

TOURISM IN WORLD HERITAGE SITES AND ITS IMPACT ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: SOME AFRICAN COUNTRIES CASE STUDIES

*El turismo en los sitios Patrimonio Mundial y su impacto en el desarrollo
económico: algunos casos de estudio de países africanos*

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the impact of tourism caused by the presence of world heritage sites on the economic development using case studies of Mali and Zimbabwe. The results indicate that there exists a positive relationship between having such heritage sites and tourist numbers, and there exists a positive relationship between the extent of specialization in tourism and long-term GDP growth.

Keywords: Economies of Tourism, World Heritage Sites, Economic Development, African Countries.

RESUMEN

Este estudio examina el impacto causado por la presencia del turismo en sitios Patrimonio Mundial en el desarrollo económico, mediante estudios de caso de Malí y Zimbabwe. Los resultados indican que existe una relación positiva entre tener estos sitios de patrimonio y el número de turistas, y existe una relación positiva entre el grado de especialización en el turismo y el crecimiento del PIB a largo plazo.

Palabras clave: economía del turismo, lugares Patrimonio Mundial, desarrollo económico, países africanos

INTRODUCTION

Tourism is one of the leading economic sectors in the world, and represents a major source of income, employment, exports and taxes. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), in 2011 the tourism sector (domestic and international) contributed almost 5992 billion USD to the global economy. With confirmed strong linkage effects, the tourism industry also provides almost 260 million job opportunities, accounting for nearly 9% of global employment. In addition, according to the World Bank Carbon Finance Unit (CFU) the tourism

sector is relatively eco-friendly compared to the manufacturing sector, and has led to more sustainable development. Therefore, many countries are emphasizing the development of tourism to drive their 'green' economic growth (Hastings, 2014).

The paper aims to recognize on the economies of tourism in world heritage sites and determines the impact of tourism on economic development, and uses case studies of Mali and Zimbabwe.

This paper is divided into six parts as follow; Part 1: Tourism specialization and economic development, Part 2: The role of world heritage sites, Part 3: Sustainable tourism and natural and cultural world heritage, Part 4: Cultural tourism and cultural heritage management in Mali, Part 5: Tourism in Zimbabwe for sustainable economic development, Part 6: Conclusion.

PART 1: TOURISM SPECIALIZATION AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

During the past few decades, many countries have embarked in tourism-oriented policies. Inspired by a number of success stories attributed to tourism specialization, more and more developing countries, including Sub-Saharan African countries, are contemplating such a strategy in order to emerge from the development trap. It quantifies the apparent positive relationship in Figure 1 and corrects for bias arising from potential endogeneity in a growth regression that includes tourism specialization.

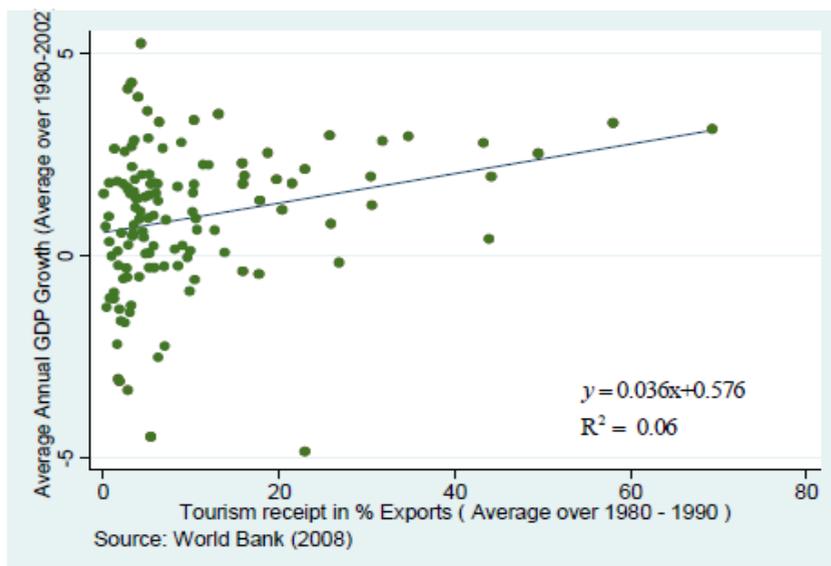


Figure 1: Economic Growth and Tourism Specialization. Source: (Arezki et al., 2009).

