

TROUBLESHOOTING TOURISM AND LEISURE AS DEVELOPMENT PROCESS IN MOZAMBIQUE

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the development of tourism and leisure in Mozambique, highlighting inequalities that affect its practice. Using a qualitative approach based on literature, documentary and field research, it finds that tourism stimulates corporate expansion, reinforcing the commodification of leisure and ties of dependency. It thus generates unequal relations, benefiting hegemonic stakeholders through this condition imposed on different economic and social realities. A more endogenous and solidarity-based development of tourist territories is required.

Fecha de recepción: 24 de julio de 2024.

Fecha de aceptación: 11 de marzo de 2025.

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Keywords: tourism; leisure; development; inequalities; Mozambique.

Problematización del turismo y el ocio en los procesos de desarrollo de Mozambique

RESUMEN

Este artículo examina el desarrollo del turismo y el ocio en Mozambique, destacando las desigualdades que afectan a su práctica. Con un enfoque cualitativo basado en investigación bibliográfica, documental y de campo, se observa que el turismo estimula la expansión corporativa, reforzando la mercantilización del ocio y los lazos de dependencia. Genera así relaciones desiguales, beneficiando a los actores hegemónicos a través de esta condición impuesta a las diferentes realidades económicas y sociales. Se requiere un desarrollo más endógeno y solidario de los territorios turísticos.

Palabras clave: turismo; ocio; desarrollo; desigualdades; Mozambique.

1. INTRODUCTION

Studies on tourism have been of fundamental importance in the context of contemporary science, especially the social sciences, denoting a line of investigation and production of knowledge, which deals with a set of relationships that occur as a consequence of the act of travel and leisure. Although, the need to travel and to enjoy free time and leisure comes from remote times and is associated with the repercussions of society's life, in each period it had its essence, demarcating an integral part of the beginnings of humanity.

The understanding of leisure reflects multiple configurations of societies, established by the dynamics of the economy, politics and culture, identifying changes and recognizing diversities and unveiling inequalities (Baia, 2012).

This study aims to show which limitations affect tourism and leisure, aiming to establish the development discourse in the context of tourism as socialization actions that provide a set of practices of access to leisure in the design of tourism projects. Certainly, tourism and leisure have an intrinsic relationship, since one cannot speak of tourism with the absence of free time and social life, leisure and work, the experience of sociocultural manifestations as well as political.

Therefore, the first introductory part contextualizes the article and indicates the objectives and the research question. The second part explain the methodological procedures used to carry out the research. The third part approaches the text from the notion of development, generating a holistic view of the transformations taking place in society, whether around ideological and historical principles, discourses, mobilization and alternatives. The fourth characterizes the study area, showing how tourism and leisure are presented, and also reflects on an alternative model of tourism development, encouraging perspectives for the humanization of tourism, including different layers of the population. The fifth section is reserved for the conclusions of this study and the sixth for the bibliographical references used.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The methodological procedures refer to the parameters to be implemented in line with the intended objective. The research was based on qualitative analysis based on approaches to Dencker's methodological procedures (1998), Gil (2008), Meksenas (2002), Richardson (1999) and Veal (2011). Therefore, the qualitative approach applied in the current research fits into the understanding of structural and social problems. This approach is justified, above all, because it is an adequate way to understand the nature of an object, since it allows us to obtain descriptive and exploratory data through the researchers' direct and interactive contact with the status of the object of study (Richardson, 1999).

Thus, from a methodological point of view, in addition to a qualitative approach, bibliographical research on development, tourism and leisure was carried out, as well as a document review of the management plan of the Bazaruto Archipelago National Park (PNAB), reports from Mozbio (project of conservation of biodiversity in Mozambique), strategic plans for the development of tourism in Mozambique, a fieldwork was carried out in January and February 2019, which included direct observation of 5 islands of the Bazaruto archipelago, namely, Magaruque, Bazaruto, Benguerra, Santa Carolina and the uninhabited island called Bangué.

Interaction with individuals and contexts that exercise affinity with the researched topic took place. Faced with a non-probabilistic sampling by accessibility (Dencker, 1998; Gil, 2008; Meksenas, 2002), this research was based on the collection of a quantity of information from observed data from real life, to which Markoni and Lakatos (2003) they call it observation of reality, but also for the in-depth representation of information. In this context, the following actions were considered:

Table 1
ACTIONS DEVELOPED AROUND FIELDWORK IN THE BAZARUTO
ARCHIPELAGO

Activities	Contents
Meeting with the tourist manager of the Bazaruto Archipelago National Park.	Presentation, contextualization and understanding of the tourist infrastructure and the various forms of leisure at the PNAB.
Meeting with the Bazaruto Archipelago National Park Administration.	Understand how tourism is inserted in the face of public policies and which structural contexts are linked to practices in favour of solidarity and cooperation through the promotion of alternatives for communities.
Visit to tourist developments and meeting with tourist entrepreneurs.	Understand the actions developed within the scope of involvement with the community and the profile of tourism offered.
Meeting with the community.	Impacts of tourism activity on development, regarding access to goods and services, as well as education, health and housing and the enjoyment of leisure.

