

Perspectives for community-driven tourism in Cape Verde

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Abstract: In developing countries, most of the time, tourism is characterised by an exogenous variable. Instead of reducing social issues, not only does this characteristic feature increase them but it also has negative repercussions on a cultural level and on the environment, with complete disregard for the key principles of sustainable development. Local communities are not usually able to interpret the potential for tourism development since they do not share common core needs with it. Consequently, the underlying needs of international tourism flows are neither interpreted nor understood. In this paper, the proposed strategy is community-based tourism. Its core can be found in the integral mapping and management of every single component of Cape Verdean tourism that is given in the most interesting areas in terms of environment, landscape, and culture on the island. The development of identifying social and cultural traits plays a fundamental role when considering the balance between the tourist's needs and expectations, and the needs of the host population.

Keywords: Community-driven tourism; Cape Verde Islands; Sustainable tourism; Santiago Island; community-involving tourism; Community Hotel.

Perspectivas del turismo comunitario en Cabo Verde

Resumen: En los países en vías de desarrollo, la mayoría de las veces, el turismo se caracteriza por ser una variable exógena. En lugar de reducir los problemas sociales, este rasgo característico no sólo los aumenta, sino que también tiene repercusiones negativas a nivel cultural y en el medio ambiente, con total desprecio de los principios clave del desarrollo sostenible. Las comunidades locales no suelen ser capaces de interpretar el potencial de desarrollo del turismo, ya que no comparten con él necesidades básicas comunes. En consecuencia, no se interpretan ni comprenden las necesidades subyacentes de los flujos turísticos internacionales. En este trabajo, la estrategia propuesta es el turismo comunitario. Su núcleo se encuentra en la cartografía y gestión integral de cada uno de los componentes del turismo caboverdiano que se da en las zonas más interesantes en términos de medio ambiente, paisaje y cultura de la isla analizada. El desarrollo de la identificación de los rasgos sociales y culturales juega un papel fundamental a la hora de considerar el equilibrio entre las necesidades y expectativas del turista y las necesidades de la población anfitriona.

Palabras Clave: Turismo comunitario; Islas de Cabo Verde; Turismo sostenible; Isla de Santiago; Turismo comunitario; Hotel comunitario.

1. Introduction. Community-driven tourism in developing countries.

In developing countries, most of the time, tourism is characterised by an exogenous variable. Instead of reducing social issues, not only does this characterisation increase them, but it also has negative repercussions on a cultural level and on the environment, with complete disregard for the key principles of sustainable development. There is a two-fold explanation for this exogenous characterization: (Dell'Agnese, 2018; Pollice e Urso, 2014; Holden, 2013; UNWTO, 2012): on the one hand, the lack of

