HERITAGE AND CULTURAL TOURISM IN MOZAMBIQUE:

A HISTORICAL ASSESSMENT

by

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Dedication

In the memory of my educator, Aunt Florentina Wele Mubai
Abstract

Tourism plays an important role in the Mozambican economy. However, little has been done in terms of research regarding tourism in general and cultural tourism in particular. This mini-dissertation presents a historical assessment of heritage and cultural tourism development in Mozambique taking into consideration historical factors namely colonialism (1895-1974), the civil war (1976-1992, and the political transformations within in the country after independence in 1975. It argues that these factors had a negative effect on the image of Mozambique as tourist destination as well as the role and attitude of local people in the tourism industry. Regarding heritage and cultural tourism it finds that this type of tourism has received limited attention by the government, tourism operators, academics and the population in general. It attempts to recommend a policy and attitude change for all tourism stakeholders as a means to bring heritage and culture into the fore ground of the Mozambican tourism industry.

Key words: Mozambique, Heritage and Cultural Tourism.
Acknowledgements

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DECLARATION

Full name: Marlino Eugênio Mubai

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Degree: Magister Hereditatis Culturaeque Scientiae: Coursework (Heritage and Cultural Tourism)

Title of Mini-Dissertation: Heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique: a historical assessment.

I declare that this Mini-Dissertation is my own original work. Where secondary material is used, this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with university requirements.

I understand what plagiarism is and am aware of university policy and implications in this regard.

[Signature]

DATE
List of abbreviations

AU - African Union

CETEL - Centro de Estudos Técnicos-Económicos [Center for Technical and Economics Studies]

DNFFB - Direcção Nacional de Florestas e Fauna Bravia [National Division of Forests and Wildlife]

FRELIMO – Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [Front for Liberation of Mozambique]

GDP – Gross Domestic Product

LTM – Listas Telefónicas de Moçambique [Telephonic Lists of Mozambique]

MICOA – Ministério Para a Coordenação da Acção Ambiental [Ministry for the Coordination of Environmental Action]

MITUR – Ministério do Turismo [Ministry of Tourism]

RENAMO – Resistência Nacional de Moçambique [Mozambique National Resistance]

SADC - Southern African Development Community

UEM – Universidade Eduardo Mondlane [Eduardo Mondlane University]
I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objectives of the study

Tourism has played an important role in the Mozambican economy since the colonial period. It is actually still one of the main branches of the Mozambican economy. Given the importance of tourism in the Mozambican economy it is fundamental to analyse the history of the tourism industry and then to consider the historical factors that affected its development.

This study has as objectives: (i) To make a historical assessment of the status of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique taking into consideration the manner in which the indigenous culture has been treated by political elites through time (1959 up to present); (ii) To analyse the way Mozambique had been marketed as a tourist destination; (iii) To analyze the role/place of heritage and culture in the Mozambican tourism industry; and what research has been done in this field; (iv) To identify heritage, historical and cultural aspects that can serve tourism in Mozambique; (v) To provide policy recommendations for sustainable development of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique.

The Mozambican government has defined tourism as a sector that will contribute to the creation of employment, strengthen national unity and cultural inter-change and also reduce the absolute poverty, which affects a majority of the national population.¹ However, from the colonial period up to the first decade of independence, a major resource of the Mozambican population (its distinct heritage and culture) was neglected by politicians. During the colonial period the Mozambicans saw their own identity denied through a systematic rejection of their indigenous cultural values.² After the independence in 1975, and with the adoption of Marxism-Leninism in 1977, once again the Mozambican witnessed the trivialization of their cultural values.³ From the 1990’s an attempt is being made to alter this situation. Considering these

historical developments, there are a wide range of challenges that face the development of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique.

Heritage and Cultural Tourism is relatively unresearched in Mozambique and the significance of this study lies in the hope that it will provide a modest contribution in this regard. The results of the study, if applied in practice, may ultimately create employment for a considerable number of people in the country. It may also contribute to the preservation of national heritage and culture. This seems very important given the current political, social and economic developments of regional and international integration through institutions such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and African Union (AU).

One of the goals of this study is to try and contribute to the reduction of the extreme poverty that affects the majority of Mozambican citizens. This can be partly achieved through the practical implementation of the results of the research in programs of community-based development. It is believe that the subject of this study has a potential that can be exploited for the benefit of disadvantaged communities within Mozambique. Tourism is one of the ways in which local, ordinary people can use their culture and heritage in a positive and productive way. This is very important considering on one level the potential of Mozambique’s natural heritage. The tourist, can however, also be targeted to visit the heritage and cultural attractions in Mozambique where local people would have an opportunity to showcase their specific heritage and culture and earn some money. In this process, the community could engage in the process of heritage and culture revitalization and preservation. The finding of this study could then also be applied to other African countries in similar situations.

1.2 Methodology

To achieve the proposed objectives, a literature review was completed. This literature review focuses on the history of research in the field of tourism, in order to identify the place and development of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique. Furthermore, fieldwork was done in order to assess the strategies and realities in the practice of heritage and cultural tourism. The research methodology applied is the
qualitative method of data collection. This method helped to organize and describe subjective data in a systematic way. It included different methods such as participant observation, as well as interviews with policy-makers, tourist operators, heritage and cultural site managers. All interviewees were given an explanation of the purpose of the research in their local language and then asked permission to participate in the research. (See annexure A and B).

To achieve the proposed objectives, semi-structured or open-ended interviews (annexure C) were conducted with government representatives in the Ministries of Tourism, the Ministry of Education and Culture, as well as with the managers of heritage and cultural attractions in Maputo, tourism operators and tourist guides. The interviewees comprised nine senior government officials, four representatives from selected heritage and cultural attractions, seven travel agents and two tourist guides.

The interviewees were generally selected according to their knowledge and experience in matters of tourism in general and cultural tourism in particular and were therefore interviewed in their professional capacity. It was made apparent in the letter of introduction that there will be no personal direct gain as a result of participation in the survey. Rather this will contribute to the research project as a whole. The letters of introduction and informed consent (see annexure A and B) were presented in both English and Portuguese. Portuguese is my second language and the official language in Mozambique and the most spoken in the country.

This mini-thesis integrates information from the literature review with the interpretation of data collected from the fieldwork. The literature review concentrated on research in the general tourism field, and heritage and cultural tourism in particular. It also concentrated on matters of Mozambique’s tourism policy with a particular focus on heritage and cultural tourism. Archives of the government institutions related to tourism were consulted in order to obtain data about the economic significance of tourism for the country.

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1.3 Chapter outline

The mini-dissertation comprises of seven chapters. The first is the introduction, which addresses the objectives of the study and its significance along with the methodology. The second chapter deals with the theoretical foundation and gives definitions of key concepts and it also addresses generic obstacles for heritage and cultural tourism development. On the other hand it proposes some solutions for the obstacles pointed out. The third chapter presents a literature survey and overview of the sources on tourism in Mozambique. The fourth chapter addresses Mozambique as a tourist destination. It provides geographical and historical information regarding Mozambique as tourist destination as well as an outline of Mozambican history. It also enumerates and describes Mozambique’s heritage and cultural components that might be of importance for tourism.

The fifth analyses the relationship between tourism, cultural affirmation and national identity. It reviews theoretical foundations of tourism as a means for cultural affirmation and national identity and analyses how the Mozambicans indigenous people culture was represented in tourism during the colonial and post colonial period. The sixth chapter, deals with the challenges facing heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique. It makes reference to the issues of commodification of tourism and sustainable tourism.

Finally, the seventh chapter, proposes ways to enhance the practice of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique. In this regard, the chapter suggests the integration of local communities into tourism development, the promotion of integrated nature based and heritage and cultural attractions tourism packages, the exploration of heritage and cultural aspects for domestic tourism and other factors that could enhance heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique.
II. THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS

2.1 Concept definitions

Before starting the analysis of the theme, it is necessary to clarify three concepts, which constitute key words in this discussion: "heritage", "culture" and "tourism." Various authors have devoted their attention to the definition of "heritage," R. Prentice (1993), D.T. Herbert (1995) and (1996), P. Gruffudd (1995), P. Johnson and B. Thomas (1995), P. Boniface (1995), among others. Each author has particular elements that distinguish his definition from the others so that I only present a selection of definitions, which seem adequate for the purpose of this study. As Herbert, Prentice and Thomas have argued, "heritage is among the indefinable concepts." The difficulty of defining heritage is related to its elastic character and subjectivity. "Heritage has different meanings for different people, a historic monument or artefact, judged as valued heritage by one person, may be of no interest to another." On the other hand, R. Hewison considers that "in the literal sense, heritage is something that is inherited, an inheritance or a legacy; things of value which have been passed from one generation to the next." R. Hewison also emphasizes that heritage is something that a past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which in turn a significant group of the population wishes to hand on to the future. These considerations of heritage give particular attention to issues of the conservation and preservation aspects of heritage by being committed to ensure that future generations have access to such heritage.

"Heritage" takes on many forms as, for example, "natural heritage" which involves the natural history movement concerned with the protection of natural flora and fauna, and environment that may be at risk because of the activities of humans. Therefore,

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6 D.T. Herbert et al., Heritage sites, p.10.
8 R. Hewison quoted by R. Prentice, Tourism and heritage attractions, p.5.
9 R. Hewison quoted by D. T. Herbert, Heritage tourism and society, p.8
the definition of "heritage" must take into consideration that it is a very subjective and a sometimes emotive concept. This study gives special attention to "historical heritage" with particular focus on the built environment, namely museums, monuments, historical buildings and historical sites, such as battlefields.

Another key concept is "culture," which is one of the concepts that many social scientists have concentrated on. Hundreds of definitions were produced but they have always been criticized in some way. As Y. Reisinger and L. W. Turner argue ""culture" is a multivariate concept with many definitions." 10 There is no consensus definition that can be widely accepted.11 Given the complexity of culture it is not discussed further here. The definitions presented are more approximated to the context of this study.

The classic definition regards ""culture" as that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and other capabilities and habits acquired by a man as a member of society."12 In addition, culture is defined as "the process through which people make sense of themselves and their lives."13 These definitions are full of significance because they regard culture as something gathering all aspects of human life such as beliefs, ways of life, goods, dance, religion, food, dress, and habitation. As E. Chambers points out, ""culture" is expressed by the way in which members of a group determine and symbolize the meaningfulness of their lives."14 More recent definitions of culture emphasize that "culture is about the whole way of life of a particular people or social group with distinctive signifying systems involving all forms of social activity and artistic or intellectual activities. It is not just about the arts and the aesthetic judgements of a selected minority who has been educated to appreciate certain cultural activities; it is also about the lives and interests of ordinary people, both urban and rural dwellers, indigenous and immigrant

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11 Ibid.
communities, artists and artisans."\textsuperscript{15} This demonstrates that despite the existence of various definitions of culture the barriers between "high" and "low" culture tend to disappear. This reality is of particular importance for tourism development, because many tourists are specifically interested in local lifestyles.

Another concept that deserves definition is "tourism." It is also among the concepts with multivariate definitions. Although there are many definitions of this concept, here it is regarded as referring to the "activities of persons during their travel and stay in a place outside their usual place of residence, for a continuous period less than one year, for leisure, business or other purposes"\textsuperscript{16} Tourism is also defined as one form of leisure activity and tourists as leisure travellers, that is, travellers who are free of more important cultural obligations.\textsuperscript{17} Tourism as a field of study where different disciplines such as geography, anthropology, sociology, psychology, economics and history intervene, has different definitions according to each discipline. The definitions can differ, but they have some aspects in common, that is the reference to tourism as an activity involving travelling to places outside the normal places of residence and work.

"Cultural Tourism" is defined as, "related to the [doings of man] that lend attractiveness to the landscape. It includes peoples' lifestyles, bizarre traditions, mores, manners, beliefs and faiths, which often find expression in local, regional fairs and festivals, art forms and architecture."\textsuperscript{18} This concept is also defined as "that concerned with cultural phenomenon." As A.H. Walle observes, "early cultural tourism tended to involve 'high culture' or 'elite' culture whereas much contemporary cultural tourism concerns hinterland or folklore culture as well."\textsuperscript{19} On the other hand, "cultural tourism" is defined as describing the phenomena of people travelling for the sake of experiencing either another culture (concepts, habits, skills, arts, instruments, of a given people in a given period) or the cultural attractions of particular places.

(museums, festivals, galleries, artists, musicians, theatre, and architecture). Other scholars observe differences between "cultural tourism" and "heritage tourism." "Cultural tourism" refers to "experimental tourism based on being involved in and stimulated by performing arts, visual arts, and festivals while "heritage tourism" includes visiting preferred landscapes, historic sites, buildings or monuments; seeking an encounter with nature or feeling part of the history of a place.

When considering the relationship between heritage, culture and tourism, it is important to note from the outset that "heritage and culture overlap in such a way that the terms are often used synonymously." According to D.R. Juddy and S.S. Fainstein, "heritage and tourism has a long history. Heritage tourism has been one of the traditional motives for leisure travel. For centuries people have visited cities of special historic interest - the grand tour being an example of this genre." It has been pointed out that "heritage has become a commodity; something that can be marketed and managed and presented as an evidence of longevity, brilliance, perseverance, and power."

On the other hand, C.M. Hall warns about the weaknesses of heritage presentation in tourism. He argues that "tourism is used as an economic justification for the presentation of heritage. He adds that heritage is selective, it is made by the winners, representing the winner's view of history." This observation is important in the process of selection of the aspects that can be regarded as national heritage to be presented in tourism.

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Therefore, heritage in its varied forms such as landscapes, ancient buildings and monuments, religions, natural history, artefacts, cultural traditions and the like, which are passed from one generation to the other, forms one of the most important elements to attract tourists. States can promote heritage tourism in order to gain political legitimacy. According to Hall, heritage is clearly related to the issues of “identity.”

On the other hand, D.T. Herbert notes that “heritage as business becomes part of tourism, which is a significant component of many local economies and is often promoted in places where such economic incentives are badly needed.”

There are very many studies done focusing on the relationship between culture and tourism: Boniface (1995), Richards (1996), Chambers (1997), Medina (2003) to quote but a few examples. Culture is assumed as a key factor that motivates people to travel. M. Hall and B. Weiler note that, “people travel to exotic destinations to experience first hand, authentic and sometimes intimate contact with people whose ethnic and/or cultural background is different from the tourists.” They also observe that this culturally motivated travelling can take the form of ethnic tourism involving first hand experiences with the practices of another culture or cultural tourism involving exposure to culture in an indirect way, more as a backdrop than as the specific focus of travel. M. Robinson observes that, “the desire to make contact with one’s own culture (s), in all its forms, and the search for the experiences of others’ culture is very much at the heart of tourism.”

G. Richards reiterates that tourism and culture are inseparable. He adds that the convergence of tourism and cultural consumption is not coincidental. He also observes that “culture is seen as a unique and authentic attribute of a place, which can be used to distinguish the tourism products of one region or country from another.” Culture, is therefore widely recognized as fundamental to promote tourism.

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26 Ibid. p.95.
32 Ibid. p.318.
From the assumptions presented it is clear that people travel to different areas motivated by the desire to experience something different. Cultural differences appear as an element that attracts tourists. Without taking for granted the importance of the consequences of cultural contacts between people from different cultural environment, the next section concentrates on the analysis of the aspects of culture presented to tourists. It also observes how such cultural aspects are marketed in tourism.

2.2 The presentation of heritage and culture in tourism.

It has been demonstrated that culture is a very huge concept that includes almost all aspects of human life. This makes it difficult to enumerate all cultural aspects that might be of interest in tourism promotion. Because of this reality, culture has the potential to serve as product or commodity for sale to tourists. As P. Boniface observes, “culture is presented in tourism generally but cultures play a crucial role in their differences as they offer variety and the possibility of product differentiation.”

Everything that constitutes culture has the potential to be displayed or offered to tourists. However, the way in which heritage and culture is presented in tourism is a matter of controversy. As culture includes variable aspects, its presentation in tourism implies a process of selection of what can be regarded as the most representative and significant aspects of a particular society. The process of selection is susceptible to be influenced by bias, subjectivity, and political and social context. As K. Teague points out “the representation of any culture is necessarily selective. It involves the appropriation, analysis and re-representation of that culture and runs the inherent risk of creating stereotypes.”

On the other hand, it is also important to observe who produces the image of a particular culture to the tourists. Are the local hosts consulted or did they participate or give their opinion about for example, the production of the pamphlets? This is a matter of concern because frequently the presentation of culture in tourism is designed

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34 Ibid.
in order to meet the expectations of the tourists. According to P.C. van der Berghe "local elites use its political, economic, locational, and linguistic advantages to capitalize on the otherness of indigenous groups transforming that otherness into a marketable commodity." If this is done without taking into consideration the opinion of local hosts it can lead to conflict. According to M. Robinson, "tourists often expect experiences to be arranged for their convenience and are frequently unwilling to endure uncomfortable local conditions." Yet, T. Peggy and S.A.Y. Brenda observe that the showcase of culture and history can create antagonisms, especially if it is left completely in the hands of marketers to decide what to represent.

One of the themes that have received great attention by researchers is the effect of the presentation of indigenous dances to tourists. It is seen as resulting in modifications in order to satisfy the demands of tourists. According to M. Shackly "ethnic or tribal dances staged for visitors are frequently simpler and shorter than the original forms since the visitor is appreciating the performance at a purely visual level."

In many cases the presentation of heritage and culture to tourists involves the presence of a tour guide whose function is to interpret to the tourists the most prominent examples of material culture and the major points about the history of the place, its religion, or its national pride. As M. Shackly points out, "without interpretation, aspects such as dances become repetitive, breaks and characters are incomprehensible." From the other perspective, using the example of museums it has been observed that "in a museum display, the object itself is without meaning. Its meaning is conferred by the 'writer', that is the curator, the archaeologist, the historian, or the visitor who possesses the 'cultural competence' to recognize the conferred meaning given by the expert."

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Another aspect that deserves attention is the way in which cultural attractions are marketed through brochures and postcards. Some of the brochures have modes of imperialistic representation. For example, a brochure for one trip to Malaysia "displays the neo-colonialist discourse and subsequent inferiorizing of the populations that cast the guests’ role as dominant over that of the host communities. It provides information which gives the impression of the host communities as inferior, and as commodity." In another example, tourism companies marketed Namibia and Botswana "as being ‘unspoiled Eden’s’ where people can see large numbers of elephants, lions and wildlife as well as groups of people who supposedly continue to hunt and gather as they have always done. On the other hand, in rural Namibia and Botswana some local people felt that “they were in a kind of ‘human zoo’ in which they were the objects of scrutiny by rich outsiders." In Mexico, the presentation of indigenous people as tourist attractions led to conflict. According to Berghe some *zincancantecos* (a Mexican Indian group) have controlled tourist access to their communities, forbidding photography and treating tourists coolly. These resentments illustrate the way communities feel disrespected by the agencies that promote tourism in the area and can serve as warning to those interested in marketing cultural or ethnic tourism.

Through an analysis of postcards in the USA during the last decades of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth century, W.M. Mellinger observed that, “postcards publishers tended to choose stereotypical images in order to make their product accessible to the widest audience. He adds that ‘staged scenes of traditional plantation slaves are dominant photographic images in a racist regime of representation.’ He goes further in his critique considering that postcard photographs of African-Americans were markers of tourists’ quest for a primitive, natural, and unalienated world." At another level Smith points out that “ethnic minorities tend to
be under-represented in the arts and museum world, as they have traditionally lacked the power and control to determine exhibition content and interpretation.\textsuperscript{48} She notes that the interpretation of indigenous collections or exhibitions is often left in the hands of non-indigenous people who may or may not understand fully the culture and traditions they are depicting.\textsuperscript{49}

Yet regarding the marketing of tourist destinations it has been noted that:

The tourism industry promotes such locations as Burma (Myanmar) as “timeless” despite the realities that tradition and authenticity are not static but continually evolving overtime. The people are represented as exhibiting essentialist characteristics - specific and distinct natures, which are deeply entrenched, and not subject to change or adaptation. In this way, people have invariably been ordained to the stereotyped immobility of an essential authenticity, in which they are expected to play out roles, designated for them by others...forever.\textsuperscript{50}

M. Sturma describes a similar situation in Polynesia where “Pacific islands are represented as ‘timeless’ and devoid of history.” He adds that “the advertisements of the South Pacific appeals to a post-modern desire to stop the clock, escape the relentless pace of change and experience a ‘timeless’ culture.”\textsuperscript{51} This data shows the subjectivity that characterizes the process of “presentation” of heritage and culture in tourism. However, in normal conditions where traditional ceremonies are presented to tourists, local communities should decide whether to allow tourists to observe the ceremonies. If tourists are allowed, their visits should be carefully controlled so that the ceremonial procedures are not disrupted.\textsuperscript{52} It should be important and positive to ask the members of toured cultures how they want to be represented or portrayed in brochures marketing tourism. By doing so, certain forms of conflict involving tourists and hosts, tourists and tour operators, could be minimized.