Source: Own elaboration, 2019.

So, the construction of information and explanations followed a gradual criterion (Veal, 2011), where whenever necessary, researchers established continuous communication with research participants to obtain additional information while the research was completed.

3. DEVELOPMENT AND ITS REQUIREMENTS

Economic development is a phenomenon of the last 250 years. Before the formation of national states and the industrial revolution, societies experienced moments of economic prosperity, but one could not speak of development as these processes lacked the deliberate and self-sustaining character that is proper to them. It was only after the structural and cultural change represented by the capitalist revolution that the fundamental institution of modern times emerged - the national state - and societies began to be able to promote their development (Bresser-Pereira, 2004:6).

The concept of development, on a global scale, intensified from the mid-twentieth century and underwent changes over the years. First, it was confused with economic growth based on industrialization processes for the establishment of the capitalist system, grounded on the idea of modernization and exploitation of underdeveloped countries, which would lead these countries to extreme dependence on developed countries. Thus, development is engendered as a form of expansion of capitalism (Singer, 1977), in which global political and economic relations are characterized by being based on colonial ties with a view to exploiting underdeveloped countries (Sharpley & Telfer, 2008).

According to Sharpley and Telfer (2008), development contemplated five contradictory theoretical-conceptual stages: modernization, dependence, economic neoliberalism, alternative development and post-development. Modernization is linked to the understanding of freeing society from the deplorable conditions of poverty that affect a majority of the population, ensuring the capabilities of developed countries as vanguards of scientific and technical knowledge. It is assumed that with the expansion and industrial intensification in a "comprehensive and active" way, now dominant, the improvement of the lives of individuals could be safeguarded, guaranteeing them a way out of backwardness.

This perspective contributed to differences being manifested around the world, tending to the adherence of a dualist vision, in which an attempt is made to distinguish the modern and the traditional; the advanced and the late; the developed and the underdeveloped (Singer, 1977; Escobar, 1995), indicating, in sequence, the central countries (from Western Europe and North America) and the peripheral countries (from South America, Africa and Southeast Asia). However, contrasts have been verified for developed countries, where modernization has meant greater enrichment, but in underdeveloped countries, in contrast, they are becoming more disadvantaged, where we are witnessing the concentration of world wealth and the consequent fragility of the income availability and the growing exclusion of peripheral countries, implying a deepening of inequality and vulnerability.

The underdeveloped country is characterized as one that, despite having its resources and means, does not use it fully and thus its economy grows slowly compared to its capabilities (Singer, 1977). Developed countries represent the modern sphere endowed

with the principles of the Western world defined by high levels of industrialization, production, urbanization, living standard, skilled labour, which is part of a system to be reproduced by the world as a plan of capital accumulation, believing in economic growth rather than development.

Development manifests itself as a condition that never ends, since it replicates the economy of industrialized countries in the former colonies at such a rate that the absolute backwardness is overcome only to be replaced, since in developed countries, the advance of the productive forces it does not cease and, moreover, it assures itself precisely from the delayed industrialization of underdeveloped countries (Singer, 1977).

The expectation of alleviating poverty based on industrialization was created all over the world, however it became an utopia, as the improvement of the population's life was not automatically guaranteed, only developed countries strengthened the monitoring and hegemony mechanism towards the underdeveloped countries. This created a which awakened a structural vision of dependence and exploitation of peripheral countries by central countries, rejecting the idea of modernization.

The active interest of the imperial centre resulted in exploitation, in which the purely mercantile and capitalist colonization had the purpose of keeping underdeveloped countries as exporters of primary products, excluding them from technological advance (Bresser-Pereira, 2010). Thus, the central countries spread in the peripheral countries, the growth model based on raw material exports, reinforcing the dependence on direct investment by multinational companies and foreign loans. Therefore, poor countries were seen as trapped in a vicious circle of poverty and lack of capital to the extent that a good deal of capital would have to come from abroad (Escobar, 1995).

Therefore, according to Singer (1977), once foreign capital adjusts to the prevailing system in underdeveloped countries, expanding its export sector, it causes certain economic growth, demonstrating that there is compatibility between underdevelopment and economic growth. So, as happens in tourist territories in a situation of socioeconomic vulnerability, economic growth is far from enabling a redistribution of income as it favours a local dependent bourgeoisie and the imperial centre and not labour sacrificed by working hours and wages that do not correspond to the subsistence levels.

In this sense, the context of development in the capitalist economy concerned industrialization and economic growth, even though it favoured the expansion of international financial capital and boosted income concentration and the rise of the elite, generating inequalities and immoral circumstances for workers subjected to arduous conditions. Due to its deliberate structuring way, it distanced itself from aspects of improving the population's living conditions in the face of social issues, including access to leisure, bringing an abstract logic to the concept of development, sometimes distorting reality in its essence.

