically result in Fair Trade (Bello 2002). Trading partners are needed and also specific support, which goes beyond mere trade aspects. This may include targeted development cooperation.

Development agencies have recently started to increasingly turn to tourism. However, they often invest in tourism projects without adequately taking into account the global context of an economic sector, which is highly interlinked. They have also not first focussed on the empowerment of communities in the tourism destinations. This, however, would be necessary for local people to obtain the right qualifications to deal with new challenges and to above all be able to protect their rights, including their participation in decision-making processes, a share in the benefits, protection against exploitation and access to the resources which secure their livelihoods, but which are at the same time important „inputs“ for tourism.

The "empowerment" of local communities is also the key to a fair exchange between hosts and guests – encounters of equals, as innovative tourism entrepreneurs in South Africa and Namibia precisely formulated it when interviewed by the Swiss Working Group on Tourism and Development (akte) about their expectations and ideas of Fair Trade (Frei 2002). Tourists also caught onto the ideas. They were first informed about Fair Trade in Tourism by akte on the occasion of Swiss holiday fairs in 2003. Consumers have expressed their interest in tourism products that offer new insights and encounters, and which at the same time assure them of a fair involvement of local communities in tourism. This also confirms the results of surveys from several European countries that show more and more tourists are interested in environmentally and socially sustainable tourism products and would even be ready to pay an extra charge (Goodwin/Francis 2003). They "would" – but their good intentions have so far hardly been put to the test, due to the lack of corresponding, transparently labelled products. So it has become even more important to tap this potential and to show to tourists, who have frequently expressed their interest, what actually makes the difference with regard to social responsibility and environmental sustainability in tourism, and how their demands and their purchasing decisions can have the desirable influence on the holiday packages offered.

At the same time, tourists, who travel to the service providers and "consume" services in the destination itself, are an integral part of trade.



More information on Fair Trade in Tourism in: Marianne Frei: "fair unterwegs in Südafrika und Namibia"/ 'Fair Trade on Holiday in South Africa and Namibia'; in German), Arbeitskreis Tourismus & Entwicklung/ (akte - Working Group on Tourism and Development), Basle, 2002



Discussion on "Fair Trade - Also in Tourism" at the Tourism Fair in Berlin, 8th March 2003. Participants:

Jennifer Seif, FTSA South Africa; Marianne Frei, akte Switzerland; Heinz Fuchs, EED-Tourism Watch, Bonn; Christina Kamp, Journalist, Germany.

(Photo, left: Christine Plüss
(Photo, right: Heinz Hirter)



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Once they have made their booking, they must know clearly how they can contribute to Fair Trade during their holiday. For example, a fair exchange with the hosts includes respecting the limitations they may set to their own hospitality. Or, a fair price does not only have to cover the full costs of resource consumption, but also the service of protecting biological diversity and safeguarding local cultures and traditions. NGOs in countries where tourists are from are required to provide sound background information and to develop new instruments to raise tourist awareness. They carry out broad-based consumer campaigns, presenting tangible options that go far beyond the tips for adequate behaviour that tourists have been presented with for years.

No "fair" tourism product without fair trade relations and rules

It is certain that there will not be a credible label for „fair tourism“ or fairly traded holiday packages in the near future. Indeed, there might never be one, neither as convenient guidance for tourists nor as a welcome marketing tool for the tourism industry. There was also unanimous agreement on this among those in charge of product development at the Swiss Max Havelaar Foundation and the executive director of the import organisation "claro fair trade ag" when they discussed the feasibility of Fair Trade in Tourism and its perspectives with experts at akte in early June 2003 (akte 2003). While even complex products such as footballs and soon textiles can already be labelled, the service sector is new territory for the Fair Trade movement. A strategy aimed at labelling whole tourism packages is not advisable. At most, individual components of such packages, such as accommodation, food and beverages, guided tours or souvenirs etc., can be labelled.

However, there is currently an unedifying mess of labels in tourism. Consumers would get the needed guidance only from a very specific, detailed and independently monitored tourism label. Only this

kind of a label would help them make a responsible choice between a more and a less sustainable tourism product. So far, the many labels that exist have not really become criteria in the decision-making processes of consumers when booking their holidays. Some of these labels are rather complex and costly; most of them cover only selected environmental aspects of a tourism product or package.

The awareness campaign carried out by akte at holiday fairs in 2003 has shown that tourists would be interested in finding out which product offers maximum benefits for people in the destination (in terms of Fair Trade) and which measures have been taken to protect the environment. Providing this kind of information requires a new degree of transparency on the part of tour operators and travel agents. It would also give them the chance to present their environmental protection efforts, and to explain to their customers the positive effects of environmentally and socially sustainable products. This, in turn, would lead to new customer incentives. Whether they eventually bring about this transparency by using a well-introduced label or not is not yet the issue. The popular discussion on a label must not divert attention from the fact that the tourism industry will first have to ensure that local communities are actually able to participate in tourism in a fair manner. The question is not simply one of transparent communication with the public in the North. Fair Trade in Tourism must also be reflected in a fair pricing policy and in new partnerships with service providers in the destinations. These service providers must offer good working conditions, specifically empower women and disadvantaged groups, protect children against exploitation, buy local products from local producers, use resources sparingly and ensure broad-based participation of local communities.

Customers do appreciate and reward this kind of commitment. A small Swiss tour operator confirms this. He organises his South Africa packages in

cooperation with people historically disadvantaged by Apartheid. In his catalogue, he also describes historical aspects and patterns of ownership. With the specialised environmentally and socially sustainable packages they offer, tour operators organised in the German "forum anders reisen" have, despite the current crisis, been able to do relatively well so far (Kreib 2003). They now have the opportunity to open up new facets of a destination to their customers by co-operating with the new initiatives that are working towards more fairness in tourism, and by including them in their packages at least as components. "Some fairness is certainly preferable to none", is the pragmatic approach of Jennifer Seif of FTTSA (Seif 2003). Catering to a new market segment can mean being a pioneer.

But building a „fair niche“ cannot be the objective of Fair Trade in Tourism. It is important to address the market where mass tourism is dominant, as in the case of beach holidays, emphasised Kaspar Hess, Head of the Department of Corporate Ecology, Hotelplan, and Vice President of the Tour Operators' Initiative (TOI), in a discussion with akte on the chances and strategies of Fair Trade in Tourism. Tour operators can hardly convince the public that they are concerned about human rights, participation, fairness and the livelihoods of local communities if most of their products include people working under deplorable conditions and valuable resources being sold off dirt-cheap.

The principles of Fair Trade correspond to the core profile of corporate social responsibility, a cause which most large companies nowadays like taking up. This alone would be sufficient to make Fair Trade a corporate principle in the tourism industry. But the consumer sensitive tourism industry of all sectors has a lot of catching up to do (Kalisch 2002). Under the Tour Operators' Initiative started by the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), tourism leaders are currently making initial efforts to address social concerns in tourism (TOI 2003). It becomes evident that unlike in environmental protection, social responsibility cannot usually be achieved by setting quantifiable targets. Instead, it is an expression of respect for the rights of the people working in tourism, and for the rights of those affected by it. It often does not require major additional technology, but fair trade relations in order to protect the rights of local communities

in tourism destinations.

In principle, this should be something to be taken for granted. However, considering the development of tourism today, it is not at all so. The fact that large tourism companies have now made commitments to this effect is of course to be welcomed. But who is going to monitor these corporate commitments? Binding, controllable agreements would be better. The "Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism" is a first effort in the tourism industry to put such an agreement to the test (www.thecode.org). Of course, the protection of children from exploitation needs to be given utmost priority. But given the time and energy the international network ECPAT (www.ecpat.net) has spent to have this code of conduct ratified and implemented by the industry, they now have to address how much energy and resources NGOs have to invest to commit the industry to more socially responsible practices and the implementation of existing regulations that are binding in the form of laws and international standards.

This shows that Fair Trade in Tourism is not possible without the involvement of governments in the North as well as in the South. NGOs will have to make a concerted effort to increase their advocacy work in this field. In tourism, laws and regulations such as labour standards and the rights of women and children are often trampled upon. As the eco-tax on the Balearic Islands and the ban on "all-inclusives" in the Gambia show, regulations in tourism are not at all popular or "election-friendly" (Bah/Goodwin 2003). The South African example of National Guidelines for Responsible Tourism, however, shows that governments can promote Fair Trade in Tourism by developing a favourable general set-up. Government leaders are above all required to ensure more fairness, transparency and participation in the field of international finance and trade policy. The most unsustainable tourism developments can still be traced back to the debt policy, and particularly the structural adjustment programmes prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Behind closed doors, the GATS negotiations further limit the leeway of local and regional authorities for an independent development of tourism. Any Fair Trade in Tourism effort thus runs the risk of being futile.

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Fair Trade in Tourism – The Example of South Africa

Jennifer Seif

Fairer Tourismus in Südafrika

Jennifer Seif, die nationale Koordinatorin der Initiative „Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa“ (FTTSA) analysiert die aktuelle Tourismussituation in Südafrika und benennt deren Probleme und Herausforderungen. Tourismus gehört zu den Schlüsselsektoren der südafrikanischen Wirtschaft und Südafrika ist eine der am stärksten wachsenden touristischen Destination weltweit. Diese wirtschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen und die politischen Vorgaben der Regierung zur touristischen Entwicklung bilden die Grundlage zu vielfältigen Initiativen zu einem fairen und verantwortlichen Tourismus, die die Autorin im Detail vorstellt. Den Schwerpunkt des Beitrages bildet das Projekt FTTSA und sein Zertifizierungsprozess. Anhand von drei touristischen Zielen wird die Arbeit der FTTSA dargestellt und abschließend die Frage der Definition und Umsetzung von Bewertungsstandards und Zertifizierungen gestellt.

