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The Development of Tourism and the Accommodation Sector in Malawi Since Independence

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by coursework in Tourism Studies.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the development of tourism and the accommodation sector in Malawi since attaining independence in 1964. It analyses the factors that have influenced the evolution process of Malawi's tourism and accommodation sector and discusses the development patterns in context with the Butler's Theory of Destination Development Area Cycle. The study shows that Malawi tourism and accommodation sector development stages diverged from Butler's proposed phases of destination development. The tourism and accommodation sector development process from the period Malawi obtained independence went through three stages: the Post-Colonial Development Stage, Fragmented Development and Attempted Recovery. Its divergence is primarily attributed to political changes, which in turn influenced the change in tourism policy ideologies. The other main reason for the divergence is attributed to external factors, most importantly the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programme which impacted upon Malawi as a poor indebted country.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts by coursework in Tourism Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Alice Magombo_____

Date _____

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Tourism

Tourism is not a new phenomenon; indeed, it has been part of human experience for many centuries (Smith, 2004). It is defined as all activities of people travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure business or other purposes (UNWTO, 1999). The origins of tourism as we know it today are impossible to pinpoint precisely. Nevertheless, tourism as leisure activity evolved from the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, quickly growing in significance and emerging as a global phenomenon in the twenty-first century (Williams and Shaw, 1988). The leisure aspect of tourism increased economic activities in destination areas and it became of interest as a focus for academic study (Page and Connell, 2006; Sharpley, 2011). Significant developments have shaped tourism into a profitable and large economic sector (Page and Connell, 2006). Social changes in fashion and theme, political, economic and technological influences have determined the progress of tourism. The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) has described it as the fastest growing industry and the third largest next to manufacturing and oil. It is now well-recognized sector as tourism is a source of foreign exchange earnings, employment and a stimulant to other sectorial developments (Dieke, 2003). The number of international tourist arrivals increased from 25.3 million in 1950 to 880 million in 2009, corresponding to 6.2% average annual growth. The revenues generated in the same period increased from US$21 billion to US$852 billion, which was an average annual growth of 11% (UNWTO, 2010).

1.2 Importance of Tourism in Africa

In a special way, tourism has been recognized as a pro-poor development strategy that can contribute to alleviate poverty in Africa as compared to other economic sectors. African poverty has remained persistently high and the United Nations (UN) has projected that two-thirds of the world's poor will be Africans by 2015 (Mitchell and Ashley, 2006). The poverty reducing impacts of tourism are well articulated in tourism literature. Tourism is labour-intensive and

draws a high proportion of vulnerable groups such as women, youth, and unskilled workers and rural residents as employees (Mitchell and Ashley, 2006). In general tourism provides an alternative source of income as most of the income in Africa is generated from subsistence farming. For some African countries such as Mauritius and Seychelles, tourism is the main source of income (Britton, 1982). Countries such as South Africa, Egypt, Tunisia, and Gambia have seen success in tourism development because their tourism receipts constitute 5 percent or more of the national income and their receipts furnish 10 percent or more of exports (Cater, 1995). Overall, however, Africa ranks poorly relative to the mature tourism destinations of North America, Europe, and also of East Asia and the Pacific (Sharpley, 2002). African represents 4% of the total number of international visitors and 3.7% of the total global receipts.

Although Africa is the least visited region, its share of the global tourism market is increasing and the extent of the industry's penetration has increased while Europe and North America tend to have less dynamic growth (Brown and Hall, 2008). In 2006, Africa as a destination showed the greatest growth at 8% whilst Europe and North America were at 4 % and 5 % respectively (Brown and Hall 2008; UNWTO, 2008). In 1998, Africa received 25 million arrivals, which was an increase over 23 million tourists of 1997. These numbers of international tourist arrivals are concentrated in small number of destinations in the north-west and south-east of the African continent. North Africa, with 35 percent of the regional total and southern Africa, with 30 percent, attracted two-thirds of the total tourist arrivals, while East Africa received 23 percent, leaving only ten percent for West Africa and three percent for Central Africa (Rogerson and Kiambo, 2007). The leading destinations for African tourism are shown to be Egypt and South Africa (Mitchell and Ashley, 2006). Between the four main African regions, the industry was worth an estimated $73.6 billion in 2005. According to the WTTC forecast, Africa will grow fourfold between 1995 and 2020. Of that growth in tourist arrivals, Southern Africa, and South Africa in particular, accounts large share of the increase in visitor numbers.

Africa holds the majority of the important biodiversity areas that are still untapped worldwide. Coincidentally, there is an increasing demand for nature-based tourism from the global north

tourists, seeking exotic destinations as alternative to the traditional beach and ski tourism (Shaw and Williams, 1994). Many tourists are in search of authentic culture, which can be found in Africa. The African continent is renowned for its authenticity as some cultures tend to be commoditized for tourists (Telfer and Sharpley, 2008). Local people secure direct income through cultural performances or arts and crafts revenue and increase their income. Most African countries are including tourism promotion in their strategic economic growth planning and are expecting large volumes of tourists (Sharpley, 2002; Mitchell and Ashley, 2007). The influx of tourists brings much needed foreign exchange into Africa. Furthermore, the tourists' expenditure on accommodation, food, local transport, and other services contribute to total income of the destination countries. Tourism demand not only brings rising incomes but also employment to the African destinations. At national level, tourism has become an export that is contributing to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and the macro-economy of destination countries in Africa, including Malawi.

1.3 Malawi Tourism

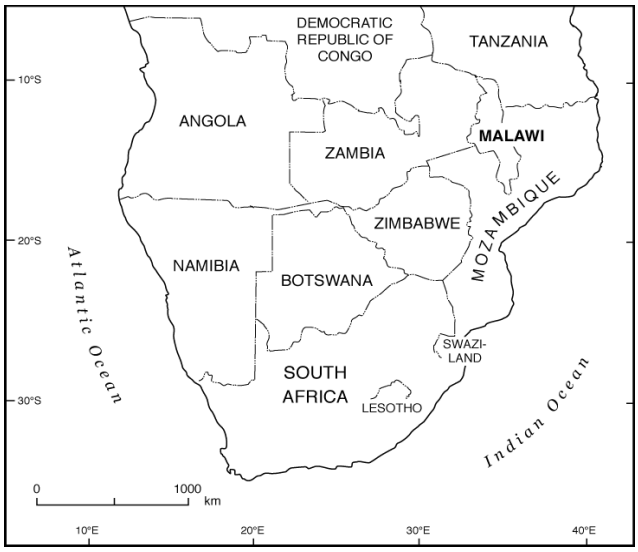

Figure 1.1: Southern Africa Region

In common with many other African countries, Malawi has embraced tourism as a potential vehicle for development (Figure 1.1). For a number of decades, the government has been promoting tourism as a source of foreign exchange earnings, employment and as a contributor

to GDP. Malawi is a small, landlocked country, located in the South East part of Africa, sharing borders with Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia. Malawi, with a population of 15 million, covers an area of 118,484 square Kilometres which is dominated by savanna woodland (Malawi Census Report, 2009, National Tourism Policy, 2006). The country's climate is subtropical, characterized by a hot, wet season from October to March and a cool, dry season from April to September; it enjoys a climate that is favourable for attracting tourists (Malawi Demographic Report 2007, Tourism Policy, 2006). Tourism is a relatively new phenomenon in national economic development planning as Malawi has been a predominantly agriculture-based economy. Nevertheless, since the early 1960s the government has started focusing more attention on non-traditional industries such as tourism. In particular, the post-independence (1964) period has seen considerable attention in tourism. Tourism is targeted to replace tobacco as the main source of foreign exchange due to dwindling income from tobacco caused by anti-smoking campaigns in the main source markets of Europe and other developed countries (Malawi Tourism Policy, 2006). The tourism resource-base includes; natural attractions such as lakes and rivers, natural parks and wildlife reserves, scenic landscapes; and natural heritage. The country also capitalizes on its friendly people, a fact that has been commended by many visitors. It is growing at the rate of 3.4% and as of 2007, the average contribution of tourism to the GDP was 5.9% (WTTC, 2007; Malawi Marketing Plan, 2008). In 2007, the average tourist's expenditure was MK24, 000 while the total number of tourists was 714,000 (Tourism Report, 2007).

1.4 Research on Tourism in Malawi

Although the past decade has witnessed an upturn and growth in the volume of tourism research on Africa, Malawi tourism remains somewhat neglected. In a recent review of published tourism research between 2000 and 2010 for 15 countries of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), it was revealed that research on Malawi tourism was undeveloped (Rogerson and Rogerson, 2011). For the period 2000-2010 there was recorded only two published articles on the academic journals concerning tourism in Malawi. Outside of academic journals the situation is equally limited concerning Malawi tourism with only a small

number of publications to be found (Gartner, 2008; Nsiku and Kiratu, 2009; World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC), 2011)

Nevertheless, since its inclusion in the development agenda of Malawi, studies of Malawi tourism have appeared in various frameworks. The most common framework is the statistical analysis of facts and figures of Malawi tourism since the early 1970s. These have included visitor arrivals, tourism receipts, and hotel occupancies among other things. The statistical data is mainly found in economic reports, consultation reports, UNWTO reports and government reports. UNWTO and WTTC have been consistent in the production of Malawi facts and figures that have been used to make decisions in policy making. In addition, Bisika (2009) has studied the Sexual and Reproductive and HIV/AIDS risk perception in the Malawi tourism industry. The study revealed that people in the sector are at high risk of HIV/AIDS, sexually transmitted infections and unwanted pregnancies and that they should be considered a vulnerable group. In a political ecology framework, Derman and Ferguson (1995) looked into the "Human Rights, Environment and Development: The Dispossession of Fishing Communities on Lake Malawi". In their study, tourism as an economic development strategy has been shown to have the potential to violate the rights of fishing communities by altering their environments. In another case, a study on "Sustainable Development Impacts of Investment Incentive: A case Study of Malawi Tourism Sector" sought to determine a link between incentives and Foreign Direct Investment in Malawi tourism (Nsiku and Kiratu, 2009). It was found out that incentives do not determine FDI in the tourism sector. Other factors such as natural resources, cheap labour and interest rates drive decisions to invest in the tourism sector (Nsiku and Kiratu, 2009). Lastly, an unpublished study on "Tourism development and the Poverty Reduction: A Case Study from Nkhata Bay, Malawi" concluded that tourism was not an indelible force for poverty alleviation in Malawi (Gartner, 2008).

Although there has been limited research done on Malawi tourism, there still remain gaps to understand its impact on development. Overall, it remains that tourism research on Malawi is

undeveloped. Yet, in-depth analyses of the country's tourism industry are required to contribute to the understanding of tourism development in Malawi.

1.5 Aims and Objectives

The core aim in this research is to contribute to the understanding of the development of tourism and the accommodation sector in Malawi through applying the well-known Destination Development Model (Butler, 1980). With scant existing research work on the tourism or the accommodation sectors in Malawi, little is known about issues that have affected tourism development patterns and the emergence of the accommodation sector in Malawi. This study, therefore, seeks to, first, analyze the various factors and issues that have impacted the development of tourism since Malawi's independence in 1964 (Figure 1.1). Second, the study seeks to analyze the emergence and development of the accommodation sector of Malawi, outlining the factors that have influenced its appearance and growth. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- To analyze the underlying factors that have affected tourism development since Malawi's independence in 1964;
- To examine the processes and stages of the evolution of tourism in Malawi;
- To examine factors that had affected the emerging and growth of the accommodation sector in Malawi; and
- To examine Malawi tourism within the framework of Butler's destination development model.

1.6 Methodology

The study has mainly used documentary materials to investigate issues relating to the growth, change or interventions in the tourism development process and the accommodation sector evolution process from the period Malawi gained independence. The core research was the collection of data from the Malawi National Archives in Zomba (Appendix A). Most of the information used in this research was acquired from the National Archives. It includes access to

government policy documents, government files, national development plans, newspaper reports, telephone directories and books. To complement the documentary materials, the study also used semi-structured interviews with key tourism industry stakeholders. Interviews were conducted with hotel managers in the hospitality industry. Many interviews were conducted face-to-face. However, telephone interviews were conducted where it was convenient and necessary for the interviewee. The questions of the interview were open-ended to allow more in-depth discussions and flexibility. In total, the study used 10 selected interviews

1.7 The Structure of the Report

The research report is composed of five chapters:

- ***Chapter 1*** introduces the research by highlighting some aspects of tourism and its importance for economic development in contemporary Africa; the existing scenario in Malawi tourism and the research that has been conducted in Malawi. The chapter also outlines the aims of the study and research methods employed to undertake the study
- ***Chapter 2*** reviews the literature by focusing on the Butler's Destination Development Model. It analyses its applicability and validity. It also discusses the model examples that have used Butler's Model in Africa.
- ***Chapter 3*** presents the historical development of tourism in Malawi particularly since independence. The discussion highlights the increasing importance of tourism in national development planning
- ***Chapter 4*** provides the historical development of the accommodation sector. It points to the role of government in the period 1965- 1994 followed by an increasing involvement by the private sector.
- ***Chapter 5*** concludes the study by discussing the development of Malawi tourism and accommodation sector in the context of Butler's Model. It discusses the importance of the model and how the linking of tourism development and accommodation sector to Butler's Model contributes to understanding tourism and accommodation development in Malawi. Finally, the chapter offers recommendations for development of Malawi tourism.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Although tourism was not thought as a subject of serious research at first, the extent and direction of its research methodologies and literature have evolved in the last few decades (Shaw and Williams, 1994). There had been progress in tourism research methodologies to date by utilizing theoretical analysis to determine tourism development processes. The most well-known and utilized theory has been the Resort Life-Cycle. Butler (2000) acknowledged that the resort life-cycle has been the most frequently used and referenced model for more than two decades.

The aim in this chapter is to provide the theoretical framework which is to inform the analysis and investigation of the development of Malawi's tourism economy and accommodation sector. The chapter begins with a review of Butler's Model of Tourist Destination Development Life-cycle as the theoretical framework in this study. The chapter also analyses its applicability and validity and gives examples of case studies that have used the same theoretical framework for understanding tourism development processes, especially in the African context.

2.2 Overview of the Tourist Destination Development Life-Cycle *(The Butler Model)*

The Tourist Destination Development Life-Cycle (Butler's Model) was first conceptualized by Richard Butler in 1980. The theory described the development of a destination area or a resort as an evolutionary cycle in terms of a series of stages. According to this theory, tourist destination development follows a common pattern, where development proceeds slowly at first, then after experiencing a rapid rate of growth, it stabilizes, and subsequently turns to decline or rejuvenation if any intervention has occurred (Butler, 1980).

The theory originates from two concepts: The business concept of the life cycle of a product and the life cycle of animal species in the wild. In the first case, Butler considers the application of the business concept of life cycle of a product to tourism destinations and resorts. The

argument is that if resorts and destinations are regarded as products, they could be expected to have a life cycle. Just like any business product, these resorts and destinations are created, marketed and consumed and over time their appeal declines. In the second case, an analogy of wild species is used. Butler considered the phenomenon of the rise and fall of wild populations as they increase slowly at first, and then grow rapidly placing a great demand on resources, and eventually the population crashing as animals compete for few resources. This idea is applied to an area destination where visitor numbers rise and then fall over time as the area gets overcrowded and becomes unpopular.

Butler used the two concepts as the rationale to form a tourism related model (see Figure 2.1). His empirical base to test the hypothesis was from Scotland where he observed that there was a period of change in tourist destinations in a physical sense during 1960s. The nature and scale of tourism was going through a transformation due to major changes that were taking place in transport systems. In this period, when the old-style passenger steamers were being replaced by car ferries, traditional holiday patterns were changing as well (Resell and Faulkner, 1999; Butler, 2000). For instance, the holiday makers were no longer using public transport and staying on the same place for long periods. In addition, the use of cars enabled holiday makers to travel with families from urban populated areas to the coast and staying for short periods.

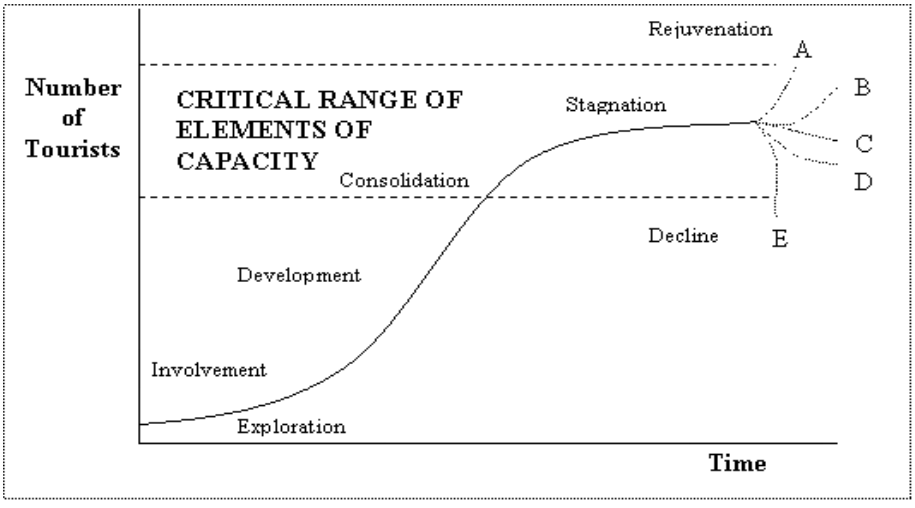

Figure 2.1: Hypothetical Evolution of a Tourist Area

Table 2.1: Characteristics of Stages of Resort Development

Stage	Characteristics
Exploration	Few, adventurous tourists; interest in nature/culture; close interaction with local people; minimal effect on social, cultural and physical environments; local facilities are used
Involvement	Increased tourists' number; some advertising; start of tourist market and season; interaction stays high; some changes in social life and pressure on infrastructure.
Development	Tourists' numbers rapidly increase to equal or exceed local population; more foreign-owned facilities; loss of local control; promotion of artificial attractions; use of migrant labour.
Consolidation	Growth rate declines; tourism now a major economic sector; heavy advertising; some opposition to tourism; facilities deteriorate
Stagnation	Tourist capacity reached/exceeded; reliance on repeats and conventions; surplus hotel capacity and changes in ownership; focus on package tourist; social, environmental and economic problems
Decline	Tourist market is lost; vacationers decline; reliance on week-enders and day visitors; conversion of many facilities
Or rejuvenation	Changed attractions; a new tourist market is found

Source: Butler, 1980

Butler's Destination Development Life-Cycle Model has six stages that describe the progress of a destination. The stages of evolution are (1) Exploration, (2) Involvement, (3) Development, (4) Consolidation, (5) Stagnation and (6) Decline or Rejuvenation (Figure 2.1). For each phase, a graphic representation of asymptotic curve would illustrate development for that phase (Butler, 1980). Table 2.1 provides a summary of the key characteristics of resort development in each of the six phases

In the *Exploration Stage*, the area is characterized by few tourists who are adventurous and are drawn to the area by a unique attraction either of nature or culture. At this stage the negative social, cultural and physical effects on the environment are minimal. There are no specific facilities for the tourists therefore the use of local resident's amenities is common. This situation brings tourists in close interaction with the local people. During this stage the environment of the area is not modified by tourism and its contribution to the economy of the

local people is of little significance. Other economies that are fishing and agricultural-oriented are present (Stansfield, 1978; Andriotis, 2001).

In the *Involvement Stage* visitor numbers are increasing and assume some regularity. Some local residents begin to provide facilities for visitors after realizing the economic significance of tourism. There are increased numbers of locals involved in catering for visitors. Interaction between tourists and locals can be expected to remain high. As this stage is progressing, some advertising is anticipated and a basic market area for visitors is defined. A season for tourist starts to emerge that consequently will entail the adjustment of the social patterns of local residents involved in tourism. Tourist travel arrangements could be organized to certain extend. Government or public agencies feel for the first time the pressure to provide tourist infrastructure.

The *Development Stage* is characterized by the rapid increase of tourists whose number can equal or exceed local population. A well-defined market for tourists is established and there is heavy advertising in the tourist-generating areas. As the development stage progresses, there are more externally-owned or foreign-owned facilities while locally provided facilities start to disappear. These are superseded by modern facilities provided by large enterprises, often international companies especially in the accommodation area. Consequently, the local involvement and control of tourism development is lost. The original natural and cultural attractions are supplemented by artificial man-made attractions that result in changes in the physical appearance of the area. These changes cannot all be welcomed by all the local population. As this stage unfolds, the number of incoming work-force increases together with some auxiliary facilities, such as laundry. The type of tourist also changes as a wider market is drawn upon, representing 'mid-centric' of Plog's classification (Butler, 1980).

In the *Consolidation Stage* the growth rate of tourists declines although the visitor numbers are still increasing. Generally, the total number of visitors exceeds the number of local residents. Now tourism is the major economic sector. Many franchises and chains are represented in the

tourism industry but few additions would be made. Depending on the length of time, some old facilities may be deteriorating. There are extensive advertisements and the marketing is wide-reaching. Some destination marketing efforts are made to extend the visitor season and market area. The community perceives some negative effects and some opposition to tourism may emerge. This hostility could be due to the large number of visitors and special facilities provided to them may arouse some opposition, especially by those not involved in the tourism industry.

When the area reaches the *Stagnation Stage*, tourists' capacity is exceeded or the peak number of tourists would have been reached. The area though well-established is no longer in fashion. The local tourism industry starts to rely on repeat visitation and conventions. There is surplus hotel capacity and frequent changes in ownership are experienced. The focus on the type of visitors changes to organized mass tourists. The genuine natural and cultural attractions would be been superseded by imported artificial ones and there are a host of emerging environmental, social and economic problems.

The *Post-Stagnation Phase* is marked by the *Decline Stage* or the *Rejuvenation Stage.* In the *Decline Stage* the area loses the tourist market. The area is not able to compete with newer attractions as its appeal vanquishes. The number of vacationers decline and there is a tendency for the destination to rely on weekenders and day visitors. Eventually the area moves out of tourism and many tourist facilities are converted into non-touristic related structures. Local residents are able to purchase such properties at lower prices as the market declines.

On the other hand *Rejuvenation Stage* may be reached if there is a change of attraction and new market tourist market is found for it. Essentially, for rejuvenation rather than decline to occur, the destination must re-invent itself and introduce new tourism products to increase or maintain its appeal. The case of Atlantic City is one good example. Here gambling casinos were introduced as tourism panacea to a situation of resort decline. The alternative approach is to take advantage of untapped natural resources that previously were not given attention. For example, spa towns of Europe and the summer holiday village of Aviemore in Scotland

experienced rejuvenation by a re-orientation of destinations to the winter sports market. This allowed the destination to have all-season tourism industry and experience rejuvenation (Butler, 1980).

2.2.1 Purpose of the Butler's Model

According to Butler, the purpose of the model was to argue the case that tourist resorts and destinations should be regarded and analyzed as products which are not infinite and timeless but instead must be viewed as non-renewable resources. At some point they would experience the life cycle that would proceed through stages. The cycle is likely to end until specific efforts are made to prevent or extend it. This illustrates that there is always change related to growth to certain limits in tourism development. This realization could assist those responsible for planning, developing and managing tourists' areas and resorts to make appropriate interventions and decisions when promoting tourism. The model also provides a basic and simple framework for conducting research in tourism development studies.

2.2.2 Criticisms

Some concerns about Butler's model have been raised. For instance, Haywood (1986, 1992) raised concerns on how the end of each stage can be identified. He questioned whether the exact position or stage of a tourist area could be determined or predicted. He argued that it is not clear whether a tourist area's position as it shifts from one stage to another can be identified simply by observing the historical pattern of the number of tourists, given that time-series data rarely obey the theoretical pattern of a smooth curve. For instance, Cancun in Mexico was an 'instant resort' and did not go through some of the stages as indicated by Butler's Model, such as exploration and involvement stages (Butler, 1980). Thus it is argued the S-shaped curve presented by Butler is only one of a number of possible life-cycles patterns.

There were also questions of time-scale. Hovinen (1981) argued that most resort life cycles are based on the annual data. But it could be appropriate to use quarterly or monthly data due to the likelihood of seasonality and other fluctuations in tourism.

Haywood (1986) expressed concern over the definition of destination. He has argued that little attention was given to the definition of a destination area; whether a tourist-area life cycle can be undertaken for a specific region, city or town, hotels and other specific tourist facilities. Haywood (1986) further argued that the cycle does not provide sufficient insight into the development of policy and planning of tourism destination areas. Further he noted that stages seemed inevitable and denied any possibilities of intervention regardless of development and planning policies.

