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Heritage and heritage tourism in Africa
Historical overview and contemporary issues

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Introduction

Heritage refers to our legacy *inheritance* from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations, including the natural and cultural, living and built elements of culture, tangible as well as intangible cultural aspects with cultural significance or value (ICOMOS, 1999; Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). Heritage has long been a pull and push factor in travel decisions. Heritage tourism is thus one of the largest, prevalent and fastest growing forms of the tourism industry today. This is the act of, and sum of activities involved therein, visiting heritage places away from person's usual residence, for purposes other than the practice of an activity remunerated from within the place visited (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009; Lwoga, 2011). According to the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2018), cultural and heritage tourism activities account for about 40% of all international tourist travel activities. Its growth in Africa is reflected in the Cairo Declaration of 1995 adopted under the auspices of the UNWTO and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) (Teye et al., 2011). Across the African continent, there are currently 95 heritage sites inscribed onto UNESCO's World Heritage List – 52 World Cultural Heritage Sites, 38 World Natural Heritage Sites and five mixed World Heritage Sites.

It is increasingly acknowledged today that the tourism phenomenon in general, and heritage tourism in specific and its practice and implications in Africa, especially in the sub-Sahara African region, differ from its practice and impacts in the developed economies (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). The difference is underscored basically by variations in heritage, cultures, geography, economics, politics, histories such as slavery and colonial epochs, social mores and demographics (Leung, 2001; Timothy and Boyd, 2006; Huybers, 2007; Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). Despite such differences, the heritage tourism framework used in Africa is influenced by Western-centric models and doctrines as institutionalised by global entities such as UNESCO and global heritage conventions and legislative tools (Winter, 2007). The Western frameworks are often underpinned with the notion that the *East* and *South* are primitive and remote, and perhaps ignorant of appropriate use and treatment of heritage (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009).

An analysis of tourism issues in Africa that was done by Rogerson (2007) indicates that the economies and development aspects of tourism in Africa have received strong attention using several strands of development theory, including research from the approach of modernisation, dependency or structuralism, neoliberalism and alternative development including sustainable development. Political economy approaches have been utilised by Dieke (2000) to interrogate African tourism governance within the global tourist system. Deliberation of potential, feasibility and developmental role of tourism for the promotion of economic growth and especially poverty alleviation, and of major constraining factors have been major issues of focus (Elliott and Mann, 2005; Gauci et al., 2005). The common issue emerging in this regard is that tourism, in general, and heritage tourism, in specific, are unrealised potential across many parts of Africa (Rogerson, 2007). Several constraining factors have been discussed, these include the limitations imposed by prevailing air transport networks and regulatory frameworks, the lack of skilled labour resources, weak institutional frameworks and the impact of political instability including terrorism (Rogerson, 2007). One of the interesting issues discussed in this chapter, yet with a limited emphasis in the tourism literature, include the weak linkage between African heritage and tourism (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009), and the way the paradox of local African conception and treatment of their heritage within the realms of the dominant Western heritage doctrines can underscore and exaggerate challenges in realising the potentials of heritage tourism in Africa today.

Heritage tourism in Africa is important just like in the developed world, however, the language of heritage used in tourism and conservation realms often reflects a Western bias and domination (Lowenthal, 1997). Studies have explored this subject using point of view of modernisation, dependency and neoliberalism separately, thus leaving a dearth of consolidated knowledge on the dynamics of heritage tourism. Moreover, the growing interest in this subject has been much on cultural heritage with limited connection to issues of tourism practices (Nyaupane and Budruk, 2009; Teye, 2009; Timothy and Daher, 2009). This knowledge is critical for the development of heritage tourism that recognises and accounts for the local heritage dynamics for its own longevity and sustainability.

This chapter reflects on the paradox of local heritage doctrines and practices within the realms of dominant Western-based heritage models. The chapter then highlights the challenges to the realisation of heritage tourism's potential in Africa. Unlike past research, this chapter integrates historical accounts related to the development of heritage tourism and heritage management in Africa and draws on local heritage concerns to provide an overview of critical issues facing heritage tourism in Africa, including prospects for developing heritage tourism, that appropriately integrate the local heritage narratives and practices. In this endeavour, the chapter draws much from the selected literature review and the experience and observations of the authors in both the heritage tourism industry and in academic research.

Development and treatment of heritage for tourism in Africa: historic outlook

From the global perspective, the origin of tourism, in general, has been wrongly attributed to one region, mainly Europe, during either the Graeco-Roman period or the industrialisation period between the 18th and 20th centuries (Walton, 2009). In Africa, tourism is also wrongly attributed by scholars to have come with colonialists (Salazar, 2009:03). This tendency narrows the scope of understanding the evolution of tourism and neglects the contribution of Africa and Africans to especially when one among key tourism subjects is their own heritage.

