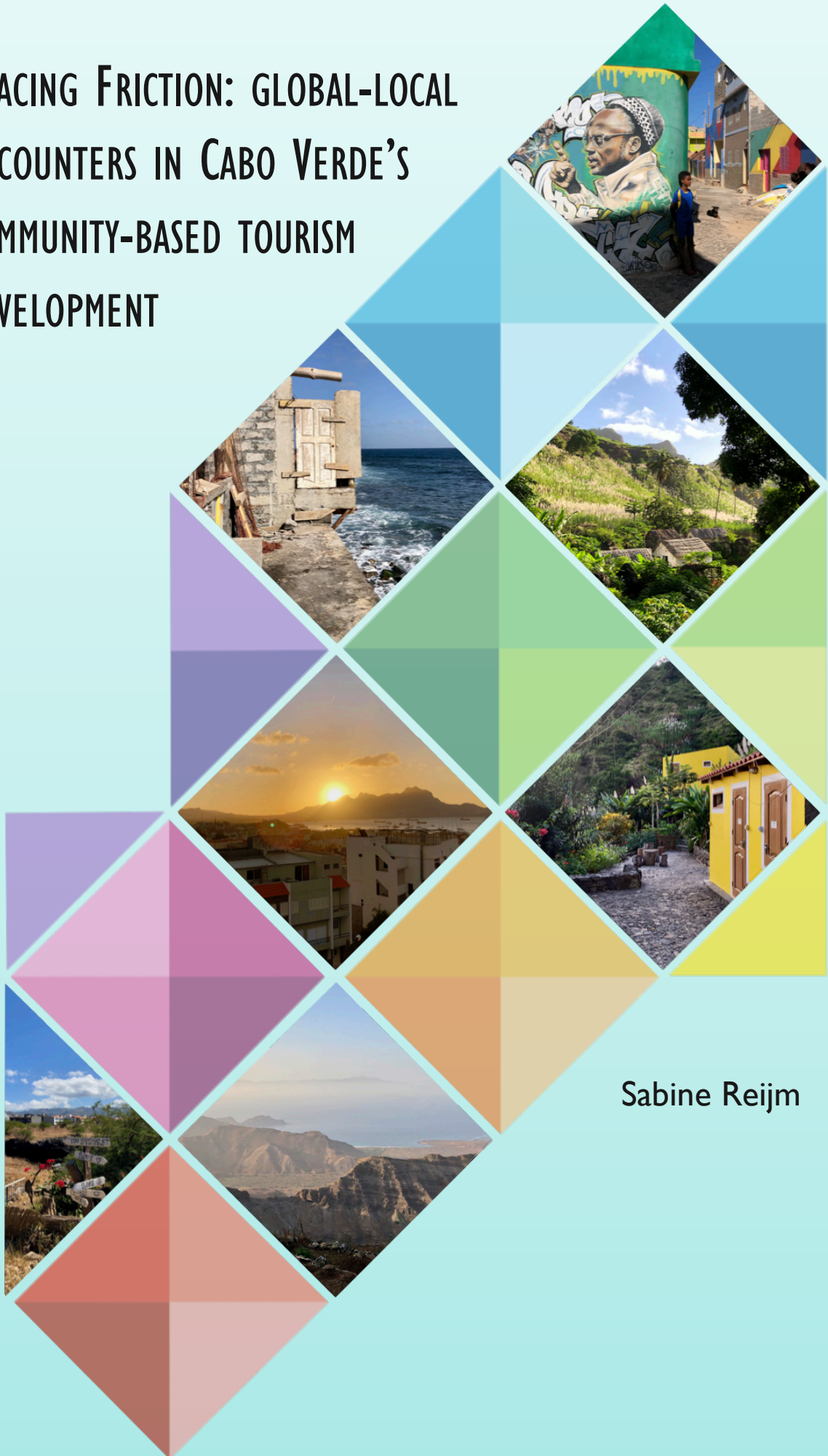# Tracing Friction: global-local encounters in Cabo Verde's community-based tourism development

Sabine Reijm

Disclaimer

This thesis is a student report produced as part of the Master International Development Studies. It is not an official publication and the content does not represent an official position of Wageningen University & Research.

TRACING FRICTION: GLOBAL-LOCAL ENCOUNTERS IN CABO VERDE'S COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Sabine Reijm

'In Europe we have watches, but in Cabo Verde we have time.''

- French chambre d'hôtes owner on Santiago -

ABBREVIATIONS

ANT   Actor-Network Theory

CBNRM   Community Based Natural Resource Management

CBT   Community-Based Tourism

CBTE   Community-Based Tourism Enterprise

MSME   Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises

To my Dad.

Thank you for always believing in me and for celebrating all of my achievements, no matter how big or small they were. You have always told me to follow my dreams and I promise that I will do so in the years to come, even though I can't celebrate anymore with you. I know you are at peace in your cherished paradise and will always be there with me. Supporting all my decisions.

It was a bumpy road, getting to this point in my life. Although I was off to a good start, this journey took me through more valleys than I imagined I would ever encounter at this age. I learned that there are times when worries might melt away like snow in the sun. And before I knew it, troubles can strike again like a bolt from the blue. Along the way, although it took some convincing myself, I knew that there was only one way to go: forward. Even though that direction takes me further away from when you were still here, I hope that I can only go uphill from here.

Thank you for always being there for me, Papa. You were my rock. I love you and I miss you with every fiber of my being. Everyday a little bit more.

''Life is a shipwreck, but we must not forget to sing in the lifeboats; life is a desert, but we can transform our corner into a garden.''

- Peter Gay's interpretation of ''Candide'' by Voltaire -

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to thank those who helped make graduating for my MSc in International Development Studies possible. It has been an incredible learning journey during which I was lucky enough to find a job the field of sustainable tourism early on. In the first place I want to thank my supervisor Arjaan Pellis for his kind words, patience, support and critical feedback during this thesis period. His guidance helped me to make my research into what it has become, and into work that I can be proud of.

I could only dream of working in an industry on projects I have always been so passionate about, and never would have thought I would find a place that made this happen. Therefore, I thank Aleksandra Dragozet from the bottom of my heart as she taught me a great deal about becoming a professional in this field, together with our dear colleague Melissa Novotny. Sea Going Green is a beautiful company that I will always carry in my heart.

Lastly, I want to thank my friend and last but not least my loving partner for his trust in me and for giving me the thrust to move forward.

Thank you all and enjoy the read.

SUMMARY

This thesis offers insights into the functioning of tourism as an ordering that shapes – or becomes shaped by – different realities by studying the dynamics of actor-networks of community-based tourism in Cabo Verde in different socio-material contexts. In response to the risk of increasing inequality and a threatened natural environment, the government of Cabo Verde has initiated a new approach to tourism development where the focus should be on inclusive tourism growth. This thesis shows the reality of tourism development on three different islands where tourism is still in its early stages. It offers an interesting approach as it utilizes the concept of friction to analyze the process and outcome of global–local interaction in encounters between a range of actors, ideas and practices. The results of this study show three gradations of frictions in context of Cabe Verdean tourism development, namely: one that (a) shows how without translators and moderators, the operation of global power fails to gain enough traction; another that (b) exemplifies how the local shapes the global on the ground; and one that (c) enables the operation of global power through empowerment but maintains a trajectory towards universal ideas. Friction creates new realities in Cabo Verde that cannot exist without interaction between the global and local, and that localization of global discourses is only achieved through translation of moderators that negotiate differences. All in all, this thesis suggests a mobile method to explore the interconnectedness of all things, that implies engagement with mobility and messy dynamics as well as with materiality, putting the emphasis on relational materiality of tourism networks.

Keywords: Community-based tourism; Development; Friction; Actor-Network Theory; Cabo Verde

CONTENT

This research takes place in Cabo Verde[1], a small island developing state (SIDS) in Africa. SIDS are defined as territories that are no larger than 5000 km2 and have no more than two million inhabitants (Scheyvens & Momsen, 2008; Sharpley & Ussi, 2014). Cabo Verde received 709,653 tourist arrivals in 2018, who generated approximately 524 million dollars (World Tourism Organization, 2020). In Cabo Verde, tourism is considered to be one of the strategic areas for the reduction of poverty (Lopez-Guzman, Borges, & Castillo-Canalejo, 2011; López-Guzmán, Orgaz-Agüera, Martín *et al.*, 2016). The country seemingly 'graduated' from a 'least developed country' (LDC) in 2007 to one falling within the middle-income categories, but tourism development can be regarded to remain in an early development stage (Mitchell & Li, 2017).

Important to consider for destinations such as Cabo Verde where tourism is in its early stages, is that if tourism is not properly planned over time, it might lead to serious long term environmental problems for local hosts in terms of pollution and decreased biodiversity conservation (Teh & Cabanban, 2007). The latter might be tolerated at the early stages of development by local hosts in order to obtain economic benefits but could also threaten the long-term sustainability of tourism later on, when damage has been done and nature and biodiversity cannot be recovered anymore. Besides the effects tourism might have on the environment in Cabo Verde, the sustainability of economic advancements could also be threatened if it is not properly planned and managed. This might be manifested in problems such as leakage and corruption.

In response to the risk of increasing inequality and a threatened natural environment, the government of Cabo Verde has initiated a new approach to tourism development where the focus should be on inclusive tourism growth. The country's vision now is to 'develop a competitive and sustainable tourism sector with high value added, focusing on the medium/high end of the market, while linking with local enterprises and services that will expand the benefits of this growth to the lower levels of the economic pyramid' (World Bank, 2016). When reading government documents, it becomes comprehensible that a more sustainable form of tourism is favored as a successful approach in improving livelihoods and conserving nature by including more residents into the tourism value chain to ensure the expansion of benefits and communal management of the environment.

Community-based tourism (CBT) holds the potential to fulfill the vision of the government, and introduces new lines of research and opportunities for the development of tourism (López-Guzmán, Borges, & Hernandez-Merino, 2013). Much research has been done on CBT in developing countries, widely identifying it for its ability to improve local economies, and the important role it can play in poverty alleviation because it contributes to community development, and thereby supports community sustainability (Lee & Jan, 2019). This study will therefore focus more on understanding how CBT interferes with, is shaped by and is connected to other 'things' in developing states with unique characteristics like Cabo Verde.

---

[1] On October 24, 2013 the United Nations announced that the country that is often popularly called 'Cape Verde' from that moment on would officially be called The Republic of *Cabo Verde*, or República de Cabo Verde.

1.1.1   *Community-based tourism*

A brief theoretical explanation of CBT is useful to allow for a better understanding of what it entails and how it originated, in particular with regard to sustainable tourism development. Mass tourism has been increasingly receiving academic and policy critiques. Following these critiques, diverse forms of 'alternative' tourism have come to feature prominently in academic literature and in development policy. Examples are eco-tourism, pro-poor, volunteer and community-based tourism, which have been introduced in the tourism industry as options to combat global inequalities while at the same time pursuing development (Vodopivec & Jaffe, 2011). In a context of more individualized tourist desires, these so-called new tourisms aim to satisfy both visitors and hosts, while maintaining respect for the natural, social and cultural values of host communities. Development practitioners have learned that the principles of sustainable development can be enacted through community involvement, which can bring forth livelihood improvements (Tosun, 2000). Community-based tourism (CBT) is therefore theorized as a worthwhile choice for alleviating poverty and stimulating development in regard to rural economies.

Within tourism sustainability research, CBT is of significant importance. It centers on the involvement of the host community in planning and maintaining tourism development in order to create a more sustainable industry (Hall, 1995). The community plans, develops, and manages opportunities related to tourism (Matarrita-Cascante, Brennan, & Luloff, 2010). CBT is originally established and promoted as an alternative form of tourism by international nature conservation organizations and development organizations in the wake of a new global focus on wildlife and nature conservation (Hummel & van der Duim, 2012). The emphasis was mainly on the development of small-scale businesses and involving local communities in their management. The key thought behind such initiatives was that if the revenues and resources in the tourism industry were of greater value to local communities, they could be enticed to start conserving wildlife or other natural resources (van der Duim, Lamers, & Wijk, 2015). It was also argued that communities should be allowed to play a greater role in the decision-making processes on the use and management of natural resources. The development of these initiatives became evident more widely in community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) projects (van der Duim *et al.*, 2015) and thus later on in tourism projects in the form of CBT.

The range of so-called 'new tourisms' like CBT are often seen as alternative forms of tourism, suggesting they could replace mainstream tourism. However, it is often argued that they should rather be seen as co-existing with traditional forms and practices of tourism (Mowforth & Munt, 2008; Stronza, 2001). Packaged tours can for example be just as sustainable as some of these new tourisms, as the differences between traditional and new forms have blurred over the years (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). Cabo Verde could have learned from examples of SIDS that consciously thought about tourism development in a more sustainable form. However, instead of proactively planning by implementing successful specialized international alternative tourism models of high value-added places such as the Seychelles, Cabo Verde started to bend under the pressure of the international tourism industry. When sustainable tourism ideas started to take hold here only a few years ago, mass tourism models were already implemented, and sun and sand tourism had begun to thrive. Nowadays, examples of places can be found in Cabo Verde where European

tourists in all-inclusive resorts have surpassed the local population, posing a set of challenges to a country which is subject to profound socio-economic change with regard to minimizing the negative impacts of tourism development (Marcelino & González, 2019).

On the other hand, there are examples on different islands in the archipelago of tourism management projects that do involve the local community. Is it then possible for CBT to develop as a form of tourism that supports economic, social and environmental stability in Cabo Verde, capable of overcoming the current challenges? And how do different island circumstances affect the manifestation of such tourism realities? This will provide insight into these matters in the context of CBT development in Cabo Verde.

1.1.2 *Cabo Verde*

The archipelago of Cabo Verde consists of ten islands of which nine are inhabited, spanning about 4033m² and located south of the Canary Islands. The country's tourism development has taken two routes. The first is composed by large-scale all-inclusive resorts, mainly set up by European investors, together with so called 'second homes', also owned by Europeans. Such developments can be found on the islands of Sal and Boa Vista, which together attract most tourists. Tourists visit those islands for sun and sea on the basis of an all-inclusive stay in large-scale luxury resorts (López-Guzmán *et al.*, 2016; Sánchez Cañizares, Castillo Canalejo, & Núñez Tabales, 2016). This form of tourism has recently shown direct impacts on host communities on the aforementioned islands (López-Guzmán *et al.*, 2016; Sánchez Cañizares *et al.*, 2016). The second route of tourism development can

Figure 1: Map of Cape Verde showing the localization of Santiago, São Vicente and Santo Antão. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0192595.g001

be found on other islands, such as São Vicente and Santo Antão. Here a different form of tourism is carefully emerging that promotes an economic activity that improves the living conditions of the local community and fosters their cultural heritage (López-Guzmán *et al.*, 2016; Sánchez Cañizares *et al.*, 2016), namely community-based tourism (CBT). CBT here is largely based on the construction of small-scale hotels, financed by remittances from emigrants and often managed by the local community.
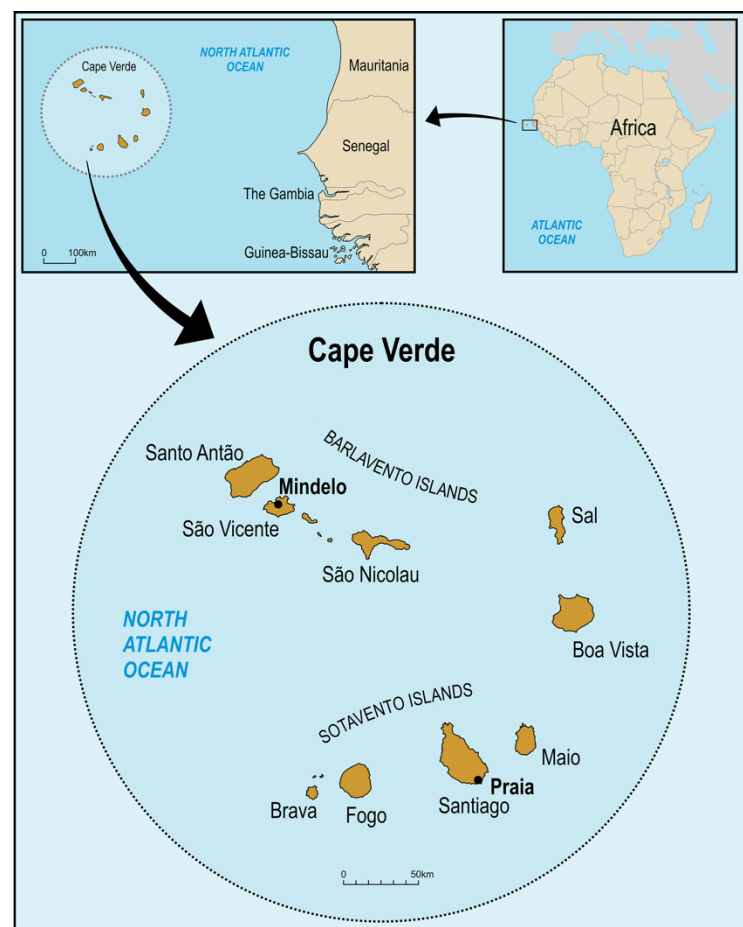
Tourism on São Vicente is still in a preliminary stage. A case study by Sánchez Cañizares *et al.* (2016) shows that most tourists come here because of recommendations from family and friends, not based on information off the internet or advertisements. Furthermore, tourists do not often use local tourism services because of a lack of knowledge or misinformation about their costs. These research results show that there is a general lack of information amongst tourists on the existence of community-based tourism. The figures about the use of local tourism services are still better on São Vicente than on the other two popular islands – Sal and Boa Vista – because all-inclusive tourism on these islands discourages tourists from using them. A general finding of studies on tourism in the archipelago is that the average tourist (75%) has an university degree, suggesting that the average tourist is aware of the need for a more sustainable form of tourism (Lopez-Guzman *et al.*, 2011; López-Guzmán *et al.*, 2016; Sánchez Cañizares *et al.*, 2016). The study by Sánchez Cañizares et al. (2016) also shows that tourists value the experience of local initiatives and are aware of the need to interact with local communities. Thus, it can be questioned why there is a limited offer by tour operators of local accommodations and initiatives, and why they are not developed to such an extent that can be expected when taking the above research findings into account.

1.2 RESEARCH GAPS

CBT shows a lot of similarities with the philosophies of broader community development and participatory planning and appraisal, since they also advocate greater community power and control at the local level. However, CBT is frequently framed by practitioners and advocates as a means of ensuring the survival of the tourism industry rather than as a way of empowering local residents (Blackstock, 2005). CBT studies usually take the local community's relationship with tourism as the main premise for analysis, and other actors and external relationships are not included in such studies (Blackstock, 2005). Also, in CBT literature it is often argued that local and foreign entrepreneurs will drive tourism development and apply Western ideas without translating them to the local resources available in the context of the CBT (Zapata, Hall, Lindo *et al.*, 2011). It is even argued that 'CBT can be perceived as an example of community development 'imposter' driven by economic imperatives and a neo-liberal agenda, rather than values of empowerment and social justice' (Craig, quoted in Blackstock, 2005).

Developing island states are largely dependent on foreign capital and highly vulnerable to exogenous events (Roberts & Lewis-Cameron, 2010). At the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of SIDS, held in Barbados in 1994 under the auspices of the United Nations, the need to take advantage of the potential role that tourism could play in SIDS was recognized (Lopez-Guzman *et al.*, 2011). Besides the encouragement for sustainable tourism development, the need for tourism to be managed correctly was expressed in order to avoid any possible adverse environmental or socio-cultural effects on vulnerable tourism islands. But the growth of tourism in SIDS is by no means synonymous with poverty reduction. In some cases, it even augments existing inequalities. Within tourism research, this is a frequently discussed topic (Peterson, Harrill, & Dipietro, 2017; Uysal & Modica, 2016). Every SIDS is different, both in terms of internal and external characteristics. Therefore, a key element of studying tourism in SIDS is the analysis of domestic societies. So far, little attention is paid to understanding the dynamics of these societies in Cabo Verde, and essentially why and how tourism income might have a certain impact on them. What makes local dynamics interesting and sustainable? In-depth knowledge on such questions is very limited and that creates a unique research opportunity.

Much research has been conducted on tourism in island states as they are the most popular tourism destinations (Correia, Oliveira, & Butler, 2008). Of particular interest in tourism literature are Small Island Developing States (SIDS). SIDS are very vulnerable islands due to the non-existence of economies of scale, insularity, low birth rate, lack of resources and development in domestic markets. The body of knowledge on *sustainable* tourism in island states is growing, but studies carried out in SIDS within the Global South such as Cabo Verde remain scarce (López-Guzmán, Borges, Hernández-Merino *et al.*, 2013). A Scopus search on 24 September 2018, on title, abstract, and keywords using two words ("sustainable tourism" and "Cabo Verde") revealed only eleven articles. The literature that exists mainly focuses on tourist satisfaction and a handful of recent studies have looked at resident perceptions or attitudes. As such this thesis aims to contribute to the literature gap of research on sustainable tourism carried out in developing island states by exploring the case of Cabo Verde.

A problem that I aim to address in tourism development on the Cabo Verdean islands, concerns how tourism as an ordering force by itself leads to materialization and how it shapes new and different realities. If we understand how tourism interferes with, is shaped by and is connected to other 'things', then we can form a better picture of why and how CBT ideas have started to take hold on the Cabo Verdean islands and/or why not. This is necessary to be able to develop sustainable tourism on islands that are prone to experiencing the problems of mass tourism for economic, social and environmental sustainability in SIDS.

It is important to note that questions regarding sustainable practices on island states cannot be answered by single case studies due to the vast differences among island contexts such as climate, size, network, location etc. (López-Guzmán *et al.*, 2016). Many case studies exist that demonstrate how governments have failed to distribute tourism benefits over their populations by unsuccessful implementation of appropriate policy and regulatory frameworks. However, research on what the role is of social structures, networks and their interaction with the institutionalization of politics in the tourism development of SIDS is lacking. Sociologists often have a particular theory and empirical scope in mind with a focus on local perceptions of CBT. This makes them blind for the wider dimensions of the realities that they try to expose. Consequently, sociologists oversee the intermediating role of actor-network relations with other observations of tourism. Friction within such relations is often overlooked. As Latour (2005) argues: in the complex contemporary world, the processes by which the "social" is actually produced should become the principal task of sociological inquiry'' (p. 5).

In relation to the previous problem description, this research will also aim to understand the role and dynamics of actor-networks in the community-based and small-scale tourism sector of Cabo Verde. For that purpose, I will identify the actor-networks of community-based tourism on three different islands and analyze them through tracing *frictions* that originate between different global and local discourses, ideas and practices in which networks and materialities are differentially shaped on these islands. This research explores a new way of understanding how CBT works in different socio-material contexts while contributing new empirical data. The following research question will be addressed as an overarching question to address the aforementioned problem definition:

> ➤ *"How do frictions concerning community-based tourism practices inform realities within the differentiated development of tourism in Cabo Verde?"*

1.4 OUTLINE

This thesis is organized into 7 chapters. Chapter 2 describes the theoretical underpinning of this research, based on the concepts of community and frictions. It explains how these concepts guided my research and introduces the questions which were derived from the literature. Chapter 3 describes the methodology of this research. It introduces the research area, the case study and the data collection method and how the data was analyzed. The context of this research, strategic as well as policy context, is provided in Chapter 4. Results are provided in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 offers a conclusion based on the findings of this study and finally, Chapter 7 presents a discussion of the results in relation to the theoretical framework and current literature.

2 Theoretical framework

Whereas the introduction has introduced some aspects of community-based tourism development, the following section will build further upon those complexities and discuss the theoretical underpinnings of this study. First, the chapter will elaborate on the origins of CBT studies and thereafter continues to highlight several discussions on the limitations of CBT projects. These can further help to understand some important aspects of CBT in relation to the success or failure of tourism development in terms of livelihood improvement and community benefits. Following that, an overview will be provided of how the core concepts and focus of this thesis came about. This overall framework will start with a challenge of the centrality of the concept of 'community' in discourses of CBT, and it is completed by a discussion of the concept of 'friction'. Consequently, a conceptual framework will be provided to illustrate the perspective of this thesis.