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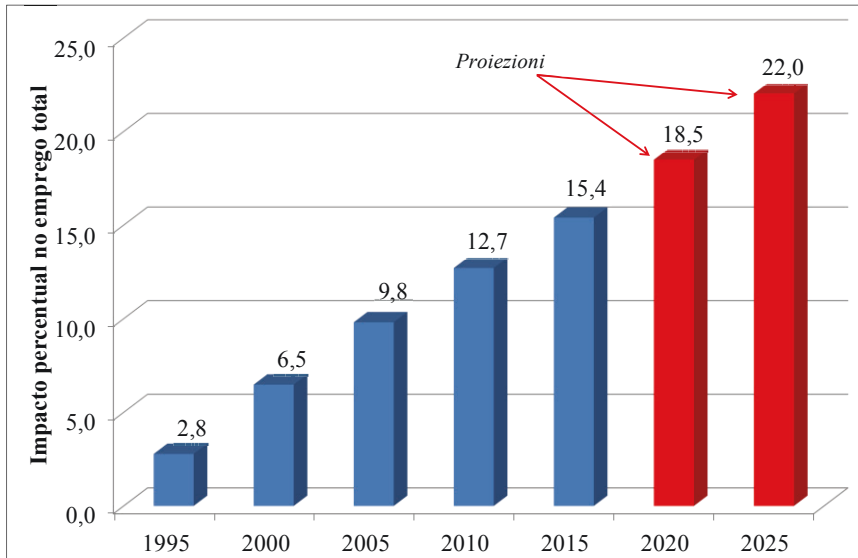
domestic financial resources - economic backwardness prevented capitalist accumulation processes from developing – which tends to favour foreign investments (regarded as essential for the tourism development of an area), as a result of an attractive potential being left unexpressed and low labour cost; on the other hand, the lack of an entrepreneurial culture hinders the launch of endogenous initiatives. Even though this factor has seldom been considered relevant by the scientific literature when analysing the topic, it heavily influences the endogenous development of tourism. Local communities are not usually able to interpret the potential for tourism development, since they do not share common core needs with it. Consequently, the underlying needs of international tourists are neither interpreted nor understood. It is only when these communities come into contact with the tourism demand that some forms of endogenous entrepreneurship arises, although they tend to either occupy interstitial areas, which are not occupied by the exogenous business community (services which are considered to be marginal or less appealing economically), or even emulate them, which sometimes leads to consolidate their economic dominance and replicate the negative effects they have on the environment, and on a social and cultural level. (Pollice 2015; Pollice and Urso, 2014). It follows that in these countries, in order to promote some forms of endogenous and self-centred development which is able to embody the key principles of sustainability, it is necessary to act contextually on both the capitalisation of local communities (for instance, promoting access to credit) and on the even more fundamental capability, which refers to the training of human resources. By doing this, they could be responsible for their development and contribute to the current and future community wellbeing. Tourism is an excellent means to promote sustainable development of the island communities, which are particularly exposed to the risk of being marginalised in an increasingly globalised world (Pollice and Urso, 2014). In order for this to happen, the sector has to be interpreted as an instrument for giving value to a territory while respecting its environmental and cultural values, with the goal of improving the local community's wellbeing. (UNWTO, 2012). Therefore, tourism development has to meet some essential requirements (Pollice, 2018):

- 1) respect the ecosystem by minimising the environmental impact which results from tourism activities (environmental sustainability);
- 2) respect the local culture by valorising its main cultural references and avoid Disneyfication (Minca, 1996), mystification of the local area, and turning it into a show (cultural sustainability);
- 3) promote the redistribution of the benefits which originated from tourism development with the purpose of reducing socio-economic disparities and ensuring that everybody could have access to tourism resources and use them for economic purposes, in compliance with the obligations previously mentioned (social sustainability);
- 4) promote remunerative forms of tourism that are able to improve the population wellbeing, and ensure to cover all costs connected with the creation of the necessary conditions for maintaining and improving the potential attractiveness of the territory (economic sustainability);
- 5) be based on a model of extended governance to ensure the widest participation in the process for defining the development goals and elaborating strategies to reach them (political sustainability).

2. Tourism in Cape Verde Islands.

In the recent years, tourism in the Cape Verde archipelago, being promoted by the increasing trend of the international demand and by the global geopolitical situation (which experienced a fall in the attractiveness of many competing destinations due to a rise in the risk of terrorist attacks) has considerably expanded¹ and has become the strategic sector of the Cape Verdean economy². The number of people working in the tourism sector increased tenfold (from around 3,000 units in 1995 to 35,000 in 2016) in twenty years. Furthermore, according to the World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC) forecasts, in the next five years the number of employees is supposed to make a leap forward, exceeding 50,000 units in 2022 and leading the overall impact of this sector on the total employment over the threshold of 20% (see figure 1). This sector's economic impact also increased simultaneously: tourism GDP share went from 3.2% (1995) to 17.2% (2016). It is thought that, similarly to what is expected for the number of employees, it may exceed 20% as well³.