According to the literature on economic growth and tourism, international tourism may affect growth through several channels beyond the direct revenues from receipts. The foreign direct investment (FDI) associated with tourism can bring managerial skills and technology with potential spillover benefits to other sectors. Policies designed to foster tourism, by improving security, stability, and openness, can also enhance growth in other sectors (Munro & Moore, 2014). On the other hand, an expansion of the tourism sector may increase the relative price of non traded goods, crowding out the factors of production at the expense of the traded goods sector, a phenomenon known as “Dutch disease” (Copeland, 1991 and Chao et al., 2006).

Empirical studies that investigate the impact of tourism on growth generally find a positive correlation between tourism receipts and the growth rate, especially for poor countries. An increase of one standard deviation in tourism specialization leads to an increase of around 0.5 percentage point in annual growth, everything else being constant (Sequeria and Nunes, 2008).

PART 2: THE ROLE OF WORLD HERITAGE SITES

World Tourism Organization (WTO) statistics reveal the growth of international tourist arrivals (the x-axis on the right hand side) between 1995 and 2011, as shown in Fig. 2.

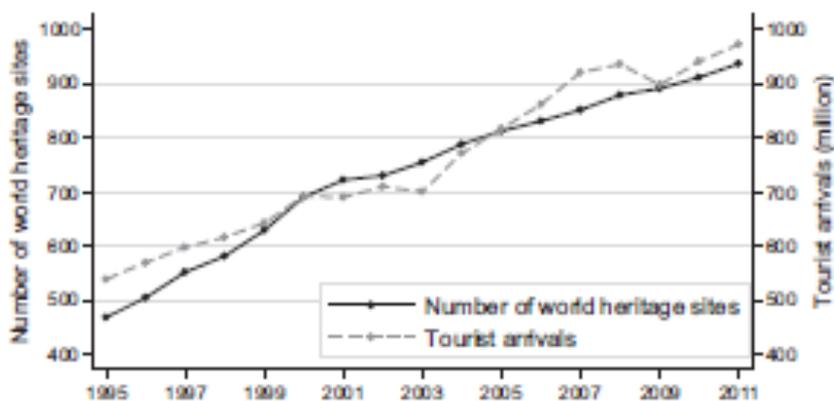


Figure 2: Numbers of world heritage sites and international tourist arrivals. Source: (Su and Lin, 2014)

The number of international tourist arrivals increased from 538 million in 1995 to 940 million in 2010, representing growth of 4.7% on average in each year. Meanwhile, according to the World Heritage Centre of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the total number of World Heritage Sites (WHSs) has risen steadily. Fig.2 also shows that the number of WHSs (the x axis on the left-hand side) increased from 468 in 1995 to 936 in 2011, or by 6% per year on average. Thus, these growing trends appear to suggest that, if the positive effect of WHSs on international tourism is proved, having such sites will lead to increases in international tourist arrivals and consequently tourism expenditure, thereby benefiting the economies of the destination countries.

As the number of tourists increase, governments and private enterprises around the world have been eager to expand their tourism. Many studies have examined the key elements affecting tourism demand. It has also been found that tourism destinations with typical cultural or natural elements constitute one of the chief attractions for international tourists (Lim, 2006). Since cultural or natural attractions lead to increased tourism demand, it could be argued that those attractions that are officially authenticated, i.e., inscribed on the list of WHSs by UNESCO, should be relatively appealing to international tourists (Su and Lin, 2014).

With the increasing trend in terms of the number of WHSs (see Fig. 2), the geographical distribution of heritage sites is relatively unbalanced. According to data collected by the World Heritage Centre, UNESCO, Fig. 3 shows the pie chart of WHSs by region in 2009.