2.1 COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM IN TOURISM LITERATURE

In any tourism sector multiple actors are involved, which makes it important to analyze and understand their roles and relationships. In the early stages of tourism research, efforts were predominantly concerned with visitor satisfaction to develop and manage tourism economies. Such a focus received much attention in the 1960s, in a context strongly influenced by a positivist view regarding the effects of tourism on the populations of both developed countries as well as less developed destinations (Swain, Brent, & Long, 1998). This exclusive focus began to evolve towards increased attention for local residents in the 1970s and 1980s. Anthropological tourism studies were inspired by Marxist political economy theory and began to focus in the negative effects of tourism development (Marrero, 2006). Many studies continued to demonstrate positive economic impacts of tourism, but others showed that these impacts sometimes led to attitudes and behavior of rejection or distancing from the side of the residents (Marrero, 2006). Therefore, the economic, social, cultural and environmental consequences now increasingly became included in tourism studies. More recently, the number of studies from the perspective of residents has increased by a considerable amount (Canalejo, Tabales, & Cañizares, 2016).

A significant number of such studies use quantitative methodologies, for example to correlate variables with residents' attitudes towards tourism in order to predict them (Sharma, Dyer, Carter *et al.*, 2008). They have shown that local residents will be more favorable towards tourism development if they perceive a positive balance in their relationship with tourism (Correia *et al.*, 2008). However, there might be differences in attitudes towards tourism between host communities as they are often heterogeneous. They can perceive tourism as being economically beneficial but still have different views on its impacts. Even within homogenous communities, one group might perceive tourism as being beneficial for their well-being while others might experience it as being detrimental (Díaz Armas & Gutiérrez Taño, 2010). Besides the many potentially positive effects of tourism, it may also have costs or negative socio-cultural effects for communities. Tourism is therefore often criticized in contemporary literature, especially regarding the effects of mass tourism in relatively small communities (Correia *et al.*, 2008). Such small communities can be found for example in Small Island Developing States (SIDS).

Community-based tourism (CBT) has emerged as a kind of tourism that proposes a possible solution to the negative effects that increasingly emerge, while at the same time proposing a strategy for the social organization of tourism (Brohman, 1996; López-Guzmán, Borges, & Hernandez-Merino, 2013; Timothy, 1999). It centers on the involvement of the host community in planning and maintaining tourism development in order to create a more sustainable industry. It can be defined as ''a means of development whereby the social, environmental and economic needs of local communities are met through the offering of a tourism product'' (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009, p. 4). In CBT literature, two lines of investigation can be identified. The first line is based upon the so called ''community field theory'' (Wilkinson, 1991) and analyzes community groups on the basis of their existence and gives incentives for tourism development. The second is based upon the perspective of ''the strength of weak ties'' and looks at community organization and how that reaps mutual benefits for the entire community. In the past few decades, the concept of CBT has clearly introduced new lines of research and opportunities for tourism development (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009; López-Guzmán, Borges, & Hernandez-Merino, 2013). A brief overview of this literature is provided next.

2.2 PROBLEMATIC REFLECTIONS OF COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Whether or not CBT initiatives are categorized as 'successful' depends on one's definition. Goodwin and Santilli (2009) show in their research that the most popular category among funders, conservationists and development workers of reasons for success is 'social capital and empowerment' followed by 'improved livelihoods/standard of living' (p.19). SNV Netherlands Development Organization's review of CBT projects in Botswana also suggests that the most important benefit of CBT is community empowerment (Rozemeijer, 2001). The two most significant criteria in academic definition are respectively 'community ownership' and 'community benefit'. Goodwin and Santilli (2009) research sample, however, rarely uses these terms. They conclude that there is a major gap between the academic definition of CBT and the way practitioners' phrase it. Among practitioners and experts, there is little consensus about the definition and meaning of the concept of CBT. This means that there might also be projects that are not characterized as CBT but do demonstrate considerable success in terms of employment, economic development and community benefit.

Manyara and Jones (2007) argue in an example of an academic conceptualization of CBT that the main benefits of CBT are, among others, the positive direct and indirect economic impact it has on families in the community, greater socio-economic and environmental development of the area, and the sustainable diversification of lifestyles. In this sense, CBT in theory offers a positive means of avoiding conflicts between different actors in tourism, of coordinating different kinds of policies, and of obtaining synergies which lead to the exchange of information, thoughts, and capabilities among all members of the community (Kibicho, 2008). This thought - the idea of bringing collective community benefits - brings us to the first problematic aspect of CBT. This has to do with the fact that agenda's that drive the community-based tourism development are often characterized by capacity building or empowerment goals (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). That approach tends to focus on the collective rather than individual benefits. Spenceley (2008) analyzed 218 Community Based Tourism Enterprises (CBTEs) in southern Africa, to establish their impact on local communities and the environment. She finds, amongst others that institutions often establish and then support the operation of well-intentioned, but commercially unsound

community-based tourism enterprises or initiatives. They do not develop business plans or strategies but focus on community participation and capacity building (p. 299). Because of the lack of a commercial strategy, the established CBTEs are often not viable or sustainable. Such an approach that is based on collective support, undermines opportunities for sustainable development because tourism is not only a development tool - it is also a business. She argues that more sustainable livelihood opportunities should be sought if tourism is not viable.

Hausler (2008) argues that the problem is that proposals of agencies for funding CBT initiatives often do not consider any business aspects of their establishment. Rather, they focus on the well-known goals of participation, gender, empowerment and capacity building, resulting in the lack of a business focus in many initiatives. Hausler (2008) points out this second problematic aspect of CBT, related to the funding of CBT proposals. In South America and Asia, these proposals are often not required to address business plans, administration, product development, marketing strategies, cooperation with private sector or challenges in communication as they are supported by donor agencies and non-governmental organizations (Spenceley & Meyer, 2012). CBTEs experience issues with their business administration and business limitations mainly revolve around market access, advertising, communications and accessibility (Spenceley, 2012)).

Furthermore, they have different understandings of sustainable tourism and this reflects in the type of tourism activities that they offer. Although CBTEs are often supported by a form of external support through third parties, these problems are still widespread. Another case study from Botswana shows that the assumption of CBNRM that if locals have more control over natural resources, they develop a sense of ownership and thus conserve these resources, is not necessarily true (Sebele, 2010). In this case study, only a few people are employed, and benefits are limited, which is caused by a lack of skills required to work in the tourism industry. Rather than focusing on capacity building solely, it is argued that NGOs and donor agencies should also focus on the tourism management capacity of managers and employees in the CBT business. Conservation and community benefit goals can only be achieved if the community gains the skills that are acquired for such initiatives.

As mentioned, many CBT initiatives are frequently funded by donor agencies and NGOs. So paradoxically, CBT is prone to experiencing the same top-down development issues that have driven its formation. Just as for regular development projects and programs, this observation corresponds with the low life-expectancy of projects due to external funding (Sebele, 2010). Evidence from Nicaragua (Zapata *et al.*, 2011) shows that CBT projects with a top-down mode of organizing require the constant action and translation of mediating organizations. Only then may it possibly turn out to be sustainable. The mediator organization needs to maintain and repair the CBT network with financial and operational support. In Nicaragua, CBT projects that maintain the support of donor agencies or other external organizations were effectively translated into local tourism value chains. If they are poorly translated however, they fail to adapt to the local cultural context, time and space of rural communities. This shows the danger of external dependence, a possible furthering of the neo-colonial relationship between the Global North and the Global South. Critics therefore ask whether it is really sustainable for CBT projects to be managed and maintained from a top-down perspective (Salazar, 2012; Sebele, 2010).

On the one hand, external support is ought to be necessary in order to achieve successful establishment of a CBT initiative, but this poses the threat of heavy dependence on foreign aid and related policy discourses. If CBT projects do not become self-sustaining, they tend to stimulate more dependency, and if support is withdrawn, CBT projects face a serious risk of

collapse. All in all, CBT seems to have often lost the focus on tourism management, how the tourism industry functions or how to attract tourists and manage them. It is meant to empower people, and this means that everyone can participate in CBT, ranging from food suppliers or producers, infrastructure builders, small lodges or tour operators. Instead of empowering people, often representations in tourism marketing remain largely unexamined. CBT is sold as a specific niche-product, and that way representations of CBT destinations have direct and potentially significant influences on the people who are being presented, represented and misrepresented, as well as on the communities and groups that are absent from representation (Salazar, 2012). Very common for minority groups in tourism destinations is for them to be depicted as exotic others, for example in travel guides or exhibitions (Smith, 2015). CBT should not be treated as an exclusive product or niche sector, but rather as an *approach* to sustainable tourism development and management.

The literature slowly reveals a contemporary discourse of addressing the problems and negative outcomes affiliated with CBT. A multitude of studies have criticized the concept itself (Blackstock, 2005), while other authors emphasize the fact that there is little tangible evidence of projects that are beneficial to livelihoods, empowerment of communities or the environment in general (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009). As can be learned from the literature, CBT ultimately offers paradoxical challenges in achieving the intended outcomes that initially were designed to be beneficial. Therefore, this research will not treat CBT as a particular niche sector, but rather uses the concept as a basis for framing the focus of the tourism activities that it follows, where CBT initiatives will not be the main premise of analysis, in order to establish some research guidelines.

2.3   FLOW CHART OF CONCEPTS

As can be concluded from the previous section, there are many other dynamics at play in CBT projects than only those that revolve around a local population and their development through means of tourism. To be able to study a CBT network differently than it is typically studied, taking into account such broader dynamics, it is ought necessary to focus on other, more widely applicable and inter-related concepts too. The flow chart in Figure 2 shows the main conclusions that I arrived at during an analysis of CBT literature, with bold words displaying the keywords that were used in my literature search.

As the chart shows, important keywords that popped up in CBT literature were ''networks'', 'and
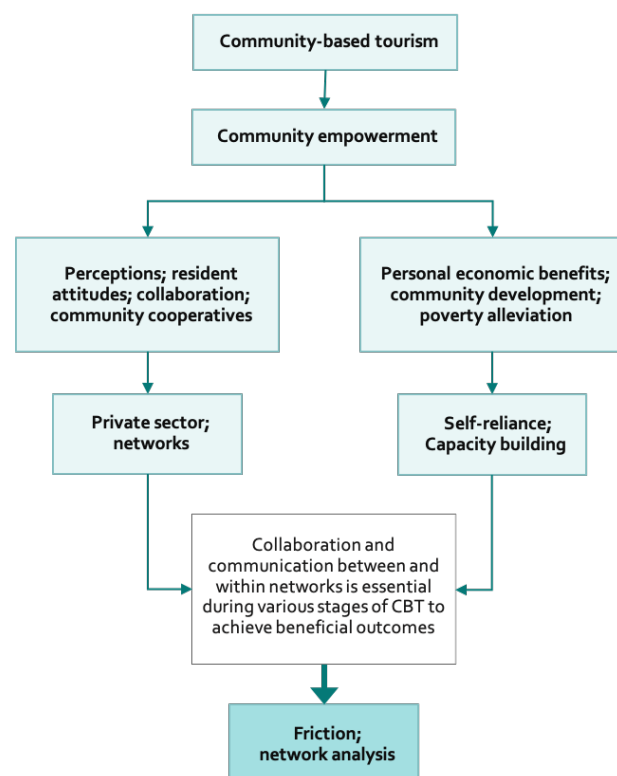

Figure 2: Flow chart of CBT literature review, showing the keywords that literature chronologically pointed towards.

terms such as ''capacity building'' and "self-reliance". I learned that CBT initiatives often fail to meet their goals because of a lack of communication, a lack of skills among various actors (such as business or commercial skills of community members and marketing skills of tourism managers and other private actors) or because of financial issues and solvency. Although there is enough knowledge and research on how to successfully overcome these barriers in CBT, actors still fail to collaborate in a successful manner that is beneficial towards achieving improvement of livelihoods, tourism and conservation. The final conclusion I arrived at during literature review is therefore that collaboration and communication are an essential part of successful community-based tourism, tailored to the various stages of this development. Even if a CBT project results in beneficial outcomes, that does not mean that they were the same as intended in the planning phase of the project. Somehow, there are always frictions along the way between the actors involved and the networks they are situated in.

Literature does show that the failure to match realities with ideals in principle does not mean that the idea of CBT should be banished completely. On the contrary, failure should be able to lead to lessons learned in order to provide more guidance and enable self-reflection for donors, governments, practitioners and organizations such as NGOs on their position in CBT. These lessons can be discovered if we approach them with an Actor-Network Theory (ANT) perspective, by looking into how the materialization and translation of tourism comes about, however much unexpected these outcomes are. It is essential to capture these movements when the tourism collective extends its social fabric to other entities. An ANT perspective allows us to ask how tourism interferes with, is shaped by and is connected to such 'things'. What other actors, available objects, emotions, time and artifacts are involved? In line with ANT, actors in this thesis can therefore be human or non-human (Callon, 1986; Ren, 2011; van der Duim, 2005). The principle of symmetry, referring to the symmetry between humans and non-humans, is central to the concept of an actor. It is essential because all actors need to be treated in the same manner if one wants to describe connections and relations between them. This ''erodes distinctions that are said to be given in the nature of things, and instead asks how it is that they got to be that way'' (Law, 1994, p. 12).

This principle of symmetry represents an ontological perspective. ANT assumes that actions are always disrupted by all those that are involved, and are thus influenced, dominated and translated. Reality is viewed as 'enacted into being' (Ren, 2011). Because social ties are always being renegotiated and have no inertia, it is difficult to statically capture them. The social world is not made only by local interactions, otherwise it would not be able to resist power influences and domination. It is therefore possible to find moments where weak social ties are altered, and the global/local dynamics are being articulated. This idea follows the ''strength of weak ties'' line of investigation in CBT literature. With all that in mind, an actor-network lies not that far from the symmetry principle. It consists of people and things, and can be seen as an effect which is ''continuously emergent and created by the interaction of the heterogeneous parts that make it up'' (Callon & Law, 1995, p. 485). Relations and connections are most important, and not the parts themselves. It is through the performance of these relations that the network is changed, at moments where global/local dynamics are expressed, and at the same time relations are changed by the network itself.

The concept of "friction'' provides an ideal tool to trace these moments and answers questions about tourism actor-networks, by looking into the contact points of actors, whether they result in them following paved, straightforward roads to success or end up along slippery sidetracks.

Because the pathways that are at first sight destined to deviate one from its destination, can ultimately prove to be more worthwhile at second instance.

This study wants to find out how unexpected outcomes of negotiations, renegotiations and translations in community-based tourism are established or not. On that account, we have to dive into the concept of community first, before we can fully grasp the theoretical pinpoint of friction. Undeniably, ''community'' is an important concept if we want to understand the dynamics of community-based tourism development.

2.4 COMMUNITY

In people's daily life, community is of vital importance as an intermediate level of social life between the personal (individual/family) and the impersonal (global/institutional) (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001). A community is a place where people live and meet their daily needs together (Bridger, Brennan, & Luloff, 2010). It is often argued however, that community structures built around cultural identity in the modern world, architectures and work practices are in decay (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001). The fact that coherent communities are 'breaking down' has been an essential argument in the explanation of increasing problems worldwide in terms of lawlessness and regarding other social spheres.

These trends have appeared above the surface of the tourism industry, too. As explained before, community-based approaches are popular in many tourism development plans around the world. It has come to light that localized cooperation, trust and networking are essential in establishing such initiatives with successful tourism development outcomes (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001; Scott, 1988; Urry, 1990). Therefore, tourism is often seen as a key strategy that can enable communities that are broken down by economic restructuring to regain and improve their economic position in regional and national economies. It should however not be assumed that community participation in tourism means that everyone acts out of the interest of the totality of the community. In communities, there are local elites as well who can appropriate the means of participation for their own benefit (Brohman, 1996). Power structures and the distribution of benefits within communities can be influenced by a lot of factors that are not always accounted for in in CBT literature, such as gender and race (Blackstock, 2005).

Furthermore, the ways in which communities are embedded in broader socio-economic, political and environmental structures also influence the power dynamics that are at play. The interests of communities in tourism cannot simply be explained by looking at these dynamics, because they are very complex in nature. On the other hand, a specific community as a locality might depend heavily on its local economic base, but that does not mean that that community can be unitary explained and defined through local terms. People within a locality might have very different interests, as Urry (1990) explains. These interests may vary in strength and kind, which means that local interests do not always come first, so people's interests in community participation cannot always be explained based on geography or locality. A community focused approach should therefore not ignore the local implications of globally evolving discourses, but it should also not merely define the community in terms of globalization.

The term 'community' is elusive in its nature. Critics have noted that the term is frequently idealized. It is generally used to refer to certain localities, on a geographical basis, that have a degree of autonomy and to groups that possess shared interests and needs and a sense of

common identity (Aas, Ladkin, & Fletcher, 2005; Tolkach & King, 2015). Communities are in practice not always this easily identifiable, because they tend to be incomplete, changeable and often divided. Tourism development has often increased existing social divisions within communities (Mowforth & Munt, 2008). And moreover, those aspects are also brought about by the aforementioned local-global dynamics. Globalizing forces have led communities to be no longer geographically bound, and thus localities cannot simply be explained in terms of their local base. Groups of people that occupy no common geographic location are less readily identifiable than a single community, existing of one group. Besides, if we look at this with an ANT scope in mind, groups are constantly created and recreated. And if that doesn't happen, the whole notion of a group is lost.

Because of the way communities are described, and idealized, community is often seen as a given by both the scientific and popular press. As a result, the process of how communities are formed, who are part of it and how these members collectively work together to meet their common needs lacks attention (Matarrita-Cascante *et al.*, 2010). Consequently, limited attention is also given to the interactions and interpersonal relationships of a community. In order to meet common needs, and establish effective community efforts, social interaction is required. Social interaction occurs around but is also made possible by community efforts. Such interaction does not limit itself to local members living in the same neighborhood but might also involve other actors in the community's network (Lenao, 2017). Again, ANT offers a lens that could help with these matters, because it does not entail a static description of nodes and hubs.

It allows us to focus on the dynamics of interactions and interpersonal relationships of a community, rather than on their stability. By taking on an ANT perspective, we can investigate the interaction and collaboration among network actors and their actants as a whole, as it provides opportunities to better explain complex processes. Because of the centrality of frictions in tracing the dynamics of actor-networks in this thesis, this approach allows for an understanding of how frictions lead to new realities.

2.5 FRICTIONS

Friction is often seen as a force which resists or slows down the motion of two or more materials sliding and rubbing against each other. However, it doesn't happen just between one object and another but it can happen even between one object or many against several others, in various directions and scales, all of which lead to different effects on development (Cresswell, 2013). Tsing (2011, p. 5) argues in her book *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* that the concept of friction "reminds us that heterogeneous and unequal encounters can lead to new arrangements of culture and power".

Relating her argument to the global CBT discourse, she would argue that by focusing on local perceptions of CBT one oversees the intermediating role of frictions with other observations of tourism, and thus frictions should be taken into consideration when exploring CBT. Engaging with friction allows for the exploration of the balance between the international/global and the local and therefore unsettles the boundaries between these two spheres. Furthermore, she also points out the importance of acknowledging different discourses withing one locality, in line with Urry (1990), noting that "parties who work together may or may not be similar and may or may not have common understandings of the problem and the product" (Tsing, 2011, pp. 246-247). Often this is the case in small communities in particular. On the one hand, there are competing interests

and needs, but on the other hand they can also be observed as a shared place in unification. The fact that there are different interests has a meaning. That is where Tsing's concept is well valuable: it allows for a space where it is possible to try and understand how local initiatives can contribute to realities that counter ''outside threats''.

According to Tsing, the global exists as an idea in our minds, but it is experienced "in friction". With that, she asserts that the global process cannot be put into action without friction with the local. There is the possibility for a productive friction in the interactions among for example "local" and "foreign" residents around (community-based) tourism development. Foreigners in this sense represent the global discourse, or as Tsing call them, the ''universals''. They can only gain traction on the ground if there is sufficient friction amongst the differences between them and those who are part of localist discourses. Universal discourses open up the way for constantly evolving and improving truths. The ones that are part of the local discourse are the ''particularists'', where the particular is that which cannot grow. Contrasts between the present continuously evolving capitalist world and static localities are shaping global asymmetries (Tsing, 2011, p. 9). It can be questioned if such a dichotomy or separation does really exist. Brockington et al. (2008) Brockington, Duffy and Igoe (2012) argue for example that the promotion of ecotourism (including examples of CBT), often seen as an oppositional force to conventional capitalistic mechanisms, is rather a component of capitalistic growth that commodifies spaces.

An extensive review of this discussion can be made, but I tend to agree with the idea that a separation of capitalist dominated world and one without capitalism does not exist, as the global and the local are in constant confrontation and transformation with each other. In social sciences, interaction is often regarded as frictional (Björkdahl & Höglund, 2013) because its discussion involves questions about power and resistance. Moving beyond such discussions of power is possible by focusing on the processes where frictional interactions between universal discourses and the local counterparts at CBT destinations produce new realities and power dynamics, that compromise global and local elements. ''Friction'', the metaphor that Tsing introduced, can be seen in this sense as an unequal point of contact between a universal reality and one which has less arms into the capitalist world, enabling the global tourism industry to develop further.

A critical ethnographic approach can shed light on ways that actors negotiate such local-global tensions (Milne & Ateljevic, 2001; Salazar, 2005). Tsing furthermore mentions that it can be informative and constructive to look at points of contact. Giving attention to friction might open up the possibility of an ethnographic account of global interconnection (p.6). She explains that ethnography allows for:

> "*A study of global connections [that] shows the grip of encounter, or friction. A wheel turns because of its encounter with the surface of the road; spinning in the air, it goes nowhere. Rubbing two sticks together produces heat and light; one stick alone is just a stick. As a metaphorical image, friction reminds us that heterogeneous and unequal encounters can lead to new arrangements of culture and power" (p. 5).*

Important to note is that friction is unequal and two-sided, it thus implies participation of various actors, among both local and global discourses. Therefore, it is necessary to look at specific material and historical realities that are already at work in a particular place, because there could be exceptions to the idea of a destructive global force that makes local encounters either beneficial or detrimental. Encounters are ''uneven'' and friction gets in the way of a smooth operation of global power (p.6). No matter which direction a development process is going,

friction pulls it in a different direction. Tsing shows in her ethnographic work that it is through ethnography possible to examine friction.

At the same time, one could then identify ways in which power systems can enable and simultaneously disable social action, which means that it is possible to identify the intermediating role of frictions with other observations of tourism. The possibility of social action in a community therefore depends on multiple, sometimes competing, discourses in a particular context. If we would apply this metaphor to the concept of global tourism development, it would not have had enough power to continue its free motion without attachment to material realities in specific localities. However, people in developing countries have the desire to engage with tourism development while at the same time, shown in for example community-based tourism literature, they might challenge the dominant discourse that mass tourism promotes and take power over it. Therefore, global tourism development ideals, and CBT initiatives in particular, have different outcomes depending on their frictional encounters with their local counterparts. To shed light on how this works and what determines the direction of movement after an encounter, it makes sense to follow one universal discourse such as in the case of community-based tourism development in Cabo Verde. This universal discourse is associated with the current government plans of sustainable development (inspired by the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals) which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

To summarize, friction proves to be the ideal place to examine community-based tourism development. Friction processes involve different actors and cultures, and thus evolve along the way. Tourism should then be seen as a constantly emerging practice in cross-cultural encounters, where western ideologies are mobilized in non-western settings. But in order for western ideologies to mobilize through tourism, friction plays an important and necessary role. Moments of friction can be compared to the boundaries between tourism itself and external conditions, fields or actors (Jóhannesson, Ren, & van der Duim, 2015). Such boundaries are the product of relations, but they do not *produce* relations. The interferences between different orderings can then be approached as generative events according to Jóhannesson *et al.* (2015). As boundaries are the product of relations, they will tell something about the actors and externalities that are involved in the relations that produce them.