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Introduction

As described by Christine Plüss in an accompanying article entitled “Fair Trade – Also in Tourism!”, the concept of Fair Trade has emerged in recent years as a leading, practical and demand-driven alternative to Free Trade. Similarly, Fair Trade in Tourism (FTT) is increasingly being touted as an alternative to mass tourism and other forms of travel that impact negatively on destinations and their inhabitants. This turn towards FTT owes much to the pioneering research and advocacy work of European organisations including Tourism Concern in the United Kingdom and Arbeitskreis Tourismus & Entwicklung (akte) in Switzerland.

This paper will examine the FTT concept from a more “southern” perspective, namely that of South Africa, where a local initiative has begun to apply the concept of Fair Trade labelling to the national tourism industry. This initiative, known as Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA), is managed under the auspices of the South Africa country office of the IUCN (World Conservation Union). This facilitation by IUCN-South Africa is rooted in the understanding that if tourism is not equitable - and if local destination stakeholders do not receive their fair share of tourism revenues and other benefits - then tourism ultimately will not be sustainable, with negative implications for livelihoods and the conservation of nature and natural resources.

Tourism development in South Africa

Tourism has been identified as a priority sector for national economic growth and development in post-apartheid South Africa. The national Tourism White Paper (1996) provides the policy framework and identifies a number of constraints affecting the industry’s potential to achieve such objectives as job creation, black economic empowerment (BEE), community development and small, medium and micro enterprise (SMME) development. According to the White Paper (DEAT 1996: 5-12), factors constraining the expansion and transformation of the South African tourism industry include:

- Limited integration of local communities and previously neglected groups into tourism;
- Lack of market access and market knowledge;
- Lack of interest on the part of existing establishments to build partnerships with local communities and suppliers;
- Lack of information and awareness; and
- Lack of appropriate institutional structures.

The authors of the White Paper argued that unless such impediments are addressed, tourism would remain a “missed opportunity” (DEAT 1996: 4ff) for the vast majority of South Africans. The notion that tourism should be fairer is thus strongly aligned to ongoing national efforts to build, diversify and transform the South African tourism industry, as a means of reducing poverty and creating sustainable livelihoods for people who were previously excluded from the formal economy under apartheid.

This imperative to transform the industry is manifest in South Africa’s national Tourism Growth Strategy, which identifies five key objectives for sustainable growth (South African Tourism 2002: 4):

- Increase volume at high and sustainable rates;
- Increase total spend by tourists in South Africa;
- Optimise length of stay to maximise revenue yield to South Africa;
- Improve volume and spend distribution around the country, and throughout the year; and
- Improve activity and spend patterns to enable transformation and promote black economic empowerment.

The transformation imperative also guides the work of industry associations, most notably the Tourism Business Council of South Africa (TBCSA), which in 2001 launched a Charter of Empowerment and Transformation in the tourism industry. The TBCSA also facilitates annual empowerment and transformation reviews, which monitor industry performance with regard to affirmative procurement, employment equity, SMME development and other aspects of BEE (TBCSA 2002, 2003).

Tourism demand in South Africa

The Tourism Growth Strategy has provided direction and content to the positioning of South Africa as one of the world's fastest growing tourism destinations. For 2002, overseas arrivals (international arrivals excluding Africa) were up by a massive 20.1% to just over 1.8 million visitors, while total international arrivals (including Africa) were up 11.1% over the previous year to 4.5 million visitors (South African Tourism 2003).

As summed up by Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Mohammed Valli Moosa, South Africa "continued to defy gravity throughout the year, confounding the industry trend of 'flat' or decreased growth" (South African Tourism 2003).

Preliminary data indicates sustained growth for 2003: for the period January to April 2003, total tourist arrivals were up 6.1% compared to 2002 (DEAT 2003).

Certainly, this growth is strongly linked to exogenous factors like the 9-11 attack on the World Trade Centre and the SARS outbreak, which have helped South Africa to re-position itself as a "safe" destination. But whatever the reasons, the South African tourism industry is determined to maintain the country's hard-won status as one of the world's most popular long-haul travel destinations, for example through a campaign that will run during 2004 to mark "Ten Years of Freedom and Democracy in South Africa".²

Traditional overseas markets for leisure and business travel to South Africa include the United Kingdom, Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Italy, France as well as the United States and Canada. Significantly, many of the tourists visiting South Africa from these countries are familiar with the concept of Fair Trade and the labelling and marketing of fairly traded products. This creates definite opportunities for certifiably "fair" South African tourism businesses, including "mainstream" as well as "emerging" tourism enterprises (Seif and Gordon 2003:10; Seif 2001).

In addition to these markets, South Africa has identified a number of non-traditional growth markets for business and leisure travel including India, Australia and China. Significantly, in February 2003 the People's Republic of China awarded South Africa with "Approved Destination Status" (ADS). This status has opened the door to an expected 50,000 inbound Chinese Tourists by the end of 2003 (TOMSA 2003).

Moreover, and in contrast to a number of its "peer" destinations, South Africa has a strong and growing domestic tourism market. It is estimated that domestic arrivals account for 67% of the total value of the industry.

This demand is however constrained by poverty and other legacies of apartheid, which excluded the vast majority of South Africans from leisure as well as business travel. Every year in September, South African Tourism facilitates a national "Tourism Month" campaign that encourages South Africans, particularly black people, to travel in their own country. This is about much more than nation-building: a stronger domestic tourism industry will help to counter the negative impacts of seasonal international demand, which inhibits sustainable job creation and SMME development.

While the South African industry is clearly experiencing unprecedented growth, questions remain about the extent to which increased arrivals (and foreign exchange earnings) benefit the country's poor. Additional questions arise in relation to the capacity of previously disadvantaged individuals (PDI)s³ and community-based tourism enterprises to find and sustain suitable entry points into what is a highly competitive industry. These questions are critical to the long-term sustainability of the industry, as well as to the realisation of meaningful socio-economic growth and development in a democratic South Africa.

South African models for fairness and sustainability

The conditions and imperatives described above make South Africa an ideal setting for the elaboration and implementation of FTT. In sum, South African tourism is characterised by:

- Strong industry awareness/ consensus about transformation, community-based tourism and corporate social responsibility;
- A policy and legislative environment that is conducive to transformation and growth;
- Effective partnerships between the public and private sectors;
- Public sector investment in product and infrastructure development, particularly to support tourism in previously disadvantaged communities; and
- Tourism growth across a range of market segments.

The International Network on Fair Trade in Tourism, which was facilitated by Tourism Concern during 1999-2002, defined FTT as a "key aspect of sustainable tourism" (Kalisch 2001: 3). FTT holds that without fair and ethical business practice, it is not possible to achieve sustainable tourism. FTT aims to maximise the benefits from tourism for local destination stakeholders, through mutually beneficial and equitable partnerships. FTT also supports the right of host communities to participate in decision-making, planning and development processes (Kalisch 2001: 3-12; 2002: 17-18; see also Plüss 2003).

² For updates visit www.southafrica.net

³ The term "PDI" is rooted in the lexicon of apartheid, which refers to black people, women and disabled people. The term "black" includes Africans, Indians and Coloureds.

The notion that tourism can and should be fairer makes sense to a wide range of South African stakeholders. Not surprisingly, then, a number of initiatives have emerged in South Africa during the past few years, to promote fair and responsible tourism. In particular, three fairly recent initiatives have drawn on international best practice as well as experience in other developing countries:

- 1) *Responsible Tourism (RT)* which translated international thinking about sustainable tourism into national policy guidelines, which were published in 2002 by the South African Department of Environmental Affairs;
- 2) *Pro-Poor Tourism in southern Africa (PPTSA)*, which was initiated in mid-2002 to apply the academic literature on “pro-poor tourism” (PPT) linkages to the actual operations of tourism businesses located in the region. PPTSA conducts fieldwork with six mainstream tourism operators to maximise the poverty alleviation impacts of their businesses; and
- 3) *Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA)*, which participated in the International FTT Network. FTTSA promotes equitable and sustainable tourism primarily through certification and marketing as a means of linking “fair” businesses to appropriate consumer and trade markets.



These three initiatives are inter-related, although each approaches the problem of “fairness and sustainability” in its own, unique way. Their concurrent implementation serves as a timely reminder that there are many tools - guidelines, case studies, certification, codes of conduct and so forth – that are available to facilitate sustainable and equitable tourism growth and development. That each of these initiatives is highly innovative places South Africa at the cutting edge of fair and sustainable tourism. And all three have received financial support from the British Department for International Development (DFID), which testifies not only to the strong historical and commercial links between the two countries but also to growing consumer and trade awareness in the UK about fair trade issues (Tearfund 2002; Richards 2000).

Responsible Tourism

In 1996, South Africa’s Tourism White Paper defined “responsible tourism” as:

Tourism that promotes responsibility to the environment through its sustainable use; responsibility to involve local communities in the tourism industry; responsibility for the safety and security of visitors and responsible government, employees, employers, unions and local communities (DEAT 1996: vi).

Subsequently, the concept of responsible tourism was aligned in South Africa as elsewhere to the “triple bottom line” of sustainability, which encompasses environmental, social and economic performance.⁴ In 2002, during the run-up to the Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD), the DEAT facilitated a process of consultation to develop policy guidelines for responsible tourism development in South Africa. This process resulted in the publication of national *Guidelines for Responsible Tourism Development*, which were showcased before and during the WSSD. The publication provides guidance to tourism businesses and other stakeholders about social, economic and environmental “responsibility”. Simultaneously, the Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa (FEDHASA) launched a national responsible tourism awards programme, which is now in its second year.⁵ Most recently, the WSSD Greening Initiative in collaboration with other stakeholders published a *Responsible Tourism Handbook* that provides practical, easy to use advice to tourism businesses that wish to operate more responsibly (GWSSD 2003).

