**UNIVERSIDAD DE LAS PALMAS DE GRAN CANARIA**

**ESCUELA DE DOCTORADO**

# RURAL COMMUNITIES' REPRESENTATIONS OF TOURISM DEVELOPED IN THE NATIONAL PARK OF LA LANGUE DE BARBARIE OF SAINT-LOUIS, SENEGAL: A PREREQUISITE FOR AN APPROPRIATE EMPOWERMENT STRATEGY

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Programa de Doctorado en Turismo, Economía y Gestión

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# ULPGC

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**DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to Mamadou SARR, my beloved brother who passed away during my research. I am very sad that you would not be able to witness this achievement.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

**AOF** = Afrique Occidentale Française

**ANOVA** = Analysis of Variance

**ANT** = Actor-Network Theory

**ANSD** = Agence Nationale de la Statistique et de la Démographie

**CBT** = Community-based Tourism

**DPN** = Direction des Parcs Nationaux du Sénégal

**FCFA**= Franc de la Communauté financière Africaine

**GDP** = Gross Domestic Product

**GIE** = Groupement d'Intérêt Économique

**HOMALS** = Homogeneity Analysis by Means of Alternating Least Squares

**IFAN** = Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire

**IMF** = International Monetary Fund

**IUCN** = International Union for Conservation of Nature

**MTTA** =  Ministère du Tourisme et des Transports Aériens du Sénégal

**NGO** = Non-Governmental Organization

**PA** = Protected Area

**PNLB** = Parc National de La Langue de Barbarie

**PSDT** = Plan Stratégique de Développement du Tourisme Durable au Sénégal

**RETS** = Resident Empowerment through Tourism Scale

**SAED** = Société Nationale d'Aménagement et d'Exploitation des Terres du Delta du Fleuve Sénégal

**SAP** = Structural Adjustment Plan

**SAPCO** = Société d'Aménagement et de Promotion des Côtes et Zones Touristiques du Sénégal

**SET** = Social exchange theory

**SERRP** = Saint-Louis Emergency Recovery and Resilience Project

**SR** = Social Representations

**SRT** = Social Representations Theory

**SSA** = Sub-Saharan Africa

**ST-EP** = Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty

**UK** = United Kingdom

**UNESCO** = United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

**UNWTO** = United Nations World Tourism Organization

**WB** = World Bank

**WTO** = World Tourism Organization

**WTTC** = World Travel and Tourism Council

**WWF** = World Wide Fund

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# General introduction

Tourism is often touted for its economic, social and environmental benefits**.** However, it is also often criticized for perpetuating neo-colonial practices thus leading to uneven power relationships and leakages (Brohman, 1996; Burns, 2008a, 2008b; Higgins- Desbiolles, 2006; Pattullo, 2009; Potter et al., 2008) particularly in developing countries. Moreover, Smith (1997) observed that tourism development can not only strengthen elite's control of dissident voices, but can also lead to an hegemonic consensus to render control cheaper and capital investment more profitable. This elite capture occurs more often in developing countries where tourism is usually implemented through a top-down approach and as a short term activity by bilateral organizations and local authorities, thus overlooking local communities' needs and voices. These power imbalances underlying tourism development in many developing countries' destinations are illustrated by uneven government regulations which tend to favour foreign and national corporations to the detriment of local communities' initiatives. For instance, in these destinations, many protected areas are usually prone to restrict local communities' opportunities to provide tourist services or indigenous alternatives in aid of national and foreign corporations that develop their activities in and around protected areas.

This was the case in Senegal, where since the end of the 1970s, the country's tourism sector received support by the World Bank (WB hereafter) as a strategy to diversify the economy and reduce economic dependence on agriculture and mitigate the impact of droughts. As a result, the Société d'Aménagement et de Promotion des Côtes et Zones Touristiques du Sénégal (Society for the Management and Promotion of the Coasts and Tourist Zones) (SAPCO) was created in 1975 to support tourism development, and by 1990 the Petite Côte was one of the main tourism destinations in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA hereafter).

As such, in Senegal, tourism was first developed in coastal areas, especially on the Petite Côte between Dakar and Mbodiene areas, previously dominated by agriculture and fisheries. Therefore, local communities' lands that supported their traditional activities were chosen by

administrative authorities to establish tourism destinations and protected areas. These public policies intended to foster economic benefits ultimately caused conflicts between local communities and administrative authorities. In that context, many scholars analysed the impacts of tourism on the livelihoods of rural communities surrounding national parks in developing countries (Pelser et al., 2013; Hulme & Murphee, 2001; Naughton-Treves, 2005). The findings from such case studies are far from homogeneous, and revealed a great disparity.

On the one hand, authors claiming a prominence of positive effects often attribute it to an increase in remunerated jobs, especially for women, wider markets for local products and the opening of local residents to new attitudes and behaviours about innovations and entrepreneurship (Hjalager, 1996; WTO, 1996; Weaver, 1998; Hall & Jenkins, 1998; Telfer & Sharpley, 2007; Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2010)

On the other hand, while recognizing these positive impacts, scholars have also focused on a number of emerging issues that the establishment of protected areas caused and exacerbated without appropriate strategies to address those issues. For example, Vodouhê et al. (2010), Woodhouse et al. (2018) and Sène-Harper & Séye (2019) denounced the coercive approaches to managing protected areas that have been put in place to exclude local communities from the management process and accessing protected resources. Furthermore, Scheyvens (2011) observed that resorts and hotels maintain weak or absent linkages with local suppliers of goods and services and are likely to take advantage of poor working conditions and labour rights, while treating local micro entrepreneurs as competitors instead of allies, refusing transfer knowledge and joint-venturing. Cole (2012) and Gossling et al. (2012) provide evidence of the tourism pressures on water supply leading to water shortage for the local populations. Tourism is invoked sometimes as exacerbating inequalities in rural communities surrounding protected areas between locals whose livelihoods are linked and those unrelated to tourism (Cole and Morgan, 2010; Woodhouse et al., 2018).

Concerning the complex relationships between nature conservation and local communities surrounding protected areas, some initiatives have been developed to build proper solutions and spread lessons. Under labels like Pro-Poor tourism (Ashley and Roe, 2002; Goodwin, 2009), Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty (hereafter ST-EP) (United Nations World Tourism Organization, 2003) or Anti-Poverty Tourism (Zhao and Ritchie, 2007), tourism development has been promoted and supported by development agencies, governments and donors, but the results remain elusive and prompt criticism by researchers (Scheyvens, 2009; Hall, 2007). For example, Moscardo (2011) points out that protected areas tourism planning is strongly influenced by the perceptions of managers and planners often from outside of local communities, which experience tourism differently than presumed by the former ones.

As a result of financial difficulties, Senegal tourism sector had been chosen by international institutions in collaboration with local authorities as a temporary source of income likely to improve its balance of payments. Specifically, tourism sector has been at the heart of national social and economic development plans destined attract significant private investments and leading to major financial reforms. On this context, the implementation of protected areas and tourism development were undertaken under a peculiar ideological land struggle; as land in and around national parks were considered national domain (Diouf, 2010) and communal ownership of land for tourism purposes was not legally supported. Therefore, in spite of the expected positive results of tourism, there was a lack of effective and efficient policies to build local capacities to plan, develop and co-manage the entire value chain of tourist experiences thus benefitting local communities through not only direct tourism benefits but also the development of positive synergies alongside traditional economic activities.

In fact, the failure to implement a tourism activity compatible with the traditional activities triggered conflicts between both parties. This situation engendered brutal evictions not only in coastal areas such as Petite Côte (Nguekokh, Saly) and Basse Casamance (Cap-Skiring) (1977) but also in protected areas like Niokolo Koba Park, Djoudj Park and the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie (PNLB hereafter). During this period, customary land tenure and statutory tenure existed side by side, leading to a political and social struggle rooted in the

contestations between ideologies that are apparently contradictory but similar through their elitist rationale. Both systems of production entail a centralisation of land administration introduced by colonizers and perpetuated by current local authorities. For this, local communities don't find solutions to their problems neither through the customary land tenure nor through the statutory one. Therefore, it is required evolved local structures and more democratic land management in order to foster local participation and empowerment within protected areas and tourism development.

These discriminatory practices towards local communities ended up causing the former to negatively perceive land management in general and land-based activities including protected areas which replaced their traditional livelihoods. Later, strategies designed to channel social, economic and political benefits from protected areas to local communities remained ineffective for the most part as communities continued to rely on their traditional livelihoods activities. Yet administrative authorities continue to regard tourism as a substitute rather than a complement to existing traditional activities.

However, to reinforce rural council's legal claim and responsibility for many duties including the approval, allocation and productive use of agricultural land, the Government of Senegal instituted an overhaul to its political system and government structure through the decentralization law[1]. With this law, rural councils were now responsible for nine major domains of governance for their citizens namely, environment and natural resource management, health, population and social welfare, youth, sports and recreation, culture, education, planning and local development, land management and zoning.

While this decentralization law is innovative, the central State still has control over decentralized bodies such as communes and rural communities through the oversight of state appointed officials and a political culture that instills a decision-making chain of command according to status (Gellar 2005, Monkam 2009, Poteete and Ribot 2011). Importantly,

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[1]Decentralization Law n$^0$ 96-06 of March 22, 1996 establishing the local authorities code.

transversal sectors like tourism whose functioning requires the harmonization of many subsectors like environment and natural resource management, land management and zoning, recreation and local development did not form part of the nine major domains of governance of the decentralization law.

Consequently, the availability of natural and cultural attractions in rural areas did not automatically foster tourism development in these zones as the central Government failed to implement tourism policies to empower rural communities. This failure by the Government led international organizations or Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) to advocate for community-based tourism (CBT hereafter) or sustainable tourism. The shift of sustainable tourism ideals from a global to a local context is problematic in that sustainability advocates tend to overlook endogenous realities such as political considerations, cultural aspects that are decisive for a sound tourism development.

As such, alternative analytical approaches to account for local communities' attitudes and perceptions towards protected areas tourism development were proposed (Moscardo, 2011). In fact, locals' perceptions of expropriation, exclusion and estrangement towards protected areas can appropriately be captured through the application of social representations theory. This theory not only allows for a deeper understanding of locals' attitudes and behaviours towards tourism but also it helps to clusters them. Such clustering may help identify minorities that could lead transformative tourism-based social processes that can widen opportunities for genuine community-based tourism in developing countries including Senegal where CBT projects face both internal and external barriers.

First, the current legal structure of rights allocation places local communities at a disadvantage with respect to private and state organizations, and ultimately impedes the contribution of CBT. For example, the lack of communal land ownership and concession rights reduce the channels through which communities can benefit from CBT projects (Sène-Harper & Séye, 2019). Moreover, this shortcoming impedes communities to voice their concerns and suggestions on livelihoods activities. For example, when the Senegalese

Government decided to create a breach[2] to divert the flooding waters from the city of Saint-Louis to the river, local communities were not consulted yet they are suffering the most impacts, thereby violating the country's environmental act[3] which specifies:

> All development projects or any activity that is likely to harm the environment, as well as policies, plans, programs, area and sector studies have to be the object of an environmental assessment which can include environmental impact studies, strategic environmental assessments and environmental audit.

This legal prerequisite has been overlooked by administrative authorities who are accountable for the breach and all its consequences.

Second, the dichotomy between expert and local knowledge embedded in tourism development discourse around the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie is an obstacle for meaningful participation and empowerment of local communities in the sector. Since, the combination of institutional expert knowledge and objectivity has traditionally been employed to denigrate other forms of knowledge and voices. Consequently, dissent or subaltern voices have been silenced, as knowledge itself is a vehicle for the perpetuation of social inequalities and injustice particularly in the tourism sector usually portrayed as an asymmetrical activity. Furthermore, on this uneven relationship lies the problem of the legitimization of knowledge directly related to power differentials between different beliefs and value systems (Jovchelovitch 1997; Campbell and Jovchelovitch 2000). Rather than combining expert and indigenous knowledge for the success of community-based tourism in Saint-Louis, decision makers tend to perpetuate discrimination in the status and valuation of different forms of knowledge, then affecting the ways knowledge is communicated.

Third, the peculiar status of Saint-Louis as the first capital of the French administration in Western Francophone Africa during the colonization era has ongoing influences on the

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[2] On October 3, 2003, to help counter flooding in the city of Saint-Louis, a 4 metres breach was cut in the peninsula near the city. Quickly, the breach widened to 800 metres and separated the southern end of the peninsula from main country and transforming it into an island.

[3] The environmental Act, Art. L.48, January 2001.

history, the culture and the development of this city even after the independence of Senegal. Since, one of the intentions of the civilizing mission was to ascertain a certain level of representation of the French metropolis among its subjects. In other words, the subjects of French colonies assumed a partial identification with the French, without being wholly French.

Numerous interpretations of this attitude have been used to explain a specific pattern of behavior on former colonized people. Terms like assimilation, acculturation, lactification (Fanon, 1952), or even mimicry (Bhabha, 2004) have been mobilized in determining the complex patterns of behaviors that peoples of colonized states keep on exhibiting in many realms as culture, politics, education, heritage, tourism, etc.

For example, the implementation of the breach without the consultation of local communities and the subsequent devastating ecological and livelihoods impacts remind of the discriminatory practices of the colonial era. In the tourism activity, these practices are sustained by privileging the interests of urban communities over the needs of rural communities.

Overall, the lack of communal land ownership and concession rights, the dichotomy between expert and local knowledge in tourism development and the colonial character of Saint-Louis may be considered as great obstacles to the implementation of community-based tourism at the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie. Yet, the environmental damages endured by local communities is a strong reminder of the necessity to center the experiences of local communities in order to empower them, build social and economic resilience , foster biodiversity conservation and adapt to climate change. In fact, beyond the aforementioned obstacles to the development of community-based tourism in Saint-Louis, this investigation seeks to emphasize the scope of power and representations in the tourism realm particularly in developing countries.

Indeed, understanding the process of power in diverse historical, cultural and political contexts of tourism destinations is crucial to gaining more insight into the complexity and

diversity of perceptions held by differing groups of people both within tourists and local communities. This variety of perceptions confirms that tourism is inextricably linked with power and culture in many ways, including the relationship between the tourists' countries of origin and the destination host countries; providing the tourists and the destination host countries; the interaction between the tourists themselves and the indigenous population of the destination country; the tourism industry structures which involves multinational companies; and the political interests at every level with a concern for the economy.

As such, the insights of Foucault, may give more understanding on representations and empowerment in tourism development in these settings through the case study of the PNLB. Since, in this specific example, there is a need to understand the broader socio-cultural context of power, as well as to appreciate its existence in the less obvious experiences of rural communities whose political status have relevance to their experiences with tourism development, but are often obscured. An insight to Foucault scholarship on power may help to enlighten rural communities' knowledge, experiences and power in tourism activity developed in the PNLB.

Foucault sees power relations as present in all social relationships, permeating society in a capillary way rather than coming down from a single centre of control such as the State. Moreover, Foucault rationale that power is not confined to those in Government but permeates human relationships throughout the whole society was echoed by Watts and Peet (1996) in their definition of communities as:

> A locus of knowledge, a site of regulation and management, a source of identity and a repository of tradition, which necessarily turn on questions of representation, power, authority, governance and accountability, an object of state control, and a theatre of resistance and struggle.

The complexity of communities viewed either as agents or as targets is interesting in that cultures and societies are not passive recipients of tourism, rather, they are also sites of contestation and resistance (Meethan 2001). For this, the emphasis on the stake of power and communities aims at highlighting that power dynamics within tourism and communities are

understood when local histories, knowledge, experiences are examined into socio-political conditions. Since at the heart of empowerment lies social representations, power, social representations of power and the power of social representations specifically in the African context characterized by the connectedness of humans and non-humans. Such peculiarities recalls the relevance of African ecological literature which is helpful to analyze the relationships of African communities with their immediate settings including nature, space and subsequently protected areas.

In this context, inspired by a long tradition of anticolonial literary writings from the continent, activists and scholars like Ken-Saro Wiwa, Chinua Achebe, Maathai Wangari generated counter narratives to the stories of Africa like those offered by Conrad (1988) in *Heart of Darkness* but also emphasized a genuine and authentic African ecology mindful of the protection of the environment and wellbeing of humans and non-humans.

Based on evidence from the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie, in Northern Senegal, this investigation aims at identifying the endogenous factors that preclude rural communities neighbouring the protected area to be included and empowered through tourism development. This study does so by characterising potential leading groups to be engaged in more genuine, local centred-needs, sustainable tourism strategies. To reach the purposes of this thesis, the research plan is outlined as follow:

The first chapter is devoted to the general introduction that parses the circumstances that originate the implementation of tourism and protected areas in Senegal. The second chapter of the research deals with the theoretical framework through an analysis of the research problem followed by the literature review which consists of social representations theory, subaltern studies and empowerment in tourism. The third chapter of the research will analyse local communities' social representations of tourism developed in the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie of Saint-Louis. This key section presents the social representations theory that hosts a two-step methodology, first validating the constructs that explain the perceptions and behaviours of locals towards tourism, and then clustering local populations

in groups which are defined according to their perceptions of tourism and the attitudes and behaviours to reject, get rid or change from their lands. In addition to the description of the study site and data gathering, this section will present the main findings and translate them into a visual model. It will also provide a description of the various social groups and how they could lead a process of tourism change through community engagement.

The fourth section explores active minorities' capacity to push change and community engagement in tourism in order to forge a path likely to lead to an effective empowerment process of rural communities surrounding the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie. Moreover, this section can inform tourism-based strategies to promote engagement, empowerment and sustainable development in rural communities surrounding protected areas in developing countries. To reach this aim, findings from the social representations' analysis will serve as a prerequisite to empowering subaltern rural communities surrounding the park. Finally, the research will end with general concluding remarks.

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# Theoretical framework

## 1. Introduction

The large gap between developed nations and developing countries has been invoked to justify the implementation of alternative development projects. Among the proposed alternatives, tourism activity has been praised as a powerful tool likely to enable developing countries to capitalize on their immediate resources (natural, cultural) for economic development. Thanks to their comparative advantages, developing countries could get rid of foreign aids, funds or other foreign developmental mechanisms which keep them dependent on developed nations thereby allowing the travel and tourism industry to positively impact many subsectors like transportation, environment and culture.

In both developed and developing countries, tourism may be a major stimulus for investment and growth. According to the latest data published by the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), the tourism industry accounts for 10.3% of the world gross domestic product (GDP), 8,9 trillion US $ contribution to the world's GDP and 330 million jobs, 1 in 10 jobs around the world, making it one of the largest economic sectors worldwide (WTTC, 2019).

Considering the aforementioned large economic, social, environmental and political stakes of the tourism and travel industry, John Naisbitt (1994) acknowledged that tourism would be one of the three industries that would sustain the world economy into the 21st century. Such projections called the attention of both developed and developing nations to use tourism either for poverty alleviation or as an economic development strategy.

However, as tourism has grown significantly, it has also become much more diverse and complicated (Godfrey and Clarke, 2000). For instance, its blatant social, economic and environmental repercussions mostly due to mass tourism led governments, scholars and Non-Governmental Organizations to realize the urgency to reconsider tourism development and its associated costs and benefits (Shoeb-ur-Rahman and Shahid, 2012) which subsequently influence residents' support (Gursoy, Chi, and Dyer 2010). As such, many alternative forms

of tourism ranging from ecotourism, community-based tourism, responsible tourism, pro-poor tourism, sustainable tourism etc., have been coined mainly in western contexts then disseminated throughout multilateral institutions and destinations.

Following the standardized rationale that sustains the emergence of alternative tourism, its advocates tend to address tourism issues such as local communities' attitudes and behaviors or tourism policies under the same principles. Nepal (2008) reminded that the bulk of research on residents' attitudes to tourism development is predominantly focused on developed and industrialized economies. That is why Kusluvan and Karamustafa (2001) thought that the supremacy of investigations undertaken in developed nations rather than in developing ones may be attributed to the fact that most large-scale tourism developments in developing countries are undertaken by multinational corporations. And the monopoly of industrialized nations in the tourism system is so widespread that it is likely to influence tourism research.

Nevertheless, many studies explored the links between residents 'perceptions and attitudes, community participation and support for tourism development relying on various theories, such as stakeholder theory, social exchange theory (Byrd, 2007; Easterling, 2004; Jaafar et al., 2015 a; Nicholas et al., 2009; Sautter and Leisen, 1999) and social representations theory (Beeton, 2006; Pearce, Moscardo, & Ross, 1991) with social exchange theory (SET hereafter) being the dominant theory among these studies (Rasoolimanesh, Jaafar, Kock and Ramayah, 2015; Sharpley, 2014). But, critics have been leveled against social exchange theory in tourism either for treating humans as 'systematic information processors' (Pearce et al., 1996) or by considering communities as a single entity with homogeneous attitudes towards tourism impacts and development issues (Beeton, 2006). For example, in many developing countries' destinations characterized by power imbalances, social exchange theory seems inappropriate to objectively analyze residents' perceptions, attitudes and behaviors within the tourism system. Since this theory does not properly explain behaviors that don't fit with the idea of reciprocity. Moreover, it should be mentioned that host-guest

encounter in most of these destinations is specific in that it connects individuals who hold different values and principles of life, progress and development.

On top of that, social exchange theory is silent on paramount issues such as residents' culture, communities' social identity, local residents' communication mechanism and history. Grounded in a positivist framework, this theory postulates that all human relationships are based on the use of a subjective cost-benefit analysis followed by the comparison of alternatives. Social exchange theory overlooks the fact that people have preconceived ideas linked to past experiences of phenomena and events they directly or indirectly anchor tourism to. Thus, Sharpley (2014) emphasized its limitations in understanding residents' attitudes and perceptions of tourism and the use of an alternative conceptual framework namely social representation theory. Specifically, SET is tautological and excludes influential factors such as social values, norms and beliefs. It assumes communities' attitudes as the result of a previous experience; but it is not able to explain the a priori attitudes that condition the relationships between tourism and local communities as well as the processes and mechanisms through which locals can benefit from tourism. Social exchange theory overemphasizes individual benefits over community benefits.

As regards to social representation theory (SRT hereafter), it is a useful approach to understand residents' perceptions of tourism's impacts and the social construction of their attitudes towards tourism. Therefore, the construction of social representations is never disinterested. It is a political project (Howarth, 2010), guided by the interests, goals and activities of the groups that produce them within a given intergroup context (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999, 2008). As such , social representations can never be seen as 'neutral' or 'static' (Marková, 2008, p. 466) and this means that SRT is equipped to deal with the heterogeneity (Gergen, 1991), intersectionality (Brah and Phoenix, 2004) and polyphasia of contemporary knowledge systems, intercultural relations and social identities (Howarth, Wagner, Magnusson and Sammut, 2013).

Indeed, social representations may either naturalise and legitimise relations of domination or challenge the status-quo and stimulate innovation (Castro and Batel, 2008; Castro, 2012). It is this dynamic relationship between stability and change that makes social representations theory particularly relevant and appropriate for the study of social change and participation in social objects like tourism where asymmetric power relations are uncontested or even legitimate (Tajfel, 1981) particularly in developing countries.

It should also be mentioned that tourism both exacerbates social and economic inequalities between the core and the periphery as well as within destinations themselves. But the dependency model tended to conflate a generalised system of domination between metropolitan and peripheral spaces with a specifically unequal capitalist mode of production. Hence the necessity to analyze the architecture of tourism and inequality throughout the world.

This research transcends the classical binary relationship between core and periphery. Rather, it acknowledges that in developing countries like Senegal, there are internal power imbalances exacerbated by both the globalized-nature of tourism and the top-down approach of governmental policies. In an attempt to achieve this objective, this research will rely on a combination of a psychosocial theory (social representations theory) with a political theory (subaltern studies) in order to better analyze the empowerment strategy of rural communities neighboring the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie. The use of the two aforementioned frameworks is justified by the fact that earlier research into the political economy of tourism drew heavily on both the liberal economic paradigm, which emphasises the positive economic effects of tourism and analyses tourism policy in terms of practical solutions to its negative environmental and social consequences, as well as a Marxist tradition, specifically, dependency theory.

Therefore, this research is innovative in that it strives to have a broader and deeper understanding of local communities' social representations towards tourism developed in the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie through the combination of a political framework

(subaltern studies) and a psychological theory (social representations theory) in order to propose an empowerment process.

To achieve this objective, the first part will focus on the research problem. The second part will be dedicated to the analysis of the westernity of the Senegalese tourism product with the example of Saint-Louis (Senegal). The third part will deal with the governance of African protected areas focusing on the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie. The last part of this chapter will analyze the current literature review on social representations theory, subalternity and empowerment in tourism activity.

## 2. Research problem

Endowed with unique indigenous cultures, nature-based attractions, pristine landscapes and pleasant weather conditions, many developing countries are promoted and marketed throughout the world as offering huge tourist and recreational opportunities. As a result of these relevant comparative advantages, an increasing number of international tourists are travelling to Africa.

According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC, 2018), Africa is the second-fastest growing tourism region with 5.6% growth in 2018 against a global average growth rate of 3.9%. In spite of this rapid growth, figures also emphasized great disparities within Africa. While this continent received around 5% of the estimated 1.5 billion international arrivals in 2018 according to the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2018), North Africa consisting of Algeria, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia received 2% of the international tourist arrivals, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA hereafter), consisting of the remaining African countries, received around 3% of the international tourist arrival in 2018.

On top of the disparity between North Africa and SSA, what remains to be underlined is the contradictory portrayal of Africa through an analysis of its image. At one extreme, Africa is associated with terrorism, insecurity, poverty, overpopulation or disease; at the other extreme, it is praised for its pristine nature, its cultural diversity and its welcoming population. This double-edged view towards Africa as a destination is constitutive of the

various representations, social subjects ascribe to this continent depending on the contexts, the circumstances or the interests. Since, the construction of social representations is never disinterested. Rather, it is a political project (Howarth, 2006), guided by the interests, goals and activities of the groups that produce them within a given intergroup context (Bauer and Gaskell, 1999, 2008).

The influence of representations underlying tourism development between Africa and the rest of the world reminds that tourism takes place in the context of great inequality of wealth and power (Nina Rao, quoted in Gonsalves, 1993). As a result of these asymmetrical relationships, the tourism sector diverted from its official objective of redistributing economic outcomes within direct and indirect stakeholders, promoting culture in host communities and contributing to the protection of the environment through ecotourism. Instead of fulfilling these tasks, tourism development in Sub-Saharan Africa keeps on fostering leakage, promoting commoditisation and jeopardizing the environment.

As evidenced, in Senegal, since 1960, international organizations imposed and influenced policy associated within protected areas, bringing a set of ideas that contrasted to values and belief systems of local populations (Chapin, 2004). Accordingly, conservation regulations are often implemented to create a more authentic nature disconnected from human culture. The protected areas appeared as zones of strictly limited use. This conservation approach often involves physical, social and historical removals or evictions of local communities from protected areas. Importantly, what makes this injustice blatant is the fact that local communities evicted from these protected areas witness that these tourist areas subsequently welcome other people, including tourists.

This estrangement of local communities in their own lands recalls the colonial era when colonizers were privileged to the detriment of natives in many affairs. In this context, Neumann (1998) emphasized the connections of African protected areas to the legacy of colonialism thereby holding the accusations that conservation is a continuation of the injustices and dispossession of colonialism. Furthermore, the tricky question supporting this

investigation is related to the perpetuation of this colonial legacy in the management or governance of African protected areas with the example of the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie many decades after Senegal independence.

The end of colonization did not bring about a return to customary land tenure. As such, contemporary conservation policies still influenced by the drivers and impacts of colonization keep dispossessing and excluding indigenous and local communities from their lands. This ongoing conservation approach is rooted in a fortress conservation based on the beliefs that biodiversity protection is best achieved by creating protected areas where ecosystems can function in isolation from human disturbance. Interestingly, this approach is premised on the idea that local peoples use natural resources in irrational and destructive ways and as a result cause biodiversity loss and environmental degradation.

Yet, inside these protected areas, tourism, safari hunting and scientific research are permitted and encouraged. This system of beliefs and principles undergirding the contemporary governance of many African protected areas is grounded in representations that viewed indigenous people as incapable of rationally using lands in a productive manner. Moreover, this system only portrayed them as supply of cheap labour. And these representations have persisted in the postcolonial era where protected areas are anchored either as refuges of endangered species or as pristine places to be visited by tourists.

However, beyond the colonial legacy enmeshed in the current running of many African protected areas including the PNLB, it should be emphasized that power imbalances are present in African societies regardless of colonization or any other foreign influence. Social stratification determined by literacy, gender, class, cast, religion and the geographical localization of communities are visible manifestations of the hierarchy of these societies.

As a result of the colonial legacy underpinning protected areas management as well as power imbalances inherent to their daily social interactions, rural communities bordering the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie are stuck between the devil and the deep blue sea. Since both constraints tend to represent rural communities as recipients of development

interventions rather than people with agency and the ability to participate in (and create) social change. Through stigmatising representations of rural peoples, skills, recognition and expertise are most often attributed to urban populations who replicate former colonizers management system and philosophy. In view of the illiteracy level of most rural communities as well as their tourism knowledge shortage, the gap between direct and indirect tourist operators is huge. For this, some scholars (Ashley and Maxwell, 2001) relativized the overemphasized core-periphery relationship between developing countries and developed nations by shedding light on the inequalities between tourist destinations.