Consequently, the issue of underdevelopment would be associated with external dependence and subordination, with cyclical exploitation by dominant agents as well as by the hegemonic tourist companies, that is, by developed countries. In this case, it is related to the dependence of understanding the expansion of economic, political and social inequalities between countries, as a reflection of the industrial expansion of the capitalist strategy. In view of this:

In an underdeveloped economy we do not have unapplied capital, or skilled labour, bawling for its use; but in reality, we have not only underemployed labour waiting (...) but also unapplied capacity to save, latent or misguided entrepreneurial activity and a wide variety of usable skills, not to mention modern industrial techniques, which are waiting to be displaced from advanced countries (Hirschman, 1961:20).

It is not about the lack of capital and labour, but about the situation created by the aggregation to the global economy, that is, the underdeveloped countries continued to be merely subjects, subordinated or hegemonized by the technological progress of the developed countries in which the combination of production factors (natural resources, labour and capital) must have exclusively quantitative effects. Therefore, the development process is not considered, only the growth of the economy since this does not determine any qualitative phenomenon (Schumpeter, 1982).

Growth is generally related to the quantitative income capacity of countries and the existence of technological innovations is mentioned as relevant, but it tends to be based on economic essence to privilege business growth that awaits industrialization, investment expansion and revenue maximization. In other words, there may be no development when the economic growth of certain countries tends to increase. However, growth is essential when it encompasses a broad stratum of the population and as long as it does not encourage inequalities. Underdeveloped countries are characterized by economic backwardness, commonly observed by the relatively low degree in relation to the division and specialization of labour, the dimension of technological evolution, the organization of capital related to the flow of investments and also the capacity for income and access to goods and basic services, among others.

Thus, the evolution of underdeveloped countries is more immobilized by the insignificance of the modern capitalist sector than by any absolute inability to save, resulting from low levels of income (Hirschman, 1961), since the economy of underdeveloped countries is conditioned by development and expansion of other countries. Only developed countries had the privilege of benefiting from the 'development' systematized by them to extract the surplus value of capital accumulation, since "the decisions and options that need to be made to achieve development are much closer to the pursuit of power and prestige than the intensification of social well-being" (Hirschman, 1961:27).

Mainly with the adoption of neoliberal practices, which materialized in the 1980s, driven by the emergence of new dominant interventions in the capitalist West, the withdrawal of the State was defended in various areas of social welfare.

Neoliberal policies consisted of: accumulation of capital by companies and their expansion of investment; rise of wealth for companies and the generation of foreign exchange and financial availability for the country; withdrawal of the State's role as a productive agent and regulator of the productive sectors of the economy through the privatization plan; incentive to economic agents by granting tax benefits to reduce taxes on large investments; reduction of the welfare state through cuts in public expenditure (Cequeira, 2008).

Thus, it is convenient to intensify market dominance through the weakening of the State, leaving it the role of safeguarding the institutional structure through the formulation of public policies, although influenced by the context of market variation (growth or degrowth). The conviction to this adhesion is based on this principle:

Neoliberalism is a theory of political and economic practices that proposes that human well-being can be better promoted by freeing individual entrepreneurial freedoms and capabilities within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free market and free business (Harvey, 2008:5).

So, the market exerts the greatest control of the economy, fitting into the understanding of a self-regulating market. Therefore, it opposes the policy of the interventionist state by defending that its participation must be kept to a minimum. The role of the State becomes the promotion of investment and private initiative, that is, to ensure the creation of a market with education, health, social security, water supply, land availability, among others, to dynamize the functioning of the market.

Neoliberalism has become hegemonic since the 1980s and 1990s (Bresser-Pereira, 2009). Certain countries adhered to this economic policy due to oppressive imposition, since, in line with Sharpley and Telfer (2008), the financing of international loans administered by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to promote development were conditioned to structural and political adjustments.

The idea of economic development is a simple myth. Thanks to it, it has been possible to divert attention from the basic task of identifying the fundamental needs of the community and the possibilities that open up the advances of science to man, to concentrate them on abstract objectives such as investments, exports and growth (Furtado, 1974:75).

Economic development tends to make the idea that underdeveloped countries will be able to follow the standards of living achieved by developed countries illusory. Underdeveloped countries end up concentrating on the flow of private investments now monopolized, believing in a possible development. These investments generally stimulate the growth of exports in developed countries, to the detriment of encouraging domestic production in underdeveloped countries, paying attention to growth rates. Therefore, attention is diverted from the freedom actions and empowerment of a collectivity, as well as from the promotion of the elements of the Human Development Index, which on this occasion make the world extremely heterogeneous.

Therefore, reflecting on the relationship between development, tourism and leisure, it should be noted that, according to Baia (2012), the social perspective reflects actions of human life, alienated work, exploitation of human beings, the expropriation of free time, to consumerism but also the possibility of transformation, emancipation and freedom through leisure. That is why it is convenient for us to think about the human axis.

3.1. Development focused on the human being and expanding their freedoms

Development over time has gained new directions based on constant debates around the subject, accompanied by various concerns causing rejection to the exclusionary development. And so, it roused attention not only in academia, but also in international organizations, in the State in relation to the importance of its more active role and com-

munity empowerment, on the development that places the human being at the epicentre of the foundation.

