Impacts of Coastal Tourism Development and Sustainability: 
A Geographical Case Study of Sali in the 
Senegalese Petite Côte

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Abstract: Since the 1970s, tourism development in the Senegalese Petite Côte has rapidly expanded, with diverse impacts in a number of spheres. The human and physical geography of the Petite Côte and its ecosystems are being powerfully shaped by the new entrepreneurial activity. What changes, positive and negative, has tourism brought along the coastline? How can locals be better integrated into the tourism sector? How can sustainable tourism development be effectively promoted here? To assess the impacts of coastal tourism, questionnaire surveys were conducted in 1999 and 2001 in three focal areas for tourism in Sali resort. The surveys indicate that tourism has significantly modified traditional social structure and spawned an array of new social ills, such as prostitution and theft. The tourism boom has transformed many villages into satellites for cheap menial labor. The present investigation can be usefully viewed as a concrete case study of unsustainable tourism development. Despite the fast pace of tourism expansion, it is still oriented largely to maximizing returns, with the evident exclusion of most of the local population. Numerous tourism-related pollutants now plague the environment of traditional villages. It is argued that locals should be better integrated into the tourism process and pollution must be dealt with by rigorous new measures with an aim to promoting more sustainable development in harmony with the local economy and ecology. In particular, necessary skill levels among locals must be upgraded; concomitantly, traditional activities can be reinforced within an eco-tourism framework geared to attracting more tourists interested in an alternative type of holiday experience.

Key words: tourism, social impacts, economic impacts, environmental degradation, Petite Côte, sustainable (coastal) tourism development

Introduction

Senegal, like many other ex-colonial developing countries faced with the problem of worsening trade terms for agricultural products, has turned in recent decades to tourism as a possible alternative source of growth. Resources have been utilized to upgrade the local transportation infrastructure and construct hotels designed to attract the burgeoning international coastal tourism market and its growing demands for “sun and sea.” Over the past 30 years, tourism has evolved into the chief economic activity in the country, contributing more foreign currency than traditional primary commodity exports. Since the introduction of new legislation on tourism in October 1971 and investment regulations in June 1972, tourism has been singled out by the government as a key priority in social and economic development planning.

In 1975, the authorities set up a special company, SAPCO (Société d’Aménagement et de Promotion de la Petite Côte) to develop tourism as the major revenue source for reducing the international balance of payments deficits. SAPCO’s functions range from basic planning to the construction of infrastructure indispensable for tourism development, such as roads, electricity, water supply, telephone lines, etc. The number of tourist arrivals has soared in recent years, nearly quadrupling from 90,000 in 1995 to 350,000 in 1998 (Ndaw 1999). According to projections of the Ministry for Tourism and Surface Transportation, between 1 and 1.5 mil-
lion tourists are anticipated by the year 2005. In 1999, foreign currency revenue from tourism rose to more than US$ 143 million (100 billion CFA Franc).

Expanding coastal tourism has spurred government agencies and private entrepreneurs to seek more beachfront land for development. The Petite Côte between Dakar and Joal is especially well-suited for such projects and has experienced an upsurge in coastal tourism. The boom in tourism also holds out attractive options for independent indigenous enterprise in handicrafts, entertainment, and transportation. It likewise provides a key source of wages for workers in hotels and financing infrastructure and equipment.

Yet tourism development in the Petite Côte also has its downsides, such as new patterns of destructive changes in land use. Leisure facilities have been developed at the direct expense of agricultural cultivation. Traditional fishing, formerly the primary local livelihood, is now at the point of collapse due to the impact of hotel construction on the beaches, the narrowing of the beach landing and the prohibition of traditional activities. Other physical resources such as unspoiled beaches have been severely depleted as tourism expands. International tourism has also impacted on traditional social structures, generating a host of new social problems such as an upsurge in crime and a breakdown of traditional Islamic codes of behavior.

The present research explores several interrelated questions in a small but significant area in coastal West Africa in Senegal, centering on a case study of Sali resort. What changes, positive and negative, has tourism brought along the coastline? Do local residents derive concrete benefits from tourism? How can locals be better integrated into the tourism sector? In what ways can sustainable tourism development be effectively promoted here? Using data from 382 questionnaires brought by field surveys in 1999 and 2001, patterns and problems are identified and proposals made for channeling future growth towards sustainable development. It is suggested that strategic planning measures must be devised to meet the swiftly growing demand for tourist complexes while taking into due account the long-term preservation of heritage and natural resources. At the same time, it is necessary to grapple with the negative impacts associated with mounting environmental, economic and social pressures (Harry and Parpairis 1995).

Previous studies

In the Petite Côte, most investigations to date have examined social and economic dimensions, focusing largely on positive impacts in a period when tourism was in its infancy. These investigations aimed at charting growth and making projections for the subsequent 5–10 years of tourist development (Ciss 1983, Diop 1986, Diouf 1987). This paper represents a first attempt to assess negative impacts and recommend proposals for more sustainable development in the Petite Côte. Its findings may reflect analogous problems elsewhere as coastal tourism expands in the developing world, especially in West Africa. The proposals for change and sustainable development outlined below are thus potentially applicable more broadly.