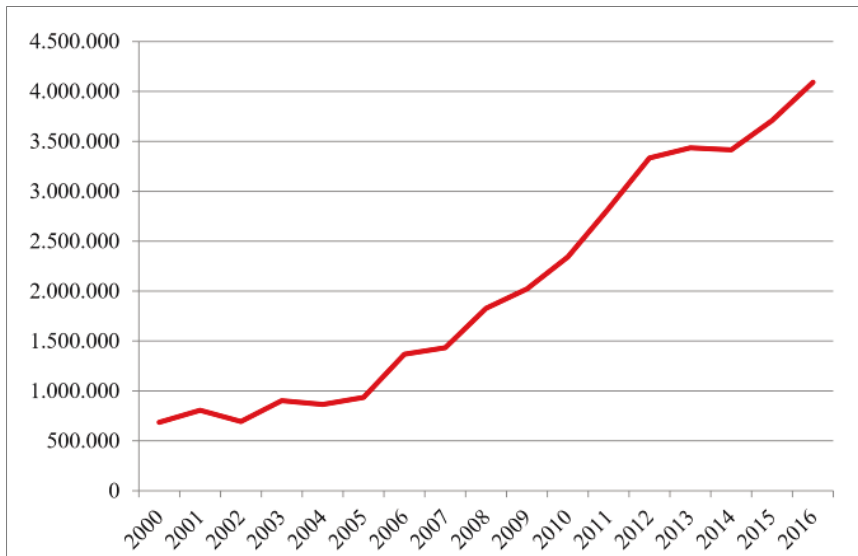
Figure 1: The occupational impact of tourism on Cape Verde Islands



Source: our processing of WTTC data, 2017.

As previously mentioned, the economic and occupational expansion of this sector originated from a sharp increase of tourism flows. In 2000 the arrivals were a little above 145,000, while in 2016 they widely exceeded the number of 644,000 units. Due to an increase in the average length of stay, the presences experienced an even more significant increase, exceeding 4 million – as shown in the next graph (Figure 2).

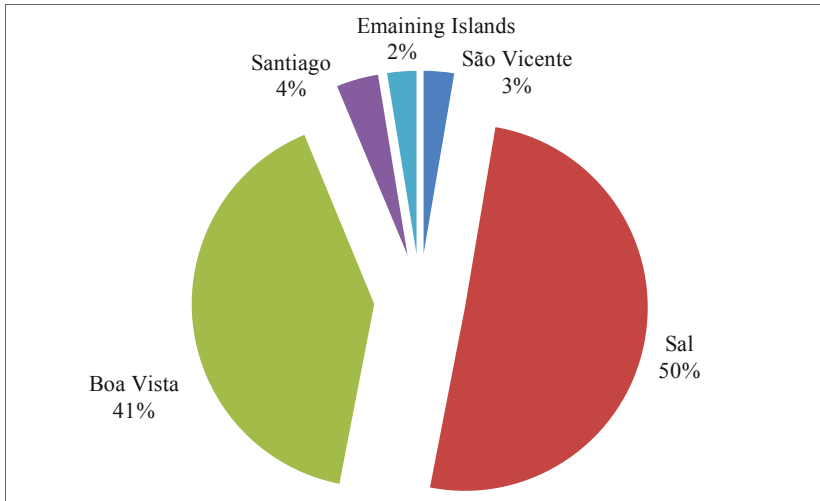
Figure 2: The evolution of tourism presences in Cape Verde Islands



Source: our processing of INE (Instituto Nacional de Estadística) data, 2017.

Unfortunately, tourism expansion has only taken place in the more eastern islands, and not in the entire Cape Verde archipelago. Sal and Boa Vista attract more than 77% of the total tourism flow (percentage incidence of 2016 arrivals) and in terms of tourism presences their contribution even exceeds 90% (figure 3). It is worth pointing out that, when considering the offer, tourism is characterised by a strong exogenous matrix on these islands (in fact, most of the foreign direct investments were directed to these two islands⁴). It entirely revolves around seaside tourism. Resorts are, therefore, built close to the coastline⁵.

Figure 3: The evolution of tourism presences in Cape Verde Islands (2016)



Source: our processing of INE data, 2017

The rapid and uncontrolled development of tourism threatens to have devastating effects on the delicate environmental balance of these two islands⁶, which are completely dependent on the outside world for water and food. In fact, the soil and climate conditions do not allow the growth of any form of farming. On the one hand, the coasts are covered with concrete as a result of the building of the resorts, which are constantly increasing in number. On the other hand, the building of settlements designed to accommodate people working in tourism facilities is, at the same time, outside any logic for planning and with a totally inadequate level of material and immaterial infrastructure.