The question of development is also of interest to international organizations. The United Nations has proposed five dimensions for development: peace, economic growth, environment, social justice and democracy. These measures were described by Boisier (2001), in which he mentions that they are part of the 1995 development agenda report, defined by United Nations in the 1990s:

- 1) Peace as a foundation: development presupposes that it takes place under conditions of peace. Development cannot easily proceed in societies where military concerns are at the centre of life.
- 2) The economy as the engine of progress: economic growth is the engine of development. Accelerating the rate of economic growth is a condition for expanding the resource base and, consequently, for the economic, technological and social transformation area. It is not enough, to advance economic growth alone.
- 3) The environment as a basis for sustainability: development and environment are not separable concepts, nor can they be successfully addressed if the other is not referenced.
- 4) Justice as a pillar of society: Development does not take place in a vacuum, nor is it built on an abstract foundation, development takes place within a specific society, in context and in response to specific social conditions. People are the main asset and their well-being that defines development.
- 5) Democracy as good governance: the link between development and democracy is intuitive, but difficult to elucidate. In the context of development, improving governance has multiple meanings. In particular, it means designing and pursuing a comprehensive national strategy for development. It means guaranteeing the capacity, reliability and integrity of the central institutions of the modern State (Boisier, 2001:4).

In this context, economic growth plays a role in projecting development, but it must not be observed in isolation, it must be complemented by other elements such as peace, justice, democracy and the environment in which they are inserted. Development requires that a set of elements that articulate with each other must be observed.

However, let's see from another perspective, economic growth is still the basis, as it stands out as a driver of development and it is associated with progress conditioned by the increase in the growth rate, however, for development to occur, it is necessary to upkeep social development. Thus, development is associated with the implementation of a modern State that follows an already standardized model, which obeys the favours of the West.

Therefore, development in a comprehensive perspective has a multifaceted character, one cannot reduce the broad approach to a merely economic one but consider a circle of basic needs correlated with the well-being of the population, it is a guarantee in relation to the expansion of rights to health, education, income, access to basic services, democracy, among others.

Operationalization was rethought and constitutes new directions when we think with Max-Neef (1998), who discusses that for development to take place, fundamental human needs must be met. Another essential view is that of Sen (2010), who mentions

that development is associated with social improvements and the freedom of individuals, which correspond to the expansion of the subjects' capacities and unfold in related ways. Development requires a set of rights provisions that support the expansion of individuals' opportunities for choice.

Development requires removing the main sources of deprivation of liberty: poverty and tyranny, lack of economic opportunities and systemic social destitution, neglect of public services and intolerance or excessive interference by repressive states (Sen, 2010). Given the above, access to education, medical care, basic sanitation, employment, economic and social security, life expectancy, becomes essential. Sen (2010) seeks to illustrate how adopting the view of development as an integrated process of expanding interconnected substantive freedoms makes a difference, a view presented to investigate the development process by integrating economic, social and political considerations.

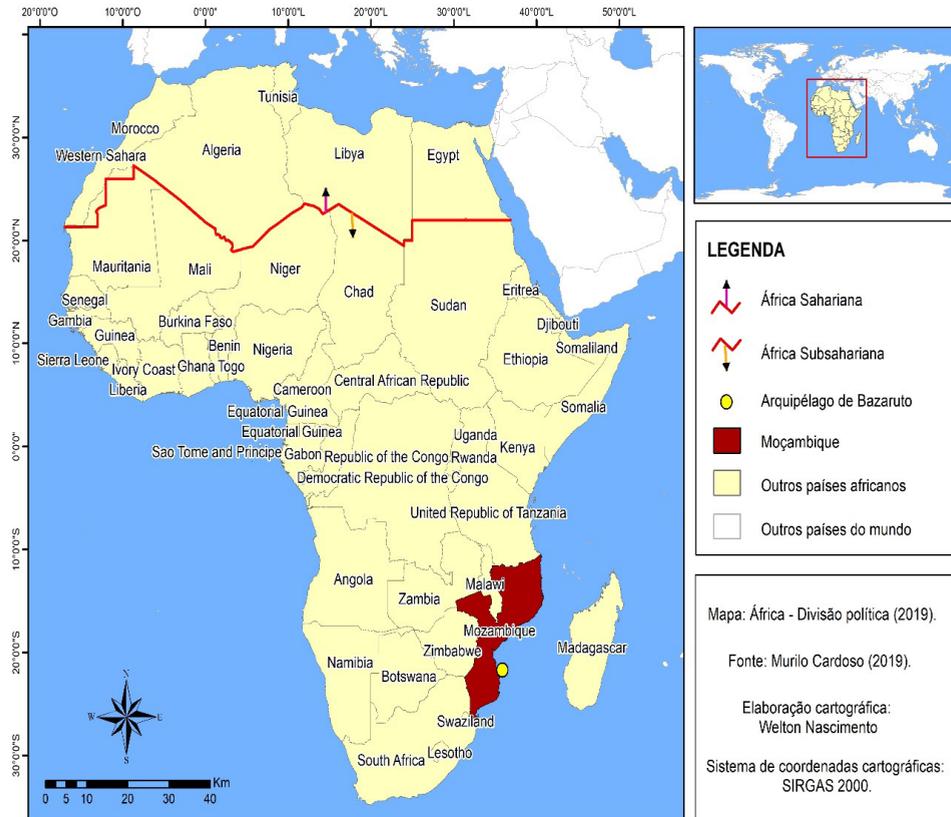
So, this study opts for the coverage of the various phenomena, with the idea of development as freedom elaborated by Amartya Sen based on freedom in relation to action and capabilities. That is, it is considered the life that people value and are able to lead from the choice possibilities based on the means to reach the development objectives related to the freedom of individuals to act for themselves. "These capacities can be expanded by public policy, but on the other hand, the direction of public policy can be influenced by the effective use of the population's participating capacities" (Sen, 2010:33). Now, the possibility of a society being evaluated tending to success or failure is an evaluative measure to verify whether there has been an increase in people's freedom. The other reason is related to individual initiative and social efficiency, in which, free from the condition of an individual's agent, it contributes to the improvement of people's potential. The agent condition reflects an individual as a member of the public, active in society, who contributes to the participation and ordering of economic, social and political actions. These are the two crucially important reasons for individual freedom in the concept of development, related to evaluation and effectiveness that were presented by Sen (2010). Sen (2010) exposes two roles for the expansion of freedom in the development process: the constitutive role, "the end" of development, which corresponds to the importance of substantive freedom in the enrichment of human life related to the capacities and basic freedoms of individuals.