Previous studies on coastal tourism have tended to focus on impacts occurring on Caribbean and Pacific islands, and are generally shaped by a geomorphologic perspective (Wong 1993). Elsewhere in West Africa, uncontrolled tourist development on the barrier complex in Nigeria has adversely impacted on the coastal environment, causing coastal erosion, flooding, deforestation and intrusion of salt water (Awosika and Ibe 1993:120). In addition, the proliferation of buildings along the coast has created an excessive population density. Population pressure inevitably leads to ecological imbalance, disfiguration of the coastline, and a reduction in the attractiveness of the resource (Mathieson and Wall 1982:113). In the western Ivory Coast, several luxury tourist complexes are now being developed, and seaside resorts are highly popular. The resultant high coastal concentration has generated serious beach pollution, particularly along the shore from Abidjan to Grand-Bassam. However, studies on coastal erosion in the Ivory
Coast showed that construction should be prohibited in the coastal zone (Abe and Affian 1993: 106). In France, due to the impact of seawalls, many well-known resorts, such as la Baule (Loire-Atlantique), Arcachon (Gironde) and Saint-Jean de Luz (Pyrénées Atlantiques), have sustained losses along their beaches and beach erosion (Miossec 1993: 173). The present paper, the first of its kind on tourism and its diverse impacts in coastal Senegal, suggests avenues for more sustainable tourism development.

**What is sustainability?**

Hunter and Green (1995) advocated that sustainable development constitutes an important key element for the management of tourism which integrates concern for natural, built and cultural environments with continued economic development, so as to embrace all 'quality of life' issues, at the destination area and beyond. Sustainable development is defined by the World Commission on Environment and Development (1987: 43) as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Regarding tourism, sustainability has become the organizing concept for the policy in the 1990s, a concept which has demonstrable advantages for the tourism sector as a whole (De Kadt 1992). The World Conference on Sustainable Tourism (Lanzarote 1995) has recommended that tourism development should be based on clear criteria of sustainability: It must be ecologically tolerable over the long term, economically viable, and ethically and socially equitable for local communities. These criteria are applied in suggestions below on promoting sustainable tourism development along the Senegalese coast.

**Methodology of the present study**

Some 382 questionnaires derived from tourists, hotel staff and management, shop owners and local residents in Sali resort and the nearby villages in January of 1999 and January of 2001 provide data for a broad empirically-based analysis of selected specific social, economic and environmental effects resulting from tourism growth in the Petite Côte. The research examined changes in types of employment, along with 'deskilling' of the traditional skilled works and the concomitant decline of traditional activities such as subsistence agriculture and traditional fishing. Social changes in lifestyle, spatial displacement of some villages, and the precipitous decline in moral standards were also explored, along with dimensions such as ecological deterioration as a result of improper liquid and solid waste management. In sum, the purpose of the present study is to reveal clearly economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism on local communities in Sali resort on the Petite Côte.

The organization of the paper is as follows. After starting with this introductory section, a detailed description of the Petite Côte and the driving forces behind tourism development is reviewed. In the following sections, the process of regional changes and specific character of Sali resort are exhaustively explained. Then, the obtained results are presented. After that, prospects for sustainability in the study area are examined. Finally, the major findings are summarized in the conclusion.

**The Study Area and Principal Factors Behind Tourism Development**

**General description of the study area**

Location, accessibility and physical characteristics The tourist area in the Petite Côte extends some 110 km, from south of Bargny to the pointe de Sangomar, along a coastal strip 5–7 km deep (Figures 1 and 2). The Petite Côte comprises 660 km², 0.3% of the total land mass of Senegal. The Petite Côte is the largest seaside resort area in close proximity to the capital Dakar, less than one hour away by car and easily accessible. The high accessibility from the capital to the Petite Côte is especially favorable for tourism development. The physiography of the area is marked by white sandy beaches, with scattered hills in the north and swamps in the south (Figure 2). The beach is composed of a large variety of sand and gravel, and fine sand predominates. Most of the villages and hotels are constructed in or near the sandy areas. The mean elevation of the coastline in the north is 50 to 90 meters, offering an
Impacts of Coastal Tourism

excellent vantage for panoramic views of the sea, while elevation in the south averages one meter at high tide. The annual average coastal rainfall ranges between 600–800 mm. Precipitation is strongly seasonal, with 90% falling between June and August. Temperatures range from 17 to 28°C, attracting numerous tourists to the warm climate. Mild temperatures and ample sunshine characterize the tourist season, which runs from December to April.

Economic activities in the Petite Côte Before the advent of tourism, local residents used to engage in fishing for some nine months of the year, ceasing activities during the rainy season (June to August). In general, men catch the fish, while women process and preserve the fish. More recently, some fishermen have shifted from traditional fishing to more industrialized modes of fishery, particularly in villages such as Sali, Guerew and Niangal.