Wall (1982) raised concerns over the phenomenon of cycles. He argued that Butler's model presents many cycles rather than one cycle as demonstrated. Some of the cycles that Wall (1982) has suggested include the cycle of community attitudes towards tourism. It was argued that there will be differences in attitudes towards tourism within a community. Some members could be for tourism development while others are against it at one particular time and this would change the nature of issues. The other cycle could be the resort morphology where the increased use or introduction of structures and infrastructures modify the landscape to copy that of urban characteristics. Another area that Wall (1982) expressed concern is on carrying capacity within a resort. He argued that there is no precise definition of carrying capacity even outside the study of tourism. Carrying capacity is meaningless without prior specification which the Butler's Model is void of.

Getz (1983, 1986, and 1992) also discussed difficulties of applying the concept of carrying capacity in the context of destination planning. He noted that discussions on the actual measurement of capacity and the subsequent imposition of limits in tourism plans are rare. Even Butler's life cycle model was not explicit about it.

Hovinen (1981) also emphasized that carrying capacity can be more of a perceptual issue.

> "Butler's hypothesized 'decline' stage rests on the assumption that elements of an area's carrying capacity become exceeded and that the area loses some of its attractiveness for visitors. A method of defining an area's carrying capacity is therefore important if his argument is to be accepted…" (Hovinen, 1981)

He argued that residents, visitors and business people may believe of the existence of different carrying capacities.

Choy (1992) argued that the model had little applicability to developing areas rather than developed countries where the model was evolved. Choy (1992) argued that the general destination model as proposed by Butler does not apply to the Pacific Islands destinations. If applied, it can be misleading due to the large variations in growth patterns. The model is also criticized more generally for not presenting empirical evidence to support the concept (Prosser, 1995).

Cohen (1979) criticized the model for its over-generalization and its conception as unlinear instead of multilinear approach, which should be favoured in tourism. He further argued that conceptual schemes should be further elaborated, emphasizing the need for some basic problems in tourism research to be reformulated; and, while preserving theoretical pluralism, they should safeguard continuity and the ability to generalize by developing a common research style for the sociology of tourism.

2.2.3 Applications and Modifications

In principle, the conceptual model of a tourist area evolution has been accepted as a generalized theory of tourism development. Many researchers have tried to adapt it by applying the model in various research fields and suggesting modifications where necessary. Tourism literature has enough evidence for both cases where researchers recount experiences with the Butler's model where it was either applicable or needed modifications.

From the study undertaken by Meyer-Arendt in 1985, on the Grand Isle resort of Louisiana, the model's applicability was confirmed (Agarwal, 1997). Grand Isle, which is in the Gulf of Mexico, evolved by displaying changes in settlement patterns and in environmental perception along the coast region. Settlement patterns tended to shift from the village proper toward the beachfront. Eventually, the beachfront eroded and the shoreline distorted, signifying a decline stage. Later, the beach project was designed to rejuvenate it. The study of its development revealed that it exhibited the exploration, involvement, development, consolidation and rejuvenation stages as suggested by Butler on a timescale of two centuries, from 1811 to 1984. Another study by Wilkinson (1987) examined the resort cycle based on tourism in the Caribbean Islands of Aruba, St. Lucia, Antigua and the US Virgin Islands by looking at patterns of international arrivals. A similar pattern of growth and development to that postulated by Butler's Model was revealed (Agarwal, 1997). Furthermore, the study of tourism in Coney Island in United States of America along the Atlantic Ocean, again displayed similar pattern of growth and decline documented in the resort cycle (Snow and Wright, 1976). As one of the first mechanized leisure resorts, Coney Island experienced change in popular culture through advanced technical changes in recreation.

In contrast, the study of tourism in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania by Hovinen (1981), found out that the Butler model did not adequately describe the industry's evolution (Agarwal, 1997). Some of the Butler's six stages of tourist area evolution seem to apply better than others. The 'involvement' and 'development' stages applied well while Lancaster County showed a departure from 'exploration', 'consolidation' and 'stagnation' stages. The shape of the curve differed from that proposed in the Butler's postulated curve of growth and also the sequences of stages were different. In addition, the study also revealed that many of the characteristics associated with each stage did not match those documented by Butler. This was also noted in the study of Port Stephens in the Great Lakes by Baker in1983 (Agarwal, 1997). In a similar case, examination of tourism in the Isle of Man found that the shape of the curve did not conform to the patterns of the resort cycle. Here there were difficulties of operationalizing the life cycle in terms of identifying stages. The application of the resort life-cycle to the development of

Niagara Falls also highlighted many divergences. The findings showed that the area has evolved into a permanent maturity where aspects of consolidation, stagnation, decline and rejuvenation were interwoven (Getz, 1992).

Some of the authors after noting how the model did not fit the specific destination which they were studying had proposed amendments. For instance, Agarwal (1994) raised the possibility of alternative and additional stages after the stagnation stage of the original model particularly with respect to the decline stage option. Likewise Noronha (1976) gave a suggestion that three stages of discovery, local response and initiative, and institutionalized phase as part of tourist destination development life-cycle

2.2.4 Validity

The key argument that there is a development process through which tourist destinations and resorts pass through has been generally accepted (Butler, 2000). Many researchers have shared a common understanding that destinations and resorts are not permanent. They evolve through time while being influenced by internal or external forces. Therefore, despite the criticisms of Butler's model, it is notable that the model provides a basic and broad conceptual framework for understanding changes within destinations and tourist products. It enables the identification of internal and external processes and agents that shape the evolution of particular destinations (Agarwal, 1997). Literature indicates that it has been widely referred to and used in tourism development studies. Therefore the frequency of use of the model and references support the view that the model is still valid. It has been useful as a descriptive model which has applicability in a wide variety of situations (Butler, 2000). It has also been widely used as a conceptual framework by both researchers and students undertaking tourism development studies since its conception in 1980. Overall a number of research studies to illustrate the process of the development of tourist places in a variety of ways using the model have been observed in journals and books. The next section turns to review the application or Butler's model in two African countries.

2.3 Experiences of Using Butler's Model to Interpret Tourism Development in Africa

2.3.1 Swaziland

Swaziland is a small kingdom in the southern part of Africa bordered on three sides by South Africa and Mozambique to the east. Swaziland was a British colony and later had close economic links with the Republic of South Africa which still remains up to this day (Harrison, 1995). According to Harrison (1995), the country is relatively unknown and undeveloped and barely appears in the literature on tourism development. However, the development of tourism in Swaziland was analyzed with specific reference to the Butler's concept of a tourism destination areas cycle. Its analysis diverged from the Butler's model due to external factors. Harrison (1995) argued that the model can be used as a 'yardstick' or ideal type which is useful in measuring the extent to which specific social phenomena conform to or depart from a recognized yardstick or established pattern. In the case of Swaziland, the model as an ideal type was very helpful in determining the external factors that played a role in shaping the Swazi tourism. It is argued that Tourism in Swaziland evolved in five stages of exploration, (1) inactivity, (2) transition, (3) truncated development, and (4) decline and attempted rejuvenation.

The *Exploration Stage*, which occurred during the nineteenth century from 1800-1902, was characterized by few adventurous tourists who were concession hunters and settlers (Harrison, 1995). There were few foreign-owned hotels that were built to meet the needs and demands of these hunters and settlers.

In the *Inactivity Period* between 1903 and 1950, there was no significant development of tourism. It was the end of hunting tourism and the colonial government had just been established. There were few hotels in towns and mining areas. In 1907, there were five hotels catering for business visitors while in 1949, there were only four hotels. Recreation tourism had also come to a halt due to wanton destruction of wildlife.

Between 1950 and 1965, Swazi tourism went through a *Transition Phase*. There were more hotels in the administrative and industrial centres. Some of them were used by holiday makers. In 1947, the colony boasted 11 hotels in these centres. Swaziland was made more attractive to visitors by introducing the Casino Act in 1963. The Act permitted the development or casinos in Swaziland while they were still illegal in the Republic of South Africa.

Truncated Development Period was between 1966 and 1975. During this period, tourism development was promising. Tourists' numbers increased but did not exceed local population. Transnational companies opened a casino hotel with government support. There was a concentration of tourist facilities with improved standards of hotels. Many new hotel rooms were operated by the holiday Inn franchise and the Southern Sun Group. The government also placed tourism on the economic agenda and new institutions were formed, namely, Tourist Board and Swaziland National Trust Commission.

The period from 1976 to 1990 is characterized by *Decline and Attempted Rejuvenation*. Number of holidaymakers declined as a result of the economic and political change in South Africa. In an attempt to reverse the situation two things were done. First, Swazi tradition was deliberately promoted. The First Fruits and the Reed Dance featured prominently in all tourists brochures. Second, hallmark events were strategically organized to fill the empty beds at least for one night if they could not be filled at all (Harrison, 1995).

As shown above, Harrison (1995) applied Butler's model to study the tourism development in Swaziland. It was discovered that Swaziland diverged from the set of stages as depicted in Butler's model. The Swazi Tourism, instead of following the model's stages of exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline or rejuvenation, went through, exploration, inactivity, transition, truncated development, decline and attempted rejuvenation stages. Although this was the case, Harrison argued that the Butler's model, which was used as an 'Ideal Type', gave a valuable framework against which specific developmental

cycles could be assessed. It also highlighted the need to situate destination area developing within the modern world system.

2.3.2 Kenya

Kenya is located on the eastern part of Africa. The country provides an example of a third world country that has embraced tourism as an important strategy for socio-economic development (Akama, 1999). Kenya depended exclusively on agriculture for its foreign exchange earnings and economic development at the time it attained independence in 1963. However, as the prices of agriculture commodities fell on the world market, Kenya turned to the development of tourism as an alternative source of foreign exchange earnings, job creation and economic growth. In the work by Akama (1999) the evolutionary trends of Kenya tourism have been studied and aligned to the Butler's Resort Cycle as an analytical tool. The generalized historical and contextual analysis of the development of tourism in Kenya consists of five stages, namely, (1) exploration, (2) colonial involvement, (3) post-colonial development, (4) consolidation and (5) pre-mature decline. These five 'stages' in the development of Kenya's tourism development, Akama (1999) argued that did not conform to Butler's resort cycle model.

Before being colonized by Britain, Kenya, like much of the rest of the East of Africa was little known to the outside world. The pioneer travellers to this part of the world were the legendary personalities who were driven by the urge to discover and explore new territories and extend western civilization and religion (Akama, 1999). During this first period, which constitute the *Exploration Stage* (1880-1900), Kenya was remote and exotic, characterized by pristine wilderness and a diversity of wildlife species and only few pioneer adventurers ventured into this area

In the second *Colonial-Involvement Stage*, (1900 – 1962), the colonial government undertook to develop basic transport and communication infrastructures. The Kenya-Uganda railway was constructed and hotels were built by the resident European developers, mainly in Nairobi. During this period there was no local involvement in the provision of tourism facilities as

stipulated in the involvement stage of Butler's model. Only resident expatriates initiated the development of hospitality facilities. There was minimal interaction between pioneer western travellers and indigenous Kenyans. The opening up of the eastern African hinterland due to the establishment of basic transport opened up an era of big game hunting. Big game hunting was a major determinant of class and sociopolitical power in the Kenya case (Anderson, 1987, Mackenzie, 1987 in Akama, 1999)

The third stage of *Post-Colonial Development* from 1963 – 1987 was marked by the attainment of independence in 1963. The Kenyan government undertook specific policy initiatives to promote the rapid expansion of tourism. It is also a period marked by the establishment of quasi-government organizations to be in charge of tourism initiatives and the production of tourism master plans. A further aspect was this there were tourism large-scale projects financed by multinational investors. In particularly, there was rapid development of tourism facilities on the Kenyan coast. Within a period of 10 years about 10,000 hotel beds in about 500 hotels were added to the stock existing coastal hotel developments. The major geographical focal points were in the coastal beach resorts of Mombasa and Malindi.

In the fourth *Consolidation Period* (1988-1992) the Kenyan tourism industry was relatively well developed and had become a leading economic sector. The number of international tourists increased ten-fold from 51,000 in 1960 to over 800,000 by the late 1980s. Pre-arranged tourism packages were the most common type of tourist's visits. There was increased ownership and management of the country's tourism by the foreign and multinational companies. Overseas tour operators and travel companies controlled the promotion and marketing of Kenya's tourist product in tourists generating countries.

The last phase according to Akama (1999) is the *Premature Decline Era.* This was characterized by lack of demand for Kenyan tourist products. This situation caused an unprecedented decline. There was increased room and hotel bed supply in late 1980s that was not accompanied by demand and the trend was for hotel low bed occupancies of less than 50%. This trend

continued over a period of four years causing an aura of 'resigned hopelessness' that prevailed over Kenya's tourism industry as arrivals figures dropped steadily.

It has been demonstrated that in Kenya, Akama (1999) applied Butler's Model in order to assess the evolution of tourism. Just like the case of Swaziland, Kenya diverged from Butler's stages. Kenya followed the stages of exploration, colonial involvement, post-colonial development, consolidation and premature decline. Akama (1999) commented that Butler's model had been useful in his analysis and the provision of an explanation of complex social and economic processes in Kenya and the third world as a whole. He further argued that the model was also a useful conceptual framework for providing a coherent and systematic analysis of developments in Kenya tourism.

Although it has been criticized that the description of the Destination Development Life-cycle has most relevance to the European and Mediterranean setting, it has been applied in other settings including Africa as shown above (Butler, 1980). Therefore emerging from the many cases that have used Butler's Model and particularly drawing from the case studies of Swaziland and Kenya in Africa, this project has analyzed tourism development and the evolution of the economy and accommodation sector in Malawi using Butler's model as a conceptual framework. One of the strengths that Butler's model has displayed through various examples and experience of researchers is its ability to bring up real issues that have shaped the developments during a particular place in destination regardless whether the results showed a divergence to the model's stage characteristics or not. The international African experience of using Butler's model shows this. It is also flexible, can be modified and altered to suit different situations and brings out relevant issues, providing for destination development.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the Butler's Theory of Tourist Destination Development Life-Cycle as a conceptual framework for this study. It has analyzed its applicability by reviewing case studies in literature that have used the theory. Examples of such case studies have been drawn from

the Grand Isle of Resort of Louisiana, which confirmed its applicability. Ideally the study of tourism development followed exact stages as postulated in the Butler's theory. The situation of the Caribbean Islands of Aruba, St. Lucia, Antigua, the US Virgin Islands and the US example of Coney Island also confirmed its applicability. On the other hand, other studies showed contrary results. For instance, the study of tourism in Lancaster County in Pennsylvania found out that the Butler's theory did not adequately describe the industry's development. There were a number of departures from the stages in Butler's model. Many divergences from the model were also highlighted in the studies of Port Stephens in the Great Lakes and Niagara Falls. In the case of Africa, the study of tourism development in Swaziland and Kenya indicates that they diverged from the stages as postulated in the Butler's model. Nevertheless, in all cases the theory proved useful by providing a basic framework for understanding tourism development.

The discussion revealed that the Butler's model also has some criticisms. Some concerns have been raised against its ambiguity on how the end of each stage in the lifecycle could be identified. Other researchers have questioned the meaning of destination area, on whether the tourist area life cycle can be undertaken for a specific region, town or city. The argument is that little attention was given to its scale definition. There is also no precise definition of carrying capacity. Its meaning can only be finite if specifications are available. Furthermore, it has been argued that the model has little applicability to developing areas rather than the developed areas where it was evolved. The criticism can be challenged, however, from the bans of studies undertaken in Swaziland by Harrison (1995) and in Kenya by Akama (1999). The model has been criticized for its over- generalization and taking an unlinear approach instead of multilinear approach as should be in the case of tourism.

Despite the criticisms of the model, existing literature indicates that Butler's model has been widely referred and used. It is, therefore, a useful tool, which has applicability in a wide variety of situations. Overall, it provides a broad conceptual framework to understand changes within destinations. It is evidenced that many researchers and students have used it to illustrate the

process of the development of tourist places in a variety of ways. In the next two chapters an analysis is presented of research concerning the little documental tourism economy of Malawi (chapter 3) and the emergence and growth of the accommodation sector on Malawi (chapter 4). Chapter five presents attempts to draw together the findings through the lens of applying the Butler's model.

CHAPTER 3: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN MALAWI

3.1 Introduction

Malawi, like many countries in Africa, is actively promoting tourism as part of national economic development planning (Mitchell and Ashley, 2006). Strategies for its development, planning and promotion are drawn at both national and ministerial level. At national level, tourism is included in the overarching national development strategy, namely, the Malawi Growth Development Strategy (MGDS) (2006-2011), as a priority area for potential economic growth. The target is to make tourism a replacement for tobacco, the main source of foreign exchange earnings as tobacco sales are dwindling due to anti-smoking lobbies in the main tobacco markets. At ministerial level, currently tourism is being promoted as a source of employment and a stimulant to other sectorial developments due to its multiplier effects. The Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Culture of Malawi is responsible for its coordinated development. The Hotels and Tourism Board assists the ministry in the control and maintenance of standards in the hotel industry and advises the minister on tourism developments. The ministry also works in conjunction with the private sector. Currently, the ministry is promoting ecotourism development among a number of different forms of tourism which have been supported in the country since independence in 1964 (Malawi, 2008b).

This chapter seeks to give an account of the tourism evolution in the country since independence. It will also, as background, analyse tourism development in the colonial (1871-1922) and federation periods (1953-1963). It is argued that in the period since independence the role of government has been critical in encouraging tourism development in the Malawi economy. The chapter is organised in terms of an historical account of tourism planning and development in Malawi. The following sections or discussions are provided. First, the beginnings of early tourism development are drawn back to the colonial period. The initial growth of tourism in colonial Nyasaland is then examined into the late colonial period with the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the decade 1953-1963. Second, attention turns to tourism development in post-independence Malawi after 1964. Two sub-sections of materials

are discussed. The first looks at the period 1964-1994 which corresponds to the rule of President Hastings Banda. During the 30 year period it is argued that the first pro-active interventions were pursued to establish the foundations of a modern tourism industry. Issues of concern were establishing an institutional framework for the tourism industry; identifying the country's key tourism assets; and, establishing the infrastructure for tourism development to occur. The discussion highlights the critical importance of tourism from neighbouring countries in the region of Southern Africa for establishing the foundations of Malawi tourism.

The second sub-section of the chapter chronicles tourism development in Malawi after 1994. It is argued that the end of one party rule and the establishment of multi-party democracy ushered in a series of change that affected the policy environment for tourism development in Malawi. The most critical change is, perhaps, the removal of government from direct ownership of tourism products and a greater role allocated to the private sector.

3.2 Historical Emergence of the Tourism Industry

The emergence of tourism in Malawi can be traced back to late 19th century when the first form of government was established by the British administration. The full account of such early tourism cannot be fully articulated due to lack of substantial information. Nevertheless, in this chapter, a brief description of the pre-independence tourism will be provided as a background to tourism development in Malawi as an independent nation. The second form of government was the Federal Government, 1953-1963 when Nyasaland was part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. A short synopsis of tourism development during the period of the federal government is given.

1) Tourism in the Colonial Era

Malawi's tourism potential, as an exceptionally beautiful country, was recognised even during the pre-independence era, which was consisted of the colonial era and federation period. During this time there was little information that indicates the size and scale of tourism. According to the Nyasaland Times, 16 October 1930, the colonial government promoted what

was called 'country publicity.' At that time, the Chamber of Commerce, a government organisation, was responsible for various forms of publicity that included the areas of broadcasting, information, trade and commerce. In the same year, when the Director of Publicity was appointed to head the Publicity Association (though still under the Chamber of Commerce), issues of attracting tourists were included (Nyasaland, 1930). The mandate was to attract tourists to Nyasaland under the slogan: "The Tourist of Today would be Settlers or Investors Tomorrow" (Nyasaland Times, 7 October, 1930).

The first tourists who visited Nyasaland (now Malawi) were mainly motorists from South Africa especially from Cape Town, Johannesburg and Pretoria; and, from Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia. There were a number of reasons for these early tourists to visit Nyasaland. The main reason, especially during the early 1920's and 1930's, was the adventurous spirit that started with David Livingstone the missionary. Visitors wanted to 'feel' what David Livingstone might have experienced when he was exploring Nyasaland in the jungles of the 1870s (Nyasaland Times, 16 October, 1930). Others would come following upon David Livingstone's mission work. A special route formed that started from South Africa to Malawi. The route was as follows: Johannesburg/Pretoria – Warmbaths – Nylstroom – Potgietersrust – Pietersburg – Louis Trichardt – Messina – Beitbridge – Old Nyanetsi – Victoria – Umvuma – Salisbury – Enkeldroom – Blantyre (Malawi, 1965). The total distance from Johannesburg to Blantyre was 1087 miles (1800 Km). The Church of Scotland Mission became an additional attraction. It was David Livingstone's dream to establish a church in Nyasaland. The Church of Scotland undertook to establish a mission in 1876 after David Livingstone's death in 1875 in a selected spot to which they gave the name Blantyre in honour of Livingstone's birthplace in Britain (Klempa, 1999). The mission at Blantyre was attractive to other missionaries and religious people.

The second reason for early tourism development related to Nyasaland's attractions and scenic places that provided recreational activities, such as hunting and angling. It was fashionable in the 1930's to include "hunting big game in an ideal country: picturesque natural beauties" in a motorists' schedule (Bulawayo Chronicle, September 12, 1931). Angling was done along rivers

and the Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi) while visiting local fishing villages. Apart from motoring, railways were also used as a secondary mode of transport (Bulawayo Chronicle, September 12, 1931).

The third basis for early tourism development was trade-related. The tea and tobacco estates of Nyasaland were regarded as a tourism attraction which was considered rare in colonial days. As few hotels or any other forms of accommodation existed in the colonial era, typically, the traveller would be connected to a veteran settler (planter) who would supply lodgings and food. The policy was for settlers to be hospitable and provide the basic needs of people so that visitors might want to settle down permanently in the colony. Most planters, as European settlers were commonly called, owned estates, especially tobacco and tea estates, as their source of income. The visitor would visit one estate and study the organisation of tobacco planting and the life of the settler. In tea estates, the visitor would be drawn to the process of tea-making in the huge factories.

It was only in the late 1940s that Nyasaland began briefly to attract air tourists from Britain. During this time, an unusual mode of transport was introduced in Nyasaland. The 'Solent' flying-boat service operated from November, 1949 to October, 1950 between Southampton in Britain and Vaaldam near Johannesburg in South Africa via Cape Maclear in Nyasaland (Malawi). During this period, an estimated 2000 visitors stopped at Cape Maclear, which was a short access to directly visit the Lake (Colby, 1988). Nyasaland began to enjoy a partial recognition as tourism destination. Unfortunately, however, with the introduction of jets, the flying boats became unpopular, and the service through Cape Maclear was terminated in 1950 (Colby, 1988).

2) Tourism in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

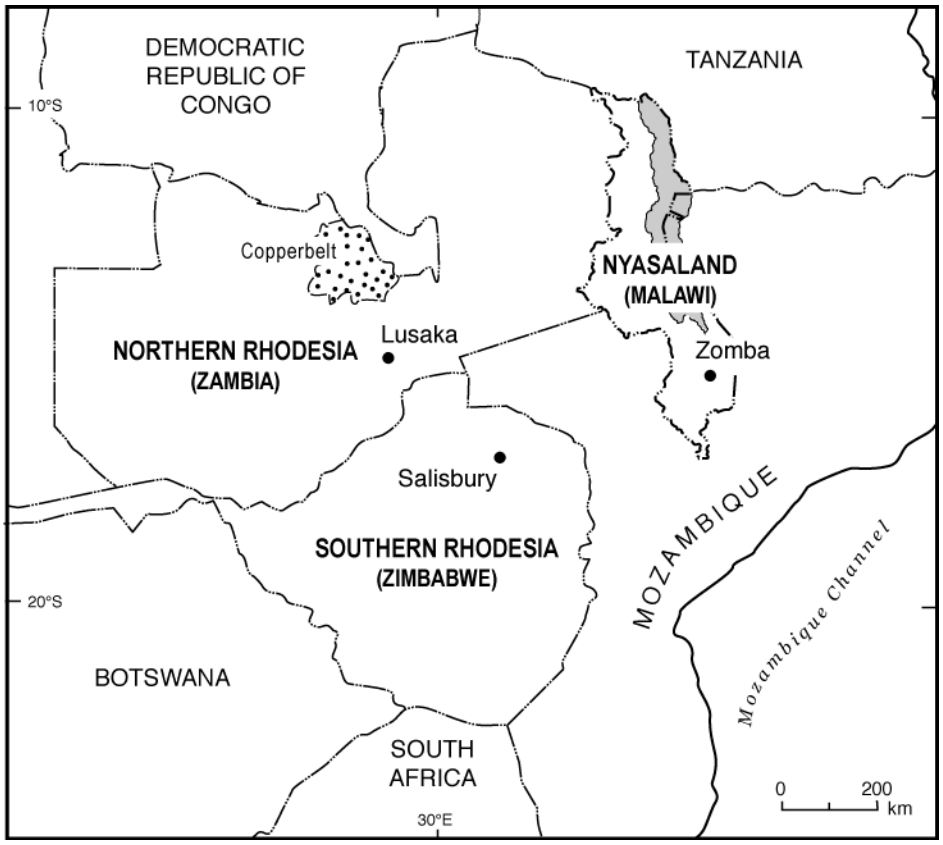

Figure 3.1: Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

From 1953 to the end of 1963 Nyasaland (Malawi) was part of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (which included Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia) (see Fig. 3.1). Although each state maintained its local authority and identity, tourism development during the Federation was in the hands of the federal government which was an overall central government (Nyasaland, 1958). The Federal government created the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Tourist Board to cover tourism development in all three territories. The Board was based in the Federal Capital of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and was responsible for all tourism planning, development, marketing and promotion. During the federal period tourist infrastructure was developed primarily in Southern Rhodesia as the main focus country of the federal government. There was much to offer in terms of tourism attractions. The territory had Victoria Falls on the Zambezi River, the greatest waterfall in the world, as the primary attraction

and secondary attractions included the Zimbabwe ruins - remains of former civilisations, and game reserves at Wankie (Norris, 1954, 1961).