A variety of studies of the political economy of tourism in developing countries have identified the power of interest groups over local and regional governments (Elliott, 1997; Mowforth and Munt, 1998). By contrast, studies from a performative perspective have highlighted the empowering, power aspects of tourism activities (Coleman and Crang, 2002; Crouch, 2004). For instance, Fallon (2001) argues that the uneven patterns of tourism development in Lombok (Indonesia) reflect local differences in power relations between developers, tour operators and local communities with some locations developing consensual relations between these interest groups whereas in other locations conflict has occurred. Fallon reflection characterized the features of power imbalances in many African tourist destinations including Senegal.

On this vein, other scholars go further by emphasizing that the marginalization of local communities within the tourism sector in developing countries is more acute in rural areas than in urban destination. As such, the discrimination of rural communities has been stressed by Paniagua and Moyano (2007) who acknowledged that tourism development in rural areas and poor communities often involves issues of inclusion and exclusion, inequalities and conflicts between different values, goals and land uses in development and among social actors. These conflicts are exacerbated and become more apparent when tourism development involves interactions between urban peoples and rural inhabitants within a destination as it occurs in destinations like Senegal where the majority of natural attractions are located in rural areas. Nevertheless, through top-down approaches, protected areas, like

31

other tourist areas become instrumental in fueling social conflicts and discrimination between local communities. This situation can be explained through, urbannormativity which grows out of a traditional culture and philosophy that contribute to the idea that urban is the way forward while rural is the way backward, then tends to distort the real rural life according to the urbanites' taste and normative behavior.

Through this discriminatory phenomenon, a deliberate devaluation of cultural capital is reinforced (Smith, 2010) in order to disempower rural peoples and ascribe high value to urban communities, That is, urbannormative discourse has the potential to marginalize and disempower rural communities because it postulates that the urban is at the center and the rural is at the periphery; priority, progress and rationality are in the urban center while backwardness, irrelevance and emotionality are in the rural periphery (Baylina & Berg, 2010; Kordel, 2016). In this specific situation, a social representational approach shows that knowledge is not seen as the outcome of simple information processing but as the outcome of self-other interaction which, in turn, is shaped by existing social relations (e.g. asymmetric or equal). That is, rural peoples are underestimated on the basis of the power of hegemonic representations.

Considering the overlap between the core-periphery and the internal asymmetrical relationships in tourism activity , it is required a dual focus on macro and micro social interactions in order  to objectively analyse the social representations rural communities bordering the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie ascribe to tourism , tourists and the park . The necessity to implement such an exhaustive analysis lies behind the fact that, as a business activity, tourism is grounded in capitalist principles that direct its functioning and rationale. As such, Lefebvre (1991) reminded that every mode of production produces its own space, and the abstract space is the space of capitalism. The abstract space is the space that capital and the State have taken over from other ways of organizing production and social reproduction. Among the mechanisms of production and social reproduction in the tourism activity developed in developing countries, commoditization and commodification are the

most visible. On this context, Hollinshead (2007) coined the term world making as the normalization and naturalization which occurs in and through tourism. Specifically, it is:

> The creative – and often false imaginative processes and projective promotional activities – which management agencies and other mediating bodies engage in to purposely (or otherwise unconsciously) privilege particular dominant/favoured representations of people/places/pasts within a given or assumed region, area, or 'world', over and above other actual or potential representations of those subjects.

Indeed, through this tourist gaze, some things, ideas and attractions are powerfully and/or commercially made dominant to the detriment of others that are subjugated, silenced or ignored (Hollinshead, 2007). This performative dimension of social representations and the dynamic of competition between different representational systems push to consider the power relations between the actors involved in the tourism encounter.

## 2.1. The westernity of the Senegalese tourism activity

Senegal has a variety of first-rate natural and cultural assets for tourism. Its natural assets include a variety of birds, access to big game fishing and scuba diving, some wildlife and many protected areas. Its cultural assets include its peoples, their music, culture and handicrafts, which all provide the potential for diversification and expansion of tourism. For instance, two major cultural areas - Gorée Island and Saint- Louis - receive external assistance for their conservation in order to attract tourists. Tourism activity is growing but also losing market share in an expanding international and regional market.

Since the 1970s, Senegal has been one of the most popular tourism destinations in West Africa in terms of international arrivals (World Tourism Organization, 2018). This scope of tourism  positions it as the second largest contributor to Senegal's economy, behind fisheries. However, between 1975 and 1997, Senegal dropped from 7th to 16th in the World Tourism Organization (WTO, 2018) ranking of the top twenty tourist destinations in Africa.

But, in 2016, travel and tourism contributed to 4.8% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and directly yielded 246,500 jobs (4.1% of total employment) (World Travel and Tourism

Council, 2017). As such, Senegal's tourism sector has been at the heart of social and economic development plans with special emphasis on the attraction of significant private investments and leading to major financial reforms.

Thanks to its historical ties with the former colonizer, namely France, Senegal usually benefitted from many foreign investments to boost it tourism activity. The country's status as the French colonial capital brought in infrastructures to accommodate European visitors who came to the country on administrative duty with the colonial State or for leisure (Tchitou, 2005). For instance, when the country was experiencing a series of droughts spanning from 1968 to 1974, its groundnut production decreased. For the Government, it was the decisive moment leading to a strategic decision to diversify the country's economy by further developing its tourism sector (Tchitou, 2005; Diombera, 2012). In an attempt to stimulate the construction of facilities, the Government attracted private investment by providing cheap land, low interests rates, and financial incentives such as depreciation allowances on tourism accommodation and infrastructure (Diagne, 2004).

To support these initiatives, the Government drafted a regional development plan with the help of the World Bank (Diagne, 2004). In this plan, four specific tourist areas were targeted to house resort towns, including the 'Hydrobase' in Saint Louis (Langue de Barbarie area), the coast of Dakar, La Petite Côte in the region of Thiès, and Cap Skirring in Basse Casamance. However, La Petite Côte absorbed the largest proportion of the investments (Ciss, 1989). In view of the expensive- based nature of tourism investments, foreign investors capitalized on that specific period to get involved in the tourism sector and monopolized it. This situation put Senegal in the list of cash-strapped countries who had borrowed substantial amount of funds in order to develop large-scale tourism infrastructures. Therefore, the country found itself at the mercy of International Monetary Fund and World Bank structural adjustments programs (SAP hereafter) by the end of the 1970s.

The significance of these international institutions assisted projects extended beyond the economic sphere into the ideological point that accompanied them. That is, development was

seen as axiomatic, and merely depended on the provision of adequate technical expertise and a firm belief in economies of scale in relation to infrastructure and communications (Burns 1999). Such an ideological influence greatly impacted the features and rationale of Senegal tourism development.

Harvey (2006) noted that the commodification of intangible aspects of the social history, heritage and culture is a defining characteristic of neoliberal practices of ongoing accumulation by dispossession. In many African countries, though dispossession may happen in many areas, it is more widespread in protected areas where governance is inherited from colonialism.

Thus, Lew, Hall and Williams (2004) acknowledged that the relationship between postcolonialism and tourism is largely centered on the exoticism that many tourists seek in former colonies. Unlike the official discourse that holds that tourists mainly visit destinations for sightseeing and fun, another motivation of their visits may be related to nostalgia and a high desire to impress local communities. To Munt (1994), for many tourists, the choice of holiday type and destination is a practice designed both to differentiate themselves from other class fractions and to enhance cultural capital and status, mobility being a contemporary class differentiation factor (Bauman, 1998).

This permanent search for differentiation and cultural capital may be interpreted as a manifestation of exoticism that is deeply rooted in colonialism. And tourist experiences of exotic landscapes might be interpreted as a parody of the colonial experience. As such, spaces of the colonized world have been used as cultural manuscripts on which meanings have been inscribed, erased and overwritten in the broad geopolitics of western superiority (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 1995). This asymmetrical interpretation and orientation of tourism by the core to the detriment of the periphery led Craik (1994) to recognize that:

> Tourism has an intimate relationship to post-colonialism in that ex-colonies have increased in popularity as favored destinations for tourists (the Pacific Rim; Asia; Africa; South America); while the detritus of post-colonialism have been transformed into tourist sights (including exotic peoples and customs; artefacts; arts and crafts; indigenous and colonial lifestyles, heritage and histories).

35

A typical example of the links between tourism and (post)colonialism can be found in Saint-Louis (Senegal) through historical sanitization, being the practice of simplifying or distorting historical realities embodied in material objects. By stressing the scope of historical sanitization in developing countries' tourism sector, Quashie (2009) acknowledged that the western promotion of travel and tourism in Africa is based on specific images inspired and supported by the ethnologization of this peculiar part of the world. Taking the example, of Senegal, Quashie (2009) stated that the marketing of this destination is managed by European investors who describe and portray the destination following their personal social representations as well as the expectations of visitors mainly from Europe. In other words, neither the Senegalese Government nor local communities contribute to the design of the destination tourism product. Rather, Senegal tourism activity is the outcome of foreigners' social representations and imaginaries.

Proof of the inauthenticity of Senegalese tourism sector is the main historical monument towering in Saint Louis town, the statue of Faidherb. It represents an important heritage element for visitors. The statue epitomizes Louis Faidherb, a French colonial governor from 1854 to 1865 who symbolized French domination in Senegal. The scope and paradox of this monument lies in the fact that:

> It presents a double-edged reality, because, although it plays an interesting role in the tourism promotion for Western and French visitors, some people still debunk its symbolic associations of violence and humiliation for the entire nation. This iconoclastic view is fueled by the messages inscribed on the statue's footing, highlighting the honor and rank of merit conferred to the personage of Faidherb. Tourist guides contribute significantly to the deification of the figure, presented as a savior for the Senegalese nation (Lo, 2016).

Tourism is consistently welcomed across the postcolonial world as a much-needed source of job creation and foreign exchange, even if the power relations that condition these transactions are distinctly asymmetrical.

Similarly, the economic and political footprints of colonialism continue to linger in tourism development long after the occurrence of political decolonization. Third world tourist locations are considered 'exotic' places which are controlled by being familiarized and

domesticated through a language that locates them in a western system of reference that visitors recognize and can communicate about. Travel agents, hotels, tour operators, cruise lines design and market a set of experiences that supposedly provide opportunities for close and playful encounters with exotic native cultures. Indeed, tourists reorder the world through the manipulation of identities to make it more comprehensible for their consumption in the same way that colonialism codified colonial people to better impose its instructions and policies (Scher, 2011). For example, Turner and Ash (1975) explored tourism was extended beyond Europe in the nineteenth century and became 'an agency for the consolidation of Empire. They also emphasized that the economic lure of contemporary mass tourism for newly decolonized countries means that many of them are 'welcoming back their old masters with open arms' (1975).

As such, the most common flow of tourists from developed countries to developing nations as well as the monopoly of transnational companies in the tourism sector is illustrative of the subaltern position of Third World countries in the current tourism system. To confirm this power imbalance, researchers like Britton (1989), Francisco (1983), Mowforth and Munt (1998), and Place (1995) stressed the perpetual problem of dependency. Nevertheless, within developing countries' destinations, this binary opposition could be extended between rural and urban zones in the tourism activity.

Within the same context, many scholars criticized the attempts by governments to manufacture a national identity to sell to tourists. Maccanell (1973) explained that tourists are making pilgrimages to other times and other places that are different from their mundane activities and familiar environments. For him, stage authenticity illustrates that tourists are often provided with experiences or performances that are staged or orchestrated in order to meet the expectations of tourists. As a result, Maccanell (1976) blamed the state-sponsored 'staged authenticity' for being non-democratic, fake, disempowering and often contradictory in manufacturing national heritage.

In spite of the relevance of his approach, other scholars challenged this stream of research arguing that it overlooked the potential for the genuine identity-work inherent in tourism. Macdonald (1997) challenged Maccanell (1976) argument of staged authenticity by arguing that locals often actively manage and may even counter images about themselves through tourism. Overall, both authors acknowledged that both governments and local communities can be active producers of a version of history, heritage and identity in the tourism sector. However, both reflections underestimated power imbalances between tourist operators and local communities especially in developing countries, where tourism is usually ruled through a top-down approach. That is, there is the absence of a multi-voiced commitment, which is vital for the governance of any tourist destination.

As far as the governance of destinations is concerned, it should be emphasized that it is intimately related to the ways governments apprehend tourism both as a social and economic activity. To better emphasize the intricacies between tourism management systems and its failure or success, Jenkins and Henry (1982) proposed two types of governmental involvement in the tourism sector in developing countries: active and passive. The former is seen as a deliberate action by Government, implemented to favour the tourism sector. The latter occurs when Government undertakes action that may have implications for tourism, but is not specifically intended to favour or influence tourism. Considering this classification, we can undoubtedly assert that Senegalese authorities apply a passive involvement in the tourism sector.

Moreover, regarding to the promotion of community-based tourism in Senegal, less emphasis has been put on strengthening the rights and capacity of local communities to manage and benefit from tourism resources. It is critical that in fostering community-based tourism around protected areas for national and community development, laws and policies related to land and concession rights be redefined to provide the conditions for local communities to participate in tourism. On the same context of tourism governance, Ritcher (1993) presented four ways policymakers can approach tourism policy:

First, governments can implement a public-private ownership model. Through this model, it can be explained to what extent is tourism policy a Government directed and Government owned sector and to what extent is the ownership of tourism in the private sector. In the example of Senegal, the tourism activity depends on foreigners in the supply and demand sides. According to Quashie (2009), in this country, westerners are the main stakeholders (investors, tour operators and visitors) of the tourism activity. As result, they conceive an image and imaginary of Senegal abroad for their clients and business partners. For instance, in Saint-Louis, 34 out of 56 tourist establishments belong to Europeans most of them being French natives (Quashie, 2016). The same phenomenon occurred in La Langue de Barbarie where 10 out of 12 tourist establishments (hostals, hotels and encampments) belong to Europeans (Quashie, 2016). On this context, Lo (2016) mentioned that Saint-Louis's tourist operators tend to repackage and display the ex-colonial city for tourism purposes.

Second, through the decentralization law, it can be emphasized that the involvement level of direct and indirect tourist agents in the sector is not effective. For instance, in many developing countries, tourism policies are generally centralized (top-down approach). Indeed, faced with the shortcomings of land management and its related activities, the Senegalese Government instituted an overhaul to its political system and Government structure through the decentralization law $n^0$ 96-06[4]. With the decentralization law, rural councils were now responsible for nine major domains of governance for their citizens: environment and natural resource management, health, population and social welfare, youth, sports and recreation, culture, education, planning and local development, land management and zoning.

In spite of the innovative aspect of the decentralization law, the central Government still has control over decentralized bodies such as communes and rural communities due to the oversight of state appointed officials and a political culture that instills a decision-making

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[4] Law $n^0$ 96-06 of March 22, 1996 establishing the local authorities code.

chain of command according to status (Ribot, 2009). Notwithstanding the proximity of local communities with tourist attractions like parks and reserves, this activity kept on being managed by the central government through a top-down approach.

Third, the domestic or international classification helps to envision whether tourists predominantly come from abroad or within the same destination. In most developing countries, tourism policy is clearly designed to attract international tourists because the countries are so poor that a significant domestic tourism base does not exist. According to the latest published data (MTTA, 2014-2018), only 19% of Senegalese residents constitute the domestic demand compared to 81% of an international demand. Finally, Ritcher (1983) mentioned the integrated versus enclave tourism to highlight the degree of integration of tourists and tourism facilities into the overall society. Since some cultures adopt tourism more easily than others.

As a result of the inauthenticity of the Senegalese tourism product as well as its monopolization by foreigners, this activity is implemented to primarily satisfy tourists' needs and experiences to the detriment of local communities' aspirations. Therefore, for subalterns to be empowered, both external and internal constraints should be challenged. Since, disempowerment can grow when governments, in an effort to lend a helping hand, become overpowering in legislation, policy and planning. Similarly, disempowerment may also happen at the hands of private, multinational corporations, when local control of resources and services is superseded by the heavy control of external investors. Once this occurs, destination residents have little control over their own tourism resources. And this situation had been emphasized by Mowforth and Munt (1998) who noted that the empowerment of tourists sometimes results in disempowered destination communities when the desires and demands of the outsiders take precedence over local needs and aspirations. Therefore, for the success of the empowerment strategy to be effective, an alliance should be weaved between local communities and responsible tourists interested in respectful tourist experiences instead of making a power exercise which is widespread in tourism development in many developing countries' protected areas**.**

## 2.2. The fortress conservation model of African protected areas

The term fortress conservation expresses the concern about the exclusion of local indigenous inhabitants and the mechanisms, institutions and actors that control access to land, forests and natural resources enclosed as national parks. This suggestive term had been first used in Brockington's work to refer to the creation of Mkomazi Game Reserve in Tanzania. This conservation approach questions conservationist arguments about ecological fragility and pastoralists to the negative impact of cattle grazing (Brockington, 2002).

The competition over access and control over natural resources and the national park as a territory is closely related to the question of competing authorities. Furthermore, it is not a coincidence that conservation discourses, which represent the inhabitants of national parks as poachers, outlaws or trespassers co-exist with other discourses that represent certain groups as a threat to the authority of the State. And to tackle this threat, most African national parks use armed park rangers, who are authorized to use "shoot-to-kill" policies (Duffy, 2010). The presence of a military institution to guard the territory of a national park renders the discursive constructions of fortress conservation concrete.

In many developing countries, concerns have been voiced by indigenous communities who see the fortress conservation approach as promoting cultural conflict and marginalising traditional ways of understanding human relationships with nature (Gillson et al. 2003; Pretty and Pimbert 1995; West and Brockington 2006). The rising concerns and complaints of indigenous communities shed light on the necessity to take their needs and perceptions into account throughout the implementation of protected areas.

The 2003 International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) world parks congress in Durban (South Africa) was the first of its kind to formally take into consideration the representations of indigenous peoples. This congress recognized that there were injustices done to local communities who were forcefully removed before the implementation of protected areas.

With modern western views of nature becoming dominant in the wake of the rationalistic and techno-scientific revolutions during the 17$^{th}$ and 18$^{th}$ centuries, the understanding of nature was limited to its material dimension which had the effects of marginalizing religious and cosmological interpretations of the natural world (Descola, 2011; Maffi and Woodley 2010; Nasr 1996; Smith 1997) hence bearing relevance to non-western cultures. As a result, western concepts and definitions of nature and environment have been embraced by international organisations such as the International Union for Conservation of Nature, the World Wide Fund (WWF), etc.

These international organizations tended to rely on a Eurocentric view of nature which allowed protected areas to be designated, taking into account aesthetic, utilitarian, moral and scientific values (Kalamandeen and Gillson 2007; Locke and Dearden 2005). However, such approach had overlooked the existence of alternative knowledge systems and underestimated the spiritual values in non-western areas.

The majority of colonial conservation policies forcibly relocated large numbers of indigenous populations in developing countries (Neumann, 1998, Peluso, 1993; Hughes, 1999; Singh, 2001). And these relocations were part of the colonial state's efforts to make the African landscape legible and manageable whilst still maintaining control of prime productive and resource rich areas (Scott, 1998 and Singh, 2001), Such opportunistic practices confirmed that from the very beginning of the implementation of conservation policies intended for protected areas, power imbalances and asymmetrical relationships underpinned the relationships between colonial and national authorities, Non-Governmental Organizations, scientists and indigenous local communities. That is, conservation was thought to be exclusively designed and implemented by NGOs, academic/technical institutions (both international and national) and State bureaucracies, thereby marginalizing non-western knowledge systems. This systematic underestimation of indigenous peoples' knowledge in the Third World created a one size fits all conservation science which originated from colonial objectives of consolidating territory, resources and people.

In Senegal, since the 1900s, the colonial administration undertook the administrative and territorial reorganization of West Africa, which involved the adoption of administrative and land laws, allowing the extension of colonial control over the lands of the protectorate and the incorporation of large tracts of land as vacant and without owner into the colonial state's domain (DPN 2000, ). In fact, the implementation of game and forest reserves in this land-locked area was made possible not only through colonial forestry and hunting laws, but also through governmental decrees organizing French colonial territories and administration in West Africa.

Following this policy, after Independence, the Senegalese Government introduced a series of reforms to the legislative and administrative system, which aimed at perpetuating State control over national territories and reorganizing the rules of access to land inherited from colonial rule (Galvan 2004; Le Roy, 1980; Caveriviere and Debene, 1988).

As such, all protected areas (national parks and classified forests) established under colonial rule were re-appropriated as part of the national domain through a new land law, which incorporated them into 'classified zones'. The application of the new land law on the 'national domain' had two important implications for the area where the national park is located. Firstly, the State had undertaken a series of extensions of the national park through governmental decrees, which included within the limits of new national parks all the classified forests surrounding the initial national park (DPN 2000). Secondly, soon after the neighboring inhabitants of the protected areas were evicted and resettled outside their limits, they found themselves more dependent than ever on their host village where their main activities (agriculture, hunting, fishing, breeding) require lands availability.

But it should emphasized that the rural community council was authorized by the new land law to allocate and withdraw land within the designated limits of rural communities. Therefore, the implications of national land and administrative policies are far from transforming the authority and property relations in the area where the national park is located and, particularly for villages evicted from the National Park. Moreover, as customary use

rights, which had been re-established at the end of the colonial rule, were abolished by the Independent state, and as the new park rangers assumed their assigned role of 'surveillance' within the park, the use of natural resources (hunting, agriculture, oyster) became subject to increasingly coercive policy. Consequently, these exclusionary and repressive policies frequently spur conflicts between local people and park officials (West, Igoe, & Brockington, 2006).

## 2.3. The example of the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie

Overall, the current policies of access to rural land in Senegalese protected areas like the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie are shaped by past and present struggles over property and authority. That is, colonial and national land and administrative laws put in the service of State and international 'development' goals have repeatedly sought to establish private property relations in rural areas.

The parallels between present day- management policies of national parks and those of the former French colonial administration brought about barriers to community-based tourism in Senegal. These barriers are the absence of communal land tenure policy for communities, their limited concession rights, and the military culture within park administration (Sène Harper & Moustapha Séye, 2019). The scope of those constraints not only hinders the implementation of CBT but also does not foster the empowerment of local communities who may conceive protected areas as elitist settings exclusively owned by the central government.

Taking the example of the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie, park authorities failed to empower rural communities with subaltern positions. In 2001, after decades of conflicts, the Association of Ecoguards of the National Park was created. The association was created to facilitate the integration of adjacent communities into the management of the park. It is important to note that the Ecoguards are at the bottom of the institutional hierarchy of the management structure. Their roles involve mostly to offer interpretive guides to visitors, serving as liaison between the park and the local communities, and participate in awareness campaigns. This decision contributed to pacifying the relationship between protected areas

44

administrative authorities and local communities.  In fact, Ecoguards play an important role in carrying out the mission of the community based-tourism by providing guiding services to tourists while working hand-in hand with park officials (DPN, 2010; IUCN, 1994).

However, Ecoguards end up assimilating with park officials, thereby putting themselves in a position of subordination to the park. Internalizing this perceived subordination, Ecoguards often ask permission from park officials to carry out different functions, thereby losing control over their own task and their own discursive practices. It is also very common that they perform menial tasks for park officials (e.g. cleaning, washing clothes, running errands), which takes time away from providing guiding services (Ségalini, 2012).

A blatant colonial legacy of protected areas management in Senegal is the military culture underpinning its functioning. It is the most enduring legacy of the colonial administration in Senegalese protected areas. As a matter of fact, expected participatory management policies implemented towards local communities are slow to manifest tangibly, a shortcoming that has been attributed to the military culture that perpetuates the authoritarian regime characterizing Senegal's national parks administration (Blundo, 2014; Ségalini, 2012).  In view of the subaltern governance model of the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie, neighboring rural communities feel not only dispossessed of their lands but also disempowered from the tourism development process.  In fact, they end constructing negative representations towards protected areas and tourists respectively as foreign settings and invaders.

For example in 2003, an urgent response to the flooding of Saint Louis (commonly named the breach) had altered the landscape and the dynamics of the coastal ecosystem, which has lost its appeal (Toure & Cassals, 2013). Even though it was not directly related to tourism, the circumstances surrounding the creation of the breach led rural communities to think that it was implemented to satisfy urban populations and tourist to the detriment of rural communities who face many obstacles to voice their concerns or suggestions in protected areas' management.

45

In Senegal, protected areas' policies related to land tenure, concessions right, and management structure are still rooted in the former French colonial administration that limited the capacity of local communities to benefit from tourism as their rights to participate in the decision-making process were suppressed (Blundo, 2014; Ece, 2012; Segalini, 2012). The influence of colonial legacy on Senegalese protected areas seems incompatible with participatory management approaches and overall goals of tourism development around national parks in this country (Diouf, 2010).

During the French administration era in Senegal, laws applied to protected areas gave priority to commercial private interests by reflecting the same principles of exclusivity and "productive use" that characterized colonial land policy (Ribot, 2001). Michel Condamin, a leading researcher at IFAN recognized that:

> At a time when Africa accelerates its development—which has the consequence of modification and sometimes the destruction of the environment (milieu), therefore a more and more important regression of flora and fauna—Senegal had taken wise decision to exclude a part of its territories from the agricultural and pastoral activities to make it a sanctuary of Nature reserved for tourists and scientific researchers (M. Condamin & Roy, 1969).

However, this resulted in local communities being excluded or expropriated from protected areas. Unlike British settlers in Eastern and Southern Africa who created "native reserves" where customary ownership rights were officially recognized (Mamdani, 1996 quoted in Ece, 2008), the French colonial administration in Western Africa did not recognize customary ownership rights. As a result, communal lands were considered vacant or ownerless and State-official property rights were imposed on such lands for private investment (Caverivière & Debene, 1988). As such, Diouf (2010) noted that in Senegal, land in and around national parks is considered national domain. Under these conditions, it would be very difficult or even impossible to foster communities' participation in the management of protected areas.

In view of the inability of local communities to properly participate in protected areas' management, special attention should be paid on the differences between right holders and stakeholders in Senegalese protected areas. While right holders are the ones socially endowed

with legal or customary rights to take management decisions, stakeholders possess direct or indirect interests and concerns related to those decisions, but do not possess socially recognised entitlement to influence them. The significant disparity between right holders to the detriment of stakeholders regarding the management of protected areas is illustrative of the discrimination and/or marginalization of some stakeholders whose disempowerment may be linked to their subaltern position.

# 3. Literature review on empowerment, social representations, subalternity and tourism

The asymmetrical relationships that underlie tourism development in many destinations inspire Gartner (1996) to acknowledge that tourism development does not have a universally agreed definition. Hence the pertinence to investigate the ways people consider tourism development especially in communities around protected areas. In order to exhaustively assess the meanings, beliefs, feelings and perceptions local communities ascribe to tourism, tourists and protected areas, a socially oriented approach is required. To accomplish this task, we rely on social representations theory.

## 3.1. Definition of social representations

Drawing on the work of Serge Moscovici (1963), social representations stem from the acknowledgement of the constitutive role of the social in the production of knowledge and a critical questioning of the classical view that the social pollutes knowledge. Social representations are embodied in habitual behaviour, in formal and informal communication, allowing subjects to construct a framework of references that facilitates their interpretations of reality and guides their relations to the world around them. In other words, representations are products of interconnectedness between people and processes of references through which people conceive the world (Deaux and Philogene, 2001).

Social representations are defined as a "system of values, ideas, and practices that establish a consensual order among phenomena" and "enable communication to take place among the

members of a community by providing them with a code for social exchange" (Moscovici, in Duveen & Lloyd, 1993, p. 91). Central to the perspective of social representations is the belief that psychological states are socially produced and that representations determine reactions. Representations are not "individually produced replicas of perceptual data" but are viewed as social creations and are, therefore, seen as part of social reality (Billig, 1993). Social representations also reflect a common sense understanding of the social world.

As Moscovici (1984) noted, social representations are formulated through action and communication in society and are "a specific way of understanding and communicating what we know already" (p. 17). They reflect the practical, everyday knowledge of the ordinary person rather than expert or scientific knowledge. Social representations also organize and structure the perceptions of social reality. A representation is the "product of processes of mental activity through which an individual or group reconstitutes the reality with which it is confronted and to which it attributes a specific meaning" (Abric, 1994). However, it is more than just a reflection of that reality. It also provides a "meaningful organization" of reality and functions as a "system of interpretation" that governs relationships between individuals and their physical and social environment. As representations determine both behavior and practice, they thereby act as guides for action (Abric, 1994).

Interest in social representations derives from studying the social nature of thinking and the importance of thinking in human life (Billig, 1993). It also acknowledges an historical dimension to ideas in social life. In other words, social representations are part of a society's collective memory and are the "substratum of images and meanings without which no collectivity can operate" (Moscovici, 1984, p. 19). Although they are linked to previous systems, images, and schema, they should not be viewed as permanent or static. They are social entities with a life of their own communicating between themselves, opposing each other and changing in harmony with the course of life, vanishing only to re-emerge in new guises.

## 3.2. Sources of social representations

Sources of social representations can be divided into three groups. The first group is direct experience. Existing representations have strong prescriptive powers, but direct experience of an event provides residents with more information on which to base their perceptions, and this information is more directly under the control of the individual than other sources. Therefore, it may be a catalyst for change, as people question inconsistencies between prevailing social representations and actual observations (Pearce et al. 1996). When direct experience with a phenomenon is limited, other sources of social representations become more important. Social interaction constitutes the second group. This includes interaction with family, friends, colleagues, casual acquaintances, and strangers. This is a powerful means of transmission of social representations and is probably closely related to group membership. People are likely to be affiliated with groups that have similar social identities to themselves, and they are inclined to adopt representations comparable with other group members (Breakwell et al., 1993). However, people are likely to be members of more than one reference group, and where such collectivities have different representations, individuals may be forced to reconcile contradictory positions (Dougherty, Eisenhart and Webley 1992). Significantly, not all members of a community have the same exposure or contact with the object or event that is the basis of the representation. Therefore, where direct experience is limited, groups will borrow a social representation from some other source. In this regard the media, political figures, and other important individuals and groups are likely to be important references.