The instrumental role, the means of development, which "concerns how different types of rights, opportunities and entitlements² contribute to the expansion of human freedom in general and thus to the promotion of development" (Sen, 2010:57).

4. THE CASE OF MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique is located in sub-Saharan Africa, on the south-east coast of the African continent. It is bordered to the north by Tanzania, to the north-west by Malawi and Zambia, to the west by Zimbabwe, to the east by the Indian Ocean and to the south and south-west by South Africa and Swaziland. The country has an area of 799,380 square kilometres and a coastline of 2,515 kilometres, running north-south. Its strategic location facilitates the movement of goods and merchandise to countries such as Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Eswatini, making it an important maritime connection point for these nations.

Figure 1
STUDY AREA LOCATION



Looking at the Mozambican context, the country's socioeconomic situation has experienced recessions, which should be considered when one intends to associate it with the neoliberal conjuncture. After the independence of Mozambique, attained on June 25, 1975, the State started to perform the management of companies through the power to organize the economy, as well as the social process, going through moments of attempt to empower national citizens with a view to obtain the desirable development.

In fact, it was a remarkable period at the international level because many movements were freed from the dictatorship (Mosca, 1996). So, in Mozambique:

A month after independence, the first nationalizations took place. The land was declared state property. Education and health were nationalized and private activities in these sectors were banned. Housing was also nationalized and the real estate business was reserved for the State. The first companies began to be abandoned by

the owners who left the country, forcing the government to carry out interventions and to appoint “Administrative Commissions” to manage the companies that had gone public (Mosca,1996:20).

During this period, the nationalization process of a set of activities prevailed, such as the industrial and commercial sector, which consisted of leading state companies in the banking sector, hotel sector, agricultural areas, shopping centres, insurance companies, among others. The country had a staff unable to support the structure, which was evidenced by the lack of specialized people in the various sectors. And so:

The economic results of public companies were, in most cases, negative. A large part of the financing (...) was not reimbursed to the banks and the debt started to swell. The investments were carried out by the State and many of the companies did not have financial solvency for their payment. Because the companies did not have the technical and management capacity to maintain the equipment, the “machine cemeteries” began to swell. Shortages in campaign supply were frequent, affecting (...) productive yields (Mosca, 1996:30).

The weak management capacity of the companies, as well as the internal supply, resulted in a crisis, which, in view of this, the country sought to rise and went through a construction process in all instances.

Given the above elements, there is economic and social stagnation associated with tension and conflicts influenced by structural factors that the country went through in the civil war (1976-1992), external indebtedness, weak industrial productivity that led to its adoption of the neoliberal system. Therefore, in 1987 a structural adjustment program instigated by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund was undertaken and new economic and financial relations with the West were established (Mosca, 1996; Baia, 2009). The State ceases to exercise the direct administration of economic activities, that is, the State withdraws from the centralizing power of companies, establishes the opening of the market, promotes private initiative and foreign investment, facilitating free trade and globalized capital.

Even a superficial observation of modern history highlights that social formation marked by great technological heterogeneity, marked by inequalities in labour productivity (...) a relatively stable population living at the subsistence level, underdeveloped economies are closely linked to the way in which the capitalism spread (Furtado, 1974:6).

“The critical engagement with this history also suggests a structure capable of allowing the identification and construction of alternative political and economic proposals” (Harvey, 2008:5), therefore neoliberalism resulted in the expansion of international trade and the growth of large corporations, and growing process of dependency between countries.