By contrast with Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland tourism was limited. Nyasaland offered the lakeshore of Lake Nyasa as an ideal place for a holiday maker. All the colonies in the federation had a splendid climate during the winter months; usually bright and sunny and liked by tourists from Europe (Norris, 1954). Although Nyasaland was part of the Federation, it was not actively involved in the organisation of federal tourism. Statistical data of visitors was not readily available for Nyasaland. The Nyasaland Publicity Association, which started during the colonial era, was still operative throughout the federation. It was abolished in 1962 just before Nyasaland obtained self-government in 1963.

The Rhodesia and Nyasaland Tourist Board made a great effort to 'market' the federation. It had tourism office branches in Johannesburg, Durban, Cape Town, Lourenco Marques, Nairobi and London to promote tourism. In addition, point of sale materials such as magazines and promotional films, were produced. Some of the most popular promotional films include: "Africa calls from Rhodesia and Nyasaland," "Fairest Africa," which had a long sequence about touring in Nyasaland, and "Four Roads to Fun" that gave excellent publicity to the lakeshore in Nyasaland. Two other tourist films "Nyasa Holiday" and "Cedar Mountain" were entirely devoted to Nyasaland (Southern Rhodesia, 1962). Overall, it is argued that in the Federal period, the Salisbury-based Rhodesia and Nyasaland Tourism Board paid greatest attention to promoting tourism in Southern Rhodesia and largely neglected Nyasaland.

3.3 Tourism Development after Independence

Tourism was not a new industry in Malawi, as of 1964, the time of independence, since the country attracted a small number of holiday-makers during the Federal period. Nevertheless, coordinated and organised development of tourism was a new phenomenon. The colonial and Federal governments had done little to encourage Malawi's tourism industry (Malawi, 1966). During the colonial era only small scale tourism occurred.

As an independent nation, Malawi chose to incorporate tourism in its development plans in part due to the influence of other African nations, such as Kenya that were already established in promoting tourism. Malawi has been predominantly an agricultural country throughout its existence. In 1967, over half of its Gross Domestic Product came from agriculture. Two-thirds of agriculture was accounted for by the subsistence agriculture sector and the other one-third by commercial crops. The tourism Industry was, therefore, initiated and encouraged to create additional income apart from agriculture, to bring foreign exchange and employment (Malawi, 1968a). Tourism was a basis for economic development and diversification.

In the first five-year development programme, the government's approach to encourage the industry was twofold. First, the agency of Malawi Development Corporation (MDC) was established and mandated to carry out an extensive hotel development programme and create an attractive investment climate to encourage private investors to enter the industry. The second approach was through the creation of three government connected institutions relating to tourism: (1) the Division of Tourism in the Ministry of Trade and Industry, (2) the Hotels Board and (3) the Tourism Board. The functions of the Division of Tourism included the investigation and assessment of the potential of all aspects of Malawian tourism, the production of plans for the efficient exploitation of each aspect; and, the projection of a favourable tourism image abroad. The Hotels Board was an inspectorate responsible for the maintenance of minimum standards of accommodation while the Tourism Board was an extra-governmental organisation which advised the responsible minister concerning the promotion of tourism and the development of Malawi's tourism facilities and amenities.

3.4 Institutional Tourism Development

Initially, a one-man Division of Tourism was established in 1962 (before Malawi had attained self-government) under the then Ministry of Trade and Industry. This division was charged with two tasks; first, to investigate the country's tourism potential and to submit plans for its proper exploitation and, second, to publicise the country's tourist attractions abroad (Malawi, 1966).

The division was headed by the Tourism Development Officer assisted by a clerk, a messenger and a driver. The first legislation creating a tourism body was introduced in 1965. The one-man operator in the Division of Tourism was later assisted by the National Tourism Advisory Committee that was formed in 1967. Its function was to coordinate all activities of the ministries concerned in improvement of tourist facilities in the country. The head of the Division of Tourism was the chairman of this committee (Malawi, 1966).

In 1968, the Tourism and Hotels Act came into force which made provision for the creation of the Tourism Board and Hotel Board. As already alluded to, the Tourism Board was established as an administrative body and was to advise the minister on matters concerning tourism generally in Malawi. The Hotel Board was to make regulations concerning the Hotel Industry, and to lay down minimum standards for hotels, to grade and classify them and to license them. It was soon realised that the boards were overlapping in their duties. Therefore, another bill, the Hotels (Amendment Bill), 1969 sought to abolish the existence of two separate boards due to the close connection between them and instead to create one unified body (Malawi, 1969a). This amendment bill of 1969 created the Tourism and Hotels Board which was mainly responsible for advising the Minister of Tourism on all matters affecting the industry, the enforcement of hotel and restaurant standards and the licencing of related business. The Act also laid down comprehensive minimum standards to be maintained by hotels and restaurants licenced under it (Malawi, 1969a).

In 1969, the Division of Tourism was upgraded into the Department of Tourism. The new department was entrusted to develop, coordinate, control and promote Malawi's tourism industry, to train hotel staff and to run some of the existing chain of government resthouses that had been established during the colonial period (see chapter 4). The new Department started its work with vigour and enthusiasm and immediately took to embark upon two major activities. The first task was to plan and develop an up-to-date and acceptable tourism product in the form of hotels, transport and other related amenities in consultation with other government departments, statutory organisations and private investors. In terms of hotels, the

department had to consult with the Malawi Development Corporation (MDC), a statutory body which was established by government to assist in the overall promotion of the country's commerce and industry. Transport was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Transport and the Department of Tourism had to liaise in all manners concerning tourist transport. The second task was for the department to embark upon a vigorous marketing campaign in an effort to increase the number of visitors to Malawi (Malawi, 1969d).

During the early 1970s, the Department of Tourism was re-organised with an expatriate director as Chief Tourism Officer and a new section of marketing formed (Malawi, 1971). An Overseas Development Administration (ODA) marketing adviser from Britain and three recruits were added to the marketing section in September 1972 (Malawi, 1974). In order to assist the marketing section, a Salisbury-based advertising agent was appointed in 1973 to design and run the department's advertising campaigns with the prime markets perceived then to be South Africa, Zimbabwe and Zambia (Malawi, 1974). These changed institutional arrangements and appointments spearheaded a new direction in the promotion of the tourism industry as the marketing of Malawi's tourist product was the sole and major responsibility of the Department of Tourism at this time. The Department realised that co-operation in the travel trade was important for the successful marketing of Malawi's tourist product. Accordingly, it spearheaded the planning, organisation and marketing of Malawi's tourist product in conjunction with the travel trade (Malawi, 1971). Extensive promotional activities were planned annually to be carried out initially in the region's key tourism markets and later also in long-haul markets together with other travel trade organisations. Other main activities included advertising and the production of point-of-sale materials. The department also planned to establish organising offices in tourist-generating countries; to conduct educational visits together with the travel trade personnel in Malawi; distribute films to select audiences; and, participate at major tourism fairs and conferences (Malawi, 1971, 1972).

The training of personnel for tourism industry was acknowledged to be of great importance if the Department had to survive. Many young people were sent abroad to study various aspect

of tourism and hotel work in the early 1970's through the training office in the Office of the President and Cabinet (OPC). This was an expensive exercise as personnel at all levels had to be trained abroad. In order to reduce training expenses in the long run, the Department of Tourism considered the acquisition of premises to start a local training school (Malawi, 1972). One of the old small hotels in Blantyre was converted into a hotel training school for basic, junior and middle management staff. The school was opened in 1978. After its establishment only those students wishing to undertake top management courses were sent abroad.

3.5 Assessing the Tourism Potential

In 1968, the Division of Tourism prepared an overall plan for the development of tourism. This plan, as well as being the statement of government policy, identified the potential of tourism and the most profitable areas of investment. It was also to guide the private investor in the tourism industry development. Among other things, the plan evaluated the tourism potential, described the country's tourist attractions, proposed the appropriate type of development and required investment. In order to have a second opinion on the assessment of the potential of tourism in the country the Unite Nations Economic Commission for Africa representative was requested to assess the potential of tourism in 1968. From this report as well as the Division of Tourism assessment, a comprehensive development programme was produced (Malawi, 1968a).

After the initial assessment, it was realised that Malawi's tourism potential depended largely on its natural resources; a unique lake, where pleasure resort possibilities were virtually unlimited, beautiful mountain scenery which could be viable with angling and mountaineering facilities in place, small but significant game reserves and 'friendly' population. In addition, the country had a stable political and economic climate and its strategic position on the continent of Africa was also noted to be of great importance. The country was considered as well sited in the middle of Africa and was easy to get to, and the surrounding countries had large numbers of people who could be persuaded to come to Malawi on holiday (Malawi, 1968a). It was projected that the tourism industry would be fully viable once appropriate facilities had been put into place.

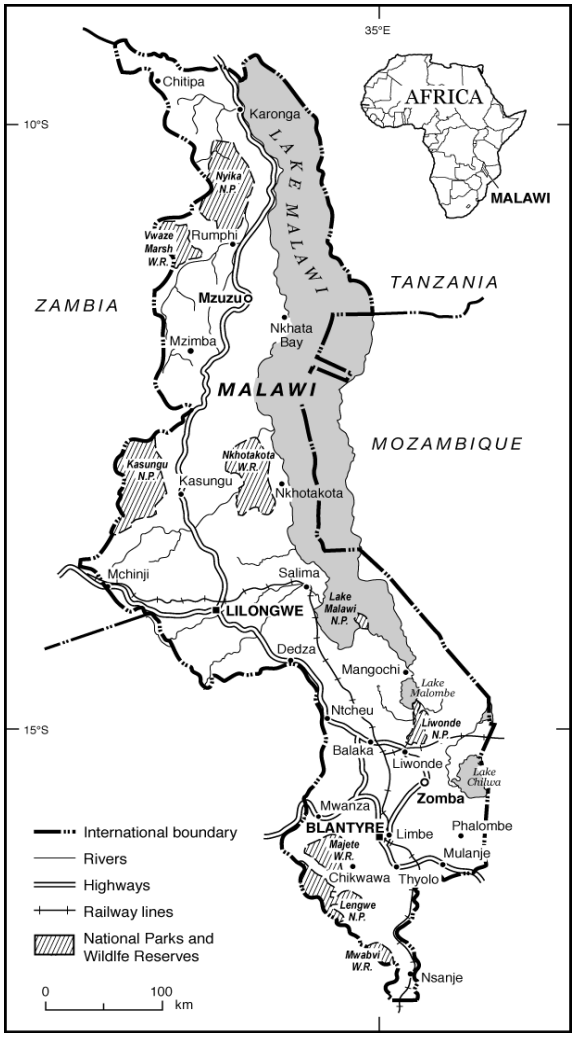

Figure 3.2: Tourist Attractions in Malawi

The country's main tourist attraction was Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi, 1500 feet above sea level) which was the third largest lake in Africa (Fig. 3.2). The lake provided safe bathing and opportunities for all kinds of water sports. Pleasure resort facilities were few in the mid-1960s although possibilities for development were considered "unlimited". The climate on the lake, with a low annual rainfall, was warm and agreeable all the year round and a stay at the lake was pleasant even during the rainy season (Malawi, 1968a). Post-independence tourism planning recognised the importance of the Lake as the key tourism asset of Malawi. At independence only a small number of tourists visited the existing small hotels on the Lake. Considerable potential was seen for developing further the Lake on a basis for leisure tourism.

Apart from the lake, secondary attractions were the high plateaus of Mlanje (now Mulanje), Zomba, Vipya and Nyika with a bracing climate and magnificent mountain scenery (Fig. 3.2). Of the four plateaus in Malawi, Mlanje Mountain (now Mulanje) in the southern region on Malawi's eastern border with Mozambique was the largest area. Attractions on the mountain were climbing, mountaineering, trout fishing and walking; accommodation was basic and restricted to camping. In the foothills were several attractive rock pools suitable for swimming. On Zomba plateau there was again trout fishing in dams and streams, and a considerable number of attractive walks. At Zomba, there was already a mountain lodge with limited accommodation (6 beds). The Vipya plateau located in the North was not developed for tourists, though there were government rest-houses nearby at Mzuzu and Nkhata Bay by the lakeshore. Nyika plateau also located in the North, had some camping facilities (Malawi, 1969d)

Game viewing was offered by Malawi's Game Reserves which were administered by the Department of Forestry and Game of the Ministry of Natural Resources. Three reserves were opened to the public and all had small residential camps; the Kasungu Reserve in the central region (14 beds); the Malawi National Park (now called Nyika National Park) on the Nyika plateau (26 beds) and the Lengwe Game Reserve (now national park) 40 miles from Blantyre (8 beds). These three camps served mainly the local market and were fully utilised most of the year at weekends (Malawi, 1969d). In future plans, the three Game Reserves were to be part of air package tours after Kasungu Game Reserve and Nyika National Park had established airstrips to cater for international tourists. Initially the strips would be used by charter aircraft with the hope of introducing scheduled services as the demand would justify them.

During the late 1960s, four other reserves were being developed and visitors' camps prepared. The game populations of Malawi were small in comparison with the neighbouring countries. Protection of the animals only had commenced in the mid-1950s and camps opened at the beginning of 1960s (Malawi, 1967a). However, the expectation was that they would offer competitive facilities within two or three years. In addition, one or two areas were considered

for development as “Hunting Areas” for private safaris. Visitors who wished to organise their own safaris would obtain licences, details of the game which could be shot and the prescribed areas from the department (Malawi, 1967a).

Hunting: Although tourism at the independence time was described as “being in its new beginnings” (Malawi, 1965), some inherited forms of tourism activities still persisted. Hunting big game started during the colonial era and continued through the federation to independent Malawi. Although the extent of hunting was small compared with neighbouring countries, there were some areas which were emerging (Malawi, 1965). In particular, there were two such areas in the Southern Region, between Kasupe (now Machinga) and Liwonde; and, in Fort Johnston (Mangochi) District. In the Central Region, it was between Mchinji and Kasungu, and most of the escarpment area between the densely populated zones of the Lilongwe plain and the Lake-shore. Much of the Northern Region offered reasonable hunting facilities, though Mzimba District was densely populated and most of the game there had been shot out at the time of independence (Malawi, 1967a). Hunting was completely prohibited in all game and forest reserves and in the national park. In addition, there were also controlled areas where only local residents might hunt. In 1968, there were no companies in Malawi which organised hunting safaris and prospective visitors would apply for game licences and obtain general information from the Director of Forestry and Game in Zomba. Two types of licences were available to visitors to Malawi (Malawi, 1968a). The first was the Minister’s licence which was normally issued in respect of completely protected animals which were required for scientific purposes. Completely protected animals included elephant and their licences cost £40 each. Occasionally, a limited number of licences would be issued to visitors in areas where elephants had been causing damage to crops. The second licence was the National licence which was available at the cost of £10 to both residents and visitors and was valid for the calendar year. On this licence the holder was permitted to kill the following animals: male bushbuck 2, male eland 1, male Hartebeests 1, male kudu 1, male reedbuck 4, male roan 1, male waterbuck 1, common buiker 1-2, male Sharpe’ stein buck 1-2, warthog 2, lion 1 and buffalo 2. Buffaloes were permitted only to owners of rifles of .375 magnum capacity or greater. It was also

necessary for a prospective visitor to obtain tourist firearms permit for his firearms and ammunition. This licence had to be obtained well in advance from the commissioner of police (registrar of firearms) (Malawi, 1967a, 1968a).

3.6 Initial Tourism Development

Although Malawi was described as having beautiful scenery and pleasant climate which would attract tourists from many parts of the world if relevant facilities were available, it was believed that tourism development would be achieved in phases. Tourism in Malawi could in the first place be developed on a regional level and based on its tourist resource base (Malawi, 1968a). The 1968 tourism plan was to tackle the development of international tourism after the regional tourism infrastructure was established. Experience and positive outcomes would allow the country to undertake more challenging and demanding international tourism.

3.6.1 Development of Regional Tourism

The 1968 plan envisaged that the initial tourist markets once the government hotels (see chapter 4) were operative would be from within Africa and the immediate African neighbours would be significant and form the greater part of the tourist market (Malawi, 1968a). The country was well sited in the middle of Africa where it could be easily accessed from the surrounding countries, which also had large numbers of people that could be persuaded to come to Malawi on holiday. Policy on this matter was designed to utilise those areas where infrastructural facilities already existed and to expand the scope of the tours as the network of these facilities was extended under the 1968 development programme (Malawi, 1968a).

Blantyre, the commercial city, provided the first opportunity to promote tourism although it was made clear it could not be the main base of tourism activities, rather a gateway to other places of interest, especially the lakeshore (Malawi, 1969d). Organised short stopover tours could be arranged in the interim as the first international hotel was scheduled to open in Blantyre in 1969. Although primarily a commercial hotel, it was also intended to act as a base for stopover tours which ranged from half a day to a week. The tours would be in the first

instance in the Southern Region. During the late 1960s, flights were available that routed through Chileka, the country's main airport in Blantyre, and included those from East Africa, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa. Therefore, short stopover tours would be organised from Chileka. The tours would be only half-day ones but if successful it was planned that air schedules could be adapted to permit longer tours of 1-7 days. The opening of more government hotels and other tourist infrastructure would facilitate easier organisation of such tours. The initial itinerary was to be from Blantyre District to the districts of Cholo (Thyolo) and Mlanje (Mulanje) and back to Blantyre. As accommodation would become available these trips could be extended to the north to take in the districts of Zomba, Fort Johnston (Mangochi) and Chiradzulu. In a similar manner, it was hoped to exploit the proposed government hotel at Lilongwe that would open in 1970 (Malawi, 1969d). Tours would be organised encompassing the districts of Salima, taking advantage of lakeshore hotels, Kasungu, targeting the Kasungu Game Reserve (now national park), and the Nyika Plateau in Rumphi (Malawi, 1969d).

Opportunities existed to attract holidaymakers from the Zambian Copperbelt, Mozambique, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa. It was considered that the natural assets of Malawi would have enough appeal for them, especially Lake Malawi, provided comfortable hotels were available. Zambia and Zimbabwe, former partners in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, had a community of expatriates and settlers who were already affiliated with Malawi and might take their holiday along the lakeshore (Malawi, 1969d). In these countries, there were already established road network systems that would attract holiday makers coming through motor vehicles. More organised air package tours were anticipated once the tourism industry had taken root (Malawi, 1969d).

The organisation of regional of tourism would be done in association with other neighbouring countries. Promotion campaigns for these markets would be done by Central Africa Airways (CAA) (now Air Malawi). The air distance between Ndola in Zambia and Lilongwe was 350 miles (563km) and between Salisbury in Zimbabwe and Lilongwe, 330 miles (531km) (Malawi, 1968a). The critical stimulant for more organised package tours would be the development of the

lakeshore with the Salima District area identified as the main growth point. The lake shore near Salima had fine beaches and it was some 80 miles (129km) from the town of Lilongwe which had a good all-weather airport suited for DC3s. During the 1960s, government had planned and evaluated that the international standard economy hotel planned for Salima combined with those of other existing hotels and water leisure facilities, would form a resort complex which would greatly stimulate tourism development (Malawi, 1968a).

It was realised that the area of Salima could also attract drive tourists from within the country, the neighbouring countries and other parts of Africa. The immediate sources would be the car tourists from the Zambian Copperbelt and the future capital city of Lilongwe. With the paving of the Lusaka-Blantyre road, driving by automobile could also become popular on 476 miles (766km) to the Salima lake shore. Also, the diesel train, which was available during this period, could bring holidaymakers from Blantyre to Chipoka, the train station, which was some 17 miles (27km) from Salima (Malawi, 1969d).

3.6.2 International Tourism Development

In the second planning phase, government thought it would be possible to attract a considerable number of overseas visitors who might include Malawi in their African itinerary. It was believed that given sufficiently plentiful hotel accommodation, Malawi could expand its market to Europe and America. It was foreseen that visitors from long-haul markets would not come just to visit Malawi. It was recognised that Malawi did not have such outstanding tourist icons as the Victoria Falls. Nevertheless, the country could take advantage of other developments already existing on the international level (Malawi, 1966, 1968a, 1969d). First, other African countries such as Kenya and Zambia were already attracting overseas visitors. Therefore, partnering with them through joint promotions would be of great value to Malawi. The attraction of these packages would be heightened by including a visit to a typical Malawi village to watch traditional dances and village handicrafts. Second, the increasing wealth in highly developed industrial countries of Western Europe and North America on the one hand and the rapid progress in transportation technology on the other hand brought about an ever-

increasing number of well-to-do and medium-income tourists visiting Africa. These tourists were noted to travel farther than ever before and would like to visit the countries which they never thought of visiting ten years ago. Therefore, it was anticipated that the number of tourists from overseas was likely to increase in Malawi provided adequate accommodation and other tourist facilities were created across the country (Malawi, 1968a).

The main focus of the overall tourism development plan then was, first, to create adequate hotels and other infrastructure at key tourist points suitable for international travellers; second, to train staff to international levels so that European and North American oriented hotels would be staffed by well-trained personnel; and lastly, to encourage regional cooperation with others on travel promotion. In regard to the Western Europe and North American markets, it was pointed out that such promotion would be expensive for Malawi to undertake alone without cooperation at the sub-regional level (Malawi, 1969d). It was noted that it would be useful for Malawi if such cooperation extended also to training personnel on higher and medium level and on other fields as well. Furthermore, Malawi observed that it would require assistance in mounting promotional campaigns in the long-haul markets. It was hoped that tourists from America and Europe, possibly on the "round Africa" type tours, would be attracted. A reduction in air fares was already negotiable within the Commonwealth and this would work to its advantage. In addition, Malawi requested the Commonwealth Development Corporation (CDC) to give assistance to the country's tourism industry by investing in tourist facilities and encouraging air routes via Malawi (Malawi, 1969d).

At this planning stage, one essential bottleneck to tourism development was already anticipated to be finance for investment. Malawi had limited local resources and had to depend largely on foreign countries for loans and grants for the execution of its development programmes (Malawi, 1966). Given the primary target of improving the income of the mass of the population, mainly in the subsistence sector, most of the available development resources would be invested in improving agricultural output and productivity. It was not possible, therefore, for the government to place as much emphasis on the expansion of tourism as

desirable. The Malawi government was, however, prepared to cooperate with foreign investors who wished to establish themselves in the country either on their own account or in collaboration with Malawi Development Corporation (MDC). One problem was high levels of taxation due to the fact that hotels were classified, for tax purposes, as "industrial buildings" (Malawi, 1966).

The value and extent of the tourist industry was not well known at this stage to assist in forecasting the future. Accurate statistics were not available of tourist arrivals in some years soon after independence. Nevertheless, from 1967 onwards it was hoped that the newly-formed National Statistics Bureau would be able to provide accurate tourism statistics. It was estimated that in 1966 that on average some £0.2 million in foreign exchange receipts was derived annually from tourism. This represented approximately 0.8% of total foreign exchange earnings (Malawi, 1967b).

3.6.3 Regional Cooperation Programme

The future plans for the tourism industry to encourage international air tourists to Malawi would largely depend on regional cooperation. The establishment of the projected eight government hotels and the parallel improvement of the ancillary services were anticipated to cope with tourist markets within Africa (see Chapter 4). Planning for expansion to cope with world markets was in the preliminary stages during the late 1960s. Therefore, regional cooperation between Malawi, its neighbours and other African territories would be necessary for two purposes. First, was the establishment of air package tours from territories within Africa to Malawi, particularly to the lake resorts; second was the establishment of similar tourist packages from Europe and America to Africa, in which Malawi and the other participant African countries would share the visiting time of these tourists. To show its commitment to regional cooperation, Malawi initiated the establishment of a Southern Africa Regional Tourism Council (SARTOC) in 1970, with Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland and Zambia. Later, however, Botswana, Madagascar, Mozambique,

South Africa and Zambia pulled out from SARTOC because of political bickering (Malawi, 1973, Teye, 1988).