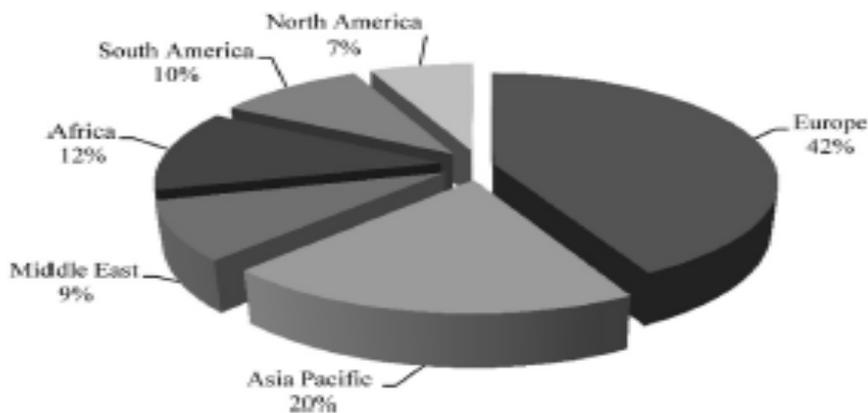


Figure 3: Number of world heritage sites by location in 2009. Source: (Su and Lin, 2014)

WHs are mainly concentrated in Europe, which accounts for 42% of the total amount, followed by the Asia Pacific with 20%, and the Americas with 17% (the sum of the North and the South Americas). Other areas, that is, Africa and the countries of the Middle East, each account for around 10%. Overall, European countries, which have highly developed tourism, possess rich cultural and historical attractions, including almost half of all WHs.

To reveal this phenomenon in better detail, Fig. 4 shows the top 20 countries according to the numbers of WHs in 2009 provided by the World Heritage Centre, UNESCO.

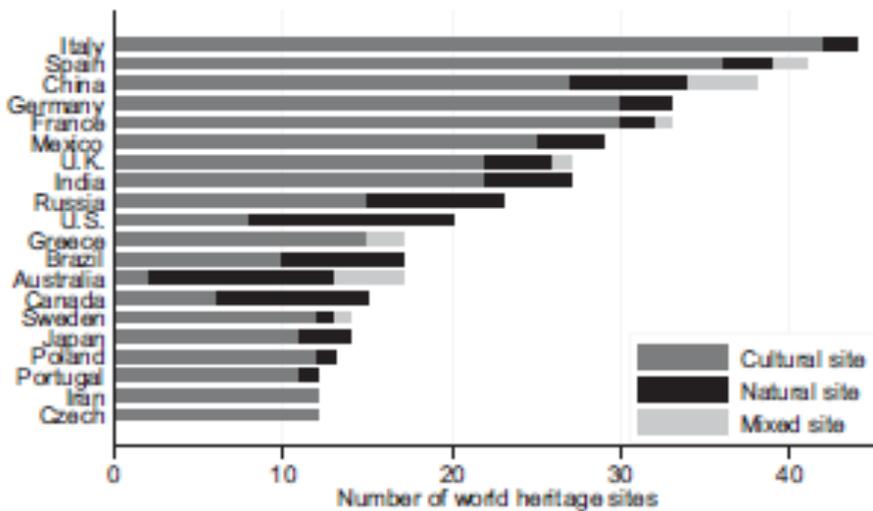


Figure 4: Top 20 countries in terms of world heritage sites in 2009. Source: (Su and Lin, 2014)

The total number of WHs is the summation of three kinds of sites: cultural, natural and mixed sites. Half of these countries are located in Europe. Italy, the country with the most WHs, possesses 44 WHs, including 42 cultural sites and 2 natural sites. The country with the second most WHs, Spain, has 41 WHs (36 cultural, 3 natural and 2 mixed sites), and China has 38 WHs (27 cultural, 7 natural and 4 mixed sites).

As for the demand for tourism, Fig. 5 shows the top 20 countries ranked by international tourist arrivals in 2009, according to data compiled by the World Tourism Organization.

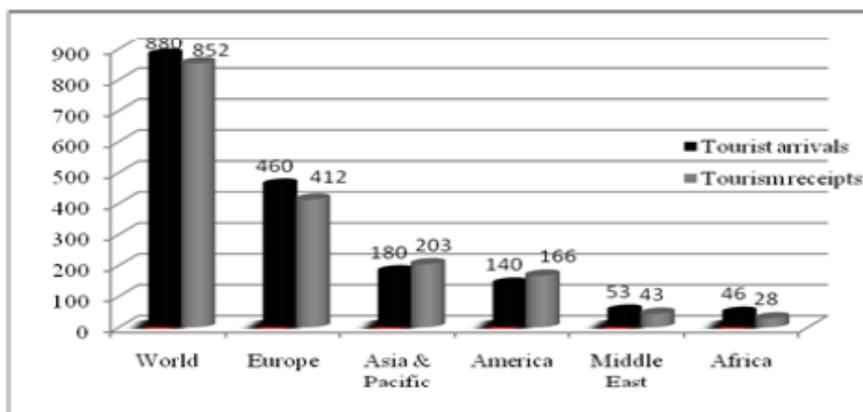


Figure 5: Top 20 countries in terms of international tourist arrivals in 2009. Source: (Su and Lin, 2014)