The media, as the third group, has the potential to influence perceptions through the actual content of stories, as well as through their decision either to report or not report particular issues. In addition, it is common for the media to present some issues in the context of a conflict between various subgroups, which enables observers to identify with a particular group's perspective (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes and Sasson 1992).

49

Social representations are generated through two processes: anchoring and objectification. Anchoring strives to reduce strange ideas to ordinary categories and images and set them in a familiar context. Objectification turns an abstract idea into something almost concrete and thereby transfers something in the mind's eye to something existing in the physical world (Moscovici, 1984). Anchoring draws something foreign and disturbing that intrigues us into our particular system of categories and compares it to the paradigm of a category which we think to be suitable" (Moscovici, 1984).

### 3.3. Functions of social representations

The social construction of knowledge and the social representations perspective also have an evident relationship. Social constructivism and social representations theorists both argue that subjects construct their knowledge of the social world through interaction and experience, and that such knowledge is based on a practical, common sense understanding of the world (Jodelet, 1991a). The emphasis in the social representations perspective on the communicated character of thought and the role of social groups in the development and continuation of social knowledge coincides with social constructivism (Emmer & Ohana, 1993). In addition, the social constructivist orientation encourages the view of the subject as a social actor participating in a socio-historic project who inevitably influences the construction of his own representations (Bertrand, 1993).

In this sense, subjects can be viewed creating and re-creating reality through the medium of social representations. A number of epistemological and methodological orientations have been applied to the study of social representations (Breakwell & Canter, 1993; Doise, Clémence, & Lorenzi-Cioldi, 1993), but two major approaches are evident (Lipiansky, 1991). First, there is the naturalistic orientation of Moscovici (1961, 1976) and others such as Herzlich (1981) and Jodelet (1991b). Second, there is the experimental-laboratory orientation of Abric (1994) and Codol (1975). Moscovici (1984) argued that the purpose of social representations is "to make the unfamiliar familiar" and Doise (1986) argued that it is "to regulate relations between social actors".

Within these general purposes, four functions to social representations can be identified: (a) the knowledge function, (b) the identity function, (c) the guidance function, and (d) the justificatory function (Abric, 1994). The knowledge function enables reality to be understood and explained. Social representations permit social actors to acquire, integrate, and assimilate knowledge in a coherent fashion in relation to their cognitive system and values. This permits the communication, exchange, and diffusion of a common sense knowledge about the world. The identity function situates individuals and groups in a social field and enables the development of a social identity compatible with the norms and values of the society. The orientation function guides behavior and practice, and the justificatory function permits the justification of positions and behavior.

Moreover, for Abric (2003), the knowledge function enables active minorities to understand reality. As a result, social representations permit them to acquire, integrate, and assimilate knowledge in a coherent manner in relation to their cognitive system and values. The identity function and the knowledge function enable active minorities to understand reality. Finally, while the orientation function guides communities' behaviors and practices, the justificatory function allows them to justify such positions.

### 3.4. Social representations and tourism

In the tourism sector, both processes may intervene in the social construction of realities related to tourism and tourists particularly by subaltern groups which refer to a group of people possessing a different cultural identity from that of the dominant group (Wang & Morais, 2014). As subaltern groups may feel excluded, marginalized or expropriated from the tourism industry, their SR of tourism and tourists becomes more pronounced (Wang & Morais, 2014; Nazariadli et al., 2019) and in conflict with hegemonic views thereby potentially causing their exclusion from social systems (Abric, 2003). This social construction of (uncommon or foreign) reality by subaltern groups help them not only communicate more easily about tourism and tourists but also explain such an unfamiliar social phenomenon according to their immediate cognitive backgrounds.

Tourism scholars have used social representations theory to diagnose community attitudes, behaviors and positions in tourism development (Andriotis and Vaughan, 2003; Fredline and Faulkner, 2000; Pearce et al, 1996; Moscardo, 2011; Yuksel, Bramwell, and Yuksel, 1999). Moscardo (2011) explored SR towards tourism development and governance in Africa. Her analysis revealed a dominant representation in which destination residents play only a minor role and are typically excluded from tourism governance. Furthermore, external agents from both private and public sectors and their views of tourists' needs are also prominent in locals' SR (Moscardo, 2011).

Andriotis and Vaughan (2003) relied on both social exchange and SR theories to stratify residents of Crete perceptions towards tourism and found three clusters: "the advocates (identified by their high appreciation of tourism benefits), the socially and environmentally concerned (characterized by a consensus toward the environmental and social costs from tourism expansion), and the economic skeptics (who showed lower appreciation of tourism's economic benefits)" (p. 172).

The application of social representations theory in tourism is not limited to residents and locals' perceptions of tourism and tourists broadly, as researchers have also used it to examine how stakeholders differently perceive specific issues within the tourism sector. Dickinson and Robbins (2007), for instance, applied the framework to examine key actors' representations of the tourism transport problem at a rural destination in the United Kingdom (UK) and found divergence between resident and visitor opinions about the pervasiveness of the problem. They attributed the discord to the way in which ideas about the issue were propagated among residents. That study emphasized the relevance of communication as playing a central role in the production of new SR to make sense of new things and events that enter everyday life. Weaver and Lawton (2013) focused on the residents SR towards the Schoolies Week in Australia. They found that different sources of interaction —direct experience, social interaction, and the media-resulted in different SRs of the themed Schoolies Week event in Australia's Gold Coast. Monterrubio and Andriotis (2014) also used SR theory focusing on Spring Break to segment residents of the Mexican beach resort of

Acapulco based on their attitudes towards the North American spring breakers. Overall, a thorough literature review confirmed that most SR studies in tourism studies take place within the context of developed countries.

However, power imbalances in developing countries, particularly in Africa, are deeply rooted in a colonial context and place power relations between subalterns (i.e. rural communities) and hegemonic (i.e. tourists and tourism operators) groups into sharper relief (Licata et al., 2018). As such, social representations theory echoes the coloniality of power which continues to shape intergroup relationships in former colonized nations (Mignolo, 2000). Besides, SR theory not only analyzes relationships between external and internal actors but also the ties between immediate neighbors in a unique space (Licata et al., 2018).

In fact, on top of the colonial legacy still underpinning tourism activity in developing countries, this sector is an economic sector characterized by interest conflicts that are determining elements that shape the relationships between the different stakeholders. Thus, Moscardo (2011) views social representations towards tourism as what communities and other stakeholders, such as development agencies and tourism marketers think about tourism, its operation and its consequences. The performative dimensions of SR and the dynamic of competition between different representational systems leads to consider power relations between the various actors involved in the tourism encounter. Mowforth and Munt (2003) describe this complex tourism encounter as such:

> (...) tourists interpret and represent their experiences in ways that may be fundamentally opposed to the experience of those being visited; and these interpretations and representations will differ between different types of tourists. Even the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have a particular geographical imagination of the Third World. Their representation of tourism and sustainability may also differ sharply from those of local communities in the countries where the policies of these supranational institutions are applied.

Moscovici (2001) also mentioned these opposing representations through the distinction between hegemonic representations, emancipated representations and polemical representations. Hegemonic representations are similar to collective representations in that they are shared by all members of a highly structured group such as a political party, a nation,

53

or other structured macro unit. They are uniform and prevail in all symbolic or affective practices (Moscovici, 2001). Emancipated representations relate to subgroups who create their own versions of reality with a certain degree of autonomy with respect to the interacting segments of society (Moscovici 2001). Polemical representations are concerned with social conflicts, struggles between groups, and controversies in a society. They are determined by antagonistic relations and intended to be mutually exclusive (Moscovici 2001), such as antinomic ideas of rural and urban, local and foreign, intellectual and illiterate, etc. The central idea here is that a social group develops some coherent understanding of certain aspects of reality that informs the different perspectives of the other members of that group. As such, individual members tend to see and judge the world in a group-characteristic way. These classification of, hegemonic, emancipated, and polemical serve as the basis of the SR analysis for the present research.

In fact, scholarly work reveals that in the tourism sector, competing representations and interpretations of the visited place and population are at play not only between various actors within developed countries but also with stakeholders in the destination countries of the developing world. Nonetheless, most social representations in tourism studies focus on industrialized nations where the gap between direct and indirect tourist stakeholders is not as stark as in many developing countries' tourist destinations where power imbalances, asymmetrical relationships or normative practices between direct and indirect tourist operators are frequent. This investigation is inspired by the rare empirical contributions on rural communities' social representations towards tourism and tourists in the context of an African country.

Furthermore, to our knowledge, no such studies exist in the context of protected areas located in western African countries, where values and ideas about national parks and the institutions they represent conflate with SR towards tourists and tourism. Ohayon (2013) stresses that the main particularity of SR theory lies in its attempt to highlight simultaneously "the power of ideas and the power of minorities" (p.283). In the above-mentioned tourist destinations, the

combinations of both kinds of power is required to foster empowerment that is both a condition (a capacity) and a process.

## 3.5. Social representations, subalternity and empowerment

Tourism and communities link up in various interactive spaces that are continuous processes where different social values interact and new meanings are formed (Wearing et al., 2002). In these interactive spaces new forms of power are created, as different social groupings and individuals are placed in distinct positions of power in relation to various aspects of tourism developments. This asymmetrical situation reveals both the power of representations and the representations of power in tourism developed in protected areas. Since, tourism has often been criticized as a neo-colonial form of imperialism, which reinforces the unequal power relationship between its stakeholders including the tourists, the host communities, development agencies including non-governmental and private entities and government agencies

In her highly-influential essay, *Can the Subaltern Speak?* Spivak problematizes the representations of «the third-world subject" within «the Western discourse" (1988). The exclusion – or absence – of a subaltern voice, for Spivak, results from the undermining of subaltern agency by and within the dominant power relations that create the very condition of subalternity in the first place. Spivak's conclusion appears to suggest that subalternity is ipso facto the condition of voicelessness, making the answer to the question posed by the title of her essay a resounding no (Davidson, 2001).

Even if Spivak's question is to be understood as one about the ability of the hegemonic ear to hear, her insight about the manipulation of subaltern agency and voice serves as an important reminder that the audibility of subaltern speech requires more than merely conceiving of the subaltern other as a participant in a dialogue (which is itself initiated by privileged experts and knowledge producers, often residing in the global North) rather than an object to be studied. Non-scientific and   local knowledge may be considered as one form of exercising power (Foucault 1980).

Since the famous work of John Urry (1990) on the tourist gaze, numerous scholars (MacCannell, 1973; Hollinshead, 1992; Edensor, 1998) have dealt with issues of representations in tourism. Alongside the analysis of representations in tourism, the issue of power has also been investigated. In their overwhelming majority, they have been concerned with three main topics and/or with their interconnection. The first topic is the construction of the touristic image of the place of destination. The second one is the clash between tourists' representations and their actual experience. The third topic deals with the process by which reality in the place of destination (as tourists expect to experience it) is modified to have it fit its touristic image.

Despite these studies, less attention has been paid to the ways local communities react to the globalised, stereotypical and touristic representations of the place they inhabit. As in the tourism developed in protected areas, competing representations, and interpretations, of the visited place and population are at play not only between hosts and guest but also between agents of destinations countries. Recognizing the performative dimension of representations and the dynamic of competition between different representational systems requires the consideration of power relations between various actors involved in the tourism encounter. Moreover, in view of the interactions of stakeholders' representations as well as the power struggle between them, it is essential to analyse PNLB rural communities' empowerment through a combination of social representations theory and subaltern studies.

Furthermore, as a form of social knowledge, social representations are symbolic resources through which people give meaning to social structures, experiences, material circumstances and their immediate environment. This theory is useful to understand a series of psychological phenomena, such as minority influence (Moscovici, 1976), public understanding of science (Bauer and Gaskell, 2002), intercultural relations and communities (Jovchelovitch, 2007; Howarth et al., 2013), which all interact in this investigation.

Overall, this research aims to focus on the relationships between social representations and subalternity as subalterns seem to perpetuate the representations of dominant groups who are

excluding and disempowering them within the tourism system. Therefore, although social representations rests on a psychological stance while subaltern studies stems from a political framework, it is pertinent to combine both frameworks to investigate local communities empowerment driven by hegemonic and emancipatory representations between subaltern and elites. This emancipatory approach may help to turn subalterns into political subjects who can bargain with dominant stakeholders in a harsh power and representational struggle

Power lies at the heart of the interplay of values, interests and tourism policy. As such, Morris (1987) acknowledged, there is a moral element in the analysis of power. However, that moral element is not located in the analysis of tourism, which is often presented in an 'amoral' and 'objective' fashion. Power is often presented practically as having simplistic directional outcomes either working in favour or against the interests of those to be empowered. This tends to gloss over the complex, situated and contested nature of struggles over power.

Being empowered is a condition whereby authority to act, choice of actions, and control over decisions and resources ·lie in the hands of destination community members rather than central government authorities, and sometimes from multinational companies and external investors. The challenging nature of empowerment justifies the necessity to analyze it by investigating local communities' psychological background (social representations theory) and political stance (subaltern studies). But prior to broadly focus empowerment, it is relevant to highlight that it has been scrutinized on three different scales: national, local/community and personal (Lincoln et al. 2001). And these three scales are so interrelated that the absence of one scale impacts the other.

National empowerment happens when countries gain independence from colonial powers or when oppressive majority (or minority) rule is overturned or abolished in some other way. These types of events provide opportunities for minority groups or marginalized people to have a voice in decision making for tourism development.

Community-level empowerment refers to the collective well-being of the local community where tourism takes place (Campbell and Marshall 2000). At the individual scale,

empowerment should reflect an awareness of self-worth and create some kind of inner transformation (Wilson 1999). This perspective focuses on the rights of individual people to be able to express themselves and pursue their own self-interests (Campbell and Marshall 2000: 324), which nearly always forms the foundation of community and national empowerment.

However, recent data on tourism in Senegal confirm that this destination highly depends on foreign countries particularly France in terms of investments and visitors. For instance, 47% of tourists that visit Senegal come from France while less than 1% of Senegalese go to tourist establishments (MTTA, 2014-2018). Then, national empowerment in the tourism sector is not yet gained. Concerning community-level empowerment in Senegal, the capitalist rationale of tourism development as well as its high dependence on foreign stakeholders (travel agents, tourists, hoteliers) did not foster the empowerment of local communities. When it came to involve them in the tourism sector, they are more viewed as targets than agents, As such, at the personal level of empowerment, most of local communities, especially those living in rural areas, occupy subaltern position in the tourism activity. Because, decision-makers usually overlook indigenous knowledge while the implementation of tourism policies and projects.

Rather, they solely rely on imported notions fabricated by external politicians and consultants in places far from the reality of local conditions (Cornwall, 2003; Timothy 1999). In fact, the underestimation of local communities' knowledge and experiences has been stressed by Zanetell and Knuth (2002: 821) who advance the use of indigenous cultural traditions local knowledges ('knowledge partnerships') that are as important in management decisions as allegedly scientific 'facts'.

In fact, for empowerment to be effective, there are required mitigating factors that facilitate or limit community and individual empowerment. Among these factors, there is education which is important in determining whether or not destination residents are able and willing to participate in decision making. Education theory argues that knowledge is power, and

advocates of community empowerment contend that increased levels of community and individual awareness about tourism lead to higher levels of all four types of empowerment (Friedmann 1996). Through increased awareness, community members will be better able to influence decision making and initiate development programmes on their own without a great deal of external interference (Cornwall 2003; Lyons et at. 200I; Timothy 2000). Conversely, ignorance or lack of awareness keeps local stakeholders under the control of more powerful elites. By keeping communities in a state of relative ignorance, rulers are able to maintain them in a subaltern position.

Nevertheless, a shortcoming in many research analysis of the mitigating factors of community and individual empowerment is their inability to clarify what they meant by education. This is important as in destinations like Senegal, education can be interpreted differently. While some consider studying at official schools or universities as formal education, others consider religious teaching as the only valid education. Furthermore, in Senegal, where 95% of the population are Muslims and 5% is Christians, there is an ongoing debate regarding the type of education which should be considered official or formal. Yet, there is dearth of research on the relationships between local communities' empowerment in tourism and their education and subsequently their religious background particularly in developing countries. And this gap needs to be filled in order to objectively analyze communities' representations towards tourism, tourists and protected areas. Since religion and religiosity are well-known factors that can influence local communities' attitudes and behaviours.

Indeed, it should be reminded that, the effects of religious belief on behaviour emanate from two main sources (McDaniel & Burnett, 1990; Wilkes et al., 1986) likely to influence communities' representations towards their social settings including tourism. The first source consist of the taboos and obligations to follow. Examples include the religious rules forbidding Muslims to eat pork, to drink alcohol or to listen music. The second source is associated to the fact that religion contributes to the formation of culture, attitudes and values in society (McClain, 1979). Such considerations led Din (1989) to argue that, due to certain

religious beliefs, tourism is discouraged in some Muslim countries because of its impact on the local community. Overall, religion could be viewed as a relevant factor in explaining individuals' perceptions of tourism and tourist as well as it can influence communities' representations and empowerment within tourism. Importantly, in view of the scope and/or stake of religion in many developing countries, it could be equated to power usually viewed by many scholars and decision-makers in a reductionist one-dimensional view.

## 4. Concluding remarks

Considered either as a business or as a social arena, the way tourism activity is managed in developing countries like Senegal may foster competing representations and interpretations of the place, populations or the tourism system itself. In the case of the National park of La Langue de Barbarie, both the commoditization of the tourism product and the subaltern governance model of the protected areas dispossess and disempower rural communities in the tourism system. Hence John Urry (1990, 2011) emphasized the tourist gaze to describe the way in which cultures are objectified by tourism. Under this clash of representations, participation can be conceptualised as the power to construct and convey particular representations over others. It is more than the communication of views. It refers to the symbolic power to construct legitimate social knowledge, norms and identities, and to disregard, marginalize or silence alternative ways of knowing and being.

This type of power is typically afforded to groups of higher sociopolitical status who have the power to construct what is 'real' or 'true'. As a result of their marginalization within tourism developed in the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie, rural communities rely on social representations to justify and reinforce their attitudes and behaviors towards tourism, tourists and tourist areas. Considering the symbiosis between rural communities' social representations and their status in the tourism activity, there is a need to combine social representations theory and subaltern studies to better analyze communities' empowerment.

Furthermore, the coherence of joining social representations theory and subaltern studies to better analyze an empowerment strategy in the National park of La Langue de Barbarie is

confirmed by Tucker and Akama (2009) who acknowledged that tourism is an arena in which postcolonialism resonates specially in developing countries. Besides , the theoretical linkages between the tourist gaze and power structures within the tourism system reminds the Foucauldian power-knowledge nexus that postulates that tourism activity based upon colonial narratives will continue to perpetuate colonial core-periphery relationships.

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# Rural communities' representations of tourism developed in the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie

## 1. Introduction

The take-off of tourism as a global industry and the wave of decolonising processes that lead to the creation of dozens of new states in Africa are contemporary processes; they happen within the framework of the most transcendental period of growth and structural change that the global economy experienced during the twentieth century (the Golden Age), and it is coincident with the period in which the Latin American economies investigate their potential for diversification and endogenous growth, under the intellectual leadership of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean. In this context, literature soon attributed to tourism a high potential to induce economic growth in developing countries by expanding export possibilities from raw materials and primary products to the provision of services to tourists, based on the natural and cultural attractions they treasured (Hall, 1991; Holzner, 2011).

According to this approach, landscapes, wildlife and cultural manifestations, which until the advent of tourism barely contributed to the flow of subsistence economies, became components of the gross fixed capital in many developing countries, adding growth potential. Furthermore, many authors saw in tourism the opportunity to incorporate new local entrepreneurs and traditionally marginalised sectors, mainly women, into the productive market economy, which in turn would facilitate more equitable growth.

However, empirical evidence of tourism developments in developing countries offers a less linear, more diverse picture. Many studies have shown that, along with positive impacts on aggregate income, economic diversification, employment in emerging sectors and the improvement of some basic facilities and infrastructures (Sharpley, 2002; Castellano et al. 2019) , tourism has also contributed to the depletion of basic natural resources (essentially drinking water), the increase in price of basic goods and real estate and the pressure to raise

wages in traditional activities, to highlight the most significant negative effects on the economic sphere. Tourism has also been stated as being disruptive in other social (breakdown of community roles, increasing inequalities, non-legitimate shifts in power of certain groups) and cultural (values, habits, social norms, etc.) realms.

Along these lines, the analysis of the impacts of tourism on the life of rural communities in national parks in developing countries has widely attracted scholars' attention (Pelser et al. 2011; Naughton et al. 2005). The results delivered from case studies are far from homogeneous; instead, a great disparity is observable. Authors claiming the dominance of positive effects underline the creation of new jobs remunerated, specifically for women, wider markets for local products and the opening of local societies to new attitudes and behaviours about innovations and entrepreneurship (Hjalager, 1996).

Without denying positive impacts, some authors focus on a group of new problems that tourism has contributed to in protected areas, while not providing the proper tools to deal with them. Vodouhê et al. (2010), Woodhouse et al. (2018) and Sène-Harper and Séye (2019) bring awareness to the fact that former management strategies kept humans from protected areas using coercion; Scheyvens (2011) reminds us that usually resorts and hotels have weak or no relations with suppliers of local products and services and offer poor working conditions and labour rights, while treating local micro-entrepreneurs as competitors instead of allies, refusing to transfer knowledge or undertake joint-ventures. Blake et al. (2008) and Dwyer et al. (2004) talk about the effect of tourism development on prices, mainly impacting on the poorest communities, while Cole (2012) and Gossling et al. (2012) provide evidence on tourism that provokes pressure on water supplies that lead to local populations suffering from water shortage. Tourism is invoked sometimes as exacerbating inequalities within rural communities in protected areas between residents connected and disconnected to tourism (Cole and Morgan, 2010).

While the complex relationships between nature conservation and communities surrounding protected areas have remained an elusive issue, some diverse-sourcing initiatives have been

developed to specifically build proper solutions and spread learned lessons. Under labels like Pro-Poor tourism (Goodwin, 2009), Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty (UNWTO, 2003) or Anti-Poverty Tourism (Zhao and Ritchie, 2007), these tourist developments have been promoted and supported by development agencies, governments and donors, but results are still blurred and have been criticised by researchers (Scheyvens, 2009). Some authors point out that tourism planning for protected areas is strongly influenced by the perceptions of managers and planners often from outside the local communities, who experience tourism differently than presumed by the former (Hall, 2009). The meta-analysis conducted by Roe et al. (2009) sheds light on the fact that the contribution required to promote genuine social development is not about bringing communities to participate in an externally pre-defined framework but jointly creating the game rules and developing effective planning and management tools that make locals protagonists in participating actively in the tourist activity and benefitting from it.

To encourage rural communities to get involved in tourism in protected areas (PA hereafter), ongoing processes should provide conditions to heal the wounds caused by the imposition of the PAs, often with violence, and the previous development of economically excluding and socio-culturally foreign and invasive tourism. Amongst the alternative approaches to dealing with integrating the perception of local communities in PA tourism developments, social representation theory shows high potential (Moscardo, 2011). Explanations for the so feelings of expropriation due to unilateral PA declaration, of exclusion because tourist developments kept locals aside from decisions and benefits and of otherness for suffering the invasion of foreigners, find a proper place in the SRT. It allows for a thorough comprehension of attitudes and behaviour of locals toward tourism but also helps to cluster them into identified minorities that could lead to transformative tourism-based social processes, widening opportunities for genuine community-based tourism developments in the PAs of developing countries.

Based on evidence from the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie in northern Senegal, this chapter aims at identifying the endogenous factors that preclude rural communities

75

neighbouring the PA to get engaged in tourism development, even when it is self-claimed as community-based tourism, and characterise potential leading groups to be engaged in more genuine sustainable tourism strategies, focused on local needs.

To try to achieve this objective, the introductory part will be followed by the second section that will analyse the Langue de Barbarie setting through tourism developed in the PNLB with special focus on the socioeconomic aspects of the area as well as the manmade damages that are affecting the park and local communities' traditional activities. Here, this protected area's declaration against the majority opinion was succeeded by the development of nature tourism that has recently rhetorically embraced the cause of community participation, yet still without being put into practice.

The third section presents the theoretical framework and prior analysis through a SRT approach that consists of a two-step methodology, firstly validating the constructs that explain perceptions and behaviours of locals towards tourism, and then clustering local populations into groups which are defined according to their perceptions of tourism and the attitudes and behaviours to refuse, not participate in or change tourism in their immediate settings.

As regards to the fourth section, it analyses the main research results, translating them into very visual tools, characterising the groups in search of the minority that could lead a process of tourism change and of community engagement. In this section, the aforementioned results will be discussed in the light of social representation theory, by focusing on the aspects related to the building of shared representations, the creation of a common sense on the complex phenomena, the influence of past experiences and the anchoring of new, unknown situations people are familiarised with and the role of the active minorities in social change processes. The last section concludes the research with an analysis of findings that could contribute to tourism-based strategies that promote engagement and sustainable development in rural communities neighbouring PAs in developing countries.

## 2. Tourism and rural communities of the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie

### 2.1. The National Park of La Langue de Barbarie implementation

The Northern region of Senegal forms a Sahelian ecosystem smoothed by the Senegal River that separates it from Mauritania, a sedimentary delta with innumerable brackish lagoons that are home to an extraordinary marine and terrestrial biodiversity, a rich fishing bank that has attracted thousands of artisanal fishermen along the coastline. The heritage city of Saint Louis was declared a UNESCO world heritage site in 2000 (Lo, 2016). As well as being the capital, Saint Louis also exercised the religious leadership of the country, and was closely linked to the resistance against French colonisation. The demonstration to pray in front of the government palace of the colonial power led by the religious leader Cheikh Ahmadou Bamba on 5 September 1895, is still firmly rooted as a symbol of resistance against the colonisers (De Jong, 2010).

South of the city of Saint Louis, along the narrow sedimentary tongue of more than 50 km that separates the Senegal River from the Atlantic Ocean (the so-called Langue de Barbarie), there are around twenty small rural communities dedicated to agriculture, artisanal fishing, gathering, hunting and a small amount of commerce. These communities belong mostly to the Wolof (45%), Fula (35%) and Maure (15%) ethnic groups (Lazar, 2002). These are very old settlements of stable communities that have been obtaining their livelihood from the natural resources of the area for centuries. The extraordinary fragility and vulnerability of the natural ecosystem on which they settle, constantly changing in geomorphology, the salinity of their waters, the aptitude for agriculture and the nutrients that attract marine biomass, have led these communities to develop complex adaptive strategies of survival, whose knowledge and practices constitute one of the cultural elements of greater patrimonial value in the region. Table 1 shows the most populated settlements in that area.

Table 1. Number of inhabitants in the communities surrounding La Langue de Barbarie.

| Villages | Nº of Inhabitants | % |
|---|---|---|
| Ndiebene Gandiol | 4826 | 34.2% |
| Mouit | 2200 | 15.6% |
| Gouyerene | 774 | 5.5% |
| Pilote | 1700 | 12.1% |
| Tassinere | 1363 | 9.7% |
| Ndiol | 499 | 3.5% |
| Degouniaye | 452 | 3.2% |
| Dare Salam | 400 | 2.8% |
| Mbao | 502 | 3.6% |
| Mboumbaye | 1377 | 9.8% |
| Total | 14,093 | 100.0% |

(Source: Authors' own work with information from the municipality of Rao, Saint Louis, 2017)

Several strategic decisions adopted over the last decades have shaped the recent history of this region, affecting the living conditions of the population, and particularly rural communities along La Langue. In 1976, the national government enacted the Langue de Barbarie National Park, expanded to 2000 hectares in 1977 (DPN, 2018). This decision imposed restrictions on the ancestral uses of natural resources, causing major disturbances between the local population and central government forces, which in some cases had fatal outcomes. Conflicts of this nature had already occurred in other parts of the country and Sub-Saharan Africa (Ghimire, 1994).

The driving forces behind the creation of the PAs in the region have been multiple and complex. While following international standards this area exhibits natural resources that justify its protection, multilateral organisations and European governments have intervened

with a perspective that has transcended to mere conservation (Dupuy and Verschuren, 1977). The extension of the Saharan climate influence and the subsequent persistence of droughts (Lazar, 2009) persuaded the national authorities of the need to diversify the regional economy through nature-based tourism with PAs as a claim. These would complete a trio of tourist attractions, along with the fishermen's district and the heritage city of Saint Louis. However, the conflicts that arose regarding the declaration of the PAs suggested that this long-term vision was neither shared nor accepted by a significant proportion of local communities that had not even been consulted.