4.1. Tourism in Mozambique and Bazaruto

Mozambique's public tourism policy is deeply linked to the implementation of funds aimed at developing tourism projects, marketing actions and training human resources. In this context, the priority goals of the National Tourism Strategy include positioning Mozambique as a leading tourist destination on the global stage, attracting high-income tourists, strengthening the country's brand and image, encouraging investment in priority areas for tourism development, increasing revenue collection, boosting economic growth and promoting the training of human resources, as well as creating new job opportunities.

Therefore, its postcard is nature tourism, with a focus on the Indian Ocean coast, characterised by long beaches and islands, as well as protected areas such as national parks and reserves. They are particularly attractive for their safaris, flora and historical and cultural heritage. As many developing countries seek to become world-class tourist destinations, many are adopting development strategies geared towards tourism and leisure.

Considering Mozambique's reality, at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, tourism has always been associated with enjoying the environment of the city, enjoying the coast and the jungle, through sport hunting and safaris. Some reference examples from this period are: in Inhambane, the *Charleton Hotel* built in 1890 – the *Hoffman House* which is the current home of the *Gindolo* Indian family; in Maputo, the *Clube Hotel* built between 1898 and 1899 that functions as the *Franco-Mozambican Cultural Centre*, the *Cardoso Hotel* in 1906 and the *Polana Serena Hotel* in 1922; in Quelimane the *Chuabo Hotel* in 1947 and in Morrumbala the remains of the use of thermal waters; in Beira, the *Grand Hotel* built in 1954 which nowadays is abandoned and sheltered by beggars.

Within the scope of the Bazaruto Archipelago, one of the initial landmarks in the development of tourism, it stands out for the existence of the *Santa Carolina Hotel*, currently inoperative, but which was operated in the early 1950s.

Figure 2
SANTA CAROLINA HOTEL SIGNPOST



Source: Authors' personal archive, 2019.

This period dictated the principle of incorporation of investments in tourist enterprises and thus, the control of tourist supply and demand by the capitalist system was outlined with the advent of tourism and the facilities that the technical-scientific environment provided.

The framework of the *Santa Carolina Hotel* demonstrates that during the colonial era, there was already intense contact with the Bazaruto archipelago by an elite, because of the accessibility of means of transport, technical capacity, and the availability of capital to build and maintain an ostensible business in an area markedly vulnerable to the local population. Also, lacking operational capacity and based on vigorous widespread exploration.

Figure 3
SANTA CAROLINA HOTEL



Source: Authors' personal archive, 2019.

In front of the figure above, it is possible to notice that the hotel is in ruins. Currently, it is one of the elements of visit which tends to confirm, in addition to the type of building that differs from recent ones, the presence of the first hotel in the Bazaruto archipelago can still be attested. Therefore, tourism had its highlights, as pointed out Moçambique:

Historically, Mozambique has achieved the position of first-class tourist destination in Africa (...) Tourism has developed around 3 themes: beaches, fauna and the dynamic environment offered by urban centres and was mainly concentrated in the South and Central region of the country. The faunal product was highly developed and Gorongosa National Park was considered one of the best animal reserves in southern Africa and hunting in the central region had an international standard (MITUR, 2006:11).

Tourism related to flora and fauna had its landmarks with the Gorongosa National Park created in 1960, the Zinave National Park in 1962 and the Bazaruto National Park in 1971, which show the influx of tourism in the colonial period. However, tourism was mostly practiced by Portuguese, Americans, South Africans, Spaniards and Germans in the processes of accumulation (Mosca, 1987 *apud* Azevedo, 2014).

Given the above, the first half of the 19th century left significant advances in the evolution of tourism, as well as in the economic and social transformation that occurred as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, favouring the rapid progress in transport and the connection of the central countries with the countries considered peripherals in the world conception.

In the 20th century, the world became more connected, a travel impetus with the aviation age became more comfortable and flexible, which resulted in less time being spent on long journeys. According to Dias and Aguiar (2002), in the 21st century, tourist awareness becomes more demanding with the quality of products and services, refuting mass tourism and increasing nature-oriented tourism. New particularities of tourism emerge, within the new paradigm of antagonisms arising from the world's productive pattern (Azevedo, Figueiredo, Nóbrega, Maranhão, 2013). In view of this, Azevedo et al (2013) refer to the changes that occur and force a new rhythm on society, whether due to the despotism of consumption, the tendency to standardize culture, the flexible relationships with the environment and the capacity for exploration of labour from different parts of the world.

Thus, tourism is part of the flexible accumulation of capital and is improved by the scientific and technological revolution, the liberalization of borders and international trade, the horizontal and vertical union of companies and the movement of jobs in the various productive sectors.

4.1.1. The Bazaruto Archipelago

The research is part of the Bazaruto Archipelago, Mozambique, being a tourism development hub, a strategic area revealed by the tourism development plan, where the influence of tourism companies, as well as non-governmental organizations in territorial dynamics occurs, associated with the understanding of improving the living conditions of the indigenous population. This strategic area is located in the southern part of Mozambique, on the northeast coast of the province of Inhambane. According to Mozambique (2016), it has a total area of 159.08 km² and is formed by five islands: Bazaruto (120.50 km²), Benguerra (32.86 km²), Magaruque (2.96 km²), Santa Carolina (2.10 km²) and Bangue (0.66 km²).