\textsuperscript{48} K. M. Smith, \textit{Issues in cultural tourism studies}, p.216.
\textsuperscript{49} ibid.
Despite the economic and socio-cultural benefits that culture presentation in tourism can provide (local employment opportunities, tax revenue, and economic diversity), if it is not managed properly it can generate negative effects which impact on the culture of host communities. Many scholars have analysed the impacts of tourism on culture: F. De Kadt (1979), H. Zeppel and C. Hall (1992), P. Boniface (1995), G. Richards (1996), K. Teague, (1997), M. Robinson and P. Boniface, (1999), L.K. Medina, (2003), D.N.L. McLeod, (2004), among others. Early studies about the effects of tourism on culture tended to be pessimistic. D.J. Greenwood is one of the scholars with a pessimistic point of view. Using the example of the Alard in Fuenterrabia (Spain), Greenwood observes that “treating culture as a natural resource or commodity over which tourists have rights is not simply perverse, it is a violation of the peoples cultural rights. Yet, the commodification of culture in effect robs people of the very meanings by which they organize their lives.” Also critical of cultural presentation in tourism is J. Craik who argues that “while cultural tourism’ and cultural components of tourism may revitalize an existing tourism industry and cultural production, such developments can also threaten the culture of the destination and longer term cultural integrity.” D. Wilson points out that “in the Seychelles the performance of traditional dances, such as saga and moutia leads to its devaluation and loss of dignity by the local inhabitants.” From another perspective, Schakley observed, “in Tibet and Nepal, the popularity of monastic festivals as visitor attractions has resulted in the modification of traditional practices, decreased local interest and participation, and increased commercialisation and economic exploitation.” The effects of culture presentation in tourism can also impact on material culture. As H. Keyser and K.M. Smith noted “the demand for large quantities

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56 D. Wilson, “The early effects of tourism in the Seychelles,” in: Kadt, F. de (ed) Tourism: passport to development?
57 M. Schackly, “Managing the cultural impacts of religious tourism in the Himalayas, Tibet and Nepal.” p.95.
of arts and crafts, and for cheaper prices, may lead to the mass production or importation of goods of inferior quality.\textsuperscript{58}

Another view is posited by G. Richards who claims that “the initial pessimism about the negative effects of tourism in culture have now been replaced by more balanced appraisals, in which tourism is also recognized as having the potential to strengthen local cultures.”\textsuperscript{59} Scholars such as, V. H. Long, M. Robinson and Smith, consider that tourism can provide positive gains such as revitalization of local arts, rise of pride in community cultural traditions and ethnic identity.\textsuperscript{60} By participating in cultural tourism activities indigenous people may affirm an identity. It is argued that “tourism needs not prostitute cultural identity nor become an act of servitude. Through tourism-related artistic activity individuals may express new-founded self-confidence, as well as a sense of belonging to a wider cultural and occupational identity.”\textsuperscript{61} Commenting on the issue of cultural performance for tourists, C. Ryan argues that “the host societies are quite able to distinguish between the tourist show and the real event.”\textsuperscript{62} In addition, it is argued that “it is necessary to resist the temptation to view indigenous peoples as unable to adapt and assimilate to a changing world. Indigenous peoples can not be kept as pristine pets on anthropological reservations.”\textsuperscript{63}

According to G.J. Asworth & A.G. Dietvorst, to minimize the negative effects of tourism, “tourism must be managed in a way that satisfies the goals of the tourism industry, the culture resource, the culture providers and the managers of the localities where such tourism occurs. It is also necessary to recognize that tourism is only one among many users of the same cultural resources.”\textsuperscript{64} From another perspective, it has been pointed out that “in many ways it is difficult to disassociate the impacts of tourism from the broader context of social and cultural development. It is recognized


\textsuperscript{59} G. Richards (ed.), Cultural tourism in Europe, p. 66.

\textsuperscript{60} V.H. Long, Community characteristics and tourism impacts. Paper delivered at the 14\textsuperscript{th} International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. Williamsburg, Virginia, USA, 1998; M. Robinson & P. Boniface, Tourism and cultural conflicts; K. M. Smith, Issues in cultural tourism studies.

\textsuperscript{61} H.N. Nicholson, “Collusion, collision or change?: indigenous tourism and cultural experience in British Columbia,” in P.E. Murphy (ed.), Quality management in urban tourism, p.128.


\textsuperscript{63} T. Nunez, “Touristic studies in anthropological perspective,” in: V. Smith, Hosts and guests, p.5.

\textsuperscript{64} G.J. Asworth & A.G.J. (eds), Tourism and spatial transformations: implications for policy and planning, pp.268, 272.
that tourism is the only one of a number of global factors that impacts upon the traditions and lifestyles of native people. In addition it is believed that "cultural change comes about by things which are both internal and external to the culture. Culture would change in the absence of tourism. Therefore, tourism is simply one component of an emerging 'global culture' characterized by brand names and personalities." Therefore it is inevitable that as long as culture is commodified it will be affected in certain ways.

This raises the issue of authenticity, commodification and commercialisation in tourism. These issues are concerned with the analysis of cultural presentation in tourism. The debate emerges when it is asked which aspects of culture should be presented to tourists and to what extent such presentations impact on the host's culture.

2.3 Authenticity, commodification and commercialization in tourism.

For a better comprehension of the subject of presentation of heritage and culture in tourism it is important to define the concepts of authenticity, commodification and commercialisation. "Authenticity" is a difficult concept to define. Put simply "authenticity" means genuine, unadulterated or the real thing. With respect to tourism the term has different interpretations. N. Wang notes that authenticity in tourism involves two different and confused issues: tourist experiences and the "authenticity" of the toured objects. He argues that there is an "objective authenticity," related to the toured objects, "constructive authenticity" that is the result of social construction, and an "existential authenticity" (divided into intra: personal and interpersonal dimensions) involving a potential existential state of being which is to be activated by tourist activities.

Wang mentions four different meanings of "authenticity:" (i) the historical verisimilitude of representation, (ii) "authenticity" as meaning genuine, historically

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accurate, and immaculate simulation (iii) “authenticity” meaning originals, as opposed to a copy and (iv) the term as referring to authority or power which authorizes, certificates and legally validates the “authenticity.”

“Authenticity” thus has different meanings and subjectivity - contexts, perspectives and interpretation influence it. The aim of this section is to analyse briefly to what extent tourism can interfere with the “authenticity” of the toured culture. According to Wang “authenticity is relevant to some kinds of tourism such as ethnic, history or culture tourism, which involves the representation of the other or the past, it connotes traditional culture and origin, a sense of genuine, the real or the unique.”

Finally, Wang makes the point that:

Origins and traditions are themselves invented and constructed in terms of the contexts where one is and in terms of the needs of the present. Authenticity or inauthenticity is a result of how one sees things and of his/her perspectives and interpretations. Authenticity is a label attached to the visited cultures. Something can initially be “inauthentic” or “artificial”, but it may subsequently become “emergent authenticity” with the passage of time.

Therefore the debate regarding authenticity in tourism is open to vastly different interpretations. In this mini-dissertation, the term “authenticity” is used according to what Getz refers to as “a motivation, as in the search for the authentic (genuine, unadulterated) cultural experiences by tourists.”

Other concepts that need to be defined are “commodification” and “commercialisation.” According to M. Robinson “commodification” is “the process whereby ways of life, traditions and the complex symbolism which supports these, are imaged and transformed into saleable products.” In summary, “commodification” means to turn something into a commodity, something that is sold for money. According to Cobuild English Dictionary the term “commercialise” means to use or

69 Ibid, p.354.
73 M. Robinson, “Cultural conflicts in tourism: inevitability and inequality,” p.11.
change something in such a way that it makes money or profits, often in a way that people disapprove of."74 These two definitions show that “commodification” and “commercialisation” can be used as one and the same. In the process of commodification, there are some aspects that are more contentious than others. For example, “the presentation of artefacts in museums is regarded as less problematic as compared to the commodification of ethnic groups and practices in non-Westernised developing countries. Aspects such as rituals, religious ceremonies, ethnic rites and festivals are more sensitive to be commodified.”75

D. MacCannell is regarded as having opened the debate of “authenticity” in tourism by suggesting that tourists are engaged in the quest for the authentic. Furthermore, it is considered that modern tourists seek authenticity precisely because it has become so scarce. D. MacCannel developed the term ‘staged authenticity’ to describe events created with the intention of fooling observers. He remarks that when culture is produced for visitors in that way, it is planned manipulation.76 These considerations opened a huge debate about the authenticity of toured objects and tourists’ experiences. Different opinions emerged, ranging from those who consider that the presentation of culture to tourists threatens cultural integrity to those who see it as an important contribution to the affirmation of cultural identities and economic benefits.

As D. Getz observes, “tourism is frequently accused of destroying authenticity through commodification, especially of cultural performances like dances, rituals and festivals.”77 This assumption is also shared by D.J. Greenwood. In his first analysis of the Alarde de Fuenterrabia (Spain) he concluded that “when the community is forced to perform for money the performance loses its meaning.”78 In addition, S. McDonald emphasizes that “during the process of performing the culture and history for the tourists, both tourists and those who perform to them are duped.”79

75 M. Robinson, “Cultural conflicts in tourism: inevitability and inequality,” p.11.
77 Ibid.,p.409.
78 D.J. Greenwood, “Culture by the pound: an anthropological perspective on tourism as cultural commoditization.”
Other scholars see the authenticity debate in a different perspective. They argue that “the opinion that tourism undermines the integrity of the host culture is simplistic.” C. Ryan observes that tourism can revitalize aspects of local culture such as gastronomy, art and music. R. McIntosh, et al., is also more optimistic about the benefits of tourism to local culture, underlining that “tourism emphasizes and showcases identities and empowers hosts to interpret their own heritage.”

These differences of opinions demonstrate how one must be aware of the multivariate facets of the term “authenticity” and its application to tourism. From these different opinions it is agreed that as Getz has argued “authenticity belongs to the community presenting the event and is therefore a ‘product’ to be controlled and promoted as the community sees it.” The question whether tourism produces what MacCannel coined ‘staged authenticity’ should be addressed carefully, given the fact that authenticity is a very flexible concept.

Commodification and commercialisation in tourism is another matter of a grand academic debate. There are different opinions about the implication of commodification and commercialisation, especially when it is applied to culture. Through the process of commodification, culture has been transformed into a product that is commercialised. As Y. Reisinger and L.W. Turner point out, “many people visit foreign destinations to experience different ways of living, traditions and customs.” They argue that this interest and search for the culture of others contributes to the commodification and commercialisation of culture. The process of commodification of cultural items has both negative and positive effects for the host communities.

J.C. Holloway observes, “the search for authentic experiences by tourists puts culture in danger of becoming commercialised and trivialized.” According to this scholar in cases where genuine works are purchased a country can lose cultural treasures.

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81 R. McIntosh, et al., *Tourism: principles, practices, and philosophies*, p.213.
Furthermore, the commercialisation of local arts can lead to mass production of poorly crafted works. During this process artists introduce alterations to their traditional styles to satisfy the tourists. For other scholars, the commercialisation of culture does not necessarily bring negative impacts. As Getz argues "when communities or cultural groups determine what is important to themselves and take control of the exchange process with visitors and the tourists industry, authenticity can be preserved and enhanced." This analysis is similar to that of B. Duggan who has analysed the ability of one Cherokee group (USA) to benefit from tourism without sacrificing their sense of cultural integrity. Duggan observed that to achieve their goals the Cherokees founded a cooperative with the objective of quality control for standards of crafts locally produced and provided social assistance to the members. The structure, programs and benefits are rooted in the traditional Cherokee values. The cooperative is an example of positive economic and social benefits that tourism can engender when it is culturally informed and indigenously controlled.

Duggan and Getz consider that tourism need not destroy traditional meanings, and that cultural preservation or reinvigoration can actually derive from the incentives offered by modern tourism. P.M. Burns puts it in a simple way stating: "there are no cultures that remain static and unchanged overtime." Therefore, the issue of commodification and commercialisation in tourism should be analysed taking into consideration other variables such as the dynamics of the communities, the level of tourism development and the type of tourists.

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85 D. Getz, “Event tourism and the authenticity dilemma,” p.410
III LITERARY SURVEY AND SOURCES

This chapter presents a literature review of tourism research in Mozambique. It also considers the various sources of tourism information in Mozambique, such as tourist guidebooks, magazine articles and pamphlets. Two distinctive phases are identifiable for the purpose of this survey: the colonial period and independence period. The aim is to analyze the general nature and character of tourism research in Mozambique and points to its strengths and weaknesses.

3.1 Research on tourism in Mozambique

3.1.1 Colonial period

Tourism research during the colonial period attracted the attention of a considerable number of researchers. Research done in this period reveals the importance of tourism to the economy of the former colony of Mozambique. One of the earliest pieces of research reflecting this perspective is the 1963 monograph done by F.P. Marjay who gives a brief history of Mozambique in the context of Portuguese colonization. He also focuses on the people of Mozambique and the country’s main tourist attractions. Given the valuable information that is of importance to tourism, this book can be regarded as a tourist “guidebook.” Although written in the colonial times, this book is one of the few that offers a positive image of local people and their culture, and also tries to demonstrate that white and black people live in harmony.

In this period cultural tourism also fascinated other writers, such as the journalist R. Júnior. In his 1960’s publication he addresses the richness of Mozambique in terms of cultural attractions. He however criticizes the role played by the colonial government and the tourist operators in the promotion of tourism in general and of cultural tourism in particular. He unfortunately does not make explicit reference to what aspects of culture he believes should be marketed and or developed for tourism. He also interprets Mozambican culture as exclusively that of the Portuguese settlers and therefore disregards the indigenous people and their culture. In 1968 another researcher, V.H.V. Grilo, observes, “Mozambique has a multi-racial and multi-

cultural character that can be of value for tourism." He adds that Mozambique should promote tourism based on conferences and congresses, as well as social tourism, to relieve workers and students from stress. Like the article of R. Júnior referred to above, this article does not specifically indicate what aspects of culture could be promoted for tourism.

In 1968 D.J.S. Rebelo analyses the contribution of tourism as regards the balance of international payments of Mozambique for the period 1956 to 1965. He also considers the development of tourism in Europe, America, and the Mediterranean region, Portugal, South Africa and Mozambique. Focusing on Mozambique, Rebelo recommends the increase of investments in the tourism sector, but again does not give exact details of what exactly he believes should be done.

Another publication of importance for tourism research in colonial Mozambique is a compilation of all the legislation concerned with tourism in the colonial period. This compilation, published in 1973, presents the most important legislation regarding tourism in Mozambique for the period 1959 to 1973. It helps to understand the role played by the colonial government in the promotion of the tourism sector as part of the national economy.

A report by the ‘Centro de Estudos Técnicos-Económicos [Technical and Economic Studies Centre] (CETEL)’ in 1973 assesses Mozambique’s tourism potential. It identifies three zones with the potential to attract tourists, namely, Gorongosa National Park; Lourenço Marques city and its surrounding coastal zone; Vilankulo and the Archipelago of Bazaruto. This report emphasizes the wildlife attractions and the sea attractions of Maputo, Vilankulo and Bazaruto Island. It argues that these zones have capacity to generate profits through low investments by the government.

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93 Centro de informação e turismo do estado português em moçambique, legislação respeitante ao centro de informação e turismo. Lourenço marques, 1973.
94 CETEL. Potencial turístico de Moçambique e áreas prioritárias de desenvolvimento. Relatório para o Centro de informação e turismo de Moçambique. Lourenço marques, 1973.
Also dealing with the potential and status quo of tourism attractions and tourism development in Mozambique is the report of ‘Profabril-Centro de Projetos Industriais’ (Center of Industrial Projects)’ produced in 1973.85 According to this report, Mozambique has natural tourist resources such as climate, natural beauty, beaches, resources for hunting and fishing, as well as an artistic heritage and a heritage of monuments, folklore, handcrafts and in addition, a network of transport to serve the tourism industry.86

In the varied literature focusing on the tourist attractions of Mozambique there are some sources that take a different approach. A.P. de Lima makes a deeper study of the city hall building of Maputo considering this to be one of the top attractions of the city.87 J.M. d’E Queiroz, who travelled from Lisbon to Mozambique to “visit, to see and to describe and write the natural history of the animals of the National Park of Gorongosa,” produced a book written in Portuguese and English.88 It has coloured and black and white photographs of animals, vegetation and indigenous people of the visited areas. The author did not analyse or describe the way of life of the indigenous people, but he portrays them as part of the natural environment of the visited areas. The book has particular importance for tourism, especially for those interested in wildlife attractions.

M.P. Romano views tourism as an incentive to encourage whites settlers and those in transit in the harbours of Maputo and Beira to stay longer in Mozambique. In his 1968 book he supports the establishment of the “houses of rest” and “recovery” in Mozambique as a means to make the settlers feel comfortable in the colony and thus not keen to return to Portugal as soon as they terminate their respective missions.89 This perspective of tourism development, based on the support of colonization at the time when other colonial powers were engaged in the process of decolonization, is also found in the 1968 work of H.M. Ferrinho. He argues that “the state should

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86 Profabril-Centro de Projectos Industriais, Industria de turismo em Moçambique.
encourage students and researchers to visit places where the Portuguese regime has done services of social benefit." Ferrinho adds that these intellectuals should be used as agents to divulge the Portuguese colonial policy and way of life in Africa.\textsuperscript{100} There is therefore evidence of a range of research which focus on tourism research in Mozambique.

3.1.2 Independence period

Tourism in Mozambique after independence, however, has received limited attention by researchers. It appears that the period from the declaration of independence in 1975 to the beginning of the nineties is characterized by a general lack of any substantial study concerning tourism in the country.

Tourism studies only again emerge in the nineties, and the government and its appointed consultants mainly produce them. These studies are generally predictive in nature concentrating on economic impacts, benefits of tourism to individuals and communities. M. Lopes, A. Henrique, C.J. Hatton; Hatton et al; Direcção Nacional de Florestas e Fauna Bravia (DNFFB) et al; D.Z. Gove, P. Dutton et al; A. Chilundo and S. Engdal et al are typical examples of this orientation of study.\textsuperscript{101}

Some of the studies done by these authors were commissioned by the government in order to help draw up national policy and strategies for tourism in the country. Basically these studies are descriptive and provide recommendations to the government in order to maximise the benefits of tourism for the benefit of the national


economy. They are, however, also characterized by a lack of attention to the cultural component of tourism.

From the 1990s there was also an increasing involvement of academics in tourism research. Graduates particularly in the discipline of geography often do honours degrees which include dissertations that focus on this subject. These studies are generally concerned with the negative or undesired effects of tourism on the environment and local communities. Some examples of this perspective include I.M. Raimundo; H. Motta; M. Vale; V. Grange & F. Odendaal; F.N. Napica; and L.B. Macucule.102

G. Ricardo's MA thesis is one of the first studies in Mozambique to address the question of sustainable tourism development. He suggests policy changes to ensure sustainable tourism development in the Bazaruto islands. Ricardo also observes that there is little participation of local indigenous communities in decision-making in the development of tourism. He deals fundamentally with sustainable tourism development and his study contains a chapter about cultural changes brought about by tourism in the region. Although he makes reference to the relationship between culture and tourism, this issue is not at the core of his analysis. He also points to gaps that need to be addressed by other researchers.103

In another of his studies, G. Ricardo discusses the integration of displaced local communities of the Limpopo Park in sustainable tourism development.104 Although


104 G. Ricardo, “Integrating displaced local communities of the Limpopo Park of Mozambique in sustainable tourism development within the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park.” Extensive assignment report presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the MPhil degree Cultural Tourism and Heritage Studies at the University of Stellenbosch, 2005.
he makes an analysis of the cultural impacts of the process, this study, like the previous one, is mainly concentrated on sustainable tourism development.

This literature review demonstrates that there are only a few studies regarding tourism in general and cultural tourism in particular. The article of R.T. Duarte is one of the first to deal with cultural tourism in post-colonial Mozambique. It proposes the linkage of cultural attractions, namely archaeological sites and monuments, with nature-oriented tourism. Another article that deserves attention is one by C. da Silva, who addresses the Mozambican cuisine as a factor to attract tourists. In this article Silva also criticises the absence of Mozambican cuisine in local restaurants and hotels.