After decades of a conflictive relationship, the association of Ecoguards of the national park was created in 2001, through which some members of the adjacent communities PA, where they participated in the interpretive guidance of visitors. This decision contributed to pacifying the relationship between the park and the communities, and has been the main link between the two and the development of nature tourism in the area.
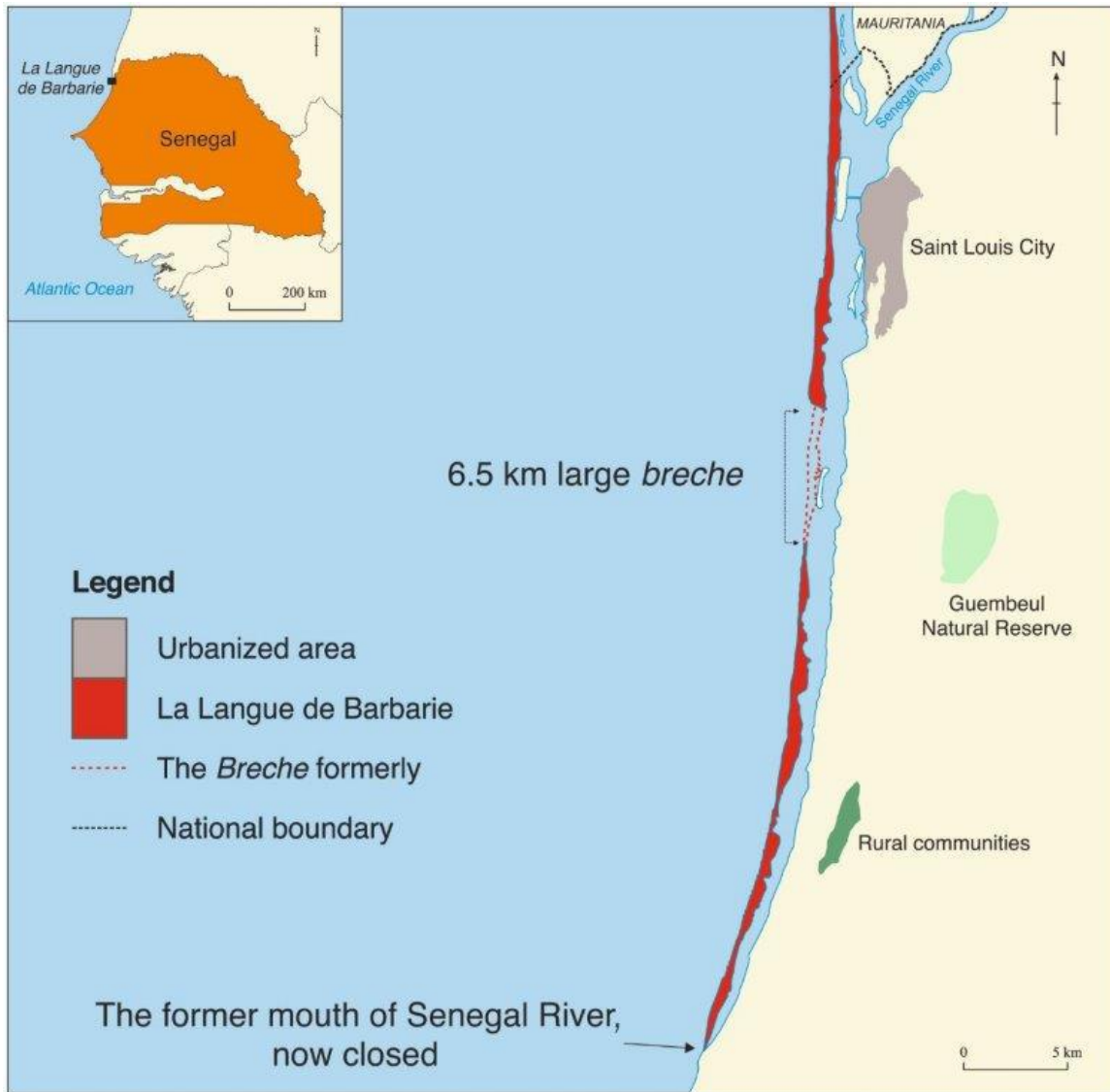
Figure 1: Rural communities, the protected area and the breach. Source: Authors' own work

However, during the last decades, some decisions condition the nature and society of La Langue de Barbarie. In 1986, the Diama dam was constructed to prevent the salinization (Michel, 1973), and promote irrigated agriculture. It modified the flow of the river at the mouth causing changes in the sedimentary dynamics that would progressively lead to the

closure of the river outlet to the sea and, thus, increasing the exposure of Saint Louis to the risk of flooding (Cecchi, 1992). Some years later, as a consequence of the frequent floods in the region, Saint-Louis administrative authorities, pressured by urban populations, open a breach which keeps on having dramatic consequences on local populations traditional activities.

## 2.2. The impacts of natural and anthropogenic plagues on La Langue de Barbarie traditional activities

The Senegal River estuary in the North of Senegal is a highly vulnerable ecosystem, hosting mainly disadvantaged rural communities. Confronted with the Sahelian climate crisis, this area had faced an important decrease in rainfall since the early 1970s which also coincided with a drought period. The combination of these phenomena brought about a series of crises, undermining the livelihood of dwellers and local populations with negative impacts caused by both natural and manmade factors. Specifically, the severe droughts of the 1970s and early 1980s are also remembered as events that introduced significant changes in local livelihoods.

In an attempt to tackle these recurrent series of droughts, large dams, including the Diama dam were implemented on the Senegal River. The major objectives of this dam, created on July 1986, was to decrease the saline intrusion during the dry season, and to maintain enough water for domestic freshwater and irrigation purposes. But, later after the implementation these dams, there were serious environmental problems, including freshwater scarcity and recurrent flooding of the city of Saint-Louis since the 1990s. The main impacts of the construction of the Diama dam on the Senegal River estuary was the migration of the river mouth in southward direction with 2.8 km in 5 years, which is 560 m/y on average (Barusseau, et al. 1998). On top of the salinization of soils in the downstream coastal zone by the Diama dam, the most destructive consequences in the proximity of the Senegal River delta has been the opening of a breach on 2003 on the south of the city of Saint Louis.

On October 2003, the city of Saint-Louis, declared a UNESCO world heritage site since 2000, was to be swallowed by the rising waters of the Senegal River. As a result of this

unusual flood, the public and communal authorities, pressured by local populations and the peculiar status of this historical city, found an immediate solution to save it. This solution consisted in opening a breach in the coastal sand strip of La Langue de Barbarie, in order to evacuate the water surplus from the river to the ocean. This urgent political decision had profoundly modified the hydrological behavior of the Senegal River in Saint-Louis. The breach opened in Saint-Louis to counter the flood phenomenon has caused many environmental problems resulting from profound changes in the biophysical characteristics of the area. It has deeply modified the hydrological behavior of La Langue de Barbarie that is a fragile environment which experimented many problems. In fact, the main problem raised by this environmental plague is that it is implemented without any environmental or technical assessment.

In addition, the main environmental legal instrument of Senegal, namely, the environmental act[5], specified that all development projects or any activity that are likely to harm the environment, as well as policies, plans, programs, area and sector studies have to be the object of an environmental assessment which can include environmental impact studies, strategic environmental assessments and environmental audit. Yet, the central Government violated this act with the example of the breach of La Langue de Barbarie which is affecting rural communities and fishing, agriculture and tourism sectors.

> **Impacts on the fishing sector**

Fishery plays a major role in the economy of the region and occupies an important place in La Langue de Barbarie area. It is the main activity of almost 70% of the working population of the area. With an annual landfall of 35,000 tonnes, the region ranks second for artisanal fishing (DPN, 2007).

As it was noted that the mortality of turtles was attributed to the use of some engines and nets as well as the garbage (plastic) from the city of Saint-Louis, artisanal fishing is tolerated for

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[5] Environmental Act, title II, Chapter V, article L48, Law n$^0$ 2001-01, Senegal.

the natives with regulatory engines in specific parts of the waters. Following the conservation principles of the park, access is forbidden to fishermen near the resting and breeding areas of water birds. Since the opening of the breach, which exacerbated the extinction of some fish species in La Langue de Barbarie, fishermen witnessed a sharp decrease of their revenues. As such, they were obliged to move towards Mauritania in search of rare species owing to the risky-nature of Saint-Louis coasts. The number of accidents and casualties that happen during fishing activities are now more frequent than before.

Since the 1970s, the Mauritanian government implemented the Banc d'Arguin National Park where fish find good conditions of reproduction and development. But since the outbreak of the violent upsurge between Senegal and Mauritania in 1989, borders were closed. Since then, Saint-Louis fishermen claimed that Mauritania hardly shown enthusiasm to partner with Senegal on issues of fishing. On top of this diplomatic misunderstanding between both countries, the ongoing devastating consequences of the breach on the fishing sector are impediment for fishermen of La Langue de Barbarie. As certain fish species have been disappearing due to their inability to acclimatize to the new conditions created by the breach. Under these circumstances, fishermen have resorted to illegal fishing in Mauritanian waters, with the risk of fatal encounters with the coastguards. Since 2003, 250 fishermen died as a result of this risky area (Sy et al., 2015). Moreover, in their immediate settings, rural communities living along La Langue de Barbarie are threatened by sea- level variations. They are experiencing regular storm surges with serious loss of social and economic facilities including their settlements as well as their fishing boats.

  ➤ **Impacts on agriculture**

The Diama dam and the breach greatly impacted the agriculture sector in the La Langue de Barbarie area. Apart from the fishing sector, local communities of this zone rely on agriculture for consumption and commercialisation. The agricultural sector is based either on the rainfall or on the river. But, owing to the breach which originated the salinization of the river, agriculture outcomes sharply diminished because of the variations of the water level

and the salinization of the land. In the ecological zone of the Gandiolais which includes the majority of the villages surrounding the National park of La Langue de Barbarie, salinity levels are a standing challenge to economic development. In fact, these farmer communities traditionally specialized in market gardening and livestock breeding, are now facing decreasing income due to salt intrusion into the aquifers and soils that impact their agricultural activities. The breach brought about huge consequences. For instance, due to the salinization of soils, irrigation agriculture has become increasingly difficult in the entire delta of the river, with the total area affected amounting to 15,000 ha (SAED, 2012; Gning, 2015). These constraints obliged some farmers to relocate their activities to other zones less affected by the salinization.

> **Impacts on tourism**

The Langue de Barbarie area has remarkable natural and cultural attractions to sustain tourism development However, the advent of the breach greatly impacted not only the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie but also tourist infrastructures (hotels, encampments, etc.) located there. The region has experienced a significant decline in tourism, due to combined factors. The attractiveness of the artisanal fishing community, although still vibrant, is suffering due to the decline of the catches and the marine erosion that destroys their houses. The breach has altered the landscape and the dynamics of the coastal ecosystem, which has lost its appeal and depreciated the image of the destination. Consequently, the percentage of tourist arrivals in 2015 was 15% lower than in 2002; its participation in the country's total tourism arrivals has fallen from 13% in 2003 to 4% in 2015. This decrease has affected the accommodation offer, which in 2014 fell to 1634 places, 18.42% less than in 2013. The occupancy rate declared by the establishments went from 23% in 2012 to 13% in 2016, as a result not only of a lower flow of visitors, but also of a reduction in the average stay, from 1.9 days in 2008 to 1.63 in 2016 (ANSD, 2016). Overall, tourism in the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie experienced a reflux in line with the evolution of the region as a whole, and in contrast with the growth experienced by other regions and destinations in the country.

84

The National Park of La Langue de Barbarie has a hosting capacity for 18 tourists and offers interpretive guidance on six different routes that show the main attributes of the ecosystem. The entrance of tourists to the National Park fell dramatically from 5371 in 2005 to 571 in 2018, reducing turnover proportionally also. The communities under study do not have accommodation for visitors, reducing their participation in tourism to a small number of park rangers who participate in the interpretation of itineraries, and the sale of handicrafts. As regards the bird island, considered as the prime tourist attraction of the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie, it has lost its prestige with the decrease of many bird's species. In spite of the presence of many private tourist operators in La Langue de Barbarie area, it is a more and more fragile setting. For example the hotel *La Saint-Louisienne* which is the nearest tourist establishment to the breach is threatened by the scope of the breach. Similarly, two encampments located to the south of this area are in a delicate situation. Tourists require a boat to go there since moving in the southern part of the breach constitutes a huge threat. As a result, managers of these tourist infrastructures claim that their clientele has decreased since the breach was opened. Yet, the development of tourist activity in Saint-Louis relies not only on natural and cultural attractions but also on a varied amount of hotel infrastructures which are well represented in this area.
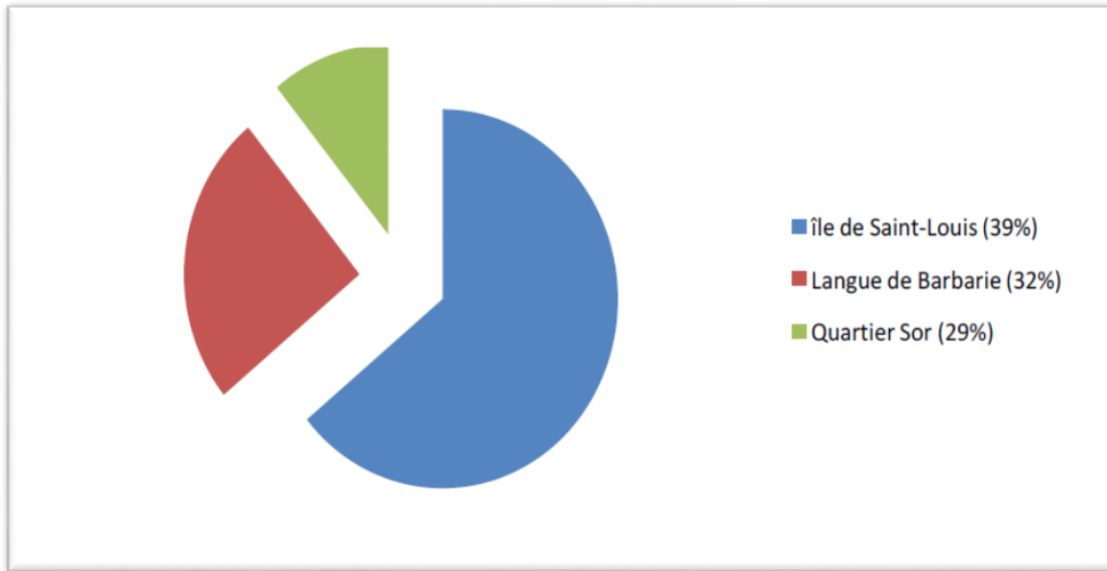
Figure 2: Distribution of tourist establishments in Saint-Louis (SARR, 2018)

Figure 2 shows that La Langue de Barbarie area constitutes an important tourist site in Saint-Louis. It hosts 32% of tourist establishments of Saint-Louis and is located in a peculiar site which attracts tourists. And most of the tourists who visit the Northern part of Senegal visit this area which is quiet and unique for being hosted between the river and the sea.

In spite of the diversity of tourist establishments in La Langue de Barbarie area, their occupancy rate kept on decreasing since the opening of the breach which greatly impacted them. For example, owing to the devastating consequences of the breach, park officials acknowledge the increasing damages of coastal erosion characterized by the destruction of biodiversity in the southern part of the protected area. For this, Jacoutot (2006) noticed that the bird island of the park is flooded or even submerged almost daily during the most important tides. This island which extended over 2 ha covers now only 0, 5 ha. Changes in the natural system, like mangrove area reduction, disappearance of many coastal lagoons, aquifers and soil salinization and fewer fishable resources have reduced the National Park attractiveness and negatively affected natural resources. Beyond its ongoing consequences

on La Langue de Barbarie local communities, the breach could be analysed through African ecological literature which strove to unveil the symbiosis between humans and non-humans.

African societies, despite their complexities and differences, are drawn to a peculiar ethics of the earth. In this mode of seeing, certain nonhuman forms, including animals, plants, and so on, are considered viable life forms worthy of respect. For example, readers of Chinua Achebe's *Arrow of God* (1964) will remember Oduche, Ezeulu's son, trapping the royal python in his box as an act defying tradition. The snake, in the community's vision, is sacred to their deity, Idemili. Conversely, Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* (1958) also demonstrates the way patriarchal privilege and other forms of exclusion are locally embedded, naturalized and perpetuated in some African countries. That is rather than blaming colonizers and capitalists, Achebe managed to show that indigenous societies usually engage in indiscriminate practices that seem devoid of ecological consideration.

In the example of Senegal, the failure of many environmental projects run by the Senegalese government and international organizations push local communities of the Senegal River estuary start doubting the legitimacy of the power of experts (Ba, 2019). Hence the necessity to consider new experiences likely to strengthen resilience in the context of local development, conservation or climate change.

For instance, Fanget (2016) who interviewed the village chief of Doune Baba Dieye[6], was surprised to know that local communities were opposed to the opening of the breach in. Actually, the Senegalese government didn't consult local communities as regards the opening of the breach in 2003. They were opposed to the project, even though they were afterwards equipped with strategies likely to avoid the breach. Considering the huge environmental impacts of the Diama dam and the breach, La Langue de Barbarie rural communities ended up losing trust and confidence to projects and initiatives based on expert knowledge.

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[6] The embodiment of the devastating consequences of the breach on villages of the Langue de Barbarie. Doune Baba Dieye almost completely disappeared after the breach.
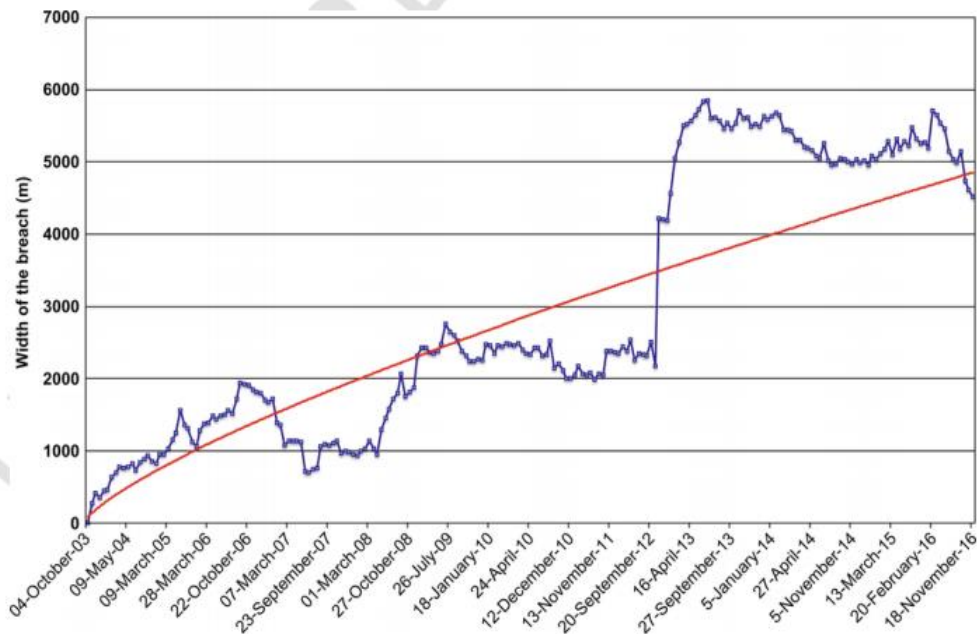
Figure 3: Widening of La Langue de Barbarie breach from October 2003 to November 2016 (survey from LANDSAT imagery)

Figure 3 unveils the increasing damages caused by the breach between 2003 to 2016. Within 13 years, this environmental plague has impacted all rural communities' traditional activities and even destroyed an entire village, namely Doune Baba Dieye. As a result of this damage, local communities consciously or unconsciously correlate the huge impacts of the breach to all their problems.

Overall, the National Park is perceived in some cases as an extension of the colonial domain and a pretext for the delivery of land to foreign agents, and in others as an ally generator of opportunities. For this, in the following pages we present the conceptual framework that properly explains the perceptions and attitudes toward tourism in the study area, based on social representations theory.

## 3. Theoretical framework and prior analysis

Literature on community- based tourism and related issues, especially that focusing on reporting failures in reaching genuine human development in the communities around the natural and rural destinations throughout the developing world, need to be complemented with literature on resident attitudes towards tourism and tourists, in order to obtain understanding on the factors that may explain local communities' disaffection to tourism and their disengagement of it. However theoretical approaches on resident attitudes towards tourism are not homogeneous. To better discern on the best approach to shed light on the intertwined problems of failure and disaffection, we carried out a prior analysis based on in situ interviews with key informants at the communities neighbouring the protected areas under study. The model was later developed to underpin field research that builds on the theoretical approach that prior analysis revealed to be the most fruitful. The arguments are set out below.

### 3.1. The theoretical framework

The study of resident attitudes towards tourism has occupied a substantial part of tourism research over the last decades (AP, 1992). Most of these studies have been framed into social exchange theory (SET) (Gursoy and Rutherford, 2004). Briefly, this argues that attitudes respond to the perception of the costs and benefits generated by tourism for the individuals researched (Madrigal, 1995). These costs and benefits are deployed in the economic, sociocultural and environmental spheres and can be measured through objective indicators and by surveying subjective perceptions (Milman and Pizam, 1987). This approach usually uses explanatory models based on structural equations that provide weights for the factors that determine attitudes and behaviour towards tourism. Likewise, these models allow grouping individuals in clusters, according to homogeneous perceptions and attitudes towards tourism (Sinclair-Maragh et al. 2015).

Some authors have reported limitations of SET to properly explain the diversity of contexts and the complexity of the interactions from which the residents' attitudes towards tourism

emerge; these are summarised in ahistoricism, methodological individualism and functional separation between the object and the subject (Pearce et al., 1991). Other authors have tried to add the explanatory potential of both approaches by integrating them into their explanatory models of residents' attitudes toward tourism (Fredline and Faulkner, 2000). In our case, we will argue that social attitudes toward tourism that fit the predictions of the SET make up a particular case in the set of possible attitudes, and that, instead, the SRT proposes a more adequate framework for explaining the causes and diversity of social responses to emerging phenomena, such as tourism in PAs in many countries of Africa.

For Moscovici (Moscovici, 1973), a social representation is a system of values, ideas and practices with a double function: (i) to establish an order that allows individuals to orient themselves in their material and social world, and control it; and (ii) to allow communication between them by providing them with a code to unequivocally name and classify the various aspects that make up their worlds and their individual and group history.
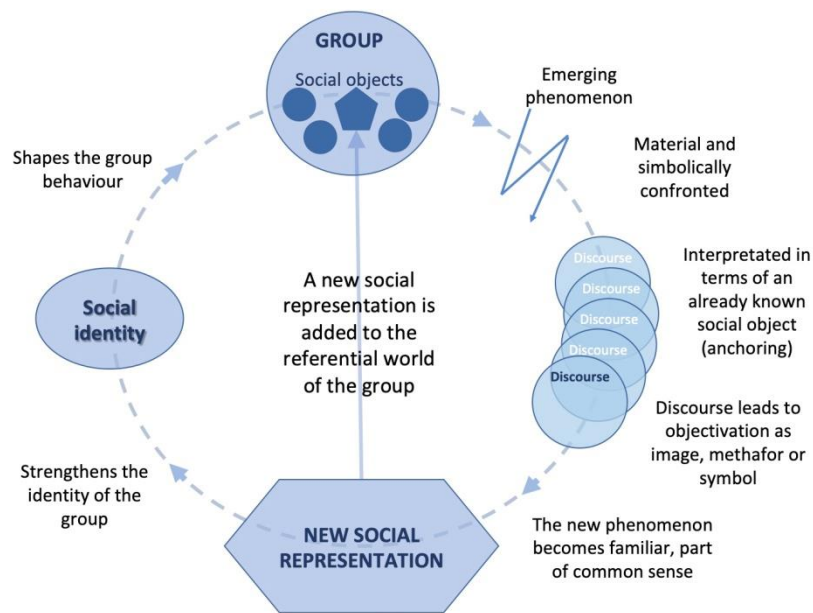


Figure 4: The formation of a social representation. Source: From Wagner et al.
(Wagner et al. 1999)

Figure 4 shows the process through which a new phenomenon, potentially threatening, is confronted materially and symbolically, anchoring it those already known and conferring social objectivity through the use of symbols, metaphors and icons. The material and symbolic response of the group aims to make the unknown familiar and manageable. The conversations and actions of the individuals in the group are constructing a symbolic universe for the new phenomenon, which is linked to objects and representations that are already established.

## 3.2.    Prior analysis

Several short periods of co-existence with some communities living around La Langue de Barbarie National Park allowed us to formally interview key representatives and talk on a more informal basis with dozens of dwellers. Reports on the collated information and personal impressions were analysed to hypothesise local attitudes toward tourism. Soon, images of a vivid debate and differentiated attitudes toward tourism raised a heterogeneous social context that was unexpected. Our perception of the most relevant elements of the social representations present in the rural communities is briefly described below.

We started collecting testimonies on when the organised presence of visitors emerges in the eyes of the rural communities of the Senegal River delta, it is perceived for the majority as a new and threatening phenomenon. Through social interaction, tourism in the PAs becomes familiar, for many, when it is symbolically associated with colonial domination, the struggle for independence, islamization, etc., but for others, also with personal freedom, social openness, and dreams of higher affluence with everything that represents the system of cultural references of the population of the region.

Parallel to the anchorage of tourism to the symbolic referential world of what is already known, objectification of tourism occurs, i.e., translation of the symbolic into something tangible. The construction of a shared social knowledge, a common sense about the tourism phenomenon in the region, is carried out through the use of a set of icons, metaphors and images. The irruption of little white men in vehicles, with new sounds and altered landscapes;

the new toubab[7] that replace the old ones, those with the cassocks and military uniforms; the new bosses of the tourism companies, who have just arrived and already walk around invested with an authority that disdains that of locals; the uniformed rangers, the last ones in the scale of the toubab, who as subalterns administer the territory for the true toubab, and who resemble the military of former and current times so much; these are the icons in which the social representation of tourism materialises for many residents in the region.

For other residents, however, the representation of tourism evokes opportunities, material prosperity, cultural novelty, life emancipated from tradition, open-mindedness, new horizons of life perhaps in another country, partners from abroad, economic participation, etc. In the middle of these polarities, there may be a social representation that combines elements of both. So we gain more awareness of the fact that the scope of social representations nesting in the rural communities surrounding PAs is diverse and heterogeneous. The social representation that a particular individual exhibits of tourism in the region, therefore, does not respond to a simple scheme of action-reaction, determined by the evaluation of the benefits and expected costs of the relationship with that activity. The history, exposure to influences capable to shape communication about tourism, psycho-affective characteristics that influence the construction of expectations of what tourism can become, and the proprioceptive capacity to drive changes are also factors influencing social representations that contribute to explaining the attitudes and behaviours present in the social fabric surrounding PAs with respect to tourism.

### 3.3. The model

Building on both SRT and the prior analysis carried out on the field, Figure 5 shows the construction of social representations of tourism in the rural communities that surround the PA. The anchorage to such phenomena is carried out through the axes of reference expropriation/appropriation, exclusion/inclusion and estrangement/familiarity. The

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[7] In Senegal, a white person is referred to as a *toubab.*

expropriation of natural resources, the exclusion from the tourist activity and the imposition of an alien presence that somehow invades and assaults, make up the representation of tourism as a neo-colonial domination. At the antipode is the representation of tourism as an opportunity to re-appropriate natural resources by other means, participation in an industry that opens new opportunities for economic development and cultural exchange with others, with an openness to the evolution and enrichment of their cultural heritage.
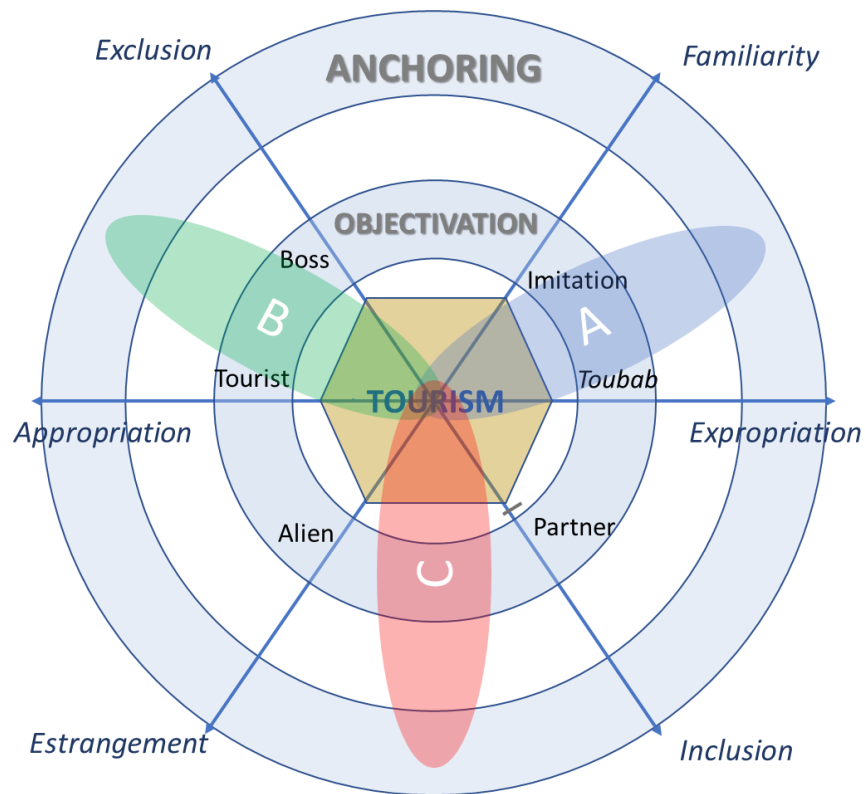
Figure 5: The social representation of tourism in PNLB. Source: Authors' own work

Figure 5 shows that different social representations can combine different degree perceptions of expropriation, exclusion and estrangement and their opposites. In addition, it suggests that social representations are dynamic, can evolve; so individuals can move from one

representation to another, from one social group to another, depending on the experience lived. On the other hand, social representations contribute to explaining the attitudes and behaviour towards tourism from different social groups. Representations that are both critical, however, can support markedly different behaviour towards tourism. For example, hostility and distancing, in some cases, and active participation aimed at positively transforming its impacts, in other cases. The following pages depict the methodology and main results obtained from our study and aimed to show the potentiality of the SRT to indicate a significant analysis of the attitudes and behaviours of rural communities in PAs with regards to tourism and the more effective pathways to help them engage and benefit from tourism.