France, the most popular country for tourism, received 76.8 million international tourists in 2009. Inbound tourist arrivals in the United States, Spain and China were 54.9 million, 52.2 million and 50.9 million, respectively, while Italy received 43.2 million inbound tourists, or about 60% of the number that France received. International tourist arrivals in other countries were all less than 30 million in 2009.

Evaluation of the economic contribution of WHSs

According to the World Heritage Center, the latest list of newly-inscribed WHSs reflects the 2011 vision. Table 1 lists these newly-inscribed WHSs and their related economic contributions. In Table 1, the marginal effect comes from our model, while the average receipt is calculated by dividing the total tourism receipts in 2009 by the international tourist arrivals in 2009, based on data provided by the World Development Indicators (Su and Lin, 2014).

The contribution of WHSs is obtained by multiplying the marginal effect of WHSs by the average receipts (expenditure) of inbound tourists in destination countries. Because the buying power and travel costs are different, the average receipts vary across countries, and so do the contributions of WHSs (Frey and Pamini). Australia, for example, possesses 19 WHSs, and the marginal effect of WHSs on international tourist arrivals is around 375,000. However, the average receipt from international tourists is quite high, amounting to 4990 USD per person. The forecasted contribution of this newly-inscribed WHS is about 1781million USD. Thus, the authorities of the destination countries could refer not only to the result, but also to the method in order to evaluate the economic contribution of WHSs and to budget for their conservation (Su and Lin, 2014).

Table 7
Contribution of newly-inscribed WHSs in 2011.

Newly-inscribed WHSs in 2011	Type	Country	# of WHSs	Marginal effect of WHSs (1000) (A)	Average receipt (USD) (B)	Contribution of WHSs (million USD) (A) × (B)
In-sample countries						
• Petroglyphic Complexes of the Mongolian Altai	C	Mongolia	3	975	616	600
• Coffee Cultural Landscape of Colombia	C	Colombia	7	488	1244	620
• Selimiye Mosque and its Social Complex	C	Turkey	10	488	965	480
• The Persian Garden	C	Iran	13	357	1136	405
• Hiraizumi (Temples, Gardens and Archaeological Sites Representing the Buddhist Pure Land)	C	Japan	16	357	1846	659
• Ogasawara Islands	N	Japan	16	357	1846	659
• Ningaloo Coast	N	Australia	19	357	4990	1781
• Fagus Factory in Alfeld	C	Germany	36	475	1969	931
• The Causses and the Cévennes, Mediterranean agro-pastoral Cultural Landscape	C	France	37	475	763	362
• West Lake Cultural Landscape of Hangzhou	C	China	41	475	838	398
• Cultural Landscape of the Serra de Tramuntana	C	Spain	43	475	1141	542
• Longobards in Italy. Places of the Power (568–774 A.D.)	C	Italy	47	475	970	461
Out-of-sample countries						
• Cultural Sites of Al Ain (Hafit, Hili, Bidaa Birt Saïd and Oases Areas)	C	United Arab Emirates	1	975	1032	1006
• Historic Bridgetown and its Garrison	C	Barbados	1	975	2162	2108
• Archaeological Sites of the Island of Meroë	C	Sudan	2	975	712	694
• León Cathedral	C	Nicaragua	2	975	358	349
• Wadi Rum Protected Area	M	Jordan	4	580	916	531
• Residence of Bukovinian and Dalmatian Metropolitans	C	Ukraine	5	580	209	121
• Ancient Villages of Northern Syria	C	Syrian Arab Republic	6	580	621	360
• Fort Jesus, Mombasa	C	Kenya	6	580	807	468
• Kenya Lake System in the Great Rift Valley	N	Kenya	6	580	807	468
• Saloum Delta	C	Senegal	6	580	542	314
• Citadel of the Ho Dynasty	C	Vietnam	7	488	814	405
• Konso Cultural Landscape	C	Ethiopia	9	488	3391	1689

1. C: cultural site, N: natural site, M: mixed site.

2. Missing data of tourist arrivals in 2009: Iran, Ethiopia (replaced by 2008 data), Senegal (replaced by 2007 data), United Arab Emirates (replaced by 2005 data).