The main avenue for the tourism promotion of Malawi in respect of the above planned tours would be through the national airlines. The Malawi government was to subvent Central African Airways (CAA) (now Air Malawi) to represent it for tourism promotion in five African countries. This representation could be extended later through CAA offices in USA and Britain. Use could also be made of the Malawi High Commissions and Embassies abroad for tourism promotion. The cost of tourism promotional materials and campaigns designed to bring tourists from inside Africa to Malawi would be borne jointly by the Malawi government, the airways concerned and the government hotel chain. Promotion costs in respect of campaigns designed to attract tourists from America and Europe to Africa were planned to be carried by African territories in proportion to the amount of time tourists stayed in each territory. (Malawi, 1969d)

In terms of communications, air services was a critical sphere for investment and improvement, as roads in Malawi could be said to be generally satisfactory during the late 1960s and as there was an ambitions road improvement programme already in progress, for the car tourist segment. As air tourism, particularly the air package tour, would be the cornerstone of Malawi's tourism future, there was a need in Malawi for more and larger airfields, air terminals, reception centres if the increasing numbers of air tourists were to be handled satisfactorily. The crux, however, of Malawi's tourism position and its ability to take advantage of the large markets that existed both inside and outside Africa was provision of a number of high standard bedrooms available to the package tour operator (Malawi, 1969d). It was realised that planning of ancillary services was pointless until assurance could be given that bedroom capacity would be increased steadily over the next few years, particularly on the lakeshore (see chapter 4). Without such an assurance, the development of Malawi tourism industry would become merely a theoretical exercise. The primary task, therefore, for the government was to press ahead with a sense of urgency in an attempt to secure at least a proportion of the finance needed to

provide high standard tourist accommodation facilities throughout the country. This is discussed in chapter four.

3.6.4 Progress in Tourism Development

The priority issues of the Malawi Government in the immediate period after independence concentrated mainly on four spheres: natural resources, industry, communications and education. The policy aim was to secure an increased national income together with an improvement in the standard of living of the people of Malawi; to seek to direct the development of the economy so as to eliminate the deficit on the recurrent budget; to strengthen the balance of payments by raising exports and promoting import substitution; and to generate as much local saving as possible for investment purposes (Malawi, 1966).

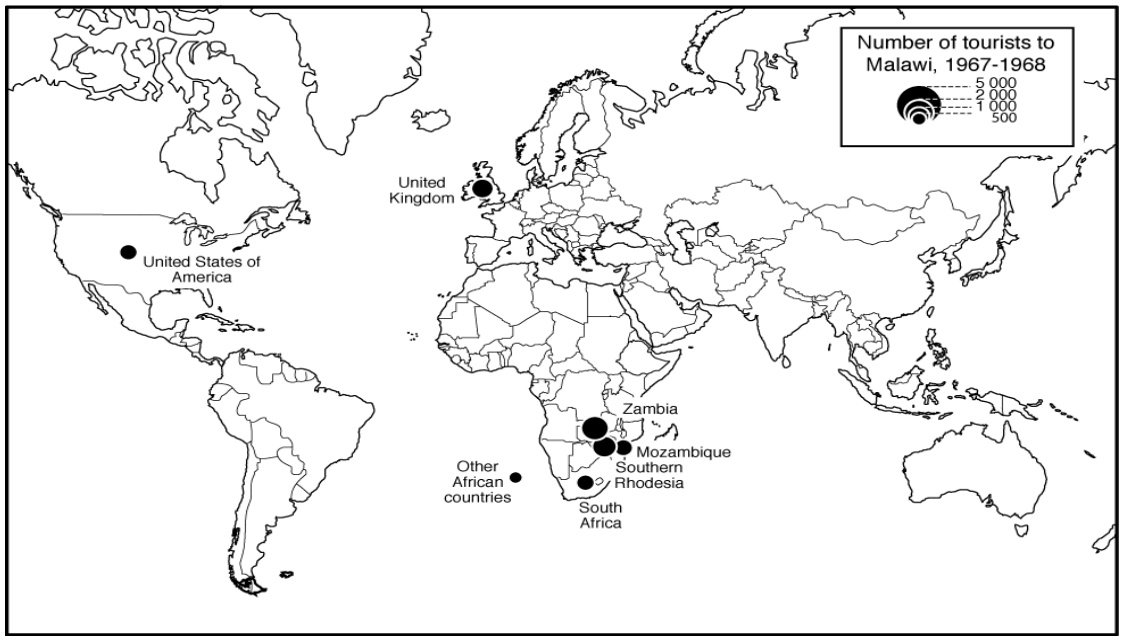

Figure 3.3: Distribution of Tourists to Malawi according to Country of Origin in 1968

Tourism was not a major part of development policy at this time. Indeed, the sector was not even funded during this period until a department was formed in 1969 (Malawi, 1968a). Nevertheless, a small tourism industry existed. Figure 3.3 shows the source of international tourists to Malawi in 1967-1968. The critical flows from neighbouring countries are highlighted. It is estimated that there were more African visitors between 1967 and 1968 as compared to

international visitors. For example, 5000 visitors from Africa visited Malawi as compared to 2000 visitors from the United Kingdom and United States (Malawi, 1968b). This pattern was in line with government policy, which was to target more African than international visitors due to the nature of available resources. Among the group of African tourists, Zambia visitors were the highest, followed by Rhodesia. The Copperbelt was responsible for the Zambian figure and was the main source of visitors to Malawi. It had 80,000 expatriates who regarded the lake as their "Mecca" (Malawi, 1968b). The core attraction of Lake Malawi was evidenced by the highest number of African tourists (1440) who visited the lake as compared to 600 who visited plateau and game reserves (Malawi, 1968b).

From 1970, as Department of Tourism, parastatals and other related government institutions were increasing in capacity, tourism activities were slowly beginning to manifest as evidenced by the sharp increase in visitor numbers. The number of visitors to Malawi rose from 6,494 in 1967 to 50,098 by 1974 (Malawi, 1975). According to the official documents, holiday makers were contributing more to the visitor numbers (42%) as compared to those who were coming for purpose of business or visiting friends and relatives. It could be observed that Malawi was growing as a tourist destination. It also indicated that Malawi now had a marketable tourist product, which, although still small, was of a high quality and attracting holiday makers. The industry had become an important economic activity in employment generation and foreign exchange earnings. Total visitor expenditure increased from K478, 000 in 1970 to K3, 958, 000 by 1974 (Malawi, 1975). It was regarded that general improvement of services would further increase the Malawi tourism potential. In 1972, Government introduced sponsored hotel staff training courses aimed at secondary school-leavers and financed by contributions of the Hotel Staff Training Fund. Eleven candidates were sent for 12-month and 6-month courses for cooks and waiters respectively. Later arrangements were made for refresher courses for hotel staff employees. In addition, four graduates were sent to the USA for post-diploma and master's degree courses in hotel administration. Government also sponsored two students on a 4-year hotel management diploma course at the Nairobi Polytechnic's Swiss-run hotel school (Malawi, 1975).

The year 1974 saw the completion of the preliminary stages of a tourism development programme and the more ready acceptance by government of the key recommendations for tourism development. Although government policy focused upon government taking leadership in tourism development and owning accommodation sector, the provision of supporting services such as car hire, tour handling, travel agency and restaurants outside hotels largely remained in the hands of the private sector. As the number of visitors to Malawi increased, these services also increased. For example, in 1970 the only company specialised in tour organisation and handling was United Touring Limited. By 1974, there were four local companies (Malawi, 1974). One decade after independence in 1974, it was considered that government and the private sector had managed to put tourism on a sound footing.

Despite growth, there were some set-backs; a fuel crisis and cholera outbreaks at the end of 1973 through 1974 were important events that discouraged tourists from travelling to Malawi. Another significant fact was the prolonged rains and the poor conditions of certain roads, particularly the road from Zambia through Mchinji to the lakeshore near Salima (Economic Report, 1974). The aftermath of these events were expected to affect the visitor trend.

Nevertheless, package tours increased as well as joint promotion efforts of airlines, private sector and government. Advertising campaigns were done in major regional markets of Zambia, Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and South Africa to maintain the flow of air tourists. The Department of Tourism participated in various conferences and fairs in order to promote both regional tourists and attract the long haul market in Europe. The department further sent a marketing representative to London in 1975 to extend its efforts beyond the borders of Africa (Malawi, 1977). In 1975 also the government recognised the potential and attraction of Malawi as a conference venue and to this end a specialist conference area representative was appointed to explore further marketing opportunities.

An influential development in terms of tourism was the relocation of the Capital City from Zomba to Lilongwe in 1975 (Malawi, 1977). As a result the number of international air tourists who would visit the lake was expected to increase tremendously. In addition, the volume of motorists from the neighbouring countries, due to the opening of Lilongwe as a gateway to the lakeshore in Salima, was expected to increase. Some support structures were already in place, such as a good Lilongwe – Salima road and a private hotel in Salima. Despite this development, the overall tourist number declined from 50,098 in 1974 to 45,564 in 1979 (Malawi, 1980). Although this downward trend could have been accounted for by the aftermath of credit crunch of the early 1970s, the government attributed to the shortage of bedrooms. As the tariffs were under the jurisdiction of government under price law government responded by increasing hotel tariffs in order to encourage investment in 1979 (Malawi, 1979). Although the increase was substantial, care was taken to make sure the new tariffs were competitive. With an expected increase in accommodation units, Malawi opened its own Hotel Training school in 1979 to meet the demand of hotel staffs, thus obviating the need for overseas training (Malawi, 1979).

As the decrease of tourist numbers was also attributed to a lack of tourism master plan, by 1980, a tourism Master Plan was produced by World Tourism Organisation with assistance from United Nations Development Programme (Malawi, 1980). Included in the plan was an assessment of the market for tourism, both internal and external, and the scope of development over ten years. This led to a revised tourism development plan for Malawi and an implementation strategy based on new assessment of Malawi as a tourist destination, a review of the existing and likely future of markets requirements, an assessment of the absorptive capacity of Malawi and an estimation of its maximum tourism development potential.

Table 3.1 Total Number of Visitors by Reason for Entry

Year	Total	Holiday	Work / Business	Visiting Friends &Relatives
1975	57,702	22,627	15,492	9,661
1976	50,107	18,924	21803	9,400
1977	43511	18,318	15,691	9,502
1978	48,378	20,302	18658	9,418
1979	45,564	17,687	18,121	9,756
1980	47,216	19,389	16,095	11,732
1981	57,286	24,528	15990	16,768
1982	52,570	22,422	14,455	15,693
1983	37,856	14,487	13,410	10,959
1984	45,095	13,983	18,196	12,916

Source: NSO and Economic Report, 1980

By 1981, the number of visitors had increased to 57,286. The increase, however, was not sustained and in 1983, the number of visitors dropped drastically to 37,856 (Malawi, 1984). Table 3.1 shows the fluctuations recorded in tourism growth to Malawi in the period 1975-1984. It is important to note that relative decline in that period of holiday arrivals. Correspondently, there is considerable growth recorded in both business arrivals and VFR arrivals.

The opening of Kamuzu International Airport in 1983 was a major development which was expected to increase the volume of visitors to the country. It was also to improve accessibility to and within Malawi. After its opening, Kamuzu International Airport became one of the newest and most modern airports in Africa. Now Air Malawi, together with seven regional and three long haul airlines, offered direct and connecting flights to several countries using its modern facilities. Consequently, air travel within Malawi and around the region improved tremendously. The number of visitors increased from 37,856 in 1983 to 45,095 in 1984 (Malawi,

1986a). In terms of road travel, there were significant steps made to provide an extended and improved road network to most tourist resort areas and to neighbouring countries in order to facilitate easy movement by tourists and the travelling public in general. In fact road extension was established as an on-going programme for tourism development (Malawi, 1984).

The opening of Kamuzu International Airport in 1983 was also considered a gateway to Southern Africa as South Africa was still under sanctions and avoided by the international community (Malawi, 1984). International tourism, both regional and long-haul, became an enormous potential for growth for Malawi. The new airport further assisted in the strengthening of some source markets (Malawi, 1984).

By 1983, marketing efforts had shifted to concentrate particularly on the South African market rather than the immediate neighbouring countries (MDC Report, 1986b). The South African market, due to its relative nearness, could be exploited more rapidly than overseas markets. Joint marketing efforts of MDC group hotel companies, car hire companies and tour operators, Air Malawi, South African Airways and Department of Tourism could exploit this market as quickly as possible. To this end, under the Joint Tourism Promotion Effort (JTPE), which was the joint marketing strategy, a Tourism Promotion Representative for the Republic of South Africa, based in Johannesburg, was appointed with effect from September 1985 (MDC Report, 1986b). In the long-term, the JTPE exercise would be extended to Europe and America. The number of visitors increased from 45,095 in 1984 to 55,479 in 1985, representing a 19% increase. This increase could have been the result of the new airport.

By 1985, the clientele of Malawi tourism was dominated by business visitors (Malawi, 1986a). Although the number of holiday makers was increasing, business visitors were increasing at an even faster rate. Visitors who came by road represented 49% of all visitors who came to Malawi while those who travelled by air represent 29% of the total. The country was having more motor tourists than air tourists. This was due to the increased number of motor tourists from the neighbouring countries coming to Malawi for business purposes. As Zambian copper was

depleting, Malawi was losing the important Copperbelt market of tourists. In counter-balance to the decline on this tourism traffic, cross- border trade was increasing from Mozambique and Tanzania

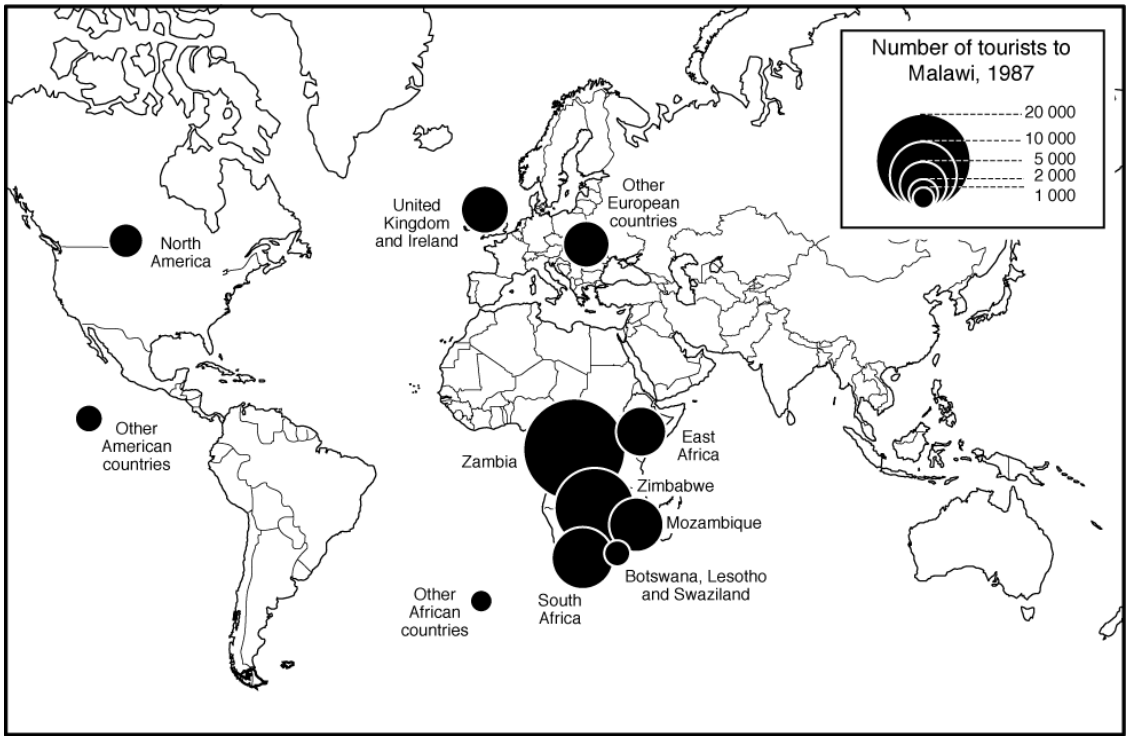

Figure 3.4: Visiting Tourists in 1987

Figure 3.4 shows the position in 1987 concerning the geography of visitor flows. The upward trend in tourists numbers continued until the visitor numbers reached 152,701 in 1993. Regional tourism continued to flourish in Malawi as government policy was to attract visitors from Africa. The year 1994 experienced a small upturn of tourists from Zimbabwe and East Africa. This was due to the political upheavals that were taking place in Malawi. The year 1993 was time of a referendum when multi-party rule won majority and in 1994 the country held its first general election. The number of visitors increased to 170,024 in 1994. In total 71% of all visitors came from the African region; Zambia, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa represented 86% of all visitors. Of the group of international tourism, 68% of all international tourists came from Europe and more than 50% of them were from United Kingdom and Ireland (Malawi, 1994)

Table 3.2: Number of Visitors by Country of Residence 1987-1994

	1987	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**
Zambia	23447	28833	30223	29552	30747	30193	24893	29370
Zimbabwe	14383	20704	20795	19681	18199	20465	22758	21525
Mozambique	6676	10514	15756	22860	17424	26046	37811	38946
South Africa	8656	9832	11390	12367	11953	12864	12803	14043
BLS Countries	1530	1529	1712	1648	2069	---	---	---
East Africa	5660	8790	14338	17927	20783	19439	15509	15217
Other	1161	1045	1350	1331	1261	1343	---	1517
UK and Ireland	5234	6425	7661	8801	8906	16133	14565	15847
Other Europe	4920	5564	6223	6802	6657	10890	11315	12711
North America	2688	3398	3700	4077	3650	4811	---	4422
Other	1779	2790	3921	4866	5355	7650	---	8961
Total	**76134**	**99424**	**117069**	**129912**	**127004**	**149834**	**152701**	**162559**

Source: Department of Tourism, Economic Report, 1997a

Tables 3.2 and 3.3 provide a statistical profile of the visitors of Malawi tourism in the closing decade of single party rule under President Banda. Table 3.2 shows that during the years 1987-1994 a doubling was recorded in the number of international tourists to Malawi. By 1994 the number of arrivals had reached over 160,000. It is evident that at least three-quarters of tourists to Malawi were regional tourists from other countries in Africa, mainly from central and southern Africa with the largest source of arrivals drawn from Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The new growth of tourist arrivals from Mozambique is notable especially in the period 1990-1994. In the growth of long-haul international tourists the major sources of visitors remain the tradition markets of United Kingdom, Ireland, Western Europe and North America.

Table 3.3: Number of Visitors by Reasons of Entry, 1985-1994

	Holiday	Work / Business	Visiting Friends / Relatives	Total	Total Expenditure (K'000)
1985	16506	24748	14225	55479	12344
1986	18784	32473	17414	68671	16389
1987	21181	32549	22404	76134	19687
1988	24115	46007	29301	99424	27434
1989	27718	53786	35565	117069	34986
1990	31691	57655	40566	129912	42991
1991	30016	62508	34480	127004	49091
1992	34442	68377	47015	149834	58852
1993	38936	66036	47729	152701	67168
1994	43353	73527	53144	170024	76645

Source: Economic Report, 1997a

Table 3.3 reveals the reason for tourists to visit Malawi. It is evident that the key reason for tourism growth to Malawi relates to business travel which is considerably the most important reason for tourism growth throughout the decade 1985-1994. Business travel represents 43 per cent of tourists by 1994. It is significant that the second most important purpose for tourism growth in Malawi relates to visiting friends and relatives which accounts for almost one-third of tourism arrivals by 1994. Leisure travel, potentially the most essential element for Malawi tourism, is only third in important and accounts for approximately one-quarter of visitor arrivals. The relatively low proportion of leisure tourists is an indication that by 1994 Malawi's tourism industry was still in its developmental phase.

3.7 Political Change and Tourism Development After 1994

The political change that took place in Malawi in 1994 had huge significance on Malawi tourism development. The year saw the end of one-party rule under President Banda and the

emergency of multi-party democracy that brought with it considerable changes that affected development.

Considerable developments in small and medium size tourism enterprises were realised. There was the proliferation of different forms of accommodation units, car hires, travel agents and tour operators. The Department of Tourism had to amend the Tourism and Hotels Act (Cap. 50:01) in order to extend and cover these new areas in the industry. The change of government in 1994 also produced a change of government priorities. The tourism sector was accorded serious priority in development options for the first time. As a result, the Department of Tourism became a fully-fledged Ministry towards the end of 1994. Following its shift from the Ministry of Trade and Industry, a number of new programmes were introduced. First, the national tourism policy was launched to provide guidance on the course of development for the sector from 1995. The new national tourism policy tried to incorporate community-based tourism as a means of distributing wealth from the major urban areas to rural areas. Second, the Tourism and Hotels (Amendment) Act was finalised and casino legislation was passed in 1996 as a means of improving the attractiveness of Malawi for tourists and to offer entertainment in the sector. Third, Government responsibility changed so that it would concentrate on the sustenance of a conducive climate that would support and stimulate the tourism sector. The responsibility for initiating tourism projects still belonged to the Ministry. As the department was changing its institutional composition, the Hotel Training School was also updated to Malawi Institute of Tourism (MIT) and delinked from the Ministry of Tourism into an autonomous body (Malawi, 1997a). The courses that were offered diversified into middle management levels. The new MIT planned to build a new school that would include student hostels, and application hotel and other facilities. Figure 3.5 provides a profile of the geography of tourism arrivals in Malawi in 1996

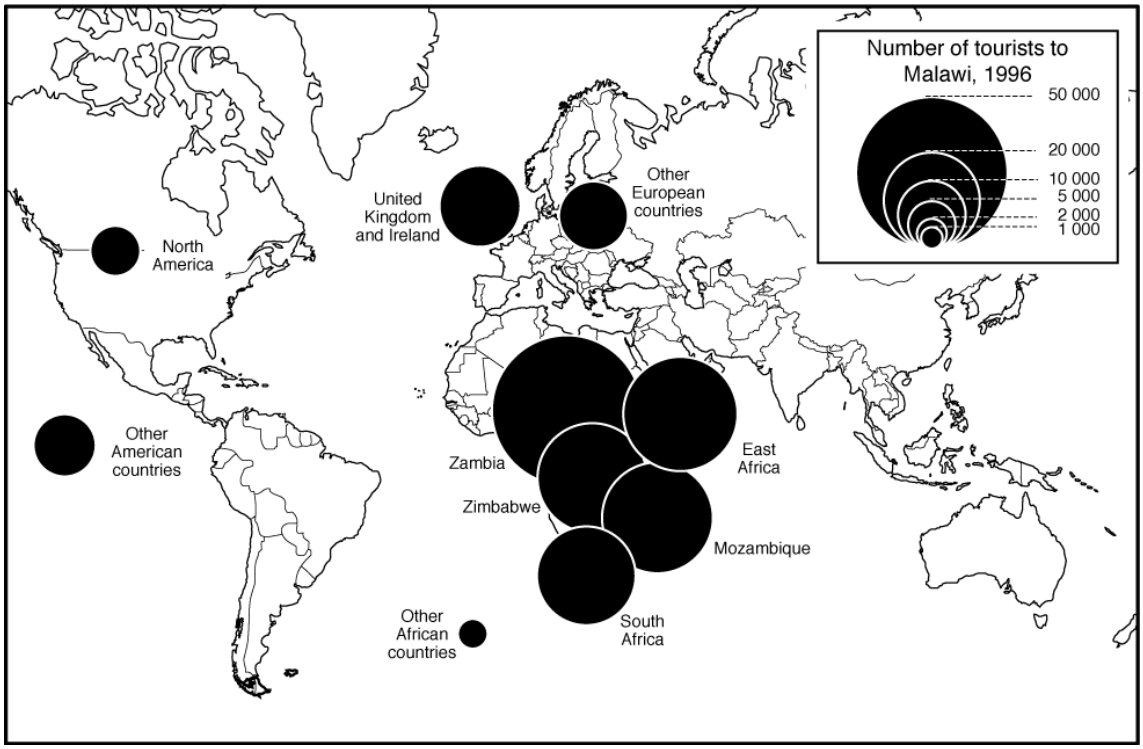

Figure 3.5: Distribution of Visitors to Malawi in 1996

It shows, once again, the tradition important of regional tourism from neighbouring countries and the importance, in particular, of Mozambique.