As for the composition of tourism flow, almost all foreign tourists come from the European Union. The UK share is namely high, covering more than 30% of the total tourism presences. The German and the French clusters have a significant impact as well. Overall, the European presence appears to be well diversified, which is definitely a characteristic of the Cape Verdean tourism.

Chart 1: Composition of tourism flow (2016 presences)

Country	%
United Kingdom	30,0
Germany	12,9
Belgium and Holland	11,7
France	8,0
Portugal	7,8
Italy	6,3
Other countries	23,3
Total	100,0

Source: our processing of INE data, 2017.

At present, the tourist image of the Cape Verde archipelago is largely centred on the sun-sea dyad. The most recent development - especially if we look at current tourism investments - seems to be moving in the direction of a clear reinforcement of this tourism positioning, in spite of the development potential of this area and the indications coming from the government guidelines. It was rightly pointed out that

“The current tourism product of Cape Verde reflects very little, or nothing, of the Cape Verdean culture and soul, and this needs to be changed to further differentiate it” (Monteiro e Ferro, 2017: 35). Moreover, the local community itself, in the face of the economic benefits which arose from the expansion of tourism in recent years⁷, does not seem to be aware of the threats inherent in an exogenous and other-directed development model.

There also seems to be a lack of awareness of the environmental and cultural risks, and even where tourism has a markedly exogenous matrix, there is a euphoria, albeit ‘moderate’, when considering the benefits which resulted from tourism development. (Sánchez Cañizares et al., 2014).

3. Santiago Island: attractive configuration and development potential.

As previously pointed out, the islands of Sal and Boa Vista attract more than 90% of the tourism flow that reaches the Cape Verdean islands, even though these two islands have a much lower level of attractiveness if compared with other islands in the Cape Verdean archipelago. This mainly happens in Santiago, which is not only the capital of the island state, but also its economic and cultural centre. The island’s potential for attracting tourists is broad and diversified, but still largely untapped, as evidenced by the low level of tourism infrastructure both in the capital - especially in relation to the functions concentrated there - and in the rest of the territory, including those coastal resorts which have resources capable of attracting international tourism flows. In contrast to the other islands, and especially in comparison with the previously mentioned islands of the eastern arc, Santiago has an endowment of cultural resources that is not only significant, but also quite diversified. In tourist guides, what is most frequently emphasised is the presence of a ‘major attraction’ such as Ribeira Grande or Cidade Velha, where one can admire the remains of what was the first major human settlement in the Cape Verdean islands, acting as the administrative centre of the Portuguese colony for over three centuries (from 1466 to 1769).

Figure 4: Terracing on Santiago Island



The capital, Praia, is also of considerable cultural interest, retaining some significant examples of colonial architecture and an interesting and dynamic cultural life, emblematically represented by the international festival of Creole music held there every year in April, which attracts tens of thousands of tourists from all over the world. Every night, the Creole music can be heard in a famous club named “51 da musica”.

However, the main attraction is the rural landscape with its magnificent terracing, which is able to exploit even the steepest slopes of the volcanic formations that characterise the orography of the area.

These evolving cultural landscapes were the result of the age-old action of generations of farmers, who have contributed to shape the area by exploiting its full production potential and created cultural mosaics of great scenic effect, as well as, of course, of great agronomic interest with valuable cultivars.

Figure 5: The beach of São Francisco in the southern part of the Santiago Island.



Agriculture is the basis of an extremely interesting short supply chain, also because it flows into a rich gastronomy with great attractive potential, and is excellently interpreted by local restaurateurs. The local cuisine can be rightly considered as the other major attraction of the Cape Verdean islands and of this island in particular, given the fact that the use of raw materials such as vegetables, fruit, fish and white meat, and the low use of red meat reflects the characteristics of the Mediterranean diet. As for the other attractions, there is also the coastline, which offers panoramic views of great beauty and a wide variety of ecosystems, with two large beaches that are excellent for swimming: Tarrafal beach in the northern part of the island and São Francisco beach in the south-east.

Figure 6: The Tarrafal beach, in the northern part of Santiago Island



Of course, Santiago Island's attractiveness in terms of bathing does not allow it to compete with the dozens of kilometres of beaches offered by the two eastern islands, and on the other hand, one cannot fail to consider that this form of tourism would risk compromising the island's environmental balance and the well-being of its inhabitants, since the environmental costs would far outweigh the economic benefits to the local population.