As Ehret (2002:03) has argued, "Africans participated integrally in the great transformations of world history, from the first rise of agricultural ways of life to the various inventions of metal-working to the growth and spread of global networks of commerce". This chapter shares this sentiment of the pioneering role of Africans in tourism evolution. When looked at critically, pre-colonial African travels demonstrate features that either partially or fully resemble some elements of heritage tourism including the temporality feature and visits to heritage sites for various purposes.

Travel is deeply embedded in the human DNA since the beginning of humankind. Travel has been an integral part of life on earth even from 8 to 5 million BC to the emergence of the first ancient civilisations in the 6000/4000 BC (Ehret, 2002). With the sense of home or rather organised camps, early humans travelled for subsistence and social purposes and turned back to their shelters of either caves and rocks or branches, grass and stones (Shillington, 1995). Such movements are the foundation for human travel in which tourism is derived from (Theobald, 1998; Lwoga, 2011).

When our ancestors learned how to domesticate animals and plants in about 10,000 BC, that was the beginning of a sense of human ownership and settlements whether temporal (with reference to pastoralists) or permanent settlements (with reference to crop cultivators). In Africa, this is believed to have happened in the Nile Valley of north-eastern Africa (Shillington, 1995). In contrast to the earlier ancestors who had no permanent settlements, the ancestors during the time of domestication had real temporal travels or movements as they had to come back to their permanent settlements. The human society in such early times became well organised, socially stratified societies and coordinated in urban centres and kept written records from 3500 to 3000 BC (Chami, 2006). The civilisation saw the construction of temples, statues and pyramids such as the Great Pyramid for the first pharaoh of the fourth dynasty in about 2600 BC. The Egyptian Great Pyramid of King Khufu, ancient Egyptian art, architecture, religion, scientific, social, political and cultural achievements, and the Valley of the Kings at Thebes attracted visitors and vendors of food and drinks, hawkers of souvenirs and guides, especially during festivities (Lwoga, 2011). The Nile provided appropriate and convenient means of transport to the pyramids. There is evidence of early Egyptian graffiti (marks left by visitors on walls) dating back to 2000 BC showing the presence of heritage visitors in Africa (Holloway, 1998).

During the Graeco-Roman era (7th century BC to 5th century AD), Africa entered a period of commercial revolution which created direct links of the continent to other parts of the world (Ehret, 2002). There was the development of pleasure, exploratory and education tourism. For instance, the Egyptians held many religious festivals that attracted not only the religious people, but many who came to see the famous architecture, culture and works of art in the cities for pleasure and education purposes (Lwoga, 2011). Popular international heritage visitors such as the Greek historian, Herodotus, visited Africa in the 5th century BC and documented the stories recounted to him by tour guides (Shillington, 1995; Holloway, 1998).

Apart from the Egyptian Kingdom, there were other states south of the Sahara which participated in heritage and trade-related travels. There were visitors to the Kingdom of Meroe in Sudan who were basically attracted by the Meroe's ruins, pyramids, culture and rich furniture (Croegaert, 1999). People in the Kingdom of Aksum in northern Ethiopia, with their own written script *Ge'ez*, coins of gold, silver and copper, travelled, interacted and traded in Egypt, the eastern Mediterranean and Arabia (Reader, 1997). On the East African coast, the notable trading settlement *Rhapta* had commercial links with South Arabian merchants by the 1st century AD (Ehret, 2002). The early Bantu communities in the African Great Lakes visited ritual sites within their land and conducted festivals (Ehret, 2002).

During the Medieval era (5th century AD to 14th century AD), there were great travellers such as Al-Masudi and Al-Idrisi who visited places in Africa and narrated on their journeys. For instance, in the late 9th century AD (around 956 AD) Al-Masudi crossed the Persian Gulf to Kilwa, Beira, Sofala and Madagascar (Croegaert, 1999). In the early 11th century AD (between 1100 and 1166 AD) Al-Idrisi voyaged and described the Arab merchant's itinerary (Croegaert, 1999). During this period, the camel had already revolutionised travel across the Sahara Desert and improved the long-distance trading caravans, particularly the trans-Saharan trade (Shillington, 1995). There were also religious movements (pilgrimages) and travels for education such as those conducted by Sanhaja Berber chief who visited the Muslim scholars in North Africa in the 11th century AD (in 1036) (Shillington, 1995). The early African travels also involved parts of East African coast and southern Africa such as the Swahili-city states and Great Zimbabwe.