3.7.1 Strategic Development of Tourism After 1994

After 1994, when the Department of Tourism had been upgraded into a ministry, the promotion of tourism was in the hands of a ministry which would be assisted by the Hotels and Tourism Board. Its mandate was to plan the development of tourism, to promote Malawi as a tourist destination and to maintain quality and standards of tourism facilities and services. As a new designated ministry, its priority was to produce a new strategic plan that would provide policy framework for the sector, setting out both short-term and long-term development goals.

The 2002- 2006 Tourism Strategic Development Plan was formulated at the end of 2001 (Malawi, 2001b). The aim of this plan was to establish Malawi as a principal and leading eco-tourism destination in Africa. The Strategic Plan was to propel the country into eco-based tourism development and promotion. Although the plan recognised Lake Malawi as a principal

scenic attraction in the country, it was aware of its limited beach development and of difficulties to promote it due to the intense international competition of other "sun, sand and sea" destinations. The lake, however, could form part of an "add-on" to holiday package within the region (Malawi, 2001b).

Initially, the plan recommended development of up-market eco-lodges that would be on the same level as those in South Africa, Kenya and Zambia (Malawi, 2001b). Feasibility studies were undertaken at various sites countrywide with potential for eco-tourism development. According to 2002-2006 Tourism Strategic Plan, a total of 17 development areas for ecotourism were identified after undertaking feasibility studies. Secondary sites for general tourism development were also zoned and planned for investment. In particular, the islands of Lake Malawi were identified as offering the best opportunity for small-scale, high -yield eco-tourism development. The national parks, game reserves and forest reserves offered the next best opportunities for meaningful eco-tourism development. Among the 17 development areas, five "priority sites" for eco-tourism development were identified. These were Malerie Island in Lake Malawi National Park, Kande Beach, Manchewe Falls, Likhubula at Mt Mulanje and Lilongwe Nature Sanctuary. Nevertheless, sources of investment for the development of these priority sites were not locally available. Accordingly, foreign private investors were sought, preferably from companies already operating within Africa. The 2000-2006 strategic plan also sought to diversify Malawi's tourism products by identifying niche opportunities such as orchid tours, rock climbing, bird watching, mountain biking, horse riding and angling.

As a result of the lack of resources the Ministry of Tourism could not implement many of the recommended actions from the 2002-2006 strategic plan. Other actions were outside the ministry's mandate and required actions to be undertaken by other government departments and agencies. The main target of increasing the number of visitors by attracting 41,000 high-yield eco-tourists was not achieved. The plan was recommended for revision instead of the creation of a new plan. The 2008-2013 revised tourism strategic plan identified gaps that the first plan over-looked (Malawi, 2008b). For example, instead of just focusing on eco-tourism

development, community tourism that would enable involvement of local people was added. The revised plan included also the need for government to provide an enabling environment for generating economic benefits, investment incentives, reinforcement of regulatory framework and infrastructure development. The 2008-2013 plan outlined a revised list of manageable projects for implementation during the period 2008-2013 (Malawi, 2008b)

Table 3.4: Number of Visitors, 1996-2008

Year	Number of Visitors, ('000)
1996	183.8
1997	207.3
1998	219.7
1999	254.3
2000	227.6
2001	266.3
2002	382.6
2003	424.0
2004	427.3
2005	438.0
2006	638.0
2007	734.4
2008	742.4

Source: Economic Reports, 2009a, Tourism Report, 1999

Table 3.4 shows that a considerable increase was recorded in the number of tourists visiting Malawi in the period 1996-2008. During this period a 400% increase was recorded in tourism to Malawi from 183,000 in 1996 to 742,000 in 2008. A sharp increase in particular is evident in visitor arrivals after 2005; indeed from 2005-2008 an additional 300,000 tourist arrivals were recorded (Malawi, 2009a).

Table 3.5: Visitors by Country of Permanent Residence ('000), 1996-2005

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Africa										
Zambia	49.3	52.3	44.9	38.2	34.2	39.6	45.0	48.66	51.09	45.8
Zimbabwe	26.3	27.8	23.9	20.4	18.3	28.5	28.5	30.82	31.69	57.5
Mozambique	27	28.6	24.6	20.9	18.7	36.5	35.0	37.85	39.69	104.7
South Africa	21.5	22.8	19.6	16.7	15	28.5	33.4	3.12	37.93	54.2
East Africa	28.6	52.3	26.1	22.2	20	35.4	39.0	42.02	44.28	67.7
Other	1.9	2	1.8	1.5	1.3	16.4	18.2	19.68	20.55	43.91
Total Africa	**154.6**	**163.9**	**141**	**119.9**	**107.5**	**218.9**	**199.1**	**215.32**	**225.83**	**373.81**
UK & Ireland	14.3	15.1	13.1	19.2	17.2	27.5	32.6	35.26	36.80	17.0
Other Europe	10.5	11.1	9.6	8.1	7.2	.23.6	29.6	32.01	33.61	31.9
North America	5.6	6	5.1	3.2	3	14.5	13.5	14.60	15.32	19.4
Other America	8.6	4.1	109	1.9	1.7	8.5	9.8	10.60	11.12	8.1
Total Europe and America	**39**	**41.4**	**35.6**	**30.1**	**29.1**	**74.1**	**85.5.**	**92.47**	**97.09**	**75.4**

Source: Economic Reports, 1996-2009

Table 3.5 shows the continuing dominance of regional tourism in Malawi tourism economy. In 2005, a decade after the establishment of multi-party democracy, of the total of 438,000 visitors, regional tourists represented 378,000 or 85% of the total. What is notable in the period 1996-2005 is the decline in relative importance of visitors from Zambia, the traditional anchor for leisure tourism in Malawi. In 1996 Zambia represented 27% of all visitors to the country and was the leading individual source. By 2005 the numbers of Zambian arrivals had declined in absolute terms and in relative proportion the share of Zambian visitors in total had declined to 11%. The most notable increase in sources of visitors is those recorded from Mozambique and

East Africa. In the case of Mozambique between 1996-2005 visitor numbers rose from 27,000 to nearly 105,000; in relative terms this represented a growth from 15% to 24%. Of note also in the period 1996-2005 is the considerable fluctuation of visitor arrivals from the UK and Ireland the major traditional source of long-haul visitors. Although healthy growth was recorded from 1996-2004 to nearly 37,000 visitors these numbers crashed in 2005 to only 17,000.

Although new policies were introduced to give a new direction for tourism development, the visitor profile did not change much in the period after multi-party democracy. The traditional regional tourists from Mozambique, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe continued to dominate while most of the international visitors came from United Kingdom and Ireland; in spite of that, the number of visitors continued to increase from 183,800 in 1996 to 742,400 in 2008. Figure 3.6 shows the geographical distribution of visitors by country of residence in 2009. Although the map indicates the continued dominance of regional tourism markets and traditional long-haul tourism markets, there are also emerging tourism markets from almost each of the six continents in the world.

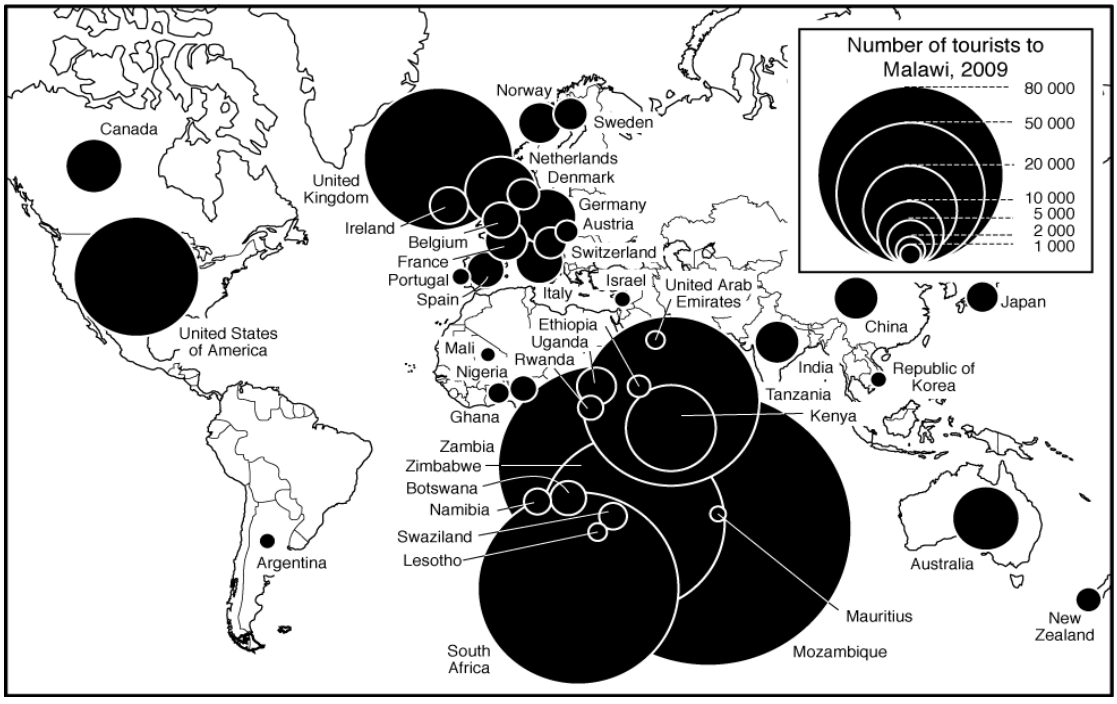

Figure 3.6: Distribution of Visitors by Country of Residence in 2009

3.7.2 Other Parallel Developments

The number of visitors who had been coming to Malawi for holiday has never reached half or more than half of the total visitors. Business travellers continued taking the leading role in visitor number followed by visitors who came for visiting friends and relatives. Government commitment to tourism development continued although the intended results were slow to manifest. More programmes were incorporated to on-going activities in order to realise more benefits from tourism development. Malawi's principal tourism potential remained regional tourism.

A critical policy goal was to increase the number of holiday makers to over 50% of all visitors who come to Malawi. The first strategy was to register all informal establishments to broaden the data collection base and improve quality of standards so that the private sector could actively participate in hosting tourists. In order to achieve this goal, the Tourism and Hotel act was amended to incorporate regulation of all tourist facilities and services. This would ensure that all visitor facilities would be classified. There were plans also to introduce a hotel star grading system to ensure international standards were maintained. The second strategy required the computerisation of major entry points. The government noted that some information about visitors was not well captured due to uncertainties in the production of exit or entry cards. In addition, not all visitors filled in the exit or entry cards. To complement this development, a tourism statistical database within the ministry to assist in the efficient and effective planning, investment and decision-making was established. The third strategy was to incorporate and implement more development programmes that would target the holiday makers. The Ministry identified Zoa Falls along Ruo River as a potential area for new development (Malawi, 1997a). In addition, proposals to construct city hotels in Blantyre and Lilongwe were put forward. There were plans to construct an international conference centre and a 5-star hotel complex in Lilongwe. The fourth strategy was to include the cultural products which had become second most important to game viewing in Africa (Malawi, 1997a). Most African countries, especially in the SADC region, had incorporated the aspect of culture in their tourism development plans. Lastly, the ministry planned to intensify international business

fora and travel exhibitions to attract investors and tourists to Malawi. Further, the ministry intended to lobby for the liberalisation of air transport in the country in order to increase air traffic into Malawi

As part of its development efforts, a new office at Mwanza border and a tourist kiosk to offer tourist information were opened in 2001. The overall objective was to develop tourist kiosks at all border posts. In 2002 the first casino, initiated by Malawi Development Corporation (MDC) was opened in Blantyre in order to offer more activities for the tourist (Malawi, 2003a). By 2003, as the product base was diversifying, the ministry launched a new logo that encompassed all the tourist products and developed a new website in order to catch up with the new marketing strategies on the international market. With the aim of improving standards and quality of services in the informal tourism sector, training programmes for tour guides and curio makers and sellers in leading tourist areas were carried out in 2003. The Ministry of Tourism in liaison with the department of Civil Aviation facilitated the feasibility study of a new airport in Mangochi. This included the design of new Mangochi airport project, which was done in 2003. At the same time, the Civil Aviation upgraded Likoma Airstrip and reconstructed Karonga Aerodrome in order to improve the transport system to the northern corridor (Malawi, 2005a).

The ministry undertook the upgrading of access roads to bitumen standards in prime attraction areas. By 2007, Ku Chawe Inn access road was completed in Zomba and the ministry proceeded with the second phase of the upgrading of access roads to resort areas in Mangochi. In 2008, the ministry finalised the construction of Mpale Cultural Village in Mangochi, which depicted the Yao (one of the tribes) culture and history. As the ministry could not run the cultural village due to its privatisation policy, a concessionaire was sought to manage the model village. The understanding was that the cultural village would enhance competition and product diversification in the southern lakeshore part of the country. Apart from the model village, between 2005 and 2008, the ministry facilitated a number of community-based tourism projects at Mpalale in Dedza, Gwirize in Salima and Kandewe in Rumphi, which were owned and managed by the local villagers. Many local people joined the tourism industry through

establishing car hire businesses and small and medium accommodation facilities after incentives specific to tourism were introduced in 2009.

The major tourist attractions in Malawi have remained relatively the same since independence in terms of relative importance. Overall, Lake Malawi is the major attraction for holiday makers for both regional and international tourists. It offers beautiful beaches and water sports. Besides the lake, Malawi has developed five national parks and four game reserves which offered a variety of very few fauna and flora (Malawi, 2008b). By 2010, the key tourism assets of products of Malawi were as follows:

I. National parks

- **Nyika National Park**, situated in the northern part of Malawi, is the largest and located on a plateau. It offers visitors the most beautiful scenery in the country, game viewing, and special interest activities of flower and bird watching.
- **Kasungu National Park** is located in the central region. It offers game viewing, historical and geological sights
- **Lake Malawi National Park** lies in the southern region in the Nankumba Peninsula. It is both water and inland park covering twelve islands and protects large colonies of tropical fish, locally known as *Mbuna,* a cichlid fish family that inhabit the rocky shoreline of the lake. It is the first fresh water lake in the world and declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1984
- **Liwonde National Park** is situated on the flat area of Lake Malombe and eastern upper part of Shire River. It offers game viewing and boat riding
- **Lengwe National Park** is located on the southern part of Malawi and it offers game viewing.

II. Wildlife Reserves

- **Vwaza Marsh Wildlife Reserve** is just below Nyika Natoinal Park in the North located in Vwaza Marsh, on the tip of the Luangwa Valley National Park in Zambia. It offers game viewing and bird watching.

- **Nkhotakota Wildlife Reserve** is located on the west of Lake Malawi in the Central Region. It offers game viewing and angling. Bua and Dwangwa Rivers have stocks of Mpasa (lake Salmon)
- **Majete Wildlife Reserve** is located on the lower Shire River and offers waterfalls and fishing as well as game viewing.
- **Mwabvi Wildlife Reserves** is located in the southern tip of Malawi bordering Mozambique. It offers game viewing.

III. **Mountain and Plateau Scenery** - beautiful mountain and plateau are offered by Mulanje Mountain, Zomba Plateau, Nyika Plateau, Dedza, Dzalanyama, Kirk range and Viphya. They are forest reserves and offer bird watching, trout fishing, wild flowers, hiking and mountain climbing. Nyika and Zomba offer horse riding

IV. **Historical sites** – Malawi's historical sites are in forms of buildings that date between 1897 and 1903. For instance, mandala's house and compound in Blantyre, Livingstonia mission and stone house; slave house at Nguludi Mission; missionary sites at Cape Maclear, on Likoma Island, in Nkhotakota and other artifacts preserved in the museum of Malawi in Blantyre and Mangochi

V. **Art and Crafts and other Cultural Activities** – Malawi has a diversity of traditional and culture manifest in dance, music, handicrafts, wood and carvings (Malawi, 2008b)

3.7.4 Challenges of Tourism Development in Post-Independence Malawi

This last section concludes the analysis of the growth and development of Malawi tourism from 1964-2010 by identifying the major challenges which have affected the industry. It was argued in the previous discussion that an important watershed for Malawi tourism industry was the change in government which occurred in 1994 with the end of the rule of President Banda and the emergence of multi-party democracy. The post 1994 period witnessed a considerable surge in new tourism development in the country and was linked to new frameworks for tourism development which shifted away from direct government ownership of the tourism sector to the creation of a more facilitative environment for private sector development of tourism. Throughout the post-independence period, however, a number of key strategic challenges have

affected the tourism industry and its development. These are discussed in chronological analysis below:

By the early 1970s, the Malawi Government, through the Department of Tourism, had undertaken considerable efforts to promote tourism in and to Malawi. Together with the Southern African Tourism Promotion Council (SARTOC) attractive information material on tourist attractions of Malawi had been produced. A critical shortcoming has been that the tourism infrastructure has always been inadequate. Malawi had only two acceptable small hotels at Lake Malawi, the prime tourist attraction, with just 70 rooms and it was proper to ask whether this justified a major promotional effort on an international scale. SARTOC aimed at attracting long-haul international tourists to visit the southern African region, namely the Republic of South Africa and her neighbouring countries, and to include Malawi on their itineraries. Importantly, SARTOC did not promote intra-regional tourism. This mandate was left in the hands of the Department of Tourism. Despite SARTOC efforts, South Africa was a major client for the Malawi tourism and the neighbouring countries. It was evident that none of the major European or American tour operators included Malawi in their programmes, and that no reputable international hotel chain was involved in hotel or tourism development in Malawi. The reason for this past lack of interest or international recognition was not clear and posed a challenge to the tourism planning in the country.

Several reasons can be identified why tourism in Malawi lagged considerably behind its development potential. The most obvious obstacles appeared to do with strategic planning. First, Malawi never had a tourism development master plan until 1980, or any clearly defined tourism development incentives. The only hotel incentives were those embedded in general incentives within the industrial regulation. Second, Government activities in hotel development and management were of limited success, and promotional bodies marketed a tourist industry which was virtually non-existent. Third, other countries in eastern and southern Africa, such as Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Zimbabwe already had a well-developed and competitive tourist industry at independence in the early 1960s. Malawi's tourism potential had been neglected

during the colonial era and at independence it inherited an undeveloped tourism economy. Fourth, while the basic tourism infrastructure, such as all-weather tarmac roads and Kamuzu International Airport, came into existence in 1983, much remained to be done to improve transport to resort areas and to provide easy access as well as electricity and telecommunications services to key tourism sites (Malawi, 1983). Fifth, Malawi had not encouraged foreign travel writers and journalist to inform the world about the country's tourism potential; it kept a 'low profile'. Lastly, the 10% government tax, plus 10% service charge (of which 6% were payable to government), i.e. 16% levy on all hotel sales, was a heavy burden on existing hotel operations and an insurmountable obstacle to any efforts to develop new hotels; the tax prohibited new hotel investments to a large degree, and in the end resulted in a loss of potential corporate tax income. Further, the tax was expensive to administer and tax evasion by small operators difficult to control. Moreover, government control on tariffs discouraged many prospective investors and forced some private units to close.

By early 1980s, Malawi's dream of becoming a tourist destination, in which holiday makers could contribute more than 50% of total visitors, had not been realised. Another critical constraint has been the limited number of direct long-haul flights from Europe and America to Malawi. This has made Malawi an expensive destination in Africa due to the lack of competitive air fares. Furthermore, as Malawi is a landlocked country, transport costs bring high domestic prices for accommodation and food, which makes the country expensive. Tour operators and travel agents found it difficult to market Malawi as an attractive tourism destination. Consequently, the country encounters fierce competition from other countries in the sub-region (Southern Africa) which have similar tourism products to Malawi.

Through the 1990s to late 2000s, the prevailing policy has been to let the private sector lead in tourism development. During this period the tourism industry has recorded a few major investments due to the lack of incentives specific to tourism. It must be concluded that Government has left the tourism development to the private sector but without creating a conducive environment for investment

3.8 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide an examination of the growth and changing development of the tourism industry in Malawi from its colonial origins to the present day. This task was undertaken through an analysis of extensive archival materials from the Malawi National Archives in Zomba and supplemented by the collection and analysis of colonial and post-independence planning documents and data concerning tourism development and of the role of tourism within broader national development planning within Malawi.

The discussion and analysis showed that although colonial Nyasaland was the focus for some pioneer tourists until independence in 1964 tourism was in its infancy and its potential neglected. From 1962 the first initiatives began to emerge for planning of tourism in the newly independent country of Malawi. Independence in 1964 saw considerable interest in opening up Malawi as a tourism destination. It was recognised that the development of infrastructure and an institutional development for tourism was crucial. The initial focus for new tourism development in Malawi was to be around leisure tourism linked to Lake Malawi. The planners of Malawi tourism recognised that the development of tourism in Malawi would have to be founded upon the regional markets offered by neighbouring countries. In particular, Zambian visitors from the Copperbelt and subsequently the South African market became the targets for tourism development. It has been shown that, like many developing countries, in Malawi regional tourism rather than long-haul international tourism has been the anchor for growth in the local tourism economy.

A crucial role has been played by the national government throughout the post-independence period. In the nearly half century since Malawi independence, an important watershed for the country's economic development as a whole and tourism industry in particular has been the political change which took place in 1994 with the end of single party rule under President Banda and the change to multi-party democracy. It was argued that an aspect of this change has been a considerable opening up of Malawi into the global tourism economy. The country has, however, struggled to attract long-haul international tourists for a variety of reasons

including strong competition from neighbouring countries in Africa, particularly South Africa, Kenya and Tanzania which had well established tourism infrastructure and similar tourism products. Another critical problem has related to infrastructure and access to the key tourism products of Malawi which has been made more difficult by the lack of, or reduction of, direct flights to Malawi from the key long-haul international tourism markets. Strategic planning for tourism has changed since 2000 to focus more squarely upon exploiting Malawi as an eco-tourism destination. This decision might be questionable in light of the competing attractions of South Africa, Kenya and Tanzania. Unsurprisingly, perhaps, Malawi has not been a major focal point for private sector foreign investors. It was argued in the chapter that the change in policy from direct government involvement in tourism development and ownership of tourism assets towards greater reliance on the private sector has so far achieved only limited results.

It is within the context of this account of the unfolding tourism economy of Malawi that attention turns in the next chapter to the accommodation sector. The development of the accommodation sector in Malawi must be looked at against the background of the importance of accommodation as a prerequisite for Malawi to enter in a major way the global tourism economy. The next chapter therefore, examines the emergence and growth of the hotel sector in Malawi in parallel to the trends observed in this chapter for tourism development in the country as a whole.

CHAPTER 4: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ACCOMMODATION SECTOR IN MALAWI SINCE INDEPENDENCE

4.1 Introduction

The development of the accommodation sector in Malawi can be traced in parallel with the history of the establishment of the government from colonial period to the post-independence period. The previous chapter highlighted that the establishment of a hotel sector was central to the development and planning of tourism in Malawi. Without a hotel sector and the provision of appropriate accommodation, Malawi could not aspire to become a competitive tourism destination.

The aim in this chapter is to provide an analysis of the evolution and changing directions of hotel developments in Malawi from colonial times to the present day (2010). The discussion presented in this chapter draws from an extensive body of archival source material drawn from the Malawi National Archives in Zomba and supplemented by government documents, and internet search for contemporary material. The discussion is organised to parallel that of Chapter 3 in terms of the unfolding development of the tourism economy. The chapter examines accommodation provision in the colonial period, the growth of hotel industry in the post-independence period and emphasizes the shifting roles of government and the private sector in hotel development in Malawi.

4.2 Historical Emergence of Accommodation Industry

4.2.1 Hotel Development in Colonial Era (1871 - 1952)

The limited archival material allows only the broadest sketch of early hotel developments which took place in Malawi in the colonial years. It is known that the oldest and historical known hotel in Malawi that is still standing today is Hotel Masongola, then called Government Hostel, situated on the slopes of Zomba Mountain in Zomba District. It still has its colonial style architect although some extensions were done. The hotel was built by the agricultural pioneer John Buchanan in 1886 (Malawi, 2000b). Its location was chosen for purposes of slave trade

control that was rampant at that time, which David Livingstone and the early British colonial administration vowed to stamp out. The building became the first established administration of the entire country and Zomba was declared the capital of the British Central Africa in 1891 (later re-named Nyasaland Protectorate in 1904) (Malawi, 2000b).

Another early hotel was Limbe Hotel in Limbe that was founded by Louisa Ryall in 1914 (Garland, 1996). Later, the hotel was operated by Mrs Stratton. Louisa Ryall, whose husband was working in Nyasaland Volunteer Reserve as builder and contractor, responded to the advertisement that appeared in the Nyasaland Times in 1919*: "Will some enterprising person start a hotel: there is nowhere for us to stay…"* (The Nyasaland Times, 1919). In response, Louisa Ryall used one of the buildings that used to be a concentration camp during the First World War as the first premise for a hotel in Blantyre (Garland, 1996). The building later became Nash's Hotel, a family business owned by Mr Nash. When the Nash's Hotel closed, the buildings were turned into a Hotel Training School in 1977, which existed up to present time.