2.6   CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual model in Figure 3 shows the frictional process as it is conceptualized by this thesis. It shows that friction can lead to new realities, and it shows the interconnectedness of friction with actor-networks within a context of global/local interactions. The model reflects the pattern of frictional encounters between a global universal discourse (imagine this as a ball that is thrown towards the ground) that comes into contact with a local particular landscape. The movement of the imaginative ball results in an impact upon touching the ground; this is the moment where friction happens. The result of such interaction between global and local is a transformation of both the local landscape, and in turn its global counterpart. The process associated to frictional encounters is a continuous process in which global and local confluence to mediate and negotiate differences. This means that global discourses can be localized, or that they can be rejected and consequently move away from a local context into a different global direction. Both these effects can happen whilst transforming or not transforming the local landscape, as displayed by a variety of possible directions in Figure 3. All of these possibilities lead to the formation of (new) realities.

Multiple of these effects are possible at the same time, as the frictional process is unexpected and uncertain in theory.

Actor-networks consisting of human and non-human actors are continuously assembled and re-assembled throughout the process. This is an important consideration as this model is statically displayed for theoretical purposes. The actor-networks are partly local/global in itself and it is within these networks that friction can be translated by network actors and their relations. Realities and materializations of tourism are effects of potential and realistic friction and can be found within the context of actor-networks. The establishment of reality and tourism materialization depends upon the dynamics of actor-networks and their propensity and performance for translation of the global universal discourse.

The general idea behind this conceptual model is that friction potentially results in new realities that change facts on the ground while creating new dynamics and structures that are based upon conjunctions between universal and particular ideas. The assemblation and association of these newly built structures is moderated by the translation of frictional encounters to local sites.
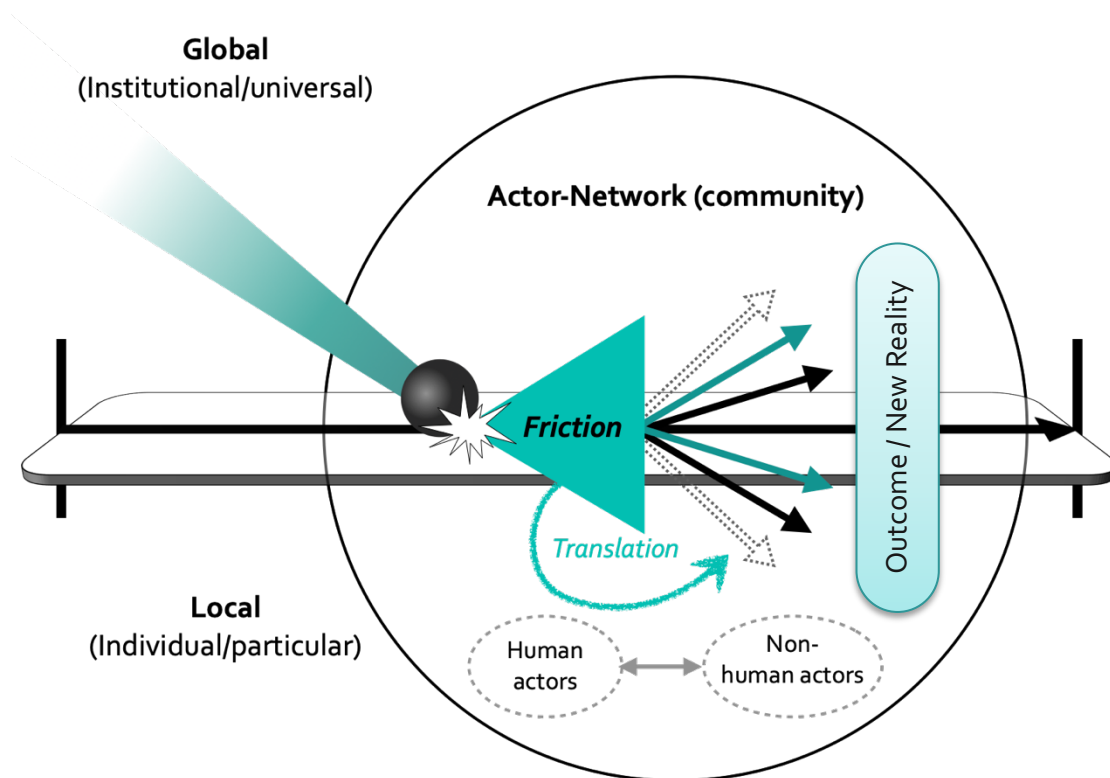
Figure 3: Schematic overview of concepts used in this thesis

Overall, friction is a useful concept to be able to understand how different realities are formed and what the role is of the dynamics of interactions and relational fabric of communities. A tourism space emerges as the effect of ordering socio-material relations, and it mediates between the locality and globality of tourism, with emphasis on its embeddedness in both (Ek, Larsen, Hornskov *et al.*, 2008; Ren, 2011). The concepts of 'local' and 'global' are effects of the networks in this research, so I decided to take traction points, or moments of friction, as a starting point in

order to find and trace discourses and practices related to CBT. As explained before, for the sake of this research, the focus is upon one universal discourse relating to the sustainable tourism development of Cabo Verde, and its local counterparts.

Studying things that are constantly moving entails a close investigation of their material composition, how their place is enacted and the discursive ordering. Choosing a starting point also implies that one moves further on, and for this study that required a mobile methodology. Chapter 3 will further explain this. In order to answer the main research question and to be able to provide any conclusions on the role of friction, it was essential to gain more insights into what the local looked like. The first redefining research question is therefore formulated as follows:

1. **How are actor-networks concerning community-based tourism composed in context of different Cabo Verdean islands?**

SRQ1 examines actor-networks present, the relations that exist between these actors and their associated discourses.

Furthermore, it is necessary to empirically investigate what is studied, to establish the workings and orderings of the network in which specific focus is given to how humans, non-humans, discourses and the ordering and translation of technologies in the network. Their ordering or importance was only established after the examination of the network. This method allowed for the absorption of entities that would otherwise possibly seem irrelevant or distant to a normal description of Cabo Verde as a CBT destination. In ordinarily CBT destinations, such entities are often envisioned as to be encased within a fixed geographical location, as a set of structures. Instead, the field was in this case emergent through my research work.

Following the first redefining question, I needed to ask:

2. **Which frictions can be identified in the context of these actor-networks?**

SRQ2 examines which frictional encounters between global and local ideas can be found in relation to the actor-networks that are identified.

Consequently, tracing these frictions with the already gathered information in hand, offered me feedback from the field, which I used to guide myself towards places, practices, items, narratives, objects and discourses that were essential to describe frictional effects further. I explored the workings of tourism by treating CBT as existing of networks that are constructed both socio-materially, by the relations of heterogeneous actors with physical environments, and discursively.

Having answered the first two questions, the final question necessary to ask is the following:

3. **What are the reality effects of the observed frictions?**

SRQ3 examines how and to what extent these frictions influence local realities and how they are different for the actor-networks of each different island.

By tracing friction, one is enabled to find 'moments' where global/local dynamics are expressed, and at the same time relations are changed by the networks of communities themselves. The following chapter will provide a more detailed description of the methodology behind the above-described route towards answering the main research question.

3 METHODOLOGY

The following chapter will provide insight to how this thesis was designed and conducted. Firstly, the choice for a research area of this study is explained. Secondly, the research methods applied in data collection and data analysis are introduced. Finally, it reflects on limitations of the chosen methodology, validity of the research, ethical considerations and my positionality.

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The aim of this research is to gain insight into how tourism functions as an ordering that shapes – or becomes shaped by - different realities. It does so by trying to understand the dynamics of actor-networks of community-based tourism in Cabo Verde and thereby analyzing how these lead to the materialization of tourism and the formation of new realities in different socio-material contexts. The most appropriate type of research for this purpose is qualitative, and it follows an exploratory case study model (Poteete, Jansen & Ostrom, 2010). I will rely on the three most common data sources in qualitative research: interviews, consultation of secondary sources and observation that will all be largely ethnographic. Qualitative research can provide an in-depth and interpreted understanding of the social world of research participants that is necessary in order to investigate actor-networks. By employing a qualitative research that relies on interviewing and observation methods, one can learn about the social and material circumstances of participants, as well as their experiences, perspectives and histories (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011).

Theories that focus on actors and agency have put forward the perspective that social reality is not shaped by objective structures that govern human behavior but instead by individual as well as collective actors who influence materiality in innovative ways. Each actor's point of view, formed by their interest, history and stand, provides the base for the materiality of the social, thus embodying different meanings and shapes. The perception of tourism as being economically beneficial can be similar for different actors of heterogeneous communities while their views on tourism impacts might differ. Even within communities that are homogeneous, experiences of tourism might be not aligned. Therefore, a qualitative research design with a focus on investigating a broad range of material and social circumstances is important for this study. Only then it is possible to discover *how* tourism works.

The theoretical framework taught us that communities cannot be seen as a given, especially when taking into account that community actors can influence social reality. To enlarge and open the ethnographic gaze beyond the idea of community as a bounded entity and to adhere to the aforementioned requirements, a multi-sited ethnography is a good research strategy. It can offer a focus on communities that does not ignore local implications of globally evolving discourses by following multiple actor-networks, and on the other hand by doing so neither merely defines the community in terms of globalization. To complete the methodology, the data analysis stage will be based on content analysis.

3.2 RESEARCH AREA

A multi-sited case study approach was chosen to investigate tourism development in the Cabo Verdean archipelago context. From the beginning, I was intrigued by the differences in natural and social environments that exist between the islands of the archipelago. In Europe, the country is often not uncharted, but its location is. If you let your gaze drift down to Africa, and then towards the left flank of the continent, you can find Mauritania and Morocco. A little bit further south there is Senegal, and if you drag your vision a little bit more to the left, you will find the archipelago of Cabo Verde, divided into the Barlavento Islands (windward) and the Sotavento Islands (leeward). Whereas the island of Boa Vista is home to endless sand dunes, but also offers sightings of turtles and humpback whales, the island of Fogo hosts an active volcano, that erupted still recently in 2014, with vineyards on its fertile flanks that produce very excellent wines and weirdly beautiful sights of lunar-like landscapes. Santo Antão on the other hand is the island that puts the *verde* into Cabo Verde (*verde* means green in Portuguese). This island is popular among hikers, but also requires one to take a hair-raising drive though its mountain roads along breath taking ravines in order to see the locals' homes. São Vicente then, is possibly the most intriguing island for those that seek to experience Cape Verdean culture. Here, in the city of Mindelo, world famous singer and musician Césaria Evorá was born. Her musical influences can be discovered all around the island, where live performances of her music style ''Morna'' are not hard to find in buildings that show the striking architectural reminders of the Portuguese colonization.

The focus and time scope of this research made me decide that it would be conducted on three islands where community-based tourism is developing: Santiago, São Vicente and Santo Antão. São Vicente is a center for cruise tourism and cultural and Santiago is a center for business tourism, including the country's capital, Praia (López-Guzmán et al., 2013). Santo Antão is home to most community-based tourism initiatives and small-scale hotels and businesses. In Praia, contacts have been established with actors in the tourism industry and political actors, in order to be able to make a start with identifying the actor networks and gain insights on the factors that allow people to organize things there. Secondly, São Vicente was visited to gain more insights into the relationships between the actors that are identified, to compare them and to identify cultural-material processes that are not present or have happened on Santiago. The same is done for Santo Antão.

Although Sal and Boa Vista account for 76,7% of incoming foreign visitors (NIS, 2018), tourism there has been developed mainly through the creation of large foreign resorts with a low local community involvement (López-Guzmán et al., 2013). The rest of the islands (Brava, Santiago, Fogo, Maio, São Nicolau, São Vicente and São Antão) received approximately 150,000 tourists in 2018 which represents a quarter of the total and only 9% of the night stays. These islands do not offer widespread opportunities for small-scale tourism, because they have a focus on luxury tourism. Sal and Boa Vista are the most popular islands but are also home to major problems for tourists such as robberies and violence, and infrastructural and natural problems (López-Guzmán et al., 2013). On Sal, for example, it rains very little, there is not enough fresh water, no recycling, limited capacity to dispose of waste and there are regular power outages. However, these issues relate to another research problem which is not the focus of this study. These islands have thus not been visited.

3.3   DATA COLLECTION

Methods to collect the qualitative data included interviews, consultation of secondary sources and participant observation. These methods were used to explore and map out the dynamics of community-based tourism on the different islands. Data was collected in Praia and in the accessible parts and settlements of Santiago, in Mindelo and some of its suburban areas and on Santo Antão throughout several villages.

3.3.1 Desk research

Before the fieldwork, I focused on secondary material. Available literature about different aspects of the concept 'community' was analyzed, particularly in relation to the development of tourism in (small) island states and Cabo Verde in general. Besides this relationship, the concept community was explored in other ethnographic work, relating to island states' communities. Literature showed that usually communities are explained by studying structural and ecological factors (Matarrita-Cascante *et al.*, 2010). As studies do not often look at how communities emerge, I will emphasize this aspect accordingly by tracing and illuminating the influence of frictional encounters in the establishment and (re)negotiation of community actor-networks.

In this approach I treat the concept of community as being developed, created and re-created through social interaction (Bridger et al., 2006; Wilkinson, 1991). Because in order to understand who part of the 'C' (community) of CBT is, I had to find a balance between structure and agency. This meant that anyone or anything can be part of this 'C', and an ANT inspired approach will provide me with the grounds from which I can treat the community as such. Furthermore, ANT also emphasizes that actors and distinctions between them are being negotiated continuously through their relationships within a network of CBT. I could thus simply not have determined preliminary who were part of an actor-network and what actors' relationships looked like.

However, to be able to keep such an open mind, a certain starting point was required, and that is where the concept of friction was useful. In line with Tsing's work (2011) it can be argued that CBT cannot develop without gaining traction on the ground. Global and local discourses have to come into contact at certain points, and it is exactly in these moments of contact, where actors and their networks are (partly) formed. Therefore, even with the limited information available I could already start to assemble pieces of the actor-networks involved in these moments of friction, although it was impossible to form a complete image beforehand. I decided to let myself be informed by the frictional encounters that I could discover concerning one universal discourse and its local counterparts. Following these encounters enabled me to consider the question of how communities emerge as well, providing insight into the groundwork of the social interaction upon which communities established.

3.3.2 Field research

The second stage of the research was composed by data collection in the field. This was done in an eminently ethnographic manner, combining both interviews and observation methods. Semi-structured interviews are the primary source of data in this study. They were necessary due to limited literature and documentation about tourism developments, but they were also needed to understand the positions and views of different persons or actors. Qualitative research interviews can be defined as "attempts to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, to unfold meaning of peoples' experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations"

(Kvale, 1996). Semi-structured interviews were in this case the preferred type of interview, because structured interviews, where a standardized question list is employed, allow for less flexibility for the interviewee than semi- structured methods. Interviewees are expected to answer differently in structured interviews, and their answers will lead to a goal that is determined beforehand. Topics were defined during preliminal conversations with people, allowing for a more defined list of topics to be used throughout the data collection stage. Guiding questions were developed for the different topics accordingly, in case deviation occurred. Such a format also allowed for new ideas and topics to discuss and bring up during the interview by the interviewee. To have been able to conduct these interviews, an interview guide was set up after the first couple of interviews containing the main themes, topics and questions.

Sampling

As mentioned before, I kept an open mind towards which actors were part of the actor-networks I was trying to find and explain with the purpose of understanding their dynamics. Therefore, key informants were not identified beforehand. Besides, I would also like to highlight again the considerable lack of data and research on Cabo Verde. For the sake of this methodology section, I want to give an idea more or less of what kind of actors could be of importance for my data collection. One could think of human actors such as community residents, who might also work in the tourism industry as local travel agents, tour operators and associations. Alongside those actors can be also non-human actors in reference to the natural environment or cultural traditions and habits. A common perspective of community-based natural resource management, namely actor-network theory (Latour, 2005) was used as a theoretical lens throughout this study, but not as a paradigm that explains how tourism works. ANT was used to provide an ethnographic description of not only ordinary practices but also of extraordinary ones - that is to say frictions - of how things work within Cabo Verde's community-based tourism development and moreover, how these practices and relations are ordered. This means that I took on a very open approach towards establishing who the actors were within the community-based tourism network of Cabo Verde. By doing so, this study will elaborate on the common understanding of community by including all possible kinds of actors in this perspective.

Mobile ethnography

Within social sciences and humanities, mobility has become a fundamental concept only recently, because of the rise of the so-called "new mobilities paradigm" (Novoa, 2015). The paradigm involves new theoretical approaches and methodological innovations for studying complex movements of people, objects, and information, as well as the representations, ideologies and meaning attached to such movement (Urry, 2016). It overlaps with tourism studies and some aspects of cultural geography, migration studies and the anthropology of global flows. Cresswell (2006) argues that a new stereotypical vision of social reality was rendered by an academian drift from a metaphysics of fixity to a metaphysics of flow. In a world that has become more mobile, our ways of apprehending it have become too. It can be said that ethnography has always been mobile (Novoa, 2015), but the concept of ''mobile ethnography'' is however fairly new. Mobile ethnography implies a continues displacement of the ethnographer, but also emphasizes the need to explore mobile phenomena from a theoretical and analytical point of view.

Simultaneously, mobile ethnography implies both a practical and a theoretical dimension of mobility (Novoa, 2015). Following Urry (2007), my mobile ethnographic methodology involved my continuous movement from network to network and from one island to the other. As mentioned before, my focus was on the frictional encounters of one universal discourse, that I

traced through its effects on different related networks on the islands. The aim was to find differences between the different realities created through that discourse.

What makes mobile ethnography different from other takes on ethnographic work is its practical and epistemological link with mobility and mobile phenomena. Gupta and Ferguson (1997) explain the contemporary doubts about 'the adequacy of traditional ethnographic methods and concepts to the intellectual and political challenges of the contemporary postcolonial world' (p.3). Tracing and following interactions at multiple sites allows for in-depth descriptions to be produced. This gives multi-sited ethnography its significance and context. Multi-sited ethnography looks at different spaces, and it 'implies some form of (geographical) spatial de-centeredness' (Marcus, 1999). Examples include an ethnography of train travel or bus journeys, but also one of dimensions related to mobility, place and time, to follow people, things (or objects). Not all mobile ethnographic techniques are framed within the mobilities turn, but the narrative that this research produces by framing discourses of several actors, shapes the experience of community-based tourism travels. That is why this research can still be posited as one that employs mobile ethnographic techniques. Through following discourses on the macro level, among networks and islands and by following people on their travels and participating in their activities in the micro-environment, I was able see how discourses of mobility within community-based tourism, shape and inform frictional encounters.

In more detail, I engaged in people's worldview by following them through walking alongside or traveling with them. I moved within their modes of movement and employed different forms of observation and recording, dependent on their mode and the activity they were involved in. Predominantly, this micro-mobile-ethnographic method involved so-called 'participation while interviewing'. I participated in their (daily) activities and the accompanying patterns of movement first, whereafter I interviewed people. This technique can be seen as a translation of traditional participant observation onto contexts related to mobility, which is especially relevant within a case study of tourism on SIDS. This method gave the opportunity to observe people, whilst it also allowed for a co-presence physically, one that enabled me to undergo the same activities as the people I followed and interviewed, and simultaneously the phenomena and tensions I wanted to trace.

Participant observation and semi-structured interviews

Participant observation can be defined as "a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture" (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). Observing in local restaurants, accommodations, food stalls, malls, buses, daily markets, beaches, community gathering spots and private homes enabled me to make more sense of the data and people's stories. Seeing and hearing things allowed me to understand why stories about the same topic were different, and why certain things were left out or brought in. Through interaction with locals and key informants who had various occupations in the tourism and leisure industry, their family and friends I was able to gain a deeper sense of the gathered data and subsequently interpret it in such a way that the data provided me with additional information next to the interview data. Furthermore, interaction also facilitated the thrust-building process. I was lucky enough to meet a lot of Dutch speaking migrants who moved back to the islands, who seamlessly helped me to expand my network of informants very quickly. With their help I conducted interviews with a wide variety of people with different age, sex, socio-economic status, professional- and cultural backgrounds.

The participant observation took place on São Vicente, Santiago and Santo Antão in order to gather insights and to better understand the activities, identities and discourses of local residents. On Santiago, and particularly in Praia, daily life revolves more around non-tourism related business, such as politics and import and export of products for the population, which makes the island even so important in the context of this study as the other more tourism focused islands (López-Guzmán, Borges, Hernández-Merino, *et al.*, 2013). During the participant observation I took detailed notes, and if required and possible also video and photo material.

I do acknowledge that that the duration of my fieldwork does little justice to define this study as a true 'ethnography', the fact that I spent vast time with locals did allow for a brief but intense ethnographic experience. As locals is a broad term, this did not only include 'hanging out' (going to the local market, watching community music performances, visiting grandma's) but also meant accompanying a luxury hotel manager to a trade show and meeting the minister of tourism on several occasions. The contents of my 'participation while interviewing' depended largely on what a person's daily live entailed. Meeting and getting to know people in a formal and informal manner proved an efficient way of building relationships and trust, in turn providing me with local stories, connections and identities with varying perspectives.

3.4 DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative content analysis was used to analyze the collected data. Data gathered from semi-structured interviews was recorded and transcribed for analytical purposes. Voice recordings of interviews were transcribed starting already in the field. When it was possible, the observations made were written down during the activity but in most cases afterwards, for example during participant observation when being part of people's social circle.

The theoretical framework allowed for an ANT inspired perspective in analyzing my data, which in turn allowed me to be open and neutral to all kinds of actors and possible orderings. Important to note is that the ANT inspired methodology of this thesis implies that categories of humans and non-humans exist, but that their existence is not based upon existing knowledge. Instead, their existence is the effect of a continuous and complicated ordering work. Treating all heterogenous actors as equal is a way to obtain a description of what tourism is in this thesis, who the actors are and what the frictions between them are precisely about, in order to determine how they can inform tourism development. According to ANT studies, entities that are part of the actor-networks are not to be taken as natural starting points, and neither can the existence and meaning of any other analytical importance of categories, tourism phenomena, people or actions be assumed before the field research phase.

With this perspective, I was able to understand what 'community' entails, how it came to be and who are part of it, through the identification of frictions which in their turn led me to possible actors, both human and non-human. In the analysis of my data, I tried not to depict their actor-networks as being clean and clear, because such portrayal of the ordering of my target entities risks "to occlude the indeterminacy and the ambivalence of entities and the associations into which they are tied" (Michael, 1996, p. 63). Therefore, I focused on the networked capacities of actors, meaning that the network is not controlled by one single actor, such as 'tourists', who are often assumed to be the most important and strongest actors.

My research method required me to be active in the very networks I was researching. This remains a demanding and maybe even problematic position. Is the acquired data 'enough'? Where does it end? Spaces are not geographically fixed, and actor-networks are theoretically without a limit. The results show the interconnectedness of the three islands, but also that each island demarks the data in a certain way. Because the field emerged during the research, I was confronted in an early stage by choices that could have taken me far away from the original objectives of the research on the one hand to even more interesting and new questions, but on the other hand these choices could have led me into a dead-end street. This did not happen fortunately and in this case, data collection was stopped by time restrictions. But the question remains how to resolve the issue of knowing when to cut the network, and that is something this research cannot resolve.

It has proven to be difficult to relinquish control to the data. The reason that in practice it is harder to engage in this manner with my study is due to the centrality of my own decisions about how the materials that are collected are used and interpreted. Although I did let actors show me where to look and how they constructed networks and relations to other within the course of construction, I am myself actively constructing *what* is being studied, and not just observing. The researcher has to let choices of who is heard and who is not heard emerge from the field. This double reflexivity that is required, generates a whole different relationship between the participants and the researcher. But this is also what is fundamental to an emancipatory approach, and it shows that I was active in the very networks I was researching. Especially the narratives that resulted were shaped by this position.

4 CONTEXT

This chapter provides the context for this thesis. I draw up the sustainable tourism discourse as presented by the government of Cabo Verde. I first present a short overview with general information about tourism development in Cabo Verde, explaining the country's context and the sectoral and institutional arrangements. Secondly, it elaborates on the Competitiveness for Tourism Development Project which is financed by the World Bank and currently running. Finally, the Strategic Plan for Sustainable Development will be discussed. The country's arrangements are lined out in order to give an idea of what the political climate looks like, as this influences discourses of sustainable development. The two development projects project the view of the government as they plan on developing each island into a more sustainable direction. It is important to keep this view into mind when reading the results, as it allows for an understanding of ideas and practices on each of the islands.