As Europe entered the Renaissance period in the 14th century AD, heritage-related travel continued to improve in Africa. For example, the ruler of the empire of Mali, Mansa Musa, in the 14th century (in 1324/1325) made pilgrimage travel to Mecca (Shillington, 1995). He also sent Sudanese scholars to the Moroccan university of Fes for educational purposes (Shillington, 1995). Later on, such scholars initiated the centres of learning and Koranic study at Timbuktu which attracted people for academic and religious purposes. In fact, Timbuktu attracted many visitors including the Berber Geographer Ibn Battuta who praised the Malian people's hospitality and love of justice (Shillington, 1995). The popularity of such destinations as the Empire of Mali gained European attention and was became mentioned in the European geographical maps of the world then.

During all these historical periods and for time immemorial, Africans had their own local traditional forms of treating their heritage that were of importance or that communities identify themselves to (Mapunda and Msemwa, 2005). They were responsible for the designation and maintenance of their traditions and their heritage sites such as shrines, sacred huts, graves, royal palaces, city walls, traditional huts and sacred forests (Joffroy, 2009; Hussein and Armitage, 2014; Ichumbaki, 2016; Lwoga, 2018a). Their traditional system of treating heritage was guided by traditional institutions and custodians such as the Chiefs, clan leaders, priests and elders, through spiritual values such as specific beliefs or prohibitions, taboos and customs that ensured the heritage is preserved from any destruction, and guided communities on how to behave and treat the site with respect (Joffroy, 2009). Technical practices in maintaining their heritage involved activities done to repair or construct heritage sites depending on the physical requirements of the site. They were accompanied by collective and symbolic effort to conserve a site and were connected with special events such as traditional ceremonies related to the religion or beliefs of the community that, intentionally or unintentionally, reinforced the social cohesions of the community (Joffroy, 2009). The inhabitants adhered to the spiritual values and technical practices, which were passed on from one generation to another through storytelling and oral traditions (Hussein and Armitage, 2014).

Africans, by then, did not always aim at pure restoration of their heritage assets in terms of returning them to their original state, but rather aimed at adapting to new conditions such as drought or rain seasons, new expectations, or to the changes of beliefs and social organisation (Joffroy, 2009). For instance, in northern Ghana, the community would repair the decorations on their houses regularly by applying entirely new decorations inspired by mood and trend of the moment, rather than the attempt to imitate the original designs (Kankpeyeng, 2009).

During the 17th to 18th centuries AD, Africa experienced massive slave raiding and rising civil warfare and conflicts. The infamous Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade stands as the height of this slave raiding. Although there were elements of slave trading within Africa in the

period of the trans-Saharan trade, towards the mid-1600s, there "was a leap upward in the magnitude of the trade in human beings out of sub-Saharan Africa" (Ehret, 2002:407). Consequently, some African states grew to be large and powerful while others broke down in response to the shift in trade and due to "a decline in the relative importance of African manufacturing" (Ehret, 2002:408). All in all, the slave trade continued and involved the European trading forts along especially the West Coast of Africa and principally along the coast of Ghana (then called the *Gold Coast*) until the 19th century AD.

In addition, Africa also saw the incoming of foreign missionaries, explorers and traders from Europe, including the antiquity collectors. The fall of Africa into a massive slave trade, foreign traders and antiquarians, and later into colonialism was the beginning of Africa to assume the subordinate position in the global economic and political order. Specifically, its history of early travel and tourism networks became written out of history. Traditional conception of heritage, the conservation and treatment of this heritage became undermined and dominated by Western influences. Africans were moulded to accept new ways of living, cultural expressions and other Western features. In the process, African countries began to see their longstanding cultural practices to be signs of under-development. This is what Mulokozi (2005) referred to as cultural genocide which happens when one society is conquered and loses part or its entire cultural heritage.

Although cultural genocide in Africa was not total, it did affect traditional conception and treatment of heritage. The Western conservation system with its roots in the early Western restoration and conservation movements of over 200 years and, especially, the Athens Charter of 1931 (see Jokilehto, 1986) entered Africa. The colonial administration introduced Western-based heritage treatment doctrines. First, the Western doctrines and practices appreciated heritage as monument and physical *material* objects. Under the monumentality doctrine, the attention of conservation efforts is directed to heritage with *exceptional* and *architectural* dimensions, while ignoring the traditional vernacular built heritage (Baca and López, 2018). Within this materiality notion, the attention of conservation efforts is directed to tangible heritage assets while ignoring the intangible heritage. This means that the authenticity of the heritage that is the cornerstone of conservation efforts is conceived from the materials of heritage objects, such as its portrayal of ageless feature (oldness), permanence and originality. Second, the Western conservation system conceived values of heritage as being embodied in the historic monument, and limited to its aesthetics, artistic and historic dimensions. The focus here is on the presence of features that express the beautiful artistic skills of the builder as well as the monument being aged and old enough to carry past history of the place and its people. Other consideration including the need for the monument to have been made or designed by a famous figure such as artists and rulers. Third, they emphasised on the *strict custodial protection* of heritage. This means that for appropriate conservation, the sites' treatment and use are restricted to those who are considered to be experts and professionals.