Table 1: contribution of newly-inscribed WHSs in 2011. Source: (Su and Lin, 2014).

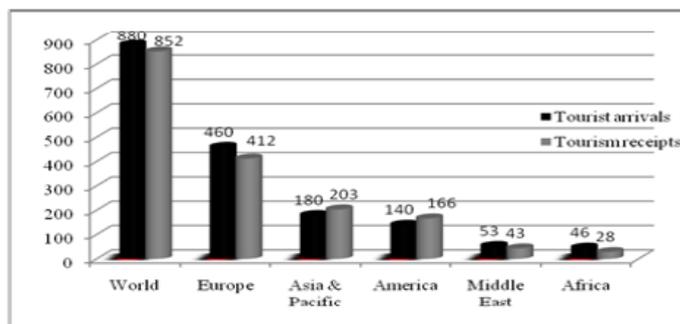


Figure 6: The number of tourists according to the world and their regions. Source: (Emir and Kilic, 2014).

According to WTO (2010) data, the top three countries to attract tourists are France (74.2 million), the USA (54.9 million) and Spain (52.2 million). Additionally, tourism receipts rank as the USA (94.2 billion \$), Spain (53.2 billion \$) and France (48.7 billion \$).

PART 3: SUSTAINABLE TOURISM AND NATURAL AND CULTURAL WORLD

Heritage

Gaps exist in our understanding of how tourism development affects natural World Heritage Sites, including the nature and extent of different types of impacts from tourism in and around sites, and the underlying reasons for these. A clearer understanding is also required with regards to how the different players (tourism industry, tourists, local authorities...) contribute to such impacts and which of these groups can be considered the drivers of change (Snyman, 2014).

Furthermore, better knowledge of the level of integration (e.g in terms of governance, management, funding, land-use planning, tourism development and destination management) of World Heritage Sites in the wider landscape would be beneficial. In light of these gaps, it is important to determine how the World Heritage status and mechanisms can be used more effectively to address the current challenges (Borges et al. 2011).

Tourism driven impacts on natural World Heritage

Tourism is often praised for its ability to reconcile conservation and development goals in or near protected areas (Ashworth & van der Aa, 2006; Figgis & Bushell, 2007). From a conservation perspective, tourism can raise funds for protecting natural areas, enhance local and tourist awareness of biodiversity and conservation issues as well as discourage local people from unsustainable livelihoods.

From a development perspective, tourism revenue may reduce poverty by stimulating business development and job creation that is in principle compatible with biodiversity conservation as well as enhancing local services, and through improved education empower local people to advocate for the protection of the natural environment (Vadi & Schneider, 2014).

However, if tourism is badly planned and not managed responsibly, it can on the contrary lead to biodiversity loss, ecosystem degradation and negative impacts to local communities. It is therefore essential for tourism that takes place in protected areas to be managed correctly and uphold the principles of sustainable development (Tubbataha 2013).

Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the overall goal of a protected area is conservation and in the case of World Heritage Sites there is a particular emphasis on the protection, conservation and presentation of the features (Meskell, 2013).

Negative impacts (Threats)

In regards to negative impacts of tourism development, some common trends were reported. Increased visitor pressure is seen as one of the key issues associated with World Heritage Site status and can have severe consequences for the integrity particularly when the increases are either unplanned or very rapid, outstripping the capacity of site infrastructure and management systems to cope. A rapid increase in tourism numbers, particularly when this is not accounted for by the management of the property often threatens the values for which the property was inscribed in the list in the first place. Associated to an increase in visitor numbers are other issues reported in the survey including congestion, heavy traffic, infrastructure development, air, noise and /or water pollution and severe effects to the diversity of the area through physical changes provoked by the presence of large numbers of tourists (e.g. through trampling, disturbance, vandalism etc) (Borges et al. 2011).