Louisa Ryall eventually built her own hotel, called Ryall's Blantyre Hotel which opened in 1922 (Garland, 1996). This hotel was built in the post-World War 1 period and was characterised as one of the major modern developments in Blantyre. It was patronised by bank clerks, Portuguese businessmen, tobacco growers in Fort Jameson (now Mchinji), insurance men and commercial travellers from Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), and missionaries. Louisa Ryall built another hotel called Cape Maclear Hotel, probably in 1930s. This particular hotel, however, was closed in 1951 due considerable losses (Garland, 1996). The losses were due to the cancellation of the services of a flying-boat plane in 1950, which used to fly directly from Britain and landed in the waters of Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi) in front of Cape Maclear Hotel on its way to Cape Town or Victoria Falls (Colby, 1988; Garland, 1996).

In 1946, Ryall's hotel was merged with the Grand Beach hotel in Salima to form Nyasaland Hotels Company. The Grand Beach Hotel was privately owned and was the oldest hotel along the lakeshore and built in 1930s (Braggs and Barnett, 1996). Nyasaland Hotels merged with a

beer brewery company and was re-named Nyasaland Hotels and Brewery Ltd. During the 1950s, after years of restraint in development due to the Second World War, Nyasaland Hotels and Brewery Ltd built two additional hotels, namely the Shire Highlands Hotel in Limbe and Angoni Highlands Hotel in Dedza.

Apart from these developments, little is known about the hotel industry in colonial Nyasaland. It is possible that there might have been other hotels built by private entrepreneurs during the British colonial administration. Hints exist of other hotels about which no archival source can be traced. For instance, in 1930s, Lucius and Jenny Conolly travelled around the world by auto when it was not quite really the "done thing" (www.abc.net.au). In one of their trips, they were motoring through Africa from Cape to Cairo, and passed through Nyasaland on their way to Cairo. It was mentioned in their travel journal that they spent a night at the Malvern Hotel in Blantyre, in 1931.

Apart from the existence of hotel development in the colonial era, other forms of accommodation were established. As the colonial government was expanding and the population was growing, resthouses, categorised as Native and European, were built under the office of District Commissioner. These resthouses were simple forms of accommodation which were mainly to cater for the travelling civil servants. The practice of building resthouses was carried over through the Federal Government (1953-1963) and even into that of the Malawi Government after independence. However, the precise details of times and places where they were built during the colonial government, are not available in the archival records at Zomba.

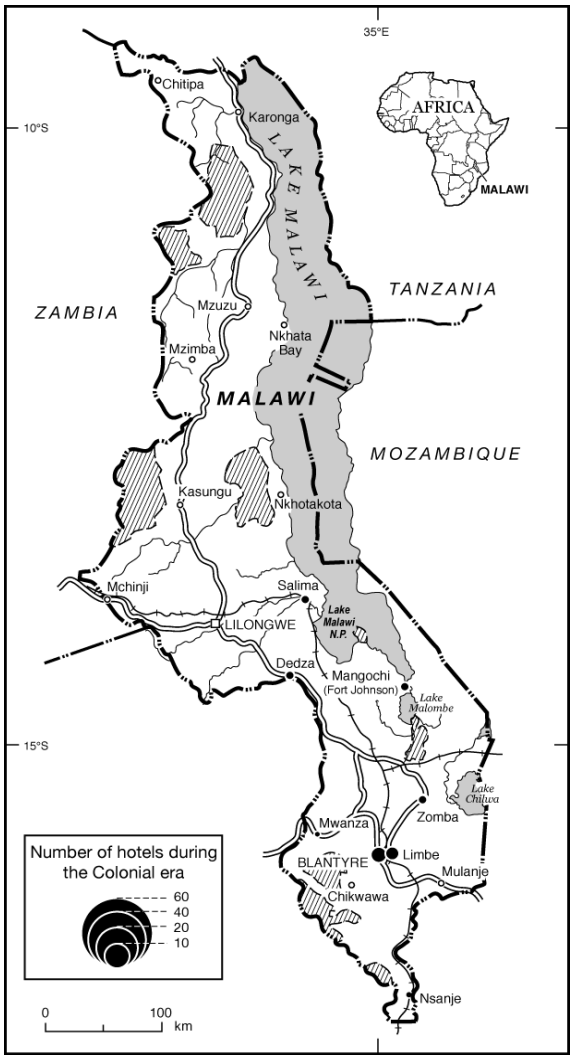

Figure 4.1: Distribution of Hotels during Colonial Era (1871- 1952)

On Table 4.1 and on Fig. 4.1 is presented a summary of the existing information on hotel development and other accommodation which was established during the colonial period. In terms of the spatial patterns of hotel establishment, these are clearly linked to the major urban centres of Blantyre and Limbe with the beginnings of hotel establishment at the lakeshore and at the plateau. These two summaries are provided to capture the situation of hotel development in colonial Nyasaland until the establishment of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. From the 1950s more detailed material is available from the archival record to trace patterns of emerging hotel development in the late colonial period.

Table 4.1: Summary of Hotels in the Colonial Era (1871 - 1952)

Name of hotel	Location	Ownership
Blantyre		
1. Ryalls Hotel	Blantyre	Private
2. Nash's Hotel	Blantyre	Private
3. Malvern Hotel	Blantyre	Private
4. Limbe Hotel	Limbe	Private
5. Shire Highlands Hotel	Limbe	Private
Lakeshore		
6. Cape Maclear Hotel	Fort Johnston (now Mangochi)	Private
7. Grand Beach Hotel	Salima	Private
Other Area		
8. Government Hostel (now Hotel Masongola)	Zomba	Government
9. Angoni Highlands Hotel	Dedza	Private

Source: Zomba National Archives

4.2.2 Hotel Development during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953 -1963)

The federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia) was proclaimed on 4th September, 1953 (Malawi, 1962). The aim of the federation was to enable the three countries to pull their resources together without losing their independent identity. The development of tourism was being actively developed by the Federal Tourist Development Board under the chairmanship of the secretary for Home Affairs based in Salisbury. Among other duties, the federation was cooperating with the neighbouring territories for the development of travel in Africa, south of the equator. Records of the flow of tourists into the region were not readily available. It was noted that the number of visitors increased each year and the tourist traffic during 1958 was estimated to be worth more than £3,000,000 (Malawi, 1962).

Due to the great distances involved, seaside holidays to the federal citizens were expensive and the average family thus tended to travel far afield only once every two or three years, or even less frequently (Malawi, 1962). But with the federation there were great many holiday resorts which provided pleasant and relatively cheap holidays. Lake Nyasa (Lake Malawi) had two well-developed holiday centres in Salima and Fort Johnston (Mangochi) areas, with good hotels, safe bathing, good fishing and boating in a delightful setting. Traffic between Blantyre and Salisbury increased as a result of these opportunities. There were six flights a week by "Vicker Viscount" and "Comet". Consequently, this led to additional hotel project being undertaken by private entrepreneurs. Mwanza Inn was built at the border in Mwanza and Keiller's Transcontinental Hotel was built along Victoria Avenue in Blantyre (Garland, 1996).

Overall, during the period of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland between 1953 and 1963 a growth occurred in the number of hotels. In addition, there occurred a widening spread in the geographical distribution of the accommodation network. This spread of early hotels was taking place at a time of only a small growth in the tourism economy of the colony. The operations of some hotels in the colonial era continued during the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Nevertheless, some others were closed at a time of the political uncertainties brought by the federation and when there occurred local resistance and demonstrations against the federation (Garland, 1996).

Table 4.2: Summary of Hotels during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (1953-1963)

Name of hotel	Location	Ownership
1. Country Inn	Blantyre	Private
2. Keiller's Transcontinental Hotel	Blantyre	Private
3. Mount Pleasant Inn	Blantyre	
4. Nash's Hotel	Blantyre	Private
5. Ryalls Hotel	Blantyre	Private
6. Country Hotel	Limbe	Private
7. Hotel International	Limbe	private
8. Limbe Hotel	Limbe	Private
9. Nyasa Hotel	Limbe	Private
10. Portuguese Hotel	Limbe	Private
11. Shire Highlands Hotel	Limbe	Private
12. Chidzanja's Hotel	Lilongwe	Private
13. Lilongwe Hotel	Lilongwe	Private
14. Glengeary hotel	Fort Johnston	Private
15. Palm Beach	Fort Johnston	Private
16. Monkey bay Hotel	Fort Johnston	Private
17. Grand Beach Hotel	Salima	Private
18. Lake Nyasa Hotel	Salima	Private
19. Senga bay Hotel	Salima	Private
20. Angoni Highlands Hotel	Dedza	Private
21. Mwanza Hotel	Mwanza	
22. Mwanza Inn	Mwanza	Private
23. Government Hostel (Hotel Masongola)	Zomba	Government
24. Pigs &Whistle Hotel	Zomba	Private
25. Zomba Inn	Zomba	Private

Source: Zomba National Archives, Division of Tourism

Table 4.2 and Figure 4.2 are based upon an analysis of available telephone directories that were found in the Malawi National Archives at Zomba (Appendix A). They allow a picture to be painted of the growth that was occurring in the hotel economy of Malawi during the close of the colonial period. By the end of the colonial period it is estimated that there was a total of 25 hotels which were spread across the colony, of which nearly half of the total were found in the Blantyre-Limbe area. Indeed, the summary of hotel developments shows clearly the geographical concentration of hotels in the Blantyre-Limbe node, which was the economic as well as the administrative heart of the colony. The growth of this accommodation network in Malawi's major urban centre and other towns was led by private sector investors. The only government involvement remained that of the government hostel, renamed Hotel Masongola at Zomba.

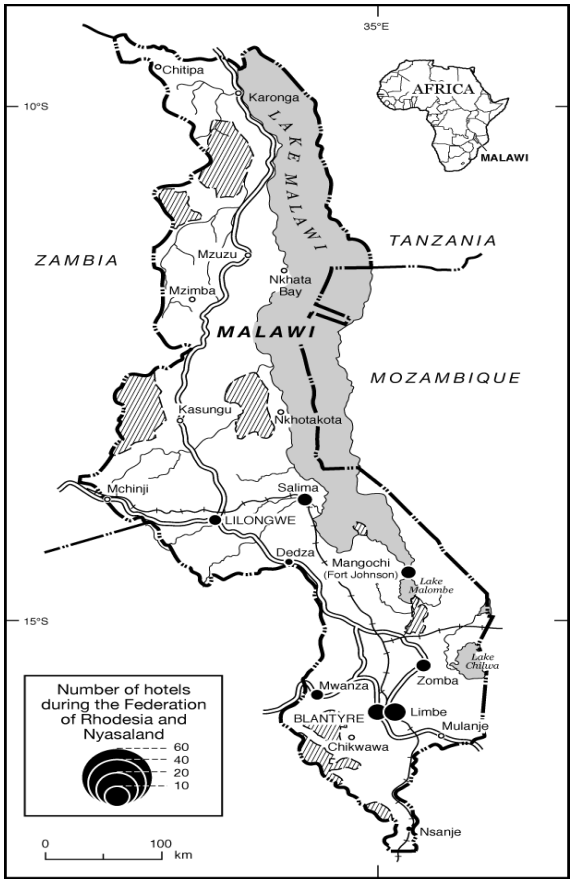

Figure 4.2: Distribution of hotels in Malawi during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

4.3 Accommodation Development since Independence

Malawi gained independence on 6th July, 1964 from the British Government. The immediate task ahead for the government was to develop the nation while meeting the basic needs of its population. Since the majority of the population were peasant farmers, it was evident that the sector of agriculture had to be prioritised. As was discussed in Chapter 3 there was an emerging interest in economic diversification and support for the development of other sectors of the economy. Industry development was considered another important sector in economic development. One of the policies in industrial development was to develop industries that would support agriculture. The hotel industry was recommended to be part of the industry development as a viable business endeavour that would be high yielding and supplement agriculture in economic development.

4.3.1 The Existing Situation after Independence

In the original survey of Malawi hotels and other accommodation units which was done by the Malawi Government shortly after independence in 1965, none of the existing hotels were considered as suitable for long-term development (Malawi, 1966). The survey revealed the poor standards of existing hotel accommodation, which did not meet existing acceptable international standards.

The poor quality of the existing stock of Malawi hotels was considered as a major blockage for the future progress of tourism in the country. It was discovered that although the country had a wealth of natural attractions, the tourism infrastructure was inadequate. Among the existing privately-owned hotels, only the Lilongwe hotel in Lilongwe and the Ku Chawe Inn in Zomba were exceptional (Malawi, 1966). Most of the other existing hotels were recommended to turn into offices, showroom and hostels. By contrast, the Lilongwe hotel was seen as profitable, capable of phased development, and relatively inexpensive for the government to acquire. It was noted that the local hotels had not kept pace neither with prevailing development nor with the requirement of more sophisticated tourist. The need to have new international standard

hotels was pre-eminent and now urgent for the establishment of Malawi as a successful tourist destination.

Although the situation was poor, Government did not recommend provision of financial support be given to the existing accommodation units nor did it consider taking over management or control from existing owners. Instead, government left hotel owners with responsibility to bring their hotels up to the standards laid down by Hotels regulations. Some possible assistance from government in the form of income tax rebates and small, soft loans was offered (Malawi, 1965). With the exception of the Lilongwe Hotel and the Ku Chawe Inn, it was considered that no local hotel offered suitable standards of service, food or accommodation and all hotel structure were regarded as seriously sub-standard and virtually impossible to adapt and renovate economically (Malawi, 1969d). The two exceptions were the Lilongwe Hotel and Ku Chawe Inn, which were bought by government in 1969.

4.3.2 Government's Plan for the Hotel Development

As a result of the poor state of private sector hotel developments in Malawi and of the critical need for acceptable accommodation of international standards to take forward the development of the tourism sector, the government prepared a plan for the improvement of the hotel sector in the country. A central part of this plan was for more direct involvement of the government in the establishment of hotels in post-independence Malawi (Malawi, 1966).

In 1966 the plan for hotel development was produced by the Division of Tourism and accepted by the National Development Committee that was responsible for scrutinising sectorial development plans. It was taken as Malawi Government policy and as the country's official blueprint for upgrading the hotel sector in the country (Malawi, 1966). The tourism development plan that was presented to this committee stated that the essential initial stage was the provision of professionally managed hotels of adequate standard. The choice of location was underlined by the unusual natural advantages the places possessed, such as an enormous lake with superb beaches, spectacular plateaux, a pleasant climate, conveniently-

sited game-viewing areas and strategic position across the continent's air routes. As a matter of guiding principles for building hotels, it was stated that no building would be done in isolation but instead developed as an integral part of complex of existing hotels, marines, golf courses, airport, railway steamer, and good connecting roads. For example, the building plans of lake shore hotels would include all necessary holiday recreational activities such as boats, sports equipment, and tennis courts (Malawi, 1965)

Institutionally, it was planned that hotels would be run as a company, namely, Malawi Hotels Ltd, which would be a subsidiary of the Malawi Development Corporation (MDC), a statutory body, which was directly under the responsibility of the Office of the President and Cabinet. The operation of these hotels, however, would be undertaken by Hallways Hotel Overseas Ltd., a UK based company that entered Malawi in 1965, and took over the administration and running of the existing government accommodation facilities. Among others, Hallway Overseas Ltd was mandated with responsibility (1) to supervise the game camps at Lengwe Game Reserve, Lifupa in Kasungu and Chelinda at Nyika National Park, (2) provide catering services at Chileka and Lilongwe airports, and on the MV Ilala II ship, and (3) manage the duty-free shop at Chileka airport. These several different activities in the Malawi tourism economy were brought under Hallway company umbrella in order to ensure maximum viability for the overall project. Above all, Hallway was engaged to assist in the provision of an improved standard and level of service, food and accommodation for the travel trade in the country (Malawi, 1966, 1969d).

4.3.3 Proposed Hotel Developmental Phases

The government acknowledged that the future of Malawi tourism hinged on improved hotel development in the country. In an important recommendation, the Division of Tourism recommended that the Malawi government should itself through the Malawi Development Corporation, enter the hotel business and erect a chain of strategically-sited international standard economy class hotels throughout the country (Malawi, 1968a). It was proposed that the chain of hotels emerge in strategic places for the tourism economy and with its development to be carried out in phases (Malawi, 1968a).

The first phase was to be the provision of a commercial hotel, Mount Mlanje (now Mount Soche), with 100 double bedrooms in Blantyre. The commercial centre of Malawi, Blantyre was where the country's most pressing hotel accommodation problem existed. Another development in the initial phase for government involvement in hotel development was for a small tourist hotel (Nkopola Lodge) of 15-20 double bedrooms on the lakeshore near Fort Johnston (Mangochi) for internal and external car tourists. It was anticipated that Mount Mlanje hotel would enjoy a high percentage of occupancy by business travellers to Malawi. The growth in business travel to Malawi had produced the demand for a higher standard of accommodation to be offered in Blantyre. Most of the business traffic was coming from South Africa, Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), Zambia and Mozambique. Looking forward it was anticipated that a wider reach of business tourism might be attracted to Malawi, from the countries of East and West Africa, North America, and Europe. Occupancy rates would be raised by promoting conferences and conventions in Blantyre (Malawi, 1968a).

The initial plans sought to encourage businessmen to bring their wives which might increase the bed occupancy of the hotel. Furthermore, it was anticipated that once there would be reasonable air links between Blantyre, Fort Johnston (Mangochi), Lilongwe and Salima that these centres could also have established modern hotels. Management could encourage the tour operators and travel agents to include the new hotels in the international travel itineraries. By that time government would have considered to build an additional block of bedrooms at the Mount Mlanje (Mount Soche), to cater for international visitors. Not only would the success of the hotel depend on air links, but also on improved road networks, both internally and externally. The anticipation was that when the external Tete road and the internal roads between Blantyre, the lake and Lilongwe had been improved, then the tourist traffic by road from South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique, would increase considerably. On arrival in Blantyre, more affluent tourists would stay at the Mount Mlanje.

It was also in the plan to consider providing cheaper family accommodation for the South African and Rhodesian visitors who would travel by road with families. For the new small lodge being planned for Fort Johnson, the idea was to meet the recreational demands of the visitors staying at the Mount Mlanje hotel and the residents of Blantyre (Malawi, 1966). It was envisaged that the lodge would be popular and well-patronised at weekends and holiday periods. As with the commercial hotel, this lodge would be extended as soon as the road from Tete in Mozambique to Blantyre had been improved and the air strip in Fort Johnson enlarged to take Fokker or Viscounts aircrafts. During the late 1960s other lodges in the Fort Johnston area of the lake were planned.

The second phase for hotel development shifted the geographical focus away from Blantyre. At the heart of planning was the provision of the first major tourist hotel along the lake, which was the country's prime tourist attraction. The main proposal was that international standard tourist hotels should be established at the lakeshore with initial development to be focussed at Salima (Malawi, 1968s). The hotel development in this Salima area was chosen for a number of reasons. The lakeshore area was attractive and there were several suitable sites. Moreover, it was near to the established Copperbelt car tourist market in Zambia and close to the capital designate with its expanding airport programme. In addition, it was proximate to Chipoka for rail and lake steamer passengers, and had its own dry-season Dakota airfield. The future tarring of Liwonde-Lilongwe stretch would also bring the southern internal and external car markets within easy motoring distance of the new planned hotel at the lake (Malawi, 1968a).

The new planned Salima hotel was designed to cater particularly for air tourists on package tours which would use regular schedule flights and landing at Lilongwe and travel onward either on Dakota's direct to the Salima airstrip or luxury-coaches via the tarred Lilongwe-Salima road. The initial provision of 100 bedrooms was considered to be the minimum for an economic operation for an air package tour hotel. The atmosphere of the new hotel, architecturally and socially, would be informal, with emphasis on recreational activities in particular linked to water sports. For the Salima area, it was considered that a holiday complex would be planned in detail

based on the other privately-owned hotels in operation, including the existing Grand Beach Hotel. It would include also developments of tarmac road to hotels and golf courses.

A third phase for hotel development was planned to expand spatially the network of hotels away from the cities and the lake and to open up the tourism opportunities of Malawi's other regions. In particular, in phase three the focus was to undertake complementary hotel development at game reserves and at scenic plateau areas. Complementary development would take place in three main game reserves which had major possibilities for tourist trade and had already some existing facilities. Lifupa Camp in Kasungu National Park had an airstrip and 14 bed accommodations; the Malawi National Park (now Nyika National Park) in Rumphi District had 22 beds and Lengwe Game Reserve camp in Chikwawa had 8 beds and it was mainly used by car motorists' tourists from Blantyre (Malawi, 1968a)

4.3.4 Other Developments

i. Limbe

The case of Limbe, 20 kms away from the Blantyre city hub, was similar to Blantyre, as it was an industrial hub. Here there was a demand for hotel accommodation in the Limbe area for the families of technicians and others connected with commercial and industrial development (Malawi, 1968a). The Shire Highlands hotel that already existed in this area had several large rooms, and plenty of space for future development. It was considered that this hotel would meet further demand if the hotel was modernised, refurnished and re-equipped (Malawi, 1969d). When the three hundred mile road link between Tete and Blantyre had been improved, this hotel could also accommodate the tourist and his family travelling by road from South Africa. The private owners of the hotel were expected to undertake this development, either alone or in association with others. A survey report was necessary to decide what was to be done to the hotel, the capital costs and the feasibility of the development.

ii. Zomba

Zomba was considered a pleasant town and of potential interest to commercial and tourist visitors from Blantyre. The Zomba plateau could be developed as an attractive weekend retreat for them. Consideration would be given to the re-development of the existing Ku Chawe Inn on

the Zomba plateau if the owners were interested in this development. The government produced a survey report for the Inn. There were also plans to build a new lodge for this town but these plans were abandoned because of the proposed move of the capital from Zomba to Lilongwe (Malawi, 1968a).

iii. Lilongwe

It was planned that as soon as work started on the new capital of Lilongwe, a company would be formed that would take over the existing Lilongwe hotel. The present owner could be invited to participate in the company and would remain as manager of the hotel if he so wished and if not, the owner would be bought out (Malawi, 1969d). A survey of the hotel was carried out and plans drawn up for the phased reconstruction to meet the needs of the increasing number of visitors who would require accommodation during the construction of the Capital City and after its completion. Accommodation had to be provided for the executive and technicians concerned with the building of the capital, commercial and government interests. Further accommodation would have to be provided for tourists when the roads from Zambia and Blantyre had been developed and the Salima/Lilongwe airport extended. At that time, it was considered there was a need for the construction of another hotel (Malawi, 1968a).

Overall, therefore, the intervention of government to upgrade the capacity and quality of the hotel industry in Malawi was to take place over a series of phased developments. The starting point would be at Blantyre, the focus then shifting to the critical lake shore node of Salima and then extending to other centres including Lilongwe, Limbe and the plateau areas. The planning of these various hotels was linked to different market segments and importantly was linked to improvement in the transport infrastructure, both in terms of the country's air access and road networks. Table 4.3 provides a summary of government planning in post-independence Malawi for a new chain of hotel developments. As was stressed in Chapter 3 the development of this improved network of hotels was seen as critical for improving the condition of Malawi tourism as a whole and its contribution to national economic development.

Table 4.3: Government Hotel Chain Developmental Phases

Location	Number of double bedrooms	Type
Phase 1		
1. Blantyre	100	Commercial, some tourism
2. Fort Johnston (lakeshore)	20 initial, 50 maximum	Tourism, car tourist hotel
Phase 2		
3. Salima (lakeshore)	30 initial, 50 maximum	Tourism, air tourist hotel
Phase 3		
4. Nyika	10 initial, 20 maximum	Car tourist hotel in the plateau
5. Lengwe	Lodge	Air and motor tourists
6. Kasungu	Lodge	Air and motor tourists
7. Vipya	10 initial, 20 maximum	Car tourist hotel in the plateau
Other areas		
8. Limbe	Refurbishment of the existing one	Motor tourists
9. Mlanje Mountain	10 initial, 20 maximum	Car tourist hotel in the foothills
10. Zomba	10 initial, 20 maximum	Car tourist hotel in the plateau
11. Lilongwe	100	Commercial, some tourism

Source: Division of Tourism, 1968

4.4 Organisation in the Hotel Development

4.4.1 The Role of Malawi Development Corporation

The Malawi Development Corporation (MDC) was established by government in 1964 under the direct responsibility of the President in the Office of President and Cabinet. The comprehensive task given to MDC through the Malawi Development Corporation Act of 1964 was "To develop the agricultural, commercial industrial and mineral resources and the economy of Malawi using sound business principles" (Malawi, 1965). The MDC was given the task of prioritising economic

sectors and the types of activities which would make maximum use of its limited resources in terms of investment funds and manpower. The investment policy of the corporation was designed, first, to provide finance for the expansion of existing business and the establishment of new concerns through share capital or loans or the combination of two. Second, where initiative was lacking in establishing any project considered essential to the national interest, the corporation created a direct enterprise. Third, enterprises were conducted in accordance with normal business practices and were intended to be profitable.