4.1 STRATEGIC CONTEXT

4.1.1 *Country context*

In 2007, Cabo Verde left the United Nations list of Least Developed Countries (LDC) and acquired the status of middle-income country on the 1st of January 2008. Among African countries, Cabo Verde stands out because of its political freedom, freedom of the press, civil liberties, good governance, sound macroeconomic management and trade openness (RVO, 2017). Since the early 2000s, the country had experienced impressive economic growth and poverty reduction (Morris, Cattaneo, & Poensgen, 2018). The growth of the GDP per capita was well above the average for Small Island Developing States and sub-Saharan Africa in this period, averaging 7.1 percent. These achievements have been supported by strong institutions, and Cabo Verde still has the highest Country Policy and Institutional Assessment score (3.9) among the World Bank's International Development Association (IDA) countries (World Bank, 2016)

Due to the global economic crisis in 2008, Cabo Verde's rapid economic growth, that used to stimulate poverty reduction in the early 2000's, came to a halt. The close linkages with European economies were the main reasons for this sudden stop, as FDI's likewise dropped significantly. The focus shifted to public investments which provided some support, but given the government's limited resources, the multiplier effect was small, and the short-term effect were limited. Consequently, public debt increased to over 100 percent of the gross domestic profit (GDP) in 2014, credit to the private sector is relatively high in comparison to sub-Saharan Africa, but so is the cost of finance is in comparison to advanced economies. Furthermore, unemployment is still high, at 12.20 percent as of 2018 (World Bank Development Indicators). For Cabo Verde's youth (labor force age 15-24), this number is much higher, around 30% in 2018, increased from 28.6% in 2015 (Morris *et al.*, 2018)

Besides these challenges, Cabo Verde also faces a number of natural risks and vulnerabilities. These relate to its volcanic origin, its dry climate and the scarcity of rainfall, lack of mineral resources and its insular and fragmented nature due to its configuration as an archipelago. Because of this, the country has to import more than 80% of its food and exports are very limited. Furthermore, the topography on most of its 10 islands is very steep and rugged, which makes it

difficult for the government to provide basic infrastructure and public services. The islands account for an extensive coastline, making the country vulnerable to new threats such as drug and human trafficking, crime and illegal immigration (Government of Cabo Verde, 2018b). On the three islands that are subject of this research, population in general has experienced significant growth over the past few decades except for Santo Antão. This population has only started to grow from 2010 onwards.

4.1.2 Sectoral and institutional arrangements

The government decided to focus on a private sector driven approach in their third Growth and Poverty Reduction program, which covered the period 2012-2016. Before that period, tourism was driven by large FDI's, mainly directed at the islands of Sal and Boa Vista. Since then, the tourism sector has become the most important economic sector, directly contributing to almost 20 percent of Cabo Verde's GDP. Travel and tourism contributes 46.2% to the total economy and 40.4% to the total employment as of 2018 (Morris *et al.*, 2018). It should be noted though that the tourism industry on Sal and Boa Vista is responsible for the largest account of these numbers, with most workers located in resorts. These have weak linkages with the local private sector, which is largely composed of micro, small and medium enterprises. Therefore, the government acknowledged that these linkages should be strengthened. Especially sectoral business development and international country marketing are imperative needs for a new and higher value proposition for sustainable tourism in Cabo Verde, according to the government documents.

The tremendous growth of tourism over the first decade of the 21st century has involved little guidance of the sector and minimal intervention, so the government is currently placing more emphasis on the implementation of the tourism vision to promote inclusive growth. In order to do so, a joint tourism and investment agency was established: Cabo Verde Investments-Agency of Tourism and Investments of Cabo Verde (CI-ATIC). Its key task is to provide greater coordination and integration of all economic actors involved in investment and tourism promotion, to increase Cabo Verde's visibility as a tourism destination, and facilitate the development and diversification of new products in the tourism sector. This is necessary because FDI has slowed down significantly since the global economic crisis in 2008, which also had consequences for government revenue from taxes and job creation. In spite of this, Cabo Verde still has a deep structural deficit and the only solution to replace foreign aid and overcome the negative balance in goods with is private investments from both national and international level, especially in the tourism sector to achieve expansion and inclusive growth.

Furthermore, the government wants to achieve debt sustainability, but this can only be achieved by adequate investments in key sectors, which are addressed in the PEDS 2017-21 (see 4.3). Although the plans for inclusive and sustainable growth are there, it still remains unclear *how* the government is planning on attracting the kind of investments that are required according to a working paper by the OECD (Manyara & Jones, 2007). The IMF has issued a debt destress classification, assessing the risk of Cabo Verde's external debt distress as high (IMF, 2018). Following this warning, loans are decreasing, and grants remain stable. However, not all actors who provide sources of financing have integrated the debt distress warning into their lending practices, especially the People's Republic of China (PRC), who extend loans based on an initiative with different rules, that are accused of being opaque by the OECD (IMF, 2018). Bilateral donors are phasing out support for Cabo Verde after the country graduated from the list of LDC, and new

actors are phasing in. The PRC is one of these actors, from which Cabo Verde is seeking investment particularly for social infrastructure. Examples of targeted areas are the construction of rural schools, a national stadium, electronic governance projects in schools, hospitals and public institutions (Madeira, 2017). Cabo Verde is aiming to transform into a high value-added services platform for the PRC, promoting the country's maritime economy. Cabo Verde owes 1% of its external government debt to the PRC, but additionally 32% is owed to private sector actors, on which little information regarding the terms and conditions is publicly available.

4.2 COMPETITIVENESS FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

In May 2016, the World Bank approved and initiated a project regarding Cabo Verde's development, named the 'Competitiveness for Tourism Development Project'. The International Development Organization (IDA) is financing this project, which costs 5 million USD and is expected to close on May 31, 2021. The project development objective (PDO) is to create the conditions necessary to increase investment into, and diversification of, the tourism sector. It comprises of three components, aimed at beneficiaries of the public sector, the private sector and citizen engagement respectively (World Bank, 2016):

Component 1: Enhancing governance framework of the tourism sector (US$2.27 million) (Public Sector)

The first component aims to support the start-up of operations of Cabo Verde Investments-Agency of Tourism and Investments (CI-ATIC) to effectively carry out the country's tourism diversification agenda and to help the Government of Cabo Verde (GoCV) to better attract, facilitate, retain, and grow investment. Reforms should encourage more women to enter the formal sector (and labor market).

Component 2: Diversify tourism sector and increase inclusiveness of tourism-led growth by strengthening the competitiveness of local MSMEs (USD 2.24 million) (Private Sector, with focus on women).

The second component aims to increase the competitiveness of Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSME) to benefit from tourism growth. Female entrepreneurs are often found in such MSMEs, and the second component will make a concerted effort to target them. A quality label will be established for small accommodations, which will be targeted by the project.

Component 3: Project implementation (US$0.49 million) (Citizen engagement)

The third component will provide support to Unit for Implementation of Special Projects (UGPE) in managing and coordinating the project and building its procurement, financial management, safeguards management, and monitoring and evaluation capacity, through the provision of technical advisory services, training, operating costs, goods, and audits. Citizen engagement will be measured through the proxy indicator 'Beneficiaries of the small accommodation quality label that feel project investments reflected their needs,' which will be measured by annual surveys and which enquire about the participants' satisfaction with each key activity of the program.

The project is expected to contribute to raised investments by enhancing the governance framework of the tourism sector, which is included in Component 1, the Public Sector. Improved attractiveness to investors will enhance social inclusiveness and will minimize negative social impacts. Furthermore, the project will contribute to diversifying the sector through the

development of new tourism products and a quality label for small accommodations; and increasing the inclusiveness of tourism-led growth by strengthening the competitiveness of local MSMEs, which is included in Component 2. It will make sure there is no direct land acquisition, and the social impacts of the project are expected to be predominantly positive.

It is self-evident that it is necessary to address the aforementioned constraints, if Cabo Verde wants to develop a competitive, inclusive and sustainable tourism sector. Cabo Verdean tourism operators, agencies and overall small businesses have access to less than 10% of the total market of tourists (RVO, 2017). They are dependent on a set of market failures related to the internal market fragmentation, financing, scale and other major issues limiting their competitive abilities. These issues further limit their ability to participate in a continuous and reliable value chain. Forward and backward linkages with the local economy have to be created by foreign investments. Additionally, regional inequalities are at risk of increasing because foreign investments are not even made across islands.

4.3   STRATEGIC PLAN FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT (PEDS)

Because of the vision the government of Cabo Verde has for its tourism sector, based on sustainable development, it has responded to the challenges this vision tries to overcome by developing a Strategic Plan for Sustainable Development (called PEDS, using the Portuguese acronym). The PEDS targets the period 2017-2021 and sets out the vision and objectives of the government in programmatic and operational terms and establishes 39 development goals for the country's sustainable development. The PEDS is very different from previous national development strategies, because those were designed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Transition Fund. This is the first national development strategy that is entirely driven by Cabo Verde's government. Its short-term strategy is underpinned by a long-term vision for the period up until 2030, integrating the SDGs and the principles of the Africa 2063 Agenda. The idea is that if it is implemented in full, it will bring about structural transformations that are required in order to achieve long-term sustainable development and resilience. It seeks to promote value added beyond tourism by developing platforms in the areas of digital innovation, investment, finance, air support, maritime and commerce and industry. The development partners that helped to conceive the PEDS are the World Bank, the United Nations, the African Development Bank Group and Luxembourg's Aid & Development cooperation, but for the financing Cabo Verde is pivoting to other actors, such as the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the private sector. The development goals are centered around four interrelated key objectives (Government of Cabo Verde, 2018b):

1. **Make Cabo Verde a Circulatory Economy in the Mid-Atlantic** through investments in connectivity, the blue economy, green growth, tourism development; and business, industry, and financial services;
2. **Guarantee sustainable economic and environmental development through structural reforms** such as investment in sustainable tourism, strengthening its link with the country's productive value chain through agribusiness and domestic industry and export promotion, while safeguarding environmental sustainability;
3. **Ensure social inclusion and reduce inequalities** through improving education and professional training; health and social security; job creation and youth and gender equality;

4. **Strengthen democracy, justice and international diplomacy**, and engage the diaspora in the country's development.

The vision the government of Cabo Verde carries out through the PEDS is clear: "A developed Cabo Verde, inclusive, democratic, open to the world, modern, safe, where full employment and full freedom rule".

4.4 THE 2030 AGENDA FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

However, Cabo Verde is not the only SIDS that has come up with a new strategy or vision in the past decade. Especially 9/11 and the global economic crisis of 2007-2010, have signaled to many SIDS that a crisis, whether it is manmade or natural, can strike any destination at any time. The social investment agenda that has underpinned much of the development progress in SIDS was particularly challenged by the global economic crisis. Also, for Cabo Verde, still in the beginning of their tourism expansion, the crisis required policy changes and innovation in order to sustain and advance beyond their current achievements. The previous sections show that Cabo Verde is very aware of this, which they augmented by being part of the High-level Political Forum (HLPF) in 2018, a United Nations central platform for follow-up and review of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals. For this HLPF Cabo Verde conducted a Voluntary National Report on the Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (Government of Cabo Verde, 2018a). In general, this report proudly presents all kinds of achievements that have been made in the past few years, and especially for youth Cabo Verde has come a long way. But it also shows that the potential of tourism is by far not utilized to its full capacity in order to achieve Cabo Verde's and the UN's sustainable development goals.

4.5 ISLAND CHARACTERISTICS

In order to understand the results in Chapter 5 better, Table 1 provides some background information on the population, geography and industries of the three different islands. These characteristics are important aspects of the material dimension of CBT development on the islands.

	Santiago	**São Vicente**	**Santo Antão**
Population	300,000 (1/3 aged < 15), of which 160,000 live in Praia. Most are from mixed African-European descent because Santiago was the key strategic location for slave-traffic.	78,000 (2/3 aged < 30). Many have relatives in the mature Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands, which is also the number one source of remittances to S. Vicente.	48,000. Most live in Porto Novo, where the port is located. This population has experienced relatively slow growth over the past decades.
Bio-physical nature	991 km². Mountains with high peaks, ridges, plateaux and deep valleys but slightly flatter in the southeast. Rain	225 km². Semi-mountain terrain, 93mm rain/year. Fairy flat terrain with some eroded craters remaining, of which the	779 km². Mountains, made of basalt (volcanic material) with high peaks, ridges, plateaux and deep valleys. Only 27% of land

	(321mm/year) from Aug-Sep. Two cities located in the far north and far south of the island. Volcanic, steep coastline. 64% of land is cultivable.	highest reaches 744m. The coastline knows many natural beaches, ranging from large sand dunes to black volcanic shores.	is cultivable. At higher areas in the northeast there is up to 2m rainfall/year, making them lush and green. Annually 237mm of rain. Highest peak is 1979m.
Domestic business environment	Agriculture, energy.	Fishing and maritime, energy.	Agriculture.
Tourism type	Business tourism concentrated in Praia. Countryside is unregarded.	Cruise tourism, approx. 50.000 passengers and over 60 cruise ships in 2017 spending an average of €45 a day.	Eco-tourism focused on hiking and trekking. Constrained by transportation bottlenecks.
Tourism accommodation type and occupancy	50 establishments in total, of which 22 upper scale hotels. Occupancy rate 20%.	45 establishments, more than half is a B&B or residency and occupancy rate is 30%.	68 establishments, of which 90% are small scale accommodations, occupancy rate is 31%.
Number of rooms	1303 rooms, 10,5% of total.	757 rooms, 6,1% of total.	728 rooms, 5,8% of total.
Companies and employment	44% of active companies in the country. Private sector employs 46% of formal sector workforce. 8% works in public sector.	20% of active companies in the country. Private sector employs 23% of formal sector workforce.	8% of active companies in the country. Private sector employs less than 4% of formal workforce. Mainly informal sector employment.
Tourism workforce paid/unpaid	9,6% of total tourism workforce, 1,3% is unpaid.	5,8% of total tourism workforce, 1,8% is unpaid.	4,5% of total tourism workforce, 14% is unpaid.

Table 1   *Background information on the three different islands. Source: (NIS, 2018a; SCVZ, 2012).*

The next sections will each describe the dimensions of the different islands that are subject of this research in response to the general tourism development agenda of Cabo Verde. In Chapter 5, it will become clear why CBT has developed differently on the three islands and what the role of different friction processes is in these developments.

4.5.1 *Santiago*

On Santiago, the Cabo Verdean government has allowed FDI's in Cabo Verde's tourism sector in order to develop the island as a new leisure tourism destination. Manifestations of these foreign investments are prominently visible in the country's political capital of Praia. The biggest city of the archipelago covers a vast area of the island and is divided into several neighborhoods of which some close to the shore are characterized by luxurious villas, a couple of resorts and fairly 'modern(ized)' hotels. These buildings are not only typical examples of the tremendous growth that Cabo Verde has experienced over the past decades, but they are also illustrations of the growing inequality, especially on Santiago, which the government is trying to combat through its renewed vision for tourism development. The presence of **luxury homes**, owned by expatriates and diplomats and guarded by private security officers is complemented by a **5-star casino**

complex and a **5-star resort** of a famous international chain, both under construction on prime locations directly facing the ocean. Praia is the best location to witness the development of Cabo Verde in its tangible form. In the neighborhoods adjacent to these luxurious buildings, people live in unfinished houses, waiting to be plastered and painted. This sighting of grey concrete houses is common on all the three islands. Some people live in recently built condominiums, including the country's prime minister. What is seemingly missing is a clear 'city center' and accordingly, tourists. The area that is supposedly the most interesting because of its historic buildings is 'Plateau': originally the only existing area of Praia, built on a plateau that sores slightly above the rest of the city. It is mainly crowded with locals and lacks signposting for foreigners. Once traveling towards the countryside, leaving behind these manifestations of western capital on Praia's shore, one discovers roughly untouched land that reveals the insular and fragmented nature of the island. Many European immigrants on Santiago came to live in Cabo Verde because they wanted a change in their lives and move someplace else, and since the capital is located on Santiago, it was the easiest choice.

The countryside is something that tourists are quite unaware of, and which is conspicuous by its absence in international travel organizations information. It is usually unregarded due to the proximity to Praia, where the main infrastructure, government and public services are concentrated. The majority of private sector businesses and labor force of the island and the nation can also be found here. Agriculture-, rural-, eco- and a historic type of tourism, such as bird watching, hiking and sight-seeing in historic spot as the old city of "Cidade Velha" are recognized to have major potential for tourism diversification. The insularity of Santiago's nature does not mean that it is inaccessible; many farms can be found in the countryside who produce a range of agricultural products. However, the logistic infrastructure together with the steep topography and the size of the island make it difficult to effectively process harvest and products, and thus local suppliers fail to support small scale businesses on Santiago. MSMEs in turn have trouble to obtain local resources and most have to import a vast amount of their supply. Not only resources are difficult to obtain, so is qualified staff or training for tourism businesses. These problems concerning access to resources have to be addressed according to the government's plans for development, and as explained in Chapter 4, the government invests significantly in all the different business sectors of the country. But due to the **fragmented nature of these investments**, it seems as if this has caused polarization and concentration issues because of the concentration of public investments in for example Praia. Praia, as opposed to Mindelo on São Vicente, has gained a questionable reputation among Santiago residents.

4.5.2 *São Vicente*

On São Vicente, the first thing you notice when arriving by plane is the port of Porto Grande, located in the islands' capital city of Mindelo. This port is the reason why the population on the island started to grow in the first half of the 19th century, because the British decided to establish coal companies here and use the port as supply location for ships on their transatlantic routes. Nowadays, Porto Grande still takes on an important role in the network of international ports, especially due to its location between Europe and Africa, but also as a popular destination for pleasure yachts, sailing boats and even cruise ships on their way to Southern Africa or back to Europe. Moreover, it is the only location where one can depart from to reach the neighboring island of Santo Antão, because Porto Grande is where the ferry services depart between São Vicente and Santo Antão. Its cruise terminal will be expanded in the next few years, and 35% of

its construction costs will be funded by the Government of the Netherlands, who signed a grant arrangement of 13.21 million euros in 2018 (RVO, 2018). In spite of the investments in and the growth of the port, it is not bringing in the goods that are necessary to develop community-based tourism, according to the local residents. Bureaucracy makes it hard to obtain goods, and by ship is the only means of transportation through which resources can be obtained. Multinationals are present in the port, but what you do not notice when arriving in Mindelo, differentiating the city from Praia, are big hotels. Mindelo is not an important hotspot for business tourism in Sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, even local residents, native to the island, argue that São Vicente has not much else to offer for tourists besides Mindelo. However, São Vicente natives do see potential for tourism, but especially in terms of improving the current tourism businesses and for capacity-building in Mindelo. Even a department of the Ministry of Tourism moved from Praia to Mindelo. However, it is not clear what direction São Vicente is heading, and the locals don't know it either.

Instead of big hotels, there are a lot of colorful houses among the coastline and some apartment condominiums. Most of these apartments are privately owned, and a lot of them are owned by immigrants as secondary homes. In fact, when looking for accommodation on São Vicente, **private apartments** are the most frequently offered type of accommodation on booking websites. Other accommodation types in Mindelo include **small-scale and boutique hotels** and B&Bs. There are a handful of 'larger' hotels, with a number of rooms ranging between 40 and 70, all of which have a 3 to 4-star classification, and there are **no 5-star hotels** on the island. Although the number of large hotels is very limited, the number of beaches is not. One of the most famous beaches is Laginha, located in Mindelo (see Figure 5). This beach is praised by many Cabo Verdeans and is the subject of the many stories that they are keen on telling a foreigner when asking about São Vicente and Mindelo, mainly because of the color of the ocean, which is argued to be one of the must-sees when in Cabo Verde. Important to note is that one of the most famous Cabo Verdeans of all time, the singer Césaria Évora, was born here. The international airport of São Vicente is named after her and she is the most representative singer of Cabo Verdean music.

4.5.3 *Santo Antão*

Santo Antão (located 14km from São Vicente), on the other hand, is *the place to be*. "Why spend time on São Vicente, when you can go to Santo Antão?", I was asked frequently, by Cabo Verdeans on Santiago as well as in Mindelo. Santo Antão is developing the fastest in terms of tourist and accommodation numbers and nights spent. However, because of these developments, **petty crime** seems to be lying on the look-out. It is not an imminent threat, but the success of any tourism business here seems to relate to how well the owner is **integrated into the local community** and how good their relationships are. Often, they establish tourism businesses with the intention of getting local people involved as well, so they can raise their standard of living by earning an income or a higher wage. This does cause jealousy of people who don't have a stable income, or triggers disapproval of other community members towards the establishment owners or their community members who are employed. The discourses about the natural environment on São Vicente differ greatly from those on Santiago, but the majority of people from these two islands agree that ultimate beauty, in the manifestation of Cabo Verdean nature, is to be found on Santo Antão. The discourse about Santo Antão is generally as crystal clear as the ocean that embraces the island. Although (or precisely because) Santo Antão is restrained by transportation bottlenecks and experiences the threats of safety and security issues, relations between actors include a significant number of local linkages.

Santo Antão, being the biggest island of the northern region of Cabo Verde, has experienced a steady rise in the number of tourists as well as in the number of businesses being established. A fair amount of these businesses is owned by expatriates and European immigrants. Santo Antão is often chosen because of the possibilities it has to set up a tourism business. Ecotourism is the main form of tourism on the island, as tourist visit it for hiking and birdwatching activities mostly. These activities are very small-scale, as are the villages on the island. Most of the island is untouched, the mountainous areas are often impassible, and some parts of the island are of arid, volcanic nature. On the side of the mountains where it does rain, extensive valleys full of sugar cane fields, banana plants papaya trees can be found. Cassava and jams also grow on the island. Sugar cane is used to produce **grogue**, a Cabo Verdean traditional sugar cane liquor which is produced on other islands with tropical climate areas as well. On Santo Antão, it is produced on a relatively large scale, but mainly for home use. There is a considerable potential to further industrialize and differentiate its production, but investments in quality differentiation are insufficient. Grogue is a popular liquor among all Cabo Verdeans, but among tourists it is less known or liked. Especially on Santo Antão, grogue plays an important role in relationships between residents. Without grogue, it almost seems impossible to hold a gathering or to discuss important topics of daily life on Santo Antão. Grogue, and the sugar cane it is made from, are things that are *shared*. If one villager owns a grogue factory, he shares it with his community and the same goes for his banana and papaya trees. People live in clustered houses, spread all over the island and their small streets and villages are connected by the main road. Somewhere in between these small communities are a couple of independent houses as well, on harder to reach sites. Some can only be supplied by using pack animals. The small communities show the importance of linkages between diverse actors on the island.

4.6   CABO VERDE'S FUTURE

The development plans show that Cabo Verde is aware of the fact that policy changes and innovation are necessary in order to develop further, especially as being a SIDS. Perch and Roy (2010) argue that the design and implementation of social policies that reduce vulnerability, improve resilience to exogenous shocks and consequently lower the human and productivity costs of exposure to repeated shocks need particular attention. It seems as if the plans that are currently still running, including but not limited to the PEDS (2017-2021) and the current United Nations Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) 2018-2022 cycle, are fairly in line with what Perch and Roy (2010) suggest. However, within tourism studies it is not an unknown fact that policy and development plans oftentimes turn out differently in practice, but that does not mean that they are necessarily unsuccessful in achieving their objectives. The tourism industry in Cabo Verde has achieved quite some successes in terms of livelihood improvement, increase of employment and a decrease of the number of people living in extreme poverty. The big words however are 'potential' and 'opportunity', which are mentioned throughout every tourism development. Santiago, São Vicente and Santo Antão are still fairly unknown destinations and hold different reputations. Given the natural environments, business environments and the mainstream tourism industry on the islands, the general tourism development agenda of the government will produce different realities on each of the islands. Therefore, the focus on social inclusion and sustainable development means something different for every island and its residents. A general plan leads to specific outcomes and development processes dependent on how and if differences and discourses on the islands productively come together.