Subsistence agriculture was previously a ma-
Major source of livelihood for coastal inhabitants, second in importance only after fishing. During the three months of the rainy season, the population cultivated millet, groundnuts, rice, vegetables, and fruits. Today agriculture and fishing are separated; women, a certain number of young people and retired fishermen work in agriculture, while adult males are primarily employed in the fishing sector. These two sources of livelihood, often in the same family, have led to a relatively high standard of living among the coastal population compared with inhabitants in the interior (Ciss 1989). In consequence it is important to look at the principal factors explaining the rapid development of coastal tourism in the Petite Côte.

Principal factor behind tourism development

Due to the lack of a national tourism development plan, tourism in Senegal prior to the 1970s expanded chaotically. In order to avoid disorderly development and to organize the tourism sector along more systematic lines, the Senegalese government, with the help of the World Bank, drafted the Regional Tourist Development Plan covering three regions (the Casamance, the Fleuve, and the Petite Côte). The Tourist Development Plan of 1972 aimed at identifying the tourist potential of the Petite Côte. Unfortunately, this plan gave little attention to the human, economic and physical dimensions. Additionally, in 1975 the Senegalese government created SAPCO to promote tourism more systematically and coordinate this huge project. To achieve its ends, SAPCO encouraged private investment in tourism. Simultaneously, the government stimulated construction of facilities for international tourism by providing cheap land and low-interest loans. The government also attempted to spur development through financial incentives such as depreciation allowances on tourism accommodation and infrastructure.

A special investment code (Law 72-43, 12 June 1972) was created to facilitate economic decentralization and promote regional development. This investment code enables the government to offer potential investors an array of incentives. To qualify for advantages, investment programs should exceed US$ 143,000 (100 million CFA Franc) or create at least 50 permanent jobs for the Senegalese population during the first five years; there are also various import duty and tax exemptions and reduced rates for utilities. A closer look at this investment code suggests that the Senegalese government was only interested in enhancing economic benefit. Given these incentive measures, tourism developed rapidly in the Petite Côte, resulting in numerous changes. What is the process of the regional changes arisen from coastal tourism development?

The Process of Regional Changes and the Specific Character of Sali Resort

The process of regional changes

The development of international tourism

Over the past 20 years, the Senegalese coastline has gradually begun to attract international tourism. Within the past decade, facilities have spread all along the shoreline as far as the northern Petite Côte. The principal factors driving this rapid expansion are the high intrinsic touristic value of the area, which boasts wide beaches, warm temperatures, constant sunshine, tropical vegetation (luxuriant African bush and baobab forest) and a number of ethnic groups, coupled with the low density of local occupation (villages are 6 km apart). Attracting 282,000 tourists in 1996, Senegal ranked the third most visited country in West Africa behind Nigeria (822,000) and Ghana (305,000) (WTO 1995, 1998). With a total of 340,000 visitors in 1999, tourism generated about US$ 143 million (100 billion CFA Franc), climbing to the second most important economic sector in Senegal after fishing. Europeans accounted for 95% of the international tourists in 1999 (over 50% from France, 15% from Germany). The large number of French tourists can be explained by the legacy of close historical ties between the two countries (Senegal was a French colony until 1960) and the fact that French is widely spoken in Senegal. More than 60% of the total number of international tourists to Senegal are concentrated in the Petite Côte area, particularly in Sali resort.

The process of changes in Sali

The development of tourism in Sali had its beginnings in
the late 1970s, but gained significant momentum starting in the early 1980s, when the state allocated 600 ha to SAPCO for the promotion of international tourism. In 1984, four large hotels (Novotel, Savana Koumba, Saly Hotel and Palm Beach) were constructed. The subsequent boom in hotel construction began in the early 1990s. In 1994, with the devaluation of the Senegalese currency, developers started promoting a new type of accommodation based on resident facilities for longer-term stay. This shift could be explained by the fact that residences for long-term stay are far easier to manage than hotels. Today this type of facility is widespread throughout the resort area, particularly in North Sali. The first of such facilities emerged in Safari village, the Résidences du port, Résidences Téranga, and les cristallines. Residences for longer-term stay are based on the building of private villas for sale to tourists, mainly French, who wish to retire and live in Senegal. Prices of a villa range from about US $43,000 to 57,000 (30 to 40 million CFA Franc) for the lowest-cost type of home. Figure 3 shows the rapid development of tourism. Figure 3 also indicates that the number of tourists declined sharply in Sali resort area due to the closing of the Royam Sali Hotel in 1993. Political unrest was another factor affecting the total number of tourists in 1993. In 1994, there was a steady increase in the total numbers of tourists despite the closing of the Novotel Hotel. The rise in the number of tourists in 1994 may be attributable to the devaluation in the Senegalese currency. From 1988 to 1999, the total number of tourists more than doubled (soaring by 232% from 40,226 to 93,356). At the same time, the number of hotel establishments in Sali resort increased from seven in 1988 to eleven in 1999, likewise the result of an influx of foreign investors, particularly from France.