P. Dutton makes a survey of Mozambique’s potential in terms of birds. He suggests that “eco-tourists involved in bird watching can contribute to an alternative source of benefit and sustainable form of land use by using rustic infrastructures provided by local communities and guides to locate rare and endemic species.” To a certain extent Dutton addresses one of the various types of cultural tourism that involves direct participation of local communities.

These studies discussed above are generally pioneers in the analysis of culture as a factor to attract tourists, however, they have certain limitations. They are for the most part short articles prepared for conferences or dissertations and thus lack any in-depth analysis of the matter. This makes the field of cultural tourism a viable area for future research. There is also a lot to be done in the matter of cultural tourism research. Given the richness of Mozambique in terms of its culture, there is a definite interest in understanding how culture can be used as a tourist attraction, what aspects of Mozambican culture should be marketed as tourist attractions and what are the

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implications of this for local communities. There are also specific areas that remain unexploited in terms of cultural tourism research in the country.

Besides the above mentioned texts there are also other studies focusing on the negative impacts of tourism for land tenure such as these by J.C. Hatton, M. Chenge, D.Z. Gove and P.M.F. Ferrão. These researchers observe that the demand for land in the tourist attraction areas (mainly beaches) results in land usurpation and land conflicts. They add that this situation provokes negative implications for the local communities and threatens the ways of subsistence of these communities. On the other hand, it was only in 2003 that the country opened its first tertiary educational institution of tourism, the School of Hostelry and Tourism, under the auspices of the Department of Geography of Eduardo Mondlane University. To date historians and other social scientists are generally not directly involved in tourism research.

Evidence from the analysis of tourism studies in Mozambique demonstrates that there are few academic works about the dynamics of tourism in the country. Tourism is sometimes referred to superficially in others studies such as those concerned with economic, social and environmental issues.

3.2 Sources of tourism on Mozambique

There is a considerable body of popular literature and other sources regarding tourism in Mozambique from the colonial period up to the present. These sources comprise


mostly of tourist guidebooks, magazine articles and pamphlets containing information about Mozambique’s tourist attractions. These can also be divided into two distinct periods and will be discussed as such.

3.2.1 Colonial period

Early in the first half of the twentieth century we find many references to tourism in Mozambique. The analysis of these sources demonstrates that the tourism sector was mainly directed at attracting tourists from the neighbouring countries, namely South Africa and the former Rhodesia. It is also noticeable that Lourenço Marques (Maputo) and surrounding areas constituted the focus of the tourism literature on Mozambique. The number of tour guidebooks, booklets and magazines referring to Lourenço Marques as a tourist destination proves this. From the 1940s there are tourist guidebooks regarding Lourenço Marques such as the one of A. P. de Lima, Lourenço Marques guide; J. Antony, Lourenço Marques: a guide; C.A.V. da Silva, Lourenço Marques guide, to mention but a few. These guidebooks provide basic information about the history, geography, climate, tourist attractions and facilities in the city of Lourenço Marques.

In general, the country is described as an “indispensable tourist attraction” in the Southern Africa region. The Lourenço Marques directory 1931 33rd years: a year book of information regarding the town of Lourenço Marques and other districts of the colony of Mozambique is one of the many booklets that makes reference to Lourenço Marques. It has valuable information about places of importance for those interested to know and visit different places of the country. It contains photographs portraying cities and economic activities. In this booklet the city of Lourenço Marques is rated as “one of the most charming cities in the whole African subcontinent.” Lourenço Marques is also considered as a “city on the edge of the

East.” Another pamphlet issued by the Direction [sic] of Harbours and Railways of Mozambique in collaboration with the South Africa’s Railways and Harbours in 1932, considers Lourenço Marques as “South Africa’s continental holiday land.” Ironically this pamphlet characterizes Lourenço Marques as “the city that will make one forget Africa.” Additionally, the pamphlet gives information about the city’s most important attractions such as the beaches, botanic gardens and distinctive architecture. Another source considers Lourenço Marques as the “Mecca of South African tourists; the city one does not easily forget.” The city is characterized as one of the most attractive tourist destinations. There are a lot of pamphlets addressing the potential of Lourenço Marques in particular and Mozambique in general. These pamphlets have suggestive titles such as:

Portrays of Mozambique; Lourenço Marques: a corner of continental Europe in Africa; Lourenço Marques: Golden mornings, silver nights; Lourenço Marques: the centre of gaiety; Moçambique ferias todo o ano; (Mozambique, holidays all the year); Lourenço Marques: the African city with a continental atmosphere.

These pamphlets and other sources by A.P. Lima, and ‘Centro de Informação e Turismo’ (Tourism Information Centre), reflect basic information about the state of tourism development in Mozambique during colonial times. They present a profile of the tourism potentialities, the attractions and they generally encourage people to visit Mozambique for a variety of reasons. Lourenço Marques dominates the marketing of

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117 Lourenço Marques: golden mornings, silver nights. Cape Town: Cape Times Ltd, s.d.
119 Centro de Informação e Turismo, Moçambique: férias todo o ano. Lourenço Marques: 1967 [sic].
tourism in this period. It appears as the major tourist centre and is often compared to the “atmosphere in Europe”. This demonstrates the way the city was portrayed as something different from its African natural setting and surroundings. The bulk of these pamphlets present photographs portraying the tourist attractions, but all are significantly characterized by the absence of images of the local indigenous people. Lourenço Marques is represented as a purely European city. The few cases where the indigenous did feature or are portrayed, they appear working for white people or selling products in “native markets,” out of the “delightful” environment of the city.

The marketing of Mozambique as a tourist destination during the colonial time was strictly directed at a regional market. There are few records regarding tourists from other parts of the world such as Europe, America and Europe. The few cases of tourists from Europe were almost exclusively related to business. There were of course also a considerable number of Portuguese coming to Mozambique to visit friends and relatives.

3.2.2 Independence period

In the year of independence, 1975, the Tourism Fund produced a booklet presenting a very brief image of the potentialities of Mozambique. At the same time, the booklet aimed to pay homage to those who fought for the independence. This booklet presents Mozambique’s potential in terms of agriculture, timber, cattle breeding, the extractive industry and tourist potential. It showcases the beaches and fishing, fauna, national parks and reserves, safaris, accommodation and restaurants, Mozambican shells, modern Makonde sculpture and chopi musicians are mentioned as some of the country’s tourists attractions.123

The post-colonial period, and in particular the period after the 1990’s saw a considerable number of tourist guidebooks such as Maputo for newcomers,124 Guide to Mozambique,125 Mozambique,126, Eastern and Southern Africa: the backpacker’s

These tour guidebooks provide general introductions to the country and deal with the essentials of travelling to and in Mozambique. They also describe the country's tourist attractions such as the game parks and reserves, monuments, towns and cities. These guides also provide the typical basic information about accommodation facilities, useful contact and emergency numbers, climate, geography, history, people, languages, religion and ecology. In general, these guides position Mozambique as a tourist destination that has diversified products to offer. Photographs illustrating the diversities of tourists attractions of the country accompany the information provided about the tourists attractions. Observing the dates of publication of these guidebooks, it is interesting to note that the 1980s were characterized by a lack of guidebooks probably related to the political dispensation.

Comparing these kinds of tourism sources during the two periods one can observe that during the colonial period the promotion of tourist attractions of Mozambique was confined to Lourenço Marques city. The colonial period is relatively rich in terms of pamphlets, tourist guidebooks with detailed information and illustrations of the attractions described however they did not represent indigenous culture. On the other hand, the post independence period marks a change in the representation of the national tourist product. In contrast to the colonial period, the postcolonial guidebooks and pamphlets present Mozambique as a country with cultural diversity.

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129 D. Martin, Maputo: Mozambique.
IV. MOZAMBIQUE AS A TOURIST DESTINATION

This chapter analyses the development of tourism in Mozambique taking into consideration historical developments in the country. It gives an outline of Mozambican history and describes Mozambique as tourist destination from the colonial period up to the present. For a better understanding of this, the development of tourism in Mozambique is analysed in two historical periods namely, the colonial period and the independence period. The latter is divided into the socialist-orientation period with one ruling party and then the democracy period.

The objective is to observe how these historical developments affected the development of tourism in Mozambique and how the different policies affected local peoples' perceptions about their culture. It also aims to analyse the representation of indigenous peoples' culture in tourism during these historical periods. Finally, the chapter analyses the tourism policy of the recent Mozambican government focusing on the attention given to heritage and cultural tourism products.

4.1 Location

The Republic of Mozambique is situated in the southern hemisphere between the parallels 10°27' South and 26°52' South. Mozambique also belongs to the Oriental hemisphere between the meridians 30°12' East and 40°51' East. It is part of the three grand natural regions of Africa, namely, Oriental Africa, Central Africa and Southern Africa. Mozambique has a continental area of 786,380 km². Its coastline is approximately 2515 k m². *(See the map on page v)*.

Mozambique is bordered by the Indian Ocean to the east and enclosed inland by Zambia, Malawi and Zimbabwe and, in the south, Swaziland and South Africa. Some fifty rivers cross the country, the largest being the Zambezi, the Limpopo and the Save. These three great rivers divide the country laterally into three broad cultural and linguistic zones. To the north of the Zambezi live matrilineal groups who have historic links with the Islamic influences of the East African Coast. A diverse cultural border zone along the Zambezi valley itself divides the north from the patrilineal

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Shona-speakers who are akin to the majority in neighbouring Zimbabwe. Below the Save river the Thonga and related peoples form part of the southern cultural world, linked to the Swazi and the peoples of South Africa.\textsuperscript{132}

4.2 Outline of Mozambican history

As regards the pre-colonial period it is argued that the first Bantu speaking communities settled in the region of Mozambique from 200/300 AC. Some of these communities were organised in the form of centralised states (the state of Mwenemotapa, ca 1450, in the present territory of central Mozambique and northern Zimbabwe) and others in the form of chiefdoms (the Lõmuè in the Mozambican province of Zambézia). Some of these societies established commercial relationships with foreign merchants, believed to be of Asiatic and Arabic origin.\textsuperscript{133}

According to F.P. Marjay, the region of Mozambique, apparently appears in international reports in the 10\textsuperscript{th} century, with a report of the Arab writer Ma'qudi I Hacan. Pero de Covilhã is mentioned as the first Portuguese to visit Mozambique in 1489, followed by Vasco da Gama in 1498.\textsuperscript{134} From this period onward, Mozambique registered an ascending presence of Portuguese merchants. In 1505 the Portuguese funded the fortress of Sofala, which started the process of economic and political interference in the country resulting in confrontations with the local authorities. In 1886, as part of the so-called "scramble for Africa," the Portuguese launched military campaigns to establish effective occupation. These military operations ended in 1920 with the defeat of the last groups of Mozambican resistance in the Cabo Delgado and Niassa provinces.\textsuperscript{135}

As a result of the defeat of national resistance, Mozambique became a Portuguese colony. Because of economic difficulties, Portugal granted various administrative functions to concession companies. As A. Vines points out, "from 1890 until 1941, Mozambique was a patchwork of colonial districts and company concessions.

\textsuperscript{133} Departamento de História da UEM, \textit{História de Moçambique Vol. 1}. Maputo: Tempo/UEM, 1982 p.23.
\textsuperscript{134} F.P. Marjay, \textit{Mozambique}, p.17.
\textsuperscript{135} Departamento de História da UEM, \textit{História de Moçambique Vol. 1}.
administrated from head offices in Lisbon, London, Paris, Monaco, Brussels and Durban." Only the Nampula area and most of the [now] southernmost provinces of Gaza, Inhambane and Maputo were retained within the direct administration of the colonial state. The concession system lasted until 1941 and it was only from then that Mozambique was brought under a "single unified system of administration." In 1951 a Portuguese constitutional amendment transformed all its colonies into overseas provinces. However, in 1964 the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO) initiated the war of liberation, which culminated in the independence of the country in 1975. The new nation was designated "The People's Republic of Mozambique" with a centrally planned economy and in 1977 the government "officially proclaimed its adherence to Marxism-Leninism." However, in 1989 at the fifth congress of FRELIMO a radical abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist orientation was announced. In 1990 the government changed the constitution as well as the name of the country to the "Republic of Mozambique," starting the transition to private ownership and a market economy. In addition, the new constitution introduced a multi-party system in the country.

Another milestone in the history of Mozambique is the civil war involving the Government of FRELIMO and the rebel movement Mozambican National Resistance (RENAMO). This war lasted from 1976 to 1992. As part of the General Peace Agreement, the country held its first democratic elections with participation of different parties in 1994. Since then, the country has held general elections every five years.

137 M. Hall and T. Young, *Confronting Leviathan*, p.3.
138 Departamento de História da UEM, *História de Moçambique Vol. 1*.
142 M. Hall and T. Young, *Confronting Leviathan*, pp.118-216.
4.3 The development phases of tourism in Mozambique

Tourism in Mozambique has a long history. From the colonial period\textsuperscript{144} tourism has been one of the most important economic activities of the country. Lourenço Marques, (now Maputo), constitutes the historical capital of Mozambican tourism. Lourenço Marques attained city status in 1887 and since then has attracted a large number of visitors from neighbouring countries every year. “Early in 1914 the city already had its own tourism council with the competence to study, propose and to give suggestions about the issues related to the development of tourism in the so called ‘Portuguese province’ of Mozambique and, especially in the city of Lourenço Marques.”\textsuperscript{145} According to F.P. Marjay, visitors found in the town and in its splendid beaches a “true cosmopolitan atmosphere.”\textsuperscript{146} Among the attractions visited were museums, town squares, statues, hotels, zoological and botanical gardens, the beaches of Bilene, Xai-Xai, Chongoene, Zavora, and Bazaruto, as well as the Gorongosa National Park, to mention but few.

In 1959 tourism was established as a department of the Portuguese colonial government in Mozambique, with the creation of centres of information and tourism in all Portuguese overseas colonies.\textsuperscript{147} Mozambique was attracting a certain number of tourists from Portugal and the countries of the hinterland. A. Figueiredo indicates that over 60 thousand “sea seeking” white inlanders from South Africa and the former Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) used to visit Mozambique every year.\textsuperscript{148} A survey done by the Standard Bank of South Africa estimated that in 1968 some quarter of a million tourists were expected to spend up to R8.75 million in Mozambique. The same study observes that tourism was the country’s third most important industry.\textsuperscript{149} Before independence in 1975, tourism, transit trade through national ports and wages of migratory workers contributed to compensate the deficit of trade balance. Official figures indicate that during 1971 some 500 thousands tourists visited Mozambique -

\textsuperscript{144} The presence of the Portuguese in Mozambique dates back to 1498. However, only after 1885 with the defeat of national resistance, did Mozambique become a Portuguese colony.
\textsuperscript{145} Portaria no. 1.029, de 7 de Agosto de 1914.
\textsuperscript{146} F.P. Marjay, Mozambique, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{147} Boletim Oficial Série I, -Decreto-Lei numero 42 194 de 27 de Março de 1959.
\textsuperscript{149} The Standard Bank of South Africa, Mozambique: an economic survey, p. 19.
most of them from South Africa and Rhodesia.\textsuperscript{150} In 1973 the country received 400 thousand tourists, once again from South Africa, Zimbabwe and also Portugal. The beautiful beaches the fauna and the dynamic environment offered by the urban centres were the main attractions for these tourists.\textsuperscript{151} Researchers observed that owing to the lack of good roads, tourists were inclined to confine their visits to those centres nearest their own countries.\textsuperscript{152} This situation continues to today. The majority of tourists from South Africa are concentrated in Southern Mozambique, while those from Zimbabwe visit Central Mozambique. The few overseas tourists go to areas near the Maputo and Beira international airports.

From the declaration of independence in 1975 to the 1990s, the influx of tourists from South Africa started to decline because of the hostility between the new Mozambican government and the regime of apartheid in South Africa. It has been pointed out that in 1975 FRELIMO, the national political party in Mozambique, was not in favour of casual tourists. Some South African newspapers went as far as stating that after the independence, the FRELIMO party banned tourism in Mozambique.\textsuperscript{153} In the same line, A. Rake underlines that “the national political party, FRELIMO, cut off all tourism at independence and made clear that in future it was not prepared to divert scarce resources to cater for casual tourists.” Rake adds, “individual tourism was officially not permitted.”\textsuperscript{154}

The developments that followed the independence of the country from Portugal affected tourism negatively. According to M.A. Pitcher most of the quarter of a million white settlers had left Mozambique by 1976. Because they controlled key sectors of the economy [including tourism], “their exodus caused substantial negative economic effects.”\textsuperscript{155} In addition to the gap left by the departure of the Portuguese, tourism in Mozambique was also seriously affected by the 16 years civil war. The cities were partially isolated from other parts of the country as well as from South

\textsuperscript{154} A. Rake, \textit{Traveller’s guide to Central and Southern Africa}, p. 116.
\textsuperscript{155} M. A. Pitcher, \textit{Transforming Mozambique}, p. 38.
Africa. It was no longer safe to travel to Mozambique via road because of guerrilla activities.\textsuperscript{156} As a result of the war, the country in general and Maputo in particular, were facing enormous shortages in terms of essential products such as milk, sugar, beer, cool drinks, and other products indispensable to the catering for tourists.\textsuperscript{157} This war provoked the destruction of infrastructures such as roads, bridges and railways. Some sources mention that “two of the country’s main tourist attractions, the Gorongosa National Park and Santa Carolina Island, were inaccessible in mid 1985, and safaris were suspended.”\textsuperscript{158} According to M.F. Chingono, “by the end of the war the country had become one of the five poorest countries in the world, while by 1990 seventy six per cent of its budget came from aid (of which forty percent was spent on defence).”\textsuperscript{159}

In 1984, with the signing of the Nkomati non-aggression accord between South Africa and Mozambique, some analysts believed that Mozambique would recover its status as one of the most preferred destinations of South African tourists.\textsuperscript{160} However, this did not happen because the Accord did not necessarily end the hostilities in the country. Also, the former rebel movement RENAMO threatened tourists willing to visit Mozambique.\textsuperscript{161} Moreover, the adherence to Marxism-Leninism in 1977\textsuperscript{162} can be regarded as one of the factors that contributed to the decline of tourism in the country. Because of this political dispensation the country had hostile relationships with South Africa and South Rhodesia that constituted the main sources of tourists visiting Mozambique.

In 1992 with the General Peace Agreement between the FRELIMO Government and the former rebel movement RENAMO, as well as with the transition from planned economy to private ownership and market economy after 1990, the tourism sector began to revitalize. Many hotels and guesthouses were re-opened. However, the


\textsuperscript{161} “Keep out of Mozambique or be shot – warning.” in: Pretoria News, 29 May 1984, p.5.

\textsuperscript{162} M. A. Pitcher, Transforming Mozambique.
majority of hotels were occupied by aid workers, staff of non-government organizations and United Nations officials responsible for the implementation of the cease-fire. Yet tourism development continued to be based on "beach or sea" attractions, despite the cultural richness of the country. The majority of the holiday and resort investments were done in areas close to the sea in places such as the islands of Bazaruto National Park, the hinterland of Vilankulo, Pemba, in the archipelago of Quirimbas and the zone of Nacala. In the 1990s, South Africa pledged around US$100 million for development projects, including the restructuring and rehabilitation of many formerly state-run tourist operations and hotels from Cabo Delgado to Inhambane provinces.

The year 2001 marked the recuperation of the tourism sector in the country. "Official statistics confirm that the country reached the record of 400 thousand tourists registered in 1973." According to the 'Ministério do Turismo' (MITUR) in 2002, the country attracted 900 thousand tourists contributing 1.2 per cent to the national GDP. With an investment of US$1.3 billion, tourism is the third highest investment sector after industry (33%) and energy and natural resources (18%).

According to W. Kiambo, a crucial factor in the re-birth of tourism in Mozambique has been the improved transport and infrastructural linkages with South Africa through the Maputo Development Corridor. This construction project has opened up access to leisure tourism from some of South Africa’s leading urban areas, most importantly, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Ekurhuleni. Kiambo points out that as result of the Maputo Development Corridor the majority of international tourism arrivals into Mozambique – an estimated 88% share – come via road.

Another factor that contributes to increasing cross-border tourism flows from South Africa is the progressive attempts to ease visa and immigration restrictions. In 2005 this culminated in an agreement between South Africa and Mozambique which

164 Ibid.
permits citizens of both countries to cross the border without acquiring a visa for visits of up to 30 days. Further facilitation includes the decision to open up the main border post between Mozambique and South Africa at Ressano-Garcia Komatipoort on a 24-hour basis, as well as the operation of three large South African transport companies (Translux, Intercape and Greyhound) offering daily connections between Maputo, Johannesburg and Pretoria. There is also one Mozambique based enterprise (Panthera Azul) offering daily connections on the Maputo - Johannesburg, and Maputo - Durban routes. In addition, there are a number of private-owned minibuses and international air linkages between Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Kenya.