## 4. Methodology and Results

After the preliminary fieldwork, the use of a two-step method was decided: A correspondence analysis followed by a cluster analysis. This method is widely used to segment or classify individuals when the variables are qualitative, and is very common in the investigation of tourist markets, for example, to explore the factors related to the motivations of tourists and their subsequent segmentation based on these factors (Almeida et al., 2018).

In the first step, since the variables that form the constructs are qualitative nominal, the most appropriate statistical procedure to obtain the factors or constructs and their respective profiles is the Multiple Correspondence Analysis (HOMALS) that, working simultaneously with all the various categorical variables, identifies similarities and differences between the individuals.

The second step, to classify individuals into groups that result from the different social representations they have about tourism in PAs, is based on the constructs of the profiles estimated by the HOMALS analysis. We will proceed to form groups through a Cluster K-Means analysis in such a way that individuals from the same group share relatively homogeneous perceptions within the groups and differences between groups.

### 4.1. Data gathering

The survey was conducted between November 2017 and March 2018, requiring researchers to spend weeks neighbouring dwellers in order to create favourable conditions for carrying out quite long, confidence-based interviews, to generate the final version of the questionnaire. This experience also sought to help local people feel that the only important issue was the genuine expression of their opinions on crucial questions; that answers were not good or bad, but freely delivered.

The selected sample consists of 230 residents (natives), which was the sample size necessary for the error as sampling is less or equal than 5%. The structure of both sample and population has been compared through Chi-square test and the goodness of fit is accepted for alpha level less than 0.05.

### 4.2. Questionnaires and constructs

In order to collect appropriate information to develop constructs that would allow the social representation of tourism, some questions were related to (i) the circumstances that surrounded the creation of the protected areas in Northern Senegal and their impacts on the living conditions of surrounding rural communities; (ii) others were related to the process of tourism development around the area, the role local communities play and how the benefits and harms from tourism have been distributed; (iii) some questions referred to the perceptions of those surveyed of the living conditions of families and communities they belonged to; (iv) other questions focused on the perceived impacts of tourism development in the area, in the economic, sociocultural and environmental contexts; including emotions experienced in different moments of the tourism-local relationship; (v) some questions on personal beliefs, were then contrasted with visitor behaviours especially regarding religion; (vi) also questions relating to governmental policies on the PAs, tourism and the local people's capacities to deal with them were formulated in order to complete the profile of the surveyed sample; (vii) finally, questions to gather information on the socioeconomic status of the community's inhabitants were included.

Table 2 below indicates the questions that have been used to develop the theoretical constructs on which later social representations of tourism would be built.

Table 2. Variables, modalities and frequencies used to build the constructs

| Expropriation/Re-Appropriation | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Variables** | **Frequencies** | **%** | **Frequencies** | **%** | **Frequencies** | **%** |
| 1.  When the protected areas were created, the communities were informed or their opinion was asked for and taken into account | Disagree or strongly disagree | | Neither agree nor disagree | | Agree or strongly agree | |
| | 87 | 37.80 | 98 | 42.60 | 45 | 19.50 |
| 2. Opinions on the creation of protected areas | The government only exercised the competencies it has right to. | | The government ignored the voice of the communities | | The government should not have declared the protected areas | |
| | 127 | 55.20 | 75 | 32.60 | 28 | 12.10 |
| 3. Protected areas were mainly created to promote the tourism industry | Disagree or strongly disagree | | Neither agree nor disagree | | Agree or strongly agree | |
| | 72 | 31.30 | 102 | 44.30 | 56 | 24.30 |
| 4. Since protected areas were declared, communities' access to natural resources… | …has got worse or much worse | | …has remained equal | | Better or much better | |
| | 71 | 30.90 | 73 | 31.70 | 86 | 37.40 |
| 5. The creation of the protected areas worsened communities living conditions | Agree and absolutely agree | | Neither agree nor disagree | | Disagree or strongly disagree | |
| | 108 | 46.96 | 42 | 18.26 | 80 | 34.78 |
| Exclusion/Inclusion | | | | | | |
| **Variables** | **Frequencies** | **%** | **Frequencies** | **%** | **Frequencies** | **%** |
| 1. Communities participate actively in the organisation of tourism in the protected areas | Disagree or strongly disagree | | Neither agree nor disagree | | Agree or strongly agree | |
| | 57 | 24.80 | 86 | 37.40 | 87 | 37.80 |

| 2. Who are the main beneficiaries of tourism in the protected areas? | Foreign companies and national government | | Protected areas and local businesses | | The rural communities | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 151 | 65.60 | 64 | 27.90 | 15 | 6.50 |
| 3. The economic benefits of tourism compensate for the damage to beliefs and customs | Disagree or strongly disagree | | Neither agree nor disagree | | Agree or strongly agree | |
| | 126 | 54.80 | 86 | 37.40 | 18 | 7.90 |
| Estrangement (Otherness)/Familiarity | | | | | | |
| **Variables** | **Frequencies** | **%** | **Frequencies** | **%** | **Frequencies** | **%** |
| 1. Main socioeconomic, cultural and environmental damages caused by tourism to rural communities | Socioeconomic and cultural damages | | Environmental damage (the Breche) | | No damage has been caused | |
| | 70 | 30.40 | 102 | 44.30 | 58 | 25.20 |
| 2. Danger to local culture and believes | Dress, bad influence, drugs, prostitution | | Threaten our traditions and lifestyle | | No remarkable damage | |
| | 24 | 10.40 | 42 | 18.30 | 164 | 71.30 |
| 3. Preference to work in tourism with respect to other activities | Work in tourism is worse or much worse | | Neither better nor worse | | Better or much better | |
| | 140 | 60.90 | 58 | 25.20 | 32 | 13.90 |

The next step consisted of obtaining the attitudinal profile of the surveyed sample with respect to the three developed factors, based on the answers that they delivered for the selected questions referred to table 2.

By using a HOMALS analysis, two dimensions were obtained and allowed to defining four different profiles for each construct. Figures 6–8 show the attitudinal profiles referred to as Expropriation/Re-Appropriation, Exclusion/Inclusion and Estrangement/Familiarity, respectively, where each quadrant of the figure defines a specific profile, from Q1 to Q4.
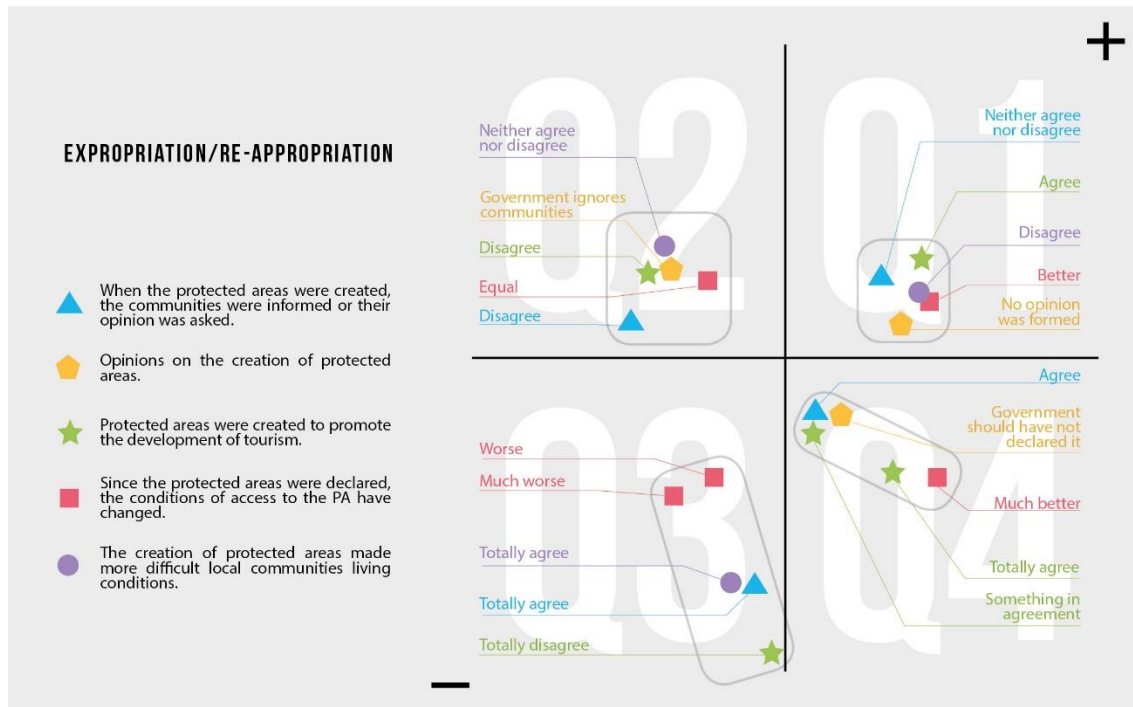
Figure 6. Components of the construct Expropriation/Re-Appropriation.

(Q1): This profile includes locals that perceive that access to natural resources has improved thanks to the PAs and their living conditions have got better; they do not have a clear opinion on the circumstances in which the PAs were declared or if local communities were informed or asked about the creation of PAs; they agree that the purpose of the creation of the protected areas was to promote tourism.

(Q2): Individuals showing this profile perceive that PAs declaration has not modified their access to natural resources nor affected their living conditions. They do not have a clear opinion as to whether the communities were or not informed and listened to regarding the PA creation but anyway they are sure that the government ignored the preferences of the local communities, and that the PAs had the intention of promoting tourism.

(Q3): This profile groups together those that perceive that access to resources has become worse or much worse; their living conditions have worsened since the declaration of PAs and

98

promoting tourism was not the main reason behind this; local communities were not informed at all about the PA declaration.

(Q4): This profile groups those who perceive that the access of the communities to the PAs as well as the living conditions has improved notably; they were informed and are sure that the government declared the PAs by exercising its competence to promote tourism.

In summary, (Q1) feels they re-appropriated land and resources thanks to the national park and tourism; (Q2) thinks that although the government ignored them when creating the PA and promoting tourism, the situation is now better; (Q3) claims that since the creation of the PA, everything has worsened; and (Q4) acknowledges that everything has improved and the government did what was needed.



Figure 7. Components of the construct Exclusion/Inclusion.

(Q1): This profile characterises those who agree that the economic benefits of tourism compensate for any cultural damage that has occurred. The communities, together with the

protected areas, have most benefited from tourism. In addition, they consider that the communities have been integrated into the planning and organisation of the tourist activities in the area.

(Q2): This profile describes people who strongly disagree that the benefits of tourism compensate for the damage it causes to their beliefs and customs. They believe that the main beneficiaries of tourism are foreign companies; communities have not been integrated into the planning and management of tourism in the protected areas. They refuse to be integrated into the tourism activity.

(Q3): People with this profile claim that the harm to beliefs and customs is not compensated by economic benefits from tourism; also that economic benefits go far away, mainly to the national government, and do not remain in the area nor benefit the poor. However, they feel participant in the organisation of the tourist activity in and around the PA.

(Q4): This profile includes those who consider that the economic benefits of tourism do compensate for the cultural damage that this activity may cause locally. They feel excluded from the organisation and economic benefits of the tourism activity in the region, while other national and local tourist operators are the chief beneficiaries of it. They see themselves as being in competition with other national operators.

In summary, (Q1) feels completely included in the tourism activity; (Q2) emphasize that external agents control and benefit from tourism thereby excluding them. For this, they refuse to be included in this activity; (Q3) feels included but its members are sensitive to the harm that tourism generates for their beliefs; (Q4) feels included and perceives that the economic benefits of tourism compensate for any damage.
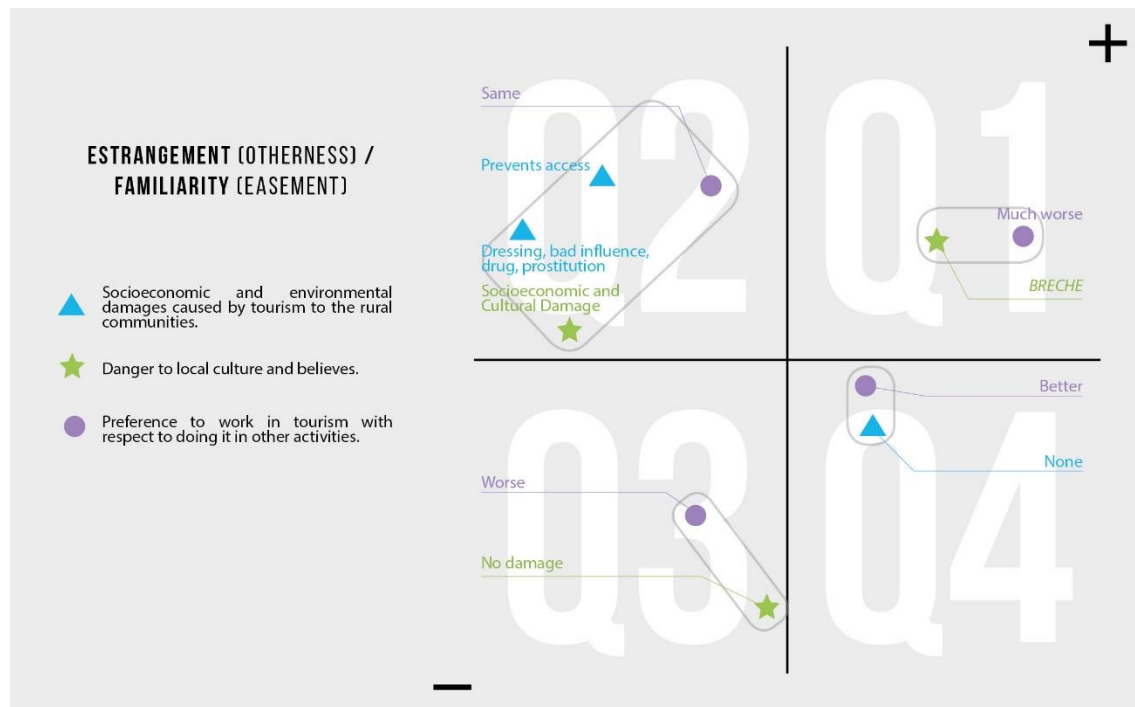
Figure 8. Components of the construct Estrangement/Familiarity.

(Q1): Those mirrored in this profile hold tourism responsible for the breach and its very strong negative impacts on the Senegal River mouth ecosystem. In addition, these people consider that working in tourism is much worse than in any of the alternative traditional activities. For this group, tourism is the source of all negative issues affecting the communities around PA.

(Q2): Those who perceive that tourism generates a range of sociocultural and economic damage by transgressing social values and norms through inappropriate tourists' dressing and influencing youth attitudes and behaviours, and preventing access to natural resources. However, they do not consider that working in tourism is per se worse than working in other activities.

(Q3): Individuals who perceive that tourism does not generate remarkable economic, cultural or environmental damage for local populations; at the same time, they consider that working

in tourism is worse than in any other activity; they feel distant from this activity because of its nature and organization, not because of its consequences.

(Q4): includes those who perceive that tourism does absolutely not produce any sociocultural damage in the area and feel that working in tourism is better than in any other activity. They value tourism and the socio-cultural consequences in the region positively. In summary, Q1 blames tourism for everything bad and does not want to be "touristised"; for Q2, the problem is not the tourism activity per se but its cultural consequences; Q3, on the other hand, represents attitudes deploring tourism more than its sociocultural consequences; Q4 indicates attitudes that see tourism as an opportunity to achieve more open-minded communities.

### 4.3. Classification of individuals according to their profiles

Taking into account the scores of the centres of gravity shown in Table 4 and from a social representational perspective, the K-Means cluster analysis led us to define three clusters. Additionally, each cluster has been named according to the aspect that better summarises its attitudes towards tourism.

Table 4. Central scores of groups regarding the three constructs.

| Constructs | Cluster 1 Reluctants | Cluster 2 Game-Changers | Cluster 3 Escapists |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Expropriation** | 2.2 | 1.8 | 3.2 |
| **Exclusion** | 2.6 | 3.0 | 1.4 |
| **Estrangement** | 1.3 | 3.7 | 2.8 |
| **Individuals in each group** | 99 (43.1%) | 67 (29.1%) | 64 (27.8%) |

Cluster 1 (reluctants) anchors tourism to the social representations of colonialism and the struggle for independence, the foreign occupancy of the land and the imposition of an alien

102

culture. They blame foreigners while at the same time they treat local authorities with complacence as they were forced to act against the interest of the majority. More than two thirds of this group show intolerance towards tourism while they hardly appreciate the solidarity actions performed by tourists and NGOs. They align themselves with the history of the resistance movement against colonisation, headed by religious leaders. They are politically and culturally conservative, and are reluctant to social innovation, insisting on the need for keeping the social structure of communities unmodified. Beyond rejecting the status quo in the tourism sector, they simply do not want tourism. A particularity of this group is the fact that it attributes the responsibility of the breach and its devastating effects to tourism, thus anchoring tourism to social objects that have negatively impacted communities, and objectifying it as the icon of evil. People belonging to this group live mostly in the communities of Tassinere, Pilote and Mboumbaye.

Cluster 2 (game-changers) gathers people pushing for social change in tourism performance, national park management and communities' structure and governance. Even if they have had certain success in getting involved in tourism, they are not satisfied with the status quo. They work towards a different model of tourism development; one in which communities have more participation in organising products and experiences that directly benefit from tourist expenditure. They are politically active about the role of the government and National Park authorities in promoting tourism development. They blame the authorities for putting their own interests before those of local communities. Similarly, they feel that the social and cultural atmosphere of local communities is quite suffocating. Therefore, they blame local stubbornness as unfavourable to opportunities for better jobs, especially for young people. Furthermore, they do not feel comfortable with religious dogmatism, refusing the division between those who have faith and those who do not or show openness about the diversity of belief. This cluster promotes another type of tourism as community-based tourism, seen as a wedge that can help to open up and oxygenate the closure that reigns within the rural communities and promote a pathway of innovation and social change that would bring

opportunities. This group is mainly settled in the communities of Mouit, Degouniaye, Gouyerene and Mbao and mainly belongs to the Wolof ethnic group.

Cluster 3 consists of those who are genuinely excluded from the tourism industry (escapists). They would like to participate more actively in tourism but they expect the government to make this possible. In this sense, they are passive, either with respect to forcing the tourism industry in the area to take them into account or with respect to emphatically demanding the government to adopt policies that enable communities to take more advantage of tourism being developed nearby. They are docile about government decisions; they do not feel entitled to pressure the government to make changes in tourism policy. They don't ask to be involved in tourism policy-making. For this cluster, the government is simply to be obeyed. They are not enthusiastic about what tourism represents in terms of values, habits and behaviours, but they feel quite comfortable with it. In this group, the tolerant dominate the intolerant with respect to tourism. Overall, this cluster does not perceive tourism as a cultural threat. For example, it hosts the majority (43,5%) of those who acknowledged that the greatest advantage of tourism was the support of tourists and foreign NGOs for locals to migrate abroad. The majority of people in this group live in Ndiebene Gandiol, Dare Salam and Ndiol.

Figure 9 shows the relative position of the clusters located according to the construct that differentiate each group; it also shows some aspects of the anchoring and objectification processes that have been carried out to build social representations of tourism present in the area.
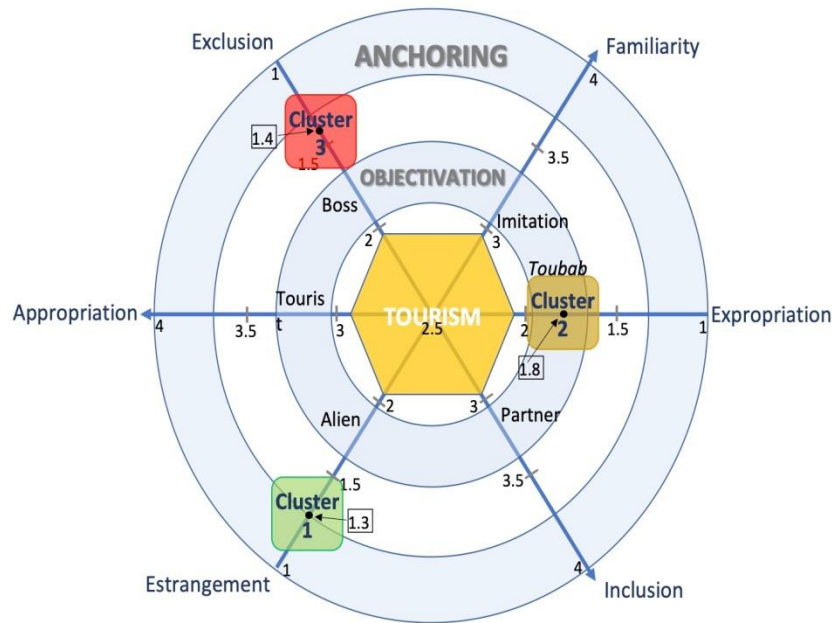
Figure 9: Clusters and social representations rural communities ascribe to tourism in the PNLB

## 4.4. Discussions

Results show the potentiality of the SRT to go deeper into the characterisation of the groups by attributing them properties and roles that are well grounded in research and by dynamically analysing the actual and potential interactions between groups with different social representations of tourism in rural societies living close to PAs. From that perspective, different groups try to influence each other in order to spread their own social representation and drive the society according to their respective agendas (Moscovici, 1976, 1985). Moscovici (1991, 2000) addressed the issue of the influential minorities in social change, providing some useful insights for our research. On this context, he distinguished dissident and deviant minorities; the former referring to those who have broken with an institution, propose an alternative view and fight for it. The latter refers to those who draw away from the majority, yet continue to share its views and norms. The reciprocal influence of groups

105

drives the evolution of them, and the society as a whole (Galam and Moscovici, 1991). The group evolution moves between two extremes, that is, polarisation, on one side, and the majority being abducted by a particular minority, on the other.

Moscovici's categorisation of social groups matches the aim of our research very well, as shown for the case of Northern Senegal, but it still requires some additional clarification regarding the reference system. When taking the tourism industry as the referential framework, the reluctants (Cluster 1) act as a dissident minority trying to rescue society from the negative impacts of tourism, keeping it far away or, at least, restricting it to a type of so-called halal tourism. In this context, the game-changers (Cluster 2) show properties of a deviant minority, which is trying to introduce reforms in the tourism system and do not question it as a whole, and they work actively for it. They are also criticised by the government, at different levels, and the tourism industry, who both have a high capacity for propaganda. Finally, the escapists (Cluster 3) epitomize abdication and passiveness. They are and feel excluded from tourism, but they do not blame the government, the park authorities or the tourism industry for it. Neither do they fight actively to change the state of things reigning in the area. They look for scape valves to alleviate depriving living conditions through migration. Reluctants and game-changers try to influence local society in different ways. Escapists try to leave or escape the situation they are facing.

However, the picture of clusters' representations and behaviours is not still complete. By adopting another referential framework, i.e., the sociocultural system ruling within the rural communities, clusters may be re-classified according to the Moscovici's categories. Those who show reluctance towards tourism locally embody the socioeconomic status quo; they support the local political and religious power that works to maintain the social structure that sinks its roots in tradition as untouched as possible. The game-changers locally adopt the role of dissidents that struggle against the unmovable status quo that asphyxiates any innovative economic and cultural initiative, while pushing society towards more open social mobility structures. The group of escapists is split between those who passively accept the social order

that denies them any opportunity to improve their life and those dreaming of migrating abroad.

These results aim at filling the gap in understanding the attitudes of the rural communities towards tourism in protected areas, beyond just a mere description. Several papers focus on describing the factors that preclude communities to participate in tourism (Del Chiappa et al., 2018). Some of them proclaim the relevance of considering heterogeneity within the communities in different contexts to then carry out cluster-based analysis to identify groups having differentiated perceptions and attitudes toward tourism (Rastegar, 2019). They show a valuable general picture but one lacking in dynamism and strategic perspective to assist the design of feasible pathways to reorient tourism development in protected areas to more locally controlled developments. Our interest in searching a group potentially performing as game-changers aligns this way. The characteristic of aspiring to community engagement with tourism but, at the same time, to changing the game rules currently in operation in the sector, is what would enable this group to lead the parallel processes of internal consensus building and external negotiation with planners and developers, required to shift tourism toward a more desirable way. It merges partially with the concerns of Perez and Nadal (2005) who identify a group of alternative developers embodying the aspiration of part of the Balearic society for a more sustainable tourism.

Additionally, findings underpin that achieve the shift in local attitudes toward tourism it is first essential to change social representations that are deeply rooted in the process of land expropriation when declaring protected areas, the experience of local exclusion from the design and benefit of tourism activities and the performance of tourism as an alien activity. This would be the mission of the game-changers, feasible only if they become properly empowered. Once this is achieved, other requirements highlighted in literature, such as educational tools, knowledge of the essentials of the tourism industry, funding and so on, can help in reducing the reservations the sceptical residents have towards tourism (Bello et al., 2017).

Results also suggest to pay more attention to the non-sociodemographic factors to find the connections that define an individual's sense of belonging to particular clusters. We share the opinion of Del Chiappa et al. (2018) and Jani (2018) that research should concentrate more on the personal values of the respondents. This does not make reference to religious beliefs, in line with what was concluded by Zamani-Farahani and Musa (2012) for study cases in Iran where Islamic belief and practice resulted in not being related to the perception of the negative sociocultural impacts of tourism. This lack of relation was also what we found in our study case for Northern Senegal. Again, it fits with the SRT assertion that the personal screening of life experiences and social interactions may differently shape social representations of individuals that show similar socioeconomic conditions. It should preclude simplifications and call for a more thorough understanding of community attitudes towards tourism through theoretical approaches and methods that are able to apprehend the process behind the formation of such social representations.

## 5. Concluding Remarks

As in the case of northern Senegal, many poor communities surrounding protected areas are disappointed with tourism but several groups within the communities show differing reasons for feeling like that. The group characterisation guided by SRT done above is useful to understand the causes of failure to engage communities in tourism developments but also to obtain valuable insights to successfully undertake genuine community-based tourism developments surrounding PAs. It allows for a thorough understanding of the reactive conservative attitudes of some that reject everything that tourism represents and avidly support the traditional religious-based local power that is being challenged by tourism-associated values, beliefs and attitudes; also the attitudes of those that, although they have achieved greater participation than others in the tourism organisation and benefits, still feel authorities impose barriers on locals to taking full advantage of tourism development, as they regulate the activity to favour foreign and big national investors; and the attitudes of community members genuinely excluded from the tourism industry, that do not perceive any

opportunities and do not see future perspectives for upgrading their living conditions other than migrating abroad, as well.

Despite this, tourism possibly is the only activity that can offer livelihood opportunities for locals, by either creatively providing worthy experiences linked to the shattered local nature and society or activating synergies with traditional socioeconomic and cultural activities carried out in that area. However, the promising paradigm of community-based tourism, spreading worldwide, is in many cases not more than a rhetorical discourse (Stone, 2011). From this research in northern Senegal, we can draw some insights that may be used as guidelines for an honest intention of making tourism around protected areas a driving force to providing human sustainable development. There is no such thing as homogeneous rural communities having unified perceptions and ambitions about tourism; this just forms parts of the social representation of the external planners, as pointed out by Moscardo (2011). Not recognising complexity inside communities precludes identifying sources of dissent and conflict that wreck the community-based tourism projects once external funding ends.

Community empowerment, required to make tourism a driver for local sustainable development, needs previously to build up a basic consensus between different groups based on a shared representation of what tourism might be and how to reach that way. The leadership of the above-called game-changers to bring others to a consensus is also the pre-condition for increasing communities negotiating power with external tourist agents to arrive to a more locally controlled and equitable tourism.

Building up a consensus means overcoming polarisation that often exists inside the communities. Policies and projects to promote community-based tourism should first identify the game-changers' profile to then enable them to build an internal consensus and to negotiate with the managers of the PAs, regional planners and tourist agents in order to transfer to the rural communities in the protected area skills that enable them to design and monitor tourism and benefit directly from it. Consensus building calls for game-changers to be able to seduce reluctants in order to alleviate their anti-tourism attitudes and adopt a more open-minded

109

vision of the potential of tourism as a driving force for communities' welfare, cohesion and stability and to convince escapists on the advantages of being more active in trying to improve local life conditions underpinned on a renovated inclusive tourism instead of the uncertainty of migrating.

The agenda for bargaining a more inclusive tourism with tourist operators should include the opening of tourism to new and locally based operators and the shifting of the design of products and experiences towards less-alien and more local-culture rooted ones, accepting a more equitable sharing of tourism benefits, and with the regional and national governments and PA authorities, it should include means for local education in tourism management, investment in key infrastructures and facilities and more flexible access to natural resources within the protected areas (Snyman and Bricker, 2019; Cole, 2006). However, putting this agenda forward emphatically demands a deep reformulation of community-based tourism planning locating perceptions and ambitions of the rural communities near the PAs in the very centre of the mission. For this purpose, the SRT approach may be very helpful.