It would be much more appropriate to focus on other tourist targets, drawing on the island's real potential for attracting tourists, which, as previously stated, consists of the rural landscape and the agrifoodstuff associated with it, as well as the natural and cultural attractions that can be considered as excellent accompanying resources.

An idea could be to create a tourist route that crosses the whole island, where one could be taking tourists through the island's most beautiful landscapes with tours to the main natural and cultural attractions. This involves creating an itinerary that runs parallel to the two main roads, which connect the south and north of the island. Hypothetically, one could use it to travel safely on foot or by other means of transport that allow visitors to better experience their relationship with nature and landscapes.

Figure 7: Rural landscape in the interior of Santiago Island



More specifically, three modes of transport are considered along the route (Radicchi, 2013; Hall, Page, 2014):

- trekking, which allows tourists to fully enjoy the surrounding landscape and is perfectly in line with the evolutionary trends of international demand, which appears to be increasingly interested in “paths”. They are conceived as a tourist experience which is capable of contributing to the person's mental and physical well-being while creating an empathetic relationship between the tourist and the area;
- biking, so that it intercepts a growing type of demand that well represents the market's preference for slow tourism⁸, which combines nature, culture, and sport. The possibility of using pedalassisted bikes makes this means of transport much more versatile and accessible to a much wider target group than in the past;
- riding, which is a much more marginal solution than the previous ones, but one that has great appeal and could be used in combination with the others, especially for some excursions to the mountains or to the beaches on the coast. In fact, it is a mode of transport which tourists consider – as absolutely consistent for the enjoyment of rural landscapes. Therefore, it reinforces the tourism offer.

A tourism positioning as the one described above would allow Santiago Island not only to compete directly with the other islands of the archipelago, but also to diversify the attractiveness of the archipelago itself, enriching its tourism image on the global market. It should also be emphasised that, if properly

interpreted, this positioning ensures compliance with the key principles of sustainable development. It has some characteristics that favour the involvement of local communities and the development of small and mainly endogenous business initiatives. Furthermore, this form of tourism has a low environmental impact due to the use of transport modes that not only eliminate or greatly reduce the use of fossil fuels, but they also attract a target demographic which is very environmentally and culturally sensitive, resulting in the enhancement of environmental and cultural resources.

4. Enhancing local entrepreneurship: theoretical notes on community-based tourism.

When discussing the involvement of local communities in the design and implementation of tourism initiatives, it is important to clarify the guidelines and aims that inspire these actions. In other words, it is necessary to consider that the meaning of community-based tourism varies considerably depending on whether it is conceived from a market perspective or from another perspective, which is more focused on enhancing the social, human, and cultural capital of the area. In the market perspective, one risks of running into the contradiction whereby the involvement of local communities, especially in the implementation phase of the initiatives, goes along with an actual “Disneyfication in disguise” (Minca, 1996), aimed at satisfying a specific immersive type of tourism demand. Although this demand, if compared to the past, is decidedly more in line with the sustainability criteria mentioned above, it is often based on a stereotyped narration of the place, on the basis of which tourists “play” the role of a native. (Pinkster and Boterman, 2017).

In contrast, the strategy proposed in this paper is inspired by the second perspective of community-based tourism. In this regard, it may be useful to mention a joint initiative of the Fondazione Lelio e Lisli Basso (Italy) and the Fundação Amílcar Cabral (Cape Verde) aimed at creating a Rural Community Hotel on Santiago Island. Launched in November 2017, this initiative can be considered as emblematic: one can identify the theoretical assumptions of the Community Hotel model by deducing them from the road map of the initiative; the operational conditions will be explained in the next paragraph. On the one hand, the preliminary study of the territory is oriented not only towards a logistic and structural analysis, but also to the emergence of social and cultural characteristics which are peculiar. On the basis of these characteristics, it is possible to consider and balance the connections between tourists’ needs and expectations and the receiving system (Jafari, 1987). On the other hand, and this is probably the most innovative aspect, the Community Hotel model cannot disregard the use of participatory tools from the earliest stages of design and planning. Specifically, the initiative under analysis requires, in the first place, the willingness of the local community to play an active role in the project by offering an area within its own plot of land to build mobile structures to host tourists and/or brick structures to be used for accommodation purposes. The mapping of this availability and the consequent precise identification of the potential locations of the services relating to the Community Hotel will then give rise to an executive project. It will have to be submitted in turn to the scrutiny of the local community, both through institutional events (e.g., university workshops) and through on-site excursions, in order to illustrate the socio-territorial effects of the initiative.