The Bazaruto Archipelago is a park called PNAB – Bazaruto Archipelago National Park – and involves the five islands mentioned above. The archipelago is defined as a marine conservation area with the main objective of conserving biodiversity, considering endangered species, dugongs and sea turtles. The essence of the Bazaruto Archipelago's tourism product is nature, coral reefs, scenic contemplation consisting of dunes, lagoons, beaches, the composition of mangroves and crystalline waters that enable the visibility of species diversity, such as marine mammals.

In this context, activities based on nature are carried out: snorkelling, diving, recreational fishing (catch and release), car ride around the island (Island Drive), horseback riding, horseback riding by boat, bird watching, filming, photography, walking tour

(Island Hope) and guided tour of the community. In addition to sun and sea tourism, the archipelago also has another type of attraction, the Bazaruto lighthouse and the insular archaeological site of Ponta de Dundo called Bazaruto dunes (MITADER, 2016).

Due to the fact that the archipelago is intrinsically linked to the PNAB – Bazaruto Archipelago National Park – it should be noted that this was created in 1971 and later covered by Legislative Decree No. 46/76, of May 25, which involved the island of Bangue, Magaruque and Benguerra and was called Bazaruto National Park. At the same time, the islands of Bazaruto and Santa Carolina were considered special surveillance zones.

In 1989, the islands were conceived by the National Directorate of Forest and Wildlife, under the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development as state bodies responsible for the administration of parks in Mozambique. Subsequently, in 2001 by Decree No. 39/2001, of 27 November, the park's boundary was extended to incorporate the islands of Santa Carolina and Bazaruto and it was renamed the Bazaruto Archipelago National Park and thus the area of the park increased to 1430 km² compared to the initial 600 km². Conservation areas were marked by the transition of tutelage to the Ministry of Tourism and, since 2015, they are under the Ministry of Land, Environment and Rural Development.

The archipelago has about 5,095 inhabitants (MITADER, 2016), the main activity of the indigenous population is artisanal fishing as the base activity of family income, subsistence agriculture and raising goats and other small animals for consumption (Moçambique, 2007). Also, a part of the community performs the role of sailor by means of transport in passenger boats from the mainland to the islands and vice versa, as well as a small portion of the local population works in the tourist enterprises and in the administration of the PNAB.

One of the limitations that the tourism sector presents is the low capacity of qualified labour, weak involvement of local communities in the management and participation in the tourist activity. But for local initiative to rise, there must be economic freedom and empowerment of the local population. Therefore, the limited capacity and local initiative make tourist resources contribute to the well-being of a minority, corresponding to the private sector, mostly foreign (MICULTUR, 2015).

Nevertheless, development requires that all forms of deprivation of liberty are removed. Therefore, access to education, medical care, basic sanitation, employment, economic and social security, as well as the life expectancy of the local population becomes essential. In fact, these aspects are important for the population, so it will also be relevant for tourism that provides local living and the improvement of living conditions for the indigenous population.

In the Bazaruto archipelago, about 85% of households live below the poverty line, which means deprivation in terms of health, education, drinking water supply, lack of general and technical-professional knowledge, as well as lack of income (PNUD³, SADC⁴ and SAPLES, 1998 *apud* MITADER, 2016:65). To this end, the participation of the main actors involved is essential for the projection of inclusive actions that minimize inequalities and benefit a whole, associated with the influence of the active participation of individuals.

Stakeholders in the development process must not only serve the society of production or ownership of products and services, but maximize their presence as active and transformative social agents who enjoy social autonomy in relation to improving the conditions of individuals.

4.2. For an alternative to the tourist model: the Zenguelemo Community Lodge

The approval of the project for the construction of a community lodge in Zenguelemo contained the transfer of 6.1 hectares of land and the execution of a concession contract between MITADER and the local communities of Bazaruto Island through the Thomba Yedyo Community Association.

Given that the archipelago has only 4- and 5-star developments and is generally aimed at high-class tourism and an international dimension, the perspective of the community lodge aims to open up to domestic tourism, reaching other layers of the population of medium and low level, to enjoy a more inclusive tourism. According to Mozambique (2019), the protection and conservation of biodiversity is fundamental and the retribution of community projects depends on the tangible and transparent transfer of benefits to communities, to guarantee alternative livelihoods through increased income and employment.

Although this lodge is implemented within a tourist concession attributed to the community, the focal idea of this enterprise regarding the issue of “inclusive” tourism is debatable when the setting of prices and operating rules depend on market variation, and if the performance of competent institutions, as well as communities weakening surveillance in compliance with labour guidelines, local labour may be underexploited and also the market monopoly will prevail, which will not enable diversification, but rather “monoculture”. Furthermore, according to Moraes (2017), the international division of labour and the allocation of capital obey a rationality in which the globalized places and subjected to monopoly strategies are articulated in an implacable logic of fictitious valorisation.