The development of international tourism in the rural area of Sali has had a serious deleterious impact on traditional economic activities such as agriculture and fishing. Figure 4 shows the mounting reduction in agricultural lands for the benefit of tourism accommodations. Figure 4 also indicates major changes in the pattern of traditional land use, now dominated by an expanding tourism hungry for space. Most of the grassland and shrubbery areas have also been encroached upon by the spread of tourism. South Sali is now densely occupied by tourist facilities and only a few vacant areas remain in North Sali. Sali (known as the Côte d’Azur Tropicale) is today covered by an array of diverse facilities and infrastructure for domestic and foreign accommodations, ranging from antique shops, cheap restaurants and bars to first-class luxury hotels. Sali currently has a total capacity of 2,384 beds and 1,094 rooms (SAPCO 1998), and also plans to have a capacity of 3,000 beds by the end of the project. The specificity of Sali is another important element explaining the rapid development of coastal tourism.

**Figure 3. Evolution of tourists in Sali resort, 1988–1999.**


The Sali tourist resort represents a special type of tropical beach resort serving most tourist needs, from accommodation to leisure and recreation. Resort developments offer golf, sailing or horse riding, holiday residences for long stays, bungalows or apartments. Having only ten in 1984, the coastline today is home to more than thirty international class hotels. Sali resort represents in fact a kind of ‘tourist enclave’ cut off from the surrounding villages. Holiday facilities are clearly adapted to the physical features of the coastal beach environment. Due to the inherent fragility of this environment,
much of the impact of tourism on the coast has been negative, resulting in serious ecological damage (see section on environmental impacts).

The bungalow style is the most prevalent in the Sali resort complex, located preferably near the beach. The bungalow style aims to offer visitors the chance to retreat from the outside world into a more local yet modern and 'exotic' habitat in which to relax from urban pressures. Hotels in Sali are medium-size with a maximum capacity of 250 beds. Two UATs (Unité d'Aménagement Touristique—Tourist Sector) have been set up: in north and south Sali. South Sali has more than ten hotels, while North Sali is dominated by holiday residences for long-term stays. These two UATs are integrated with other business establishments catering to typical tourist needs, such as shops, restaurants, cafés and teahouses (Figure 5).

The Sali resort area contains six scattered traditional villages: Sali Poste, Sali Tape, Sali Niakhniakhal, Sali Bambara (or Sali Niagnaral),
Sali Joseph, and Sali Velingara. In recent years, traditional villages have been forced to confront the problem of intruding modernization arising from the influx of affluent foreigners who have begun to construct luxury vacation homes. How has this new spatial reorganization affected the traditional villages?

Tourism Impacts on the Petite Côte Region

Economy

Concentration of tourist accommodations has caused a range of diverse impacts to the economy. There are no reliable figures for tourism employment in Sali resort. This is due primarily to two factors: (1) data are often inaccurate, and hotel managers are generally reluctant to reveal figures on the number and wages of employees; (2) it is difficult to determine the broader scope of spin-off economic benefits derived from tourism as part of total revenue in the economy. In this connection, one must recognize that there is a paucity of detailed empirical studies on tourism and employment (Mathieson and Wall 1982: 79). This reflects a major empirical obstacle in the economic geography of tourism in West Africa: how can investigators gather accurate empirical data on employment in hotels and other facilities, when Western hotel owners and managers refuse to divulge data on employment, turnover and profit?

In the absence of such economic data supplied by hospitality industry management, findings of the 1999 and 2001 surveys on tourism development impacts in the Petite Côte shed useful light on various aspects of employment and other dimensions. Some 382 tourists, hotel managers, hotel workers and local residents responded to the questionnaires. The questionnaire consisted of four main sections: personal, social, economic and environmental data. The results of questionnaire surveys can be summarized as follows:

Employment in hotels Because the tourist

Figure 5. Distribution of tourist accommodations in Sali resort (1999).
Sources: Data from Senegalese Ministry for Tourism and Surface Transportation (2000) supplemented by author's field survey.
industry is highly labor-intensive, most new jobs in Sali resort have been created in hotels and other accommodation services. Table 1 indicates that the major sources for new jobs have been the large hotels, principally Palm Beach (4-star), Filaos (3-star) and Savana Kumba (4-star). Basic staff and seasonal employees represent the largest proportion of staff, accounting for 65.5% of the total hotel jobs. Table 2 indicates that expatriates are concentrated in the best-paying positions, earning significantly more than Senegalese nationals. Menial and day laborers make up the largest segment of Senegalese employees.

Significantly, most employees in hotels in Sali resort stem from areas outside Sali, such as Mbour, Dakar, Thies, Casamance, Fatick, etc. (Table 3). Due to their low level of formal education, there are relatively few Sali villagers on hotel staffs; those employed tend to work at menial jobs. According to fieldwork findings, 54% of local residents interviewed have only a primary school education and many villagers are illiterate. For example, local males are usually hired for cleaning, garden irrigation and as security guards, while women are engaged as low-paid chambermaids.