While these activities all stress that responsible tourism is “good for business”, this assertion has yet to be adequately tested empirically – at least from the standpoint of actual consumer demand for “responsible” tourism products. The market surveys that have been undertaken by organisations like Tearfund, the Association of British Travel Agents (ABTA) and National Geographic Traveller are primarily aspirational in nature: while the existing data provides a useful point of departure, it says relatively little about the actual purchasing behaviour of “responsible” tourists (Tearfund 2002; Richards 2000; Travel Industry Association of America 2003).

Moreover, the highly generic nature of the responsible tourism concept as well as the system of “self-monitoring” that was recommended by the authors of the South African national guidelines may ultimately limit the value of responsible tourism as an effective marketing tool. This would apply not only to South Africa but also to other destinations where the concept of responsible tourism is being promoted to the private sector as a means of gaining market advantage.

⁴ For more information on responsible tourism, visit www.icrtourism.org

⁵ For information about the Imvelo Responsible Tourism Award, visit www.fedhasa.co.za.

Pro-Poor Tourism Pilots in Southern Africa (PPTSA)

There is a growing international literature on pro-poor tourism (PPT), which explores the relationships between tourism, poverty and environmental degradation (Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin 2000; World Tourism Organisation 2002). The PPT literature offers practical examples of how tourism can benefit the poor, primarily through case study analysis focusing on the local impacts of tourism (e.g. Bah and Goodwin 2003; Spenceley and Seif 2003). PPT thus offers a powerful critique of "tourism as usual", and a useful framework for policy and research.

In April 2002, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) in collaboration with a South African counterpart, Mboza Projects, initiated a 3-year project to put PPT theory into practice. This DFID-funded project is conducting fieldwork at six pilot sites to facilitate new pro-poor linkages. The pilot sites are mostly in South Africa and are associated with big mainstream operators including Sun International, Southern Sun Hotels and Wilderness Safaris.

Critics of PPT often argue that the explicit focus on local contexts ignores or obfuscates certain, often crucial, macro-economic processes. It is also argued that PPT does not engage sufficiently with the local implications of global trade policies, for instance the Global Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) and the likely implications for poverty reduction in destinations (cf. Kalisch 2001; Plüss 2003). Nonetheless, PPT's focus on local employment, local procurement and local economic development resonates strongly with the realities and real life imperatives of "new" destinations like South Africa, as well as with the growing global focus on community-based tourism and community benefit from tourism. It is not surprising, then, to find that the analysis of PPT-type linkages forms part of the FT TSA assessment framework, which is described below.

Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FT TSA)

FT TSA was established in January 2001 following a two-year pilot project that tested the relevance and meaning of the FT T concept for South African tourism stakeholders. Like the pilot project that preceded it, FT TSA operates under the auspices of the IUCN-South Africa. FT TSA is funded primarily by DFID's Business Linkages Challenge Fund (BLCF) and HIVOS, which is a Dutch development agency.

FT TSA stands for six key values, which are aligned to FT T internationally: 1) Fair Share; 2) Democracy; 3) Respect; 4) Reliability; 5) Transparency; and 6) Sustainability. FT TSA has translated these core values into quantifiable criteria and indicators that form the basis of an assessment process, which is

used to award a special trademark to tourism businesses in South Africa. Specifically, the FT TSA Trademark stands for: a) fair wages; b) fair working conditions; c) fair operations; d) fair purchasing; e) fair distribution of benefits; f) ethical business practice; and g) respect for human rights, culture and environment. FT TSA thus occupies a specific niche within the broader umbrella of Responsible Tourism, although the FT TSA Trademark offers "responsible" tourism businesses a more credible, independent, third party stamp of approval. The FT TSA mark is compatible with other labels, for example the national star-grading quality certification scheme, which is managed by the Tourism Grading Council of South Africa.

FT TSA's core business is thus certification and marketing, including the more general promotion of fair trade principles and the FT TSA mark, as well as the marketing of businesses carrying the FT TSA Trademark. FT TSA's focus on tourism demand - in particular on linking "fair" businesses to appropriate trade and consumer networks - forms a useful and much needed counterpoint to the many supply-side orientated initiatives that exist in South Africa today - including but not limited to the PPTSA initiative. The linking of products to markets is of especial value to community-based and other structurally disadvantaged tourism enterprises, which typically lack market knowledge and the capacity to access markets (Seif 2001). Indeed, it is this market orientation that sets FT TSA apart from the PPTSA project (which is quasi-philanthropic in nature) and other similar, supply-side initiatives. The remainder of this paper will examine the FT TSA certification scheme in greater detail.

FT TSA certification - how does it work?

Many experts and organisations involved in FT T around the world question whether it is in fact possible to certify tourism as "fair", given the complex nature of the value chain and the power relations at play between and within national markets (see for example Plüss 2003). FT TSA acknowledges this dynamic, but takes a fairly pragmatic, destination-specific approach - at least for the time being - that might be summarised as: "some fairness is certainly preferable to none".

FT TSA is a product-driven scheme, which certifies businesses in South Africa as "operating fairly". The FT TSA Trademark will in time become South Africa's trusted symbol of fairness in tourism business. Ultimately, FT TSA certified products will be integrated into itineraries and packages. To achieve this, FT TSA will work in partnership with like-minded international and domestic tour operators and itinerary planners, who will help FT TSA to promote the FT TSA mark and FT TSA certified products to key target groups.



left: Example of one of the advertisements (September 2003)

right: Participants at the trademark assessor training workshop in February 2003

next page: Location of first four FTTSA certified products

FTTSA will pursue similar partnerships with civil society organisations and consumer networks located in South Africa's key source markets.

The FTTSA mark will thus assist international as well as domestic consumers to discern the "fair" content of a particular package, and to differentiate between parity products through the provision of credible information and a reliable trademark. While the FTTSA approach does not (yet) address "fair trade relations" throughout the value chain, it is hoped that by building up a diverse portfolio of certifiably fair – and good quality – South African products, FTTSA will gain leverage to negotiate better deals for Trademark Users (which will create an additional incentive for the private sector to seek FTTSA certification). In this fashion, fairly operated enterprises will drive the establishment of (more) fairly traded travel itineraries and holiday packages.

FTTSA is a voluntary certification scheme. The application process begins with self-assessment, which means that interested parties complete a Self-Audit Questionnaire (SAQ), which is panel-reviewed. This is followed by an external assessment of the business, which is carried out by an Independent Trademark Assessor, who is drawn from a pool of 14 specially trained consultants.⁶ The assessment costs are carried by the business being evaluated, although small businesses can apply for subsidies from the national Tourism Enterprise Programme (TEP), which may finance up to 50% of the assessment cost.⁷ The Assessor spends 1-3 days on-site depending on the size of the business. During the assessment, the Assessor must verify the information provided by the applicant

in the SAQ, and also supplement this information, for example through interviews and participant-observation. At the end of the site visit, the Assessor submits a report, which is also panel-reviewed. The Trademark Panel is comprised of three members, including the FTTSA National Coordinator and two external experts, and is responsible for all decisions regarding Trademark awards.

Successful applicants are awarded the rights to use the FTTSA mark for a 12-month period, which is followed by re-assessment annually. Every certified Trademark User pays an annual "user fee" to FTTSA, which is based on published rates (rack rate) and capacity (Seif and Gordon 2003: 21-22). User fees are invested in the marketing and monitoring of the Trademark. Certified FTTSA products use the FTTSA label in their marketing and promotions, and FTTSA undertakes generic marketing and awareness raising as well as joint marketing activities. As required, FTTSA provides support and development facilitation to Trademark Users to improve compliance with FTT values and criteria.

FTTSA certification – achievements and future opportunities

FTTSA began accepting applications from potential Trademark Users in June 2003. By August, a total of five independent trademark assessments had taken place. Four of these businesses qualified for the FTTSA Trademark award; the fifth was provided with constructive feedback and is eligible for re-assessment after a minimum of six-months (see Seif and Gordon 2003: 20).

⁶ FTTSA has trained 14 independent Trademark Assessors, who will ultimately be accredited by the national Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education & Training Authority (THETA).

The Assessors are independent service providers to FTTSA. Visit www.fairtourism.co.za

⁷ At the time of writing this paper, TEP has co-financed 5 of 7 FTTSA Trademark assessments. Visit www.tep.co.za

On 22 October 2003, FTSA announced the first FTSA certified products, all of which have been rigorously assessed by FTSA:

- *Sabi Sabi Private Game Reserve* is a large enterprise located in Mpumalanga Province, adjacent to the Kruger National Park. Sabi Sabi is comprised of three 5-star lodges. Sabi Sabi is committed to the recruitment, training and promotion of local residents and PDIs; affirmative procurement and outsourcing; and investment in community development and conservation initiatives. Sabi Sabi was one of the first properties in South Africa (if not the very first) to employ female rangers, and wages paid are well above average for the greater Kruger area. Visit www.sabisabi.com.
- *Shiluvuri Lakeside Lodge* is a small, primarily family-owned enterprise that participated in the Fair Trade in Tourism Initiative (FTTI) pilot project that preceded the establishment of FTSA in 2001. Shiluvuri serves as an anchor for cultural tourism in the Elim region of the Limpopo Province, and lodge staff constantly refer guests to local arts and crafts producers and local tour guides. This helps to put money into rural households and creates opportunities for further SMME development. Visit www.shiluvuri.com.
- *Spier Leisure* in Stellenbosch, near Cape Town. Spier is a large enterprise that includes a 4-star hotel, conference centre, restaurants, shops, horse trails and other tourism activities. Spier is committed to sustainability and socio-economic transformation, as manifest in its affirmative procurement and employment practices, its support to organic and black “emerging” farmers in the Cape wine lands, and its efforts to resettle redundant farm workers. Spier has created a workplace culture that is based on respect, personal growth and development and performance excellence. Visit www.spier.co.za.
- *Stormsriver Adventures* is a small adventure tourism company located in Tsitsikamma in the Eastern Cape Province. Stormsriver offers a range of adventure tours including the world-famous treetop canopy tour and blackwater tubing. Stormsriver Adventures has trained more than 50 young people – mostly black and many of them women – to become professionally qualified tourist guides, which is a welcome change in this traditionally white- and male-dominated sub sector of the South African tourism industry. All tours include a strong environmental education component. Visit www.stormsriver.com.