Kiambo points out that the main holiday period for South African leisure travellers to Mozambique is over the summer months of early December to mid-January, which coincides with the school holidays. He observes that although Maputo attracts a significant share of leisure tourists from South Africa, particularly on weekends, the city is Mozambique’s core destination for business tourism. As result, it witnessed a growth in the number of accommodation establishments, with the number of hotels rooms increasing to over 3 500 by 2004. According to the Mozambican Ministry of Tourism (MITUR) “the city of Maputo and the provinces of Gaza and Inhambane have 50 per cent of the total capacity of accommodation establishments registered and 65 per cent of capacity in terms of beds.”

Given the increasing numbers of tourists and request for authorization to invest in the tourism sector, the government was compelled to develop new legislation to regulate the practice of tourism business. Some examples of this new attitude of the Mozambican government was the creation of the Ministry of Tourism in 2000, the approbation of tourism policy and implementation strategy in 2003 and the tourism legislation of 2004. Before 2000, tourism was successively under the auspices of the Ministry of Information, Ministry of Industry and Internal Commerce and under

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169 Ibid.
170 Ibid, pp.3-4.
171 MITUR. Plano estratégico para o desenvolvimento do turismo em Moçambique, p.20.
172 Boletim Oficial L série No. 36 de 6 de Setembro de 2000, Decreto presidencial no. 1/2000 de 17 de Janeiro.
173 Resolução no. 14 de 4 de Abril de 2003.
the State Secretary of Tourism. This shows the lack of institutional stability of the
tourism sector in Mozambican government. The tourism law of 2004 substitutes the
legislation of 1969. This three and half decade lapse in tourism legislation is evidence
of how Mozambican legislation regarding tourism was not up-dated or kept in line
with the new political and economic developments in the country. The recent tourism
policy points out that tourism is a vehicle for development and poverty alleviation,
cultural preservation and a factor of national unity. It also defends the capitalization of
littoral and marine resources, the development of natural resources and wildlife
through rehabilitation and construction of infrastructures, as well as the promotion of
investments in the areas of conservation. In the matter of cultural resources, the
strategy recommends that aspects of culture need to be used in the marketing of
tourism. The 2004 tourism policy has as general principles:

Recognition of the private sector as the driving force in the development of
tourism sector; promotion of partnerships between public and private sector
and communities in the development of the sector; integration of tourism into
the overall development policy, planning and strategy of the country; adoption
of sustainable tourism planning principles and effective approaches to
implementation; awareness creation about the importance of tourism and the
significance of the natural and cultural heritage; preservation of cultural values
and national pride; strengthening of tourism through sustainable development
practices and respect for the environment; integration of tourism in the context
of international cooperation, to mention some. 176

Moreover, the tourism policy has as objectives, “to develop and position Mozambique
as a world-class destination; to contribute to employment creation; to participate in
the conservation and protection of biodiversity.” 177

Considering the government’s policy on tourism one can see that cultural aspects
appear as supplementary to others, such as beaches and wildlife. The attitude of the
government regarding cultural tourism is ambiguous. There is no clear reference to

177 MITUR, Política do turismo e estratégia de sua implementação, p. 10.
culture as an attraction entity that can attract tourists to the country. For a country with a very rich cultural potential this attitude is seriously prejudicial for tourism development.

4.4 Heritage and cultural attractions in Mozambique

This section aims to enumerate and describe Mozambique's heritage and cultural elements that might be of interest for tourism promotion. First it is important to remark that this is a very difficult exercise. In addition, heritage and culture are very subjective and wide concepts, which are difficult to define. As already indicated P.E. Murphy pointed out that "heritage is a flexible concept which indicates selective interpretations of the past. It is made by the winners, represents the power of the winners. The heritage of the losers is often lost or, at least underrepresented." Meanwhile, scholars are agreed that heritage and culture are core elements for tourism development. According to R. Butler and T. Hinch, "tourists have always been fascinated by the opportunity to see and experience other cultures." This view is supported by Y. Reisinger and L.W. Turner who claim that, "many people visit foreign destinations to experience different ways of living, traditions and customs." Yet, many travellers are motivated by the cultural uniqueness of the foreign product.

These assumptions show that the exercise of listing Mozambique's heritage and cultural aspects of importance for tourism is rather complex. It can lead to a situation in which all aspects of Mozambique's heritage and culture are regarded as tourist attractions. However, it is necessary to recognize that not all aspects of heritage and culture have the same importance. Some are more important or representative than others, therefore only a selection will be discussed. Moreover, as Maputo can be regarded as the cultural capital of Mozambique, many examples will focus on this region and its immediate surroundings, but reference will also be made to the other key regions in the country. The other regions are the Southern Mozambique –

178 P.E. Murphy (ed.), Quality management in urban tourism, p.98.
provinces of Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane, the Central Mozambique; – provinces of Sofala, Manica, Tete and Zambézia and the Northern Mozambique; – provinces of Nampula, Cabo Delgado and Niassa. (See the map on page v).

Mozambique is a country with a wide variety of ethnic groups, many languages, religions, and beliefs. This makes the exercise of selecting the most important aspects of heritage and culture that might be marketed for tourism very difficult. Moreover, this exercise can be influenced by bias because heritage has different meaning for different people. To overcome these problems, in this section it is assumed that there are particular aspects of heritage and culture in Mozambique that are less controversial and can be regarded as integral to national heritage and culture.

4.4.1 Southern Mozambique

The Southern Mozambique region includes Maputo, Gaza and Inhambane province. These particular areas, as well as those of the other two sections will be considered in terms of attractions such as historical buildings, monuments, statues and other cultural components. Although its main tourism ‘brand’ is the beach and prawns, the city of Maputo is also rich in terms of heritage and cultural attractions. Given the diversity of heritage and cultural attractions, as well as the broad characteristics of the concepts of heritage and culture, this section presents only some selected sites and, therefore, remains incomplete.

A tourist visiting Maputo may see among other sites, the Fort Nossa Senhora Conceicão, a red sandstone fort with four bastions built between 1851-1867 to defend the Portuguese trading post (a Military Museum has been installed there since 1955). Now it displays the remains of the Gaza King, Ngungunyana (1884-1895), the statue of the colonial administrator António Enes, removed in the city’s square with his name after the independence; the Great Trek leader Louis Trichard Memorial and Hero’s Square which serves as cemetery of those who fallen during the independence struggle as well as other combatants that died after independence; Other attractions are the Workers Square [Praça dos Trabalhadores], next to the railway station, a beautiful Victorian building; the Independence Square [Praça da Independência], in

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front of the city hall, itself a very impressive building; the Maputo's Cathedral, built using forced labour; Matola Radio Club a building built in the colonial period; Iron House [Casa de Ferro], designed by Alexandre Eiffel, in 1892; National Library, built in 1904; the Post Office, built in 1906. Also to visit are the bronze statues of Eduardo Mondlane, considered as the architect of national unity and of Samora Machel, the first president of independent Mozambique. In addition, the city presents different styles of colonial and modern architecture that are also of tourist interest.

Museums include the Museum of Money [Museu da Moeda], which displays the history of money in Mozambique from the first commercial activities, and the Museum of Natural History. The latter was founded in 1911, but was only properly developed in 1933 and subsequent years. The main collection in this museum is of zoological interest, but there is also a well-arranged ethnological section, with a fine collection of native art. There is also the Maritime Museum located in the Inhaca Island which displays the history of maritime navigation in Mozambique; the National Museum of Art containing various works of art in the form of paintings and sculpture. The exposition is comprised of Mozambican artists works and intends to portray the history of Mozambican art; the Revolution Museum which displays the history of colonialism in Mozambique as well as the history of the struggle for the independence; the Geology Museum (the building was once the Maputo Synagogue).

Maputo has cultural centers, which hold regular exhibitions and performances of traditional dances and light music. They play an important role by providing entertainment to the residents and visitors. The population of Maputo performs various traditional dances that could be marketed for tourism. Some of the most relevant are makwayela and xigubo. Makwayela, “miners dance,” as it is known in English, was first brought home by migrant mineworkers returning from South African mines. Xigubo was originally a Nguni war dance to celebrate military victories and to train warriors. Other traditional dances performed in Maputo are makway, marabenta, muthini, chipende and ndlama

\(^{182}\) Ibid.
The cultural centers include the House of Culture which serves specifically as school of traditional dances; the National Company of Chant and Dance; the Franco Mozambican Cultural Centre which holds regular art exhibitions and other cultural activities. Also part of Maputo's attractions are places of nightlife such as the Mini-Golf Night-Club, Zambi, Tara, Coconuts Bay, Mbuva, Feira Popular, Sheik Complex, Sinatra; Sixty's Level, Chez Rangel, to mention but few.

Regarding the surroundings neighbourhood a visitor to Maputo could visit historical townships, namely Mafalala, Chamanculo and Xipamanine. In Mafalala the house of the poet José Craverinha, the house of the soccer legend Eusébio Ferreira, who played for Portugal and was nominated the best player of World Cup 1966 in England, and the houses of the liberation movement leaders are potential tourist attractions. In Xipamanine tourists can visit the local market which developed from the colonial period and which remains the largest market in the country selling almost everything. The history of these townships is strictly linked to the history of the development of Maputo city and Maputo harbour.

Other attractions of importance, but that tourism promoters have neglected, is the cultural diversity of the city, as well as the hospitality of local people. For example, those interested in local indigenous people may visit the Ronga people. They are notorious for the use of mlala root to brush their teeth giving an orange appearance akin to lipstick and by the wearing of the capulana [a large garment or scarf] and headscarves known as nturu. Other attractions of Maputo include the famous pshikelenedana [handcrafts], which can be appreciated, and bought in local handcrafts fairs at Independence Square and other selected places next to hotels in the city.

The Gaza province, which is known for its natural beauty, represented by the sea resorts such as Bilene, Xai-Xai, Zongoene, Chongoene and Chidenguene, has historical and cultural aspects that might be of importance for tourism. This province is the birthplace of the first three presidents of FRELIMO and also then the first two

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185 A. Ferreira, Índice Série II No. 34, Linhas Aéreas de Moçambique, Março, 2006, p.42.
presidents of Mozambique, namely Samora Machel (1975-1986) and Joaquim Chissano (1986-2004). In addition, it was also in Gaza province where the last capital of the Gaza Empire was located.

Gaza cultural attractions include important battlefields of the war of resistance against the Portuguese occupation. The defeat of the Gaza’s king, Ngungunyana in Gaza, is regarded as marking the end of the Portuguese campaigns of occupation in the context of the ‘scramble for Africa.’ Battlefield sites such as Coolela and Magul could be regarded as national heritage sites to be visited mainly by domestic tourists, with particular relevance for students. The province of Gaza is rich in terms of cultural attractions including traditional dances such as “mawayela, mokway, xingomana, muthimba, chilembe, massessa and ngalanga.”

The Inhambane province, which is regarded as Mozambique’s top tourism province, is not only about its pristine beaches of the Bazaruto Archipelago, Vilankulo, Paindane, Jangamo, Barra, Tofo, Zavora and others. Historically, the province was the first one in Mozambique to be visited by the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama in 1498 on his way to India. Its capital city is one of the oldest in the country and has classic architecture that could be of interest for tourists. Heritage and cultural tourists can visit the Inhambane’s Museum, where they can see musical instruments, photographs of the colonial period and various artefacts of African culture. The House of Culture, which displays an old locomotive, as well as the cathedral, built in 18th century and the archaeological sites of Chiboene and Bazaruto, could also be of significance for heritage and cultural tourism.

Other cultural attractions include the belief that the people of Inhambane are also known for their connection with their ancestral birthplace and various traditional ancestors. They hold regular ceremonies where they pay tribute to the ancestors or pay homage to those who died. These ceremonies are full of spiritual significance and also serve as a means to strengthen the unity of families. The night before the

188 Ibid.
cereemony is coloured by traditional chants and dances, which it is, suggested, with the permission of the locals, tourists could appreciate. In addition the *timbila orchestra* of Zavala has gained an international reputation. In 2005 this traditional dance was nominated a world heritage attraction and it has the potential to attract tourists from all corners of the world. Other traditional dance includes, “zore and ngalanga”\textsuperscript{191}

### 4.4.2 Central Mozambique

The central region of Mozambique comprising the provinces of Sofala, Manica, Tete and Zambézia, is homeland of the *Sena, Ndau, Nhungwe, Shona, Lomwe, Makua* and other minorities groups with their distinctive ways of life that could offer a different experience for tourists.

In Sofala province there is the harbour city of Beira, which is the second largest city in Mozambique. When visiting Beira, tourists may appreciate historical buildings and monuments namely the cathedral built in 1925, the “Casa Infante Sagres,” as well as ‘Casa dos Bicos,’ a modern building where expositions and fairs take place and the ‘Largo do Município.’\textsuperscript{192} Sofala also has interesting cultural attractions that may be appreciated in the House of Culture in Beira. Among the local people there are traditional dances such as "n’dhokodo, mandöa, makwaya, mukapa, valinga, makuungunde, gundula, chikuzine, djagadja and massesseto,“\textsuperscript{193} which could be developed as tourist attractions.

In Manica province, heritage and cultural attractions range from historical buildings and monuments. Here specifically the Hero’s Square, the Mosque and the library (with colonial architecture) and the, Maceque Fortress are of interest. A tourist may also visit the Geology Museum.

One of the main interesting sites to appreciate in Manica is Cabeça do Velho, an incredible rock formation, which looks like a head of an old man. There are also the Chimanimani Mountain rock paintings representing the first agricultural communities

\textsuperscript{191} Gabinete Central de Organização do Primeiro Festival Nacional de Dança Popular. *Programa*, p.44.

\textsuperscript{192} Listas Telefónicas de Moçambique (LTM), *Guia turístico*, p.108.

\textsuperscript{193} Casa Provincial de Cultura de Sofala, *Canção, dança e instrumentos de música tradicionais nos distritos de Buzi Dondo e Marromeu*. Provincia de Sofala, Beira, 2005, p.53.
that settled in the region. In Manica tourists can also enjoy cultural attractions such as traditional dances like "mutsongoyo, manongwa, cizimba, mangone e kwaya" as well as other elements of intangible culture of the local people.

In Tete Province, a tourist interested in culture may visit historical buildings and monuments such as the Boroma church, although partially in ruins its still shows the greatness of the Jesuit temple built in the final years of 19th century. Also to be seen are the Fort of Saint Tiago Maior of Tete, a military construction built in the 16th century; the font Nicho de Vila de Angonia an old source of water for the local community with distinctive paintings and traditional houses which are still common in some districts of Tete. Tete is rich in cultural attraction in the form of dances especially the nyau dance also declared world heritage in 2005 because of its unique beauty and originality, chinamwali, chiwere, and chintali or canshodo.

Finally, regarding the central region of Mozambique, in Zambézia province one can visit historical buildings and monuments. The Old cathedral [Catedral velha] built in 1800, the Quelimane’s mosque and other places of classic architecture are located in the city. Also of relevance in Zambézia are the waterways such as the Hot Fonts [Fontes quentes] in Morrumbala and Gilé villages. Zambézia also has cultural attractions in the form of dances such as niquetexe, misuri, sopa, khamuromole, elata, nakutula, convelela, nhipe e kwakwe.

It is important to observe that the cultural attractions mentioned above are not the only ones that a tourist may visit in the region. In addition to the colonial architecture, local indigenous people have a lot to present to tourists. The way of life of local population including daily activities, the indigenous knowledge, religion and beliefs are very unique and differ from the other regions of the country and indeed the world. Tourism directed to strong contacts between the hosts and guests can explore more of the exoticness of this region of Mozambique.

194 Gabinete Central de Organização do Primeiro Festival Nacional de Dança Popular, Programa, p.44.
195 Listas Telefónicas de Moçambique (LTM), Guia turístico, p.88.
196 Gabinete Central de Organização do Primeiro Festival Nacional de Dança Popular, Programa, p.44.
197 Gabinete Central de Organização do Primeiro Festival Nacional de Dança Popular, Programa, p.47.
4.4.3 Northern Mozambique

Then again the Northern Mozambique region including Nampula, Cabo Delgado and Niassa provinces is very rich in cultural attractions. It is in the Nampula province where the Mozambique Island is located. Its distinctive architecture combines elements of Arab, Swahili, European, Indian and indigenous culture. This Island was nominated a World Heritage Site in 1991. It served as Mozambique’s capital from 1818 to 1897.

According to R.T. Duarte, “the island exhibits an interesting symbiotic architecture where old Portuguese, Swahili and Indian cultures merge. The town developed from the 16th century after being settled by the Portuguese.” Historical buildings and monuments of the island include “the oldest building [Nossa Senhora do Baluarte] chapel, one of the few “gothic” buildings outside Europe. Also on this Island is the magnificent palace of Saint Paul, former residence of the colonial governor.” Other attractions in Nampula province include the modern architecture of Nampula city which developed as a military city to curb the liberation movement during the 1960s, and the “Nossa Senhora da Conceicção” Cathedral. Also in Nampula are the “monumental ruins of the 13th century Swahili town of Somana and town of Ancoche which has some magnificent islands such as Quiloa, where is possible to find some impressive wrecks to dive.”

Nampula also has an interesting museum, the Museum of Ethnology. Commander Ferreira de Almeida founded this museum in 1956 and at that time it served the three Northern provinces. The museum closed during the civil conflict and reopened in 1993. Today the museum holds around 5000 sculptures, wooden objects, musical instruments, culinary utensils, traditional and contemporary clothing and more. There is also a small collection of old photographs and a library.

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201 Ibid.
A tourist can also visit cultural attractions such as the handcraft fair selling mainly sculptures in black ebony, rosewood and ivory. Nampula is also famous for its “beautiful women” [mutyana worera], the persistence of initiation rites and the tufo dance. “This dance is performed by the women of Mozambique Island and consists of a combination of dance steps with rope jumping to a fast drum beat.” Other dances include chacacha, nsope, mnokanyeke and cotoa maqiequie, erapula, ekano-nakonha, parampara, niketch, tahura, nathere, mauide nakira, nikungu, luphato n’diripuiti, massepwa. In addition, “the populations of Nampula coastal region, as well as all the other coastal regions of Mozambique, also offer a great variety of meals. Seafood is popular and specialties include Portuguese style dishes such as maceza and bacalhão.” Bacalhão is a delicious fish that the Portuguese cook in a very special and unique way. Normally it is served with rice and is usually accompanied with a good Portuguese wine.

The province of Cabo Delgado is the main tourist destination in Northern Mozambique. Its key attractions are the beaches of Wimbe, Pemba and Matemo. However, in Cabo Delgado tourists can visit historical buildings and monuments such as the town of Pemba, the Quionga Sultans Palace, and the old colonial churches in Vinisi Island. Another heritage attraction is the Fort of S. John Baptist [Fortaleza de São João Baptista] and the old side of Pemba city where the Arab influence is both prominent and notorious. Cabo Delgado also has archaeological monuments of the Archipelago of Quirimbas that could be targeted for specific tourists.

Also in Cabo Delgado province, a tourist interested in culture may the local Makonde men who transform hardwoods (chiefly ebony, mahogany, and ironwood) into statues and masks that are prized all over Africa. It has been pointed out that “the Makonde associate art with traditional rituals. For example, Mapiko dance is associated with

205 Gabinete Central de Organização do Primeiro Festival Nacional de Dança Popular, Programa, p.46; V. Tamele & J.A. Vulcânculo, Algumas danças tradicionais da zona norte de Moçambique.
206 Ibid, p.68.
207 R.T. Duarte, “Archaeological sites and monuments and tourism development policy in Mozambique,” p.3.
208 Ibid, Guia turístico, p.188.
209 Ibid, p.69.
initiation rites. In addition, the Makonde still practice customs such as shaping of the teeth and facial scarring. The population of Cabo Delgado also practice traditional dances with particular relevance to mapiko. Other dances are lingundumbwe, n’chatila, napwaro, tahura, tamadune, nambayaya, n’ichindo, tufo, waniha, mapindzi, sokeya, khirimo, manganyamo, chambatula.