Table 4 presents an overview of categories of low-skilled jobs offered to locals. The cooking sector and bars recruit the largest number. Significantly, 80% of these jobs in hotels are seasonal, contractual or part-time. Employment patterning in Sali resort can thus be seen as a clear manifestation of the ‘menializing’ of an unskilled working population drawn from rural villages.

Only few jobs are well-paid and or hold out longer-term options for career development.

Table 1. The number of jobs in Sali resort (hotels only)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hotels</th>
<th>Managerial staff</th>
<th>Skilled persons</th>
<th>Basic staff</th>
<th>Seasonal employees</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palm Beach</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>(28.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savana Kumba</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>(11.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savana Sali</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>(3.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sali Hotel</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>(7.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filaos</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>(14.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Espadon</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>(5.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royam Sali</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>(6.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sali Princess</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>(9.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bougainvilliers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>(9.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cocotiers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(2.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>184</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(7.9)</td>
<td>(26.6)</td>
<td>(39.1)</td>
<td>(26.4)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author’s survey (1999).

Table 2. Monthly salaries (in CFA Franc) of employees in Sali hotel

| Employees            | Expatriates | Senegalese | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|------------|---|---|
|                      | Number | Salary     | Number | Salary |
| Senior managers      | 2      | 612,976    | 2     | 310,847 |
| Middle managers      | 1      | 266,764    | 3     | 171,700 |
| Upper technicians    | —      | —          | 4     | 142,809 |
| Simple employees     | 1      | 80,313     | 48    | 29,565  |
| Day laborers         | —      | —          | 35    | 34,291  |
| Part-time            | —      | —          | 28    | 22,229  |
| Total                | 4      | 960,053    | 120   | 711,441 |

Note: 1 USD = approximately 700 CFA Franc
Source: Accounts department, Sali hotel (1999).
Table 3. Characteristics of some hotel employees in Sali resorts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dakar</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>~20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animator</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Casamance</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21~30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Patick</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>31~40</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Receptionist</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Mbour</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>41~50</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport and Leisure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thies department</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>51~60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>organizer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sali</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>61~70</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plumber</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Louga</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Over 70</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guardian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kolda</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beach attendant</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tambacounda</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Kaolack</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer maintenance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiter</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barman</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pastry cook</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashier</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trainee</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pool maintenance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's survey (2001).

Table 4. Types of jobs offered to local residents in Sali, Savana and Espadon hotels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of job</th>
<th>Number of Job</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>(29.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweeper</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>(24.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driver</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(14.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gardener</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(8.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist guide</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(6.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barman</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(16.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>61</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's survey (1999).

Owing to the growth of illegal employment, it is difficult to determine accurate data on employed staff for some hotel complexes. Many of those employed are overworked, often putting in over 20 hours a day on the job. Most do not enjoy benefits such as holidays, medical insurance coverage, reimbursement of transportation costs and subsidized housing. Rather, the majority of workers regard their income as seasonal, a source of savings for the future or for small improvements in traditional lifestyle activities. Yet because the available part-time or seasonal work in tourism is only in the lowest-paying categories, few young villagers have any prospect of saving up enough to effectively modernize their traditional economic activities.

**Handicrafts and retailing** In West Africa, particularly Senegal, tourists seek a broad range of goods and services such as souvenirs, clothing, cosmetics, jewelry, meals, etc. Employment as craftsmen gives another channel for locals to participate in the tourist industry. Local residents or indigenous entrepreneurs can take part in the tourism-generated economy by the manufacture and sale of handicrafts, the provision of local transport, etc. It is extremely difficult to determine the amount of individual income generated because workers are not paid monthly wages, but depend upon the daily sale of their goods and services.

Traditional handicrafts are now increasingly oriented towards production for tourist markets. Objects in large quantities are virtually mass-produced. In a bid to turn a quick profit, handicrafts have been distorted and commercialized in both methods and material. Despite its 'commodification' and 'artificialization,' such commercialized art is developing at a rapid pace. Specialists in leatherwork, wood carvers, tailors and jewelers are on the increase and are profiting from the expanding tourist industry. All their articles are targeted for the tourist trade. Traditional artisans can easily take in
more than US$15 (10,000 CFA Franc) a day during the peak season, which is several times higher than the daily wages of most low-skilled hotel personnel (see Figure 6).

Of the 25 different shops investigated during fieldwork in 1999 and 2001 in Sali resort, 22 were established between 1991 and 1998. The number of new shops is increasing. Most are owned by Senegalese merchants (often from outside the area) who sell a wide range of souvenirs for tourists; only five shops have foreign proprietors. Because of their high prices, these shops are normally frequented solely by the tourist trade.

Development of transport Provision of transport to tourists is another income source outside the hotel and handicraft sectors. Public transporters link Mbour, the main city, to the rest of the touristic areas. In Sali resort, for example, during the peak season public transport carriers can go back and forth between Sali resort and Mbour some ten times a day, with daily earnings averaging about US$22 (15,000 CFA Franc). Such transport services are rapidly expanding with the increasing number of tourists. Locals thus benefit very directly from the provision of transportation services.