Other assessments are currently underway, and FTSA expects to have at least 12 certified products on its books by mid-2004. By May 2005, FTSA hopes to have certified and branded a total of 30 tourism enterprises from throughout South Africa. This “slow and steady” approach is intended to maintain the “prestige” status of FTSA certification, while also allowing for the capture of the numerous lessons that will be learnt along the way. In building up this initial portfolio of products, FTSA will seek to achieve:

- Good geographical distribution of FTSA certified products;
- Appropriate mix of “mainstream” and “emerging” products – so that the former provide the latter with greater credibility in a competitive industry, and vice versa;
- Diverse range of products, e.g. accommodation, tours, restaurants etc.;
- Inclusion of good quality, community-based products, which improves the overall product mix and provides community-based tourism enterprises with opportunities to access to niche markets.

Once FTSA has certified a critical mass of products, the initiative will be in a better position to “sell” fairly operated products to the inbound travel trade as well as to independent travellers. While the exact terms of FTSA’s future relationships with tour operators have yet to be determined, the nature of such business linkages will depend largely on demand. What is clear however is that FTSA will not seek to enter the marketplace as an operator: we aim rather to establish mutually beneficial business relationships with operators who wish to sell certifiably fair products to clients. FTSA will also continue to raise awareness, especially in South Africa, about FT principles and criteria and the benefits of FTSA certification.



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(Continuation next page)

Two of the guides and Jennifer Seif at Stormsriver Adventures in Eastern Cape.

(Photos: FTTSA)



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Conclusion: The “problem” of standards?

Within the global FTT / sustainable tourism “community”, there are a number of concerns about the proliferation in recent years of ecotourism certification schemes and other tourism labels.

Who controls the standards? Who determines process? What – or indeed who – constitutes “fair”? While some of these concerns about fragmentation and lack of coordination are valid, it is significant, and somewhat worrying, that these questions about standards and process are posed, almost exclusively, by organisations and experts located in the so-called “North”.

FTTSA’s experience has shown that social “standards” must be relevant to the social, economic and political imperatives of the destination itself, while simultaneously speaking to the traditional focus areas of the Fair Trade movement (and other relevant movements).

In the case of South Africa, this means that the FTTSA mark – or indeed any type of developmental scheme – must explicitly address the imperatives of socio-economic transformation and redress of

past and present inequalities. But such schemes must also actively engage international best practice and international “standards”, which will engender a dialogue of equals that can advance our thinking about – and action towards – sustainability, responsibility and “fairness”.

Towards this end, the FTTSA mark will help to raise awareness about global fair trade / FTT “standards” within South Africa, while also educating inbound tourists about the particular needs and necessities of post-apartheid society and economy.

At the end of the day, schemes like FTTSA must also engage with the market, which is perhaps the most critical lesson that we have learned to date. Ultimately, the long-term success of FTTSA (and other comparable initiatives) hinges on the ability to demonstrate that FTT certification adds real value to the tourism industry and the full range of trademark users: product owners; tour operators and other intermediaries; and, of course, holidaymakers themselves. Who better to help judge the quality and relevance of “standards”?

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Neue Bücher/ Book Reviews

Architektur

Sun Dazhang: Islamic Buildings. Ancient Chinese Architecture; 160 S. ISBN 3-211-83011-1, 2003. Springer-Verlag, Wien.

Das vorliegende Buch über islamische Architektur gehört in die 10 bändige Reihe über historische Architekturtypologien in China. Damit wird in der westlichen Welt die Bandbreite der verschiedenen traditionellen Bautypen und -funktionen zugänglich gemacht. Auf über hundert Seiten wird im vorliegenden Band der Betrachter von großformatigen Fotos islamischer Bauten in der Volksrepublik in Empfang genommen. Die visuelle Pracht der durchgängig farbig gedruckten Bilder wird nur minimal mit Bildunterschriften verortet. Im Anhang allerdings wird jedes Foto von einem kurzen beschreibenden Text bekleidet, der Auskunft über die Geschichte und die Details der unterschiedlichen Gebäude gibt. Mehrere fundierte Texte des chinesischen Autors erläutern die Hintergründe der islamischen Baukunst in China. So befasst sich ein Kapitel mit der historischen Entwicklung. Ein zweiter Text untersucht die Bauteile und ihre Komposition bei den Moscheen und Mausoleen. Interessant ist hier die Mischung zwischen arabischem Einfluss und chinesischer Adaption. Der Raumorganisation und der Dekoration ist ein weiterer Text gewidmet. Im Anhang werden zirka ein Duzend Bauten in Grundriss und Schnitt sehr anschaulich dargestellt. Eine Beschreibung liefert jeweils die notwendigen Hintergrundinformationen. Zwei Karten über das Verbreitungsgebiet und eine Chronologie über 7000 Jahre chinesische Baugeschichte schließen den Band ab.

Das Buch macht deutlich, dass es zwei Wege der islamischen Kultur nach China gab. Der eine kam über das Meer an die Küste und wurde von Händlern und Kaufleuten transportiert. Der andere kam über den Landweg in die Provinz Xinjiang, die noch heute von der muslimischen Minderheit der Uiguren bewohnt wird. Im Wüstenklima Xinjiangs haben sich die Architekturformen aus dem Orient erhalten. In den Küstengebieten hingegen fusionierten sich die arabischen Formen mal mehr mal weniger mit der traditionellen Holzarchitektur. Der Autor beschreibt den Niedergang der islamischen Architektur durch die westliche Aggression nach dem Opiumkrieg. Die Betrachtung hört mit der Gründung der Volksrepublik auf und lässt die Zerstörungen der Kulturrevolution aus. Auch die seit vielen Jahren andauernde Siedlungspolitik der Regierung, die Han-Chinesen in die Provinz Xinjiang bringt, findet keine Beachtung. So werden einzelnen Bauten in ihrer historischen Entwicklung anschaulich dargestellt, aber ein Bezug zur aktuellen muslimischen Bautätigkeit und Kultur wird nicht aufgezeigt. Alles in allem ein *coffee table book*, das durch die Brillanz der Abbildungen zu bestechen weiß.

Eduard Kögel

Claudia Lorenz-Ladener (ed.). Laube und Hütten. 188 S. ISBN 3-922964-84-2, 2002. Ökobuch Verlag, Staufen.

Bewohnbare Kleinstarchitektur zum Selbstbauen: eine Auswahl teils anspruchsloser, teils architektonischer Experimentalbauten, wurde von der Herausgeberin in Form einer reich bebilderten Artikelsammlung verschiedener Architekten zusammengetragen. Da gibt es öko-solare Gartenhütten, Baumhäuser, Flöße, Wigwams etc. Zielgruppe sind Leute, die nur wenig Erfahrung in handwerklichen Tätigkeiten mitbringen, oder gestalterische Anregungen suchen.

Kosta Mathéy

Stadtentwicklung

Meuser, Philipp: „Sehnsucht nach Europa – Urbane Skizzen aus Afrika, Amerika und Asien“, 93 S., 14 Abb., broschiert, ISBN 3-935455-24-0, Euro 12,80, Berlin (Verlagshaus Braun) 2003. www.verlagshaus-braun.de

Die weltweite Vielfalt aktueller Stadtentwicklungen führt der kurze Essayband „Sehnsucht nach Europa“ vor Augen. Der Untertitel des Büchleins „Urbane Skizzen aus Afrika, Amerika und Asien“ beschreibt seinen Inhalt am treffendsten: Der Architekt und Journalist Philipp Meuser skizziert in 12 Essays, ursprünglich in der Neuen Züricher Zeitung erschienen, urbane Situationen aus Afrika (Kapstadt), Amerika (Atlanta, Chicago, Rio de Janeiro) und Asien (Aschgabat, Astana, Bangkok, Dhaka, Dalian, Hongkong, Kabul, Taschkent). Den Essays vorangestellt ist eine Einleitung des Stadtforschers Eckhart Ribbeck. Anhand der Schlagwörter „Posteuropäische Stadt, Immigration City, Global Cities, Megastädte, High-Tech-Städte und Hütten-Metropolen“ wird gut verständlich ein Überblick über aktuelle, internationale Tendenzen in der Stadtentwicklung gegeben. Die informative Einleitung setzt die einzelnen Essays Meusers in einen übergeordneten Zusammenhang, sie wirken wie eine anschauliche ‚Bebilderung‘ der fachlichen Einleitung.

Gut und kenntnisreich geschrieben, reflektiert der Autor Stadtplanung stets vor dem Hintergrund der gesellschaftlichen und politischen Situation. Seine Essays erzählen beispielsweise aus der Nachkriegszeit in Kabul und der Zeit in Kapstadt nach dem Ende der Apartheid. Sie schildern den Rückbau -sprich Sprengung- von Sozialwohnbau in Chicago und den Verkehrskollaps in Bangkok. Sie skizzieren die ‚Disneyfizierung‘ der chinesischen Stadt Dalian und den Einfluss politisch totalitärer Systeme auf die Stadtplanung in Zentralasien (Aschgabat, Astana und Taschkent). Die Essays mit ihren durchschnittlich 5 Seiten bieten im wahrsten Sinne nur „Skizzen“. Das Büchlein ist keine tiefgründige Fachliteratur und will es auch nicht sein. Register oder eine Bibliographie sind nicht vorhanden. Doch der Facettenreichtum der

Essays macht das Buch mit seinen Stadtbeschreibungen der etwas anderen Art – auch und gerade für Laien – zu einem interessanten und kurzweiligen Ausflug in die Thematik der Stadtentwicklung.