Finally, in the North of Mozambique the remote province of Niassa also has heritage, historical and cultural features that can be marketed for tourism. The cultural attractions include, traditional dances comprising massesse, ilala, msulubi, beni, xiwoda, xigwadja, moto, silita, litlwo, namwanna, nganda, tendele, conza212. On the other hand, Niassa is rich in historical sites, namely battlefields. These sites include the Matchedge historical site where FRELIMO held its second Congress, the first in national territory during the war of liberation. Also of importance are the former bases of FRELIMO guerrilla in Sanga, Mamba, Mavago, Ngauma, Cunama and Marrupa. These historical sites are very important for those interested in the history of the war of liberation in Mozambique. Finally, Niassa also has historical buildings and monuments. The city of Lichinga, capital of Niassa province, has a range of architecture which would be of interest for tourists. Some sites in the city include the house of the provincial government and the Lichinga cathedral.

Observing the heritage, historical and cultural attractions described in this chapter, one can note that they are mainly composed of material culture in the form of monuments and artefacts. The list may also give the impression that the ordinary people and their culture are not well represented. However, despite the difficulty of collecting simple aspects of life of ordinary people, it is recognized that the success of cultural tourism depends, among other elements, on the recognition and celebration of cultural manifestations of the ordinary people.

212 Ibid.
V. TOURISM, CULTURAL AFFIRMATION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

5.1. Theoretical foundations

As pointed out in the introduction of this mini-thesis, Mozambique is a nation in the process of formation. Politicians of the recently independent Mozambique are concerned with the consolidation of the nation and national identity. Currently the government emphasizes the necessity of the construction of “national” unity. In the light of this tourism is considered as having an important role to play in the preservation of cultural values and national pride. This chapter analyses the historic role played by the various governments and local elites in cultural developments and the effect this has had on the attitudes of people towards cultural affirmation in Mozambique. Further, it aims to observe how indigenous people and their culture have been represented in tourism through time. It also aims to analyse how tourism can contribute to the affirmation of indigenous culture and for the formation of a national identity. At the same time, it suggests that the development of heritage and cultural tourism is also a means to promote national identity and cultural affirmation.

The role of tourism in shaping local culture, national pride and identity affirmation has attracted the attention of numerous scholars. Before reviewing these studies, it is crucial to note that the issue of identity is very sensitive and complex. As C. Palmer points out, “it is very important to stress that identity and belonging are complex and contested concepts over-laden by discourses of power and control.” In addition Palmer warns, that “dominant groups in society frequently construct definitions of identity to serve their own ends.” Like R. de A. Grunewald, Palmer also emphasizes that “identity is not a neutral concept and it is always necessary to ask who is doing the definition, on what basis, and for what purpose.”

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213 MITUR. Plano Estratégico para o desenvolvimento do turismo em Mozambique, p.18.
In his work about the role of “ethnic tourism” (which is one of the different types of cultural tourism) and “nationalism” in Wales, S.R. Pitchford argues that “a legacy of economic exploitation and political oppression leaves the colonized group in a position of material disadvantage.” He adds that “material forms of colonial domination tend to be accompanied by cultural devaluation or the definition of the group’s culture as ‘backward’ or ‘inferior.’” This situation also characterized the colonialism in Mozambique.

Pitchard explains that this reality puts the ex colonized people in a situation where by they have to engage in strategies to recover their cultural dignity. Tourism appears as one of these means. Yet, according to Pitchford, “if the state stands to gain from tourist revenue attracted by a group’s cultural distinctiveness, suppression of that distinctiveness may be transformed into support.” It has also been argued that an “ethnic image projected through tourism reaches an outside audience, and because attractions typically display aspects of a group’s history and culture, they can provide an important opportunity for ethnic image construction and projection.” From the Welsh experience, Pitchford therefore concludes that “tourism is a resource that can help the Welsh to recover from the material effects of economic dependence, and also contribute to Welsh attempts to define their own history and identity, to project these to outsiders, and to preserve themselves as a culturally distinctive people.”

Palmer also focuses on the role of heritage tourism for cultural identity affirmation. She observes that “as a mundane taken-for-granted aspect of social life, heritage tourism reminds people of the nation’s core traditions through the stories of nationhood recounted at sites of national significance.” Palmer also notes that tourism helps to understand identities as social constructions. She explains that “imagination, memory, and emotion are crucial to the creation of a sense of intimate

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218Ibid.
familiarity with the events depicted," such as "this history is 'my' history, and these people are 'my' kith and kin."\textsuperscript{222}

At another level M.R. Esman considers that "tourism, by providing contacts between guests and hosts, can encourage a renewal of pride and the preservation of local expressive culture, if not the entire culture itself."\textsuperscript{223} On the other hand, Esman also points out "the ways in which tourism reinforces ethnic identities vary according to the nature of the interaction between hosts and guests."\textsuperscript{224}

According to R. de A. Grunewald, "tourism becomes an important medium through which the sense of divided aesthetics and collective identity emerges as an imagined community."\textsuperscript{225} Tourism can also serve as a means to express identity feelings. For example, the "Pataxo of Brazil, by wearing adornments, presenting themselves with indigenous names, and trying to impress the tourists with 'words in their language'—are constantly reminding tourists that natives were invaded. Grunewald explains that 'it is as if they said: 'we are mixed, impoverished, turned into slum-dwellers, we have lost our language and culture because you 'whites', 'the civilized' (whom the tourist represent) have always exploited us, and even violently.'\textsuperscript{226}

Another study addressing the relationship between tourism and ethnic cohesiveness is the one of Y.K. Kim and J.L. Crompton. They analyse the role of tourism in unifying the two Koreas. According to these two scholars, increased personal interaction may break down barriers, reduce suspicions, and facilitate mutual appreciation, respect, and friendship.\textsuperscript{227} They give examples of countries such as the former USSR, Sweden and Cuba where tourism has been used to promote national pride by sponsoring travel for students.\textsuperscript{228} The content of the tourism packages is crucial in the process of using tourism as a means for cultural identity affirmation. According to Kim and Crompton, "the inclusion of facilities such as national cultural museums, a center for scholarly

\textsuperscript{222}Ibid, p.24.
\textsuperscript{224}Ibid, p.464.
\textsuperscript{225}R. de A., Grunewald, "Tourism and cultural revival," p. 111.
\textsuperscript{226}Ibid, p.118.
\textsuperscript{228}Ibid.
exchanges, and a trade center, could aid in re-establishing cultural cohesiveness and welding national identity.229

Coming from another perspective and using the experience of the Cuzco in Peru, P. Van. der Berghe, demonstrates the way local tour guides glorify Inca culture and achievements. In contrast, these tour guides vilify and ridicule Spanish greed, religious intolerance, brutality and exploitation, totally ignoring continuities between Inca and Spanish forms of tyranny.230

Interestingly M. Pretes argues that the modern nation-states are constructed through the past. He points out that “a nation that wanted to show it was up to date and deserved a place among the company of modern states needed, among other things, to produce a past.” Further, Pretes positions the heritage sites as fundamental in the construction of national identity. He points out that “sites of significance help to create a common identity, or ‘imagined community,’ among a diverse population. In addition, it has been argued that a shared identity is an official goal of countries comprised of many different immigrant cultures.”231 To heritage sites, Pretes adds museums and archaeological sites as keys institutions to achieve nationalistic goals. According to him, “museums give the nation a history and sense of common heritage, present the defining characteristics of nationhood and display historical evidence of its existence. They also manifest the foundation myth of the nation, as do archaeological sites and reconstructions, with which they are closely connected.”232

According to R.E. Wood, “state definitions of tourist attractions, embodied in tourism planning, marketing and development, affect local perceptions of national identity and cultural heritage. Tourism may lead the state into direct intervention in local practices in order to shape the culture that will be presented to tourists.”233 But on the other hand, Wood notes that the marketing of certain aspects of indigenous local culture can help factions within a given cultural community to use the state to their own

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advantage. He gives the example of Indonesia where “the tourist importance of Balinese culture has enabled the Balinese to resist Indonezanization of their educational institutions and generally to receive a less haughty hearing in Jakarta.” 234 Finally, Wood argues, “to the extent that tourism facilitates a reassertion of ethnicity; it may provide both the social-psychological and the economic basis for local claims against the cultural imperialism of the center.” 235 Looking at another very important dimension, J. Scott analyses the process of national boundaries in tourism. She concludes that “Tourism forms one such cluster in which boundaries are redrawn, categories rethought, and identities created.” 236

Scholars such as P. Gruffud have observed that “landscapes and their representation in paintings, texts and so on, are powerful components in the construction of national identity.” Gruffud gives the example of the folk museum in Wales as having assumed a role in “awakening the national spirit and in reviving social life.” 237 On the other hand, B.B. McCarthy notes that cultural aspects such as dance, music, and art, architecture of all varieties do not require translation, “they communicate through emotion and visual perception.” 238 Yet, as C. Ryan points out, local communities contribute to tourism development by producing handicrafts that the tourists purchase as souvenirs. Consequently, tourism may lead to the revival in local forms of art. Ryan observes also that the valorisation of local gastronomy through tourism can reduce the need for importing food and it can lead to the host community taking pride in its own style of food preparation. Finally, Ryan notes that the promotion of local music for tourism can result in the host community rediscovering the value of their music. 239

234Ibid. p. 370.
235Ibid. p. 371.
238B.B. McCarthy, Cultural tourism: how the arts can help market tourism products, how tourism can help provide markets for arts, p.10.
239C. Ryan, Recreational tourism: a social science perspective. pp.138-139.
S. McDonald claims that "cultural tourism more generally can be a way of telling the people's story, and of helping to make sure that it will be heard." In what they call appropriate tourism principles, R. W. McIntosh, et al., point out that tourism "empowers local hosts to interpret their own heritage; builds the pride of local hosts in their heritage and improves their guest relations and service skills; helps to perpetuate local lifestyles and values; is transcultural and represents an approach to sustainable tourism development, because it respects and emphasizes an area's heritage and empowers its people as the true basis for tourism development." Cultural tourism is regarded as having contributed to the construction of a relatively coherent tourist image of a number of cities. M.K. Smith adds that "cultural tourism can provide the stimulus and source of funding for conservation, revitalization of customs and traditions and opportunities for cross-cultural exchange and integration." On the other hand, Smith underlines that "the post-modern emphasis on the pluralisation of history and the shift from the so-called "grand narratives" has lead to increased interest in, and concern for the culture and heritage of ethnic, regional and indigenous minorities." This observation is very important because it provides an example of how tourism can help to empower the minorities to represent themselves and their culture. In this case, what is regarded, as national/local culture is not only restricted to the dominant groups.

5.2 The colonial regime and representation of indigenous people

The Portuguese colonial regime in Mozambique was determined to eliminate all aspects that characterize the ways of life of the indigenous people. According to M. Moutinho, "the Portuguese colonial policy characterizes the indigenous people as being "inferior," "immaterial," "primitive," "weak," and 'greedy' and like 'terrorists." Moutinho indicates that "the cornerstone of the Portuguese colonization was based on the superiority of the colonizer, the right of intervention in

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241R. W. McIntosh (et al), Tourism: principles, practices philosophies.
244Ibid, p.81.
245M. Moutinho, O indígena no pensamento colonial Português, p.20.
men and things. The colonialism was defined as permanent."\textsuperscript{246} This was very much in keeping with colonial attitudes throughout the world.

In order to put in practice its policy, the Portuguese regime promulgated legal instruments to regulate the conduct of the indigenous people. In 1873, it was declared in Lisbon that "the Portuguese inhabitants of the provinces of Africa, Asia and Oceania, without distinction of race, colour, or religion have rights equal to those enjoyed by the Portuguese in Europe."\textsuperscript{247} However, pressure from Portugal ruling class brought the repeal of this decree known as \textit{assimilação uniformizadora} (uniform assimilation). In place of the original decree, Africans would henceforth be known as \textit{indígenas} (indigenous).\textsuperscript{248}

The indigenous were therefore defined as those of the black race or their descendants, who by their customs did not distinguish from the common aspects of that race.\textsuperscript{249} To be an "indigenous" meant limited access to certain benefits. For example, in 1904 when Lourenço Marques introduced electric trams, the 32-seater trams were only for whites. However, "after protests from the city's Asians, they were opened to all races that were 'decently clothed, in the European manner.'\textsuperscript{250} It therefore implied that for one to be considered as being "decently clothed" he should be dressed in a European manner. This might have influenced the native peoples' manner of dressing, while at same time implying traditional indigenous dress was inferior.

According to the status regulations of 1954, for someone to lose the condition of indigenous and acquire Portuguese citizenship, he or she should satisfy the following requisites:

(i) be more than 18 years old (ii) speak Portuguese correctly (iii) exercise a profession from which he gains income necessary for self substance and for the family under his responsibility,

\textsuperscript{246}Ibid.
\textsuperscript{247} D. Martin, \textit{Maputo: Mozambique}, 44.
\textsuperscript{248} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{249}M. Moutinho, \textit{O indígena no pensamento colonial português}, p. 137.
\textsuperscript{250}D.Martin, \textit{Maputo: Mozambique}, p.43.
or have sufficient goods for the same purpose, (iv) to have a good behaviour, (v) not have notified as refractory to obligatory military service or given as deserter. 251

These regulations make it clear that one must give up ones own identity or personality to become a Portuguese citizen. However, this status was not acquired automatically. Before being considered as Portuguese, it was necessary to pass through the transitory status of assimilado (assimilated). As R.S. James points out, under the class laws prevailing between 1927 and 1961, assimilated referred to native African who shared some of the civil rights of white citizens by giving up their lifestyle, speaking Portuguese and taking a job in a factory or business. 252

These regulations are indicative of the interferences of the colonial regime in the way of life of the native people. The natives were taught to ignore or reject their own way of life and learn Portuguese ways of life in order to be integrated into Portuguese society. This affected the ways the native people dealt with their own culture. As P. Soares observes, the colonial system had sought to systematically destroy all traditional religion and all ceremonies where art was not only manifested in a unitary form, involving the whole community, including ancestors and mythical beings in nature, but also through such various forms of expression as music, dance, drama and carvings. 253

From the facts described above it is clear that the colonial regime in Mozambique introduced diverse legal instruments that negatively influenced the indigenous peoples’ perceptions about their own culture and identity. These legal instruments were implemented in different sectors of the local economy, including tourism.

During the colonial period, (1895-1974) tourism was one of the most important contributors for the balance of payment of colonial Mozambique. This section will also consider how tourism was marketed during the colonial period and specifically shows the place given to the indigenous people and their culture. The Portuguese

251M. Moutinho, O indígena no pensamento colonial português, p.140; D. Martin, Maputo: Mozambique, p.44.
252R.S. James, Mozambique, p.98.
policies regarding the indigenous people were reflected in the manner in which Mozambique was marketed as a tourist destination.

A pamphlet issued in 1932 describes the Portuguese of Mozambique as by nature an extremely hospitable people, who receive their guests with kindness.\textsuperscript{254} In this pamphlet there is no explicit reference to the indigenous people. It is also limited to giving information about the city of Lourenço Marques. Some pamphlets are characterized by an obvious racial representation. In these pamphlets the city of Lourenço Marques is described as "a city, which unlike the towns of the South African Union, has not yet been Africanised, even after 400 years of occupation. It is considered that the visitor from the Union finds it difficult to believe that he is still in his subcontinent."\textsuperscript{255} There are also a few pamphlets making superficial references to the native people. Generally the native people appear as servants. For example, a pamphlet dated back to 1938 portrays black people pulling Rickshas or working as sentinels. By contrast, Europeans are portrayed enjoying the life in the city and the beaches.

D. Martin emphasizes that during the colonial period Portugal did not only neglect Mozambique's culture, but also actively sought to subvert it. He analyses the contents of a Lourenço Marques guidebook, to illustrate the subversion of indigenous culture in tourism. Martin observes that the Lourenço Marques guide of 1956 glosses over Lourenço Marques and Mozambique's turbulent history without once mentioning an African group by name. He adds that the early native Ronga people are described as 'savage native' and as the 'barbarians of those times'. Yet according to Martin, elsewhere the guide photographically portrays the luxurious opulence of the Portuguese houses and an aerial view of the native township. He points out that "the guide tells the visitor about the 'correctness' of the Portuguese African, with his frank and respectful smile."\textsuperscript{256}

The subversion of the native people in Mozambican tourism during the colonial period was apparent in the first provincial meeting of tourism held in 1964. The final

\textsuperscript{254}Direcção dos Portos e Caminhos de Ferro and the South African Railways and harbours, \textit{Lourenço Marques: South Africa's continental holidayland}.

\textsuperscript{255}Statistical Department, \textit{Portraits of Mozambique}, p.2.

\textsuperscript{256}D. Martin, \textit{Maputo. Mozambique}, p.44.
recommendations of the meeting focused on tourism based on zoos, beaches, handicrafts, popular fairs, internal tourism and other attractions.\textsuperscript{257} Considering these recommendations, one can see that the role of the native people in tourism development was totally neglected. Proposals to open an indigenous village and folklore museum were never considered. The indigenous people were merely regarded as handcraft suppliers.

M.P. Romano also illustrates very well how during the colonial regime the indigenous culture was taken for granted. In his article about tourism and colonial economy in Mozambique, Romano describes indigenous culture as "curious scenes of primitive life," traditional music instruments are also described as primitive.\textsuperscript{258} In the same perspective, Moutinho considers that "in the Portuguese ideology, scenes of traditional dance were rediccularised and characterized as immoral and wild, with a lack of respect for nudity. The ways of dancing were described as 'sexually provocative.'"\textsuperscript{259}

It is therefore apparent that the colonial regime intentionally neglected or marginalized the native people in tourism marketing. Mozambique was represented as a Portuguese territory, with white inhabitants. In almost all pamphlets issued during the colonial period the native people are absent or, if they are represented, they appear working or performing traditional dances. This process of marginalization of the indigenous peoples' culture helped the FRELIMO to gain support among the majority of native people who could not acquire the status of "assimilated."

5.3 The independence period and representation of indigenous people

This next section addresses FRELIMO's attitude towards indigenous culture during the independence period, specifically from 1977 to 1990. As R. Waterhouse observes, "at the time of independence Mozambique was deeply divided by indigenous tradition, colonial polices, and regional differences in its development. Within its

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{257}Centro de informação e turismo de Moçambique, I reunião provincial de turismo.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{258}M. P. Romano, Turismo na economia humana de Moçambique, p.51.}
\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{259}M. Moutinho, O indígena no pensamento colonial português.}
boundaries matrilineal clans in the north and patrilineal peoples in the south spoke over 100 linguistic dialects.\textsuperscript{260}

According to P. Soares, the violence with which colonial fascism was imposed on Mozambique during and after the Second World War also contributed to making culture under oppression an important part of resistance to foreign occupation.\textsuperscript{261} In fact, by defending the valorisation of the native indigenous culture, the liberation movement gained a lot of support among the masses.

However, in 1977, contrary to the expectations of the Mozambican population, FRELIMO started a process of cultural trivialization. Waterhouse notes that unlike some African countries that celebrated their indigenous traditions after freedom from colonial rule, Mozambican culture suffered a serious blow. The new Marxist government relabelled traditions as ‘superstition’ and outlawed many of its practices, such as polygamy, traditional healing, traditional marriages and initiation rites for young men and women.\textsuperscript{262}

L. Motta observes that at FRELIMO’s third congress held in 1977 the ideological battle of the party was defined as aiming to build a “new man,” a socialist man, free of all subservience, obscurantism and superstition. This man should dominate science and culture, and engage in collective and fraternal relationships.\textsuperscript{263} The ruling party made it evident that indigenous culture must be adapted to accord with the revolutionary ideology. Paradoxically, “the party recognizes the necessity of giving value to all cultural manifestations of the Mozambican people. However, it puts it in the context of the revolution and the process of affirmation of what the party considers as a ‘new Mozambican personality.’ ”\textsuperscript{264}

Through education, the party assumed a crucial role in the process of the elimination of “obscurantism” and other forms of “idealism” from society. The Portuguese language was established as the only one official language of instruction. Schoolboys

\textsuperscript{260}R. Waterhouse, \textit{Mozambique: rising from the ashes.}


\textsuperscript{262}R. Waterhouse, \textit{Mozambique: rising from the ashes.}


\textsuperscript{264}My observation.
and girls were punished if they were found speaking native languages at school. The party was attributed the role of collecting and valorising the national heritage through the military forces and democratic organizations of the masses.⁶⁵

In conclusion, under the Marxism-Leninism regime the indigenous culture suffered a dilemma of both valorisation and rejection at the same time. The ruling party encouraged the affirmation of selected cultural aspects regarded as compatible with the Marxist-Leninism ideology. So far from celebrating their cultural diversity, the Mozambicans once again saw their culture labelled as obscure and superstitious.