Positive impacts (Opportunities)

The tourism development in natural World Heritage sites can be beneficial when planned and managed in a sustainable way. Social, economic and environmental benefits are all achieved when appropriate site protection mechanisms are in place and tourism planning is integrated with site management planning. For instance, economic benefits from tourism development are often vital for managing the site and used for conservation and monitoring activities (Borges et al. 2011).

Community development can be another positive outcome of tourism being developed in World Heritage Sites and has been reported in many sites. Although some common impacts of tourism development in natural World Heritage Sites were identified throughout the sites, the reasons for these vary considerably and not surprisingly, cannot be easily categorized to a specific cause. The impacts reflect a multitude of relational factors which range from understanding the socio-political context of the site to analyzing its management to other issues related to stakeholder participation and communication. In trying to find common threads among sites, the contrasts between them becomes apparent and their diversity striking. Natural World Heritage Sites represent a wide and diverse range of protected areas and should be analyzed as such if a framework for sustainable tourism development in these sites is to be reached (Borges et al. 2011).

Cultural heritage

The economic valuation of the historic heritage implies an important problem: the inexistence of significant markets that express that value in terms of real prices (Harding, 1999). This conclusion is also based on two basic reasons: firstly, often the direct value of the services derived from the historic heritage is not registered adequately, due to their nature of public goods or their subsidiary condition (McKercher, 2002); and, secondly, the benefits related to the heritage considered as a social value or identity sign are not marketable, even when there is an expressed willingness to pay. Hence the importance of resorting to indirect markets in order to discover the public's preferences, such as the travel cost method, whose likelihood lies in the estimation of the willingness to pay for the use of the cultural heritage measured by the economic effort involved in traveling to the touristic sites (Bedate et al. 2004).

PART 4: CULTURAL TOURISM AND CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN MALI

Mali is one of developing countries which has signed the World Heritage Convention in 1977 (UNESCO, 2014d). Although there is now a more global strategy, Smith (2006) argues that there is an authorized heritage discourse (AHD) in the uses of heritage. This discourse has its roots in a Western European tradition and deals with heritage as 'things' i.e. as aesthetic monuments that need to be 'conserved as found'. It is in that discourse (AHD) that heritage as physical embodiment can be mapped, managed, preserved, restored and investigated and its protection may be the subject of national legislation and international agreements, conventions and charters from UNESCO and International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) amongst others.

The local population did not seem to be a passive actor in the development of this World Heritage Site as tourist attraction. They are involved in the formation of a tourist attraction by building complements and adjusting meals for tourists, opening souvenir shops, arranging local guides and collecting site tax. Besides this the local population is also actively involved in the restoration project of the ancient sites in the cliff under supervision of the Mission Culturelle Bandiagara (Deursen and Raaphorst, 2014).

This case study examines how locals deal with concepts such as cultural tourism and cultural heritage management, which affect their community. The local population has different ideas about cultural heritage management and the importance of conservation than their Western partners, such as UNESCO, in other words the AHD. The AHD conceptualizes heritage as things which need to be 'conserved as found'. The local population adapted Western concepts and

mixed them with their own ideas and interpretations of conserving, using and managing their cultural heritage.

The competence of locals as cultural brokers to anticipate the needs and expectations of tourists and transmitting cultural knowledge to the younger generation through the restoration project. Insights are gained into the complexity of cultural tourism and the process of interaction between locals, tourists, stakeholders in the travel industry and cultural heritage management in Mali. Interests, needs and expectations of these different actors have to be taken into account. Although there will always be differences in power and locals will never have complete power and control over the formation of a World Heritage Site into a tourist attraction, they have certainly a degree of ownership. As is apparent from the preceding paragraphs, cultural heritage management is not without conflicts and different interests. In other words, where there is heritage, there is the politics of heritage (Deursen and Raaphorst, 2014).

It can be concluded that the local population is indeed involved as an active actor and benefits from cultural tourism through deploying their embodied and objectified cultural capital. It is important to remain critical. To some extent locals will have to conform to the standards of UNESCO's Operational Guidelines. Their ideas about the management of cultural heritage are not always compatible. But locals also 'play' with these 'rules'. In addition, no community is homogeneous, and there will always be differences of interpretation in cultural heritage management. This means that not all members of a community uniformly share the same ideas about conserving, using and managing cultural heritage.