Post-independence period

After independence from the late 1950s onward, most post-colonial African states had agendas of restoring lost cultural heritage that they held with high value and pride. However, they ended up developing centralised institutional frameworks that adopted Western doctrines and legal systems to define and offer treatment of African heritage (Ndoro, 2005). To date, most African heritage institutional, policy and legislative frameworks still put emphasise on *monumentality*, physical object (*materiality authenticity*), its age (*historic aspects*), its beauty and

artistic expressions, and its durability (*permanence of materiality*). However, these dimensions do not resolve the challenge of conserving the African traditional heritage as the community legacy (Ndoro, 2005).

This means that most African states today still favour heritage as physical objects and features endowed with historic and aesthetic or artistic value, and still emphasise the *strict custodial protection* of monuments. In fact, in 1937, the Athens Charter's doctrines were introduced in Tanzania mainland through the Colonial Monuments Preservation Ordinance of 1937. Ignoring the role played by local residents in managing the tangible heritage and the intangible – spiritual and social aspects – they valued, the Ordinance gave the Governor power to issue a statutory order listing all monuments or structures, focusing on the tangible features that portrayed their picturesque, artistic and historic value. As a result, residents were denied access to heritage sites to conduct ceremonies and rituals there. They were regarded as vandals destroying the artistic integrity and historic authenticity of the heritage. The colonialists thus prevented local residents from interacting with their heritage (tangible and intangible) in a process of (i) introducing prohibitive laws that restricted their access, ownership and use of sacred places; (ii) introducing religious beliefs that limited traditional management practices including ceremonies and rituals; and (iii) putting fences around the sites (Hussein and Armitage, 2014). After independence, most post-colonial states in Africa adopted the colonial legislations. Although some amendments were done, similar to the Colonial Ordinance, most of the revised legislations focused on the *monumentalism doctrine*, overlooking the surroundings of a monument, the African traditions that gave roots to the intangible aspects of the heritage such as indigenous knowledge and systems, and other cultural landscapes (Kamamba, 2005). Most of newly formulated legislations still gave the Ministers powers to declare any place or structure a monument, and the Commissioners the power to enter and inspect any monument, and fence, repair and otherwise protect or preserve it. Local residents were not considered in the management of cultural heritage as they were assumed to cause most of the destruction and hence the reasons why fences were erected.

In the 21st century, Africa has been a major focus for donor support in developing heritage for tourism (Rogerson, 2007). World Bank's tourism-related lending to Africa reach about 34% of its total tourism-related lending (World Bank, 2006). With support from other international entities such as the International Finance Corporation, the British Department for International Development/Overseas Development Institute and the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV), tourism development in Africa has been encouraged with the goal of contributing effectively to economic and social development, including poverty alleviation (Ashley, 2006; Rogerson, 2006, 2007; World Bank, 2006). More highlights of tourism's potential for contributing to economic and social upliftment in Africa are provided by the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). NEPAD Tourism Action Plan of 2004 interpreted tourism as a sector in Africa's transformation and future development, and set basic objectives and strategies for further development of tourism in Africa (NEPAD, 2004). Indeed, much is said about Africa's tourism potential for economic development. However, little is said about its dynamics especially when given the fact that tourism, in most cases, utilises heritage resources that have historically been in the hands of the local communities as natural custodians. These issues become complex when the conception and treatment of heritage for tourism are considered from the point of view of a local community. This is the view taken in the discussion presented in the next section.

Current dilemma in the maintenance of heritage for tourism

The previous section provided a critical understanding of the ways Africans utilised their heritage for various purposes including tourism, and the various internal and external factors that affected the perception and use of this heritage. Indeed, the discussion of critical issues in the use of heritage for tourism in Africa today is framed within the context of African's position in the global system. Reflection is made in this section on African's conception and treatment of heritage for tourism purposes as they have been affected by global forces including neo-colonial heritage policies, legislations and institutional frameworks.

Marginalisation of African heritage and traditions in heritage tourism

Traditional African heritage included both the tangible and especially intangible aspects of culture held in local folklores and passed on orally from generation to generation. The emphasis on materiality, monumentality and permanence brought about through Western-based heritage doctrine tend to be detrimental to the preservation of intangible African heritage. Western-based values of aesthetics, historic and of strict-custodianship in today's conception and treatment of African heritage is therefore an obstacle to the maintenance of heritage for tourism. Under the materiality doctrine, what has conventionally been considered as important heritage is often associated with material traces that are old and have certain aesthetic qualities. Within this point of view, most post-colonial African states and their heritage legislative frameworks have been paying much attention to heritage in their material forms, and have been ascribing, in most cases, the colonial heritage as national heritage. Consequently, national heritage inventories and lists in African states such as Tanzania and Ghana for instance tend to leave out the intangible cultural traditions which form the core essence of African heritage.