5. The Community Hotel as a receptive model of a community-involved tourism.

The effectiveness of the offer for tourism attraction described in paragraph 3 depends on the coherence and integration of the offer’s individual components and, more specifically, on the coherence of the supporting accommodation system, which refers to all the accommodation facilities which are located along the tourist route and in the areas of greatest environmental, landscape and cultural interest on the island.

These accommodation facilities, in view of the attractive configuration to which one would like to aim, should comply with the following conditions:

- the use of existing buildings that reflect the typological elements of rural architecture, in order to reduce land consumption and limit the environmental impact of tourism. At the same time, it will meet the demand for authenticity which characterises cultural and nature tourism, a segment for which Santiago Island has a high potential for attraction;
- (as an alternative to the previous point) the creation of new accommodation proposals which, nevertheless, should fit harmoniously into the previous settlement contexts, emulating their distinctive and qualifying features;
- the avoidance of building and/or making use of accommodation structures outside the settlement contexts, resorting to the all-inclusive formula which is typical of international resorts and tourist villages;
- the involvement of rural communities by entrusting them with accommodation functions, together with certain recreational and cultural functions which are more closely linked to the social dimension.

The accommodation solution that best meets these conditions is the community hotel one (Pollice, 2016): an accommodation structure whose rooms are made up of spaces obtained from the residents' homes, using public places such as a school, a town hall, and a church for the activation of support services such as reception, back office functions, service points etc., all of which can be found in what can be defined as the accommodation centre. However, this accommodation format should be adapted to the local context since it does not fully meet the conditions which make it applicable and economically sustainable. The community hotel has usually been built in pre-existing settlements that have their own intrinsic attractiveness, due to their historical and cultural value and the quality of the buildings (typical and/or valuable buildings) that lend themselves to being used for tourism. On Santiago Island, there are very few settlements with these characteristics, while the prevailing trend is towards scattered settlements with housing units that would rarely lend themselves to accommodating tourists, avoiding at the same time the displacement of the family living there. Furthermore, as underlined in the previous paragraph, considering the fact that the repositioning of the attraction should be centred on the triad agriculture/culture/nature, the *Albergo Diffuso* (Dall'Ara, 2010) should be adapted to the configuration of the island's rural spaces, which are characterised, as previously mentioned, by the scattered settlement form.

Practically speaking, one could imagine building community hotels along a predefined tourist route, which could follow the route of the *Percurso da Memoria* (tr. Memory Path). Situated in the areas of greatest interest to the landscape, one could be taking advantage of the rural dwellings, which are within a 300-metre radius from the accommodation point (reception and service centre) and could involve the farming families who live there. Essentially, given the conditions outlined above, there are three accommodation solutions that can be referred to:

- the 'open-air' solution, which is based on the creation of equipped pitches where camping tents with 2-4 beds and a bathroom are set up;
- the 'wood loft' solution, which is based on the creation of small wooden structures/buildings, which also have 2-4 beds and a bathroom;
- the 'creole style' solution, which is based on the renovation of the traditional colonial dwellings that dot the rural landscape. They are characterised by a sloping roof and an entrance consisting of two side windows and a central door. Each living unit will have 4-8 beds, a bathroom and a kitchenette.

The first solution would meet the open-air tourism demand and make the most of the Cape Verdean island climatic characteristics, which allows this form of tourism to be practised all year round. The target would be mainly young people, who would engage in trekking activities along the recommended routes.