5 RESULTS

This chapter provides the main findings of this research. It will first explain the reasoning behind the way my observations are structured, where after it will present the 3 types of frictions that have been identified at respectively the islands of Santiago, São Vicente and Santo Antão. Subsequently, each section will present per island how the universal across all three islands, the governmental and global discourse of sustainable tourism development, materializes through these frictions. This chapter will specifically focus on those moments where frictions emerge in relation to the main universal discourse, to better understand how frictions help to uniquely produce corresponding developments in these islands given their differences.

5.1 SÃO VICENTE: 'FALTA D'MOVIMENT'

In the streets of Mindelo on São Vicente colorful buildings from the late 19th century are evidence of the islands' post-colonial legacy. This is a city which revolves around fishing and maritime activities, which one can easily catch a sight of in the traditional fish market or in the harbor which is filled with small fishing boats and larger vessels, ranging from cargo ships to yachts. Business tourism is less visible in terms of accommodations and businessmen wandering around. Mindelo is a popular topic of conversation, not only on São Vicente but also on Santiago. The island and its inhabitants trigger contested opinions, and often the natural environment seems to be part of negative remarks. What people do agree on is the cultural richness of Mindelo. The government's tourism development discourse focuses on promoting São Vicente as an island where one can experience true culture, and by doing so it intends to increase the inclusiveness of tourism-led growth by strengthening the competitiveness of local MSMEs. São Vicente is the island with the highest decrease of inequalities (Government of Cabo Verde, 2018a) and its residents are relatively highly educated (16% of students with a higher education come from São Vicente).

However, there is a lot of tension between people from the various islands, but especially the people from São Vicente and their business practices are a very popular and common topic of condemnation, envy and criticism. Somehow, they set tongues wagging all over the archipelago. They are the talk of the town. For people from São Vicente, this tension has triggered the motivation to overcome such prejudices and statements for a long time already. The island is home to the oldest CBT initiatives of the country, and most of these initiatives as well as the older established enterprises are run by people originating from São Vicente. Some spent a few decades abroad, others never left, but all are passionate about 'their island'. But tourism is not developing as rapidly as one would expect based on the facts. There is only a handful of small-scale initiatives, in spite of the many passionate residents that exist with ideas similar to the sustainable tourism discourse the government is trying to implement. The reason for this unsatisfactory state of development is the lack translators who can negotiate differences.

Consequently, there are a lot developments visible and many more in prospect, but they reflect a different discourse. A discourse of non-inclusive mass tourism development. How has the friction process on this island led to this reality? And what are the consequences? The next sections will illustrate, what happens when there is a lack of frictions.

5.1.1 *Current situation*

Figure 4: Above - Laginha Beach in the city of Mindelo. Santo Antão can be seen on the left side of the photo, located 14km across the ocean from São Vicente. Below - The city of Mindelo as seen from one of its rooftops. New houses are constructed on the mountain slopes.

Within the actor-networks on São Vicente, the natural environment plays a very different role. This creates a division between networks that disconnects actors through the lack of a common discourse of the natural environment. The division is very present in ideas that residents have about tourism development. One wants day-trippers to visit Mindelo's colorful neighborhoods and markets, whereas others want to make them leave for the coast and mountainous area, or even for Santo Antão. What these entrepreneurs have in common is their motivation to develop inclusive tourism. Interesting about this is that in the initiatives as well as the older established enterprises on the island are mostly run by people from São Vicente, and not by European immigrants. But their networks are small, and interviewees expressed feelings of exclusion from politics. Because the political capital is Praia, they feel the absolute and relative distance due to a lack of access to politicians and practices of their political parties.

Another common topic mentioned by interviewees is Laginha Beach. Indeed, as one of the interviewees said, the beach of Laginha (see Figure 4) is artificial. The rest of the landscape

however is not, and it is very diverse but in general it is very arid. Interviewees had different thoughts on this topic, which ranged from very defending to very judgmental in terms of how they valued the landscape of São Vicente personally. Within the current small CBT networks, the natural environment of São Vicente seems to play an important role. Often it is connected with Mindelo in two ways. The first is that in contrast to Mindelo, the natural environment is pejoratively put-down as 'boring' or 'uninteresting'. The second opposing way is one that highlights its value, arguing that there is more *besides* Mindelo and that the natural environment is unregarded.

All in all, it seems as if the city of Mindelo has built up a good reputation among Cabo Verdeans. The city takes on a certain position that no other places within the archipelago of Cabo Verde are a match for, at least within the prevailing beliefs or ideology among citizens on the different islands. Cabo Verdean culture is said to be thriving in this city, as there is supposed to be music every day. Mindelo is 'the real Cabo Verde' as an interviewed minister put it. This minister also argued that the Carnival in São Vicente is the most important attractor of tourism on the island, but that most tourists come here as a stopover on their way to Santo Antão or as day trippers coming from cruise ships.

> *"Mindelo is São Vicente, São Vicente is Mindelo. There is really not much else there, what are you going to do if you're there for a week? You will be so bored...Santo Antão is so much more beautiful, there are sugar cane plantations, there are banana, papaya and avocado trees! You don't have those on São Vicente. It is like Sal, so much sand, but the Carnival in Mindelo is really nice. Everyone will be singing, dancing, dressing up. Besides that [...] it is a very arid landscape, and the beach is fake! [...] But I do think that the people from São Vicente are more arrogant than those from other islands. They think their island has the most culture, is the worthiest and they have lighter skin than people from Santiago. They discriminate people who have darker skin than them."* (Activity & tour company owner, Santiago)

Data shows that most businesses on São Vicente are more than 10 years old (NIS, 2018b), a number which highlights their vast experience, but it also shows that not much has changed in recent years regarding the amount of tourism enterprises. I also got the idea that the true development discourse of inclusive tourism development has not fully made its way onto the island yet due to social-cultural aspects and issues that were at play. The people I talked to had competing opinions about an islands' citizens or natives. Oftentimes, interviewees take on a defending attitude when talking about people from their own native island, and an accusing attitude towards 'others', especially when the interviewees themselves don't live on their native island anymore. The fact that the islands are separated also results in a certain division between the people originating from each island. This infamous division is argued by several interviewees to be present in the government and the banking system as well.

Furthermore, interviewees argued that family ties are very strong between Cabo Verdeans. Such ties are honorable, and the general belief is that one should always stay loyal to one's family, in sickness as well as in health. Moreover, family and island-ties mean that one should stay loyal to those - which in turn have consequences for people they get involved with at work. In combination with Cabo Verde's level of bureaucracy, which is argued to be very high (see also the SWOT analysis of the RVO (2018), p. 72) such practices might result in things getting picked up very slowly, taking a large amount of time, or even not getting done at all, demotivating people who

want to get involved in the tourism value chain. The reason that this problem is so apparent at São Vicente is that Mindelo is the main port, and since the country is an archipelago everything has to be imported (due to the country's lack of natural resources and manufacturing industry).

"I used to work for the Ministry for 6 years, but I stopped this year. I enjoyed working for the Ministry at the beginning after I completed by master in the UK. After my master I started working for the government, but I was so tired of working behind a desk and I wanted to go out in the field again, but the main reason I stopped working for the ministry was because everything was so slow! Really everything took so much time and they did not get anything done in the end, and the wage was not so good." (NGO owner, Mindelo)

This might also mean that if you were to start a business, you should try to involve your family members, or you should consider them first when looking for employees. According to several interviewees (a tour agency owner, students and hotel employees) this means that within the government and banking system, certain functions are assigned to relatives, instead of opened for new applicants. Or that when positions are open, the preference goes to certain sections of the population, relating to their island of origin and accompanying tone of skin color. The result of such appointments might be that a job is not fulfilled by the right person, who has the required skill set in order to perform that specific job.

All of these observations contributed to a frictional process of which shreds can be prudently traced, but they do not show themselves to such an extent that a new reality becomes clearly visible in a way that one would expect. Bearing this section in mind, the next section explains how this process works.

5.1.2 *Process of friction*

It seems as if the requirements for further successful development of inclusive CBT and a blue economy are there, but there is a big constraint; most tourists do not visit the island as their primary destination. MSMEs have little experience with longer stays on the island, and in general businesses lack capacity and knowledge. Previously proposed project plans for tourism development have been discontinued in their implementation phase. Globalized visions have failed to be translated into localized discourses, although there are a few examples in Mindelo that have proven that participation and cooperation of relevant stakeholders can potentially result in CBT development. However, there is not enough friction between the local and global. *The global touches upon local realities, but it does not seem to stick.* Figure 5 represents the frictional process on São Vicente. It displays the moment where the frictions emerge in relation to the main universal discourse. Of course, this is a continuous motion, as frictional interplay happens all the time. The figure therefore illustrates the coming together of all the possible frictional encounters between global and local ideas, discourses and practices of the island. As it shows, there is no actual traction of the **global** on the ground. The ground refers to the **local** (portrayed by the black horizontal line). The result of this movement is that the global discourse is changed completely into a different form. Namely, a version that follows the ideas of **cruise tourism**. Cruise tourism in the form as it is developing now is opposite towards the idea of an inclusive, sustainable form of tourism which should be pursued according to the government plans. This development is represented by the arrow pointing upwards to the right. Even though it originates from a globalized discourse of inclusive CBT, it never interacts sufficiently with the

local, and there is no intervention in the local scene in the desired form. Only when the global would have gained traction, it would have been possible to create a counteracting moment towards a local reality.
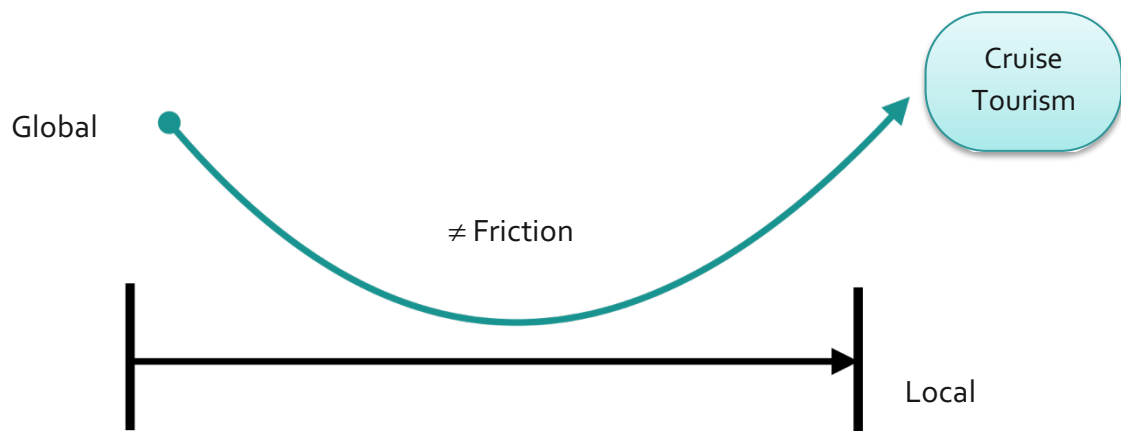

Figure 5: Illustrational display of the analysis of São Vicente

In this case, the frictional process is lacking translators who negotiate differences. Translators can make the difference between traction and no traction – friction or no friction. *There is a need for translators who can negotiate differences, as the tourism train keeps moving forward.* The tracks are yet to be built effectively. Some MSME owners who own tourism businesses other than restaurants, have only settled on São Vicente because of a better strategic position since the harbor connects them to other tourism networks. Their services are for example focused on activities on Santo Antão since they attach more value to the natural environment on that island. Others try to get tourists to see more of the island besides Mindelo. This proves to be difficult because of a lack of infrastructure on the public side, while on their own private side due to a lack of technological innovations and staff training.

As the previous section explained, the natural environment of São Vicente is not effectively integrated in actor-networks and this allows for the establishments of private accommodations by European investors who acquired pieces of wasteland to build their holiday homes. Another sustainable development idea that gets lost in translation – or rather due to the lack of translation – is the establishment of sustainable accommodations. Often, residents have not seen evidence of tourism development on their own island such as luxury resorts being built, and only see tourists from cruise ships coming ashore for the day and big international investments in the port facilities. São Vicente is being developed as a blue economy; the general focus is on the shore and the sea. The CBT establishments that are already there are in need of investments too, especially regarding capacity building and technological innovation. People visit Praia, Sal and Boa Vista and see beautiful hotels constructed along beaches and cliffs and bring these ideas to Mindelo as exemplary development practices, whereas others look at those buildings as examples of how not to do it. Either way, their plans and vision do not result in the desired outcomes due to the lack of translation, which is also due to the political and economic climate.

One of the people I talked to, started their own NGO after working several years for the government. Part of the reason why this person quit their job was because they thought that over the past few years, not many improvements had been made in terms of tourism and sustainable marine development, and this is something people involved with tourism on the island tend to

agree on. Slow bureaucracy is recognized to be one of the main causes for the failure of sustainable tourism development, together with a small market, in the interviewee's opinions. The market is so limited on São Vicente, that starting up a business is very difficult. Most Cabo Verdean entrepreneurs have a lack of credit and interest rates are high while periods of repayment are short, and they are also unaware of the possibilities for participating in credit programs. For the businesses that are there, consumers have reduced buying power. It seems as if the tourists arriving in Mindelo via air or water are the only solution, but to reach them, local entrepreneurs and even returnees have to compete with international investors who have a lot of freedom on the island.

Furthermore, although the democratic system in Cabo Verde is praised as being one of the best and safest in Africa, it is also a system with an elected President and Prime Minister which led to recent period of cohabitation. Currently, there is a unified government again with only two parties, whose leadership successions within have been relatively peaceful. Power transfers within parties, however, are known to have negative effects on established developments or projects and programs, in spite of balanced intra-executive relationships and because of the insularity of the islands. This implies, together with the smallness of the population and geographical space, that the state is 'close' in the personal meaning of the word. The state is argued to be informal in nature, making it possible to discuss daily life high up in the political hierarchy. A good relationship with the municipality president is therefore critical for business owners. But the progress of tourism development projects and programs might be opposed by power transfers, and this increasingly leads to contestation and protest from citizens in Mindelo.

A Dutch-Cape Verdean returnee has produced plans together with the Cabo Verdean government and an European investment firm for an establishment on Laginha Beach for example. In this proposal, the government is involved and thus the returnee has established some kind of relationship with state officials. In such plans, local MSMEs are not much involved. Their ideas and practices rub together with those of international investors who have universal ideas. But the particular ones get run over by the tourism train, which moves in the direction of expanding the cruise tourism business. The outcome of this frictional process is what MSME owners often describe in a resigned voice as *'falta d'moviment'*: failure of movement. For them, nothing is happening. As observed before, there is not enough friction in order to facilitate change, even though new dynamics are created. But these dynamics do not result in new coalitions between universal and particular parties.

5.1.3 *Outcome*

The initiatives on São Vicente are not driven by how the governments discourse is perceived locally through the noticeable advancements on the island. São Vicente's fishing and marine sector are developing at a fast pace with international aid, but tourism infrastructure is not. Residents are keen on proving their fellow Cabo Verdeans wrong about their own attitudes and on improving and expanding current tourism services. Restaurants are the most popular tourism enterprises among tourists, since most tourists only stay 1 night or less, so those involved with tourism try to find other means of expanding used tourism services. They focus on the recovering of traditional handicrafts and see tourism as an opportunity to improve the quality of the hospitality and retail sectors. Some local residents and those involved in the tourism sector as entrepreneurs or business owners came to see tourism as a means of uniting people from São Vicente, making them feel proud to be a resident of their island.

In a way, the governments discourse is localizing through the residents themselves. The confluence of returnees' globalized ideas and their local roots and community networks to which they start to belong, make the material developments for the concerned societies uncertain because these networks are still very fragile. Besides the feeling of exclusion from political power games, materialization is also slowed down due to that fragility and instability. CBT actors, especially returnees in these small networks often cannot use ties to family and friends to access customs officials, making it hard for tourism entrepreneurs to develop a business because everything has to be imported and approved by government officials. And if you don't know the right people, you might have to be very, very patient.

Many plans have been approved for the construction of hotels on Laginha Beach and other areas of Mindelo and its surroundings, completely with 3D designs and financial plans, and even including one for a new City Hall. But in all of these plans the hotels were supposed to be finished in 2018. However, not a sign of new hotels being built can be found. Interviewees suspect that bureaucracy is one of the reasons for these failures, because personal relationships are of high importance in the level of state bureaucracy. Especially in São Vicente, since customs play an important role in basically the achievement of any business activity.

The government stresses the need for diversification of tourism, and the cultural richness and untouched nature of the island are the key components, but local residents do not all value nature in the same way. The number of years that most businesses have been in operation shows the stability of tourism on São Vicente, but their CBT networks are not capable yet of addressing the rising number of day-trippers coming to the island. Encounters between the distinctive ideas and actors from other islands, who have particular views of São Vicente's people and natural environment are not being moderated enough, with as a (potential) result that global actors and universal ideas do not confluence to negotiate differences and affinity with the local. Universalists might take over tourism on the island and tourists might enjoy more privileges than local residents with all the consequences that that entails.

Some people started their own NGO's and foundations, to help benefit local residents from cruise tourism in particular. Most of the NGO- and foundation owners are returnees with São Vicente roots, who have particular ideas on how the poorest of people can be included in the tourism value-chain. Day-trippers coming from cruise ships are being guided through poor neighborhoods where residents offer them traditional food, handicrafts and show them their houses. One particular foundation helps the local residents revitalize their houses by painting them in bright colors, which brightens-up their neighborhood and is attractive for tourists. Such small-scale initiatives are increasingly being initiated on the island, involving local suppliers and entrepreneurs. Their presence in the tourism value chain, however, is still very limited. The practices of the actor-networks connected to these initiatives do not suffer enough friction with the universal government discourse, and therefore another form of tourism interestingly is provided with the chance to develop further.

5.2   SANTO ANTÃO: ECOTOURISM AS A FIRESTARTER

We move to the island of Santo Antão, which is the most pronounced eco-tourism destination of Western Africa. It is an island where there are much more construction sites and tourist establishments to be found, and which is supposed to offer 'the ultimate tourist experience' – according to both Cabo Verdeans from Santiago and São Vicente. The island also takes on the

function of the rural agricultural hinterland of Mindelo. Especially here, residents deplore their increasing economic and political marginalization in relation to the economic growth of Praia. Because Santo Antão has no airport anymore, has a steep topography (see Figure 6) and has been in quarantine for a long time as a measure to control a plague contamination of fresh vegetables and fruits, the island is constraint by severe transportation bottlenecks. Because of that isolation, its people and tourism industry are characterized in a unique way. There are limits to growth, but there is still a considerable number of businesses, although mostly informal. Tourism is still small-scale, but Santo Antão has the most accommodations of all 9 inhabited islands, of which most are meant to serve eco-tourism market (pensions, lodges, apart hotels, apartment complexes and residencies) and many of them are established more than a decade ago. The establishments are already there, so there is no immediate need for investments in new buildings, just in the existing ones. The government's goal to ensure social inclusion and reduce inequalities seems within reach. However, the bio-physical nature of the island complicates things. Some accommodations and small villages can only be reached by hiking up a mountain, and struggle with modernization of their accommodations because of their locations and consequently, lack of resources such as electricity and water, but also labor and materials.

Interestingly, the Internet is used much more frequently by tourists on Santo Antão than on the other two islands, because it has more to offer and is necessary in order to get a sense of where one could possibly go. This also shows that there is adequate information available online, something which is not the case on Santiago. Because Santo Antão is so big, tourists want to know where they should be headed before they go to the island, but most of them book with agencies that organize their travel itinerary. They thus visit only the places that these agencies select, and that could explain why some accommodations have no availability while others are mostly empty in the high season. Guides who are familiar with the environment are necessary to get around on the island, but the fragmentation of communities and dependency on both people with financial resources, professional and technical knowledge and skills and those with local knowledge is the source of the fire between these groups of actors. On the other hand, the natural environment of Santo Antão is a common and important actor within all of the island's CBT networks. Without it, ecotourism is not possible.

Santo Antão is a very unique island, especially in relation to the other islands of the archipelago. All of the actors, ideas and practices rub against each other, while a universal discourse increasingly comes into play. How has this frictional process, together with the specific characteristics of Santo Antão, resulted in new dynamics, structures and the materialization of CBT in the form of ecotourism on the island? And what do these look like? I will clarify in the next sections.

5.2.1 *Current situation*

Most businesses on Santo Antão are owned by returnees, and a considerable amount practices traditional agriculture. The small village communities cooperate to provide tourists with the things that they require, from guiding services to food and transportation. Although many residents are in favor of more tourism development, it is still difficult to connect with other communities on the island. Existing bonds are persistent, but the development of tourism offers threats in the form of jealousy and disagreements from within the networks as well as from other networks. Especially European MSME owners possess professional and technical knowledge that local residents do not have. MSME owners are able to take on the role of translators within the

Figure 6: Typical sighting of the fertile side of Santo Antão, with sugar cane fields, banana plantations, papaya and avocado trees. In the middle of the valley a typical hotel with restaurant, owned by a Dutch-Cabo Verdean.

negotiation of differences on this island. Authentic practices and the meaning of 'local' and 'foreign' actors are important and can be discovered when looking at the assembling of the island in concrete practices. There is not a distinct feeling of resent towards the government that most actors engage with on Santiago, and the stage that CBT is in is much more developed than on any other island. On Santo Antão, ecotourism is the main type of tourism for already quite some years. There are interesting dynamics at play which contribute to this reality.

The insularity, the fact that it can only be reached by a ferry service and the excessive area of untouched land that covers the island of Santo Antão, connects people living in fragmented communities. Knowing your neighbors is important in an island with limited transportation possibilities and relatively large distances. Local Cabo Verdean residents also know the returnees and Europeans who established themselves on the island, know who work for them and what they pay. These two groups of returnees and European immigrants own the most resources on the island. Most are well integrated in their communities, as some have been living on the island for years. But Santo Antão has only recently started to gain a significant increase of attention from international tourists.

It is important to note this aspect. Many European accommodation owners have settled on the island more than a decade ago, some even in the 20th century already. The agricultural sector is the most important on the island, and agriculture is often very traditional and not modernized, meaning that people are used to a reciprocal way of doing business. But with the establishment of European owned tourism accommodations, more paid jobs were created. Many accommodations offer formal jobs, and some even come with the possibility of social security. I have encountered strong networks of small communities working together to serve a single local accommodation, and often they are connected with relatives and friends in other villages.

Because the villages on the island and the networks connected to them are so dependent upon internal resources rather than exchanging with external networks, community initiatives have thrived. They found ways to provide for everything tourism accommodations and businesses needed, and the European immigrants connected the tight local networks to their own international ones. Even when located in remote areas, this means that global discourses can still reach and come into contact with the local circumstances. But in recent years the effects of these dynamics have become more apparent.

The physical fragmentation of communities is a point where the government enters the discourse, because both native residents as well as 'foreign' tourism service providers agree that there is a need for more investment in infrastructures, including hospitals and sanitation. Especially improved infrastructure can contribute to the circular economy the government wants to create and the sustainability of tourism on the island. Many of the tourism establishments have been there for a relatively long time and even though they are small-sized their community impact in terms of employment and revenue is considered high. Similar to the developments on São Vicente, there are plans for building new hotels on the island, some of which are actually carried out. However, the difference is that many of these plans come from private investors, not even looking for just a place where they can invest from abroad but also a place where they can settle, showing their willingness to make a commitment to the island and its residents. But foreign investors seem to understand that such construction plans need local support, and luxury hotels will not achieve the cooperation that is needed.

The differences in the number of resources that people have naturally causes jealousy of people who do not have access to these resources. With the increasing number of tourism accommodations, some local residents have the luxury of choosing employers. It is argued by some that jealousy and sometimes even crime increases due to these differences. For example, someone can only qualify for receiving social security and other public benefits if their wage is above a certain level. This level is higher than the average wage but more importantly, one's income should than be earned formally. Employing yourself, doing all kinds of jobs or earning a wage from selling banana's and papaya's does not equal a formal wage. The circumstance where people are jealous of each other, even if it concerns their own neighbors and community members, is mentioned frequently by interviewees who provide tourism services. But their two major concerns are without exception safety and security.

> ''Santo Antão is so much more beautiful than São Vicente. There is more freedom there, and people are happier. They have fresh water, fresh fruits and a lot of land. More tourists are coming, and the Europeans are building new hotels. But it's not as easy as it seems, they don't know how it works there. I think it's time for the government to step in.'' (Dutch-Cabo Verdean tourism entrepreneur, São Vicente).