Under the monumentality doctrine, the Antiquities authorities in the post-colonial African states focus on the *exceptional* and *architectural* dimensions as a priority of identifying, documenting, safeguarding and developing heritage for tourism. They consider traditional and vernacular built heritage as structures that do not have *monumental* qualities because they are neither designed by prominent craftsmen nor made of luxurious materials with representative styles of certain stages of history (Baca and López, 2018). While Africa is rich in terms of tangible and intangible culture and traditions, most heritage sites considered as national heritage are foreign-oriented. For instance, in the current Tanzanian National Cultural Heritage Register of 2012, more than 90% of heritage that has been considered as national heritage are foreign-oriented sites. This kind of approach has made African states ignore enormous traditional and vernacular built heritage leaving them unidentified, undocumented, un-conserved and under-developed for heritage tourism (Baca and López, 2018). Indeed, although there can be tourists interested to get close to African culture by visiting such heritage places, the African traditional sites often have poor accessibility and are not well organised to receive and serve tourists.

Mistreatment of African heritage for tourism purposes

The Western notion of permanence in treating heritage contradicts with the impermanence nature of African traditional built heritage. Treatment of traditional heritage in Africa conventionally involved regular repair of mud walls and thatched grass roofs (Kankpeyeng, 2009; Kigongo, 2009). It also involved regular repair of the decorations with limited desire

to imitate and restore the existing designs but rather to depict new designs that reflect contemporary societal issues. Such an approach is however in contrast to the preferences of the Western doctrines of aesthetics and artistic consistency. Africans would often apply entirely new decorations during repairs and treat their traditional houses and other built heritage as inspired by expression of their mood and trends of the moment (Joffroy, 2009). Indeed, for local Africans, such inspirations and expressions that accompany the processes in the treatment of the built heritage are part and parcel of their authenticity (Joffroy, 2009). This notion of authenticity comes to discord when conservators attempt to introduce modern materials in treating traditional heritage build in order to make them permanent structures.

A prime example is the treatment of traditional houses in the Village Museum in Tanzania. The museum was established in 1967 as an open-air ethnographical museum showcasing traditional huts from more than 16 different Tanzanian ethnic groups in Dar es Salaam city. In repair of some huts, the authority uses permanent materials. Figures 4.1–4.3 show that the iron smelting furnace representing the advancement in technology of people of *Fipa* ethnicity, the *Hehe* and *Ngoni* houses that represent the building traditions of *Hehe* people of the Iringa region and *Ngoni* people of Ruvuma region in Tanzania respectively, are plastered by cement mortar. While the use of cement mortar is thought to achieve durability and permanence of the structures – core principles in the Western treatment of historic heritage – in the point of view of African knowledge, this tendency freezes the traditional processes including the manifestation of change that often accompany the technical conservation practices. It is therefore neither healthy to the preservation of the traditional heritage nor to the authentic expression and experience for heritage tourists.

The tendency of limiting values of heritage in tourism sites to the concepts of beauty or aesthetics, artistic and historic dimensions often lead to the mistreatment of African heritage. Several traditional heritage properties have been drawn from the local communities to be displayed in museums, where they are interpreted and conceived wrongly with unethical elements. An example of this phenomenon is the misrepresentation and mistreatment of the *Mwananyanhiti* – a secret fertility doll from the Kwere tribe – in the National Museum in Tanzania in the 1970s (Minogape, 2018). The *Mwananyanhiti* doll is used as an initiation teaching of girls who, after reaching puberty, are put into seclusion till harvest season when

Figure 4.1 Iron smelting furnace
Source: Author.

Figure 4.2   Hehe traditional house at the village museum
Source: Author.

Figure 4.3   Inside a Ngoni traditional house at the village museum
Source: Author.

initiation into womanhood is performed (Minogape, 2018). Thus, the African traditions and norms consider the *Mwananyanhiti* as a secret object restricted from public viewing such as that performed in the museum for touristic purposes. However, in the museum, the cultural object is simply appreciated for its beauty and artistic expressions without an appreciation of societal relevance. In addition, traditional masks that were visual teaching aids of societal norms are displayed in many African National Museum and interpreted to tourists as simple covers for the face. This tendency of mistreating the traditional heritage is unethical and unfair to the makers, who happen to be the powerless local communities in Africa.

Another example is the Mongomi wa Kolo Site in Kondoa in Tanzania. The local communities such as the Warangi and the Waasi use Mongomi wa Kolo site for traditional and ritual purposes vis-à-vis ancient paintings. However, to the eyes of Westerners and the site managers groomed in Western doctrines, the paintings reflect the beauty and aesthetic expressions by our ancestors and thus neglect the spiritual value that the site carries with it. This tends to create conflict between maintaining the site for tourism and the access rights of the local communities for ritual purposes.