The MDC was the most important investor in hotels in Malawi and undertook increased efforts to achieve its objective as a national development catalyst, with hotel development representing one of MDC's sectoral priorities (Malawi, 1965). Work began on the new Mlanje Hotel (Mount Soche Hotel) by Malawi hotels Ltd, a subsidiary of MDC. Although government's policy was to partner with potential investors, the development of hotel chains was solely done by MDC through its subsidiaries that were formed to build hotels. Initiatives to invest in hotel business was lacking among private entrepreneurs. Of great significance to MDC was the income tax ordinance of 1963 that had various aspects to assist in hotel building. The Income Tax Ordinance of 1963 provided for allowances on certain capital expenditure incurred by taxpayers on the construction and equipment of "industrial buildings" which were defined so as to include hotels. In addition, the Customs and Excise Tariff provided for special low duties to be applied on crockery and other hotel amenities marked with the name of a hotel licensed under the Hotels Act of 1965 (Malawi, 1966).

4.4.2 The Role of the Division of Tourism

The Division of Tourism in the Ministry of Economic Affairs, albeit not directly involved in the building of hotels, exerted a great influence in the decision making and policy formulating conducive to hotel development. The Division had to forecast tourist traffic and other commercial dealings that would affect hotel development (Malawi, 1966). The justification for any hotel development had to be provided by the Division. It was made evident that as long as there were air, road and telephone communications improvements, new hotels would be built.

With the political changes that happened between 1960s and 1970s when most African countries received their independence, there was an expected increase in tourism. The neighbouring country of Tanzania was already building 12 hotels at once in anticipation of attracting tourists (Malawi, 1965).

For the Malawi government, the expectation was that a large proportion of the business and tourist visitors to Africa, who were entering and leaving via East and South Africa would include in their itineraries the countries in between which had good air and road communications and reasonable hotels. Malawi was positioning itself to occupy that place. It was then a matter of policy that if Malawi was to develop commerce and tourism it had to have a network of modern hotels in towns, lodges in the tourist centres, and rest houses in the outlying districts (Malawi, 1968a). The hotels and lodges were to be developed simultaneously with the improvement of internal roads and airports. It was foreseen that it would be no use doing one without the other. Air communications between Blantyre, East and Southern Africa, already had been greatly improved. The expectation was that by the 1st January 1969 Blantyre would boast a 100 room hotel of international standards (Malawi, 1968a).

The extension and development of modern, commercial and tourist hotels in other centres of Malawi would be planned in line with the development of internal air and road communications (Malawi, 1967a). By 1968, this assessment of the position was agreed by the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Tourism and the Malawi Development Corporation. Together these institutions explored ways and means of raising the necessary finance to build the new hotels and lodges as well as to improve the conditions of existing hotels and lodges wherever this was considered as possible. An up–to-date survey report and feasibility study was prepared and submitted to potential investors. As it was already planned that these developments could be undertaken by Malawi Hotels limited, in association with new investors or a separate company or companies could be formed for the various projects. The owners of existing hotels scheduled for re-development could be invited to participate. Hallway Hotels

Overseas Limited and its subsidiary, Hallmark Hotels (Malawi) Limited, were ready to participate (Malawi, 1968a).

4.5 The Progress of the Hotel Development Programme

The rollout of the planned programme is examined in this section of discussion. The government, through MDC and its three statutory bodies, Malawi Hotels Limited, Hotels and Tourism Ltd and Capital City Development Corporation (CCDC) embarked upon a hotel construction and improvement programme.

Malawi Hotels Limited built the 193 bed Mount Soche Hotel in Blantyre and the 52 bed Nkopola Lodge in Mangochi which were officially opened in April, 1969 and May 1970 respectively. In addition, Malawi Hotels Limited took over, extended and refurbished Ku Chawe Inn on Zomba Plateau and the Lilongwe Hotel in Lilongwe in 1969 (Malawi, 1970). All these units had been planned to be constantly improved over the years. All four hotels were managed by Hallways Hotels (Overseas) Ltd. Hotels and Tourism Limited. This organisation was formed in 1970 to exploit the tourist potential of Malawi. In 1971 it took over the Grand Beach Hotel (now the Livingstonia Beach Hotel) in Salima, Club Makokola in Mangochi, and Hotel Continental (Hotel Chisakalime) in Limbe from private entrepreneurs. This added to its portfolio of existing tourism operations in Malawi which included the take-over of the running of the Chileka Duty-free Shop and the government Kwacha International Conference Centre as well as opening the first Arts and Craft Shop in Blantyre (Malawi, 1970).

In order to open up those tourist areas where hotel accommodation was not available the government handed over the running of its chain of resthouses to the Department of Tourism in 1969/70 fiscal year. The Department carried out extensive maintenance and refurbishing work after assuming the management of the resthouses. Later, three new inns were built as part of the chain of government resthouses. The three new developments were as follows: the 40 bed Kasungu Inn which opened in 1972, Chitipa Inn (20 beds) which opened in 1976 and Chintheche Inn (20 beds). Other major tourism related developments by Malawi Hotels Ltd

were the creation of Malawi Restaurants Ltd, which purchased and completely renovated the Flamingo Restaurant and re-opened in November 1970. In 1971 Airport Caterers Ltd created by Malawi Hotel Ltd, constructed restaurants and kitchens at the airport. In addition, Malawi Hotels Ltd constantly made renovations on the acquired properties. For example, alterations to public rooms were completed to provide additional amenities in the Mount Soche Hotel. Other improvements included installation of a radio network. At the Lilongwe Hotel a new 21 bedroomed block extension, costing K122, 000, was constructed in 1971. At Nkopola Lodge new amenities were added including a marina, beach pavilion and four blocks of self-contained chalets to provide additional 32 bedrooms (Malawi, 1972)

Table 4.4: Summary of Hotels in the Hotel Development Programme

Location	**Name of hotel**	**comments**
Blantyre	Mount Soche Hotel	Opened in 1969
Fort Johnston	Nkopola Lodge	Opened in 1970
Zomba	Ku Chawe Inn	Acquired by government in 1969
Lilongwe	Lilongwe Hotel	Acquired by government in 1969
Salima	Grand Beach Hotel	Government took over in 1971
Fort Johnston	Club Makokola	Government took over in 1971
Limbe, Blantyre	Hotel Continental	Government took over in 1971
Lilongwe	Lingadzi Inn	Opened in 1972
Kasungu	Kasungu Inn	Opened in 1972

Table 4.4 summaries the total number of hotels which were established or acquired according to the government's development programmes. Although the plan to build hotels started as soon as Malawi got independence, the first hotel was opened in 1969. By 1972, Malawi had a total of 9 hotels and inns that were owned by MDC (Table 4.4). Among the 9 hotels, four were directly built by government while five were purchased in take-overs from private owners. During the 1970s, government continued making plans to build or acquire more hotels, inns or

resorts of acceptable international standards. Of special concern was the lakeshore area, which was considered to the focus of tourism development, and had two hotels by the 1970s.

The chain of hotels that was being built through government intervention was essential for establishing the foundations for a 'modern' tourism economy. It can be argued, however, that the chain was not likely to enable leisure tourism as an industry to have any great impact on the country's economy. Blantyre city was a business hub rather than a leisure hub and not considered as a major tourist attraction. Tourists would therefore only use the Blantyre hotel en route to the major attractions, such as the lake. The Fort Johnston hotel along the lakeshore was a tourist hotel, which, because of its position and restricted aircraft facilities, would cater mainly for the relatively unimportant car tourists. The drive tourist trade was viewed as insignificant in comparison with the potential air package market. Overall, it was accepted that of critical importance for accelerating tourism in Malawi was the construction of a hotel of international standards at the lake shore which would be geared to the potential of packages of tourists travelling by air (Malawi, 1969d). Salima was considered the best location for a major hotel development because it had excellent sites suitable for a large hotel, because of its closeness to the Zambian Copperbelt market, and a Salima hotel would enjoy support from Lilongwe, which was the planned new capital city (Malawi, 1969d)

As the chain of hotels of international standard was built by the Government, the operations of other accommodation units, considered of substandard by government, were still going on. Some units underwent renovations in line with the prevailing government regulations while others were closed by the Hotels Board. Using information collected from an analysis of telephone the directories of 1964 – 1967 and government files, it is estimated that by 1974 there were around 28 or more units (hotels, lodges and Inns) a decade after Malawi obtained independence (see Table 4.5 and Figure 4.3). Figure 4.3 shows the distribution of hotels, resorts and inns which were concentrated in the southern region and the lakeshore.

Table 4.5: Number of Hotels, Lodges and Inns, 1974

	NAME	PLACE
Blantyre City		
1.	Chigumula Inn	Limbe
2.	Hotel Chisakalime	Limbe
3.	Hotel Continental	Blantyre
4.	Hotel International	Limbe
5.	Mikeka Hotel	Limbe
6.	Mount Soche Hotel	Blantyre
7.	Nash's Hotel	Blantyre
8.	Nyasa Hotel	Limbe
9.	Portuguese Hotel	Limbe
10.	Ryalls Hotel	Blantyre
11.	Shire Highlands Hotel	Limbe
Lilongwe City		
12.	Lilongwe Hotel	Lilongwe
The Lakeshore		
13.	Club Makokola	Fort Johnston (Mangochi)
14.	Glengeary Hotel	Cape Maclear, Mangochi
15.	Grand Beach Hotel	Salima
16.	Fish Eagle Inn	Salima
17.	Lake Nyasa Hotel	Salima
18.	Marina Beach Hotel	Mangochi
19.	Monkey Bay Hotel	Mangochi
20.	Nkopola Lodge	Fort Johnston (Mangochi)
21.	Palm Beach Inn	Mangochi
Other Areas		
22.	Angoni Highlands Hotel	Dedza
23.	Government Hostel (hotel Masongola)	Zomba
24.	Green Corner Hotel	Dedza
25.	Ku Chawe Inn	Zomba
26.	Mwanza Inn	Mwanza
27.	Zomba Inn	Zomba
28.	Lifupa Lodge	Kasungu

Source of data: Department of Tourism; Zomba National Archives

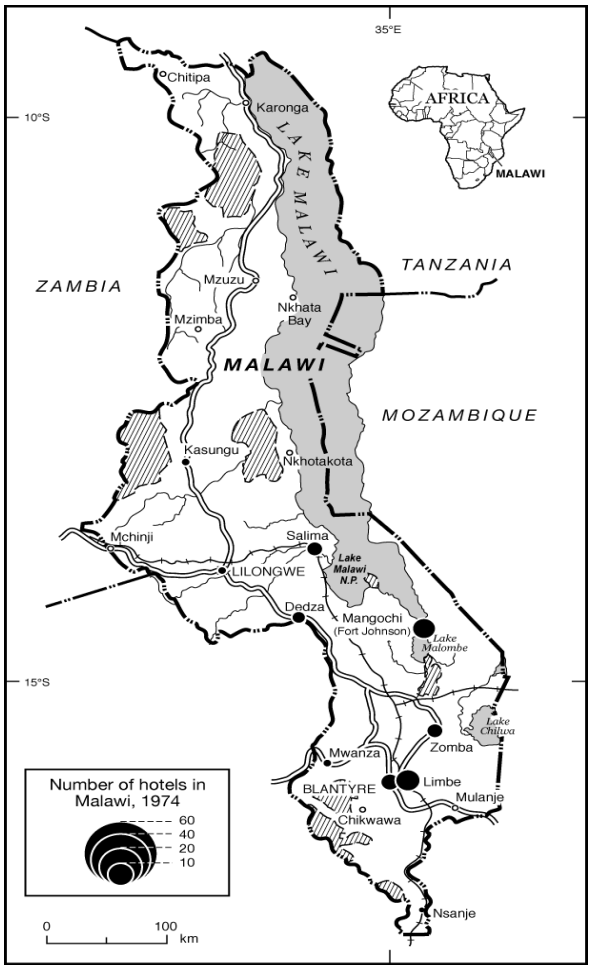

Figure 4.3 Distribution of Hotels, Lodges and Inns in Malawi, 1974

By 1975, there was still an anticipation of further rapid expansion taking place in the hotel industry. Hotel occupancy rates were increasing at a faster rate than expected. The rates had grown from 43.8 per cent in 1972 to 50.0 per cent in 1973 and 54.4 per cent in 1974. The performance of the lakeshore hotels was particularly impressive. The two lakeshore hotels managed to record average occupancy rates of 80 per cent in 1974 (Malawi, 1975). These figures suggested that at least one or more lakeshore hotel might be required to cope with a growth in tourism volumes.

Accordingly, the government opted to continue its focus on the building of new hotels and the extension of existing establishments as part of "industrial development'' in Malawi (Malawi, 1975). This project was undertaken through its statutory companies and their subsidiaries. The

subsequent plan for the lakeshore development was for building two more hotels at Msumbi Bay and Cape Maclear in the Nankumba Peninsula. As the hotel building and renovations processes were being undertaken, the Department took over Ngabu Inn, the only air-conditioned lodge at that time, from the Ngabu Agricultural Development Division in Chikwawa in 1975. In the new capital city of Lilongwe, the Capital City Development Corporation (CCDC) built the 142 bed Capital City Hotel which opened in 1976 and with a capacity that was later increased by further 172 beds. The Capital Hotel situated in Lilongwe was the first international hotel built by government in the central region. Later, this hotel and Lingadzi Inn also in Lilongwe and a CCDC property, were taken over by the Malawi Development Corporation (MDC) following the liquidation of CCDC in 1984.

Considerable activity took place with new developments and extensions of hotels during the period 1975-1983. The MDC under its subsidiary, Malawi Hotels Ltd took over the management of Lifupa Lodge in Kasungu National Park on a full hotel basis in 1975. Previously, Lifupa Lodge had been privately managed by a German entrepreneur from 1970 to 1974 (Malawi, 1975). As a result of incurring substantial financial losses the Lodge turned over management to Government. MDC under another subsidiary, the Hotels and Tourism Ltd, bought and made renovations to Hotel Continental and renamed it Hotel Chisakalime in 1978. Malawi Hotels Ltd undertook extension of 50 rooms to the Mount Soche Hotel, which was completed in 1979 (Malawi, 1980). This brought the total number of rooms at Mount Soche Hotel to 193. Malawi Hotels also extended Lilongwe Hotel in 1981 by 52 rooms to make a total of 100 rooms. In 1982, a 20-bed Chintheche Inn was completed by the Department of Tourism and in Balaka Township, the same year, a privately-owned 10-bedroom motel was opened. In Liwonde National Park, government built four rondavels which were opened in 1982 on self-catering basis. Until this point, the hotel building programme had been active mainly in the South and Central Regions of Malawi. As a result of increased economic activities in the Northern Region, particularly at Mzuzu, the demand for high standard hotel accommodation also increased. In acknowledgement of this demand, the MDC built Mzuzu Hotel. The plan was to build 60 rooms. However, 30 rooms were put to immediate use following its opening in April, 1982 and

the rest to be utilised as soon as demand justify the increase. The hotel was well situated next to Mzuzu Club which had a golf course and other sporting activities (Malawi, 1983).

As government was actively involved in the construction of the hotel industry, towards the end of the year 1983, the Department of Tourism took over the management of Lifupa Wildlife Lodge from Nordam Enterprises. In the same year, Hotels and Tourism Ltd, which was under the Department of Tourism, went under voluntary liquidation (Malawi, 1986b).

4.6 Government Hotel Facilities and their General Performance

By the early 1980s, Malawi's hotel facilities were of acceptable international standard only in the Capital City of Lilongwe (Capital Hotel) and the commercial centre of Blantyre (Mount Soche Hotel). Outside of the urban centres, there were at only three relatively small hotels capable of accepting the international tourist looking for leisure facilities. These were Nkopola Lodge and Club Makokola, situated on Lake Malawi north of Mangochi and Ku Chawe Inn, mountain resort, in the Zomba Plateau.

Until 1983, when hotels prices were government-controlled at arbitrary sub-economic levels, most hotels incurred losses and, thus, were not in a position to achieve adequate standards. The government-owned company, Hotels and Tourism Limited, which operated three hotel and camp units (Club Makokola, Grand Beach Hotel, and silver Sands Camp) and the Kwacha International Conference Centre in Blantyre, went into voluntary receivership in 1983 and was liquidated. Its units were sold to the private sector and the city of Blantyre. The Grand Beach Hotel was privatised and sold to Dutch investors who renovated the establishment and renamed it Livingstonia Beach Hotel. Club Makokola was owned by a private Italian entrepreneur. This company had been inadequately managed by the Department of Tourism which continued to manage a number of small Inns and resthouses, despite considerable operational losses which were covered by government subsidies.

Following the liberalisation of hotel prices in early 1984, the performance of most hotels improved and allowed Malawi Hotels Ltd to carry out substantive improvements of its four units. The private sector also started to join the industry following the liberalisation. Therefore, two decades after independence, there were more than 30 hotels, lodges and Inns of acceptable standards in the country (Table 4.6). These are provided in Table 4.6 and Figure 4.4 which show the largest spatial clusters of hotels to be still at Blantyre-Limbe but with a growth of a cluster of lake shore hotels.

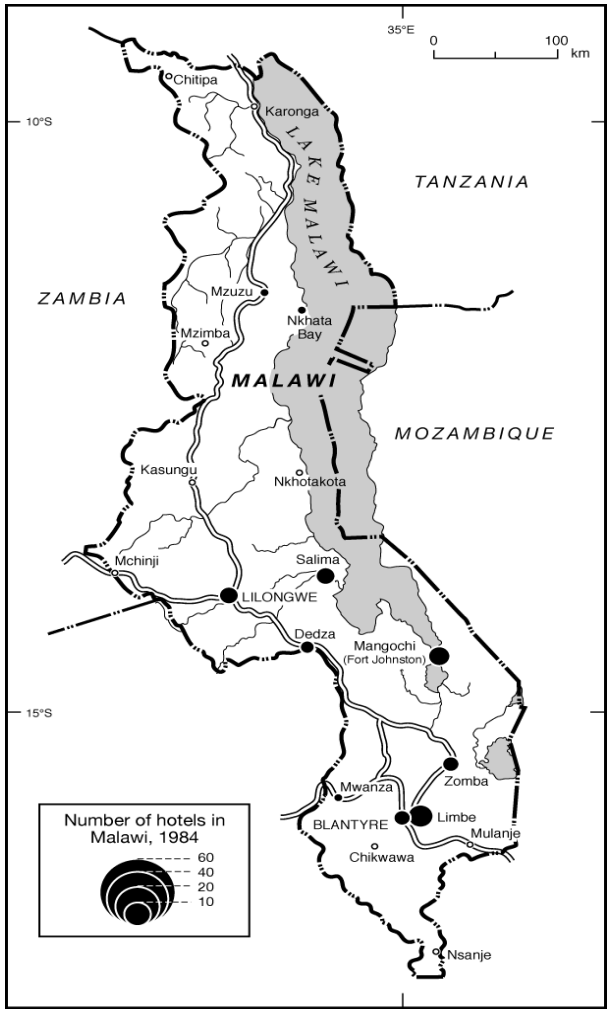

Figure 4.4: Distributions of Hotels, Lodges and Inns in Malawi, 1984

Table 4.6: Available Hotels, Lodges and Inns, both Government and Private by 1984

	NAME	**PLACE**
Blantyre		
1.	*Mount Soche Hotel*	Blantyre
2.	*Nash's Hotel*	Blantyre
3.	*Ryalls Hotel*	Blantyre
4.	*Chigumula Inn*	Limbe
5.	*Hotel Chisakalime*	Limbe
6.	*Hotel International*	Limbe
7.	*Mikeka Hotel*	Limbe
8.	*Nyasa Hotel*	Limbe
9.	*Portuguese Hotel*	Limbe
10.	*Shire Highlands Hotel*	Limbe
Lilongwe		
11.	*Chester City Motel*	Lilongwe
12.	*Capital Hotel*	Lilongwe
13.	*Lilongwe Hotel*	Lilongwe
14.	*Lingadzi Inn*	Lilongwe
The Lakeshore		
15.	*Club Makokola*	Fort Johnston (Mangochi)
16.	*Nkopola Lodge*	Fort Johnston (Mangochi)
17.	*Glengeary Hotel*	Cape Maclear, Mangochi
18.	*Marina Beach Hotel*	Mangochi
19.	*Monkey Bay Hotel*	Mangochi
20.	*Chintheche Inn*	Nkhata Bay
21.	*Fish Eagle Inn*	Salima
22.	*Grand Beach Hotel*	Salima
23.	*Lake Nyasa Hotel*	Salima
24.	*Livingstonia Beach Hotel*	Salima
Other		
25.	*Government Hostel*	Zomba
26.	*Ku Chawe Inn*	Zomba
27.	*Zomba Inn*	Zomba
28.	*Mwanza Inn*	Mwanza
29.	*Mzuzu Hotel*	Mzuzu
30.	*Angoni Highlands Hotel*	Dedza
31.	*Green Corner Hotel*	Dedza

Source: Division of Tourism, telephone directories

By 1985, there existed a total of 784 hotel rooms with 1568 beds available for holiday and business visitors (see Table 4.7). Only six hotels in the country offered the full range of services of international standards, although there were others well suited to certain types of holiday-makers. The six leading hotels were the Mount Soche Hotel in Blantyre, Capital Hotel and Lilongwe Hotel in Lilongwe, Mzuzu Hotel in Mzuzu, and, Club Makokola and Nkopola Lodge both at Mangochi, the lakeshore. During the immediate decade, expansions in the hotel industry had remained in the cities, the lakeshore, scenic plateaus and selected wildlife reserves.

Hotel performance in general remained at low profit. In February 1986, the Malawi government introduced an austerity programme aimed at reducing central government budget deficit (Malawi, 1986a). The government austerity affected adversely the turnover and profitability of all non-leisure tourist oriented hotels. The business oriented hotels had been severely affected because they relied heavily on government business. This vulnerability showed the need to move away from dependence on government towards the promotion of foreign tourism and domestic private business. In the country's two main city hotels, Capital Hotel and Mount Soche Hotel, room occupancy rates fell to just below 50% during the first six months of 1986. Notwithstanding this decline, extensions, refurbishments and improvements were continually being carried out by the MDC subsidiaries. For example, Mzuzu Hotel was extended by 30 rooms while Nkopola Lodge and Lilongwe Hotel were also refurbished. The Livingstonia Beach Hotel received extension and there was refurbishment and face-lift work at Ryalls Hotel. Major expansions were also under way at Club Makokola and a new hotel built by Lakeshores Hotel Ltd, a subsidiary of MDC, with initially 56 rooms, opened at Kambiri Point on the Lake near Salima in 1986. By the mid-1980s government through MDC owned most hotels, inns and resorts in the country. Government had acquired property variously by directly constructing establishment units and also by buying from individual entrepreneurs. MDC continued the practice of owing tourism properties until 1986.

Table 4.7: Summary of Hotel Rooms by 1975, 1980, 1985 by Location

	1975	**1980**	**1985**
Blantyre			
Mount Soche Hotel	100	148	148
Ryalls Hotel	62	62	65
Shire Highlands Hotel	34	34	33
Hotel Chisakalime	10	10	10
Sub-total	**206**	**254**	**256**
Lilongwe			
Capital Hotel	108	108	108
Lilongwe Hotel	46	46	98
Lingadzi Inn	11	11	36
Sub-total	**185**	**165**	**242**
Zomba			
Ku Chawe Inn	17	17	17
Mzuzu			
Mzuzu Hotel	---	---	30
Lakeshore			
Club Makokola and Nkopola Lodge	129	111	111
National Parks	36	36	36
Government Rest Houses	75	75	92
Total	**628**	**688**	**784**

Source: Statement of Government Policy, 1987-96

Table 4.8 captures the situation of major hotel developments existing in Malawi as of 1985. It is evident that the largest number of hotels as well as rooms continued to be in Blantyre, the commercial heart, and at Lilongwe, the national capital. The year 1985 was something of a

watershed for government involvement in the hotel sector for after the Kambiri Lodge, MDC slowed down its hotel investment. The corporation was having in-house financial challenges. As it reduced some of its commitments, the hotel industry was directly affected. In addition, government policy of investing in industrial sector changed as the new policy thrust was to encourage private sector investment.