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# Tourism, social representations and empowerment of rural communities of the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie

## 1. Introduction

The establishment of national parks often led to the dispossession of local communities (West, Igoe & Brockington, 2006). In many cases, when communities are not compensated for losing access to their livelihood resources, they find themselves further impoverished and disempowered (Cundill et al, 2013; Sène-Harper & Séye, 2019). However, broad ethical concerns over the negative social impacts of national parks emerged in the 1980s leading to new forms of resource management that consider the rights and wellbeing of local communities (Brandon & Wells, 1992). Following this shift in thinking, resources managers regarded tourism as a strategy to channel economic benefits from parks to communities and their subsequent empowerment ((Sène-Harper & Séye, 2019). Empirical evidence shows that the strategy has delivered on its economic promises modestly in some cases (c.f. Akyeampong, 2011; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Sène-Harper & Séye, 2019) and significantly in others (c.f. Stronza, 2007; Hunt et al., 2015). Nonetheless, the impacts of tourism on the empowerment of local communities affected by national parks remain elusive (Lapeyre, 2010; Petriello et al., 2019).

Scholars have criticized tourism for fostering and perpetuating power imbalances, between different stakeholders (Church & Coles, 2007; Duffy et al., 2016). Like other development agendas, empowering communities through tourism requires social changes that will enable them to participate meaningfully in shaping their space in the system (Pettit, 2012). In such projects, agency and structure are central to the empowerment process. Agency is "the ability of individuals and groups to think and act in their own interests, and structure as the formal and informal institutions, rules, norms and beliefs that enable and constrain thinking and action." (Pettit, 2012 p.2). Thus, understanding how individuals and groups think collectively about tourism and protected areas is necessary to design an effective empowerment process

for local communities. Indeed, Freire (1970) postulated that a prerequisite to empowering social subjects is to decipher their ideas, beliefs and perceptions.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the concept of social representations as a framework to engage in such task as a preliminary step to designing an empowerment process that is better aligned with the agency and structures of local communities. Rateau et al. (2011) define social representations (SR) as "systems of opinions, knowledge, and beliefs particular to a culture, social category, or a group with regard to objects in the social environment" (p. 478). There have been many applications of social representations theory to evaluate residents' attitudes towards tourism (Moscardo, 2011; Wassler et al., 2019), but to our knowledge there's not been any study linking them to empowerment. In tourism, SR are considered what communities and other stakeholders (e.g. development agencies, tourist operators) think about tourism (the object in their social environment), its operation and its consequences (Moscardo, 2011).

Indeed, local actors often assess tourism development through the construction of SR towards tourism and tourists in order to justify their attitudes and behaviors (Moscovici, 1984). When the destination is a protected area, past and present issues between locals and the park can mediate communities' representation of tourism. Furthermore, because SR are intrinsically linked to exclusions from social systems (Abric, 2003), locals' experiences of dispossession and exclusion from protected areas can influence their representations of tourism in the park.

In this chapter, we examine the SR of rural communities surrounding protected areas towards tourism and the park as a basis to better inform empowerment strategies. We do this through a mixed method approach, using the case on the Langue de Barbarie National Park (hereafter PNLB) in Senegal and its surrounding communities. Like other cases, decades of conflict between locals and park officials ensued following the establishment of PNLB in 1976. As a result, in 2001 the national government implemented a community-driven tourism project accompanied by institutional reforms to empower local communities to participate in resource management. Combining a cluster analysis and focus group interviews, we examine,

categorize and contextualize the beliefs and attitudes of local communities towards tourism at PNLB.

But, it should be clarified that although the methodology used to obtain the previous clusters (chapter 3) remains the same, the new denomination of clusters (chapter 4) fits the purpose of rural communities' empowerment within tourism developed in the protected area. While the previous chapter (3) purpose was to characterize the clusters based on their perceptions and attitudes towards tourism, in this chapter (4), the main purpose is to investigate the potential of each group to align with an empowerment strategy that leads to a structural reform likely to confer power and benefits to local communities surrounding the PNLB. As such, the methodology yielded three clusters, namely conservatives, innovators and opportunists.

While rejecting tourism, conservatives are comfortable with the status quo; innovators seek to change the structural foundations of tourism and have a more positive image of tourism. As regards to opportunists, they are indifferent to the status quo and don't feel concerned with any change in tourism developed in the park. Rather, they prefer to migrate or benefits from tourists to satisfy their personal needs. In spite of the differences between the aforementioned clusters, it will be proposed an empowerment process that is tailored to the attributes of each cluster namely conservatives, innovators and opportunists as a catalyst for greater social change.

Therefore, this chapter is especially relevant in that it proposes an empowerment process that is better aligned with the beliefs and perceptions, as well as the agency of local communities. It is structured in four parts. The first one presents an overview of SR theory and its application in tourism. The second section deals with a review of empowerment in tourism with special focus on power issue in the African context. The third section will present the methodology, including the description of the study site, data collection, analysis through the presentation of results and discussions by the light of the findings. As regards to the last section, it deals with the concluding remarks.

## 2. Social representations and tourism

Social representations are generated through two processes: anchoring and objectification. Anchoring reduces strange ideas to ordinary categories and images and set them in a familiar context to make sense of them. Objectification turns an abstract idea into something almost concrete and thereby transfers something in the mind's eye to something existing in the physical world (Moscovici, 1984). For people possessing a cultural identity different from the dominant group, both processes may intervene in the social construction of realities related to tourism and tourists (Wang & Morais, 2014). Additionally, perceptions of expropriation of resources from marginalized groups and their exclusion from the tourism sector may cause their SR to be more pronounced (Wang & Morais, 2014; Nazariadli et al., 2019). This SR of tourism conflicts with hegemonic views, thereby potentially causing their exclusion from social systems (Abric, 2003). The social construction of reality by marginalized groups help them not only communicate more easily about tourism and tourists but also helps to explain such an unfamiliar social phenomenon according to their immediate cognitive backgrounds. Pulling from these arguments, in this study, it will be used the constructs of expropriation/appropriation, exclusion/inclusion and estrangement/familiarity through which local communities develop their representations towards tourism, tourists and PNLB.

Scholars have used SR theory to diagnose community attitudes, behaviors and positions in tourism development (Yuksel, Bramwell, & Yuksel, 1999; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Andriotis & Vaughan, 2003; Moscardo, 2011; Wassler et al., 2019). Moscardo (2011) explored SR towards tourism development and governance in Africa. Her analysis revealed a dominant representation in which residents play only a minor role and are typically excluded from tourism governance. Furthermore, external actors from both private and public sectors and their views of tourists' needs are also prominent in locals' SR (Moscardo, 2011). Andriotis and Vaughan (2003) relied on both social exchange and SR theories to stratify residents' perceptions towards tourism in Crete and found three clusters, including

132

the advocates, the socially and environmentally concerned and the economic skeptics. Wassler et al. (2019) proposed a multiple-method approach to identify, characterize and understand SR using the case of Vietnamese resident's attitudes towards Chinese tourists in Vietnam. They found that the resident attitude clusters are deeply intertwined with the relevant SR of tourism from China. Their proposed methodology allows a deeper understanding of the historical and socio-political complexities underlying the different SR.

The application of social representations theory in tourism is not limited to residents and locals' perceptions of tourism and tourists broadly, as researchers have also used it to examine how stakeholders perceive specific issues within the tourism sector differently. For example, Dickinson and Robbins (2008), applied the framework to examine key actors' representations of tourist transportation in rural destination in the UK and found divergence between resident and visitor opinions. They attributed the discord to the way in which ideas about the issue were propagated among residents. That study emphasized the relevance of communication as playing a central role in the production of new SR to make sense of new things and events that enter everyday life. Atzori et al. (2019) investigated how tourists' SR of climate change may influence the choice of Florida as a coastal tourism destination based on projected climate change impacts in the area. They found that SR of climate change may negatively impact their intentions to visit Florida should the environmental features that made them choose that destination disappear.

Many SR studies in tourism studies take place within the context of developed countries where the gap between stakeholders is not as stark as in many developing countries. However, marginalized group representations in developing countries, particularly in Africa, are deeply rooted in a colonial context and place power relations between subalterns (i.e. rural communities) and hegemonic (i.e. tourists and tourism operators) groups into sharper relief (Licata et al., 2018). SR theory echoes the coloniality of power which continues to shape intergroup relationships in former colonized nations (Mignolo, 2000). As such, SR theory not only analyzes relationships between external and internal actors but also the ties between immediate neighbors in a unique space (Licata et al., 2018). Because tourism

133

represents an economic sector, conflicts determine elements that shape relationships between the different stakeholders (Mowforth & Munt, 2003).

Moscovici (2001) also mentioned these opposing representations making the distinction between hegemonic representations, emancipated representations and polemical representations. Hegemonic representations are similar to collective representations in that they are shared by all members of a highly structured group such as a political party, a nation, or other structured macro unit. They are uniform and prevail in all symbolic or affective practices (Moscovici, 2001). Emancipated representations relate to subgroups who create their own versions of reality with a certain degree of autonomy with respect to the interacting segments of society (Moscovici 2001). Polemical representations are concerned with social conflicts, struggles between groups, and controversies in a society. They are determined by antagonistic relations and intended to be mutually exclusive (Moscovici 2001), such as antinomic ideas of rural and urban, local and foreign, intellectual and illiterate, etc. As such, individual members have a tendency to see and judge the world in a group-characteristic way.

Indeed, in the tourism sector, competing representations between various actors are at play not only in developed nations but also within developing countries (Moscardo, 2011). Specifically, this investigation is inspired by the rare empirical contributions on rural communities' social representations towards tourism and tourists in the context of an African country. Furthermore, to our knowledge, no such studies exist in the context of protected areas, where values ascribed to national parks are conflated with SR towards tourists and tourism. For this, through our findings, we also advance implications for the empowerment process of rural communities in tourism. Moreover, considering the limitations of social exchange theory's ability to objectively analyze residents' attitudes towards tourism particularly in developing countries, this research innovates in that it seeks to analyse rural communities' empowerment through their representations towards tourism partly linked to the specificities of power in African context.

### 3. Specificities of power in the African context with the example of Senegal

Power has become a key concept in a number of theoretical perspectives and sub disciplines. But the most famous theorization of power concerned the main three intellectual sources: from Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony, and from the conceptualization of power by each of Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault. Gramsci's concept of hegemony (1971) aims to embrace any kind of domination including economic, cultural or western hegemony. The peculiarity of Gramsci's concept of hegemony lies in the fact that it obtains dominance by consent rather than force (Lovett, 1994).

In fact, Gramscian notions of hegemony have been very influential among social scientists and power theorists like Pierre Bourdieu and Michel Foucault. While Bourdieu turned his attention on the ways power is invisibly manifest in ostensibly non-political institutions and aspects of culture, Foucault rejected the definition of power as force. Rather, he claimed that power is a relational phenomenon and that power relations are immanent in all social processes.

For Foucault, power is much subtler, a force interspersed through discursive and knowledge, implicit in all human relationships. Though the above-mentioned concepts and theories of power are different in focus and concept, they share one common quality: they are largely top-down models, paying little or virtually no attention to what is happening on the local or non-western levels like African settings. Consequently, their application to 'nonstandard' political terrain like the African continent is often questionable. Yet, a number of commentators have argued that two conceptions of power have dominated Western political thought since the time of Thomas Hobbes and John Locke (Hindess, 1996). In the first conception, power was viewed as a simple quantitative phenomenon treated as a tangible entity which is open to empirical observation and measurement. As such, it is conceptualised as a capacity, a currency which determines the extent of any resulting action. In the second more complex, conceptualisation, power involved not only a capacity to act, but

135

simultaneously a right to act. Within this position, capacity and right function alongside one another because they rely on the consent of those over whom power is being exercised. Following both conceptualisations of power, it mainly focused on the powerful, their political power, leadership, the legitimation of authority, and on rules that regulate succession to political statuses and offices.

Emphasis was made on the questions of how political agents create, compete for, and use power to achieve public and private goals, and what strategies they employ to acquire power to increase their authority, to enhance their legitimacy, to defeat a competitor, to retain the right to govern, and to bend others to their will. In other words, power was mainly portrayed as a 'top-down' imposition by elites on subjugated groups or classes, an issue of state monopoly of the legitimate control of violence, or the ability of the powerful to force others to act in their interests (Lewellen 2003).

This one-sided approach of power has been emphasized by authors who strive to focus power through a bottom-up side likely to highlight the scope of active minorities. On innovative context, Scott (1985) in his work *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* analyzes how ordinary, powerless people in repressive societies can still manage to influence policies through invisible, non-coordinated acts and less radical forms of resistance such as petty sabotage, silent noncompliance, petty theft and pilferage, foot-dragging, or gossip. The weapons of the poor may not directly create a new order, but they are effective in mitigating the process of marginalisation. To face their marginalization, powerless can express it through violent, disturbing and mean communicative mechanisms.

In another article, Lovett (1994) emphasized the conditions of the powerlessness through a list of hindrances including a lack of control over socially valued resources; limited room for manoeuvre; lack of alternatives to challenge the legitimacy of an oppressive regime; reluctance to challenge those who have (more) power. As regards to the strategies used by powerless to tackle this discrimination, Lovett mentioned the ways powerless respond to their overt both in overt and hidden ways. In conclusion, Lovett recognized that in Africa there

are numerous examples of disguised forms of resistance that do not aim at openly challenging the existing hegemonic order, or eliminating the sources of oppression. Instead, plentiful ethnographic studies show how the oppressed can utilize the existing conditions and outwit the powerful. Though they are seldom capable of bringing about the structural changes that would provide formal power to the underclass, they may, in the long run, undermine the existing power structures.

These aforementioned show that in spite of their subaltern status and conditions, powerless always find out mechanisms to either voice their concerns or to passively tackle them. But depending on the sector these power imbalances occurred, powerless ability to face such power imbalances depend on many parameters and circumstances. For example, in the tourism activity, developing countries' local populations are so marginalized in the tourism system that they have no chance even to communicate loudly their concerns. The only way they use to express themselves is to communicate by representing their immediate settings including tourists, tourist operators, protected areas and the whole tourism system.

On this vein, Chambers and Buzinde (2015) point out that tourism knowledge is predominantly colonial in nature, where western ontologies, epistemologies, and methodologies are applied across cultures for understanding, planning and developing the tourism arena. For this, Hollinshead (2013) asserted that some conceptualisations of tourism tend to be overly informed by the cosmologies of the societies from which tourism scholars have traditionally hailed – what he might clumsily call 'Western' ways of understanding the world.

 As a result of this blatant unilateral view of power, in tourism, debates related to the coloniality of power (representation, governance, planning and development, and mobilities), including its theory and knowledge production, have been raised since the late 1970s (Dann, 2011; Echtner & Prasad, 2003; Hall, 1994; Matthews, 1978; Mura & Wijesinghe, 2019; Winter, 2009). And this important academic endeavor yielded the emergence of a tourism scholarship challenging the western status quo of tourism epistemology. Most of  these

scholars ended up realizing that knowledge is a plural and heterogeneous phenomenon that comprises multiple rationalities, whose logics are not defined by a transcendental norm but relate to the pragmatics of contexts (Sandra Jovchelovitch,2007**).**

For instance, the limitations of the Foucauldian approach of power gave birth to the conceptualization of the Actor-Network theory (ANT hereafter). It represents a further significant post-Foucauldian perspective by which to understand power and its connectivity with tourism. While acknowledging an affinity to Foucault, proponents of ANT claim to adopt a distinctive and more empirically oriented approach to understanding agency, organisation and power (Law 1994, 2003). The emphasis in Actor-Network theory is on relations and process, and how time- and space-specific translations of heterogeneous networks, agents and non-human devices produce orderings that act in and shape the social world. Law (2003) argues that the perspective on power in ANT must not be associated with pluralism but the effects of power are generated in a relational and distributed manner. Different degrees of power are sustained and perpetuated through social divisions such as gender, age, class, ethnicity, race, geographical location and through institutions such as the family, religion, education, etc.

In Senegal, the stake of religion in quest and the perpetuation of power is so high that it is enmeshed in the whole society (politics, economy, etc.).Both rulers and ruled highly collaborate with religious leaders and are subsequently influenced by religious power in most of their decisions. In view of the scope of religious and traditional power in local communities, it transcends political power. And this peculiar situation dates back to the pre-colonial era. Since the pre-colonial time, African societies have neither been unitary nor static but have maintained dynamic and complex relationships between individuals and communities. In most of these countries, power fabricates and manipulates a boundary in the political arena as well as in communities and societies, and even among individuals, not only in the geographical sense but also in the cultural, economic, ethnic, religious, and social and specially senses, as a result of repeated politically motivated acts. That is in African politics, power is a question of historicity.

On this context, Mamdani (1996) thought that reflecting on historicity is fundamental when considering power in Africa. Referring to Bayart, Mamdani (1996) argues that the political structure should be examined in a de-dramatized way, based on its own historicity, not on an analogy of historical events in the western world. Political power has created boundaries in African societies in incomplete and unequal ways. These human-made boundaries have led to discrimination and segregation. Aware of the politically fabricated boundaries in African societies while retracing to the colonial administration for understanding political problems in postcolonial Africa, Mamdani (1996) presented the concept of institutional segregation to emphasize the way power has been structured in African societies while reflecting on colonial governance. Institutional segregation was a core method for colonial authorities to establish and manage colonial indirect rule. It brought about boundaries in African societies that were not only about dividing colonizers from colonized, citizens from subjects, urban from rural, and civilized from uncivilized but also about fixing people in a defined ethnic and tribal unit as an ahistorically imagined social cliché (Mamdani, 1996).

The legacy of institutional segregation created decentralized despotism under colonial rule and was succeeded by postcolonial African countries transforming their character according to the time and political environment (Mamdani, 1996). Specifically, the decentralized despotism exacerbated the urban-rural division as well as the divisions among ethnic groups. Owing to power-imbalances between urban and rural tourism areas, urbannormativity which grows out of a traditional culture that contributes to the idea that urban is the way forward while rural is the way backward tends to distort the real rural life according to the urbanites' taste and normative behavior. And when we consider Seale and Fulkerson (2013) definition of representation as "sketches of reality that people rely upon when they interact with an unfamiliar reality", we realize that Saint-Louis rural communities' representations of tourism are likely to be substituted by urban tourist stakeholders' representations of this sector. And such social representations 'clash towards tourism are asymmetrical. For this, Urry in the tourist gaze (1990, 2011) contended that cultures are objectified by the gaze of a global tourist industry. Indeed, the global tendency towards urbanization, equated as both progress,

development and modernization, while denigrating the rural as irrelevant, unimportant, backward, deviant, and undesirable and coined by Fulkerson and Thomas (2013, p. 19) as urbannormativity kept on shaping tourism development in many tourist destinations like Saint-Louis (Senegal).

Specifically, urbannormative discourse has the potential to marginalize and disempower rural communities because it postulates that the urban is at the center and the rural is at the periphery; priority, progress and rationality are in the urban center while backwardness, irrelevance and emotionality are in the rural periphery (Baylina & Berg, 2010; Kordel, 2016). In this sense, Smith (2010) stated that the deliberate devaluation of rural cultural capital serves as a mechanism to disempower rural people and ascribe high status to urbans.

Moreover, the political legacy of decentralized despotism bequeathed by colonial governance affected the character of the state in postcolonial African countries. Inspired by the work of Deleuze and Guattari, Bayart (1989) reflects on the idea of rhizome to decode the human network intertwined with the power relationship in African countries. The power-producing structure is neither fixed nor necessarily executed from the top to the bottom nor from the center to the periphery. According to Bayart (1989), the postcolonial state has existed in a rhizomatous human network comprising an infinitely variable multiplicity of networks whose undergrounds branches join the scattered points of society, rather than a typical root-modeled system.

As far as power in protected areas is concerned, it should be mentioned that, land allocation around national parks in Senegal still mirrors colonial policy pushing for economic productivity and placing local communities at a stark disadvantage over the State and private sector. During the colonial era in Senegal, laws applied to protected areas gave priority to commercial private interests by reflecting the same principles of exclusivity and productive use that characterized colonial land use (Ribot, 2001). Considering the complexities related to power in general and in Senegal particularly, the implementation of any empowerment

140

strategy in this region should take into account the specificities of powers (political, religious, traditional, economic, etc.).

## 4. Empowerment and tourism

Tourism research often overlooks conceptualization of power and the subsequent notion of empowerment (Church & Coles, 2007). Petriello et al. (2019) insist that when scholars and practitioners fail to adequately conceptualize empowerment, they run the risk of undermining the importance of local involvement and capacity building necessary to achieve development and conservation goals. Literature on power has been diversely interpreted as domination (hegemony) (Gramsci, 1971), resistance (Foucault, 1982), false consciousness or coercion (Lukes, 1974), knowledge (Foucault, 1980), social struggles limited by 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1990), and as authority or manipulation (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970). However, regardless of its interpretation, the exercise of power implies the existence of at least two parties. For example, Foucault (1982) considered that where there is power, there is resistance. Moreover, while acknowledging the importance of the distinct approaches towards power, Eyben et al. (2006) rejected the premise that there is a one-size fits all theory of power for achieving social change. As such, he recognized the utility of different conceptual approaches for exploring and explaining power in diverse contexts as well as engaging with differently positioned actors.

Several studies explicitly link empowerment to tourism either to propose a conceptual framework or to further explore the relationship. Scheyvens (1999) proposed one of the most influential conceptualizations of empowerment in tourism proposing a framework to measure social, cultural, political, and economic dimensions. In this study, Scheyvens (1999) framework served to frame the proposed empowerment process of communities surrounding PNLB with SR as a foundation. Cole (2006) argues that tourism may bring valuable aspects of empowerment, including pride, confidence and strengthened political identity and external contacts. However, such forms of empowerment are typically in the early stage and may not have much transformative effects in sustainable community development. Access to relevant

141

information on tourism development processes is essential so that "the early stages of empowerment can then be transformed in to the ability to determine their own development" (Cole, 2006 p. 640). Knight and Cottrell (2015) identified two forms of empowerment resulting from tourism, including generative and non-generative. Generative empowerment is seen as a process such that power is gained through agency, collectivity, and self-determination without taking power away from other actors. Non-generative empowerment, however, entails gaining power with the increased ability to control others or take away power from others. Moswete & Lacey (2015) examined women's empowerment in Botswana and found that community-based cultural tourism significantly led to a sense of freedom from economic dependency on men and society.

Tourism researchers have attempted to quantitatively operationalize the social, political, and psychological dimensions of empowerment. This gap was emphasized by Choi and Murray (2010) who recognized that hundreds of studies have proposed the importance of community participation, but few have quantified the relationship between attitudes toward community participation in tourism with key resident study variables. Moreover, few studies that have been conducted on empowerment within tourism all approach it theoretically and fail to operationalize their conceptualizations of empowerment in empirical research (Cole, 2006; Di Castri, 2004; Sofield, 2003; Scheyvens 1999, 2002).

Through survey research in three counties in Virginia, the Resident Empowerment through Tourism Scale (RETS) was developed by Boley et al. (2014), to assess how the dimensions of empowerment influence perceptions of positive and negative impacts of tourism and ultimately support for tourism. Using the same scale in the European tourism context, Strzelecka et al. (2017) found that social and psychological empowerment were both related to residents' support for tourism. Cole (2007) observed that psychological empowerment dimension accounts for ways that an individual resident's self-esteem is positively affected when external visitors appreciate their culture, causing individuals and communities to take pride in traditions and thereby increasing their willingness to share their experiences and knowledge with tourists.

Cole's remarks confirm that there exists a link between empowerment and social representations as people's ideas, beliefs and perceptions embedded in their representations influence their level and forms of empowerment (Freire, 1970). In this sense, Freire's theory of communication between holders of different knowledges points to the need and the importance of constructing participatory dialogues where all interlocutors are recognised as legitimate contributors to the process. Moreover, embedded in this dialogue is the view that different knowledges are resources to be transformed and enriched through processes of communication likely to foster a sound empowerment strategy since no single knowledge is ever produced without dialogue in the first place. Hence the pertinence that a cluster may influence and guide other clusters.

In this research, special attention will be paid to the SRs of rural communities around PNLB towards tourism as well as the implications for their empowerment process of rural communities in tourism. In this context rural communities' agency and resistance will be assessed through SR. Agency refers to the power to construct and institute meanings, to claim authority over normative expectations, ideological positions, or 'the truth'. Resistance addresses the possibilities to challenge such normative expectations, propose alternative representations (Gillespie, 2008) and provoke transgressive forms of social relations (Howarth, 2010) to empower rural communities surrounding PNLB.

## 5. Methodology

### 5.1. Study area

Our study took place in ten communities outside the PNLB. The park is located at the entrance of the coastal town of Saint-Louis in Northern Senegal. As the former capital of the French colonial administration in West Africa, the town of Saint-Louis has important cultural and architectural structures of regional and international value, and as such is a UNESCO World Heritage Site (Lo, 2016). Established in 1977, PNLB expands over 2000 hectares lying between the Senegal River and the Atlantic Ocean all connected to the heritage tourism corridor of Saint-Louis region. The establishment of the park fit well within the governments'

development plan to expand tourism and diversify its products in the region of Saint-Louis, adding to the tourism attractions along with the fishing villages in the corridor. Government restrictions on uses of natural resources within the park ensued major lasting conflicts between local populations and park officials, which in some cases had fatal outcomes (Sarr et al., 2020).

The year of 2001 marked the first step towards a collaborative management approach between the Directorate of National Parks[8] and local communities. Although the power and full authority to manage resources remains in the hand of the national government, the Association of Ecoguards was created to carve a space for local communities in the decision-making process. This new institutional body is made up of 35 members of the adjacent communities called the Ecoguards. They serve as liaison between the park and their communities, participate in awareness campaigns, and offer guiding and interpretive programs to visitors. The Ecoguards are part of the PNLB management structure but occupy a low-rank position. In addition, tourist lodges called '*campement villageois*' with capacity for 18 people were also built and for which revenues are supposed to benefit the communities around the park. Tourism employment for locals include interpretive guiding, sales of handicrafts and housekeeping for the village campement.

Over the last three decades, the Saint-Louis region, including the PNLB and its surrounding communities, has gone through profound environmental changes with devastating impacts on the tourism sector, the park, and local livelihoods. It mainly started when the Diama dam located 22 km upstream of the river mouth was completed in 1986, and subsequently modified the flow of the river causing increased exposure of Saint-Louis to flood. Torrential rainfalls in October 2003 led the Government to order an artificial breach to prevent river flooding of the historic city of Saint-Louis. This breach would end up having dramatic effects on the ecosystem of the river mouth (Sarr et al., 2020) and, consequently, on the

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[8]English for 'Direction des Parcs Nationaux', the Government entity in charge of managing national parks and protected areas in Senegal. It's part of the Ministry of Environment and Sustainable Development.

characteristics of PNLB, fishing and farmland resources, and the tourism attractiveness of the area. Furthermore, there has been significant decline in tourist arrivals in the region. Tourist arrivals in Saint-Louis fell by 15% between 2002 and 2015, and its contribution to the country's total tourism arrivals fell from 13% in 2003 to 4% in 2015-2016 (Service Regional du Tourisme de Saint-Louis, 2016).

Consistent with this regional trend, the number of visitors to PNLB also dramatically fell since 2005 but has slowly been increasing since 2015. As such, since 2003, the breach, the park and tourism have formed a trio of inseparable elements in all the local stories and the SR constructed from this confluence of events deserves attention.

### 5.2. Data collection and analysis

The fieldwork for this study occurred between November 2017 and March 2018 and consisted of different phases to collect data from surveys and interviews. It started with an exploratory phase during which the first author visited the sites and established rapport with local villagers and the park officials, and two researchers from the University of Gaston Berger in Saint-Louis who have extensive experience working with the communities in the area. They helped guide the content and the structure of the surveys and interviews and thus provided expert validation for our instruments. This was followed by our data collection through surveys and key informant interviews. The focus group interviews were conducted in the last phase of this process.

We surveyed 230 residents from the 10 communities that surround the park. Surveys were conceptualized in French and translated and administered in Wolof by the first author who is fluent in both languages. The questions were developed to collect information aligned with the three constructs (i.e. expropriation/appropriation, exclusion/inclusion, and estrangement/familiarity). The surveys covered sociodemographic questions, and issues related to the circumstances surrounding the creation of PNLB and its impacts on local livelihoods; the process of tourism development around the area, the role that local communities play and how the benefits and costs from tourism have been distributed;

145

perceptions on living conditions, perceived impacts of tourism development and the economic, sociocultural and environmental context; finally, beliefs regarding culture and religion, as well as governmental policies on park. To complement our data, we conducted key informant interviews (n=11) and 10 focus group interviews—one in each community. Key informant interviews included the village chiefs of each of the 10 communities and the director of PNLB. We made sure that each focus group included men, women, young and old, literate, and illiterate and workers in the tourism sector. All interviews were open discussions to expand on the issues covered in the survey using keywords such as tourism, tourist, park and participation to gauge their perceptions and representations towards those ideas. The aim was to provide broad topics and open questions so that the respondent would answer in his/her own words and avoid researcher's bias that might impose his representations and vocabulary to the respondent.

Quantitative data were analyzed using a two-step approach including a correspondence analysis followed by a cluster analysis. This method is widely used to segment or classify individuals when the variables are nominal, and is commonly used in the investigation of tourist markets; for example, to explore factors related to the motivations of tourists and their subsequent segmentation (Almeida-Santana et al., 2018). In the first step, since the variables that form the constructs are qualitative nominal, we applied a Multiple Correspondence Analysis- HOMALS to obtain the constructs and their respective profiles working simultaneously with all the various categorical variables and identify similarities and differences between individuals.