Marginalisation of local communities in the maintenance of heritage tourism sites

The emphasis on the *strict custodial protection* of heritage has even more serious effects, especially to the treatment of African heritage. The Western essence of strict custodianship was to limit unprofessional people from accessing the site as they might intentionally or unintentionally cause destruction or modification. However, before colonialism, Africans had customary laws, taboos and restrictions that governed the treatment of their heritage (Joffroy, 2009). Indeed, the local communities respected the customary laws and taboos more than they do to formal colonial and post-colonial legislations today. Africans also had a traditional institutional framework and social structures for managing and protecting their heritage. These included the family *kaya*, *rika*, clans and priests in a chiefdom that organised and managed the treatment of heritage. They were responsible for ensuring regular maintenance of cultural heritage, formulation and enforcement of customary laws and taboos. For instance, in the Kabaka Kingdom in Buganda (present-day Uganda), the clan members were responsible for ensuring regular maintenance of the site (Kigongo, 2009). At Mongomi wa Kolo rock paintings site in Kondoa district in Tanzania, there were traditional custodians called *mwanese* and *hapaloe* tasked with managing the site. These custodians came from the Warangi and Waasi ethic group (Bwasiri, 2011).

An important element in the local regime of heritage site maintenance was the social process. As guided by the local social institutions such as clans and priests, the conservation and protection of heritage in African traditions had a conscious intention of reinforcing the social cohesion of the community. This manifested through the collective efforts and symbolic and ritual events that accompanied the treatment of heritage. In Tanzania for instance three-day traditional ceremonies and rituals were carried out at Mwongomi wa Kolo and begun at the house of *mwenese* or *hapaloe* to the site and involved the whole community (Bwasiri, 2011). The conservation of heritage in Ghana, especially at the Tongo-Tengzuk site, was accompanied with traditional dances, education to young generations and transmission of indigenous knowledge through oral traditions as held by the elders (Kankpeyeng, 2009).

The emergence of conservation practices that are based solely on Western-based notion of *strict custodianship* has resulted in changes to and a neglect of the local content including the traditional knowledge that was critical for the survival of the African cultural heritage.

In this regard, African states prevent local communities from interacting with their heritage especially at what may be designed as (inter)national heritage sites by (i) introducing prohibitive laws that restrict their access to and ownership and use of their heritage such as sacred places and (ii) putting fences around the sites (Hussein and Armitage, 2014). No wonder, the early colonial heritage legislations in Africa such as the Monument Preservation Ordinance of 1937 in Tanzania, and even the post-colonial states, dislocated people from their local heritage and lands. This *fine* and *fence* approaches separated local communities from their heritage (Pwiti and Ndoro, 1999). Colonial laws restricted the access of communities to their heritage for ritual activities since traditional treatment were considered as inefficient, primitive and destructive to heritage's integrity and authenticity (Hussein and Armitage, 2014). Ethical treatment of historical heritage such as norms, taboos, customary laws which included restrictions and rules that people must adhere to prior to being permitted to visit such areas are neglected. This also include the neglect of local institutions and social processes that were essential for social cohesion and maintenance of heritage sites. This neglect has largely been due to the opinion of expatriate heritage professions taking precedence over local tradition knowledge and know-how in the current post-colonial heritage management system.

In the traditional heritage management system, responsibilities for site maintenance tended to be decentralised to communities. In contrast, the current heritage management system in many African countries tend to be centralised. All mandates and responsibilities of conservation and treatment of the site are centralised to government bodies. In Ghana, the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) through the National Liberation Council Decree 387 of 1969 (now known as Act 387 of 1969 and its further strengthening through Executive Instrument 29 of 1973) is invested as the legal custodian of the country's movable and immovable material cultural heritage. This is similar to the case in Tanzania where the Antiquities Act of 1964 and its amendment (URT, 1979) stipulates that, nobody should excavate or alter the site without permission from the relevant authority, thus effectively alienating local communities who used the site for rituals, religious shrines and even adapted landscape as burial grounds. Communities within or around heritage sites like Kilwa Kisiwani, Bagamoyo Kaole and Kunduchi are restricted in their ritual worship activities at the heritage, while tourism investors are allowed; a situation that leads to never-ending conflicts between the site authorities and the local communities (Masele, 2012; Lwoga, 2018a, 2018b).

The denial of the local content also manifests itself in the selection of heritage by heritage promoters to showcase to visitors. In various sites such as Pangani historic town, the heritage promotion and especially maintenance for tourism concentrates on colonial built heritage while ignoring the traditional mud houses occupied by local residents in the outskirt of the town (Lwoga, 2017). Indeed, the residents and owners of such houses express their concerns and wishes that, at least, the maintenance could have considered their houses. This would have not only improved local settlements but also would direct tourists to visit the houses in special arrangements, and thus instil positive attitude towards traditional houses.