This contradictory position of FRELIMO towards culture was evident during the two large song and dance festivals held in 1978 and 1980. According to Soares, during these festivals the relationships between political leaders and local music groups showed complications. Dances such as nyau were not accepted on its own terms. They had to be freed from superstition before they could take place as part of the official national culture.⁶⁶ It is pointed out that other traditional dances, such as the timbila orchestras of Zavala in Inhambane province, might have lost their original meaning when the musicians were expected to accompany FRELIMO’s songs at public meetings.⁶⁷

During the next phase of Mozambican history Mozambican culture was also not given the prominence expected. Moreover, a combination of factors, such as the civil war and Marxism-Leninism, contributed to the virtual absence of tourism development during the independence period (1975-1992). Although the business of tourism was not well developed during this period, there is evidence that reflects the change of the regime in the representation of Mozambique as a tourist destination.

Waterhouse argues that despite the ban on traditional practices, many communities continued their age-old practices, which are now legal again since the ban was lifted in 1990. However, the lifting of the ban on traditional practices was not immediately reflected in tourism. The marketing of Mozambique during the independence period

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⁶⁶P. Soares, “Moçambique: art on the move.”
continued to focus on the beaches, diverse landscapes, and wildlife. Only recently have aspects of indigenous culture, such as the makonde woodcarvings, the nyau dance of Tete province, the Inhambane’s provincial annual festival of music and the white muciro masks of the makua women appeared as forming part of the national cultural experiences that can be enjoyed by tourists.268

When considering the pamphlets and tour guidebooks in the period of independence, it is noticeable that unlike the colonial period, the indigenous people are portrayed positively. In one of the guidebooks, one finds travel tips and basic conversation in Portuguese as well as the native language (Ronga) translated into English.269 This demonstrates to what extent the representation of Mozambican culture in tourism has changed as a result of independence.

Also remarkable during the period of independence, is the preoccupation of the tourism promoters to include local cuisine in tourism promotion. Some sources criticized the presumption that Mozambique has no genuine cuisine. They provided evidence of the existence of Mozambican cuisine, giving some instructions about how to prepare certain types of local food and beer.270

5.4 Cultural affirmation and national identity

From the period of the struggle for independence, Mozambique has been characterized by the fragility of the notion of the nation-state. FRELIMO made it a priority to consolidate the national unity of the Mozambican people from the Rovuma River in the North to the Maputo River in the South. This is a challenge for a country, where “religious faiths range from animist to Christian to Muslim, with combinations of all three.” In addition, “many of its inhabitants had never even heard of or been told about a Mozambican nation. Moreover, the civil war intervened to intensify existing divisions between different regions and even between the neighbouring communities.”271

271R. Waterhouse, Mozambique, rising from the ashes.
Given this reality, together with all the processes of cultural marginalization from the colonial period up to the first decade of independence, the promotion of cultural tourism can serve as factor to develop cultural affirmation and consolidate national identity. To achieve this objective, in the next pages the literature concerned with the benefits of cultural tourism for local communities is reviewed, as well as that dealing with the relationship between tourism and identity.

From the brief literature review done earlier in this chapter, it is apparent that there is a lot of evidence that sustains the assumption that tourism can contribute to cultural affirmation and formation of national identity. Mozambique, as a country facing the challenges of consolidation of a united nation-state, has a lot to learn from the experiences from other countries mentioned in this literature review.

For a country such as Mozambique with its diversity of languages, with an official language (Portuguese) spoken by a minority of the world population, the promotion of cultural tourism is vital. It should serve as a solution to the problem of difficulties of communication between the locals and tourists. In addition, it is necessary to take into consideration that “travel does require a tolerance of diversity and participation in the life of others not to be achieved by staying home.” This assumption is applicable to Mozambique. The country should encourage domestic tourism as a means to promote tolerance among its citizens.

It was argued earlier in this chapter how the colonial regime neglected the role of the indigenous people in tourism development in Mozambique. However, ordinary Mozambicans have a very important role to play in tourism development. In the context of this chapter, there are a range of cultural aspects that it is believed when promoted through tourism can serve as factors to enhance cultural revitalization and consequently national identity. These include traditional dances (xigubo, mapico, nyau, makwayela, tofo, timbila) from different regions of the country, the battlefields, heritage sites, historical sites and monuments, native languages, traditional rituals and a variety of lifestyles of ordinary people.

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The government should encourage and facilitate initiatives of investment in cultural tourism. As the authority, the government has the power to authenticate cultural aspects that can be regarded as symbolizing national heritage. Tourism can serve as a vehicle to correct historical mistakes of the past by celebrating cultural values of indigenous people. It was demonstrated here that by presenting themselves for tourists, local people became aware of the value of the uniqueness of their own culture. One of the ways that can help Mozambique to become a united nation-state where all Mozambican are proud of their identity and culture is through the recognition, incentive and celebration of local lifestyles and contacts between people from different provinces. Mozambique needs to define its national heritage and educate people to identify themselves with that heritage. This can be achieved through visits to museums, historical monuments and heritage sites.
VI. CHALLENGES FACING HERITAGE AND CULTURAL PACKAGES

This section focuses specifically on the challenges and opportunities for successful heritage, historical and cultural tourism in Mozambique. Compared to other African destinations, such as South Africa and Mauritius, Mozambican tourism is still in its early phase of development. The number of tourists visiting the whole country, as well as the capacity of the tourism sector in terms of accommodation, is inferior compared to for example, the city of Cape Town and the small island of Mauritius.\textsuperscript{273}

In the present phase, tourism development in Mozambique focuses on natural attractions such as beaches and wildlife. This type of tourism is still expanding and needs to be carefully managed in order to maximize the gains by the investors as well as by the state and local communities. The question that arises is: to what extent the promotion of heritage, historical and cultural tourism can be successful in a country dominated by nature-based tourism? Moreover is it possible to promote heritage and cultural tourism without jeopardizing the heritage and culture?

It has been pointed out that "compared with other forms of tourism, cultural tourism is credited with relatively high daily expenditures. This occurs because it is dominantly hotel-based and thus this direct economic benefit will tend to accrue to accommodation and other service industries rather than to the cultural facilities themselves, which frequently have low or non-existent user charges."\textsuperscript{274} Considering that most of the heritage and cultural attractions described so far in this mini-dissertation are located in urban areas, the cities must adapt themselves to attract tourists. By attracting tourists, the cities can "gain economic benefits in the form of increased expenditures and tax revenue."\textsuperscript{275} However, Broadway notes that "for the cities to gain these benefits they need to compete to attract other businesses through the provision of infrastructure and promoting a positive image of the community."\textsuperscript{276} To achieve these benefits Mozambicans cities need to develop basic infrastructures

\textsuperscript{273} MITUR, \textit{Plano Estratégico para o desenvolvimento do turismo em Moçambique}, p.19.
\textsuperscript{274} G.J. Ashworth & A.G.J. Deterorst (eds), \textit{Tourism and spatial transformations: implications for policy and planning}, p.279.
\textsuperscript{276} Ibid, p.27.
and tourist facilities such as roads, hotels, lodges and equip their residents knowledge about matters of tourism.

Examples from England showed that the existence of heritage and cultural attractions in a city is not good enough to attract tourists to the city. According to A.G. Schwartz, “in a study of what people want from a visit to a historical site nearly 1/3 of the responses to the question ‘what makes a visit to a historical site particularly enjoyable to you?’ the answers involved physical amenities such as shops, restaurants, bathrooms and cleanliness.”

All the above listed aspects pointed out constitute a big challenge for Mozambique if it intends to gain the benefits of the potential of heritage and cultural tourism within the urban context. For Mozambique to attract this segment of tourists who are recognized because of their “high spending patterns,” a lot must be done in terms of infrastructure construction and maintenance of physical amenities, including amongst others, toilets and cleanliness.

The development of these physical attractions is important for tourism development, as well as for the local communities. As C.M. Law suggests, “investment for tourism involves the development of facilities, activities, physical environments and infrastructures which will have benefits for the local community.” This development does not occur without obstacles in the context of Mozambique; most of the challenges of heritage and cultural tourism are similar to those which are more or less universal. During the fieldwork it was observed that issues described by W. Jamieson as challenges of cultural tourism in other countries are similar to what is happening in Mozambique. As in the case in other countries worldwide Mozambican heritage and cultural tourism faces the problem of a “lack of cooperation among local sites, business and tourism operators.” In the Mozambican government the tourism

281 Ibid.
and the heritage and culture sectors are in different departments. Observation from the fieldwork showed that there is not enough coordination between the different stakeholders. For example, the Maputo Municipality has absolutely no form of coordination with the tourism entity. The Municipality itself has no clear policy regarding tourism.  

At national level, there is a Commission of Tourism Facilitation, which involves the Ministries of Tourism, Agriculture, Environment, and Education and Culture. This Commission has as objective to coordinate common actions in order to facilitate the development of tourism in the country. In practice the Ministers comprising the commission can actually be an obstruction in allowing the decisions taken to be implemented. According to oral sources, the Commission draws up very good policies and strategies, but they lack practical implementation.

Another problem identified during the fieldwork is the lack of resources, both financial and human. Most heritage and cultural attractions are attached to government and lack financial support to develop their activities. In general the government provides only funds to pay water, electricity, telephone and salaries. This situation makes it very difficult for heritage and culture groups to improve their products, participate in marketing campaigns or even find time to network. For example, the "Museum of Revolution has no computer to exercise its elementary activities. It has had no improvements since its inauguration in 1978." On the other hand, even the Departments of Museums, Monuments and Arts in the Ministry of Education and Culture have not budgeted to develop these activities. Another barrier identified by Jamieson is the inappropriate project management process and ineffective enforcement of regulations, corruption and lack of support for heritage conservation. In the case of Mozambique, although most of the heritage and cultural attraction managers, as well as the senior staff in the tourism sector, have tertiary education, but most are not specialist in the area where they work.

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286 Interviewee H, Maputo, 05/09/2006.
Another barrier identified by Jamieson also relevant to Mozambique is “poor destination and transport planning.” Given the large distances and poor conditions in terms of roads, railways and transportation in Mozambique, transport remains a fundamental barrier. Most of Mozambican historical sites are located outside the major urban centres and they are far from each other. For example, the Niassa province, where most of the important historical sites regarding the history of the struggle for independence are located, has no tarred roads to link it with other provinces. To someone going from South and Central Mozambique to this Northern Province it is actually easier to access it through Malawi. Even within the province itself, there is no good system of communication or infrastructure. This makes the access to most of the heritage and cultural attractions in central and northern Mozambique limited or difficult as well as expensive, time consuming and thus difficult to form linkages or develop packages including these sites. According to an interviewee, it is more expensive to travel from Maputo to Pemba and Lichinga in Northern Mozambique than to travel from Europe to Maputo.

In line with Jamieson’s analysis it was also apparent that Mozambican heritage and cultural tourism suffers the problem of a lack of product development. Most of the heritage and cultural attractions described outside Maputo city needs further development to meet international tourism standards of quality and service. For example, the city of Inhambane, one of the oldest in the country with classic architecture, has no four star hotel. The standardization of handcrafts or sculptures for sale to tourists is another challenge pointed out by interviewees. It is believed that Mozambican artists have difficulties to produce standardized souvenirs in large quantities. This is attributed to poor preparation and to the use of rudimentary tools. Another obstacle for Mozambican heritage and cultural tourism is the minimal marketing of culture and heritage in the brochures of marketing. Mozambique is usually promoted for its beautiful scenery such as the beaches of the Archipelagos of

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Bazaruto in Inhambane and Quirimbas in Cabo Delgado. There has been little domestic or international marketing of Mozambican heritage and culture. There is no particular attention or ‘brand image’ for Mozambican heritage and culture. An analysis of the brochures issued by the tourism promoters in Mozambique makes it evident that heritage and culture occupy a minimal place. Another challenge is the lack of research on heritage and cultural tourism. As already pointed out earlier it was evident that academics, cultural institutions and tourism institutions give little attention to heritage and cultural tourism.

The heritage and cultural tourism industry in Mozambique also faces numerous other obstacles. There is a problem with the identification and marketing of new heritage, historical and cultural attractions. Another challenge includes the crucial development of substantial amenities next to the already established heritage, historical and cultural attractions. Other challenge relate to maintenance and construction of roads, hotels or guesthouses. The Legislation or the lack thereof is another major challenge facing cultural tourism development in Mozambique. The cultural policy and the strategy for its implementation were approved only in 1997. This policy encourages the promotion of handcraft industry and marketing, the introduction of Mozambican cuisine in the hotelry industry; the production and sale of souvenirs; the production of documents regarding cultural aspects and the participation in cultural fairs. However, there are other pieces of legislation which need to be updated in order to facilitate the development of cultural tourism. One example is the Decree no. 10/81, which regulates the commercialisation of, among other things, ivory and handcrafts. According to this decree if someone wants to export or to go out of the country with handcrafts he/she must produce proof of how he/she acquired such an object. This decree is still in force and makes it difficult to the tourists to buy souvenirs in Mozambique.

Education is another challenge facing the development of tourism in general and cultural tourism in particular. Data collected in the field indicates that there are very few Mozambican citizens visiting cultural facilities such as museums, monuments and historical sites, even beaches. Although the educational curriculum underlines the necessity to visit these places, little has been done in order to encourage students to visit museums and other cultural attractions. For example, the Money Museum in
Maputo has an average of 100 visits a month, including both tourists and national citizens. In 2005, the Museum of Natural History had an average of 370 visitors per month, including both tourists and national citizens. In the same period, the Revolution Museum received an average of 372 visitors a month, including tourists and national citizens. Finally the National Museum of Art received from January 2006 to September 2006 an average of 466 visitors per month, including tourists and national citizens. These numbers are very low and they show the lack of interest in visiting cultural attractions by national citizens. They also indicate that the government is failing in its effort to promote pride in national heritage and culture through education. To sum up, there is no tradition or culture of visiting cultural attractions among the majority of Mozambican population. According to the interviewees, low income and a lack of education about the importance and significance of these sites cause this lack of a culture of visiting cultural attractions.

Another important challenge facing cultural attractions and their success in their ability attract visitors is related to what D.T. Herbert warns, and that is that “museums have to be aware that they are in a very competitive environment where visitors make choices on how and where to spend their free time.” The majority of Mozambican museums still display objects in a very old style. They restrict the activity of the visitors to looking, not giving the opportunity to hearing, touching, tasting or smelling. The explanations of the exhibits are written only in Portuguese, making it difficult for the majority of tourists to understand the content. The majority of these attractions do not have additional facilities, such as shops, where visitors can buy souvenirs or refreshments. Those having these shops sell only a few handicrafts and t-shirts not directly related to the actual museum and its displays. The state of conservation or maintenance of some monuments is another challenge facing heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique. For example, the Mozambique island historical buildings, the buildings of the city of Inhambane, the Boroma church in Tete, the Quinga Sultan Palace in Cabo Delgado and the former bases of FRELIMO are in an accelerated process of degradation.

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The lack of qualified tourist guides is also a major challenge for the development of cultural tourism in Mozambique. The few free-lance tourist guides that exist in Maputo are poorly trained. In the Mozambique Island, young men and women that did not get the opportunity to continue their studies became tourist guides and consequently often provide incorrect information to the tourists visiting the island.299 Another challenge for heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique is the competition from other countries in the neighboring region. In this regard, it is necessary to make it apparent to tourists that Mozambique has a unique culture and to make sure that the tourists enjoy their experience in the country. Finally, one of the big challenges that may affect the promotion of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique is the danger of commodification of heritage and culture brought about by tourism.

6.1 The commodification of heritage and culture.

Another major challenge facing heritage and cultural tourism already mentioned earlier is the grave danger that faces the packaging of heritage and culture for tourism. Ways must be found to exploit heritage and cultural attractions of Mozambique for tourism, while at the same time minimizing the negative effects on the attractions. To a certain extent, the analysis of these aspects will link up with issues related to sustainable tourism.

The issue of “commodification” in tourism is very complex and therefore difficult, if not impossible, to avoid. As G. Shaw & A. Williams argue “commodification starts long before the tourists arrives in a destination and is based at two interconnected levels: the images created and presented by the tourism industry, as reflected through brochures and internet sites, and the way tourist images and experiences are acted out within particular destinations.”300 Then again, K.A. Costa argues, “heritage has become a commodity, something that can be marketed and managed and presented as evidence of longevity, brilliance, perseverance and power.” He adds that “the

marketing of heritage and management of heritage sites is a global movement.\textsuperscript{301} In addition, C.M. Hall points out that “the marketing of indigenous peoples’ heritage presents a paradox for the manager in that much contemporary marketing is oriented towards satisfying the needs of the supplier.”\textsuperscript{302}

From the assumptions presented here, it is clear that the promotion or marketing of heritage and culture for tourism implies the commodification of these elements. However, what is important is to find ways to minimize the negative effects, while maximizing the positive ones. There are various suggestions about how one can minimize the negative effects of commodification. It has been suggested that “integrating local communities’ needs and ways of life with tourism development is essential to avoid problems and conflicts associated with the erosion of local cultures.”\textsuperscript{303} It is also important to take into consideration that the communities must not be forced into tourism or to adapt elements of a society to fit into tourism. If that happens “it runs the risk of degradation of authenticity and therefore the culture of the people itself. What is necessary is to conserve traditional values and practices, so that cultural diversity and authenticity can both be maintained.”\textsuperscript{304}

Another way of minimizing the negative effects of commodification in tourism is through careful planning and management. According to A. Orbashi, “heritage management is the management of the visitors in a historic place in the interest of the historic site, and the enhancement of visitor appreciation and experience.”\textsuperscript{305} Therefore, if Mozambique opts for heritage tourism, its planning must ultimately meet the needs of both tourists and indigenous people, and enhance resource management. Moreover as it has been argued, “unless all interactive participants in cultural tourism - the host community, the tourism professionals, the visitors, who seek cultural experience are empowered and made mindful of the cultural implications, then

\textsuperscript{302} C.M. Hall, Tourism and the Maori of Aotearoa,” in: R. Butler & T. Hinch (eds), Tourism and the indigenous people, p.170.
\textsuperscript{303} Ibid, p.182.
\textsuperscript{305} A. Orbashi, Tourism in historic towns: urban conservation and heritage management. London: E & INSPOW, 2000, p.162.
ecologically sustainable tourism will not be achieved." In this regard, the tourist guides may assume an important role in minimizing the negative effects of tourism on culture. According to G. Gurung et al, "a well informed or trained tourist guide with communication and interpretive skills, enthusiasm, a sense of humour, self-confidence, warmth and credibility, can play a major role in influencing both on-site visitor behaviour and visitor attitude with respect to the environment and the host culture."

Therefore, the commodification of Mozambican heritage and cultural aspects such as historical buildings and sites, monuments, traditional dances, and ways of life will not necessarily have to lead to negative effects. As long as it is planned sustainability, the positive aspects can outweigh the negative ones. As it has been pointed out, by V. Seaton "tourism development should not be seen as a threat to the heritage, but should be managed to support its survival."

6.2 Sustainable tourism

One of the ways to minimize the negative effects of tourism on heritage and culture is through the practice of sustainable tourism. However this is in itself a big challenge. It is also among the rather difficult concepts to define. As B. Wheller points out, "any desire for a definitive definition of sustainable tourism or ecotourism is redundant. People will interpret the notion as they will, as best suits them and their circumstances." For the purpose of this mini-dissertation, "sustainable tourism means achieving growth in a manner that does not deplete the natural and built environment and preserves the culture, history, heritage, and arts of the local community." D. Pearce puts it very simply, but clearly, in saying that "sustainability is 'making things last' whether it is an economy, an ecosystem, or a culture." There is also a tendency to use sustainable tourism as synonymous with ecotourism. In this

308 V. Seaton et al (eds), Tourism, the state of the art, p.176.
309 B. Wheller, "Egotourism, sustainable tourism and the environment - a symbiotic, symbolic or shambofict relationship," in: V. Seaton et al (eds), Tourism, the state of the art, p.648.
perspective, ecotourism is "nature-based tourism that repeatedly supports environmental conservation, social responsibility with respect for indigenous culture and sensitivity to the economic balance sheet."\textsuperscript{312}

Considering the definitions of the various concepts above, it is important to note that sustainability in tourism includes both natural and cultural elements. It is incorrect to make reference to sustainable tourism excluding the local communities and their culture because as D.L. Edgell asserts, "the environment with which tourism interacts includes not only land, air, water, flora, and fauna, but also history, culture and heritage."\textsuperscript{313} Hence, sustainable tourism is also about "appreciation for natural areas and traditional cultures."\textsuperscript{314}

In summary, sustainability viewed in this perspective can help to minimize the negative effects on local communities' culture, as well as on the heritage attractions in its diverse forms. As pointed out earlier in this section, commodification is something that is very difficult to avoid entirely as it is present in almost all aspects of tourism marketing. However, through sustainable tourism, involving the participation of local indigenous people in all different levels of tourism planning and implementation, commodification can result in positive effects on the local peoples' heritage and culture.