Agriculture Agriculture, once the principal traditional activity in the Petite Côte, has been severely disrupted in the wake of tourism. In 1977, land expropriation had serious adverse consequences for the agricultural sector. Over the past two decades, agriculture has been less regarded as a main income source, and is now less important than fishing. Before the tourism boom, local subsistence farmers cultivated peanuts and cereals, particularly millet. Many farmers from Sali Tape have lost their agricultural fields and today have little land left for farming. Due to leisure facilities development, agricultural lands are reducing engendering a remarkable decline of the agricultural production. The resulting annual loss to farmers is some 600 kilograms of millet per household. This situation has been worsened by a continuing drought, and has led to a virtual paralysis in subsistence produce. Today, annual agricultural production for a family has plummeted from 1000 kilograms per household to less than half (400 kilograms). Yet SAPCO to date has not undertaken any measures to reinforce the traditional agricultural sector. Traditional agriculture, formerly one of the main local livelihoods, is now at the point of collapse due to the impact of hotel proliferation on the local coastal environment. Table 5 indicates that tourism is becoming the first preferred sector for employment for local residents, particularly the younger generation. However, some locals continue to practice fishing (in Sali Tape and Sali Poste) and agriculture (in Sali Velingara and Sali Joseph), still their principal source of revenue.

Impacts on the fishing sector In the Petite Côte, particularly in Sali, fishermen make up the vast majority of the population. Sali Poste, Sali Niakhniakhal and Sali Tape have the highest numbers, accounting for over 70% of the active population. Because of the impact of tourism, their beach landing is narrowing, and is in effect now cut off by the encroaching recreational beach. As a result, most traditional fishermen prefer to work as boat captains in the modern fishing sector. They can earn better wages than in declining traditional modes. Today, local Sali residents are prohibited from engaging in traditional fishery practices, such as drying and smoking fish on the beach, since these activities are considered a potential nuisance to tourists. The resettlement of local residents, formerly fishermen families, has worsened the problem of beach access, because after relocation inland most now do not have
Impacts of Coastal Tourism

Table 5. Activities of local residents in Sali village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Farming</th>
<th>Fishing</th>
<th>Activities related to tourism</th>
<th>Other activities</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(20.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>(29.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>(15.9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(20.5)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51-60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(6.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 60</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(6.8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>(2.3)</td>
<td>(4.5)</td>
<td>(75.0)</td>
<td>(15.9)</td>
<td>(2.3)</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's survey (2001).

ready access to the sea.

**Land speculation and price-gouging** Tourism is also driving up the price for land in traditional villages, leading to real estate speculation. Recently, many European tourists have begun to purchase property to construct luxury vacation homes in traditional villages located in Sali (particularly in Sali Niakhniakhal village). The growth in foreign-owned real estate is part of a broader ongoing change in land use and ownership patterns as foreign capital flows into the villages. Such growth increases competition for land, driving up property prices, and ultimately leads to fragmentation of land holdings. One group hard hit by this phenomenon is local youths: they are finding it ever more difficult to obtain land for cultivation or house construction in their own areas. In addition, prices for many goods and services in traditional villages surge during the tourist season, sometimes doubling in comparison with off-season prices.

**Infrastructural improvement in Sali as a result of tourism development** In contrast with the lack of more modern infrastructure in Sali's traditional villages, tourism development in the Petite Côte has made a positive contribution to infrastructure in Sali resort. SAPCO has introduced an array of improvements, such as (1) construction of 10 kilometers of road, linking Sali to its surroundings; (2) the water supply has been assured with a water tank 250 meter deep located in Mbour, and a water tower 2000 m³/day in Sali; (3) the telephone network has been vastly upgraded; (4) construction of a treatment plant for liquid waste; and (5) planting of a green area with some 150,000 trees. These improvements, at a cost of approximately US$3,600 million (2.5 billion CFA Franc), are a positive spin-off of the influx of European tourism and capital (SAPCO 1998). In addition 26.8% of Sali local residents advocate that tourism has improved the local equipment and infrastructures (Table 6). Other significant impacts of tourism development in Sali were those on the traditional life.

**Traditional social life**

Tourism's multiple social impacts often involve changes in collective and individual value systems, behavior patterns, community structures, lifestyles and the quality of life (Hall and Page 1999). Here too, tourism has had a profound impact on the nature of local society in the Petite Côte, particularly in the traditional villages. The tourist boom has been responsible for a steep rise in prostitution, triggering the spread of sexual diseases and dangerous vi-

Table 6. Positive impacts of tourism according to local residents of Sali

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patterns</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possibility to get job in hotels</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>(34.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvement of local equipments and infrastructures</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>(26.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understanding the culture of visitors</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(12.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good contacts with tourists</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(11.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possibility to go abroad</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(13.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's survey (1999).
ruses such as HIV. Sex tourism is rampant, resulting in the spread of STD (Sexually Transmitted Diseases) and AIDS (Harrison 1995). Tourists, the main clients for the 'skin trade' in their enclaves, sometimes interact with hookers directly on the beach. The health authorities indicate that there are currently some 500 prostitutes officially registered in Mbour; 26% are under the age of 25. A new type of male prostitution is likewise now on the rise in Sali resort, particularly within the group of tourist guides who specialize in dealing with male tourists or older female tourists.