On that occasion, through funding from the World Bank, the amount of 68,600,000.00 Meticaís was made available for the construction of the community lodge in Zenguelemo, with capacity to accommodate a total of 56 guests per day, with 11 beds in the form of camping for 22 people and 17 beds for 34 people on a self-catering basis. The self-catering modality consists of providing accommodation without meals included, however it provides cleaning services and has a kitchen for guests to use.

Figure 4
ZENGUELEMO COMMUNITY LODGE UNDER CONSTRUCTION



Source: Authors' personal archive, 2019.

Due to the incapacity of local management, through a public tender launched in November 2016, there was the culmination in the selection of the company Far and Wide Zimbabwe, Ltd, for having the proven experience of about 27 years in the operation of ecotourism and environmental education in the area's conservation of Zimbabwe, and for its operational and marketing capacity (Mozbio, 2018; 2019). Thus, the company disburses the amount of 12,000,000.00 Meticaís for the design of the executive project and the equipping, that is, the acquisition of mobile property.

The understanding of the community lodge arises from the fact that the infrastructure - the lodge - belongs to the local community on the island of Bazaruto, since the management of the development will be under the responsibility of the lessee company Far and Wide Zimbabwe, Ltd, in accordance with a contract of lease whose activity permit time would be 25 years.

There are several models of public-private partnership in the field of tourism. In the case of lease, it requires the concession of 5 to 25 years. According to Governo de Moçambique (2018:9), "a private entity leases a park facility and assumes full responsibility for its operation. The conservation authority retains responsibility for capital expenditures", however, consensus is determined between the parties involved.

However, it is noteworthy that the existence of a community property does not in itself express the practice of community tourism. Since, while the emancipatory process is weakened, the operating patterns of the "community" lodge will not be able to escape or dissociate from the standardized and elite model, and its control will transcend the domain of the community, as is currently observed in other enterprises tourist attractions in the Bazaruto archipelago.

Community tourism mobilizes the quality of life of local communities, through the exercise of individual and collective freedom, the process of social mobilization and the means of building citizenship. Participatory management implies that community members become simultaneously articulators and builders of the production chain and thus reveal themselves capable of cooperating and organizing strategies in the context of tourism (Carvalho, 2007).

The inclusion of a more participatory process allows the community, instead of protesting plans that have already been consummated, to be able to integrate an organized plan through the strengthening of alternatives (Nóbrega, 2007). Because, there is a possibility of inclusion of communities through alternative, solidary, participatory and community tourism, meeting human needs through the association with an integrated health, education, housing, employment and income plan.

5. CONCLUSION

In view of the transformations in society's dynamics, the nature of tourism and leisure permeates several connections between the central countries and countries considered peripheral in the world view. Initial investment exploration milestones were identified in the early 1950s, at the time dictated the principle of incorporation of tourist enterprises and thus, the control of tourist supply and demand by the capitalist system was outlined with the advent of tourism and the facilities that the technical-scientific environment

predisposed. It is shown that during the colonial era, there was already an intense contact with the Bazaruto archipelago by an elite, due to the accessibility of means of transport, technical capacity, availability of capital to build and maintain an ostensible business in an area markedly vulnerable to the population local.

Development from a comprehensive perspective has a multifaceted character and should maximize the presence of active and transformative social agents who enjoy social autonomy in relation to improving the conditions of individuals, considering a circle of basic needs correlated with the well-being of the population, such as guaranteeing access and diversity of basic services, including access to tourism and leisure.

The expansion of international financial capital drives the concentration of income, generating inequalities and contradictory circumstances for workers subjected to arduous conditions, as well as the local population in general expects from tourism and leisure opportunities for socioeconomic changes from the perspective of improving living conditions of the population.

We bring a tourism model with the scope of leisure and access to tourism projects from an alternative version, with the version of community tourism, however, it is emphasized that the existence of a community property does not express in itself the practice of a community tourism. Since, while the emancipatory process is weakened, the operating patterns of the community lodge will not be able to escape or dissociate from the standardized and elite model, and its control will transcend the domain of the community, as is currently observed in other existing tourist developments in the Bazaruto archipelago.

Community tourism mobilizes the quality of life of local communities, through the exercise of individual and collective freedom, the process of social mobilization and the means of building citizenship, which includes participatory management and the construction of cooperation and solidarity strategies. There is a possibility of inclusion of communities through alternatives, solidarity and participation, meeting human needs through associability with an integrated plan that involves transformation and emancipation through tourism and leisure.

Authorship statement: The authors declare no conflict of interest. Conceptualization: Verónica Cecílio Chiundila Vico and Francisco Fransualdo de Azevedo. Consulting and treatment of original sources: Verónica Cecílio Chiundila Vico. Writing (Review and Editing): Verónica Cecílio Chiundila Vico, Francisco Fransualdo de Azevedo, Roberto Paolo Vico and Ricardo Ricci Uvinha.

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