D.L. Edgell enumerates some of the priorities of action for sustainable tourism, which if adapted to the Mozambican context, can have favourable results. He points out that:

Local and state arts, humanities, and museums agencies play a major role in the development, preservation, and promotion of cultural tourism activities by providing study tours, informational displays and guides, video or audio-tapes, educational classes and lectures, and other measures to increase the quality of the visit for tourists. For practical implementation, he indicates four major priorities: (i) to create sustainable and fruitful partnerships among the various stakeholders of cultural tourism, (ii) to preserve cultural integrity, remaining true to the authentic story being

\textsuperscript{312} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{313} D.L., Edgell, Managing sustainable tourism: a legacy for the future. p.16.
told faithful to the cultural organization's missions, (iii) to involve the community in the cultural development process and (iv) to acquire credible and consistent research demonstrating the social and economic impact of cultural tourism.³¹⁵

³¹⁵ D.L. Edgell, Managing sustainable tourism: a legacy for the future, pp. 75-76.
VII. WAYS TO ENHANCE HERITAGE AND CULTURAL TOURISM IN MOZAMBIQUE

This chapter analyses ways to enhance heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique. As H.N. Nicholson has argued “cultural products offered for tourism consumption are more heterogeneous than it is sometimes acknowledged.” In the case of Mozambique, cultural products encompass both material and non-material elements of culture such as historical buildings and monuments, museums, traditional dances, rituals, handcrafts, performing arts and the way of life of range of indigenous people.

Mozambique in particular, has cultural linkages with countries such as Portugal, Brazil, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Italy, Spain, Tanzania, Malawi, Zimbabwe and Swaziland. These linkages include aspects such as language, religion, origins and values. All these aspects may be of importance for tourism based on cultural attractions. However, the exploration of these opportunities depends among other factors on the role played by the government, the private sector, the non-government organizations and the local communities. As R. Duffy states, “when the government and the private sector assists in the creation and promotion of a specific identity for consumption by an external audience, notably tourists from the developed world this can assist governments in the process of nation building and identity formation.”

Therefore, the promotion of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique offers great opportunities. There are various ways in which cities, such as Maputo and its surrounding areas, may take advantage of cultural tourism. Maputo as political and economic capital of Mozambique often receives business travellers, short-break holidaymakers, day-trippers, visitors to friends and relatives. Most of these visitors fall in the category of domestic tourists. In this regard, the government and tourism promoters should encourage those travelling internally to include or associate their visits with tours to national heritage and cultural attractions. The educational institutions may assume a leading role in teaching the local people about the importance of visiting, for example, a national museum.

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317 MITUR. Plano Estratégico para o desenvolvimento do turismo em Moçambique, p.46.
In addition, Maputo, and other Mozambican large cities, such as Beira in Central Mozambique and Nampula in the North, frequently holds conferences and exhibitions, expositions, trade shows, fairs and summits. The organizers of these events should associate them with visits to the cities' cultural attractions such as museums and galleries, historic buildings, theatre and concerts, sports, sights, and the general landscapes of buildings. This combination can bring economic benefits to the urban areas. As it has been suggested, "the money which tourists spend at urban facilities such as concerts and theatres may make these activities more economically viable, with benefits for the local communities."\(^{19}\) In addition, "the monies expended by tourists for goods and services at the local community level in markets and bazaars, in taxies and in taverns, for meals and gratitude, may bring greater prosperity and well being to members of the host communities."\(^{20}\) It is also believed that "the development of these facilities, the physical regeneration of areas and the arrival of visitors may increase civic pride which is usually deemed as good thing."\(^{21}\)

This chapter suggests ways to enhance heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique through the integration of local communities into tourism development, the organization of integrated heritage, culture and nature tourism packages. It also suggests the exploiting of heritage and cultural aspects for domestic tourism and other ways that could enhance heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique.

7.1 Integrating local communities into tourism development in Mozambique

This section explores ways to integrate local communities of Mozambique into sustainable tourism development. It suggests activities and roles that local communities can perform in order to be active actors in tourism development. It also considers experiences of local people in other countries in the world and how they have been integrated into tourism. It analyses how these experiences can be adapted to the Mozambican context.

\(^{20}\) Ibid.
\(^{21}\) C.M. Law, Urban tourism, p.28.
It is assumed that the development of tourism in Mozambique depends among other factors on the integration and/or participation of local people in tourism planning and development. As Edgell makes clear, "whatever the case, no tourism product should be developed or marketed without the involvement and support of the local residents. If they are not included in the beginning, do not expect them to help at the later date." It has also been argued that "integrating local community needs and ways of life with tourism development is essential to avoid the problems and conflicts associated with the erosion of local culture." Then again, it has been observed, that "as a community-embracing activity, tourism is ignored or misunderstood by urban planners." Where this happens, residents ignore or are indifferent to the visitor, and thus "visitors remain strangers, unwelcome and unhappy." To minimize these problems in their strategies, tourism planners must take into consideration the people who provide services as well as those who receive them – in other words people living and working in communities and people visiting those communities.

In the case of Mozambique, for example, there are many ways to integrate local people into tourism. For example, Maputo is the only city in Mozambique where artists from all the provinces meet. The local people, (Ronga), in particular have gained a reputation as producer of handcrafts. These handcrafts are generally sold as anonymous works in Maputo’s squares as well as in Swaziland and South Africa. It would be interesting and advantageous to the craftsmen if they can sell their crafts directly to the tourists or if the tourists are invited to visit the artists in their setting.

Another way to encourage the participation of local people in tourism is through tour guiding. It has been argued that, "if the guides are local indigenous people, it suggests that the strengthening of this aspect of tourism offers fertile opportunities for local employment. Equally importantly, a well-managed guiding programme can allow for the integration of local knowledge about cultures and environments and can enhance

323 G. Shaw & A. Williams, _Tourism and tourismscapes_, p.182.
325 Ibid.
326 Ibid.
327 Interviewee V, Maputo, 14/09/2006.
local participation in tourism planning. However, Mozambique in general has no professional tour guides or an official institution that trains tour guides. This makes local people miss out the benefit that comes when one acts as a tourist guide. It is presumed that someone born in the area should know the history of the place, as well as all relevant information about tourist attractions, safety and culture. As G. Garung et al, point out, “tourist guides offer familiarity with the local environment, including the availability of locally produced goods and services.”

From the beginning of 2000s during the months of December and January, tourist facilities in particular accommodation in Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane, and Cabo Delgado, use to be full. Local people could benefit from this influx of tourists by providing accommodation and other service industries and products to the tourists. This could also take the form of homestays as occurs in Bali in Indonesia. According to G. Wall & V. Long “Balinese families take visitors into their homes in much the same way as bed-and-breakfast accommodation has proliferated in parts of the western world. These homestays are usually family-owned and operated, and accommodation usually consists of a room with two single beds, a bathroom, and breakfast. They are generally cheap and supply inexpensive accommodation for a low-budget clientele. Yet, they also afford views of traditional housing compounds and family life and cater to the demand from some tourists for interaction with the Balinese.”

A similar thing happens in Canada, where “as early as 1983 government planners advocated placing an emphasis on having tourists stay with local families. Homestays allow tourists to meet Canadian Inuit people, while providing a lower-priced alternative to hotels.” In the case of Mozambique, the local tourism authority could train local people and make a selection of those who have the requirements defined to host tourists in their houses. Apart from creating income for these families this should also be an opportunity for both tourists and guests to learn about each

other’s cultures, share experiences of life and promote tolerance among people from different backgrounds.

Another way that could be exploited to integrate local people into tourism development in Mozambique is through the festivals. In countries such as South Africa festivals attract thousands of visitors annually. According to H. Inge, in 1989, *The Standard Bank National Arts Festival in Grahamstown* “attracted 21 000 visits which fully booked all available school and church halls, museums, restaurants, coffee-bars, and recreational areas; hotels, university residences and school hostels.”333 Considering that Maputo, Inhambane and Cabo Delgado hold some annual festivals if well organized and oriented to local tourism planning and development, they can make a significant contribution to the local peoples’ income. A festival such as the celebrations of the Marracuene Battle in Maputo (known as Gwaza Muthini), the Tofa and M’saho in Inhambane province and Wimbe Beach Festivals in Cabo Delgado province have attained certain levels of importance in terms of attendance from different corners of the country and even from overseas.334 A well-planned initiative involving the participation of local people can guarantee to the residents of these areas an annual income from visitors that participate in these annual events. Local people can, for example, cater local food for tourists.

Another festival that needs to be incorporated by tourism promoters is the August Festival [Festival de Agosto] also in Maputo. This annual festival of arts (theatre, light music, etc.) should be part of Maputo’s tourist attractions. It could boost the number of tourists in this time characterized by few arrivals of foreign tourists.335 For this to happen, it is necessary first to make sure that local people identify themselves with the festival. Second, the festival must attract a huge number of local residents. There are different ways in which local people can benefit from events like this. One of them is through tax revenue by the local government; another is through the opening of a trade fair where local people can sell different kinds of goods such as crafts and then in terms of catering they can offer local food and beer.

There is also the Village of Namaacha in Maputo province that holds an annual Catholic pilgrimage. It attracts thousands of people from the city of Maputo and other regions of the country. Normally the pilgrims take on their trip of approximately 70 km from Maputo by foot. Although it has a purely religious foundation, its characteristics lead it to be overlooked as a form of tourism. According to V. Gupta, “apart from the devotional aspect, looked at from the broader point of view, pilgrimage involves, sightseeing, travelling, visiting different places and buying of the local memorabilia, almost everything a tourist does.” A well-planned initiative could encourage some pilgrims with disposable income to associate their pilgrimage with visits to sites of interest in the region, such as the Namaacha falls. Also, the presence of thousands of people in the village could be an opportunity to boost local commerce. If the village of Namaacha can develop its image in terms of the creation of facilities such as recreation facilities and low cost accommodation, not only would it boost the local economy during the pilgrimage period but many of the pilgrims might repeat their visit for leisure purposes. In this regard, Mozambique can learn more from the Indian experience where “many holy people and religious organizations have built lodges and rest houses in the cities and places where pilgrims congregate and need a place to stay. These are given free or at very low rates to the pilgrims. At other times, these facilities are used by itinerant vendors or for community functions.” It is also important to underline that apart from economic benefits, “these are highly therapeutic journeys for many people. Fortunately these are available to the very poor also.” All the possibilities posited above, could be successful if the local inhabitants of the areas are integrated from the early stages of tourism planning.

7.2 Combining nature-oriented, heritage and cultural tourism attractions

This section aims to analyse how Mozambique can exploit heritage, cultural and natural attractions for the benefit of all tourism stakeholders including the local communities. In other words how the combining of the traditional attractions in nature

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337 Ibid, p.93.
338 Ibid.
with the heritage and cultural dimensions can enhance tourism development in Mozambique.

Historically Mozambique has attracted business tourists and those seeking sun, beach, sand and wildlife. These main attractions of the country constitute a good base for the development of tourism. The tourism promoters in the country could design tourist itineraries that include a variety of attractions, including the already established natural attraction and the heritage and cultural attractions. For example, a stay in Maputo could include as activities a relaxing stay in Costa do Sol beach, a visit to local museums, botanic gardens, a round trip through the city’s streets appreciating colonial and modern architecture, a visit to local markets, surrounding townships, or even a trip to the Maputo Elephant Reserve. In addition, tourists can enjoy the nightlife of the city attending theatre music concerts or going to discos to dance.

Another positive dimension related to this is the fact that the promotion of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique can help keep the city “alive” at night. As it has been pointed out, “patrons living in smaller places have to travel to big cities to experience live performances and in the process become tourists. Also the affluence of people in the city during the night makes the city to be perceived as a safer place.” In summary, the success of heritage and cultural packages for tourism development in Mozambique is dependent on product diversification and on the capacity to invent new attractions.

Indeed there are various cultural experiences that may be promoted for tourism. For example, some tourists might be interested in visiting local people in their traditional settings. As A. Bennett and R. George claim, “these visits can take the form of educational tours to learn about other peoples’ heritage and experience, their daily life as well as travel to study folklore and culture.” One can find an example of this type of tourism in South Africa where “a small but growing number of foreigners are

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spending the night with middle-class and working class families in Soweto, where they are exposed to the rhythms and routines of the ‘real’ South Africa.  

Given the fact that Mozambique is potentially a nature-based tourist destination it could be more important to coordinate visits to attractions such as the beaches and wildlife with heritage and cultural attractions. For example when visiting Maputo city, tourists can experience diversified products taking certain excursions out of the city. He/she could visit the Namaacha village, a medium altitude health resort which borders with the Kingdom of Swaziland. Other places are the village of Marracuene, homeland of the famous painter Malangatana Ngwenya and place of the annual celebration of the battle of resistance against Portuguese occupation; the Catembe, a mythic place with a beautiful beach, and an open-air tour of the Maputo Elephant Reserve, and also visit Inhaca Island. These excursions could provide a unique opportunity to appreciate the environment and local people in their setting. If well planned they can involve visits to indigenous people in their homesteads.

As regards Maputo specifically it needs to also maximise the benefits of the “visa suppression” with South Africa to attract international tourists visiting the famous Kruger National Park in South Africa. This could result in what analyst S. Naidoo calls “bush and beach tourism.” If well coordinated, tourists can be encouraged or invited to visit indigenous people living along the Park border. This could for example take the example of Guludo Camp in Cabo Delgado province, North of Mozambique. The idea of the owners of this camp is “to create luxury resorts designed to complement the environment and help local people. The focus of the tourist stay includes spending time in villages, visiting schools and getting to meet locals. It also includes attending performance of traditional dances.” These visits could prove to be very interesting considering that the indigenous people have life stories about their interaction with nature and animals that might be of interest to tourists. Another example of an itinerary could combine a stay in Maputo’s hotels with attendance of local theatre, traditional dances and light music concerts. Those

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345 J. Fox, “Cruising the coral Quirimbas” in GETAWAY, Mozambique: Not all prawns and beer, potholes, islands of earthly delights, traffic-cap highwaymen. February 2006, p.45.
interested in the local way of life could be encouraged to visit local people and spend some time observing the daily activities and culture of these people. The following table provides an outline of nature-based attractions and heritage and cultural attractions that could be combined in a visit to Mozambique. It considers the three geographic regions namely Southern, Central and Northern Mozambique.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Southern Mozambique</th>
<th>Nature-based attractions</th>
<th>Heritage and cultural attractions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| **Maputo province** | **Beaches:** Costa do Sol, Catembe, Macaneta, Ponta do Ouro, Ponta Malongane and Inhaca.  
**Wildlife:** Maputo Game Reserve. | **Museums:** National Art Museum, Natural History Museum, Money Museum, Revolution Museum, Geology Museum.  
**Historical Buildings:** Iron House, City Hall, Railway Building, Central Market.  
**Monuments:** Maputo Fortress, Samora Machel and Eduardo Mondlane Statues.  
**Traditional dances:** *makwayela, xigubo, makway, marabenta, muthini, chipende and ndlama.*  
**Historical townships:** Mafalala, Chamanculo and Xipamanine. |
| **Gaza province** | **Beaches:** Bilene, Zongoene, Xai-Xai, Chongoene, Chidenguele.  
**Wildlife:** Limpopo Transfrontier Park and Banhine National Park. | **Battlefields:** Magul, Coolela and Chaimite.  
**Traditional dances:** *mawayela, makway, xingomana, muthimba, chilembe, massessa and ngalanga.* |
| **Inhambane province** | **Beaches:** Zâvora, Paindane, Jangamo, Cocos, Tofo, Barra, Morrungulo, Bazaruto, Vilanculo. | **Historical sites:** Inhambane city.  
**Museum:** Inhambane museum; the House of Culture. Archaeological sites: Chiboene and Bazaruto.  
**Other cultural attractions:** M’saho festival and Tofo Festival.  
**Traditional dances:** *timbila, ngalanga and zore.* |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Central Mozambique</th>
<th>Nature-based attractions</th>
<th>Heritage and cultural attractions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wildlife: Gorongosa National Park, Marromeu Buffalo Reserve.</td>
<td><strong>Traditional dances:</strong> n’dhokodo, mandóa, makwaya, mukapa, valinga, makulungunde, gundula, chikuzine, djagadja and massessey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica province</td>
<td>Wildlife: Chimanimani Conservation Zone.</td>
<td><strong>Architecture and structures:</strong> Cabeça do Velho, [rock structure known as Head of old man] Chimanimani Mountain rock paintings, Hero’s Square, the Mosque and the library. <strong>Traditional dances:</strong> “mutxongoyo, manongwa, cidzimba, mangone ekwaya.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tete province</td>
<td>Wildlife: Tchuma Tchato community based nature resources management.</td>
<td><strong>Architecture:</strong> Boroma church, the Fort of Saint Tiago Maior of Tete, the fort Nicho de Vila de Angonia and traditional houses. <strong>Traditional dances:</strong> nyau dance, nominated world heritage, chinamwali, chiwere, and chintali or canshodo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambézia province</td>
<td>Beaches: Zalala</td>
<td><strong>Architecture:</strong> catedral velha,[Old cathedral] Mesquita de Quelimane [Quelimane Mosque]. <strong>Traditional cuisine:</strong> Galinha a Zambeziana (Zambezan chicken). <strong>Traditional dances:</strong> niquetexe, missuri, sopas, khamuromole, elata, nakutula, convelela, nhipe e kwakwe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Mozambique</td>
<td>Nature-based attractions</td>
<td>Heritage and cultural attractions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nampula Province</td>
<td><strong>Beaches:</strong> Fernão Veloso and das Chocas.</td>
<td><strong>Architecture:</strong> Mozambique Island, Nampula city cathedral. Museum: Ethnology Museum. <strong>Traditional dances:</strong> tufo, chacacha, nsope, mmakanyeke and cotoa magiekie, erapala, ekano-nakonha, parampara, niketcha, tahura, nathere, maulede nakira, nikungu, lufhatao n’siripiti, massepwa.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabo Delgado province</td>
<td><strong>Beaches:</strong> Wimbe, Farol, Mecufi, Mocimboa da Praia, Vamizi Island, Madjumbe, Pangane, Matemo, and Ibo. <strong>Wildlife:</strong> Quirimbas National Park, Lugenda Wildlife Reserve, Kambako Investment and Negomano Safari.</td>
<td><strong>Architecture and historical sites:</strong> Quionga Sultans Palace and the old colonial church in Vinisi Island, Fortaleza de São João Baptista [the Fort of S. John Baptist] the Ibo Island and the city of Pemba. <strong>Traditional dances:</strong> Mapiko, llingundumbwe, n’tchalila, napwaro, tahura, tamadume, nambayaya, n’tchindo, tufo, waniha, mapinduzi, sokeya, khirimo, manganyamo, chambatula.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niassa province</td>
<td><strong>Beaches:</strong> Lago Niassa. <strong>Wildlife:</strong> Niassa Game Reserve; Chipanje Chetu community based wildlife management.</td>
<td><strong>Architecture:</strong> Government building and Lichinga Cathedral. <strong>Traditional dances:</strong> massesse, ilala, msulubi, beni, xiwoda, xigwadja, moto, siliila, liiwo, namwanna, nganda, tendele, conzat. <strong>Historical sites:</strong> Former FRELIMO bases in Matchedge where FRELIMO held its second Congress, the first in national territory during the war of liberation, the bases of Sanga, Mamba, Mavago, Ngauma, Cuamba and Marrupa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.3 Exploiting heritage and cultural aspects for domestic tourism

The Mozambican policy of culture recognizes that "the cultural expressions, the folklore, the national parks, the monuments and museums; the dressings, the cuisine and traditional rituals are important elements for successful tourism. It also points out that tourism must be transformed into a vehicle for cultural interchange at national and international levels."\(^{346}\) This policy reveals the importance given to heritage and cultural aspects for the promotion of domestic tourism. Through domestic tourism it is believed that people from different regions or provinces of Mozambique can meet and learn about each other's culture. In this process, tourism could contribute for the celebration of the cultural diversity of Mozambican people and also help in the process of national identity affirmation.