However, negative remarks and statements about the government's role in the development of Santo Antão are not made that frequently or severely in interviews. The most prevailing problems were not often directly connected to government actions, but rather due to internal actor-network issues. Maybe because CBT initiatives are successfully dependent on strong relations and local networks, the impact of external ideas and practices is even bigger.

Although European immigrants act as translators, their role within the networks is not just that, especially because of how their agency is exercised by strong communal relations. Their relationships represent a strong agent within their networks, as they shape their own

'community'. Power is created as a relational effect of all the actors connected in these actor-networks, and at the same time distributed by them. The fact that tourism development has manifested itself in the form of community-based ecotourism shows the capacity of the actor-networks to enact reality. However, the frictional process has evolved in such a way that the process itself can pose a threat to contemporary circumstances. The networks are in suspense as new actors are entering the market. The next section will explain this further.

5.2.2 *Process of friction*

MSME owners know that it is important to create strong ties with their communities, both for the provision of goods as well as to create loyalty and trust. They follow business models that are based on universal ideas of doing business, and when local residents are involved this creates a give-and-take relationship that transforms both the local landscape and its so-called global counterpart. Figure 7 portrays the frictional process as it happens on Santo Antão. The frictional encounter between **global** and **local** is displayed by the box in the figure. Local actors are interacting, re-imagining or re-structuring the universalizing ideas and practices intervening in their local setting. By doing so, friction causes the global discourse to be localized, but with the help of translators. In turn, the local landscape changes too. The effects of friction are therefore observable in the new realities that are created. Realities are irrevocably changed due to friction, but change is effective in the sense that the global discourse manifests locally. That particular effect emerges in the form of **ecotourism**. Friction also changes the global counterpart of the local landscape, as it brings new and unknown ideas and practices into the mix.
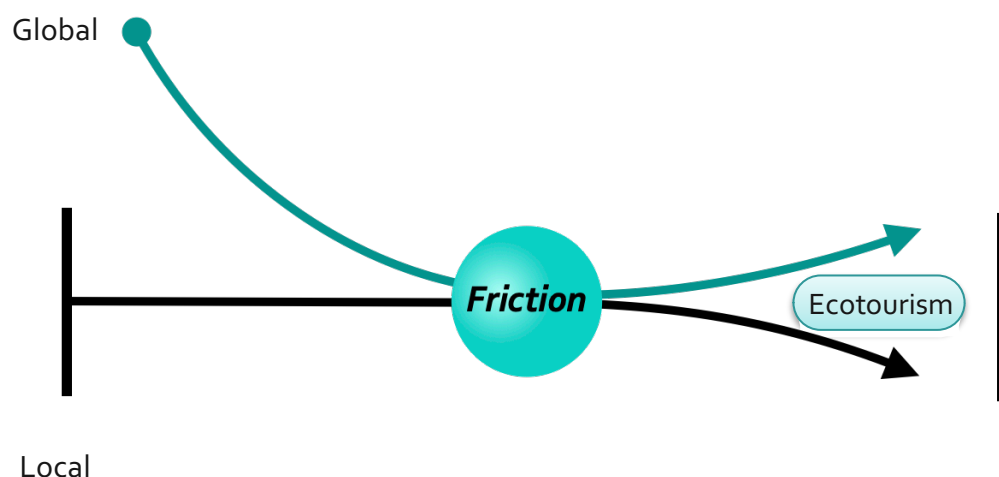

Figure 7: Illustrational display of the frictional process on Santo Antão.

Santo Antão has long been in quarantine, with limited access to government resources and together with the topography of the island, this situation has demanded more independency from the government of the islands' residents. According to local residents, being unemployed is not necessarily something that the government is to blame for. Rather, they express doubt in the motives and investments of European business owners who have no roots or family connections on the island. Because Cabo Verdean business owners have seen a rise in tourism numbers using the services that they provide, they believe in the benefits of community-based tourism. The

natural environment of the island is the reason why restaurants and accommodations are often situated on remote locations that are sometimes quite difficult to reach. But this is exactly why tourists deliberately choose them, for their serenity and remoteness. Oftentimes, tourists based their choice on online reviews and some travel with guides who show them these locations. Lack of alternatives in specific areas of the islands allows businesses in remote areas to obtain more guests. But the establishment of businesses that pull tourists have triggered frictional encounters between them, their practices and ideas and local residents that changed the assemblage of ecotourism.

There are examples of how the encounters between MSME owners and local residents have resulted in quite extensive tourism value-chains, created through new power relations between them. Before there were tourism establishments, the islands' residents were merely dependent on each other. But accommodation owners are now in some ways dependent on local knowledge, for example in order to guide tourists their way, to get around the island and to find local suppliers. Dependency is also created by them in terms of the provision of jobs and a platform for cooperation regarding tourism. The platform they create is not generated through the actual construction of accommodations, but rather through the demands of tourism development by existing accommodations. The local residents' position is quite good at Santo Antão's negotiation table because of the key role of residents in the maintaining of CBT networks. On Santo Antão, trust-building is necessary to avoid distrust and possible conflicts, but this is something that is not only required for CBT, it is also a condition for everyday life. The island has no large city such as Mindelo or Praia, and therefore the industries are much smaller and significantly fewer international companies are present. In terms of recent developments like small-scale hotels and other accommodations, it shows that universal ideas productively came together with how the local landscape is assembled. This was also due to the MSME owners acting as translators within the negotiation of differences. They do not have *full* control, because there are new developments on the islands to which residents are opposed.

There are strong networks of small communities serving a single local accommodation. But investors and external actors are coming to the island. And when universal ideas such as importing labor, goods and other resources or uncommon architectural plans, building styles and other unfamiliar displays of development come into the mix, differences between global and local discourses will be negotiated by such actor-networks. Dynamics and structures change, and on Santo Antão this process has stimulated new and even stronger relationships between small village communities and their members. Therefore, the local landscape changes as well. Particular ideas are so strongly attached to the local situation, that when they are exposed to external influence, their bonds sometimes do grow stronger. On the other hand, other relations grow weaker in this process at the same time. The particular discourse is influenced in such a way that there is room for universal discourses to enter.

The process that has arisen from friction between universal and particular ideas facilitates the continuous negotiation and ordering of tourism on the island, into unique assemblages that were not possible without friction. All in all, the development train is still on track towards social inclusion and CBT development that seems to benefit most members of Santo Antão's CBT networks as they are now. But the firmness and extent of these networks and the CBT development that has proven to be successful, seems to make the networks also more vulnerable towards both external and internal threats.

5.2.3 *Outcome*

On Santo Antão, there are examples of how universal ideas productively came together with how the local landscape is assembled. This was also due to the MSME owners acting as translators within the negotiation of differences. The planned hotels are relatively small, which is in agreement with how local residents feel tourism development should look like. They do not feel as positive about major tourism development as there is no direct need for luxury hotels or as many jobs in this sector. The natural environment of Santo Antão transforms the relationships of MSME owners with their local communities to one of the most important business characteristics. At the same time, it limits their connections, within the island and with the other islands, politicians and officials. Nevertheless, the potential of further development in a beneficial way for all the actors within the CBT networks lies within the aforementioned characteristics. Because many people residing on Santo Antão have now had experiences with ecotourism, they each developed their own ideas about who should be in charge and how they should handle it. The occupancy rate of accommodations is still low, but guests value the exclusive experiences they have to offer.

> *''I did not know what to expect, but not this. I couldn't find much information online and this trip was organized for us. At first, we stayed in a new hotel close to the ferry pier, it was beautiful, but it had no soul. The atmosphere was cold. But this place, up in the mountains, with locally grown fruit and vegetables…and these amazing views! This is what I hoped we would experience, and the guides are so kind even though their English is not so good.''* (European tourist in Paúl Valley, Santo Antão).

The hotel close to the pier that the interviewee mentions is in no way supported by local residents, because it conflicts with their vision of sustainable tourism development. But taking into account the frictional process at play, it brings to the fore the give-and-take relationship that different actors on the island have. The local landscape has opened up to the possibility of modernized buildings, as long as they are developed according to how the material aspect of CBT is enacted on the island. In turn, the global counterpart has been transformed by the same friction, as mass tourism and luxury developments have still been held off.

There is a lot of local produce and a large variety of it. Because the natural environment leads to great relative distances, local people are needed to decrease those, and the increasing number of guests means that MSME owners need more staff but also more products. The tourism development discourse of both residents and businesses is quite similar to how they perceive the government's discourse, but the government is involved in fewer encounters. Maybe the absence of the government is what allowed friction to create new dynamics and unexpected coalitions, that are not directly observable with the unaided eye. The underlying relationships and ties between people on Santo Antão have been pushing the tourism train slowly but steadily forward. The constant pulling and pushing of these actors and the strengthening and altering of power relationships has opened up the way for CBT to materialize and for marginal actors to be empowered. Nonetheless, most of these relationships are formed outside of political power and clientelism, causing returnees to often take an independent stance regarding the two political parties. In order for residents' perceived benefits of CBT to materialize to a greater extent, initiatives need more participation by other actors such as public administrators, government officials, universities and NGO's. Only then can the process arising from prevailing encounters

facilitate more positive outcomes and can Santo Antão maintain its position in the market as an ecotourism destination.

What does a development discourse focused on social inclusion, set into motion on an island which is not only physically divided into urban and rural areas, but on which in the largest city of the archipelago the manifestation of polarization is clearly visible? For many Cabo Verdeans, Praia is not a city they *wish* to live in. Rather, living in Praia is often a necessity because of the lack of suitable jobs on other islands. The tourism industry here is very much focused on business tourism, as the hotels in Praia host mainly this type of travelers. Most of them are coming from other African countries, Portugal and Spain. The development of leisure tourism seems to contrast sharply with that of tourism on the more popular islands of Cabo Verde.

There is friction between the general tourism development discourse as how it is presented in theory by the government and how it is evolves in practice, locally on the ground, where the discourse is very different. The government, MSME owners, local residents and Santiago's natural environment are actors that have particular ideas and practices regarding tourism development which all rub against each other. The result of this is a frictional process, has led to a *new assembly of power relations*. European immigrants or returnees who own tourism establishments are the ones that create jobs and stimulate development and social inclusion. This process has created new and messy dynamics and coalitions between diverse actors, based on universal and particular ideas that productively came together. The encounters produced sufficient friction to create a significant ''spark'', so to speak. And a spark expands in every direction possible. Santiago demonstrates how this works in practice, and what is necessary to produce such a powerful spark between the universal and particular.

5.1.1 *Current situation*

On Santiago, the majority of accommodations is owned by Cabo Verdean owners. The island experienced an increase in leisure tourism in the past decade and in an attempt to respond to the number of tourists in this area, the Spanish public body Cooperación Española (AECID) made significant financial contributions that allowed for the creation of small businesses managed by the local community. The majority of these businesses are restaurants, although the RVO (2017, p. 65) notes in their market report that some of the most profitable and growing restaurants in Praia are owned by foreign investors. They have discovered the potential of tourism on Santiago and decided to buy into it. This is something small business owners are aware of as well, making them feel as if they get left behind. They argue that the government is to blame for that.

> ''[Owning a small hotel or business] is really hard because we want to have some kind of assembly, where we can all meet with each other and discuss the issues we are having as a community, our ideas and what we need. Right now, we have to do that ourselves, train our own staff and it seems as if the government does not care about us at all!'' (Boutique hotel manager, Santiago)

Figure 8: Praia, as seen from the south side. The dark grey building in the center facing the ocean is a casino under construction. Slightly to its left is a building encompassing the bay, which is a 5-star resort under construction.

Although 'development' is visible through luxury villa's, a casino and other resorts being built, MSMEs owners do not feel as if the government is on their side regarding tourism development. Cabo Verdean MSME owners oftentimes feel as if the government does not 'do anything'. The tax that accommodation owners' guests have to pay, the tourism tax, is something that is mentioned a lot during interviews in a negative sense, because MSME owners are of the opinion that the revenue from tourism tax is not spent the way they would expect the government to.

There is a lack of accommodation services that adequately fulfill the increasing number of tourists' needs and wishes. Residents see these resorts being built on prime locations along the shore and do not see improvements in infrastructure, to facilitate the development of existing businesses. Especially the USD 250 million casino complex that is being built on a prominent site in the city (see **Fout! Verwijzingsbron niet gevonden.**) by a Macaon development company is being contested, because it does not appear in current financial data and accordingly the government is accused of having a double agenda. The government itself argues that an establishment like the casino offers a lot of employment opportunities. The construction of the casino is currently on hold, because of bureaucratic and labor issues. For local residents, it is unclear why the government allows these kinds of investments, while they expect investments into public infrastructure and social capital.

In general, large foreign investments are not quite welcomed by the local residents on Santiago, if they are not involved or experience direct benefits.

> *''That is the thing about investments, the money does not stay in Cape Verde, it all goes back to their own countries and even though it creates jobs, it's not good for the economy because it makes things more expensive.'' (Travel agency manager, Praia)*

On the other hand, the Cabo Verdean manager of one of the few 4-star hotels on the island is in favor of such large projects, because he argues it is the only way the island can develop. His hotel, and the other more luxury ones, are the only places where graduates from the recently established tourism and hospitality school can find jobs. And for most lower-level jobs in tourism, staff is hard to find. Not many Cabo Verdeans are qualified to work in the tourism industry on Santiago, and most MSMEs do not have the resources to invest in staff training. In this field too, adequate public investments are lacking.

On the island, there are many people who are not keen on getting active in the tourism industry as well. It is even argued by some that the older generation of Cabo Verdeans still lives in a similar way as they did in colonial times, because they lack entrepreneurial spirit and many of them live in hard-to-reach areas in the mountainous countryside, to where they once fled for the Portuguese colonizers, and they do not want to live somewhere else. Santiago natives admit that they think Cabo Verdeans are people who stick to their habits and are very slow in changing and adapting their behaviors. Only few people born in the country have strong aspirations to leave the place where they come from.

> "Local people just don't have too much money and they don't want to spend it on things [...] which have no immediate use. People live here day by day. It is also why you see so many unfinished houses. When they have money, the spend it. So, if they have money for a house, they invest it in building the house, but they don't save it for painting the house next." (Environmental NGO owner, Praia)

People with more resources on Santiago are often returnees with Cabo Verdean roots and relatives (returnees) or European immigrants. They are - broadly speaking - connected to Cabo Verde in two ways; either their (grand)parents are natives, they themselves were born elsewhere and they have returned to Cabo Verde, or they moved to Cabo Verde from Europe and cut ties with their native European country. Some of them even found a Cabo Verdean spouse. The European immigrants' connection to the island itself has grown stronger over the years, and most of them call the island of Santiago 'home'. Especially the diverse natural environment and the local people make this connection stronger;

> "I never want to go back to Europe. I chose to live here, because here I feel free. [...] I designed my home myself; I bought this piece of land with some ruins on it and we demolished that to start from scratch. I wanted to get the local people involved because there are so little jobs available here. It is a long drive to the city and people don't like the city. This place in the countryside is their home, just like it is my home now. I live according to their beliefs and cultural norms, and we live not on the island, but we live together with it. Together with nature, because the nature here is most valuable and I agree with this, I allow for the recognition of nature as part of life here." (B&B owner, inland Santiago)

This B&B owner, similar to some of the other accommodation providers who are originally from Europe or returned to Cabo Verde, did not built or renovate his home with the provision of accommodation for tourists in mind, because they wanted to leave the hybrid, 'westernized' world where they come from behind. Moreover, renovating or building a house costs a lot of time on Santiago, so the expansion of their homes, creating rooms to accommodate tourists, is a well-considered decision that took some time to take a hold with them. Besides the fact that it takes considerable time to renovate or build an accommodation, it is also something that requires

engagement of the local community (meaning: the people that live in the village surrounding the location of the house), because materials are scarce, but the labor force is of considerable size since the number of jobs available is very limited. The immigrants and returnees saw opportunities, and because of their established connections to the local community, helping them out through a tourism establishment was the solution.

But immigrants and returnees so still have ties to other networks, which include international actors. The inclusiveness of the establishments that they built, attracts foreign actors and tourists. The expansion and development of their tourism initiatives has reached a point where government help is needed in order to attract more infrastructural and social investments. But the government has to divide its money and attention under foreign investors and local residents. All of these actors come into contact with each other through the common denominator of (tourism) development. Consequently, and through the local characteristics of Santiago, a frictional process is triggered that involves a variety of universalists and particularists.

5.1.2 *Process of friction*

The new *assembly of power relations* created by European immigrants or returnees who own tourism establishments causes new and messy dynamics and coalitions between diverse actors. This can help explain how CBT materializes on Santiago. Frictional interplays between discourses are oftentimes moderated, in this case by tourism establishment owners, who take on a role as translators, enabling them to negotiate differences. These European immigrants are acting as some sort of lubricant in frictional encounters, both globally and locally. Sometimes unknowingly they are contributing towards localizing the governments' tourism development discourse by translating it into local practices. Their role is still not significant enough to pull all of Santiago's development in the direction of inclusive CBT. But the process in which they are involved is frictional, and it does partly facilitate change to the better. Figure 9 illustrates this process. The translators play their part where friction occurs, in this figure in the square in the middle. They are responsible for the continuous negotiation of the global discourse, causing it to manifest in the form of material developments and the establishment of communities.
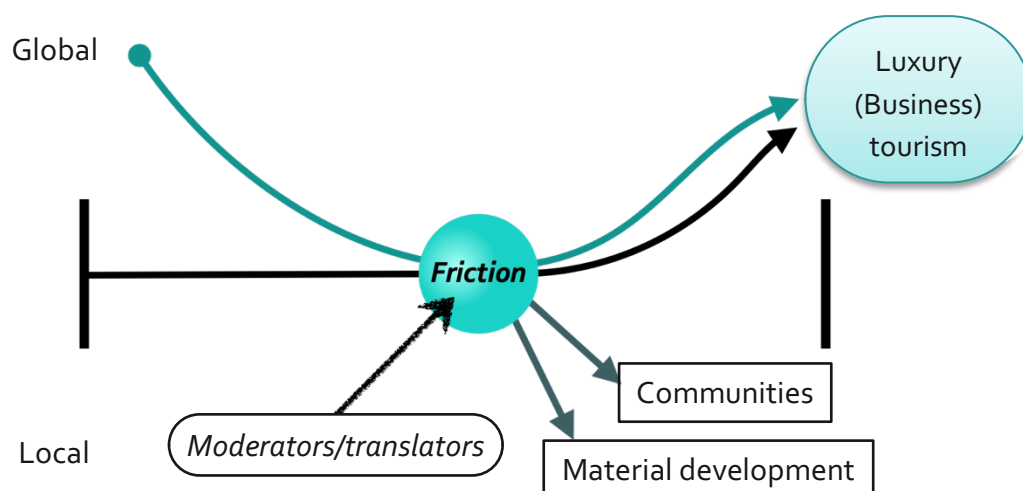

Figure 9: Illustrational display of the frictional process on Santiago.

However, as the other arrows in the figure show, the local landscape is simultaneously globalized next to the aforementioned outcomes. Friction is so powerful that a spark is created, which causes local realities to develop into a different direction too. Not everything gets translated into a local reality. Some of it bonds together with the universal discourse and consequently, globalized realities are developed. They develop in the direction of **luxury tourism development**. All friction has an effect, but in this case the encounters produce very differential relationships with different related outcomes. There is a split between the inclusive, sustainable form of tourism development and the large-scale, international business and luxury type of tourism. Friction causes these new realities on Santiago, with the help of moderators/translators as the previous section already introduced.

European immigrants came to Cabo Verde with different ideas, practices and views than local residents as well as the governments. Inclusive community-based tourism development was not their initial goal. At first, that was settling down. But they found that local residents were often looking for a job, and improvement of their livelihoods. All of the accommodation providers I spoke with involved people from the local villages into the building and renovation of their houses, once they had settled. Their fellow villagers were very eager to make some money. People living in such small and often mountainous villages are not used to 'paying' jobs. They usually carry out something with the expectance of a reciprocal gesture or a trade from within their community. Besides, these local people are not educated in construction jobs for instance.

The potential for tourism was brought to the attention of the European immigrants and MSME owners by coincidental visitors in the city, that were looking to experience a bit more of the island besides the city. The desire for B&B's and other accommodations was born. Through interest in tourism and the creation of accommodations, these new tourism buildings became the manifestation of a network of engaged actors. After the buildings are finished, they need maintenance, and the tourists that visit them need guides, food, information and so on. The natural environment of Santiago forms the foundation of CBT on the island, which makes establishing trust - and with that a certain guarantee of safety and access to land - from the local residents who live in the communities throughout the countryside very important. Without their trust, it is hard for accommodation owners to develop CBT projects. The involvement of local residents with the construction or renovation is for the accommodation providers a good way to get them involved with tourism and to determine if there are job opportunities for local people within the tourism projects they are starting up. The people helping with construction regularly come together to work, which creates a form of material commitment. It also creates a dependency of the local residents on the accommodation owners. Residents to not see this as a negative development, because for many this is the only way how they can improve their livelihoods.

Furthermore, they do not see how major investment projects can contribute to their livelihoods, especially if they do not have the skills to fulfill job requirements or the resources to train their staff, in order to be able to reach the required level of competitiveness to be included in the larger tourism value chain. The investments the government has stimulated and allowed, such as the casino complex, have made people doubt the governments intentions. They feel as if there is no concern about them or the possibilities of tourism on Santiago in another form than mass-tourism, an alternative that protects the fragile natural environment of the island. This encounter between what local residents *think* is the governments' tourism discourse and their own, is also part of the frictional process. The new discourse is: if the government does not help, we have to do it ourselves. It confluences with the other mainstream discourse on the island, that of

corporate luxury tourism. However, developing tourism in an inclusive way as the aforementioned residents desire, has proven to be difficult without adequate resources. But not impossible. Especially with the help and cooperation of people who do have enough resources and are willing to be included in the tourism value chain: the returnees and European immigrants. And these two groups have one thing in common: they master both local and global discourses.

Looking at the broader picture, some groups of local residents had a view of the governments discourse that contested the actual discourse, whereas immigrants and returnees where not involved in the beginning with the universal discourse at all. Due to encounters between all of the actors present and their different ideas, friction has changed specific local landscapes through the formation of new communities with accompanying dynamics and agencies, and the materialization of tourism. Moderators and translators played a big part in the course of this process. On the other hand, the universal discourse also comes into contact with the local in other places than remote villages and accommodation construction sites. We must not forget that the country's political capital is also on the island.

Although the moderators make frequent appearances in Praia, and some have also settled there, they can't be in control of all encounters between global and local. As long as foreign investors are present on the island and are provided with investment opportunities in for example real estate, tourism development in another form than CBT will get its chance as well. Luxury hotels keep being built, and they do provide jobs but also attract the attention of distant and even foreign actor-networks. Such establishments can lead to polarization as well. Interviewees point at a noticeable rise in crime on the whole island in recent years, especially towards tourists in the form of robberies. Safety and security have become the main concern of tourism enterprises, now that they started off their tourism businesses and they are developing.

Not surprisingly, local residents and MSME owners both point their fingers to the government again. When explaining their main concerns of safety and security to the Ministry of Tourism, it seems as if in some way, they might not be wrong, because the issue is not seen as that much of a threat by the government;

> ''We have some cases of robberies here and there, but I don't think safety is that much of an issue. If you are a tourist you should not take valuables to a place you don't know, it is simple. Not take diamonds or cameras, but it's the same for all places [around the world].''
> (Minister of Government, Praia)

Residents do not believe that the government is pursuing inclusive tourism, as they miss examples of such intentions. People employed by the luxury hotels argue differently. Nevertheless, the universal discourse does experience frictional interplay with the local one. On the one hand due to differences in perception, but also due to geographical aspects and the absence of for example consumable natural environment in the city, or the lack of moderators to translate the discourse in an urban environment. The tension between the perceived governments discourse of tourism development and the local residents' discourse of tourism development has caused local people to look for alternative ways of obtaining the objectives of the governments vision, although they are driven by a motivation to overcome the same constraints. Not only people native to the island, but also European immigrants are working on addressing these constraints, maybe even to a larger extent. Although the government has a clear vision on how they want to develop tourism on Santiago, to an extent it has landed differently according to the island residents' vision. Frictional encounters have pulled its development into a different direction.