PART 5: TOURISM IN ZIMBABWE FOR SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

In Zimbabwe, tourism ranks fourth in its contribution towards the country's earnings and 10% to Gross Domestic Product (GDP)(Mzembe 2014). Zimbabwe's Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZimAsset) is a government of Zimbabwe macroeconomic program launched in October 2013 and will run up to December 2018. Zimbabwe experienced economic down turn from 2001 to 2008. A positive economic growth to the tune of 4.7% was reached in 2009 signifying a sign of recovery. However, such recovery cannot be sustainable for a long period without the Government of Zimbabwe implementing deeper reforms (African Development Bank, 2010; World Bank, 2011 and Mzumara, 2012). The tourism sector grew steadily at independence in 1980 owing to the removal of sanctions imposed on Rhodesia then by the United Nations. With the new legitimate government in place, the number of visitors coming to Zimbabwe grew. The period 1980 to 1999 was a now remarkable growth in the sector (Mzumara et al 2013).

However in 2000, the war veterans' occupation of white commercial farms and subsequent formalization of it by the government was seen as marking of intensive land reform program. This angered countries and organizations such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia and the European Union. The anger was followed by measures or travel bans imposed on Zimbabwe's political leadership (Timbe, 2007). These measures were subsequently expanded in full sanctions such as the Zimbabwe Democracy and Economic Recovery Act (ZIDERA) of 2001 by the United States of America Congress. The act prevented the Secretary of Treasury and USA Directors in Multilateral Organization such as the World Bank, and International Monetary Fund from extending credit to Zimbabwe. The Act was replaced with Zimbabwe Transition and Economic Recovery Act 2010 and allowed some assistance to some ministries not controlled by ZANUPF in the inclusive government and the Parliament of Zimbabwe (USA Congress, 2010; Mzumara, 2012).

The impact of the sanctions has resulted in a fluctuation in the tourism sector just like other sections in Zimbabwe experienced. The fluctuation in tourism was mainly due to bad publicity of Zimbabwe by international media especially in the western countries that imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe. The tourism sector is quite sensitive and responds immediately to travel bans and warnings especially by countries such as the United States of America. The USA State Department is known for issuing travelling warnings to its citizens. Such warnings are taken as a cue if the security situation in a country named in the bulletin. Zimbabwe's hopes to revive the sector were hinged on the hosting of FIFA World Cup by South Africa in 2010. There was euphoria of hope that visitors coming to watch the game in South Africa would find their way to Zimbabwe before or after the World Cup (Chingarande, 2014).

In Table 2, taking 1995 as a base year, in 1996 tourist arrivals increased by 15.7%. In 1997 however tourist arrivals fell by -7.9%. In 1998 tourist arrivals picked up by 45.5%. The arrivals further increased by 64.9% in 1999. In 2000 there was an increase but was less than that of 1999 at 44%. In 2001 tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe soared to 62.6% before only increasing by 49.7% in 2002 then picking up 65.4% in 2003.

Then in 2004 tourist arrivals increased only by 36%. In 2005 the increase was marginal at 14.3%. In 2006 there was substantial increase in tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe by 67.7%. Then the increase soared by 84% in 2007. In 2008, the increase in tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe was only 43%. In 2009 the increase was 47.2%. In 2010 the tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe

increased by 64.2%. In 2011, Zimbabwe recorded an increase of 77.8% while in 2012 the increase amounted to 31.6%. Since 1995, the increase has been fluctuating rather than steady. Figure 7 shows tourist arrivals by region in 2012 in Zimbabwe.

Year	Arrivals in Zimbabwe
1995	1 363 412
1996	1 577 005
1997	1 281 205
1998	1 986 474
1999	2 249 615
2000	1966 582
2001	2 217 429
2002	2 041 202
2003	2 256 205
2004	1 854 488
2005	1 558 501
2006	2 286 572
2007	2 513 204
2008	1 956 442
2009	2 017 264
2010	2 239 165
2011	2 423 280
2012	1 794 230

Table 2: Tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe. Source: (Chingarande, 2014).