In addition, there is the issue of local community ownership of resources such as land surrounding national heritage sites or *protected areas*. In such situations, their participation in decision making and equity of the distribution of heritage tourism benefits are still problematic (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009; Chirikure et al., 2010; Lwoga, 2018a, 2018b). A majority of heritage tourism resources across Africa are owned by the state, powerful foreign investors and few local elites. Many local communities who are the natural custodians of such heritage often left to struggle for an insignificant share of tourist expenditure through selling cultural materials or working in such low paying jobs in the tourism and hospitality industry. A recent experience in Kaole Ruins Site in Tanzania shows that even the limited

women benefiting from selling cooked mud snails along the beach were expelled on the grounds of hygiene and environmental pollution (Lwoga, 2018b). Currently, poverty is persisting in rural areas surrounding such sites that are embedded within popular and unique heritage attractions, where tourist flows and tourism investment as well as revenues are ever increasing (Melubo and Lovelock, 2019). This situation shows the ambiguity of the concept of sustainability underlying the promotion of heritage tourism. This ambiguity places the notion of development of heritage for sustainable development as a mere myth, particularly to the local communities in Africa.

Ambiguities in the promotion of heritage tourism as a sustainable development option

Tourism approaches and their underlying principles changed from the traditional mass tourism approach in the 1960s to alternative tourism approaches in the 1980s and 1990s. These alternative approaches included principles of sustainable tourism, ecotourism, community-based natural resource management, community-based tourism and recently the pro-poor tourism. These forms of tourism basically utilise natural and cultural heritage resources and, thus, they are inherently heritage tourism. Alternative tourism approaches and their associated themes have been criticised for their conceptual ambiguity, practicability, and their effectiveness in solving core problems of poverty alleviation, community empowerment and development in Africa (Meyer, 2007; Scheyvens, 2007, 2011). Conceptually, one of the common themes used is a sustainable tourism in the sense of tourism that meets the needs of current generation without compromising the capacity of the future generation to meet their own needs. Can we know the real needs of the future generation? It should be noted that the way we perceive the needs of the future generation with inference from the current generation could be wrong. Due to the rapidly advanced technology, changes in local community and tourists demands and the dynamics of tourism sector and the society in general, the needs of future generation might be completely different from the needs of the current generation.

In the context of globalisation, uneven development, and unequal power relations in the international tourism system (Mowforth and Munt, 2009), the use of heritage tourism in achieving key principles of sustainable development in developing countries is still problematic. It is well known that Western countries form the main market and foreign currency source for African tourism. In case they limit their investment, or citizens to travel to a particular African country, or pose economic barriers for such reasons as insecurity, political instability or unhealthy international relationship, tourism sector in such a country will cease. In that context, African countries assume unequal relationships to the Western countries and local elites' interests. Within the globalisation processes, major supranational organisations, mostly dominated by Western countries, take on far-reaching powers that affect tourism development in individual countries.

In the context of heritage tourism for instance, the decisions on heritage tourism development, new approaches for heritage tourism practices and sector organisation are formed mainly through UNESCO World Heritage processes at the supranational level. These decisions are then to be implemented in local communities in Africa in the name of heritage *development projects and programmes* with little local inputs. or *development programme*. Local African communities are therefore drawn and networked into capitalist economic and social systems over which they have little to no control. Consequently, these communities do not get to benefit fully from the heritage development projects implemented. Within this context, the

growth and success of local heritage community enterprises in the internationalised and globalised tourism sector are questioned. In many cases it is the international enterprises, mostly originating in the Western world that are most successful. This is because such enterprises are more powerful, well networked and given highly incentivised opportunities to invest in African countries in the name of foreign investment promotion policies. The question of whether the economic globalisation and expansion of Western capitalist relations with the African countries favour and create fair community participation and opportunities to local community heritage enterprises therefore still remains (Chirikure et al., 2011; Lwoga, 2011; Melubo and Lovelock, 2019).

The tourismification of local community and their culture and traditions entails an aestheticisation process. It involves the transformation of local people's life, feelings and experiences into aesthetic objects and experiences for tourists to enjoy. With the consideration of community-based tourism approach, the aesthetic phenomenon is normally focused on traditional and original culture and environment. The ambiguity here is that if such a community is associated with poverty, the sustainability of tourism and tourist experiences would require the maintenance of the community's traditional way of life embedded with poverty (Mowforth and Munt, 2009). But traditions within communities do change and the development of tourism often brings with it material improvements in living conditions. How do can heritage tourism be promoted as an experience of traditional culture when this culture is in flux due to socio-economic changes. The paradox then is that the very development of heritage tourism can lead to the transformation and/or destruction of aesthetic values of culture and authenticity that tourists seek for.