The tourism operators could use domestic tourism as a means to respond to low numbers of international tourists during off-season. Considering the fact that the majority of the Mozambican population has a very low income (the minimum salary is approximately 48 American Dollars per month) certain structural adjustments should be made. This could include the creation of accommodations facilities affordable at least for the medium income class people. One of the strategies to follow could be the promotion of family and mini-group tours. These visits could include activities such as sightseeing, visits to museums, historical buildings, attendance of performing arts and shopping. Sports events can also be used to promote domestic tourism and by doing so contribute to contacts between people from different places in the country. For example, excursions should be organized for the soccer fans in order to accompany teams from their provinces in their traveling to play with teams from another province. This travelling could integrate other cultural activities such as sightseeing and visits to places of cultural interest. Domestic tourism could also target rural communities. In this regard it could serve as a mean to help rural areas to gain additional income. As it has been pointed out, "heritage and culture are often well preserved between generations in rural areas and it is in periods of economic decline that their residents seem to cling more to a distinct heritage."\(^{347}\) Mozambicans living in urban areas could be encouraged to visit rural areas in order to participate in

\(^{346}\) CONSELHO DE MINISTROS, Resolução no. 12/97.

various activities such as to be informed about the culture and to experience folklore, customs, natural landscapes and historical landmarks. They might also enjoy other activities in a rural setting such as nature, adventure, sports, festivals, crafts, and general sightseeing.

On the other hand, it is also necessary to establish a certain kind of connection between tourists' operators and local people. This connection should alter the current situation characterized by the existence of various luxury hotels and other tourist facilities, but without any connection with the local people. In this case, the prices charged are not affordable for local people and certain facilities are strictly restricted to foreign clients. This makes it difficult for domestic tourists visiting friends and relatives to go out and eat or attend other forms of entertainment. Meanwhile, this segment of tourists is very important for the cities. According to A. Orbasli, "although most of visits to friends and relatives do not involve the use of serviced accommodation, those that last more than a few hours, usually include either a visit to an attraction, eating and drinking out of the home and therefore involve expenditure."348 In addition it has been argued, "domestic tourism should be promoted as a basis of international tourism. Second, domestic tourism could be a substitute for foreign tourism undertaken by nationals and lead to savings in foreign currency. Third, domestic tourism is easy because of the existence of a common language, currency, and absence of documentation barriers ordinarily required for foreign travel. Finally, domestic tourism should be promoted as a way of meeting recreational needs and aiding conservation of national resources through public knowledge."349

7.4 Other ways to enhance heritage and cultural tourism

The ways suggested above can provide practical results, but will be further enhanced if combined with other key factors pointed out by W. Jamieson in his various articles concerned with heritage and cultural tourism.350 Although his research focuses on

350 Walter Jamieson has worked and published on cultural tourism and heritage resource management internationally for more than 25 years. Jamieson both collaboratively and independently has been responsible for over 95 publications in the field of heritage and cultural tourism.
other countries such as Canada, Unites States of America, Thailand and China, the ways that he suggests to enhance heritage and cultural tourism in these countries are also applicable to Mozambique. Among other ideas, Jamieson supports an integrated planning and management of heritage and cultural tourism. He points out that "both those involved in cultural resource management as well as economic development must begin to work together." Jamieson adds that "it will no longer be sufficient to have cultural sites developed in isolation of larger development plans and policies." Jamieson defends "integrated impact assessment, job training, community initiative, tourism infrastructure development, and environmental and resource protection" as factors that may contribute to the enhancement of heritage and cultural tourism. Regarding integrated impact assessment, Jamieson suggests that "the planning and development process must encourage local initiative and entrepreneurship." This point is very important in the Mozambican context where the tourism industry is mainly controlled by outside investors.

Another way to enhance heritage and cultural tourism which is suggested by W. Jamieson and which can be applied to the Mozambican situation is the necessity for job training. According to Jamieson, "all planning and development work must include opportunities for residents to be trained." Regarding community initiative, Jamieson argues that "while private sector projects and initiatives must be encouraged and supported, community based activities are also important. It is important for communities and regions not to get fooled by the recent popular efforts to privatize everything." Another factor which is important to enhance heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique is the development of tourism infrastructure. In this matter it is indispensable to take into consideration the hospitality side of the tourism experience. According to Jamieson "visitor comfort is an essential element in

335 Ibid.
335 Ibid.
334 Ibid.
335 Ibid.
336 Ibid.)
determining visitor satisfaction. This comfort is a function of such factors as the availability and quality of accommodation, food and shopping.\textsuperscript{357}

According to Jamieson, communities and historical and tourism interests must ensure that cultural heritage tourism plans are integrated with the larger processes of policy making and planning.\textsuperscript{358} This is also important for Mozambique because, as pointed out earlier in chapter 4, Mozambican heritage and cultural tourism suffers seriously from the problem of a lack of formal linkages. It is imperative that ways to institutionalise links between culture and heritage and tourism are formed. The partnerships that exist at national levels must be promoted at all levels. The various stakeholders of tourism and culture must develop better communication on regular bases. They have to work together in order to produce a catalogue or database of heritage and cultural tourism products through Mozambique.

In another article by W. Jamieson, he highlights the importance of cultural heritage and tourism planning as a means to achieve sustainable tourism activity. He points out that managing cultural and heritage resources as tourism attractions involve "community tourism planning, heritage and cultural product development, preservation technology, site/attraction management, marketing and enlightened community involvement and an understanding of partnership approaches."\textsuperscript{359} Concerning heritage and cultural product development, it is necessary to recognize that the fact that Mozambique has a rich heritage and culture is not enough to ensure successful heritage and cultural tourism development. It is necessary to make sure that heritage and cultural products are market-ready. Specifically Mozambique must work on infrastructures and services as well as quality programs. It is also necessary to develop new products focusing in the area of cultural tourism involving direct participation of local peoples' culture as a tourist attraction. It is therefore necessary to encourage integrated packages involving small programmes, events and sites.

Besides the improvement of human resources in heritage and culture, it is also important to pay attention to accommodation, transportation and tour guiding. The

\textsuperscript{357} Ibid, p.7.
\textsuperscript{358} W. Jamieson, \textit{The Challenges of Sustainable Community Cultural Heritage Tourism}, p.7.
\textsuperscript{359} W. Jamieson, "Cultural heritage tourism planning and development: defining the field and its challenges," p.65.
tourist guides in particular need adequate training by credible institutions. Expensive transport and accommodation can deter tourists to visit certain areas. It is thus necessary to create facilities and make Mozambican Heritage and Cultural Tourism more competitive worldwide. One of the strategies to diminish costs of accommodation is as it was suggested earlier in this chapter, to give an opportunity to local populations to rent their places to the tourists. If local communities see direct income from heritage and cultural tourism they can contribute more to enhance local heritage and culture. The activities developed in the specific heritage and culture site must be diversified in order to attract different kinds of tourists. The tourists must be given a range of choices in terms of entertainment, souvenirs and food. For example, the hotels could create space for local musicians to perform for the guests as well as promote Mozambican cuisine in their restaurants.

At another level, Jamieson points out the need for “coordination at both policy and actions levels among the various agencies and different levels of government involved in tourism development; cooperation among local sites, business, and tourism operators; impact assessment and monitoring including physical, natural, social and cultural limits; establishment of guidelines for tourism operation at national, provincial and municipal levels; education and training involving more comprehensive education and training programs at the local, regional, and national levels; and the marketing and promotion as key factors to enhance heritage and cultural tourism.”

On the subject of education and training, if heritage and cultural tourism is understood as an industry that contributes to the country’s GDP, it is necessary to create more schools to train cultural heritage workers in marketing, business, and customer service and the general tourism industry as whole. These schools should be localised preferably in the region of the potential heritage and cultural tourism sites in order to integrate the local residents in the process of wealth creation and to retain benefit from their own resources. Yet the subject of education must involve the research component. It is necessary to do more indepth research focused on planning and advocating cultural and heritage tourism products. The research could also be

concentrated on the markets for cultural and heritage tourism and provide advice on potential market segments, analysis of economic impact studies and make them available to the broader population. It is necessary to collect data regarding the potential of the county’s heritage and cultural tourism and study ways to exploit it in order to benefit the local communities. To achieve these elements it is necessary that there are more linkages between policy makers and researchers, especially those working in universities and other institutions that deal with the teaching and researching of tourism. Giving scholarships or grants for research in the area of heritage and cultural tourism can bring together researchers and students from different areas of specialisation into the tourism area of research. The results of this research should be summarised using a simple language and be made accessible to a wider population. The local communities should be given opportunity to explain their experiences in the management of cultural and heritage and integrate them in the process of development of heritage and cultural tourism at a higher level. More important is to disseminate the results of the research to a large audience (not limit it only to the academic sector). The media including radio, TV and newspapers, could assume a crucial role in the process of dissemination of information.

Finally, Jamieson highlights the importance of marketing and promotion of heritage and cultural products. In fact, the marketing appears as a key element to enhance heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique. The practical application of all the recommendations mentioned above must be publicised worldwide. Mozambique’s heritage and cultural attractions must be made known worldwide through strong marketing using, for example, the Internet, video and pamphlets. Actors, musicians and other artists can also perform a very important role in this regard. Finally it is necessary to translate the recommendations into practice. These can be attained through the creation of partnerships. All the Mozambican tourism, heritage and cultural attractions stakeholders, as well as the whole population must take responsibility in making heritage and cultural tourism a profitable business that benefits the country. They must become actively involved in a concentrated effort.

Conclusion

This mini-dissertation has presented an historical assessment of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique. Through a review of literature and sources on Mozambican tourism it has shown that Mozambican tourism history dates back to the colonial period and it has always played an important role in the Mozambican economy. A combination of historical factors, such as the wars for independence and the civil war, as well as the political orientation that followed the independence, affected the development of tourism in Mozambique in a very negative way.

These historical developments also affected the role of heritage and culture in Mozambican tourism, as it shaped ordinary peoples' perceptions of their culture. Many Mozambican people appear to be ashamed of their cultural values. This makes it a challenge to promote tourism based on the "commodification" of cultural traditions. It was observed that heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique has been given little attention by the government, tourism operators, researchers and the population in general.

An attempt had thus been made to enumerate some heritage and cultural components that could be promoted for tourism in Mozambique. In this regard this mini-dissertation has highlighted some challenges for the promotion of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique and indicated some of the opportunities of promoting this type of tourism in the country. Finally, this mini-dissertation provides some recommendations to enhance the development of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique. It is assumed that Mozambique has great heritage and cultural potential for tourism development. To benefit from this potential it is recommended that a combined effort of all the tourism sector stakeholders, including local communities be launched. Mozambican society needs to change its attitude regarding heritage and culture and view tourism as one of the solutions for the problem of indigenous peoples' cultural marginalization.
Annexure

Annexure A, letter of introduction (English version)

University of Pretoria

President of the University

Pretoria 0001, Republic of South Africa
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7 February 2006
Faculty of Humanities
Historical and Heritage Studies

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

I, Marlino Eugénio Mubai (student No. 25192354) am currently enrolled for a Masters degree (coursework) in Heritage and Cultural Tourism at the University of Pretoria. I am doing a thesis entitled “Heritage and Cultural Tourism in Mozambique: a historical assessment.” For the research component of this study, I need to complete certain field research. This will take the form of open-ended interviews based on individual or professional experience.

Participants input will be acknowledged according to the footnoting reference system prescribed by the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies.

Yours Sincerely

________________________

Marlino Eugénio Mubai
Annexure A, letter of introduction (Portuguese version)

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7 February 2006
Faculty of Humanities
Historical and Heritage Studies

PARA QUEM POSSA INTERESSAR

Eu Marlino Eugénio Mubai (estudante No. 25192354) estou actualmente matriculado para o grau de Mestrado em Turismo Cultural e Património na Universidade de Pretória. Estou a fazer a tese intitulada: “Turismo Cultural e Património em Moçambique: uma análise histórica.” Para a componente de pesquisa deste estudo, preciso completar certo trabalho de pesquisa. Este leverá a forma de entrevistas semi-estruturadas baseadas na experiência individual ou professional.

A contribuição dos participantes será referenciada de acordo com o sistema de notas de roda-pé prescrito pelo Departamento de Estudos Históricos e Património.

Atenciosamente

Marlino Eugénio Mubai

97
LETTER OF INFORMED CONSENT

I, ____________________________ (the undersigned) agree to participate in the Masters degree Heritage and Cultural Tourism (HCS) research project of Marlino Eugénio Mubai (student No. 25192354) at the University of Pretoria.

I have read his letter of introduction and agree that my information may be acknowledged according to the prescribed footnote reference system.

Yours sincerely

Signed ____________________________ Date / __________________ 2006.
Annexure B, letter of informed consent (Portuguese version)

CARTA DE ACEITAÇÃO

Eu __________________________ (abaixo assinado) aceito participar no projecto de investigação do Mestrado em Turismo Cultural e Património, de Marlino Eugénio Mubai (estudante No. 25192354) na Universidade de Pretoria.

Li a sua carta introdutória e concordo que a minha informação pode ser referenciada de acordo com o sistema de notas de roda-pé prescrito.

Atenciosamente

Assinatura __________________________ Data _____/_______2006.
Annexure C

Guide for Interviews

These questions are part of research being done toward a MHCS (Heritage and Cultural Studies) mini-dissertation at the University of Pretoria. Participants' input will be acknowledged according to the footnote references system prescribed by the Department of Historical and Heritage Studies. Strict anonymity will be observed in the use of data. In addition all participants will be asked permission to participate in the research.

The aim of the interview is to gather personal experiences and opinions of different stakeholders about the development of heritage and cultural tourism in Mozambique. The question will be open ended, but these will be guidelines.

1. Government personal (English Version)

Place of interview ______________ Date __ / ____ /2006; Interview number __

Personal profile

1. Profession or occupation
2. Age
3. Sex
4. Highest education qualification

Questions:

1. The government policy emphasizes the importance of “heritage” and “culture” for tourism development. What do you understand by the term cultural tourism?
2. What aspects of Mozambican heritage and culture do you think are of importance for tourism? Why?
3. What is your division in government doing in order exploit the potential of heritage and cultural tourism in the area under your administration?

4. Do you think that heritage and culture can serve tourism? How?

5. How do you evaluate the role of museums, historical buildings and monuments in tourism development?

6. What incentives have been put in place to encourage people to visit museums and historical sites?

7. How did you obtain feedback on the visits of domestic tourists to local tourism attractions such as museums, historical sites and monuments?

8. What attractions would you suggest to be considered as national heritage to be visited by domestic tourists?

9. The Mozambican government considers that tourism has an important role to play in the preservation of cultural values and national pride. In your opinion, how can tourism contribute to cultural affirmation and the development of national identity?

10. In your opinion what hampers the development of heritage cultural tourism in Mozambique?

11. What should be done to enhance cultural tourism in the city?
1. Government personal (Portuguese version)

Dados pessoais

1. Profissão ou ocupação
2. Idade
3. Sexo
4. Nível de formação

Questões

1. A política do governo enfatiza a importância do património e cultura para o desenvolvimento do turismo. O que entende por turismo cultural?
2. Que aspectos do património cultural moçambicano considera serem importantes para o turismo? Por quê?
3. O que é que o seu sector de trabalho faz para explorar o potencial do turismo cultural na área sob sua administração?
4. Concorde que o património e cultura podem servir para o turismo? Como?
5. Que avaliação faz do papel dos museus, edifícios históricos e monumentos no desenvolvimento do turismo?
6. Que incentivos têm sido dados para encorajar as pessoas a visitar museus e sítios históricos?
7. Como é que obtem o feedback das visitas de cidadãos nacionais a atracções turísticas como museus e edifícios históricos?
8. Que atracções sugeria como património nacional a ser visitado por turistas nacionais e estrangeiros?
9. O governo moçambicano considera que o turismo tem um papel importante na preservação dos valores culturais e do orgulho nacional. Na sua opinião, como é que o turismo pode contribuir para a afirmação e desenvolvimento de uma identidade nacional?
10. Na sua opinião, o que impede o desenvolvimento dum turismo baseado em património cultural no país?
11. O que deveria ser feito para melhorar o turismo cultural no país?
2. Guide for interviews with staff members of heritage and cultural attractions
(English version)

Place of interview_________Date__________Interview number

Personal profile

4. Profession or occupation
5. Age
6. Sex
4. Highest education qualification

Questions:

1. This institution is part of heritage and cultural attractions that the tourists are suggested to visit in Mozambique.
1.1. Do you think that this institution has qualities to be considered as tourist attraction?
2. Do you have records of people visiting this place?
3. What do you think about the number of visitors (very low, low or high)?
4. Do you have register of national citizens visiting this attraction? Who compose this segment of visitors?
5. What incentives does your institution give to national citizens to visit heritage and cultural attractions?
6. Besides the exposition, is there something else that the public can appreciate?
7. Did you institution has other facilities such as shop of gifts and toilets?
8. What is the main function of this institution?
9. To what extent the artefacts exposed here can contribute for the enhancement and affirmation of national identity?
10. What are the benefits that this institution gains by receiving tourists?
11. What is the funding source of this institution?
2. Guide for interviews with staff members of heritage and cultural attractions
(Portuguese version)

Local da entrevista__________________ Data________2006; Número da entrevista____

Dados pessoais

1. Ocupação ou profissão
2. Idade
3. Sexo
4. Grau de escolaridade mais alto

Questões

1. Esta instituição faz parte da lista de atrações culturais sugerida aos turistas que visitam o país.

1.1 Acha que esta instituição tem atributos para ser considerada como uma atração turística?

2. Tem o registo do número de turistas que visitam este estabelecimento?

3. Que avaliação faz destes números? (muito baixos/baixos/altos/muito altos) Qual é a sua origem?

4. Tem o registo de visitantes nacionais? Quem compõe este segmento de visitantes?

5. Que incentivos dão para encorajar cidadãos nacionais a visitar este local?

6. Para além da exposição, quais são os outros serviços que a instituição oferece aos visitantes?

7. Tem casas de banho para os visitantes? Existe aqui uma loja de presentes? Um quiosque?

8. Qual é a principal função deste estabelecimento?

9. Até que ponto os artifatos expostos/este local pode contribuir para a criação ou fortalecimento da identidade nacional?

10. Que benefícios directos a instituição tira por receber turistas?

11. Qual é a proveniência dos fundos que sustentam a instituição?
3. Guide for interviews with tourism operators (English version)

Place of interview Date Interview number

Personal profile

1. Profession or occupation
2. Age
3. Sex
4. Highest education qualification

Questions:

1. Give a brief description of the activities carried out by your company.
2. Considering your experience of attracting tourists to the country, may you tell me what are the most sold tourist products?
3. Do you have record of tourists interested in heritage and cultural attractions?
   3.1. If yes, what are the most visited heritage and cultural attractions in Mozambique?
   3.2. Are there other heritage and cultural components that you would like to see marketed for tourism?
4. Do you organize tours? If yes, what are the itineraries?
5. Do you have tourist guides? If yes, what is their level of formation?
6. What are the countries of origin of the tourists visiting Mozambique?
7. Do you have record of Mozambican tourists visiting national destinations?
   7.1. If yes, what are the destination and where they stay?
   7.2. What evaluation do you make of Mozambican tourists visiting foreign destinations? What makes them to leave the country? Where they use to go?
8. Make an evaluation of the current status of tourism in general and heritage and cultural development in Mozambique.
9. In your opinion what should be done to enhance tourism in general and cultural tourism in particular?
3. Guide for interviews with tourism operators (Portuguese version)

Local da entrevista______________ Data______2006; Número da entrevista____

Dados pessoais
5. Ocupação ou profissão
6. Idade
7. Sexo
8. Grau de escolaridade mais alto

Questões

1. Dê uma breve descrição das atividades desempenhadas pela sua instituição.

2. Considerando a sua experiência de atração de turistas para o país, diga quais são os produtos turísticos que mais vende.

3. Tem registo de turistas interessados em atrações culturais?
   3.1 Se sim, quais são as atrações culturais mais visitadas?
   3.2 Que aspectos culturais sugeriria para que fossem publicitadas para o turismo?

4. Tem organizado excursões ou tours? Se sim, quais são os itinerários?

5. Tem guias turísticos? Qual é a sua formação?

6. Quais são os principais países de origem dos turistas que visitam o país?

7. Tem o registo de turistas nacionais visitando destinos nacionais?
   7.1. Se sim, quais são os destinos e onde é que os turistas hospedam?
   7.2. Que avaliação faz de turistas nacionais visitando outros países? (O que lhes leva a sair do país; Que países eles têm visitado)

8. Que avaliação faz do estágio actual do turismo no país? (O que prejudica o desenvolvimento do turismo?)

9. Na sua opinião o que pode ser feito para melhorar o turismo no geral e turismo cultural em particular?
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