The second solution, on the other hand, would consist of small wooden structures based on the structure of the rural house on the Cape Verdean islands (rectangular plan with a sloping roof, and built on site using local materials). This accommodation formula would be aimed at meeting the demand for rural and nature tourism from families, young and adult couples, who like to stay in touch with nature, but also seek a higher level of comfort. They prefer accommodation solutions which fit harmoniously into the (natural) environment. As for the third solution, it would be to renovate many disused rural houses, which are found in the island's rural areas. These masonry structures would be geared towards a nature and cultural tourism of higher profile, offering a much higher standard of service and reflecting the typical architecture which can be found in the Cape Verdean archipelago. In this way, it would be possible to meet almost the entire tourist demand, allowing the community hotels to fully perform their function of logistical support for the tourist use of the territory and, at the same time, to constitute a link between the local culture and the host cultures.

In the first case (open-air), families in the area, where the *Albergo Diffuso* is set up, provide tourists with an equipped area (pitch) with a tent, which has a simple and functional furniture and a bathroom (consisting of another small tent attached). In the B&B formula, in the morning, the farming family serves breakfast on the patio outside the tent or in their own home (depending on the tourist's preferences and the family's availability). In the second case (wood loft) the family would provide a space on which the wooden structure would be built. In this case, it will also feature an external patio, a bathroom and a large furnished interior. As for the B&B formula, the proposal would be similar to the one which was used for the 'open-air' accommodation solution. With the masonry solution (Creole style), the family of farmers would provide the unused building, which would be renovated and functionally adapted to welcome tourists. Unlike the other two solutions, this one would also feature a kitchenette with a replace. It would allow guests to cook on site, without the need to use the catering services offered by the farming families, by the community hotel itself (as an additional service), or by the restaurants in the area.

With regard to catering, it could be assumed that the community hotel could be accompanied by three different forms of catering:

- catering offered by the farming families
- catering offered in agreement with restaurants, which operate within the area of the community hotel or in its close proximity;
- catering provided by the accommodation centre.

The three solutions should not necessarily be considered as alternatives, but rather as complementary solutions, since one does not exclude the other. In fact, it can be assumed that, one day a week, the accommodation centre, with the support and/or collaboration of the local families, could offer a lunch or a dinner which features typical products and dishes of the local culinary tradition, whereas the restaurants could be an alternative to family meals.

Finally, with regard to accessory tourism services, community hotels could work in agreement with external entities, which could provide these services professionally and at agreed prices, such as tourist guides, who could accompany hotel guests to visit the attractions of the geographical area.

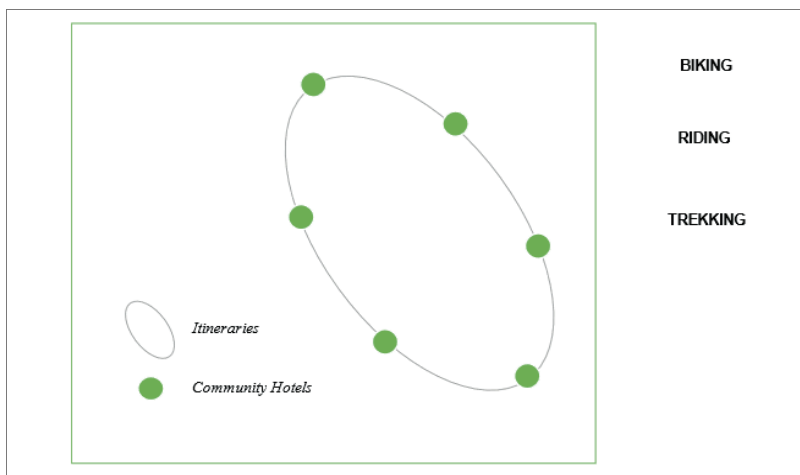
In accordance with what has been previously mentioned, the implementation of the community hotel should take place through the procedure described below, stressing that, to be effective, it must be based on the active involvement of the communities involved (in it):

- 1) the identification and preliminary study of the area;
- 2) a forum (of interests) with the local community;
- 3) the selection of the farming families and identification of the accommodation solutions, including the accommodation centre;
- 4) the implementation of the renovation and re-functionalization of the rural buildings and of the accommodation centre, as well as the creation of the other accommodation solutions (open-air and wood loft);
- 5) the training of the families involved and awareness-raising of the local community;
- 6) the support/accompaniment in the start-up phase of the initiative.