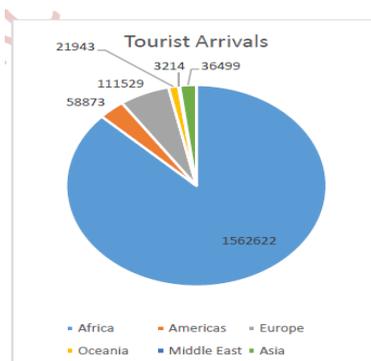


Figure 7: Tourist arrivals by region in 2012 in Zimbabwe. Source: (Chingarande, 2014).

In Figure 7, the highest tourist arrivals came from within Africa accounting for 1 562 622. In the second place was Europe accounting for 111 529. In the third place was America accounting for 58 873. In the

fourth place was Asia accounting for 36 499 tourist arrivals. In the fifth place is Oceania accounting for 21 493. In the sixth place was the Middle East accounting for only 3214. Figure 8 shows top 12 countries which contributed to tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe in 2012.

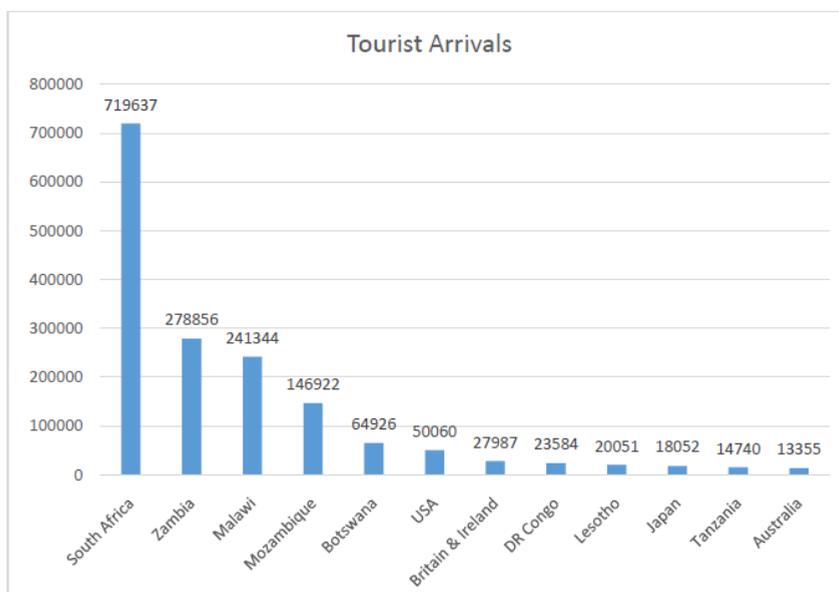


Figure 8: Top 12 countries which contributed to tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe in 2012. Source: (Chingarande, 2014)

In Figure 8, the highest contributor to tourist arrivals in Zimbabwe in 2012 was South Africa accounting for 719 637. It was followed by Zambia, then Malawi, Mozambique, Botswana, USA, Britain and Ireland, DR Congo, Lesotho, Japan, Tanzania, Australia. The Southern African countries are leading in contributing to tourist arrivals due to the fact that the countries are close to Zimbabwe making the cost of travelling affordable. Further under the Southern African Development Community (SADC) arrangement member states have removed visa requirement in the region making travelling within the region much easier. Other regions are slower in contribution because of hassles in securing visas. According to Mzembi (2014) the Western countries are the biggest spenders followed by the Asians. The Africans are fewer spenders although they contribute much more in numbers.

The conclusion is that the tourism sector has potential to contribute to ZimAsset provided there are significant interventions to make the sector very robust. There is also lack of appropriate promotion in the high spending countries of places such as the Victoria Falls.

PART 6: CONCLUSION

The number of WHSs will have a significantly and robustly positive effect on international tourist arrivals. Therefore, a country possessing a WHS is in a win-win situation not only for the sustainable conservation of cultural achievements and natural resources, but also for the development of the tourism economy. More over we could say that these two purposes are not contradictory, but rather complementary. It is because conservation is the only way to maintain sustainable tourism income from WHSs, and this tourism income is indispensable for the further preservation of WHSs.

So finally the results indicate that there exists a positive relationship between having such heritage sites and tourist numbers, and there exists a positive relationship between the extent of specialization in tourism and long-term GDP growth.

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