Carsten Hermann

Matthias Boeckl (ed.). Stadtbau. 171 S. ISBN 3-211-83850-3. 2003. Springer Verlag, Wien (www.springer.at).



Das Buch stellt sich im Vorwort als ‚Beitrag zur städtebaulich-architektonischen Abteilung der Globalisierungsdebatte‘ dar. Diese Charakterisierung trifft sicher nicht die faktischen Qualitäten des Buches, das in der Hauptsache architektonisch interessante und photographisch gut eingefangene Konversions- und Infill-Projekte präsentiert. Der parallel abgedruckte deutsch-englische Text weist noch am Ehesten auf den Globalisierungsprozess hin. Einen theoretisch fundierten Einführungsartikel schrieb Harald Bodenschatz, wo der Stadtbau als dritte Phase der europäischen Stadterneuerung dargestellt ist. Vorgänger-Strategien waren die Kahlschlagsanierung der 1960er Jahre und die sog. behutsame und konservierende Stadterneuerung der 1970er Jahre. Auf diesen Beitrag folgen neun eher deskriptive Projektberichte aus (wie das Vorwort erläutert:) ‚friedlichen und demokratischen Weltgegenden‘. Die Metropolen des Südens wurden bewusst ausgeschlossen.

Zu den ausgewählten Projekten gehören u.a. das neue Südufer der Themse in London, Der Rotterdamer Hafenumbau, das American Folk Art Museum in New York, die Ladenpassage ‚fünf Höfe‘ in München, aber auch eine eher dörfliche anmutende Erneuerung von Waidhofen an der Ybbs in Österreich. Mit dem Schwerpunkt auf die gestalterischen Aspekte ist das Buch in erste Linie für Architekten interessant. Die präsentierten Beispiele spiegeln solide und anerkannte Gestaltungslösungen wieder – eine heile Welt, die auch im Norden heute eher die Ausnahme sein dürfte. Insofern haben wir es zumindest mit einem ästhetisch ansprechenden Kunstbuch zu tun und dürfen kaum Anregungen für die Bewältigung der künftig auf uns zukommenden städtebaulichen Aufgaben erwarten.

Kosta Mathéy

Ivo Imparato, Jeff Ruster. *Slum Upgrading and Participation. Lessons from Latin America.* 489 S. ISBN 0-8213-5370-5, 2003. The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Wenn die Weltbank die Partizipation preist, wird man neugierig. Vorurteile scheinen sich zu bestätigen, wenn man im Vorwort liest, wie glücklich die früheren Slum Bewohner sind, wenn sie nach der Legalisierung ihrer Grundstücke jetzt eine Postadresse haben und der Briefträger ihnen regelmäßig Rechnungen ins Haus bringt für den Verbrauch von Strom und Wasser (Seite x). Doch auf den folgenden Seiten finden wir dann eine relativ objektive und gründliche Auseinandersetzung mit alternativ-Optionen, Stärken und Schwächen unterschiedlicher Partizipationsaspekte am Beispiel von fünf konkreten Erfahrungen in Lateinamerika:

- In **Bolivien** schreibt das Gesetz seit 1994 vor, im Rahmen der Verwaltungsreform die lokale Bevölkerung bis hin zu Budgetentscheidungen, z.B. bei Slum Upgrading Projekten, zu beteiligen. Seitdem werden jährliche US\$ 100.000 mit Kontrolle durch die Nutzergruppe investiert.
- Im Guarapiranga Wasser-Einzugsgebiet in Sao Paulo, **Brasilien**, mit seinen 600.000 Einwohnern erlaubt die neue horizontale Verwaltung die Durchsetzung wichtiger Bewohnerinteressen bei großflächigen Upgrading-Programmen in den Jahren 1993-2000. Allerdings ist festzustellen, daß die großflächige Wiederholbarkeit wegen der nicht rückzahlbaren Investitionen nicht möglich ist.
- In **Costa Rica** bringt das FUPROVI Upgrading Programm (seit 1988) eine Kombination von Selbsthilfe-Wohnungsbau und innovativen Stadtteil-Management zum Nutzen und unter Beteiligung sehr zahlungsschwacher Bevölkerungsgruppen. Ein wesentlicher Schlüssel zum Erfolg war die Einbeziehung von NROs. In Tijuana, **Mexico** resultierte eine weitestgehende Beteiligung der Zielgruppe seit 1991 den transparenten und sparsamen Umgang mit Zuschüssen beim Upgrading von Squatter-Siedlungen. Auch eine finanzielle Beteiligung der Zielgruppe an den Maßnahmen konnte mittels Partizipation erreicht werden.
- Das klassische Beispiel einer Selbsthilfe-Stadt, Villa el Salvador bei Lima, **Peru**, mit jetzt 350.000 Einwohnern, hat von Anfang (1971) an auf Selbstverwaltung gesetzt und damit eine bemerkenswerte Entwicklung durchgemacht. Zu erwähnen wären u.a. die partizipative Stadtplanung, die aktive Beteiligung der Frauen und ein funktionierendes System der Berechnung von Grundsteuer und verbrauchsabhängigen Gebühren. Alle Programme wurden staatlicherseits ins Leben gerufen, und haben daher einen top-down Ursprung.

Das Buch selbst stellt ebenfalls eine interessante Variante von Partizipation dar: während in der ersten Hälfte die aus professioneller Sicht 'objektive' Darstellung der Erfahrungen vermittelt wird, ist die zweite Hälfte – über ein Drittel des Gesamtumfangs – dem Feedback der Betroffenen vorbehalten – zumindest in der Tendenz. Dieser Text ist ein Verschnitt aus Zitaten vieler namentlicher genannter Betroffener, doch die Einführungen und Überleitungen scheinen aus der Feder der Autoren des ersten Teils des Buches zu stammen.

Kosta Mathéy

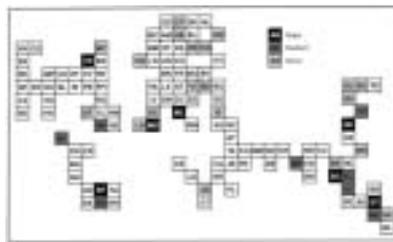
Jane A. Pryer. *Poverty and Vulnerability in Dhaka Slums. The Urban Livelihood Study.* 222 Seiten, ISBN 0 7546 1864 1. 2003, GBL 42:50. Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot (www.ashgate.com).

Diese auf der Dissertation der Autorin beruhende Publikation zeichnet ein detailliertes Bild der Lebensbedingungen in den Slums von Bangla Desh, wobei dort das Ausmaß an Armut und Unrecht in den letzten zwei Dekaden von einem ohnehin niedrigen Level weiter rapide abgesunken ist. Obwohl der Fokus der Untersuchung für die Autorin disziplinbedingt bei den gesundheitlichen Aspekten lag, sind die sozialen wie ökonomischen Faktoren der Situation in der Studie fast genauso gut erfasst. Nur die räumliche Komponente wurde leider nicht berücksichtigt.

Erfreulich ist, daß sich die Arbeit nicht auf die bedrückende Schilderung des *Status quo* reduziert, sondern auch konkrete politische Verbesserungsvorschläge unterbreitet. Das wären z.B. eine genossenschaftsähnliche Absicherung und Vermarktungshilfen für die informellen Produzenten, wobei sich eine organisatorische Anbindung an die erfolgreiche Grameen Bank anbietet. Der Band ist in jeder Weise eine empfehlenswerte Informationsquelle über ein von internationalen NGOs überlaufenes, aber in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion tendenziell vernachlässigtes Land.

Kosta Mathéy

Peter J. Taylor. *World City Network. A Global Urban Analysis.* 242 Seiten. 2004. GBL 21,-. Routledge, London.



Die vorliegende Arbeit dokumentiert die quantitativen Erkenntnisse als Teilergebnis eines umfangreicheren Forschungsprojektes zu internationalen Städtenetzen. Der Kern der Arbeit stellt eine empirische Forschung über 123 Städte weltweit dar, und muß sich angesichts dieser hohen Zahl an Fällen im Wesentlichen auf Sekundärliteratur als Quelle beschränken. So kommt es auch, daß der Literaturübersicht zum Stand der Forschung relativ viel Raum gewidmet wird. Es folgen die Aufbereitung der empirischen Daten aus lokaler und globaler Sicht, wobei unter Anwendung von allerlei Formeln ein Ranking der Weltstädte und ihrer Vernetzung getrennt nach Branchen herauskommt. Ein anderer Teil des Buches nimmt dann eine entsprechende Sortierung nach geografischen Kriterien vor, wobei das *Clustering* von Orten und die Stadt-Umland Verknüpfungen neue Betrachtungsweisen demonstrieren. *Last but not least* wird ein Blick in die Zukunft gewagt, der sich aus nicht ganz verständlichen Gründen an der Boomphase des holländischen Handelsimperiums im 17. Jahrhundert orientiert.

Das Ergebnis der Untersuchungen ist sicher beeindruckend und für Geografen vermutlich verständlicher als für Stadtplaner und Architekten. Dennoch wäre es löblich gewesen, wenn der Autor für alle Disziplinen plausibel hätte darlegen können, welche praktische Bedeutung diese extremen Differenzierungen zwischen den untersuchten Städten mit sich bringt.