5.1.3 *Outcome*

The natural environment of Santiago is what motivates many accommodation owners to settle on that location in the first place. These MSME owners realized that in order to introduce tourism into the area, they needed the trust of the local people. In the first place because then they could build a reciprocal relationship (for example introducing tourists and offering guiding services, or a market for fruits and vegetables) that is profitable for all actors, but not in the last place out of security viewpoint. The villages in the mountainous areas of the island are quite remote, and it needs to be safe for tourists to visit. Some of the interviewees have had experiences with petty crimes, and they also noted that because they offer jobs, people's jealousy of one another increases. Security related incidents can become a threat, not only for the tourists' sake but also for the successful moving forward of CBT development.

The creation of accommodations was the first step towards the materialization of CBT on Santiago and resulted in civic engagement through the networks that have been established around them. Community residents in these networks remained involved because the B&B owners realized their potential for the expansion of their tourism business and simultaneously the local people saw opportunities to obtain an income. The accommodation owners also regard the construction projects as a kind of forum for discussions with local people and as a trust-building platform, necessary to avoid distrust and possible conflicts.

The fact that Santiago is an island with relatively small communities' and big distances results in people knowing each other. And if they don't know each other, for example when tourists would walk into a village with a local person the villagers don't know, this creates a sense of distrust. On the other hand, if they would know this 'guide', no one would do him or the tourists any harm because of reputation and trust. The forum that was created by the construction projects, allowed for the creation of a kind of narrative about the area, that is attractive for tourism. This narrative is culturally relevant because it is based on traditional Cabo Verdean practices, but also on the natural environment that surrounds the villages, which makes it also economically relevant because it creates a selling point. The narrative that emerged is the result of various relations of villagers and 'outsiders' coming together, in combination with their material culture and ideas about possible tourism development, combining both traditions and future practices.

The frictional process on Santiago results in very different realities, each with different dynamics and actor-networks, but definitely with overlapping characteristics. On none of the other islands are there such stark differences between discourses, ideas and practices. These differences are present on the surface, in conversations with all sorts of people and in materializations of development. The fact that human actors seem to be aware of the differences between them, or of what their networks look like and should look like, can stimulate effective encounters. In turn, these encounters result in varying outcomes and directions in which the spark created by them expands.

6 Conclusion

The aim of this research was to gain insight into how tourism functions as an ordering that shapes – or becomes shaped by - different realities. If we understand how tourism interferes with, is shaped by and is connected to other 'things', then it is possible to form a better picture of why and how CBT ideas have started to take hold or not in different socio-material contexts.

In order to reach the aim of this thesis, the concept of friction was utilized to analyze the process and outcome of global–local interaction in encounters between a range of actors, ideas and practices. Because frictions are prevailing, it was not only interesting to find out if friction leads to negative or positive effects, and what causes frictional encounters, but rather whether they lead to particular socio-material outcomes. The central research question was ''*How do frictions concerning community-based tourism practices inform realities within the differentiated development of tourism in Cabo Verde?''*

As discussed in the theoretical framework, the notion of friction relates to the concept of localization, which implies that local actors actively choose and import global ideas. Through translations, universal ideas may lead to local practices, but without fulfilling the 'promise of universality'. In other words: realities differ for every actor. Their essence can only be discovered when realities are explored in terms of the actor-networks concerned with those local practices. Friction creates new realities that cannot exist without interaction between the global and local, between universal ideas related to tourism and particular tourism developments. And moreover, localization is only achieved through translation.

Based on the conceptual model that was proposed, sub-research questions were formulated to guide the study. These questions focused (1) on the composition of different actor-networks on the three islands of the case studies; (2) which frictions could be identified in the context of these actor-networks; and (3) what the reality effects were of the observed frictions.

The main characteristics of actor-networks on the three different island reveal that the configuration of actors surrounding community-based tourism has assembled itself in very different ways, generally due to socio-material context of the islands. Connections were discovered between global discourses and the islands as destinations – also between seemingly unconnected objects – such as European immigrants and CBT destination building. European immigrants and returnees on Santiago embrace a common discourse regarding the natural environment, which they productively share with their CBT networks. This allows them to manage communally their properties. In São Vicente's CBT networks, there are less European immigrants involved and discourses are more disparate. São Vicente suffers from very prevailing prejudices, assumptions and experiences about its bureaucracy, politics and moreover, its people. All of which are customary in other actor-networks on the other islands. On Santo Antão, topographic and transportation bottlenecks stimulated CBT efforts early on and actor-networks have assembled around communal development. Authentic practices and the meaning of 'local' and 'foreign' actors carry much more importance than on the other islands. Being in a different stage of CBT development, prevailing problems and discourses are connected to internal actor-network issues. Because CBT initiatives are successfully dependent on these local networks, the impact of external ideas and practices is and can be even bigger here.

The results of this study show three gradations of frictions in context of Cabe Verdean tourism development, namely: one that (a) shows how without translators and moderators, the operation

of global power fails to gain enough traction; another that (b) exemplifies how the local shapes the global on the ground; and one that (c) enables the operation of global power through empowerment but maintains a trajectory towards universal ideas.

Having answered the first two questions, the final sub-research question sensibly considers the reality effects of the observed frictions. The first gradation (a), observed on the island of São Vicente, revealed that translators can make the difference between traction and no traction – friction or no friction. In this case, the presence and effectiveness of translators depends on the political climate and associated socio-cultural characteristics. Thrust in people and government and connections with relevant actors are essential for translation. Without proper translation, there is no possibility for localization of universal ideas without the global tourism industry imposing a capitalist reality. Actor-networks are widespread and not tightly connected, making the course of tourism development unclear. This manifests in the form of cruise tourism, which eagerly employs possibilities for CBT as part of its own tourism development agenda.

The second gradation (b) is discovered on Santo Antão. Relations between actors include much more local linkages than on the other islands, although there are restrains by transportation bottlenecks. There are strong ties between communities, who often serve the same initiative. Mixing this with universal ideas results in continuous negotiation of differences between discourses, eventually pulling and changing the universal towards the local landscape. Friction changes dynamics and structural arrangements for the better, in such a way that the current form of ecotourism is not abandoned. However, the way the local shapes the global is prone to increasing social divisions and influence of global capitalism.

Finally, this study found a third gradation (c) on Santiago. Friction on this island caused global connections to come into life through the materialization of community-based tourism. It shows that tourism gained its shape through a variety of actors who embrace common values in connected actor-networks, but also experience differences between their discourses. Friction is triggered by encounters between competing discourses and practices of different actors. It stimulated the creation of new power relations through the productive coming together of differences on the one hand, but also withholds tourism from following a localized trajectory due to these differences on the other hand. This results in the development of luxury and business tourism, going in an opposite global direction.

These gradations show that frictions are never merely an outcome; they are processes that are triggered by tension and conflictual encounters. Furthermore, these processes result in uneven and unexpected coalitions, because global ideas are not necessarily imposed. The results show that one universal discourse explored on each island – namely that of how community-based tourism development in Cabo Verde associated with the current government plans of sustainable development - never plays out the way it was imagined. Local actors are enabled by prevailing discourses to actively choose and import global ideas. When actors, human and non-human, are included in CBT networks it means that they are given some sort of agency, so they choose in line with similarities to their own local realities. Consequently, actors readjust and reformulate ideas and practices, so they make sense according to their own reality. Therefore, this process is perpetual.

An understanding of friction as a process is important, because it shows that when encounters and moderators are absent or unproductive, CBT will not develop in a desired form. Besides, the material manifestation of tourism is more prevailing without translation. Whereas non-material effects of significant importance are more readily observable precisely because of translators

negotiating differences. In turn, non-material developments can form the basis for a trajectory towards localized sustainable development. The results show that the other way around, moving from materialization towards non-material effects seems much more complicated. Without translators, tourism itself might become pushed on a different and unsatisfying trajectory for local community members. A consequence might be that global actors take over. If they embrace different ideas and discourses, tourists might end up enjoying more privileges than local residents with all the consequences that that entails.

It can be concluded that universal discourses will always have an effect on local particulars, whether or not there is a frictional encounter. The extent and direction of that effect depend in the first place on the underlying factors that can trigger an encounter. Such factors include strong community ties, prevailing economic and material developments and the political climate. Once contact between global and local is made and friction occurs, it is either moderated by translators or not. In this case, translators are often MSME owners (immigrants from Europe or returnees). When successful, they translate universal ideas and practices into local practices during the negotiation of differences. The case studies showed that when there is friction, the effect will always be twofold, rather than solely on the local reality. Global reality effects occur throughout the frictional process as well. That conclusion shows us that the frictional process is an uneven, unexpected and uncertain process. The global and local confluence to mediate and negotiate all sorts of differences. Friction, acting as a powerful ignitor, holds the potential to spark innovative approaches between local and global actors while creating a new assembly of power relations.

This research has provided an example of how the concept 'friction' can be used to study translations, assemblages and relations of actor-networks. Essentially, the research suggests a mobile method to explore the interconnectedness of all things, that implies engagement with mobility and messy dynamics as well as with materiality, putting the emphasis on relational materiality of tourism networks.

7 DISCUSSION

This chapter will bring the exploration that took place over the course of this thesis to a close. My thesis looked at how frictions concerning community-based tourism practices inform realities within the differentiated development of tourism in Cabo Verde. I explored the use of the concept friction by dividing the research question into three sub-research questions, which have been answered throughout the individual island's subchapters of Chapter 5 and in the concluding Chapter 6. By developing a conceptual framework based upon different theoretical underpinnings, I was able to form answers to the questions I posed, and in doing so found interesting conclusions for further discussion in light of relevant literature. This Chapter will elaborate on those conclusions.

Firstly, the Chapter will reflect upon the use of Actor-Network Theory which is used more as a perspective for methodological guidance rather than the main theory. After, it will discuss the need for multi-sited ethnography as a reflection upon the methodology of this research. The role of friction and the power it holds to lead to particular socio-material outcomes comes next. Relating to the power of frictions, it is important to consider the extent of agency that actors have. Do they own the initiative of seeking change, or is their agency relational to the influence of different discourses? Furthermore, with regard to the formation of communities and sites of community-based tourism, it is interesting to look at the importance of materiality in the effect of frictional encounters, and how it influences them. And what do all these discussions mean in terms of communities? That is what will be discussed thereafter, as the impact of friction on the assemblage and the meaning of communities is an important topic in this thesis. I will end by highlighting the broader relevance of this thesis and suggestions for future research.

ANT as Methodological Guidance

ANT allows us to observe tourism as a process of ordering of not only people and organizations, but also of things (van der Duim & Caalders, 2008). Tourism chains are constantly emerging, rather than premeditated: they are products of perpetual ordering, through which a complex mix of human and non-human becomes organized. The findings of this research show that the construction of networks with human and non-human actors into actor-networks, only became visible through the research. The number of informants that could have informed me about the specifics of actor-networks beforehand, such as brochures, papers, policy documents and so on was very limited. The information I was able to gather based on fieldwork revealed unexpected outcomes regarding the social and relational fabric of entities, especially considering what discourses hold them together. By opening up to these discourses and assemblages, I was able to ask how certain structures, (CBT) realities, were made possible and thanks to what and whom. And more importantly, what this meant for the outcomes of frictional encounters. Van der Duim, Ren and Jóhannesson (2012) argue that when asking those type of questions, the focus changes from "pure and stable identity, function, core and essence to more messy relations, enactments, translations, innovations, intervention and (at least provisional) stabilization." (p. 14). In this case, it shows that it makes sense to use ANT as a means of understanding interactional characteristics of actors and their structural features, and to determine what relations constitute to a stable network. On the other hand, that evokes questions about the continuity of networks and accompanying destinations. ANT tells us that if groups of actors are not created or recreated anymore, the notion of a network is lost as it dissolves (Montenegro & Bulgacov, 2014). But is it

indeed a continuous flux? I argue that it isn't entirely, because if we look beyond ANT towards friction again, we discover that due to friction, actor-networks can be created because they share discourses for example. These are not universal discourses, as they are given meaning through their relations. Still, the translation of global ideas into local realities that is caused by frictional interplay, can have material and non-material outcomes that turn out to be part of a shared reality. Actors move in, out and around their networks spaces in which these realities are formed, but that doesn't necessarily mean that that reality dissolves at the same time. As friction refers to a continuous process, realities can be kept more permanent in spite of the recreation of groups of actors. They can be characterized by both fixity and fluidity. This is in line with what Mol and Law (1994) argue about fluids by saying that it is "something that keeps on differing but also stays the same, then this is because it transforms itself from one arrangement into another without discontinuity" (p. 664).

Actor-networks cannot exist within a fixed geographical frame and cannot represent sets of structures that are delimited when one normally studies a destination. Actor-networks can instead be found by tracing translations of tourism, which is a matter of creating a connection from an observation or discourse to a certain actor-network or field of study. Observations can be made by participatory observation for example, as I did, allowing me to describe the relations of actors on the basis of empirical work. Actors are perceived as network effects in ANT and are unconceivable without relations. To form a better picture, I had to follow discourses too. That still brought about the question of which methods can be used to study translations or assembling processes. As there is no handbook on how to do this, the method I explored seemed productive in this aspect. I could use ANT to describe and explain how network assemblages work through network relations. Therefore, ANT provides a good opportunity to better explain complex processes (Johannesson, 2005). This study found another similar observation to what ANT proposes. Heterogeneous actors, both human and nonhuman, are mediators rather than intermediaries within their networks. And relating to the frictional interplay between actors and ideas, they continuously work on negotiating differences, performing series of actions to construct/change their networks. When further looking through an ANT lens, we find that the borders of these networks are constantly defined, and so are the actions that define them. At the same time, that what the non-human or materials are depends on the nexus of relations of which they are part, and out of which they emerge. Law (1990) and Star (1990) rightly question how ANT might bring marginals, or those actors who are excluded from, or subordinated within networks to the fore within an actor-network analysis. The same can be asked when thinking about my methodology. Because those marginal or excluded networks can still inform or even shape actors who are enrolled in networks that are my primary focus. The delicate task of negotiation of people's identities and discourses happens outside the borders of their networks too, as they can inhabit many different domains at once (Star, 1990). However, although I cannot fully eliminate these concerns, my research did not presume unity of networks. Both regarding the mix of humans and non-humans and amongst humans.

Often, ANT is treated as an approach that offers analytical tools that can be applied to narrative knowledge (Ren, 2016). But in doing so, ANT has also been accused of being politically 'neutral', particularly as a tool to develop a critical case analysis of organizations (Alcadipani & Hassard, 2010; Modell, 2020). Power in ANT is something that needs to be explained but not the thing that explains. When looking at power dynamics in this research, as outcomes of friction, they are explained according to my point of view as a researcher. This can make my conclusions biased. But the research also shows that materializations of tourism can be the consequence of potential

and prevailing friction. And in actors' efforts to localize global ideas because of friction, they create orderings of discourses and practices within their networks. The findings suggest that the results of these ordering effects can be looked at in terms of inclusion and exclusion. In this way, there is not necessarily political ignorance, because politics can be about understanding how inclusion and exclusion in actor-networks works. And in turn, how inclusions and exclusions are performed in heterogeneous manners (Law, 1997). However, bearing the theoretical underpinnings of this study in mind it remains difficult to establish a clear ANT position on politics. This might be possible when encompassing the literature known as 'ANT and After' (Law & Hassard, 1999). ANT & After tries to emphasize a more relational stance as a way of dealing with the problems of ANT. This is achieved by challenging, more explicitly, traditional forms of representation (Alcadipani & Hassard, 2010).

Taking the discussion back to tourism as an ordering force, tourism should be seen as a constantly emerging practice in cross-cultural encounters, where western ideologies are mobilized in non-western settings. As this research showed, in order for western ideologies to mobilize through tourism, friction plays an important and necessary role. By changing realities, frictional encounters structure, define and configure interaction between actors. In some cases, non-human actors were of the utmost importance in these encounters, because without them their networks could not have been constructed. In all three cases, the natural environment and the way it is perceived proved to play an essential role in how or how not friction intervened. The network of the natural environment defines how communities are formed, the values and standards that they attach to it and as shown in the three gradations of friction – the natural actors are networks of bits and pieces spread all over the different islands, who have a say in setting the rules of the game.

This shows that the argument that ANT makes, although subject to criticism, is still relevant. The relations in which entities such entities as the natural environment are located achieve their form due to these relations. Therefore, those relations and their heterogeneity are important, and not the non-humans as being 'things' in themselves, to understand how tourism works. The durable order of global power and its negotiation with local counterparts would be unthinkable without materials and other non-human actors. It is essential because all actors need to be treated in the same manner if one wants to describe connections and relations between them. This research does not argue that objects attach meaning, value and exert power, but it shows how the perception of actors as network effects makes them unconceivable without relations, and relations can also be maintained with non-humans. Especially on Santo Antão, the natural environment of the island bends space around itself, and as illustrated, other elements and actors are dependent upon it. It is simply not possible to examine CBT in different socio-material contexts without incorporating all kinds of material structures and fabric.

The Need for Multi-Sited Ethnography

Because I wanted to be able to 'trace' frictions and compare and contrast different socio-material contexts, I investigated three different islands for this research. In doing so, I followed connections, and this requires leaving bounded field sites behind. Since the early 1980s, the spatial view of ethnography has been questioned Shore (1999). Marcus (1999) proposed 'multi-sited ethnography' as a name for modes of research which collapse the distinction between the local site and the global system, as it breaks with the idea of focusing on a single field site. Several authors have followed him by in carrying out multi-sited work (Horst, 2009; Ren, 2011). Still, there is critique on multi sited ethnographies, mostly related to the depth and quality of fieldwork

spread across several sites (Englund, Leach, Davies *et al.*, 2000; Hage, 2005). It can indeed be questioned whether in-depth insights can be developed if the field is dispersed. A related concern emerged that multi-sitedness would lead to an ethical disengagement. This research nevertheless shows that through studying three different sites, we can better situate Tsing's conceptualization of frictions and explore the effects of such processes through a multi-sited ethnography. Where discourses are reproduced, they are also reframed and challenged in local contexts. This context is everchanging, and in light of this aspect a multi-sited ethnography proves much more relevant. Multiple cases are necessary since research is otherwise limited to one site, and the notion of friction cannot be explored from one site only, because the effects of friction can be multiple, in both the global and local counterparts. Furthermore, (new) realties are formed within actor-networks on local sites, but these networks are global-local in itself. With their boundaries constantly being renegotiated, the range of the outcome of a frictional process is certainly not locally fixed. Besides, traditional ethnography is also not single sited as it observed and encounters people in several settings. The critique also fails because the object of study, the intended sustainable development of tourism, is subject to multiple and messy mobilities of people, capital, goods, resources, etc. As (Jóhannesson, 2015) argues, it is important to consider the material heterogeneity and distributed agencies of diverse actors. Otherwise, it is possible to miss out on the generative capacities of non-humans and their effects on human relations, their agendas and orderings. And in doing so, no order is final. Every order has a capacity to change and that capacity is the underpinning of the continuous becoming of the world (Law, 2004).

It makes no sense to confine field research in fixed points such as one community village, as if tourism could develop herein through isolated practices or local networks. The advantage of a more mobile method is that it allows the researcher to benefit from each former stage of the research (as a virtuous spiral). In my case, even the selection of sites on the islands is an outcome of a gradual process of making new acquaintances and developing new insights. And due to the fact that this approach required me to follow networks and actors, the process of accessing new sources and context never stops, let alone in one place. My methodology, as a multi-sited ethnography, leads to the identification of important and key actor-networks and nodes. They have mostly not been described before in literature. Insights are produced by the research that could be beneficial for powerful actors with dominant roles in- and outside the networks. With this obtained knowledge, they are possible enabled to make strategic investments into critical nodes, allowing for more power absorption. Such insights could also provide opportunities for global actors to inject themselves into local networks by employing knowledge about the working of translation of global ideas. This potential danger of multi-sited ethnography insights is important to consider in further and future research. However, in combination with friction research, I am still of the opinion that a similar method is fruitful and when done right, the characteristics of the field should contest the arguments towards multi-sited ethnography stemming from instrumental and practical reasoning.

The Power of Frictions

The effects of frictional encounters, as has also been illustrated in this thesis, can be compromising or empowering. Tsing uses completely different case studies as entry points for an ethnographic analysis of social processes. For her cases, spatial, metaphoric and discursive spaces have become to be known as 'local' and 'global'. Global and local realities are created through interaction with each other, and therefore my analysis shows the same conclusions of what is global and what is local. If friction is to be illustrated by the metaphor of roads, roads make motion

more efficient but also limit the possibilities of where one could go. Thus, traveling becomes a structure of confinement, offering different pathways to keep global power going. However, my analysis has shown that although friction inflects imagined trajectories and thereby enables, excludes and particularizes, the direction of the process does not have to be one where global power needs to operate at the cost of local discourses and practices. The misunderstandings of people about the same events, as Tsing (2011) observed in her work, can be a productive force in the frictional process: "And yet these misunderstandings – far from producing conflict – had allowed them to work together!" (preface).This can be observed in the case of Santiago. And whereas global power maintains a trajectory towards universal ideas, not all local discourses are diminished. In fact, friction even causes the translation of global ideas into local practices. It is an example of Tsing's argument that heterogeneous and unequal encounters can lead to new arrangements of culture and power.

As the results show, power is a relational effect. Frictional encounters have created new dynamics, agencies and structures, that influence the distribution of benefits within CBT communities on the islands. The agency that we possess is as great as that any of the inanimate objects we utilize. And there is no higher order to being, or lower order. As Franklin (2004) argues: "As a mode of ordering, tourism indeed (re)arranges people, things, technologies, discourses and values in certain, rather than other ways". The characteristics of friction that I found, are quite in line with this argument in relation to tourism.

Going back to Tsing's argument, I also found conflicting interests in some local communities, as she did in her research as well. Because of much stronger and stable network ties, and adequate translation, localization of global ideas was maximized at these sites, in spite – or following Tsing's reasoning, *because* – of those issues. There are always different groups of people involved, but it is precisely in the intersection between environmental ideology, local social capital and imaginaries of ecotourism that friction has a role. It creates the conditions for a viable means of developing tourism and communities. Even if all frictional encounters withdraw from the same capitalist tourism development ideology, the material and non-material manifestations develop in ways that support the social sustainability of local practices, rather than that it erases local communities.

Agency of Actors

Frictional encounters portray an even more interesting example of Tsing's theory, relating to actors with different ideas eventually contributing to the same outcome. As she notes: "parties who work together may or may not be similar and may or may not have common understandings of the problem and the product" (Tsing, 2011, pp. 247-248). Essentially, friction allows or does not allow for the translation of universal discourses into particular practices, but this depends on the extent to which local actors and networks are able to transform global developments according to their own desire. Therefore, as ANT argues, networks are responsible for agency itself. When actors in a network act, they do so due to a chain of 'mediations' that allow and cause them to act. Mol (2010) argues that "actors are afforded by their very ability to act by what is around them. If the network in which they are embedded falters, the actors may falter too." (p. 258). ANT asks for a conception of action and actors that is nonessentialist and contingent. Implicit in ANT is that the capacity of an actor varies depending on the place of the actor within a given network. However, ANT locates agency in a proactive form in actor-networks, whereas more-than-human actors such as animals, and nature itself, should maybe be accredited a more reactive form of agency.

We can learn from this research that some agents have more capacity to direct the course of global-local encounters than others. That might be partly explained by their capacity to collect power, for example because they possess certain material resources, including monetary resources. With those, they can 'capture' the agency power of other actors, human and non-human, to a certain extent (Castree, 2002). That allows these powerful actors to turn other actors into their 'intermediaries', or to let them help in fulfilling the role of translator in the negotiation of differences. This is a role that actors with relatively large amounts of resources take on. I cannot do justice to the complexity of the 'problem of agency', but my findings do suggest that other than being distributive, agency can be observed here in a version that is attributive too. Actors who act as translators on the islands have agency without doubt, but it became apparent that agency was also afforded to them by other networks, times, and places. The tools and requirements for CBT have evolved to a satisfying degree at some point, in order for certain (new) actors to 'afford' them the agency that they needed to materialize CBT. Latour (2005) describes this process as action being 'dis-located'. The fact that action it is ascribed to actors is part of rendering associations and building networks. This is in line with Latour (2005) who comparably situates the ascriptive as well as distributive model of agency. Actors with agency therefore hold the power to guide the outcome of frictional encounters in a certain direction. It should be noted that the frictional process is, nevertheless, unexpected and uneven. Other factors play important roles as well in the formation of realities and power dynamics.