Based on what has been previously said, the following phases should be considered as preparatory in the creation of the community hotel:

- a) the identification of the excursion route that is preliminarily regarded as an itinerary which could follow the development of the “Percurso da Memoria”, although it uses an alternative route for trekking, biking, and riding;
- b) the design and building of wooden structures with materials which are both environmentally friendly and locally available. These structures could be used experimentally as tourist accommodations.

Figure 7: Community hotel network system



6. Conclusions

Santiago Island has great potential for tourism development. If properly enhanced, it could be possible to increase and diversify the attractiveness of the Cape Verdean archipelago, contributing to an increase in the employment rate and in the professionalisation of the rural population.

The island should aim at turning the rural landscape into its main tourist attraction, drawing on a mix of resources that can be summarised as follows:

- 1) the richness and variety of the agronomic aspect - a central element of its rural landscape - and of the local cuisine, which constitutes a further and fundamental attractive element;
- 2) the presence of significant cultural attractions such as Ribeira Grande and its historic settlement, (already) a World Heritage Site;
- 3) the presence of an intangible culture of great anthropological interest represented by its own inhabitants, who are hospitable and open to dialogue.

The development potential could be enhanced by creating and equipping (tourist) itineraries that could allow tourists to visit the entire island in different and possibly integrated ways: trekking; biking (using pedal-assisted bicycles); riding. In all these cases, specialised tourist guides would accompany tourists in the discovery of the territory. Furthermore, in correspondence with the areas of greatest interest, community hotels could be created to support tourists in terms of accommodation and logistics, offering them the possibility of living an emotionally involving experience in contact with the local culture and population.

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Notes

- 1 A similar interpretation was recently suggested by Monteiro and Ferro, according to whom "the advantage of Cabo Verde's product relays basically on: a) the country's advantages regarding the North and West Africa region security and regional disease problematics, and also; b) due to the fact that the destination is still not internationally super popular, hence not saturated with growth margins" (Monteiro, Ferro, 2017: 34).
- 2 The strategic importance of the tourism sector is not only due to its economic and occupational relevance, but also to its capability to activate development potential. As Mitchell wittily points out, "tourism is the first significant economic

activity that has taken place in Cape Verde that is both globally competitive and reflects something that happens in Cape Verde rather than just to Cape Verde” (Mitchell, 2008: 2).

- ³ Only the direct contribution of tourism is taken into consideration in this situation. As a matter of fact, if considering the WTTC estimates, the total contribution of this sector in 2016 (direct, indirect, induced) on occupation would have been about 38.9%, and economically speaking about 44.5%, (WTTC, 2017).
- ⁴ The percentage of foreign direct investments which were intended for the tourism sector exceeds 90%. There is no doubt that the foreign investments were “the main driver of economic growth and a critical factor of employment generation” (Monteiro, Ferro, 2017, p.34)
- ⁵ In recent years, a significant expansion of the second-home market happened as a result of a growing demand of residential tourism, which was encouraged by the development of air links with the main European capitals. As Guzman et Al. point out, “the islands of Sal and Boa Vista are characterised by a commitment to large-scale resorts [...] In addition, there are large numbers of second homes, mainly owned by Europeans” (Lopez-Guzman et al., 2016: 9).
- ⁶ About ten years ago, when the tourism sector was just entering an expansion phase, it was already pointed out that this form of development had two obvious limitations: 1) exogenous matrix and benefits for external economic actors; 2) poor relationship between tourism and local culture; 3) undermining of the environment and the social fabric with prostitution and crime phenomena (Mitchell, 2008: 2-3).
- ⁷ It should be noted that Cape Verde is one of the few states that has managed to achieve eight of the Millennium Development Goals, particularly that of halving poverty (Ministry of Finance of Cabo Verde, 2018).
- ⁸ For further information on the subject, see Bambi G., Iacobelli S., 2019; Calzati V., De Salvo P., Nocifora E., 2016; Carree G., 2016; Duarte, C., 2021; Negro M.R., 2020; Teixeira L., Albach V.M., 2017; Zola L., 2019.

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