Kosta Mathéy

Alcira Kreimer, Margaret Arnold, Anne Carlin (eds). *Building Safer Cities. The Future of Disaster Risk.* 299 S. ISBN 0-8213-5497-3, 2003. The World Bank, Washington, DC. (www.worldbank.org)

Die Katastrophenmeldungen in den Medien der letzten Jahre häufen sich nicht nur auf Grund der besseren Kommunikationstechnik, sondern ihre Frequenz nimmt auch absolut zu: innerhalb der vergangenen 30 hat sich die Zahl der Katastrophen vervierfacht, während die dadurch bedingten materiellen Schäden auf das 2000 bis 3000-fache angewachsen ist und die fälligen Versicherungsleistungen auf das 1000-fache. Das heißt, daß die ökonomischen Verluste allein schon größer waren als der Wirtschaftszuwachs über den gleichen Zeitraum. Die Zahlen sind um so bedenklicher, als viele dieser Katastrophen Folge der ökologischen Sünden der Menschheit sind, und die meisten der übrigen Fälle in ihrer Auswirkung mit geeigneter Vorsorge hätten miniert werden können. Grund genug für die Weltbank, im Dezember 2002 eine internationale Konferenz zu dem Thema zu veranstalten. Eine Reihe renommierter Experten in der Thematik wurden verpflichtet, grundlegende Aufsätze beizusteuern – diese mitunter sehr kontroversen Beiträge sind in dem vorliegenden Band abgedruckt. Im Rahmen der Konferenz wurden sie ergänzt durch Diskussionen und Vorträge, welche im Internet unter www.worldbank.org/dmf abrufbar sind.

Die Beiträge des Buches stehen unter den Themen: 'Globalisierung' (die für viele menschengemachten Katastrophen verantwortlich ist); 'Klimaveränderung; präventive Maßnahmen; besondere Risikofaktoren unter der minderbemittelten Bevölkerung; sozial gefilterte Wahrnehmung von Risiko; Verletzbarkeit vitaler Infrastruktur und: neue Risiken speziell für *Megacities*.

Amüsant ist es unter Anderem zu beobachten, wie die Weltbank ihre Lieblingsthemen wie Privatisierung oder *'Need for Public-Private Partnership'* mit diesem wie fast jedem aktuellen Thema zu kombinieren weiß. Hervorgehoben werden sollte die Relevanz mehrerer zentraler Beiträge zur aktuellen Diskussion, die deshalb über einen längeren Zeitraum Referenzliteratur bleiben werden.

Kosta Mathéy

Gesellschaft und Politik

William Fisher; Thomas Ponniah (eds). *Another World is Possible. Popular Alternatives to Globalization at the World Social Forum.* 364 S. ISBN 1-84277-329-1, 1993, US\$ 20,-. Zed Books, London (www.zedbooks.demon.co.uk).

Der Band unternimmt den bewundernswerten Versuch, Ergebnisse der Weltsozialforums in Porto Alegre von 2002 zu dokumentieren – bei der Unübersichtlichkeit und Heterogenität der präsentierten Beiträge ein nahezu hoffnungsloses Unterfangen. Die Herausgeber haben sich der Aufgabe mittels einer Auswahl an Schlüsselbeiträgen und Zusammenfassungen durch Moderatoren einzelner Diskussionsrunden gestellt und das Material thematisch in fünf Kapitel eingeteilt:

'Wohlstandsproduktion und Sozialreproduktion' handelt in der Hauptsache um internationale Wirtschaftsverflechtungen und -Regulierung, Neo-Kolonialismus, und Gegenbewegungen wie *Attac* oder Solidaritätsprojekte. *'Schaffung von Einkommen und Nachhaltigkeit'* dreht sich um die Absicherung der Grundbedürfnisse und die Souveränität der indigenen Völker. *'Zivilgesellschaft und öffentlicher Raum'* -weniger offensichtlich- thematisiert die Demokratisierung der Medien, kulturelle Vielfalt und Toleranz sowie öffentliche wie häusliche

Gewalt. *Ethik und Macht in der Neuen Gesellschaft* handelt schließlich über Militarisierung, Globalisierung, Menschenrechte, Partizipation, Gender und gesellschaftliche Werte. Den Herausgebern ist es gelungen, aus der Distanz eine gewisse Übersichtlichkeit zu schaffen, die vor Ort leicht verloren zu gehen schien.

Kosta Mathéy

Setha Low. Behind the gates. Life, Security and the Pursuit of Happiness in Fortress America. 25 Seiten, ISBN 0-415-94438-4. Routledge, London (www.routledge.co.uk).

Die Mode der sogenannten ‚gated communities‘, d.h. eingezäunter und durch Wachdienst kontrollierter Eigenheimsiedlungen für die obere Mittelschicht hat von den USA, wo sie ihren ersten Erfolge feierten, auf Länder Lateinamerikas und den Rest der Welt übergreifen. Die zumindest vordergründige Ursache für diese Entwicklung ist Angst vor Einbrüchen und Kriminalität im Allgemeinen; der Wunsch, Kindern ungefährliches Spielen im Freien zu ermöglichen und Zugang zu einer infrastrukturellen Ausstattung (Freizeit, Dienstleistungen, Wohnumfeld), die die öffentliche Hand in der üblichen Stadtstruktur nicht bereitstellt. Darüber hinaus machen die Untersuchungen (und speziell die Interviews mit den Bewohnern zahlreicher gated communities) deutlich, daß weitere unausgesprochene Erwartungen eine zum Teil noch wichtigere Rolle spielen. Dazu gehören z.B. Sozialnostalgie oder der Wunsch, eigene Kindheitserlebnisse zu reproduzieren, auch die Suche nach einem Alterswohnsitz und nicht selten die Absicht, den eigenen sozialen Abstieg zu über-tünchen. Natürlich lassen sich kaum alle solche Projektionen gleichzeitig einlösen, und unerwartete Nachteile beginnen sich mit den gated communities zu verbinden: die Kosten für den Erhalt der Infrastruktur, die Auseinandersetzungen mit den Nachbarn über die festzulegenden Regeln innerhalb der Anlage, weniger Besuche und Alltagskontakte, lange Autofahrten zu Arbeit, Schule, Läden etc. Die Schutzburg wird zum Gefängnis. Solche Widersprüche erklären die hohe Fluktuationsrate in einigen der Communities. Sie lassen sich in manchen Fällen abmildern in den neuesten Varianten der Bewegung, die die Autorin ‚Fake Communities‘ nennt. Dies sind Anlagen, die das Image einer gated community vermitteln, ohne eine zu sein: die Mauern sind nicht durchgängig, die Pförtnerlogen stehen zwar da aber bleiben unbesetzt, die hohen Personalkosten einer echten ‚gated community‘ werden umgangen. Das Paradoxe ist, daß das Modell der Fake Communities nur funktionieren kann, solange es das Vorbild der echten Gated Communities als Vorbild gibt.

Die Autorin schrieb ihren ‚Forschungsbericht‘ fast im Romanstil, wobei jedes der Kapitel eingeleitet wird mit einem ganz persönlichen Essay, darauf folgt die Stimme der Zielgruppe in Form von Interviewausschnitten, bis es zur wissenschaftlichen Auswertung kommt. Daß die Arbeit den Kriterien wissenschaftlichen Arbeitens genügt, belegen u.a. die Kapitel zum Stand der Forschung, der Interviewleitfaden und die umfangreiche Bibliographie.

Kosta Mathéy

Aspinall, E., Fealy, G. (eds.): Local Power and Politics in Indonesia ‚Indonesia Update Series‘, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, 2003. US\$ 25.90. ISEAS, 30 Heng Mui Keng Terrace, Pasir Panjang, Singapore 119614, pubsunit@iseas.edu.sg.

Indonesien befindet sich in einer historischen und dramatischen Umschichtung seiner politischen

und ökonomischen Machtverhältnisse von der Zentralregierung hin zu den Gemeinden und Städten. Als das mehr als 30-jährige, repressive und stark zentralisierte Soeharto Regime 1998 zu Ende kam, explodierten die lange unterdrückten Emotionen der Bevölkerung und es wurden mehr Demokratie und Dezentralisierung gefordert. Nach einer kurzen Übergangsregierung kam 2001 zum ersten Mal eine demokratisch gewählte Regierung an die Macht und diese initiierte recht bald eine radikale Dezentralisierung. Dieses wohl weltweit radikalste Dezentralisierungsprogramm der jüngsten Zeit wurde eine Übertragung weitreichender radikaler Verantwortungen und ein Transfer von finanziellen Ressourcen zu den Gemeinden und Städten. Die Städte und Gemeinden haben inzwischen mehr Geld und fast vollkommen eigene Entscheidungsbefugnis wie sie ihr Geld ausgeben. Seit 2001 erblühen in Indonesien NROs und jede Art von Bürgerinitiativen und Stadtforen; lokale Demokratie und Mitbestimmung ist „in“ und die lokalen Bewegungen wollen die zentrale Bürokratie noch weiter einschränken. Die Dezentralisierungsagenda ist allerdings keine einfache und kurzfristige Agenda wie dieses Buch belegt. Die gegenwärtige Megawati Regierung hat inzwischen sogar angefangen etliche Dezentralisierungsmaßnahmen langsam zurück zu nehmen, da es inzwischen schon zu Exzessen mit lokaler Autorität über forstwirtschaftliche und Bergbau-Lizenzen gekommen ist, und eigentlich doch gesamtstaatliche Kriterien noch über der lokalen Autorität stehen müssen. Die politische Szene hat sich erheblich differenziert und die politische und Parteien-Landschaft ist in einer dynamischen Entwicklung begriffen, wobei Reformorientierte Kräfte und konservative islamische Gruppierungen um Dominanz ringen. Überhaupt lässt sich feststellen, dass die neue Demokratie viel Unruhe bedeutet, denn es geht um eine Neuverteilung der Reichtümer des Landes, um bessere Regierbarkeit („governance“) und eine radikale Beschränkung der allgegenwärtigen Korruption. Und in Sachen Verwaltungsreform und Neustrukturierung der ineffizienten lokalen Institutionen ist eine radikale Agenda angesagt, die sicher nicht allen Akteuren recht ist unter anderem weil es gegen ihre Interessen geht und auch zum Gegenstand hat, dass sich die Bürokratie selber „reformieren“ und gesundenschrumpfen muss. Eine nicht leichte Agenda, und es gibt erhebliche Widerstände, wie dieses Buch zeigt.