Matter Matters

Throughout this thesis, the importance of materiality is shown. Tourism things are seen as mediators in tourism networks in ANT research, but because I brought in the notion of friction, I also shed light on how humans and non-humans alike act as mediators. Ingold (2010) adds to the body of knowledge by suggesting that things not only include the material object, but also the gathering of ideas, practices and meanings that accompany them. I argue that these accompanying notions are partly given significance through the workings of global power, and non-human actors are in turn translated into the local landscape by particulars. For example, the unique culture of Mindelo is perceived by most Cabo Verdeans as representative of their country and identity. The music originating from the city has a special place in people's hearts. This is due to all kinds of historical reasonings, but the culture and music seem to be of even more important when talking about tourism. Even though this is not the first association people make. But global discourses have made the local culture and music into something of a different, bigger value. Thus, it gets translated into local practices, varying from going out in one's free time to including it in tourism day tours.

By looking at the interplay between ideas, practices and meanings that are attached to humans and non-humans, it is possible to determine and understand the workings of friction as a process triggered by encounters between them, rather than as an outcome of the networks that are built. Through a focus on friction, it becomes clearer how multiple actors become part of a 'local' landscape, but simultaneously how global actors themselves may become transformed through their increased interconnectedness and relationships (see also Tsing, 2011, pp. 222). Humans and non-humans share the same analytical space here, which enables a methodology that allows 'co-performing non-humans a say' (Picken, 2010) and study the associations between heterogeneous subjects/objects that make up social phenomena (here: emerging tourism development).

This is also emphasized by ANT's analytical principle that the social is flat. A flat ontology means that within 'the social' there is no distinction made into levels of the social that represent different

dynamics of social change, such as in transition theory, or between time-space dynamics such as in Castells' network and flows theory (1996). Just like tourism does, friction is materially and socially working on the world order in multiple ways. By doing so, friction blurs former clearer definitions while at the same time it creates new and sometimes unexpected outcomes and boundaries. That is why, even on São Vicente where there is lack of traction, the distant idea of friction has palpable implications. Friction has very similar characteristics to tourism, when it is described as a mode of ordering. Just as tourism, friction comes about through relational encounters. And through relational movement it develops into new realities, in ways that that may or may not be ordered into a more or less stabilized form. Jóhannesson *et al.* (2015) argue that tourism "may be studied for instance by taking a closer look at the encounters and controversies were extra concern and attention is devoted to its ordering". When studying frictions, this is not necessary. Because when one explores friction, it compromises precisely those encounters.

The Fluidity of Communities

Not all of the factors that are important in the distributions of power are accounted for in CBT literature, and looking at them with an ANT lens has shown to be a suitable method for understanding how communities are embedded in broader socio-economic, political and environmental structures. The materialization (or lack of it) of CBT within the researched communities exemplifies Urry's (1990) argument that although a certain community as a locality might depend heavily on its local economic base, people within a locality might have different interests. As the results show, the communities on the islands cannot be unitary explained through their local terms, there are global powers at play and local interests. Processes of friction show that tourism development has increased social divisions within communities, which is also found by Mowforth and Munt (2008).

Communities cannot always be explained based on geography or locality. Especially in Cabo Verde, communities are not geographically bound. Globalizing forces are being translated from island to island. Even though the universal discourse moves from São Vicente to Santo Antão, it transforms the local landscape in a totally different manner than on São Vicente, mostly due to the lack of translators there. Although the phrase 'community' is often mentioned in this research, it is certainly not fixed. When trying to find relations, I considered everyone and everything as possible 'community members'. It can be said though that in the rural and mountainous areas I visited, with remote villages, communities had been tight for years or even decades, and were present in the idealized form of the concept. They were rather fixed. In less remote places, communities were much more fluid as there were more movements and exchanges between actor-networks. It was sometimes difficult to gain insights into the process of how communities are formed, who are part of it. What was however much more apparent was how members collectively work together to meet their common needs. Matarrita-Cascante *et al.* (2010) argued that due to the idealized form of communities, limited attention was also given to the interactions and interpersonal relationships of a community. But by looking at friction, one overcomes this constraint because you look at social interaction too. When looking at it with ANT in mind, it could help even more with these matters, because ANT does not entail a static description of nodes and hubs as well.

Translators have proven to be one of the most essential actors within the entire frictional process. They are a major factor in determining whether a frictional encounter takes place, and in which direction the outcome goes. They often actively choose to translate universal ideas. It should be

notes though, that it does not always mean that the process results in the outcome they desire. Sometimes there are more and stronger variables on which the frictional process depends. The topic of translators is not uncommon in contemporary development literature. Zapata *et al.* (2011) argued CBT projects with a top-down mode of organizing require the constant action and translation of mediating organizations. Only then may it possibly turn out to be sustainable. My research does not particularly concern top-down project. Translators in this case are often white Europeans, but they start their process often from within their networks. That exemplifies the argument made by Zapata et al., since they warn us about external dependence and a possible furthering of the neo-colonial relationship between the Global North and the Global South. Although the translators in this study are not part of any mediator organizations whatsoever, the case of Santiago shows that continuous support of a mediator does result in changing power relations and dependency. I would not go so far as to say that that exemplifies an increase in the neo-colonial relationship between the Global North and the Global South. All in all, the role of translators in frictions in something that might prove to be a very interesting topic for further research.

Need for future research

This thesis has looked at the making of tourism realities – that is how frictions concerning community-based tourism practices inform realities – which yields insights into the continuous ordering of the social. From a relational point of view, the ontological and epistemological cannot be clearly separated. In my role as researcher, I 'other' versions of reality by actively making particular realities real (Law, 2004). My method too, is a like a framing device, that intervenes in the social. As Jespersen, Petersen, Ren *et al.* (2012) argue, there is no innocent method, and through the process of knowing I am engaged with, as a researcher I am also engaged in making. A post-ANT approach with a focus on materiality such as 'ANT and After' that is suggested earlier might be useful for future studies to deal with the controversies of ANT. Such an approach should not look into representational understandings of realities but continue the trend of this study by seeking relational understandings. The cases in my thesis are understood in their own right, which does not make it impossible for these cases to be instructive beyond the specific conditions. It might be interesting to experience and investigate other sites and situations in this regard. However, the cases should not be seen as specific sites of a globalized world, which can be demarcated. Friction shows us that global counterparts can be influenced as well, thus any future research efforts should not explicitly search for universality.

The frictional processes show that differences are continuously negotiated, and thus stabilized networks can change all the time. It is therefore not clear *a priori* which actors that are involved in building the network actually derive power from it. Within the three cases, European immigrants and returnees play important roles in building and maintaining the networks that revolve around CBT. They translate CBT development into their networks through the creation of communities and platforms and through materialization. This shows that translators are essential for successful tourism development, which might be an important conclusion for further research. Speaking of translation, as frictions adhere to the creation of new social realities, they can provide a basis for translation into a desirable form of future (community-based) tourism development in Cabo Verde.

The processes that were traced show that CBT projects are made of all kinds of elements, including cultures, materialities, practices, natures and capitals, which is a relevant observation in light of further investigation as well. Regarding CBT literature, it is a common idea that capacity

building approaches tends to focus on the collective rather than individual benefits. These kinds of assumptions are not necessary to be checked in the type of research that I performed. It does not take CBT initiatives as the basis for research, but rather looks at prevailing conditions and situations in which initiatives come to be. Therefore, my methodology is it suitable as a means of determining beneficial and detrimental local characteristics for CBT development. This study concerns itself with outcomes and gradations of friction, but it does not go into how these outcomes should be dealt with accordingly, in order to develop a more sustainable tourism. That objective is outside the scope of this research, but certainly an interesting topic to explore further.

Aas, C., Ladkin, A., & Fletcher, J. (2005). Stakeholder collaboration and heritage management. *Annals of tourism research, 32*(1), 28-48.

Alcadipani, R., & Hassard, J. (2010). Actor-Network Theory, organizations and critique: towards a politics of organizing. *Organization, 17*(4), 419-435.

Björkdahl, A., & Höglund, K. (2013). Precarious peacebuilding: friction in global–local encounters. *Peacebuilding, 1*(3), 289-299.

Blackstock, K. (2005). A critical look at community based tourism. *Community Development Journal, 40*(1), 39-49.

Bridger, J. C., Brennan, M. A., & Luloff, A. E. (2010). The interactional approach to community. In J. Robinson & G. Green (eds.), *New perspectives in community development*. Ames, IA; Iowa State University Press: 85-100.

Brockington, D., Duffy, R., & Igoe, J. (2012). *Nature unbound: conservation, capitalism and the future of protected areas*; Routledge.

Brohman, J. (1996). New directions in tourism for third world development. *Annals of Tourism Research, 23*(1), 48-70.

Callon, M. (1986). The sociology of an actor-network: The case of the electric vehicle. In *Mapping the dynamics of science and technology*; Springer: 19-34.

Callon, M., & Law, J. (1995). Agency and the hybrid «Collectif». *The South Atlantic Quarterly, 94*(2), 481-507.

Canalejo, A. M. C., Tabales, J. M. N., & Cañizares, S. M. S. (2016). Local Community' Perceptions on Tourist Impacts and Associated Development: A Case Study on Sal and Boa Vista Islands. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, 7*(1).

Castells, M. (1996). The space of flows. *The rise of the network society, 1*, 376-482.

Castree, N. (2002). False antitheses? Marxism, nature and actor-networks. *Antipode, 34*(1), 111-146.

Correia, A., Oliveira, N., & Butler, R. (2008). First-time and repeat visitors to Cape Verde: the overall image. *Tourism Economics, 14*(1), 185-203.

Cresswell, T. (2006). *On the move: Mobility in the modern western world*; Taylor & Francis.

Cresswell, T. (2013, November). *Friction*. Paper presented at Theorizing mobilities in/from Asia Conference, Asia Reseach Institute, National University of Singapore.

DeWalt, K. D., & DeWalt, B. R. (2011). Participant observation. A guide for fieldworkers. *Rowman, Altamira*.

Díaz Armas, R. J., & Gutiérrez Taño, D. (2010). La actitud del residente en el destino turístico de Tenerife: evaluación y tendencia. *PASOS Revista de turismo y patrimonio cultural, 8*(4), 431-444.

Ek, R., Larsen, J., Hornskov, S. B., & Mansfeldt, O. K. (2008). A dynamic framework of tourist experiences: Space-time and performances in the experience economy. *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism, 8*(2), 122-140.

Emerson, R. M., Fretz, R. I., & Shaw, L. L. (2011). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*; University of Chicago Press.

Englund, H., Leach, J., Davies, C. A., Gupta, A., Meyer, B., Robbins, J., . . . Leach, J. (2000). Ethnography and the meta-narratives of modernity. *Current anthropology, 41*(2), 225-248.

Franklin, A. (2004). Tourism as an ordering: Towards a new ontology of tourism. *Tourist studies, 4*(3), 277-301.

Goodwin, H., & Santilli, R. (2009). Community-Based Tourism: a success? *ICRT Occasional paper, 11*(1), 37.

Government of Cabo Verde. (2018a, *Voluntary National Report on the Implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. Praia.

Government of Cabo Verde. (2018b, *PEDS - Plano Estratégico de Desenvolvimento Sustentável 2017/2021 - Cabo Verde*.

Gupta, A., & Ferguson, J. (1997). Discipline and practice:'The field'as site, method, and location in anthropology. *Anthropological locations: Boundaries and grounds of a field science, 100*, 1-47.

Hage, G. (2005). A not so multi-sited ethnography of a not so imagined community. *Anthropological theory, 5*(4), 463-475.

Hall, C. M. (1995). *Introduction to tourism in Australia : impacts, planning and development*. Melbourne; Longman Australia.

Hausler, N. (2008). *Community Based Tourism—What Works and What Does Not Work*.

Horst, C. (2009). Expanding sites: The question of 'depth' explored. *Multi-sited ethnography: Theory, praxis and locality in contemporary research*, 119-133.

Hummel, J., & van der Duim, R. (2012). Tourism and development at work: 15 years of tourism and poverty reduction within the SNV Netherlands Development Organisation. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 20*(3), 319–338.

IMF. (2018). *Staff Report for the 2018 Article IV Consultation - Debt Sustainability Analysis*.

Ingold, T. (2010). Bringing things to life: Creative entanglements in a world of materials. *World, 44*, 1-25.

Jespersen, A. P., Petersen, M. K., Ren, C., & Sandberg, M. (2012). Cultural analysis as intervention. *Science & Technology Studies*.

Johannesson, G. T. (2005). Tourism translations: Actor-Network Theory and tourism research. *Tourist Studies, 5*(2), 133-150.

Jóhannesson, G. T. (2015). A fish called tourism: Emergent realities of tourism policy in Iceland. *Tourism encounters and controversies: Ontological politics of tourism development*, 181-200.

Jóhannesson, G. T., Ren, C., & van der Duim, R. (2015). Tourism encounters, controversies and ontologies. *Tourism encounters and controversies: Ontological politics of tourism development*, 1-19.

Kibicho, W. (2008). Community-based Tourism: A Factor-Cluster Segmentation Approach. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 16*(2), 211-231.

Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory*; Oxford University Press, USA.

Law, J. (1990). Introduction: monsters, machines and sociotechnical relations 1. *The Sociological Review, 38*(S1), 1-23.

Law, J. (1994). *Organizing modernity*; Blackwell Oxford.

Law, J. (1997). Heterogeneities. *Lancaster, LA1 4YN, UK, published by the Centre for Science Studies, Lancaster University*.

Law, J. (2004). *After method: Mess in social science research*; Routledge.

Law, J., & Hassard, J. (1999). *Actor Network Theory and After*; Wiley.

Lee, T. H., & Jan, F.-H. (2019). Can community-based tourism contribute to sustainable development? Evidence from residents' perceptions of the sustainability. *Tourism Management, 70*, 368-380.

Lenao, M. (2017). Community, state and power-relations in community-based tourism on Lekhubu Island, Botswana. *Tourism Geographies, 19*(3), 483-501.

Lopez-Guzman, T., Borges, O., & Castillo-Canalejo, A. (2011). *Community-Based Tourism in Cape Verde - A Case Study*. Rochester, NY: Social Science Research Network.

López-Guzmán, T., Borges, O., & Hernandez-Merino, M. (2013). Analysis of community-based tourism in Cape Verde. A study on the island of São Vicente. *Anatolia, 24*(2), 129-143.

López-Guzmán, T., Borges, O., Hernández-Merino, M., & Cerezo, J. M. (2013). Tourism in Cape Verde: An Analysis from the Perspective of Demand. *Tourism Economics, 19*(3), 675-688.

López-Guzmán, T., Orgaz-Agüera, F., Martín, J. A. M., & Ribeiro, M. A. (2016). The all-inclusive tourism system in Cape Verde islands: The tourists' perspective. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management, 29*, 9-16.

Madeira, J. o. P. (2017). The Dragon Embraces Africa: Cape Verde-China relations. *Austral: Brazilian Journal of Strategy & International Relations, 6*(12), 123-141.

Manyara, G., & Jones, E. (2007). Community-based Tourism Enterprises Development in Kenya: An Exploration of Their Potential as Avenues of Poverty Reduction. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 15*(6), 628-644.

Marcelino, P., & González, L. O. (2019). Cape Verde 2.0: branding and tourism development across the archipelago. *PASOS Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural, 17*, 527-540.

Marcus, G. E. (1999). What is at stake–and is not–in the idea and practice of multi-sited ethnography. *Canberra anthropology, 22*(2), 6-14.

Marrero, J. R. (2006). El discurso de rechazo al turismo en Canarias: una aproximación cualitativa. *PASOS Revista de turismo y patrimonio cultural, 4*(3), 327-341.

Matarrita-Cascante, D., Brennan, M. A., & Luloff, A. E. (2010). Community agency and sustainable tourism development: the case of La Fortuna, Costa Rica. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 18*(6), 735-756.

Milne, S., & Ateljevic, I. (2001). Tourism, economic development and the global-local nexus: Theory embracing complexity. *Tourism Geographies, 3*(4), 369-393.

Mitchell, J., & Li, S. (2017). Autonomy found: estimating the local benefit from tourism in SIDS – the case of Cape Verde. *Journal of Policy Research in Tourism, Leisure and Events, 9*(2), 182-200.

Modell, S. (2020). For structure: A critical realist critique of the use of actor-network theory in critical accounting research. *Accounting, Auditing & Accountability Journal, 33*(3), 621-640.

Mol, A. (2010). Actor-network theory: Sensitive terms and enduring tensions. *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie Sonderheft, 50*, 253-269.

Mol, A., & Law, J. (1994). Regions, networks and fluids: anaemia and social topology. *Social studies of science, 24*(4), 641-671.

Montenegro, L. M., & Bulgacov, S. (2014). Reflections on actor-network theory, governance networks, and strategic outcomes. *BAR-Brazilian Administration Review, 11*(1), 107-124.

Morris, R., Cattaneo, O., & Poensgen, K. (2018). *Cabo Verde Transition Finance Country Pilot* (Vol. 46). Paris; OECD Publishing.

Mowforth, M., & Munt, I. (2008). *Tourism and Sustainability: Development, Globalisation and New Tourism in the Third World*; Routledge.

NIS. (2018a). *Estatísticas do Turismo - 2017*.

NIS. (2018b, *Análise dos principais resultados - movimentação de hóspedes em Cabo Verde em 2017*. City of Praia – Cape Verde.

Novoa, A. (2015). Mobile ethnography: emergence, techniques and its importance to geography. *Human Geographies – Journal of Studies and Research in Human Geography, 9*(1).

Perch, L., & Roy, R. (2010). *Social policy in the post-crisis context of small island developing states: a synthesis*: Working Paper.

Peterson, R. R., Harrill, R., & Dipietro, R. B. (2017). Sustainability and resilience in Caribbean tourism economies: A critical inquiry. *Tourism Analysis, 22*(3), 407-419.

Picken, F. (2010). Tourism, design and controversy: Calling on non-humans to explain ourselves. *Tourist Studies, 10*(3), 245-263.

Ren, C. (2011). Non-human agency, radical ontology and tourism realities. *Annals of Tourism Research, 38*(3), 858-881.

Ren, C. (2016). Possible Greenland: on 'Futuring'in nation branding. *Tourism Encounters and Controversies: Ontological Politics of Tourism Development*, 221.

Roberts, S., & Lewis-Cameron, A. (2010). Small island developing states: Issues and prospects. *Marketing island destinations: Concepts and cases*, 1-10.

Rozemeijer, N. (2001). *Community-based tourism in Botswana: The SNV experience in three community-tourism projects*. Gaborone: SNV Botswana.

RVO. (2017). Cape Verde Multi-Sector Market Report - Focus Tourism.

RVO. (2018). Open data on official development aid (ODA) portal. from aiddata.rvo.nl

Salazar, N. B. (2012). Community-based cultural tourism: Issues, threats and opportunities. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 20*(1), 9-22.

Sánchez Cañizares, S. M., Castillo Canalejo, A. M., & Núñez Tabales, J. M. (2016). Stakeholders' perceptions of tourism development in Cape Verde, Africa. *Current Issues in Tourism, 19*(10), 966-980.

Scheyvens, R., & Momsen, J. H. (2008). Tourism and Poverty Reduction: Issues for Small Island States. *Tourism Geographies, 10*(1), 22-41.

Scott, A. J. (1988). Flexible production systems and regional development: the rise of new industrial spaces in North America and Western Europe. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 12*(2), 171-186.

SCVZ. (2012). Dossier Cabo Verde. *Sociedade Caboverdiana de Zoologia*.

Sebele, L. S. (2010). Community-based tourism ventures, benefits and challenges: Khama Rhino Sanctuary Trust, Central District, Botswana. *Tourism Management, 31*(1), 136-146.

Sharma, B., Dyer, P., Carter, J., & Gursoy, D. (2008). Exploring Residents' Perceptions of the Social Impacts of Tourism on the Sunshine Coast, Australia. *International Journal of Hospitality & Tourism Administration, 9*(3), 288-311.

Sharpley, R., & Ussi, M. (2014). Tourism and Governance in Small Island Developing States (SIDS): The Case of Zanzibar: Tourism and Governance in Zanzibar. *International Journal of Tourism Research, 16*(1), 87-96.

Shore, C. (1999). Fictions of fieldwork: Depicting the "self" in ethnographic writing (Italy). *Being there: Fieldwork in anthropology*, 25-48.

Smith, M. K. (2015). *Issues in cultural tourism studies*; Routledge.

Spenceley, A. (2012). *Responsible tourism: Critical issues for conservation and development*; Routledge.

Spenceley, A., & Meyer, D. (2012). Tourism and poverty reduction: theory and practice in less economically developed countries. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism, 20*(3), 297-317.

Star, S. L. (1990). Power, technology and the phenomenology of conventions: on being allergic to onions. *The Sociological Review, 38*(1_suppl), 26-56.

Stronza, A. (2001). Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives. *Annual Review of Anthropology, 30*(1), 261-283.

Swain, M. B., Brent, M., & Long, V. H. (1998). Annals and tourism evolving. Indexing 25 years of publication. *Annals of Tourism Research, 25*(suppl.), 991-1014.

Teh, L., & Cabanban, A. S. (2007). Planning for sustainable tourism in southern Pulau Banggi: An assessment of biophysical conditions and their implications for future tourism development. *Journal of Environmental Management, 85*(4), 999-1008.

Timothy, D. J. (1999). Participatory planninga View of Tourism in Indonesia. *Annals of Tourism Research, 26*(2), 371-391.

Tolkach, D., & King, B. (2015). Strengthening Community-Based Tourism in a new resource-based island nation: Why and how? *Tourism Management, 48*, 386-398.

Tosun, C. (2000). Limits to community participation in the tourism development process in developing countries. *Tourism Management, 21*(6), 613-633.

Tsing, A. L. (2011). *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection*; Princeton University Press.

Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze: leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. London ; Newbury Park; Sage Publications.

Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*; Polity.

Urry, J. (2016). *Mobilities: New Perspectives on Transport and Society*; Routledge.

Uysal, M., & Modica, P. (2016). Island Tourism: Challenges and Future Research Directions. *Sustainable Island Tourism: Competitiveness and Quality of Life*, 173.

van der Duim, R. (2005). *Tourismscapes; An actor-network perspective on sustainable tourism development*.

van der Duim, R., & Caalders, J. (2008). Tourism Chains and Pro-poor Tourism Development: An Actor-Network Analysis of a Pilot Project in Costa Rica. *Current Issues in Tourism, 11*(2), 109-125.

van der Duim, R., Lamers, M., & Wijk, J. v. (2015). Novel Institutional Arrangements for Tourism, Conservation and Development in Eastern and Southern Africa. In *Institutional Arrangements for Conservation, Development and Tourism in Eastern and Southern Africa*: 1-16.

Van der Duim, R., Ren, C., & Jóhannesson, G. T. (2012). *Actor-network theory and tourism: Ordering, materiality and multiplicity*; Routledge.

Vodopivec, B., & Jaffe, R. (2011). Save the World in a Week: Volunteer Tourism, Development and Difference. *The European Journal of Development Research, 23*(1), 111-128.

Wilkinson, K. P. (1991). *The community in rural America*; Greenwood Publishing Group.

World Bank. (2016, *Cabo Verde - Competitiveness for Tourism Development Project*. Washington, D.C. : World Bank Group.

World Tourism Organization. (2020). Yearbook of Tourism Statistics, Data 2014 – 2018, 2020 Edition.

Zapata, M. J., Hall, C. M., Lindo, P., & Vanderschaeghe, M. (2011). Can community-based tourism contribute to development and poverty alleviation? Lessons from Nicaragua. *Current Issues in Tourism, 14*(8), 725-749.