Tourist areas in the Petite Côte are witnesses of rapid decline in personal security, especially during peak season. Nowadays, resort areas are plagued by incidents of theft and mugging. In general, offenders are not locals. The mounting insecurity has been worsened by the use of hard drugs among the young. Recently, a special gendarmerie has been set up for tourist protection.

Tourism has profoundly altered the social structures of traditional villages catering for incoming tourists. Before the development of tourism, political and economic power lay firmly in the hands of male elders, who enjoyed a dominant position in the society. Now young entrepreneurs with independent sources of income have taken over as the main decision-makers in the traditional villages. This younger generation often fails to show the proper respect for elders and refuses to adhere to time-honored tradition and Islamic rules. Nowadays marriages between young locals (often females) and old foreign male tourists or young males and old foreign women have become a new vogue. More and more impoverished families are in effect 'selling off' their daughters to wed prosperous foreigners. Many young locals are also heavily involved in the use and abuse of alcohol and illegal drugs.

Tourism abets the intrusion of Western values in traditional areas, where young people imitate not only Western styles of dress but also the more 'liberal' comportment and lifestyles of European visitors. One consequence is that Islamic codes and traditional customs are deliberately flouted (see Table 7). Nude bathing (previously taboo) is now quite common. In traditional villages, it not unusual today to encounter tourists in various states of undress, kissing and hugging everywhere as they openly flout social and religious codes. To compound matters, tourism has eroded the deeper meaning of traditional dances, which today are often commercialized in the form of gala concerts and 'folklore shows' organized by hotel managers as evening 'native entertainment.' How does the rapid tourism development affect the coastal environment of the Petite Côte?

**Environment**

The spiral of development along the coastline has spurred an excessive population growth that is overburdening coastal capacities. The population increase has aggravated the amount of waste and sewage. Due to the absence of adequate garbage and sewage disposal systems, pollution has worsened. Unless action is taken soon to encounter and remedy the trend, the coast could in future be reduced to a narrow strip of polluted beach unattractive to foreign tourists and dangerous for the health of local inhabitants.

At present, there is no proper treatment system for sewage. Unfortunately, due to the insufficient number of refuse bins, some local residents are dumping waste directly into the ocean (Table 8). This may cause a potential health hazard for tourists because of the introduction of pathogenic elements into the sea. To help to solve garbage problems, villagers have started to pick up domestic garbage by truck every other day at nominal cost for each household. Despite this new system, many families

**Table 7. Negative social impacts according to local residents of Sali**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patterns</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of moral comfort during the peak season</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>(40.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non respect of traditional and religious rules</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>(23.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development of prostitution</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>(29.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High immigration</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>(4.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>(2.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>86</strong></td>
<td><strong>(100.0)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's survey (1999).
continue to discard their garbage into the ocean (16% of houses in Sali village), resulting in ecological damage through seawater pollution.

In sum, the analysis of tourism impacts clearly indicates the absence of sustainable development in the Petite Côte. The physical environment is being degraded by tourism development through significantly increased amounts of garbage and an inefficient sewage system. Traditional values are being eroded and destroyed by the invasion of foreign values. Nonetheless, negative impacts on the environment, traditional economy and culture far outweigh this tangible upgrading in infrastructure. As a result more sustainable tourism development is required in the Petite Côte.

**Table 8. Place where local residents of Sali throw their garbage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ocean</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>(20.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse bins</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>(24.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Street</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>(5.8 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collection by track</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>(45.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brush</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(3.5 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>86</strong></td>
<td>(100.0)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Author's survey (1999).

**How is Sustainable Tourism Implemented?**

**Ecotourism**

Ecotourism in Sali can be defined as a kind of tourism for study and enjoyment of nature and the local culture. Nowadays tourists desire to participate in and enjoy recreation and sports activities as well as to understand the area that they are visiting. In this context, Akis et al (1996) revealed that old attitudes are dying hard with at least some tour operators, thus more emphasis is now placed on niche marketing of destinations offering more than just a sandy beach, warm seas and cloudless skies. Consequently, interactions between visitors and local residents constitute the main element of such alternative tourism. In this view, tourists actually enjoy meeting and interacting with local shopkeepers and restaurant employees, and increasingly with farmers and shepherds. Many foreign visitors are inclined to try to talk to anyone involved in an intriguing or photogenic activity. Accordingly, arrangements can be made to instruct interested tourists in traditional agricultural methods (a kind of 'gardening tourism') they can utilize when they return home to Europe. Since the Petite Côte is famous for its market gardening, tourists can enjoy participating in its activities while increasing their direct contact with the natural environment. The Petite Côte is also one of the major fishing areas in Senegal. One intriguing option is to create opportunities for tourists to take part in traditional fishing. For example, tourists could go out to sea for a day with local fishermen in traditional canoes in a form of modified 'fishing tourism.' Both gardening and fishing can attract tourists looking for alternative forms of ecotourism in West Africa.