Florian Steinberg

Rainer Karliczek. Architektur2 – Planen, Bauen, Hintersinn. 72 Seiten, ISBN 3-7640-0398-7, 2001. EUR 20,-, VBT Verlag, Düsseldorf.



Architekten sollten zeichnen können, und einige unter ihnen – wie der Engländer Hellmann – machen dies in sehr witziger Weise. Karliczek zeichnet, wie der Titel dieses Bildbandes sagt, mit Hintersinn. Das geschieht um so viele Ecken herum, daß die Komik der Darstellung manchem Leser, wie z.B. dem Rezensenten meist verborgen bleibt. Aber das ist wohl die Eigenart fast aller Witze, daß immer einige nicht mitzulachen verstehen.

Kosta Mathéy

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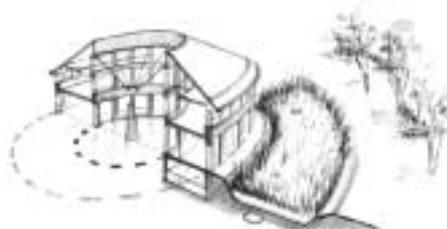
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Water, and Power Sectors; World Bank Working
Paper No.2; The World Bank Washington D.C,
2003 (englisch).

China hat seit 1978 und speziell in den letzten 10 Jahren mit verschiedenen Modellen der privaten Finanzierung bei großen Infrastrukturprojekten experimentiert. Trotzdem kommen bis heute über 90% der Investitionen vom Staat und es hat sich kein einheitliches Modell für gemeinschaftliche Projekte etablieren können. Da weitere große Infrastrukturprojekte gebaut werden sollen, liegt eine riesige Herausforderung vor den Verantwortlichen. Schwächen im gesetzlichen Regelwerk behindern ein unproblematisches Engagement der privaten Investoren. Speziell in den Bereichen Transport, Wasser und Energiegewinnung sind eine Reihe unterschiedlicher Faktoren zu beachten. Dieser Report der beiden Autoren für die Welt Bank wirft einen Blick auf das Regelwerk der privaten Partizipation in Infrastrukturprojekten und zeigt die Möglichkeiten und die zu bedenkenden Probleme bei einem privaten Engagement in den Bereichen des Straßenbaus, der Wasser- und der Energiewirtschaft. Es werden Fälle aus der Praxis analysiert und akademische Untersuchungen aus dem letzten Jahren zusammengestellt, die Möglichkeiten einer intensiveren Zusammenarbeit aufzeigen. Alles in allem ein Arbeitsbuch für ein sehr spezifisches Marktsegment. Mit Beispielen und internationalen Vergleichen werden einzelne Projekte in der V.R. China transparent gemacht und in Graphiken anschaulich dargestellt.

Eduard Kögel

Ökologie

Hélène Izembar, Bertrand Le Boudec.
Waterscapes. Using plant systems to treat
water. 192 S. ISBN 84-252-1886-1, 2003.
Gustavo Gilli, Barcelona.



Art und Inhalt dieser Publikation lassen eher eine trockenere Präsentation als dieses Buch erwarten, das eher an einen Bibldband über Landschaftsgestaltung erinnert. Aber auch die beiden Autoren sind branchenfremd, was in jeder Hinsicht außergewöhnliche Ergebnisse bewirkt hat: außer der ansprechenden Form der Präsentation gelingt es ihnen, einen neuen und alternativen Blick auf Siedlungs-Abwasserentsorgung zu öffnen. Lichtblicke für städtische Zukunft sozusagen.

In der Einleitung werden die physikalischen und ökologischen Grundlagen der Abwasserentsorgung in knapper und auch für Fachfremde gut verständlichen Form erklärt. Es folgen 27 Fallstudien von pflanzen-unterstützten Abwasser-Reinigungsanlagen in Europa und den Nordamerika, und zwar gruppiert in (a) Kleinanlagen für einzelne Häuser und Siedlungen; (b) innerstädtische Wurzelraum-Anlagen und (c) identitätsverbundene Anlagen. Zu dieser letzten Gruppe ge-

hören Ensembles mit bewusstem Vorbildcharakter oder Fälle, in denen ein volles Wasserrecycling zum Image des Betreibers gehören. Eine Vergleichstabelle und Glossarium schließen den Band ab.

Das Buch ist in jeder Hinsicht erfreulich (und nicht nur) für Stadt- und Landschaftsplaner empfehlenswert.

Kosta Mathéy

C.J. Diederichs; Petra Getto; Stephanie Streck.
Entwicklung eines Bewertungs-Systems für
ökonomisches und ökologisches und gesun-
des Bauen. 266 S. ISBN 3-8167-4256-4. Fraun-
hofer IRB Verlag, Stuttgart (www.IRBbuch.de).

Im Auftrag des Bundesministeriums für Verkehr, Bau- und Wohnungswesen führte die Bergische Universität Wuppertal/ Bauwirtschaft ein Forschungsprojekt zur integralen Bewertung von Wohnbauten nach denen im Titel aufgezählten Kriterien durch. Zwar gab es vor nicht allzu vielen Jahren bereits ein F+E Programm über kostengünstige Wohnbauten, doch der neue Fokus auf Nachhaltigkeit macht nur dann Sinn, wenn die Kosten stimmen – denn als unbezahlbarer Luxus wird er sich wohl kaum in der für eine erkennbare Wirkung notwendigen Breite durchsetzen lassen. Ziel der Arbeit ist ein mit vernünftigen Aufwand anwendbares Evaluierungssystem, das es bereits in der Planungsphase erlaubt, z.B. verschiedene Entwurfs-Varianten in Hinblick auf eine optimale ökonomisch-ökologische Balance zu vergleichen.

Die Aufgabe klingt aufgrund der absehbaren Komplexität nahezu unlösbar, doch die Autoren haben das Problem intelligent nach der Art des Gordischen Knotens gelöst; basierend auf einer optimalen Punktzahl von 10000 können alle relevanten Kriterien erfasst und in die Vergleichsrechnung einbezogen werden. Für jeden Fragenkomplex gibt es maximal 10 Punkte, die in die Berechnung der 14 Hauptkriterien eingehen. Jedes Kriterium wird im Buch im Einzelnen erläutert, bevor sich die Bewertungsfragen präsentieren. Überlagert wird diese Wertungsskala durch 1000 Gewichtungspunkte, von denen je 390 der Ökonomie wie der Ökologie zugute kommen, wobei noch 100 bzw. 120 für externe Faktoren und das Gebäudekonzept hinzukommen. Die Gewichtung kann von jedem Bearbeiter ggf. entsprechend den lokalen Umständen modifiziert werden. Die Publikation hat die den meisten Forschungsberichten eigene ‚Umdruckqualität‘ ist aber dafür mit einer CD versehen, die eine Anwendung des Modells am PC mit Standardprogrammen erlaubt.

Kosta Mathéy

Technologie

Peter Steingass / Kirchbauhof (Hrsg.). Moder-
ner Lehmabau 2002. 178 Seiten, ISBN 3-8167-
6118-6, 2002. Fraunhofer IRB Verlag, Stuttgart.

Der Band enthält die Beiträge eines vom Kirchbauhof in Berlin 2002 veranstalteten internationalen Symposium zum Thema Lehmabau. Die 23 Kapitel wurden von 44 Autoren aus folgenden Ländern verfasst: Algerien, Australien, Deutschland, Frankreich, Griechenland, Großbritannien, Marokko, Österreich, Peru, Portugal, Schweden, Spanien und Südafrika. Die Schwerpunktsetzung der Artikel füllt ein weites Spektrum und reicht von persönlichen Erlebnisberichten über Wiederholungen von allseits bekannten Binsenwahrheiten bis hin zu hochwissenschaftlichen und mit komplizierten formelgespickten Abhandlungen über technische Versuchsreihen. Die Themenfelder, in Abschnitte unterteilt, beziehen sich auf bestimmte Verfahren

der Lehmbearbeitung, Untersuchungen zum Materialverhalten, Erfahrungen bei Sanierungsprojekten, finanzielle Implikationen, baubiologische Aspekte und weniger leicht einzuordnende Themen, die unter der Überschrift 'Strategien zur Förderung und Verbreitung des Lehmbaus' subsumiert wurden.

Zu den für Trialog Leser/innen interessante Beiträge dürften ein Bericht über die Sanierung der Kasbahs in Südmarokko von Driss El Alaoui, Gernot Minkes kurzes Statement über die erstaunliche Dämpfung von Mobilfunk-Strahlung durch Lehmbaumstoffe und Graßdächer, zwei studentische Praxis-Übungen in Mexiko (TU Berlin) und Marokko (Uni Weimar) oder Forschung über Erdbebenresistenz von Lehmbau in Peru von Marciel Blandet *et al.*. Einige der Beiträge hätten mit Illustrationen gewonnen, andere leiden unter der schlechten Qualität und dem winzigen Format der vorhandenen Abbildungen – offensichtlich eine Konsequenz der auf die doppelte Größe ausgelegten Druckvorlage.