After describing the profiles from each construct, the second stage consisted of classifying individuals into three groups representing different SR of tourism in protected areas. We proceeded to form three groups through a Cluster K-Means analysis to partition 3 constructs (expropriation, exclusion and estrangement) into 3 clusters (polemical, emancipated and hegemonic representations holders) in which each individual belongs to the cluster with the nearest mean (cluster centers or cluster centroid or central scores) serving as the prototype of the cluster. Like the methodology used by Wassler et al. (2019), a cross-tabulation and

146

ANOVA were used to profile the clusters in terms of gender, age, education, occupation, and income. For comparison purpose, we ran a Chi-square result validation and Chi-square analysis. The qualitative data were analyzed through a content analysis approach (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). The content analysis allowed an interpretation of the data guided by the constructs and concepts under study which were used to guide the initial coding. However, during the data analysis, the researcher allowed underlying themes to emerge from the data for a deeper analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

### 5.3. Interviews and selected informants

The data for this study were collected through survey questionnaires and complemented with focus group interviews between November 2017 and March 2018. During that time the first author split his time visiting the different communities under study. The sample size consists of n=230 residents of 10 rural communities outside of PNLB, which falls within less than 5% margin error. The surveys were conceptualized in French and translated and administered in Wolof by the first author who is fluent in both languages.

In order to collect appropriate information to develop constructs for the SR of tourism, the questionnaires related to issues included the circumstances surrounding the creation of PNLB and their impacts on local livelihoods; the process of tourism development around the area, the role local communities play and how the benefits and costs from tourism have been distributed; the perceptions on living conditions of families and communities they belonged to; the perceived impacts of tourism development in the area, in economic, socio-cultural and environmental contexts; feelings experienced in different moments of the tourism-local relationship; personal beliefs regarding culture and religion ; governmental policies on the park; finally, information on the socioeconomic status of the community residents. To complement our quantitative data, we conducted focus group interviews in all 10 communities.

The focus groups (10) included the village chiefs and other relevant community members among men, women, young and old, literate and illiterate, farmers, fishermen, housekeepers,

workers in the tourism sector. The interviews consisted of open discussions to expand on the issues covered in the survey using keywords tourism, tourist, park and participation to gauge perceptions' and representations towards those ideas. The first author recorded and transcribed the interviews from which he pulled out the most relevant quotes which might help characterize different social representations (SR).

The quantitative data was analyzed using a two-step approach including a correspondence analysis followed by a cluster analysis commonly used to classify individuals when the variables are qualitative.

This technique was used in the investigation of tourist markets, for example, to explore the factors related to the motivations of tourists and their subsequent segmentation based on these factors (Fariña et al., 2016; Almeida et al., 2018). In the first stage, since the variables that form the constructs are qualitative nominal, we applied a Multiple Correspondence Analysis (HOMALS to obtain the constructs and their respective profiles working simultaneously with all the various categorical variables and identify similarities and differences between individuals. After describing the profiles from each construct, the second stage consists of classifying individuals into three groups representing different SR of tourism in protected areas. We proceeded to form three groups through a Cluster K-Means analysis in such a way that individuals from the same group share relatively homogeneous perceptions regarding to expropriation, exclusion and estrangement.

Table 5: Clusters profile and Pearson Chi-square results for validation

| | • | Cluster 1 (N=99) | | Cluster 2 (N=67) | | Cluster 3 (N=64) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| **Gender** | | p=0.242 | • | • | • | • | • |
| Male | | 83 | 83.8 | 55 | 82.1 | 47 | 73.4 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Female | 16 | 16.2 | 12 | 17.9 | 17 | 26.6 |
| **Age** | p=0.789 | • | • | • | • | • |
| < 18 | 1 | 1.1 | 2 | 3.0 | 1 | 1.6 |
| 18 - 24 | 12 | 12.1 | 6 | 9.0 | 6 | 9.4 |
| 25 - 34 | 20 | 20.2 | 17 | 25.4 | 11 | 17.2 |
| 35 - 44 | 19 | 19.2 | 14 | 20.8 | 20 | 31.3 |
| 45 - 54 | 19 | 19.2 | 15 | 22.4 | 10 | 15.6 |
| 55 - 64 | 16 | 16.2 | 7 | 10.4 | 7 | 10.9 |
| Above 65 | 12 | 12.1 | 6 | 9.0 | 9 | 14.1 |
| **Education** | p=0.121 | • | • | • | • | • |
| Primary school | 22 | 22.2 | 26 | 38.8 | 20 | 31.3 |
| Secondary school | 22 | 22.2 | 17 | 25.4 | 14 | 21.9 |
| Professional training | 16 | 16.2 | 6 | 9.0 | 7 | 10.9 |
| Religious/Kuranic teaching | 33 | 33.3 | 10 | 14.9 | 18 | 28.1 |
| No education | 6 | 6.1 | 8 | 11.9 | 5 | 7.8 |
| **Occupation** | p= 0.198 | • | • | • | • | • |
| Agricultural worker | 35 | 35.4 | 23 | 34.3 | 16 | 25.0 |
| Breeding | 20 | 20.2 | 10 | 14.9 | 6 | 9.4 |
| Fishing | 18 | 18.4 | 11 | 16.4 | 21 | 32.8 |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tourism | 5 | 5.1 | 2 | 3.0 | 2 | 3.1 |
| Housekeeper | 6 | 6.1 | 10 | 14.9 | 8 | 12.5 |
| Other | 15 | 15.2 | 11 | 16.4 | 11 | 17.2 |
| **Income** | p=0.034 | • | • | • | • | • |
| < 125 thousand | 26 | 26.3 | 12 | 17.9 | 11 | 17.2 |
| 125 - 250 thousand | 38 | 38.4 | 27 | 40.3 | 15 | 23.4 |
| 250 - 500 thousand | 21 | 21.2 | 19 | 28.4 | 23 | 35.9 |
| 500 thousand - 1 million | 10 | 10.1 | 9 | 13.4 | 8 | 12.5 |
| 1 million - 2 million | 2 | 2.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 6 | 9.4 |
| 2 million - 4 million | 2 | 2.0 | 0 | 0.0 | 1 | 1.6 |
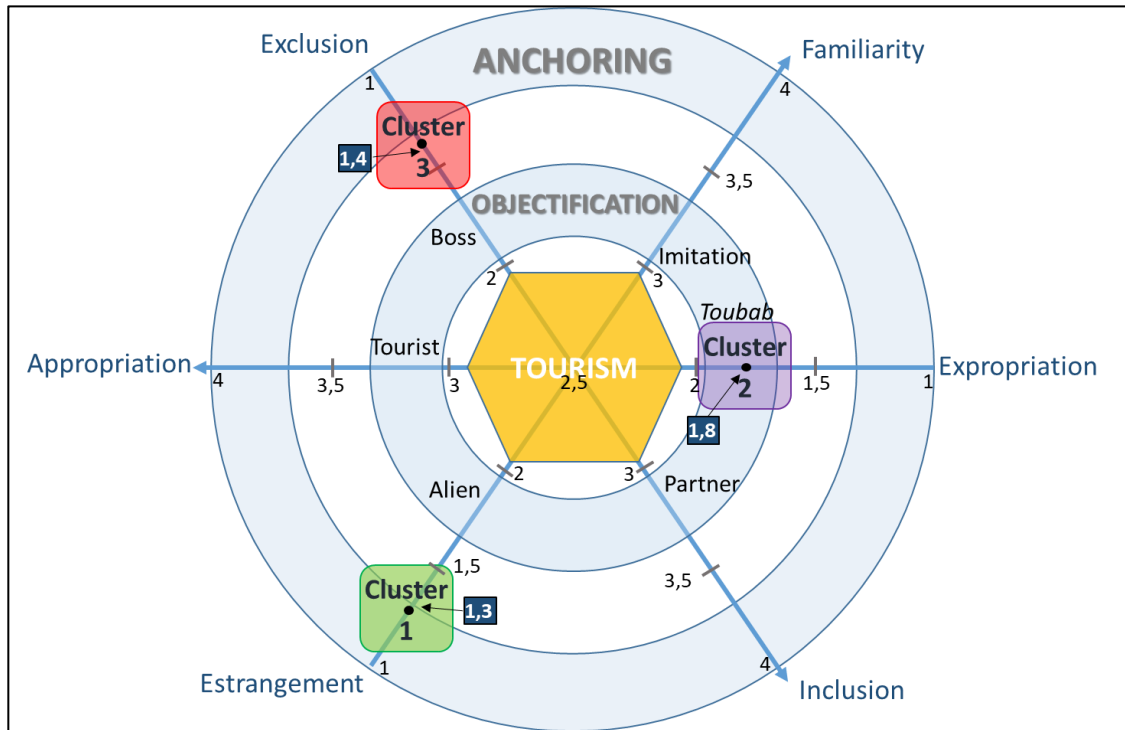
Figure 10: Clusters and social representations of tourism in rural communities

## 6. Findings and discussions

### 6.1. Findings

In this study the anchoring of tourism as a social object is carried out through the axes of reference *expropriation/appropriation, exclusion/inclusion,* and *estrangement/familiarity.* Putting these three constructs into context for our study, the expropriation of natural resources, the exclusion from tourism in the park and the imposition of a foreigner (i.e. tourist) make their representation of tourism. This antipode of the representation, tourism is seen as an opportunity to re-appropriate natural resources by other means, participation in an industry that opens new opportunities for economic development, and cultural exchange with others, with openness to the evolution and enrichment of their cultural heritage.

Considering data from Table 5 and from a SR perspective, the K-Means cluster analysis led us to define three clusters. Figure 10 shows the relative position of the clusters located

according to the construct that differentiate each group; it also shows some aspects of the anchoring and objectification processes that have been carried out to build social representations of tourism present in the area. Each cluster was formed according to the features that characterizes its attitudes and behaviors towards tourism and the park and named as follow: cluster 1: the conservatives; cluster 2: the innovators; cluster 3: the opportunists. Cluster 1 is the largest group (N = 99; 43.1%), followed by Cluster 2 (N = 67; 29.1%) and Cluster 3 (N= 64; 27.8%). We situated each cluster within its social and historical context to fully understand the dynamic representations processes to garner the knowledge base necessary to design empowerment strategies tailored to each group in tourism and management of the park.

> **Cluster 1: The conservatives**

Most participants who fall in this cluster received a religious education (33.33%) and practiced agriculture (35.4%) as their main occupation. The majority (38%) reported a yearly income of 125000-250000 FCFA[9]. Therefore, the variable of education, income and occupation are determinant in the construction of their representations towards tourism, tourists and the park. That is, their religious training, lower income and traditional occupation might justify their attitudes towards the tourism system and the park which epitomizes both a tourist area and a dispossessed space. Thus, they equate the sector as a foreign occupancy or a contemporary form of colonialism that conflicts with local values. Symbolic images of the colonial past, their religious leaders and the white foreigners locally called toubab are often evoked in their representation of tourism and the parks. In view of their attitudes and behaviours, it ca be inferred that cluster 1 holds polemical representations often associated with the rejection of hegemonic ideas and values (Moscardo, 2011).

This cluster consists of the communities of Pilote, Tassinere and Mboumbaye. The social and historical context of these communities' shed light into their group's representations. While

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[9] At the time of data collection, the currency exchange rate was around US $1=550 FCFA

Pilote epitomized the colonial French presence in this area since 1845, Mboumbaye, originally located within the PNLB boundaries, witnessed land expropriation and communities' removals. These peculiar historical circumstances, which accompanied the creation of this protected area as well as tourism development the area, led communities to represent tourism and tourists as a prolongation of colonialism and colonialists. As such, despite the advantages of the park, they view it as a western project not intended for local populations. This viewpoint is illustrated by the village chief's remark:

> Administrative authorities care more about the life of birds and other aspects of the park than that of surrounding communities. It seems like the park was implemented to cater the desires of toubab, to maintain the survival of animals to the detriment of the local populations who have been removed from their spaces.

Moreover, a young man from Pilote mentioned the Faidherb statue[10], still towering in Saint-Louis, as an illustration of tourism as an imperialist activity. He said:

> Tourism is a mere invention of the toubab for the toubab. Because the Faidherb statue is not welcomed by local communities and is only visited by the white toubab.

Tassinere, is a fishing village whose populations significantly experience the negative livelihood impacts of the breach, and many migrate to Mauritania in search of more abundant fisheries. They often consider that the main reason why the government ordered the breach was to protect not only Saint-Louis city as a UNESCO world heritage site but also tourism infrastructures and attractions from flooding. As such, the conflictive events which marked the creation of the park, the memories and present symbols of the colonial period, and the more recent event of the breach all form a confluence of ideas that strongly influence the opinions of this cluster members towards tourism, tourist operators and tourists.

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[10]The statue epitomizes Louis Faidherb, a French colonial governor from 1854 to 1865 who symbolized French domination in Senegal.

## ➢ Cluster 2: The innovators

Members of this cluster are optimistic about the future of tourism developed around the National park of La Langue de Barbarie. They propose alternative views on social issues that they strive to legitimise through strategies of social influence (Moscardo, 2011).

In this study, it should be emphasized that this group is the youngest (46.2% are aged between 25-44 years) and holds the highest proportion of people (64.2%) who have completed at least their primary education. Even though the chi-square test shows no significant difference, a comparison between Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 showed that education may be a decisive variable in determining the representations communities might ascribe to tourism, tourists or protected areas. While religious education and occupation may influence local communities to hold negative attitudes, a higher education level can turn negative representations into positive ones. As such, the higher level of formal education and the younger age can be considered as determinant elements likely to influence their social representations which tend to be more supportive of tourism and the park, but also seek social changes to the system to increase the well-being of their communities.

The communities of Mouit, Degouniaye, Gouyerene and Mbao are most represented in cluster 2. These communities have a closer relationship to the park and thus can explain why they have a more favorable representation towards the park, tourism and tourists. Perhaps most important is that the majority of the Ecoguards are from these communities. This is consistent with the reality of park management institutions in Senegal which tends to favor those who are literate. Although they are not in executive or management positions, Ecoguards work closely with park officials to monitor and protect resources in the park. They are familiar with and often employ discourses aimed at promoting tourism and the park, taking the messages back to their villages and holding conciliatory opinions of the park. For instance, one of the Ecoguards noted:

> The park is a great opportunity for local communities who have access to the river inside the park in search of oyster. Moreover, the park authorities occasionally supply the surrounding communities with dead wood required during sad or happy events like wedding or death ceremonies.

Such remarks demonstrate how Ecoguards often play the role of mediator to balance the needs of the park and members of their communities. Serving also as tour guides, Ecoguards interact with tourists, thus are exposed to new ideas and values. In short, Ecoguards are a good example of what Moscardo (2011) describes as "specific groups, such as professional societies, political parties and lobby groups" (p.427) within which emancipated representations are popular. Emancipated representations are constructed when members of these specific groups are exposed to new information and consequently reflect differences between individuals within a broad identity group. Similarly, Ecoguards are exposed to new information which they take back to their respective communities, reducing their resistant to the park and tourism development. There were also signs of active minorities within this cluster.

Being aware of the level of support they receive, active minorities express their positions openly to influence others for social change (Kerr, 2002). First, in their support of the park and tourism, members of this cluster also advocate for social change through alternative policies that better align with their priorities and aspirations. For example, many proposed agro tourism can be a strategy to broaden tourism benefits for local communities while supporting their traditional livelihoods. Others denounced the unfair competition from external and private tour guides. They demanded greater regulations to limit access of external tour guides to the park, and instead increase their collaboration to increase market opportunities for local guides. One explained:

> The Ministry of Tourism need to establish clear rules that limit the number of guides from Saint-Louis to ensure a more equitable sharing of the market. But we know that there are two types of guide from Saint-Louis. The professional guides who are trained for this […], and other who are lay guides and have not received proper training. It's necessary, above all, to prohibit the activities of lay guides and to emphasize collaboration between local guides and professional guides in Saint-Louis.

Other than Ecoguards, a group of women from these villages who extract oysters in the park acknowledge their positive relationships with authorities, while voicing their frustration towards the private hotel owners, woman explained:

> The toubab (hotel owner inside PNLB) complained to the park agents that we made too much noise and disturbed his clients, so he doesn't want us to collect oysters anymore. How is it possible that a toubab dare forbid us the access to a space in our own country? Luckily the park authorities still allow us to continue our activities.

These two active minority groups, Ecoguards and the women, assume an intermediate and ambiguous position where they can collaborate with the park authorities while also advocating for the needs of their communities. As such they do not necessarily completely oppose the current system but seek to reform aspects of it in order maximize their benefits.

➢ **Cluster 3: The opportunists**

Members of cluster 3 assess tourism developed in their immediate environment through the benefits and outcomes they get from tourism. Rather than relying exclusively on tourism, they mainly dedicate themselves in fishing. This cluster consists of members with the highest income level, as 35.9% and 12.5% reported to earn respectively between 250,000 and 500,000 FCFA and 500,000 and 1,000,000 FCFA. Moreover, 32.8% practice fishing as their main occupation. In this case, level of income and occupation appear to be a determining factor in their representation as they rely neither on tourism nor on the park to satisfy their basic needs. Furthermore, fishing livelihoods are ingrained in a long ancestral tradition in Senegal and thus explains why fishermen are less likely to transition to tourism (Sène-Harper, Matarrita-Cascante and Larson, 2019).

This cluster mostly consists of the communities of Ndiebene Gandiol, Dare Salam and Ndiol. Furthermore, it consists of the areas where many migrants from the region depart for Europe. Therefore, many families receive remittances from relatives abroad. This group holds the majority of those who responded that the greatest advantage of tourism was the support of tourists and foreign NGOs for locals to migrate abroad, which the answer was given by 43.5% of those surveyed. As one stated:

156

> Thanks to tourism, we meet tourists who either help us to build infrastructure like hospitals and stadiums or assist us to travel to Europe, or America.

Along the same lines, someone else asserted:

> The best way to benefit from tourism is to make friends with tourists who visit the park. This friendship may help to emigrate abroad, to get married with them or to get a project funded.

They do not believe in the ability of tourism to bring social change in their immediate environment but see it as an efficient means to network and partner to satisfy basic needs or to migrate abroad. Another feature of this cluster is that they collaborate neither with the government nor with other communities. Rather, they are interested in partnering with organizations and tourists to personally benefit from tourism.

## 6.2. Discussions

Using a SR framework, this chapter examines empowerment strategies as well as the ways social representations may guide PNLB rural communities better. Overall, this analysis illustrates how protected areas as tourism destinations host a complex social world resulting from a confluence of values and belief systems, environmental, economic and historical factors. In our case study, several elements make up this social world. The colonial context of Saint-Louis, the dispossession resulting from the establishment of the park, the perception of exclusion from tourism development and, more recently, the impacts of the breach have all become inseparable elements intertwined in the recent history of local communities. SR lens helped us understand the agency and ability of local actors to construct their own meanings of this social world and manifest group-based norms and values as they confront and challenge others and social structures (Jovchelovitch, 2001). This process allowed us to identify three different clusters to distinguish those norms and values between groups and how they affirm, challenge, adapt or use their positions in relation to tourism and the park as a reflection of their agency.

Indeed, it should be bore in mind that communities are complex entities comprising many different groups or stakeholders. Therefore, these groups can have different values, attitudes

and perspectives and some may have a stronger voice that can mask the disenfranchised, disadvantaged, weaker and less articulate community members (Ife 1995). Therefore, it is necessary not to treat the community as a single entity with a homogeneous attitude and behaviour towards tourism, tourists or protected areas. Importantly, the central premise of SRT is that there are groupings of individuals in a community who will have similar values or attitudes (social representations), but it does not presume to know what elements make up these groups nor what their attitudes may be. In other words, individual attitudes are sought and identified, then they are described according to whatever similarities the members with those attitudes may have.

But, despite the stark variations in representations across the conservatives, the innovators and the opportunists, it's important to note that they all coexist in the same social world marked by the park and its tourism activities. However, findings suggest that the innovators and conservatives complement each other since they do not oppose the tourism system at PNLB, but each seek to apprehend tourism activity according to its background which is decisive for empowerment that is not usually graciously granted by those in power, neither does it come to those who don't want to empower themselves. That is, empowerment is contextual in that it refers to the process of achieving and consolidating capacities to restructure tourism and achieve a more self-centered local economy.

Moreover, conservatives believe in the internal power structure and status quo in force in communities and perceive tourism as a threat to this power. As regards to the opportunists, they don't judge it necessary to empower themselves in the tourism activity since they mainly view it as a short term beneficial activity. Consequently, for community empowerment to happen, innovators must push opportunists interested in tourism and contribute to its transformation. Moreover, innovators must be able to attract and influence the subaltern layers currently influenced by local power elites in order to transform tourism with local control.

And such transformation requires to debunk local power structures. Since the elites that benefit from the status quo use mechanisms of domination (religion, public power) to preserve the social structure that benefits them. In other words, power itself usually governs the way in which communities develop as well as the mechanisms they rely on to achieve their goal which is usually linked to either political or social power.

While the former is often imposed power, such as in village governance in terms of leaders, elders, councils and so on, or organisationally in terms of local council, state government, national government and so on, which is often seen as political power. The latter exists in a non-hierarchical manner among communities and groups (which has often been conferred by the community members), often considered to be social power.

In the PNLB both power forms coexist and need to be unveiled in order to better empower the different clusters. Overall, the accumulation of forces necessary for change requires to convince the opportunists to participate in breaking the link that makes subordinate groups remain loyal to local elites. As Cole (2006) says, empowerment is a process that leads to a higher level of social participation, so the problem now is how to unravel the path of transition to empower oneself. Since, many of these groups do not have the personal resources ('habitus') or capacity to help themselves. Consequently, many empowered tourism and community development initiatives have failed due to the communities not being able to maintain the initiative, particularly those who have been disempowered for a long time.

## 7. Empowerment of local communities of PNLB

The core objective of this chapter is to demonstrate how SR can serve as a basis for an empowerment process. Eyben et al. (2006) rejects the premise that there is a one-size fits all theory of power for achieving social change. As such, he recognizes the utility of different conceptual approaches for exploring empowerment for differently positioned actors. The relevance of the three clusters lies in the fact that it provides a basis to properly empower these communities. Scheyvens (1999) model of empowerment in tourism is well suited to

159

define which form of empowerment is better suited for each cluster. This empowerment process which relies on SR framework aims at analyzing the social, economic, psychological and political impacts of tourism on local communities.

For each cluster, we discuss below the form and impact of empowerment needed. We start with cluster 2 as it's poised to work collectively for positive change in tourism through their active minority attributes. We should note that the forms of empowerment we suggest for each cluster are not meant to be exclusive and should be considered across all groups. Rather, using SR as a basis of this empowerment process could serve tourism and development agencies and government to better understand which empowerment processes and tools impact (social, economic, psychological, political) are most important for each cluster

Members of Cluster 2 are the best positioned for empowerment especially thanks to their professional relationships with park officials and their innovative approach. Beyond voicing their immediate concerns, cluster 2 members also may give voice and influence other groups or even the entire community. As such, they can unify different visions and perspectives likely to foster communities' empowerment connected to two key aspects namely the power to define the content of tourist product and experiences in situ as well as the capacity to get economic, social and environmental benefits that may stimulate a self-centered development process. In order to obtain a strong commitment of concerned governments in local capacity building requires to properly develop socially and environmentally sustainable tourism**.**

They advocate for an alternative tourism structure that gives them greater access to the market and supports their traditional livelihoods (i.e. agrotourism to support local farming). Empowerment should be treated as a process by which people learn to think critically about their circumstances and engage in negotiations with various stakeholders (Petriello et al., 2019). People belonging to Cluster 2 propose strategies that would allow them to carve a greater space within tourism. In this case, the empowerment process should support active community groups (i.e. Ecoguards and women) by first strengthening their collective actions.

160

In view of the features of this cluster, they should be politically empowered to be more innovative.

Political empowerment entails the ability of residents to gain agency or control over the direction of tourism development within their community (Scheyvens, 1999). An example of political empowerment for local actors in Senegal are the Groupement d'Intérêt Économiques (GIE) made up of individuals engaged in similar economic activities and formally recognized by the government as advocacy groups. For women, particularly, GIEs have yielded positive results in their ability to negotiate new policies, and leverage more resources (Cissé, 2015). For instance, the access to natural resources and the tourist adding value to women activities under women control, like oyster harvest is a concrete illustration of the agency of women.

The active minority groups in Cluster 2 could be strengthened by supporting the creation of a GIE to defend their interests from private actors. Once strengthened and formally recognized, the empowerment process should facilitate a meaningful dialogue between them, the government, private actors in tourism, and NGOs, where they can better advocate for their needs. A management plan exists since 2001 to facilitate the collaboration between local communities and park officials through the creation of the association of Ecoguards. However, this collaboration should be more intentional and extended to include other stakeholders.

In the case of protected areas, it's particularly important that local communities be empowered politically to provide a legal framework to support their participation in the decision-making and management of resources as means to achieve conservation goals (Sène-Harper & Séye, 2019). In the case of PNLB and other parks in Senegal, there exist no legal framework to grant the Ecoguards or other local groups the political power to co-manage resources with the local government (Sène-Harper et al. 2019). Therefore, creating GIEs for the Ecoguards and other community-level stakeholders can provide them the

political leverage needed to support and expend their management authority and negotiate new policies with the government.

For members of Cluster 1, tourism is an extension of colonialism and the imposition of European values over local traditional ones. They tend to use cultural norms and values as a point of reference to understand social phenomenon, thus creating antagonist perceptions towards tourists, tour operators and park authorities. As such, these communities care about pride and respect in their interactions, generally, and in contact with foreign people, particularly. Therefore, empowering this community should lead to a feeling that their culture and traditional knowledge is valued through tourism, which is a form of psychological but also cultural empowerment both at collective and individual level. Psychologically, empowering communities through tourism should increase resident' pride, self-esteem from the feelings associated with visitors traveling to one's community experience the unique natural and cultural features the community has to offer (Scheyvens, 1999). There exists a significant likelihood of tourism to bring pride and self-esteem (Cole, 1997). As such, psychological empowerment is regarded as a decisive step for local communities' participation in tourism system. Furthermore, previous research found psychological empowerment to be one the best and most consistent predictors of support for tourism (Boley et al., 2014; Strzelecka et al., 2017).

For most members of cluster 3 tourism evokes opportunities, material prosperity, and new horizons of life, perhaps in another country, partners from abroad, and economic participation. Yet these communities are passive when it comes to proposing alternatives to tourism development. They also perceive that they have been excluded from tourism development. Thus, economic empowerment appears to be most important for communities in Cluster 3. Scheyvens (1999) explains that economic empowerment can be seen in terms of the business and employment opportunities both formal and informal that have arisen from tourism development. At the same time, economic empowerment may also require access to productive resources in the area targeted for tourism. This is particularly relevant to the establishment of PNLB which has reduced communities' access to agricultural land. In short,

162

the empowerment of communities in cluster 3 require building member capacity to enable them to benefit economically from tourism activities and resources in the park.

## 8. Concluding Remarks

National park managers consider tourism as a mechanism to redirect social and economic benefits from national parks to local communities. An important aspect of these social benefits is the empowerment of community members. Yet, empowering communities through tourism requires social changes that will enable them to carve a meaningful space in the system. SR theory, as a theory of social knowledge and social change offers a theoretical lens for the analysis of the representations of local communities towards tourism, tourists and protected areas. Hence, the innovative aspect of this research which is to our knowledge, the first study that discusses empowerment strategies in relation to SR.

This study applied this approach by first examining the SR of communities surrounding PNLB towards tourism, tourists and the park which we categorized into the conservatives (polemical representations), the innovators (emancipated representations) and opportunists who could be named as the indifferents. Later we used the critical insights gained to propose an empowerment process for each group. Specifically, we found that the largest group tend to use cultural norms and values as point of reference to understand tourism. A form of empowerment that can increase their sense of pride and self-esteem and respect for their culture would be a decisive step for this group. The second largest cluster represents people with more or less emancipated representations and are the most poised to work collectively for positive change in tourism through their active minority attributes. Thus, they should be politically empowered to increase their ability to gain agency and control over the direction of tourism development within their communities. Finally, the smallest cluster consists of people who view tourism and tourists through opportunistic and individualistic lenses. Therefore, economic empowerment appears to be most important for this cluster. The form of empowerment that we proposed in this research is one that is tailored on local communities' agency, ideas, and beliefs to support their capacity to shape their meaningful

and just space in tourism. We also reiterate that the forms of empowerment we suggest for each cluster are not meant to be exclusive and should be considered across all groups.

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# General concluding remarks

In spite of the collaboration between the central government, multilateral agencies and Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) for the promotion of tourism developed around protected areas in Northern Senegal, there was a failure to foster a genuine human development in rural communities surrounding the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie. As a result of this failure, this research implemented in ten villages surrounding the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie (PNLB) in Northern Senegal aims at analyzing rural communities' perceptions towards tourism as well as their willingness to be empowered within this activity. The achievement of this objective implied the use of a holistic theoretical framework that consists of social representations theory, subaltern studies and empowerment.

Specifically, the objective of this current study is twofold: to identify the causes of this failure and to generate a useful mechanism that may help to understand the complex relationships between rural communities and tourism developed around the park in order to promote a sustainable social transformation. Therefore, the methodology consisted in developing analysis' categories of the fundamental relationships which help to investigate the objective situation of rural communities and the intersubjective construction of rural communities' perceptions towards tourism developed in the PNLB.