**Village hospitality**

Sali local residents can also accommodate visitors within their families. Tourists could share a room with a host family. Tourists would pay a small fee to be guided around the village in order to understand better the history and the traditional way of life of the villagers. This kind of tourism is very successful in Finca Sonador (southern Costa Rica), where they offer horse riding to tourists along with guided tours (Mowforth and Munt 1998).

SAPCO can assist villages in Sali in constructing traditional-style guesthouses to accommodate tourists for brief stays rather than promoting hotel construction. SAPCO can also lend a hand in actively promoting alternative types of ecotourism involving Sali local residents. Such forms of tourism could lead to a revival of local skills and cultural and traditional activities. It can also strengthen local pride and self-confidence while benefiting the local economy.

**Alternative touristic options**

In traditional handicrafts, tourists in Sali could spend an intensive day in a workshop observing how objects are produced and meet with craftsmen, learning about how they work rather than only purchasing African souvenirs as objects in shops. Other traditional arts, espe-
cially music (song and instrumental), dance and
even cooking could also be introduced to inter-
ested tourists and taught in small groups or on
an individual basis. One-day eco-tours on foot
of Sali, planned by experts with local guides,
could bring tourists into direct contact with
characteristic flora and fauna. More and more
tourists are looking for an alternative experi-
ence on their visit to Africa—that desire can be
satisfied through imaginative new initiatives.

Yet ecotourism and cultural events such as
dancing and local craft production in Sali can-
not be the main lever for increasing local par-
ticipation in tourism. Rather, this should be
brought about through a balanced program of
agricultural diversification, the upgrading of
traditional fishing and through better educa-
tion for Sali local villagers, both male and fe-
male.

Enhanced skills for local residents

It is necessary to provide training to help
better integrate Sali locals into existing resort
employment structures instead of recruiting
people from outside the area. SAPCO and other
authorities should support their education and
training in a variety of marketable skills for
jobs in tourism and tourism management.

Educating locals about their foreign guests

It is well known that by supplying the host
population with comprehensive information
about tourists and tourism, many misunder-
standings could be eliminated, feelings of ag-
gression prevented, more sympathetic attitudes
developed and a better basis for hospitality and
contact with tourists created (Krippendorf cited
in Mowforth and Munt 1998). Education flows
in the touristic environment can thus be made
two-way, with both guests and locals profiting
from a broadening of horizons, the learning of
cultural tolerance and developing a greater re-
spect for and appreciation of the ‘Other.’

Useful feedback for tourism developers

Moreover, enhanced contact and greater com-
munication between hotel managers, tourists
and Sali local residents can provide entrepre-
eurs and management with a better awareness
of the actual environmental problems associ-
ated with tourism and their role in generating
and remedying eventual problems. New ideas
on alternative new forms of tourism, targeting
specific market niches could thus be generated.

Environmental awareness

Finally, since the reason tourism was origi-
nally drawn to the superb natural environment
of Sali, SAPCO should implement an efficient
garbage and sewage waste disposal system by
increasing the number of refuse bins and pro-
moting environmental awareness (both among
local residents and tourists) focused on the fra-
gility of the coastal environment. Such an ini-
tiative can help to enhance the reputation of the
resort.

Conclusion

Tourism development in the Petite Côte has
had both positive and negative impacts. Some
aspects of the infrastructure in Sali have been
significantly improved. Nonetheless, it is cru-
cial that tourism growth in the Petite Côte
should be better controlled so as to avoid its
pernicious consequences. In this context, a new
type of more ‘integrated tourism’ needs to be
blueprinted and implemented. Such a form
would allow locals greater direct participation
at all levels and in new modes in this lucrative
activity. At the same time, traditional village
skills such as handicrafts should be maintained,
where possible reducing the massive ‘de-
skilling’ that often comes with modernization.

Through their field investigations, economic
geographers can help point the way forward by
suggesting strategies to remedy the empirical
ills they document. Various programs (both
privately financed as well as through govern-
ment agencies) are needed to upgrade the skill
levels of local youths while avoiding ‘deskill-
ing.’ Programs are also needed to modernize
the traditional sectors of fishing and agriculture
and to promote equitable access to jobs in the
tourism industry at all levels. A concerted
effort both by government and private enter-
prise is imperative to grapple with the scourges
of drug abuse and rampant prostitution along
the Petite Côte and elsewhere in African touris-
tic areas, addressing their underlying causes.
'Misdevelopment' needs to be recognized, its excesses curbed and eventually eliminated by new measures. Tourism must respect and protect coastal ecosystems in a comprehensive way, bolstered by enforceable safeguards. The abuse of the coastal environment by unbridled development is a dangerous boomerang. The regional social, economic and physical impacts of tourism should be rigorously reassessed with an aim to preserving the integrity of the local economy, thus ensuring the future of both human habitation and sites for touristic recreation. Based on solid empirical input and imaginative practicable initiatives in new viable directions, sustainable tourism in Sali is an achievable goal.

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