Kosta Mathéy

Reinhard Kulik. Auslandsbau. Internationales Bauen innerhalb und außerhalb Deutschlands. 218 Seiten. ISBN 3-519-00422-4. 2003. B.G. Teubner. Stuttgart (www.teubner.de).

Der Verfasser ist Professor am Studiengang 'Internationales Bauingenieurwesen' der FH Mainz und hat das vorliegende Buch unter Anderem als Lehrbuch für seine Studierenden verfasst. Ausgangspunkt ist die Feststellung, daß sich technisch gesehen die Herstellung eines Bauwerkes nicht grundlegend von einem Lande zum Anderen unterscheidet, jedoch in Hinblick auf die Verteilung der Aufgaben am Bau und in der vertraglichen Abwicklung sehr unterschiedliche Verfahren Standard sind. Obgleich zum 'Ausland' im Kontext des Buches sowohl Europa wie Asien und Afrika zählen, kann sich der Autor darauf konzentrieren, die wesentlichen Unterschiede zwischen Deutschland, England und Frankreich zu erklären – denn in den ehemaligen Kolonien dieser Länder hat sich die Bau- und Rechtspraxis der Kolonialstaaten im Wesentlichen bis heute erhalten.

Das Werk beginnt mit einer Einführung über die Konjunkturen der Auslandsaufträge in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten und fährt fort mit der grundsätzlichen Aufgabenverteilung unter den am Bau Beteiligten in den drei Ländern. Weitere Kapitel gelten dem Vergabeverfahren, dem Vertragswesen, den logistischen Besonderheiten des Bauens an einem entfernten Standort und der Risikoabsicherung bei Aufträgen aus dem Ausland. Abschließend zeigt eine Fallstudie über ein Bewässerungsprojekt in Somalia die Vorgehensweise in einem konkreten Fall.

Besonders nützlich erscheint die Publikation einmal für Mitarbeiter in Bau- und Consultingfirmen, die international tätig sind, zum Anderen für Experten in der Entwicklungszusammenarbeit, die Projekte mit größeren Bauvorhaben konzipieren und planen.

Kosta Mathéy

Jon Warnes. Mit Weiden bauen. 57 S., ISBN 3-922964-85-0. 2001, Euro 13,-. Ökobuch Verlag, Staufen (www.oekobuch.de)

Als Werk- und Baumaterial ist Weidenholz heutzutage fast in Vergessenheit geraten, stellt jedoch nach wie vor eine billige Alternative für den Selbstbau z.B. in ländlichen Regionen oder für Spielplätze dar. Das Material kann in geschnittenen wie im 'lebenden' Zustand geformt und sogar verwendet werden. Dieser Band vermittelt das technische

Wissen für Auswahl und Verarbeitung von Weidenholz, auch wenn die gezeigten Beispiele eher eine Beschäftigungstheorie für Rentner und deren Enkel suggerieren und so möglicherweise ein ungünstiges Image der in sich neutralen Technik erzeugt.

Kosta Mathéy

Nachschlagewerke

F.G. Cassidy; R.B. La Page (eds). Dictionary of Jamaican English. Second Edition. 500 S. ISBN 967-640-127-6. 2003. US\$ 30,-. The University of the West Indies Press, Jamaica. Bezug: Eurospan, 3 Henrietta Street, London WC2 E8LU.

Aufbau und Methode des Wörterbuchs folgen dem Modell des Oxford English Dictionary, und widmet sich ausschließlich lokalen Ausdrücken in den Ländern der Karibik (wie Surinam, Guyana, Trinidad, Barbados Nicaragua, Belize - und nicht nur Jamaica). Die Grundlagen zu dem Werk sind geschriebene bzw. gedruckte Texte von 1655 bis heute ebenso wie rein orale Quellen. Die einzelnen Einträge enthalten Angaben zur Aussprache, unterschiedliche Schreibweisen, typische Wortkombinationen, Definitionen und Zitate. Für Kollegen, die sich längere Zeit im Karibischen Raum aufhalten müssen, ist das Werk sicherlich eine nützliche Hilfe.

Kosta Mathéy

Peter Schreibley; Johann Grabner. 969798 – Bauen mit System. 100 S., ISBN 3-901351-27-2. Institut für Hochbau, Reichenbauerstr. 12, A-8010 Graz, office@arch-hochbau.tu-graz.ac.at.



Die Dokumentation ist den Studentenarbeiten aus drei aufeinander folgenden Jahren (1996-98) gewidmet, und die sozusagen eine inhaltliche Triologie darstellen. Im ersten Jahr sollte vor dem Hintergrund der beengten Wohnbedingungen in den Slums von Bombay eine Minimalbehausung entworfen und im Maßstab 1:1 gebaut werden. Das folgende Jahr setzte sich dann mit den dazu notwendigen konstruktiven Details auseinander, wenn solche Zellen in Serie produziert werden sollten. Im dritten Jahr wurden beide Aspekte wieder zusammengeführt in der Realisierung einer 'besseren' Alternative zu einer Containersiedlung für Obdachlose in Österreich – wobei die entstandenen Bauten anschließend auch an die Zielgruppe übergeben und von dieser benutzt wurde. Auch wenn die Ausgangsfrage der Wohnverhältnisse in Indien bei gründlicher Analyse der Situation sicher zu anderen rein baulich-konstruktiven Antworten hätte führen müssen (abgesehen von der dort problematischen Materialwahl 'Holz'), ist die Bearbeitung der Aufgabe einschließlich der materiellen Realisierung sicher ein spannendes und effizientes Lehrkonzept für angehende Architekten. Eine Publikation, die man getrost auch anderen Studenten in die Hand geben kann.

Kosta Mathéy

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January 16 - 21, 2004 in Mumbai, India
World Social Forum: "Another world is possible – lets build it".
Contact and information: www.wsfindia.org

FEBRUARY

February 2 - 4, 2004 in Hong Kong, China
International Housing Conference "Housing in the 21st Century: Challenges and Commitment".

Venue: Hong Kong Convention and Exhibition Centre. Organised by the Hong Kong Housing Authority. It will be a major event to mark the 50th Anniversary of Public Housing Development in Hong Kong.

Contact and information:
www.housingauthority.gov.hk/en/ihc

February 4 - 8, 2004 in Cd. Guyana, Venezuela
Pan-Amazon Social Forum.

Contact: Luis Antônio Papa, <cri-pmb@belempa.gov.br>, <luis_antonio_papa@hotmail.com>
www.fspanamazonico.com

February 5 - 6, 2004 in Hong Kong, China
International Housing Conference "Housing and social development: Emerging theoretical issues in Asia-Pacific",

an academic conference after the government conference. Organised by the Asia-Pacific Network for Housing Research (APNHR). Conference language is English.

Contact: Dr. Michael H.C.Ho, Conference Secretary / Miss Man-wah Yip, Conference Administrator, Center of Urban Planning and Environmental Management, The University of HongKong, Pokfulam, Hong Kong. Phone: (852) 2857 8597 / 2857 8639, Fax: (852) 2859 2721 / 2559 0468; <yipmw@hkusua.hku.hk>
<http://web.hku.hk/~apnhr/conference>

February 13-14, 2004 in Darmstadt, Germany
TRIALOG Annual Conference at the occasion of TRIALOG 20 Years' Jubilee: "Private and Intermediate Initiatives in Neighbourhood Development".

Contact: Prof. Dr. Kosta Mathey, TU Darmstadt, <KMathey@aol.com>. Information: www.trialog-journal.de

February 15, 2004 in Darmstadt, Germany
TRIALOG Mitgliederversammlung 2003/ 2004.

Contact: Gisliind Budnick, Phone: (49 711) 607 1965, <gb@trialog.de.eu.org>; www.trialog-journal.de

MARCH

March 8 - 13, 2004 in Quito, Ecuador
Social Forum of the Americas, Hemispheric Council.

Contact and information:
<fsmcontinental@fsmecuador.org>
www.forosocialamericas.org

JUNE

June 13 - 20, 2004 in Amsterdam, The Netherlands

14th INURA Conference: "Creative Cities"

Contact: <informationinura@xs4all.nl>; www.inura.org/index2.html

June 26 - 29, 2004 in Toronto, Canada

ISA International Housing Conference: "Adequate and Affordable Housing for All – Research, Policy, Practice".

Organised under the auspices of Housing and the Built Environment Research Committee 43 of the International Sociological Association (ISA).

Contact: Philippa Campsie, Housing Conference, Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 455 Spadina Avenue, 4th floor, Toronto, Ontario, M5S 2G8, Canada. Fax: (1 416) 9787162; <housing.conference@utoronto.ca>

JULY

July 8 - 10, 2004 in Chicago, USA

City Futures International Conference.

Sponsored by the European Urban Research Association and the Urban Affairs Association. Conference tracks:

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Contact: Robin Hambleton, Conference Chair, Dean, College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs University of Illinois at Chicago, 412 South Peoria, #115(M/C 350), Chicago, Illinois 60607. Phone: (1-312) 413 3375, Fax: (1-312) 413 8095, <robinh@uic.edu> www.uic.edu/cuppa/cityfutures

Mid 2004 in Brisbane, Australia

International Conference on Urban Agriculture: "URBANAG 2004".

The conference will outline the future of urban agriculture in the Western Pacific region. Organised by the Urban Agriculture Network - Western Pacific.

Contact: Geoff Wilson, PO Box 5151, Mt Gravatt East, Queensland 4122, Australia. (617) 3349 1422, fax (617) 3343 8287; <fawmpl@powerup.com.au>www.urbanag.info