Firstly, the objective situation of rural communities is analyzed through subaltern studies and urbannormativity in order to study both social categories and the fundamental relationships that underlie power issues which determine the subaltern position of rural communities of the PNLB. Secondly, the exploration of the collective subjectivity of the analysis of the intersubjective construction of rural communities' perceptions towards tourism developed has been undertaken through social representations theory (SRT). This theory helps to better understand the complexity of human perceptions' ability to name and classify new phenomena through anchoring and objectification.

Indeed, the combined theoretical framework helps to explain the *sui generis* perceptions rural communities have towards tourism. And these perceptions act as a potential alternative to the

dominant representations of the central government, multilateral agencies and NGOs, considered as decisive stakeholders of the tourism system in this area.

Moreover, this theoretical framework helps to explore the intimacy of rural communities as well as their heterogeneity. This identification process has been helpful not only to discover communities' model of socialization and perception but also to identify the social group more likely to become the active subject for the empowerment process. And as already mentioned, social representations theory is a useful approach to identify this active subject group which views tourism not only as it is being managed but also as a social transformational activity liable to foster economic, psychological and political empowerment.

Once this active group identified, it can inspire other social groups so that they emancipate themselves from a tourist industry conceived and built from outside. Overall, following this transformational process, social representations theory helps not only to diagnose tourism development in the PNLB but also to pave the way for an endogenous empowerment process which starts from acknowledging that internal and external transformations should occur in the construction of capacities for the creation of a consensus through which tourism plays an important role in line with other traditional activities such as agriculture, fisheries, etc. Since social representations reflect the way this active group (within rural communities of PNLB) perceives its capacity to participate in a complex activity as tourism.

Such a genuine strategy is relevant in that it fosters a democratization of developmental policies required for a fair distribution of public investment in infrastructures and training centers. In addition, this strategy helps to involve rural communities in tourism policymaking so that they may organize tourism projects through the design of the entire tourism system through more equitable relationships with other tourist stakeholders.

With the specific case study of rural communities surrounding the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie, they are usually disappointed with the way tourism is developed in this protected area. Since, as a result of urbannormative practices which marginalize and disempower rural communities, several groups within rural communities differently interpret

this injustice characterised by the deliberate devaluation of rural cultural capital while making high expectations to tourist operators and tourists.

Consequently, rural communities around the National park of La Langue de Barbarie rely on social representations to justify and reinforce their attitudes and behaviors towards tourism, tourists and protected areas. In Saint-Louis, both the westernity of the Senegalese tourism product and the fortress conservation model of protected areas make rural communities feel dispossessed and disempowered in the tourism system in spite of an official participatory discourse conceptualised as the power to construct and convey particular representations over others. This discourse also refers to the symbolic power to construct legitimate social knowledge, norms and identities, and disregard, marginalize or silence alternative ways of knowing and being. Consequently, some groups have a greater chance than others to assert their version of reality.

Specifically, a group characterisation guided by social representations theory helps to better understand the causes of failure to engage communities in tourism developments but also to obtain valuable insights to successfully undertake a genuine community-based tourism developments surrounding the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie. This clustering not only strove to analyse communities' perceptions towards tourism, tourists and protected areas but also to identify communities' attitudes for a sound empowerment process.

Through one clustering, we obtained two clusters systems respectively based on communities' perceptions (*reluctants, game-changers and escapists*) towards tourism developed in the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie and communities' willingness (*conservatives, innovators and opportunists*) to be properly empowered in tourism developed in this protected area.

The first cluster system which relies on social representations theory allows for a thorough understanding of the conservative attitudes of the reluctants who reject tourism, while game-changers achieved greater participation in the tourism organisation and benefits but still blame local authorities to impose barriers on locals to fully benefit from tourism

174

development. For game-changers, authorities regulate the activity to favour foreign and national tourist operators. As regards to the escapists, they feel genuinely excluded from the tourism industry and do not perceive any opportunities. Therefore, this group thinks that the only alternative to its well-being is to migrate to change its living conditions.

This cluster system is relevant in that it helps to identify the complexity and heterogeneity of communities as well as the sources of dissent and conflict that usually hinder community-based tourism projects. Since, the building of a shared consensus between the different clusters based on a shared representation of the ideal tourism development model is required to achieve sustainable tourism and subsequently community empowerment.

The second cluster system which relies on empowerment is based on the identification of communities' attitudes and willingness to be properly empowered. As such, it categorizes rural communities into three groups, namely, the conservatives, the innovators and the opportunists. Conservatives, who are the largest group, share cultural norms and values that guide their understanding of tourism developed in the protected area. As a result, an empowerment process likely to increase their self-esteem and pride is proposed.

As regards to innovators, they are more eager to work collectively and to propose alternative tourism niches such as agro tourism. Viewed as an active minority, this group can influence and encourage rural populations to be empowered by promoting new and more effective participation process and by helping them to be agents thereby forcing traditional tourist stakeholders (governmental authorities, national and foreign corporations) to share power with local agents. Finally, the opportunists mainly view tourism, tourist operators and tourists through opportunistic and individualistic lenses. Therefore, economic empowerment seems the most appropriate approach for this cluster.

Overall, the second clustering is helpful in that it goes beyond the identification of communities' perceptions. It proposes an empowerment form that is tailored on local communities' agency, ideas, and beliefs to support their capacity to shape their meaningful and just space in tourism.

175

This investigation is innovative in that the methodology relies on one clustering which help to obtain two cluster systems whose names fit the purposes of the research.: to characterize the clusters based on communities' perceptions and attitudes towards tourism; to investigate the potential of each group to align itself with an empowerment strategy that leads to a structural reform of tourism in the PNLB. As empowerment is not usually graciously granted to those in power, neither does it come to those who don't want to empower themselves. Rather, it is contextual. In the scope of this research, it refers to the process of achieving and consolidating capacities to restructure tourism and achieve a more self-centred local economy. As such, *conservatives* are faithful to the internal power structure in force in their areas, to the internal status quo and perceive tourism as a threat to it. As far as *opportunists* are concerned, their relationships with tourism seems to be temporary and instrumental and are defined by the extent to which foreign visitors and organizations could help them to migrate abroad. Consequently, for community empowerment to be effective, innovators must push opportunists to get interested in tourism and pursue the goal of working to transform it. This requires to create and sustain local power structures to effectively and efficiently manage tourism. As conservatives are caught in dilemma or contradiction: social change that should be synonymous of empowerment for the local control of tourism is incompatible with the unscathed perpetuation of local power structures. That is, elites who benefit from the status quo use mechanisms of domination to preserve the social structure that benefits them. As such, innovators must be able to attract subalterns currently influenced by local power elites, for which they must be able to rebuild hegemonic social representations rooted in transformed tourism with local control of product design, experiences and greater community participation.

Last but not least, beyond investigating the relationships between social representations, subalternity and empowerment in tourism developed in the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie, this thesis aims at contributing to a project of social transformation and shedding light on the ways to transform a tremendous social, economic and environmental reality that

has been the result of the conjunction of multiple factors and institutions inherited from colonialism and perpetuated by the postcolonial state.

In addition to fill the gap of analysing the links between subalterns' social representations and empowerment in an African protected area, this investigation main objective is to equip rural communities with endogenous mechanisms and strategies which may foster a sustainable social transformation. Especially as the disconnection between urban and rural is one of the obstacles to successful democratization in postcolonial Africa (Mamdani, 1996).

Furthermore, a research perspective yielded by this investigation is the analysis of the stake of urban-rural divide in developing countries' destinations like Senegal. Since a better understanding of the internal and external causes of this disconnection is useful to better grasp local communities' representations towards tourism as well as their propensity to be properly empowered or not in the tourism system.

This research perspective may help to focus empowerment in African protected areas with special attention to their peculiar social, political and cultural realities which are quite different from western destinations. Especially as power and empowerment are complex and multidimensional societal processes, defined by pervasive social norms, conditions, constraints and opportunities.

For instance, existing knowledge about tourism is Eurocentric and therefore ignores and negates those knowledges which emanate from other cultures and from traditionally marginalised groups (Hollinshead, 1992, 2013; Platenkamp & Botterill, 2013; Teo & Leong 2006; Tribe 2006, 2007; Whittaker, 1999). Such awareness gave birth to critical turn in tourism studies, which seeks to disrupt the dominance of Western ways of thinking, knowing and being to argue for the privileging of indigenous knowledges.

But, although critical and postcolonial perspectives have been valuable in terms of exposing the existence and effects of dominant discourses and practices in tourism, their emancipatory objectives are limited because tourism knowledge is still predominantly colonial even in postcolonial destinations. The critical turn in tourism through its focus on the discursive,

177

symbolic and cultural realms has neglected to engage with structural analyses of power and inequality in tourism which are inherent to global and neo-liberal capitalist structures (Bianchi, 2009). As a result of this epistemic violence (Spivak, 1998), a genuine epistemological  framework which can provide an alternative way of thinking, being and knowing about tourism is required to better analyze tourism development in many developing countries' destinations.

Overall, through this holistic framework, our future perspective research will be the coining, use and application of a Freiran approach (1993) of community empowerment in African destinations. This approach aims at developing a specifically endogenous empowerment epistemic grounding rather than pursuing change within the context of prevalent Eurocentric paradigms. Specifically, further research line aims at encouraging the comprehensions of local communities' perceptions of tourism through emancipated social representations likely to bring most of communities into a shared vision of what tourism should be as well as the practical way through which empowerment may be effectively implemented in the surroundings of protected areas as the National Park of La Langue de Barbarie.

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# Appendix

**CUESTIONARIO**

1. Con respecto a cómo fue la creación del Parque/la Reserva, su conocimiento se puede decir que es:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ninguno | | | | Mucho |

2. Para Vd., la fuente principal de información de aquellos acontecimientos ha sido:
   - ☐ Lo contado por mi familia.
   - ☐ Mi vivencia directa.
   - ☐ La versión de las autoridades de la Comunidad.
   - ☐ Lo leído en diversos medios.
   - ☐ Otra , ¿cuál?:……………………………………….
   - ☐ Ninguna.

3. Las Comunidades rurales fueron informadas y escuchadas cuando se decidió la creación del Parque/la Reserva:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

4. ¿Cuál es su grado de acuerdo con las siguientes sentencias referidas a las circunstancias en las que se crearon las áreas protegidas?
   - ☐ El gobierno de la nación ejerció su competencia, y a las comunidades les correspondía acatar la decisión.
   - ☐ El gobierno debió considerar y tener en cuenta la opinión de las comunidades.
   - ☐ El gobierno no debió declarar las áreas protegidas sin el consentimiento de las comunidades rurales afectadas.
   - ☐ Otra, ¿cuál?:……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

5. Por favor, díganos su grado de acuerdo con las siguientes sentencias relativas a lo que significó para las comunidades la declaración de las áreas protegidas:
   - ☐ Puso muchos límites a los usos tradicionales de aquellos territorios, empeorando las condiciones de vida de las comunidades.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

   - ☐ Aunque restringió usos, dio nuevas oportunidades que permitieron compensar las restricciones.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

   - ☐ Las oportunidades que dio el área protegida a las comunidades superaron con creces a los límites: las comunidades pasaron a vivir mejor.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

   - ☐ Otra, ¿cuál?:……………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

6. En su opinión, las áreas protegidas en la región se crearon para:
   - ☐ Mejorar la protección de los hábitats naturales y de las especies de flora y fauna.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

   - ☐ Impulsar el turismo y favorecer a las grandes empresas turísticas del país.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

   - ☐ Dar nuevas oportunidades a las comunidades rurales para mejorar sus condiciones de vida.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

   - ☐ Elevar los ingresos del estado por los impuestos y las tasas de entrada a las áreas protegidas.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo            Muy de acuerdo

☐   Otra, ¿cuál?:………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………………

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo            Muy de acuerdo

7. Con respecto a los primeros años después de la declaración de las áreas protegidas, a lo largo de los años siguientes y hasta la actualidad, las condiciones de acceso de las Comunidades a los recursos del Parque/la Reserva han sido:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Mucho peores            Mucho mejores

8. A lo largo de los años que han transcurrido desde la declaración de las áreas protegidas, los cambios que el gobierno ha introducido en la gestión y acceso de las comunidades a los recursos del Parque/Reserva se han debido sobre todo a la presión de las comunidades:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo            Muy de acuerdo

9. En el tiempo en que se declararon las áreas protegidas, ¿cómo considera Vd. que fueron las relaciones de las comunidades con las autoridades de las áreas?:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Muy malas            Muy buenas

10. A lo largo de los años, las relaciones entre las comunidades y la autoridad del Parque:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Han empeorado mucho            Han mejorado mucho

11. Díganos su grado de acuerdo con la siguiente frase: en la actualidad las comunidades participan en la organización del turismo que visita el Parque.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo            Muy de acuerdo

12. ¿Quién cree usted que tiene más beneficio económico del turismo que visita el Parque? ¿Y en segundo lugar?, ¿Y en tercer lugar?
    - ☐   Las agencias de turismo extranjeras.
    - ☐   Las empresas de turismo nacionales, pero que no son de la región.
    - ☐   Las empresas locales.
    - ☐   Las Comunidades.
    - ☐   El Parque.
    - ☐   El Gobierno.
    - ☐   Otro, ¿quién?:…………………………………………………………………………………..

13. ¿Quién cree usted que se beneficia menos del turismo que visita el Parque? ¿Y en segundo lugar?, ¿Y en tercer lugar?
    - ☐   Las agencias de turismo extranjeras.
    - ☐   Las empresas de turismo nacionales, pero que no son de la región.
    - ☐   Las empresas locales.
    - ☐   Las Comunidades.
    - ☐   El Parque.
    - ☐   El Gobierno.
    - ☐   Otro, ¿quién?:…………………………………………………………………………………..

14. ¿Cuáles son en su opinión los principales beneficios del turismo para su **Comunidad**? (elija hasta tres, ordenados según su importancia).
    - ☐   Trae algún dinero para comprar cosas que se necesitan.

□ Da ocupación a los jóvenes.

□ Mejora los medios de transporte para la gente de la comunidad.

□ Permite que tengamos más agua para beber y para la casa.

□ Ha hecho posible que tengamos acceso a energía eléctrica.

□ Tratar y conocer personas de otros lugares, que nos influyen de manera positiva.

□ Otro, ¿cuál?:……………………………………………………………………

□ Ninguno.

15. Díganos ahora en el caso de **su familia**, ¿cuáles de estos beneficios ha podido experimentar? (tres, por orden de importancia).

□ Tenemos más dinero para comprar cosas que necesitamos gracias al turismo.

□ Ha dado ocupación a jóvenes de la familia.

□ Mi familia puede salir y regresar a la Comunidad más fácilmente.

□ Tenemos mejor acceso al agua en casa.

□ Tenemos energía eléctrica gracias al turismo.

□ Hemos conocido gente de fuera, turistas, que nos han influenciado positivamente.

□ Otro, ¿cuál?:…………………………………………………………………………………………….

□ Ninguno.

16. Cuáles son los principales perjuicios del turismo para las comunidades del Parque? (Hasta tres, por orden de importancia)

□ Dispara los precios de los alimentos.

□ Produce escasez de agua para los residentes.

□ Aumenta las desigualdades.

□ Viene gente con costumbres y comportamientos que no gustan a la gente de las comunidades.

□ Cambia a los jóvenes de una forma que no nos gusta.

□ Otro, ¿cuál?

□ No produce ningún perjuicio.

17. De los siguientes posibles perjuicios que el turismo puede traer a las comunidades, cuáles de ellos cree usted que se dan en el Parque? (señale hasta tres, por orden de importancia)

□ Formas de vestir que no gustan a la gente de la comunidad, especialmente de las mujeres.

□ Falta de respeto por los símbolos y ritos de nuestra cultura, mediante gestos, gritos, risas, etc.

□ Los jóvenes de la comunidad influenciados por el turismo, desafían el orden social y la autoridad de los mayores.

□ Comercio y consumo de drogas.

□ Prostitución.

□ Robos y otra delincuencia.

□ Otro, ¿cuál?

□ Ninguno.

18. Con respecto a la Dirección del área protegida (elija 3 con las que esté más de acuerdo, por orden de importancia):

□ Lleva a cabo las directrices del Ministerio y se preocupa por el cuidado del área, nada más.

□ Favorece los intereses de las empresas que traen turistas al parque, dándoles apoyo.

□ Defienden los intereses de las comunidades rurales, intentando que tengan más protagonismo y beneficio del turismo.

□ Se ocupa sobre todo de sus propios intereses obteniendo ingresos del turismo.

□ Otra, ¿cuál?

19. De las siguientes sentencias, con cuál estaría más de acuerdo :

□ El turismo es una maldición para las comunidades del Parque. No lo quiero.
□ El turismo trae algunas cosas buenas, pero pesan más las malas. No me gusta.
□ El turismo trae más cosas buenas que malas. Lo necesitamos.
□ El turismo tiene sobre todo cosas buenas para la comunidad; si tiene algunas malas, se pueden cambiar. Es nuestro futuro.

20. Ha trabajado alguna vez en alguna actividad relacionada con el turismo?
□ NO___          SI___; ¿Cuál/es?:……………………………………………………
□ Por cuanto tiempo: ___ años

21. Trabaja actualmente en alguna actividad relacionada con el turismo:
□ NO___          SI___; ¿cuál?:……………………………………………………
□ En la comunidad:___          Fuera de ella:___          En la Comunidad y fuera de ella:___

22. En qué actividad relacionada con el turismo le gustaría trabajar (elija 3 por orden de preferencia o, si lo prefiere, señale *Ninguna*):
□ Guía del Parque.
□ Gestionar un campament.
□ Emplearme en un hotel.
□ Llevar un restaurante de comida local.
□ Transportar turistas de unos lugares a otros.
□ Producir y vender artesanía.
□ Otra, ¿cuál?:………………………………………………
□ Ninguna

23. Ahora le pediremos que compare trabajar en el turismo con trabajar en otras actividades como la pesca o la agricultura. Trabajar en turismo es:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Mucho peor | | | | Mucho mejor |

24. Creo que para mi Comunidad, la religión es:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada importante | | | | Lo más importante |

25. ¿Se considera usted una persona religiosa?:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No, en absoluto | | | | Sí, mucho |

26. Por favor, díganos su grado de acuerdo con las siguientes sentencias:

□ Sólo existe una religión portadora de la verdad:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

□ Todas las creencias religiosas, las considere o no verdaderas, son acreedoras del mismo respecto y dignidad.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

□ Me da igual la creencia religiosa que profesen los turistas que visiten mi Comunidad; los trato a todos por igual

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

27. Los turistas que visitan el Parque y las Comunidades (grado de acuerdo ):

□ Tienen respeto por los símbolos y prácticas religiosas de las comunidades, como el rezo.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo                             Muy de acuerdo

28. Cuando ve un comportamiento por parte de los turistas que Vd. considera poco respetuoso hacia las creencias de las comunidades (por favor, señale lo que mejor se aproxima a su reacción):
    □ No me ofendo, pienso que no comprenden y que no saben lo que hacen.
    □ Me ofende, deseo reprenderles y quiero que se vayan lo antes posible.
    □ Desearía explicarles lo equivocados que están y ayudarles a cambiar de actitud.
    □ Otra reacción, ¿cuál?:………………………………………………………………………………………………

29. Por favor exprese su grado de acuerdo con las siguientes sentencias:
    □ Los beneficios económicos del turismo compensan que hacen a nuestras creencias religiosas y costumbres.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo                             Muy de acuerdo

    □ Los beneficios no compensan sus ofensas a nuestra religión y costumbres, prefiero que no vengan.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo                             Muy de acuerdo

30. ¿Cómo calificaría la situación económica de la comunidad?:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Muy mala                             Muy buena

31. ¿Y la de su familia?

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Muy mala                             Muy buena

32. ¿Ha vivido toda su vida en esta comunidad?
    □ SI___          NO___;→¿Desde cuándo? Año____

33. ¿Sus padres nacieron en esta comunidad?; ¿y sus abuelos?
    □ SI___          NO___;                 SI___          NO___

34. ¿Se ha planteado alguna vez emigrar a otra parte? (por favor, señale con X):
    □ NO___;    SI___ → ¿A dónde?:
    □ Otra comunidad en la región:___
    □ Otra región de Senegal:___
    □ Otro país:___; ¿Cuál?..................

35. (En caso de que haya respondido **SI** a la pregunta anterior) ¿Por qué? (elegir hasta tres, por orden de importancia):
    □ No me gusta la vida que llevo en esta comunidad.
    □ Para tener más oportunidades de empleo y mejores ingresos.
    □ Para tener más libertad y conocer otras gentes y culturas.
    □ Para dar más oportunidades económicas a mis hijos.
    □ Para que mis hijos puedan vivir sus vidas en libertad.
    □ Otra, ¿Cuál?:………………………………………………………………………………

36. (En caso de que haya respondido **NO** a la pregunta anterior) ¿Por qué? (elegir hasta tres, por orden de importancia):
    ☐ Me siento de aquí; y aquí quiero vivir y morir.
    ☐ Me gusta la vida que llevo aquí, aún con pocos recursos económicos.
    ☐ No sé lo que me encontraría por ahí. Me da un poco de miedo.
    ☐ Me gustaría irme, pero no puedo abandonar a familiares que dependen de mi.
    ☐ Tengo confianza en que la vida aquí mejorará en los próximos años.
    ☐ Otra, ¿cuál?:…………………………………………………………………………………

37. Cómo son en su opinión las relaciones entre las familias de su comunidad (grado de acuerdo):
    ☐ Cada familia trata de resolver sus problemas por sus propios medios.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

   ☐ Cuando lo necesitan practican la colaboración y la ayuda mutua.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

   ☐ La colaboración y la ayuda son permanentes y para muchos asuntos.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

   ☐ Otra, ¿cuál?:…………………………………………………………………………………

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

38. Con respecto a la participación de su comunidad en la organización y beneficios del turismo (exprese su grado de acuerdo con las siguientes sentencias):
    ☐ Nada cambiará si no cambia la política de turismo del gobierno.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

   ☐ El gobierno debe cambiar su política, pero también las Comunidades pueden hacer por el cambio.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

   ☐ El cambio vendrá sobre todo por una mayor implicación de las Comunidades en ellos.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

39. Exprese su grado de acuerdo con lo siguiente:
    ☐ Tienen que producirse cambios en la organización política y adminstiva de la Comunidad, si queremos tener una relación más provechosa con el turismo.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| No, en absoluto | | | | Si, claramente |

40. Exprese su grado de acuerdo con lo siguiente: Las comunidades poseen **capacidades suficientes** y están preparadas para tener un papel más activo en la organización y gestión del turismo que visita El Parque.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nada de acuerdo | | | | Muy de acuerdo |

41. Exprese su grado de acuerdo con lo siguiente: Las comunidades **pueden aprender** lo necesario para tener un rol más activo en la organización y gestión del turismo que visita las áreas protegidas.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Muy difícilmente          Sí, con seguridad

42. Exprese su grado de acuerdo con lo siguiente: Cuando en su comunidad se toman decisiones relacionadas con el turismo, los representantes convocan a los habitantes y les piden su opinión:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

No, nunca          Sí, siempre

43. Con respecto a las relaciones con **otras comunidades** para la gestión del turismo, la colaboración es estrecha y frecuente:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

No, en absoluto          Si, claramente

44. Con respecto a las relaciones con las **autoridades del Parque** para la gestión del turismo, exprese su grado de acuerdo con lo siguiente:
   □ Prácticamente no existen, el Parque toma todas las decisiones sin informarnos.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo          Muy de acuerdo
   □ Cada cierto tiempo nos cuentan sus planes, para que los conozcamos.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo          Muy de acuerdo
   □ Cada cierto tiempo piden nuestra opinión para tenerla en cuenta en sus decisiones.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo          Muy de acuerdo
   □ Nos convocan periódicamente para discutir y planificar todas las acciones.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo          Muy de acuerdo
   □ Otra circunstancia, ¿cuál?:………………………………………………………………………………………

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo          Muy de acuerdo

45. Exprese su grado de acuerdo con lo siguiente: En el futuro se producirán cambios positivos en la gestión y mayores beneficios para las Comunidades del turismo que visita el Parque:

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|

Nada de acuerdo          Muy de acuerdo

46. Características personales/familiares:
   □ Sexo: H___; M___;      Año de nacimiento:___
   □ Personas con las que vive: Padre___; Madre___; Hermanos(nº)___; Hermanas(nº)___; Hijos(nº)___; Hijas(nº)___; Otros(nº)___.

47. ¿Cuál es su nivel de educación formal?
   □ Educación primaria___;     Educación secundaria___;     Formación profesional___; Otro nivel, ¿cuál?................;     No sé leer ni escribir___.

48. Ocupación principal:
   □ Agricultura___; Ganadería___; Pesca___; Turismo___; Cuidado de la familia___; Otra, ¿cuál?___; Ninguna___.

49. Trabajo por cuenta propia o familiar___;   Trabajo por cuenta ajena (asalariado/a)___.

50. Por favor, qué situación define mejor su relación con la actividad comercial (ordenar, si procede):

   □   Produzco para el autoconsumo familiar.
   □   Produzco para vender o intercambiar por otros bienes en la comunidad.
   □   Produzco para vender o intercambiar por otros bienes fuera de la comunidad.
   □   Otra situación, ¿cuál?......................................................................................

51. ¿Podría indicarnos por favor en que rango se situaron sus ingresos monetarios familiares en el último año?
   □   Menos de 125.000 CFAs
   □   Entre 125.000 y 250.000 CFAs.
   □   Entre 250.000 y 500.000 CFAs.
   □   Entre 500.000 y 1.000.000 CFAs.
   □   Entre 1.000.000 y 2.000.000 CFAs.
   □   Entre 2.000.000 y 4.000.000 CFAs.
   □   Más de 4.000.000 de CFAs.

52. Por favor, díganos en qué medida los siguientes aspectos definen su personalidad:
   □   Creo que soy una persona activa y vigorosa.
   □   Generalmente tiendo a imponerme a las otras personas más que a condescender con ellas.
   □   Me gusta la aventura y asumir los riesgos
   □   Procuro destacarme en cualquier actividad
   □   Los que me conocen saben que siempre pueden contar conmigo
   □   Rara vez soy yo el que comienza una disputa con otra persona
   □   Olvido fácilmente las ofensas que recibo
   □   Es difícil que pierda el control sobre mis actos
   □   Me siento satisfecho de cómo me va la vida
   □   Siempre decido tras tomar en cuenta distintas alternativas y puntos de vista
   □   Me entusiasma conocer la vida y costumbres de otros pueblos y culturas
   □   Con ciertas personas, no tengo por qué ser tolerante.
   □   Trabajar en grupo no me ayuda a desarrollar mis propias capacidades.
   □   Generalmente, confío en las demás personas y en sus intenciones.
   □   Generalmente no me comporto de manera abierta con los extraños.
   □   Afronto todas mis actividades y experiencias con gran entusiasmo.
   □   Estoy convencido de que se obtienen mejores resultados cooperando con los demás que compitiendo.
   □   Si alguna acción mía desagrada a alguien, dejo de hacerla.
   □   Si algo no puedo llevarlo a cabo tan pronto como deseaba, no insisto y lo dejo.
   □   No comprendo qué empuja a las personas a comportarse de modo diferente a la norma.
   □   Siempre me has fascinado las culturas muy diferentes a la mía.
   □   Si fracaso en algo, lo intento de nuevo hasta conseguirlo.
   □   Me resulta fácil hablar con personas que no conozco.
   □   Creo que todas las personas tienen algo de bueno.
   □   Tengo en gran consideración el punto de vista de mis compañeros.
   □   Difícilmente desisto de una actividad que he comenzado.
   □   Normalmente tiendo a no fiarme mucho de los demás.
   □   Si creo que tengo la razón intento convencer a los demás aunque me cueste tiempo y energía.
   □   Nunca me han interesado la vida y costumbre de otros pueblos.

- No dudo en decir lo que pienso.
- A veces me enfado por cosas de poca importancia.
- Soy una persona que siempre busca nuevas experiencias.
- Cuando algo entorpece mis proyectos no insisto en conseguirlos e intento otros.
- Habitualmente muestro una actitud cordial, incluso con las personas que me provocan una cierta antipatía.
- No pierdo tiempo en aprender cosas que no me interesan de forma inmediata.
- Llevo a cabo lo que he decidido aunque ello me suponga un esfuerzo no previsto antes.
- Si me equivoco, siempre me resulta fácil admitirlo.
- Creo que no hay valores y costumbres totalmente válidos y eternos.
- Si tengo que criticar a los demás cuando se lo merecen, lo hago.
- No me atraen las situaciones en constante cambio.
- Si es preciso, no tengo ningún inconveniente en ayudar a un desconocido.
- Siempre he estado absolutamente seguro de todas mis acciones.
- Toda novedad me entusiasma.
- Me gusta mezclarme con la gente.
- Llevo a cabo las decisiones que he tomado.
- No me siento muy atraído por las situaciones nuevas e inesperadas.
- No es necesario comportarse cordialmente con todas las personas.
- Tiendo a estar siempre completamente de acuerdo con los demás.
- No me gustan las actividades que exigen empeñarse y esforzarse hasta el agotamiento.
- Estoy siempre informado de lo que sucede en mi comunidad, en mi región, en mi país.

¡ MUCHAS GRACIAS ¡