The current emphasis on international heritage tourists centring on leisure and education in the promotional agenda ignores domestic heritage tourists who conventionally flock to African traditional heritage sites for ritual and pilgrimage purposes (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). This raises a tension between the expectations and experiences sought by domestic and that of international heritage tourists. In many Sub Saharan African countries, local people have always visited their heritage for social and spiritual purposes. There are a number of domestic visitors visiting traditional heritage sites overtly or covertly for ritual and healing purposes. Indeed, ancestry and spiritual attachment to heritage still form one of the major motivations for domestic heritage visitors (Sing'ambi and Lwoga, 2018). However, most domestic tourism promotion campaigns are designed to communicate visitor's thought benefits related to education and leisure, which are often the needs of international tourists, while ignoring the spiritual and ancestry kind of though beneficial to the African visitors. The dominant *leisure* conception that underpins the way we think of tourism today limit efforts and genuine promotion of domestic tourism to heritage sites. If the ignorance of the domestic heritage tourism market is caused by their local per capita spending, Timothy and Nyaupane (2009) caution heritage tourism managers to never ignore their overall economic contribution.

History shows that tourism in Africa in the past included inter-regional travels within Africa for social, commercial and cultural reasons including pilgrimages. It was expected that the inter-regional tourism market would grow under the current situation where there is regional cooperation in Africa such as the Eastern African Community (EAC), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Nevertheless, it seems that tourism in general and heritage tourism, in particular, has not prioritised in this cooperation (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). Efforts at both policy and practical levels need to be made in order to further develop and encourage inter-regional travel within the continent.

Conclusion

There is no doubt that heritage tourism is a growing form of tourism in Africa. The potential of heritage tourism to contribute to socio-economic development and cultural and environmental conservation is well appreciated by scholars and practitioners. However, the actual realisation of this potential has been very limited due to a number of reasons as outlined in this chapter. There are inherent paradoxes in the conception and treatment of the core subject of heritage. This is especially so when it is illuminated from local African discourses within the realm of tourism history, globalisation, politics and socio-cultural contexts. This chapter reflected on these paradoxes, and the way they underscore challenges limiting the realisation of potentials of heritage tourism in Africa. It contributes to the growing interest in the subject of heritage tourism (Nyaupane and Budruk, 2009; Teye, 2009; Timothy and Daher, 2009). This chapter broadens the connection between tourism and heritage issues while putting the local versus colonial conceptions and perspectives at the centre of the deliberations.

The chapter shows the use of heritage for tourism in Africa within the paradoxical frameworks that is based on Western doctrines and the inherent problems this has for conceiving what is heritage, its appropriate treatment and preservation. In most cases, this Western doctrine of heritage is the foundation of prevailing marginalisation of African heritage and traditions and local communities – the primary custodians of heritage – in heritage tourism development, the mistreatment of African heritage, and the ambiguities in heritage tourism marketing promotion programmes. It further shows, from the historical perspective, that the current theoretical and practical paradoxes in the treatment of heritage for tourism in Africa were indoctrinated during the era of the slave trade and colonialism, and further amplified through the prevailing neocolonialism agenda. It is this context that is shaping the ideological foundation for today's heritage and tourism policies and strategies. This may have detrimental effect on the African traditions on the one hand, and to the way heritage tourism is perceived, accepted and supported by the local communities on the other. The effect of these issues – often given a shallow deliberation in *tourism impact* literature – are not only detrimental to the sustainability of heritage tourism but also contributes to the waning of African cultural pride and self-esteem.

Heritage tourism policymakers and practitioners should reconsider broader theoretical issues in the decisions made to ascribe sites as national heritage, the focus of tourism plans and development and mechanisms for developing African heritage for tourism. Alternative thinking towards heritage management and tourism practices needs to be structured in a participatory way in order to preserve and sustainably develop African heritage for tourism with the input of local communities. Some practical suggestions include the genuine participation of the local communities in shaping heritage development and preservation goals and directions; sustainable integration of African intangible heritage in the development of heritage tourism products; integrating African conception of heritage and understanding of broader values including spiritual and socio-cultural values they ascribe to their heritage; promoting social events that are key to local communities in fostering their social cohesion and pride; respecting African traditions and heritage in promoting heritage for tourism; considering both monumental and traditional vernacular heritage in tourism development and conservation planning, and; formalising domestic heritage tourism market and products and account to their economic impact.

This chapter has broadly sketched out some of the current issues in heritage tourism facing countries in Sub Saharan Africa. Using the framework set out in this chapter, future studies can focus on specific country and destination contexts for a more detailed examination of the issues.

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