The key reasons for the changed policy direction in favour of greater private sector involvement relate to trade liberalisation and most importantly, the introduction in Malawi of World Bank policies for 'Structural Adjustment Programme' (Malawi, 1980). The programmes of structural adjustment forced the government to change policy and retreat from direct involvement in hotel development. Indeed, this marked the end of the government fully involvement in the hotel industry. The challenge was that since the beginning of hotel development exercise, specifically of international standards in 1964, government was the sole investor. The transition greatly affected the accommodation industry. For some time, the country did not experience the birth of a new international standard accommodation, not least because the private sector was not ready to invest in the hotel industry. Nevertheless, the existing hotel structures flourished and continued to expand. On Table 4.8 is provided a picture of the comparison of hotel visitors in relation to other type of accommodation. On average, 20% of all visitors in the country were using the hotel accommodation.

Table 4.8: Number of Visitors in a hotel by Type of Accommodation, 1986-1993

	1986	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**
Hotel	15096	15504	17323	19400	19526	19262	23382	21571
Rest-house	6715	7190	10839	13473	18445	18864	22603	22571
Private houses	27319	29359	38148	45125	51068	47392	60862	55269
Other	19541	24081	33114	39071	40873	41486	42987	53473
Total	68671	76134	99424	117069	129912	127004	149834	152701

Source: Economic Report, 1994

Since the policy change towards providing a conducive environment for private sector investment, the functions and importance of MDC have gradually diminished. Although the MDC had been recording financial losses since the late 1980s, it was not until 2006 when it finally wound up operations (Malawi, 2007a). The government's retreat from the hotel sector witnessed a change in ownership structure of the Malawi hotel industry. All the accommodation facilities under government inns and rest house chain were privatised by 1997. Without special incentives, the private sector did not engage themselves fully, however, in new large-scale hotel developments. Specific targeted incentives for private sector to participate in the tourism industry were introduced late in 2008 (Malawi, 2008b). Nevertheless due to the new government policy, some progress was made in the hotel industry.

In 2003, a number of facilities in the protected areas were privatised in order to improve the services rendered to tourists (Malawi, 2004a). Some of the privatised facilities were Chelinda and Kazuni Lodges in the North, Lifupa Lodge in Kasungu, Mvuu and Chinguni Lodges in Liwonde National Park. Kayak Africa Company managed lodges at Mumbo and Domwe Islands in Lake Malawi National Park. In addition, between 2005 and 2009, a number of privately-owned international standard hotels and lodges made their entrance to the market. These included the Pacific Hotel (2008), Crossroads Hotel (2005) and Nature Sanctuary Lodge (2006) in Lilongwe; Pumulani Lodge (2009) in Mangochi.

At the time, the government was offering its hotel assets to the private sector; the majority of the existing accommodation supply was inadequate and inappropriate for the development of leisure tourism. Quality was poor and excessively priced. The new policy stipulated in the two consecutive Tourism Strategic Plans of 2002 -2006 and 2008- 2013 gave priority to the development of leisure tourism accommodation in the form of eco-lodges and associated infrastructure (Malawi, 2001c, 2008b). One of the reasons that stimulated this policy formulation was the bad publicity surrounding Lake Malawi as bilharzia-infested water (Cetron et al, 1996).

The first priority development proposal for eco-lodges, according to 2002-2006 Strategic Plans, was the 30-bedroom up-market ecotourism lodge at Kande Beach along Chintheche Strip in Nkhata Bay. The second proposal was the island- based eco-tourist lodge at Maleri Island in the Lake Malawi national park. This would offer both wildlife viewing and water sports. The third was to establish a 20-bedroom eco-lodge near Likhubula Falls in Mulanje. The scenic atmosphere at the lodge would include a waterfall and mountain scenery. The fourth developmental proposal was a 15-bedroom Eco-lodge with views of falls and mountains at Machewe Falls. The fifth proposal was a 50-bedroom hotel in the Lilongwe Nature Sanctuary in Lilongwe. It would be a three-star standard hotel build along the Ligands River. This would appeal to both holiday makers and business visitors attracted by eco-friendly central location (Malawi, 2001c).

4.7 Utilization of Hotels

By the early 2000s it was calculated that on average, 22 per cent of international visitors who visited the country stayed in the network of hotels. This indicated that the large part of the hotel visitors was local rather than international patrons. It also meant that international visitors were not using the hotel facility as anticipated and that other forms of accommodation were utilised. The other challenge of hotel accommodation had been the price. Malawi hotels had been known to be expensive. In terms of segmentation, on average, city and urban hotels had a slightly higher occupancy levels due to business conferences. These issues are demonstrated in the data shown on Tables 4.9 and 4.10.

Table 4.9: Number of Hotel Guests, 1996-2002

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
No of international visitors ('000)	183.6	207.3	219.6	254.3	227.6	266.3	284.6
No of hotel guests	---	188	208.1	147.5	181.2	182	195
No of international visitors who slept in hotel	---	67.1	74.0	26.4	35.5	55.8	54.4
% share of international visitors who sleep in hotels of all international visitors	---	32.4	33.7	10.4	15.6	21.0	19.1

Source: Economic Report, 2003

Table 4.10: Room and Hotel Occupancy rates, 1996- 2008

Year	Bed	Room
1996	38	54
1997	37	60
1998	38	63
1999	40	65
2000	45	66
2001	48	70
2002	54	74
2003	56	75
2004	55	74
2005	26	35
2006	31	46
2007	38	53
2008	53	58

Source: Tourism Reports, 2007 and, 2008 by Department of Tourism

4.8 Proliferation of Accommodation units; Hotels, Lodges and Inns

The coming of multi-party government in Malawi brought considerable changes in the nature of hotel and accommodation developments in Malawi. Hitherto, the focus had been upon larger unit developments but from 1994 there was a new focus and energy upon small-scale accommodation developments. Many small and medium accommodation units in forms of Hotels, lodges, Inns and many other forms now entered the accommodation market. The Ministry of Tourism stated that in 2010 it licensed 1000 units per year (Malawi, 2010). Due to limited capacity the ministry, however, could not inspect each unit, there remain many small and medium accommodation units that are not counted for. Some accommodation units are unplanned developments scattered along the lakeshore. These developments in accommodation have been a source of contention between the government and the local entrepreneurs. Nevertheless, many of them have appealed to the budget tourists, which became a popular focus in Malawi from the mid-1990s, in particular at centres such as Nkhata Bay.

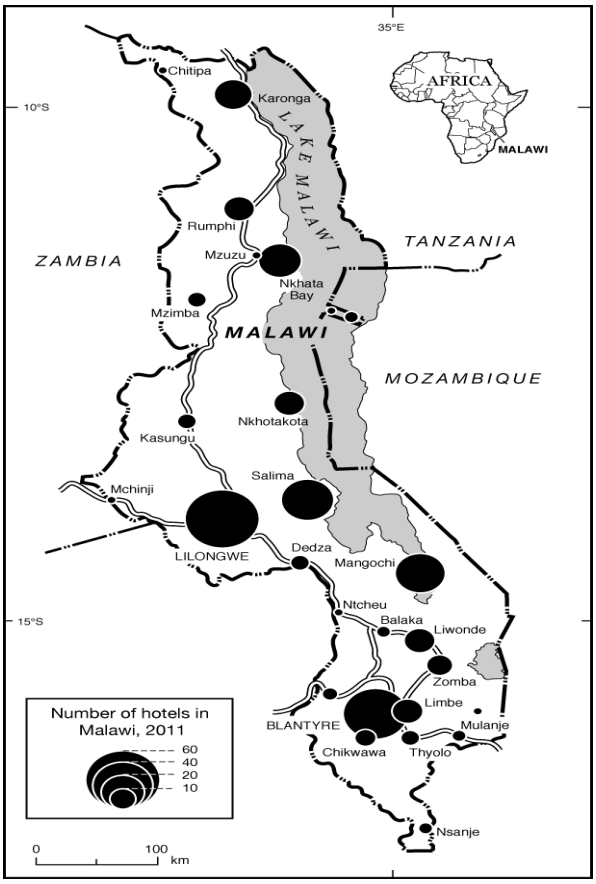

Figure 4.5 Numbers of Hotels in Malawi, 2011

Figure 4.5 shows clearly the impact of the new liberalised climate for accommodation development in Malawi. Two themes are notable. First, is the enormous actual growth in the numbers of accommodation establishments, which includes now small scale inns and accommodation units run as small and medium enterprises. Second is the evident spreading geographically of the network of tourism accommodation. Although the largest clusters of accommodation establishments continue to reflected in and around Blantyre and Lilongwe significant clusters are evident also around Mzuzu and at the Lakeshore areas.

Notwithstanding the considerable expansion that has taken place in Malawi over the past 15 years in the category of small and medium accommodation providers, the accommodation sector as a whole and the hotel sector in particular continues to be dominated by larger hotels. Of special importance is the emergence of Sunbird Tourism Ltd as the leading hotel enterprise of Malawi (Sunbird Tourism, 2011). This private company was incorporated in 1988 following

the amalgamation and consolidation of hotels which were previously the chain of government-owned establishments in Malawi. During the 1990s the group was operated through several management contracts with outside companies, most importantly the Protea Group in the period 1994-1998 and Le Meridien from 1999-2005. During 2002 the company was listed for the first time on the Malawi Stock Exchange. In 2006 Sunbird Tourism came under local management by Malawians and in March 2007 the group launched the brand Sunbird under which all its hotels now operate (Sunbird Tourism, 2011). The group has a total of seven hotels which are spread across the major business nodes and leisure hubs of Malawi. Its portfolio is as follows: in Lilongwe the Sunbird Capital and Sunbird Lilongwe; in Blantyre the Sunbird Mount Soche; in Salima the Sunbird LIvingstonia Beach; in Mangochi, the Sunbird Nkopola Lodge; in Zomba the Sunbird Ku Chawe and in Mzuzu City the Sunbird Mzuzu. It is apparent that this hotel group is the outcome of the consolidation of the hotel properties which had been acquired and upgraded by the Malawi Development Corporation. Indeed, of the shareholding in this publicly quoted enterprise the MDC still retains a 71 per cent share (Sunbird Tourism, 2011).

Although the Malawi hotel industry is largely under local control there has been some interest from foreign investors over the past few years. First, the old Ryalls Hotel in Limbe has become part of the Protea Group, South Africa's largest hotel enterprise (Protea, 2011). Second, in 2010 it was announced that the Botswana-based luxury safari lodge enterprise, Wilderness Safaris had secured a concession to build its first lodge in Malawi. This concession follows from Wilderness Safaris operation and management of Mvuu Lodge in Liwonde National Park from 2003 and Chelinda Lodge in Nyika National Park from 2010. Finally, in 2010 it was announced also that Chinese investors were engaged in developing a new hotel in Lilongwe, Malawi's expanding capital city. The hotel is Malawi's first 5-star hotel that is being financed under the Chinese loan agreement (Malawi, 2011a). The new involvement of these foreign investors is a signal of an emerging new competitive environment in the Malawi hotel industry and is a reflection of wider trends taking place also in the African hotel industry as a whole.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to provide an account of the growth and unfolding development of the accommodation sector in Malawi from earliest colonial times to the present day. Across the 100 years of evolution of the hotel sector in Malawi, it is evident that a number of changes have occurred which are inseparable from the broader development of the tourism industry as discussed in Chapter 3.

The establishment of an infrastructure of hotels was critical for the growth of Malawi as a tourism destination, both for regional tourism and for its slow emergence as a destination in the international tourism economy. As business rather than leisure travellers have been critical in Malawi tourism, it is not surprising that the earliest hotel developments took place in and around the colony's and subsequently the post-independence country's major urban centres. It was shown that Blantyre, Limbe, Zomba and subsequently Lilongwe were critical spatial nodes in the hotel network that emerged and consolidated. With the importance and impetus for developing leisure tourism, however, from the 1960s considerable focus was upon the developments at Malawi's major tourism asset, Lake Malawi and later at the plateau areas.

Of critical importance in understanding the development of the hotel sector in Malawi has been the role of government. In colonial times government's lack of interest in tourism and in the Federal period the focus on Southern Rhodesia rather than colonial Nyasaland meant that limited hotel development took place mainly by small private entrepreneurs. The quality of these hotels developments, for the most part, fell well short of international standards. To address this problem and to facilitate Malawi tourism development, the national government in the early years after independence launched its initiative for government supported hotel development and improvement of existing hotel properties. The role of government was thus critical in laying the foundation of a modern hotel sector and a commercial tourism industry. Nevertheless, by the 1980s it was evident that funding and management shortages threatened the quality standards of these establishments and correspondingly, the potential for further growth of Malawi tourism.

A critical watershed for the hotel industry was the implementation of the World Bank Structural Adjustment Programmes which led to the retreat of government from ownership of the hotel sector and of privatisation. Since 1988 the hotel sector has been dominated once again by the private sector rather than government owned and operated hotels. Further major changes have taken place impacting upon the development of the hotel sector since the advent in 1994 of multi-party democracy. The most significant change, perhaps, has been the liberalisation measures which have encouraged a new wave of small-scale private sector entrepreneurs. It is evident now that although the leading enterprises in the accommodation industry of Malawi are large scale firms such as Sunbird Tourism, the greatest numbers of accommodation establishments are small-scale operations. Finally, whilst indigenous ownership of the hotel sector has been noted, it is clear that by 2010 there are signs of a growing interest of foreign investors in participating in the Malawi hotel industry.

CHAPTER 5: STAGES IN MALAWI TOURISM AND ACCOMMODATION SECTOR DEVELOPMENT

5.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study with a discussion of the development of post-independence Malawi tourism and accommodation sector in the context of Butler's model. The chapter examines the applicability of Butler's model to understand the Malawi tourism development. It is argued that whilst the development of tourism in Malawi does not fit Butler's model, the model does provide a tool for comparative analysis and review of the unique aspects of tourism development in Malawi.

5.2 Stages of Development in Malawi Tourism and Accommodation Sector

Tourism and accommodation development in Malawi has occurred in three stages using a periodisation linked to Butler's model. This periodisation process is analysed from 1964 when Malawi achieved independence. These stages are discussed below.

5.2.1 Post-Colonial Development Stage, 1964 – 1986

After a long struggle to break the federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and attain freedom in 1964, the new Malawi nation was eager to facilitate rapid economic development and industrial evolution. The federation was believed not to have brought meaningful development in Malawi. As Malawi became independent in 1964, a number of factors influenced its choice of development policy. First, Malawi became independent with a recurrent budgetary deficit of over £5 Million, which was to be eliminated as soon as possible (Malawi, 1968a). Second, there was a substantial external trade deficit, which required attention and increasing cash crops production seemed a quick remedy. Third, Malawi's population distribution consisted of 92% of its population living in rural areas where they practiced subsistence agriculture. At the time of independence, agriculture was responsible for over half of Malawi's Gross Domestic Product; two-thirds of which was accounted for by the subsistence sector and the other one-third by cash crops of tobacco, tea and coffee (Malawi, 1968a). Such a scenario put agriculture on top of the policy agenda of Malawi's priority sectors for development. Tourism, however, was

recognized as a potential sector for economic growth but needed to be stimulated and well planned. There was already a recognition of the country's unique natural tourist's attractions, particularly the pristine beaches of Lake Malawi and the country's wildlife heritage.

Therefore, during the early Post-Colonial Development Stage, government's specific policy initiative to stimulate tourism expansion was the building of hotels of international acceptable standards. At independence there was no hotel of international standard and some of the roads to key tourist attractions were not accessible. This existing situation of the tourism industry, during the post-independence era, was described by the government as below the required standard. In 1965, a quasi-government organization, Malawi Development Corporation (MDC) was established to undertake tourism investment initiatives, specifically in accommodation facilities (Malawi, 1966). The MDC, with a concessionary loan from the Commonwealth Development Corporation of £800, 000 for the construction of Mount Soche Hotel in Blantyre and £250,000 for the building of Nkopola Lodge in Mangochi, initiated the investment in hospitality facilities. Hallways Overseas Ltd, a British international company, was responsible for the management of these two facilities and other ancillary services in the industry. The hotel facilities together with the pristine lake beaches and wildlife would attract the regional tourists and long-haul international tourists on tour packages following the introduction of package tours on the global market in the mid-1960s (Britton, 1982). The secondary policy that also boosted the promotion of international package tourist was the formation of SARTOC, which promoted joint promotion in source markets. SARTOC provided support and cooperation with other African countries in promoting tourism at the regional level, which increased package tourists in the country (Teye, 1988). By 1972, nine hotels, lodges and inns of acceptable international standards were in operation. These targeted groups of tourists were to fill the rooms of the chain of hotels that were being built by government.

The other government policy initiative to stimulate tourism development was the establishment of tourism institutions. In order to accelerate the development of tourism and the accommodation sector, a department of tourism was formed in 1969. Its mandate was to

investigate the country's tourism potential and submit plans for its proper exploitation and publicize the country's tourist's attractions abroad

Consequently, during this Post-Colonial Development era, the structure and characteristics of tourism development in Malawi displayed a rapid establishment of large-scale tourism projects which were mainly financed and managed by external companies. The accommodation sector expanded rapidly during the late 1960s and early 1970s. A small but rapidly growing tourism and hospitality industry emerged which was publicly–owned through MDC and managed by expatriates. It focused on a few selected markets which were nearby and already had communication channels with Malawi. Key markets were Zambia, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Uganda in Africa and Britain and United States of America in terms of long-haul markets. The monopolistic control of government was perpetuated by the Forfeit Act that discouraged local participation because government had powers to confiscate properties; and also the pricism and state minimalism policy that allowed the government to dictate prices (Hughes, 2001). Local involvement in tourism was still present mainly in the low level unskilled work, especially in hotels.

Another government policy initiative that accelerated tourism development during the Post-Colonial Development Stage was the change of the capital city from Zomba to Lilongwe. This policy tried to spread the tourism projects to other tourist's attractions that were not yet accessible. As Lilongwe opened up, more tourism projects were built in the Central and Northern Regions, such as the construction of Capital Hotel and Mzuzu Hotel respectively. The last tourism project was the construction of Kambiri Lodge in Salima in 1986, located in the central region. Overall, the early Post-Colonial Development era saw the completion of a number of tourism projects and a high proportion of holiday makers using government hotel chains (Chapter 3). By 1983 tourism was Malawi's fourth biggest foreign exchange earner (Ankomah and Crompton, 1990)

5.2.2 Fragmented Development Stage, 1987 – 1999

By 1987 the state of Malawi's tourism and accommodation industry could be described as still being in the infant stage (Malawi, 1987-1996). Tourism was contributing 1.8 percent of Gross Domestic Product which was insubstantial and agriculture was still the leading economic sector. The number of international arrivals had increased more than ten-fold, from 14,000 visitors in 1964 to over 160,000 in 1994 (Malawi, 1997). The country's total revenues increased from K478, 000 in 1970 to K19, 687,000 by 1987 (Malawi, 1972). Nevertheless, the contribution of holidaymakers to the total number of arrivals decreased from 40% in 1975 to 25% in 1994 (Chapter 3).

The significant development of Malawi tourism during the Fragmented Development Stage is the decentralization of tourism ownership and management activities and the dramatic change of tourism structure to include both foreign and local small and medium enterprises. Government policy to privatize tourism facilities was greatly influenced by exogenous factors. The underlying issue was that Malawi had been dependent on borrowed funds and aid funds for tourism and other developments. In order to secure low interest rates and more access to loans, the government had to implement the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (AFRODAD, 2007).

The Malawi Statement of Development Policy Document (1987-1996) reviewed the SAP policy and recommended the privatization of government's low and middle cost facilities (Malawi, 1987-1996). The policy document stipulated that the provision of accommodation and services would be the responsibility of the private sector while the Department of Tourism (DOT) would promote investment in tourism and create a conducive environment for private sector development (Malawi, 1986c). DOT would continue with facilitating training scholarships, promoting and marketing the nation as a tourism destination. DOT would also render advice and assistance to local hoteliers on the proper management of their establishments. By 1997, some of the government owned accommodation, a total of 98 rooms in a network of inns and resthouses had been privatized. Most of the low cost accommodation units, located in the

districts, outskirts of cities and towns, were taken over by local Malawians. However, the government still owned the hotel chain, which was classified as the high cost accommodation, by holding the majority share of MDC and as way of relinquishing its managerial role, government opted for management and franchising agreements with external companies.

From 1994 to 1998, the management of the established government hotel chain (7 establishments) was leased to Protea, a South African based hotel chain. The Protea Company did not renew their contact and in January, 2000, the management contract was changed to Le Meridien, a French based hotel company. When the French company's contract expired in 2005, the government decided to form a local company, namely, Sunbird Malawi Ltd, a subsidiary to MDC to manage the hotel chains. The MDC held 71% of shares of Sunbird Hotels Limited. Other shares were held by the members of the public (18.1%), Prestige Management Limited (1.9%), and Noel Hayes (9%) (Sunbird Tourism, 2011). In 2007, Sunbird Malawi Ltd was launched and has managed the hotel chain since this time. In the process of streamlining the tourism government properties, most of the accommodation facilities along the lake and other pristine areas were owned by the foreign entrepreneurs and expatriates. The expatriates, mainly South Africans and Zimbabweans, increased the establishment of other forms of accommodation in addition to hotels. Therefore, a high number of tourists were using camps and private houses as accommodation preferences were changing. With trade and market liberalization, the expatriates continued to build low cost resorts and lodges along the lakeshore. The growth of these low budget accommodations was linked to the increase occurring in the backpacker market. The largest concentration of the budget accommodation occurred along the southern lakeshore at Cape Maclear in Mangochi and the northern lakeshore, especially at Chintheche in Nkhata Bay district (Gartner, 2008).

The privatization drive also led to the concessionaire's management contracts of tourism government properties in the national parks and reserves and forest reserves with external companies. The Department of National Parks and Wildlife Reserves facilitated these concessionary agreements. Most of the accommodation in these areas is high cost and targets

the up–market tourists. Most of the foreign entrepreneurs have expanded to include safari and tour companies, generally dealing with the high-income end of the tourist spectrum. One expatriate accommodation company, Ulendo Safaris, has grown vertically to include a tour company and a charter company (Ulendo Safaris, 2011).

Consequently, there is control of tourism in most of the touristic areas by the foreign investors while the Sunbird Malawi Limited is the overall leader in ownership and control of the accommodation sector. Local investors have dominated the domestic tourism, catering mainly for the low levels of civil servants. The local market has also flourished due to the cross-border trade. Many low income cross-border traders utilize these low cost accommodation facilities.

Although the tourism and accommodation sector has gone through such policy changes, its contribution to the national economy did not increase. By 1995 tourism contributed 1.1% of the total exports of goods and services (Malawi, 1997b). As the contribution was less than 5% of the total national income, tourism in Malawi could not be described as a key economic sector (Cater, 1995). The government targeted 500,000 visitors by the year 2000. By 1997, there were only 207,300 visitors. At the average rate of growth 4.1% since 1995, the target would not be achieved.

A number of both external and external factors impacted negatively on the performance of Malawi tourism in the Fragmented Development Stage. First, it was the change of government in South Africa, which was Malawi's main regional source market. After 1994, the number of South African tourists to Malawi declined. Malawi used to receive large numbers of South Africans tourists due to the President Kamuzu Banda's (first president of Malawi, 1964-1997) close ties with the apartheid regime. During the 1980s over 20% of the tourists to Malawi came from South Africa. The change of government in South Africa not only reduced the number of South African tourists into Malawi, but of British tourists as well. Malawi had to share the British market with South Africa in addition to already existing competitors in the southern Africa. Another source of competition came from Malawi's neighbouring Mozambique, which

became an attractive destination after the end of the country's civil war (1977-1994). Second, Lake Malawi turned into a health hazard. Lake Malawi had been known to contain the parasites that cause bilharzia since the 1980s. This health hazard caused great damage on the international markets. Travel agents in United States of America advised potential visitors not to visit the Malawi due to the widespread news of the bilharzia. In the British market, travelers were advised to take precautionary measures if they intended to swim in Lake Malawi. In general, tour operators were discouraged to send tourists to Malawi.

Third, the change of political system from one party to multi-party democracy in Malawi in 1994 led to a new emphasis being placed on the tourism sector as a basis for diversifying the economy. With the arrival of democracy, there was the removal of restrictions towards both local Malawians and foreigners. For the local people, the Forfeit Act and the Pricism and State Minimalism Policy were abolished (Hughes, 2001). This led to rapid growth of low standard accommodation development. In the case of foreigners, the democracy brought the removal of the former strict dress code (1968 - 1994) which did not allow exposing of one's knees for women, and did not permit long beards for men (Malawi, 1968a). In the democratic government, a national Tourism Policy was produced in 1995 to re-emphasize the importance of tourism industry to national income, employment and foreign exchange earnings (Malawi, 1995)

5.2.3 Attempted Recovery Stage, 2000 – 2008

By 2000, it was apparent that Malawi's vision of attracting long-haul international tourists that were expected to assist in the economic and social development of the country was losing focus. Instead, the country's tourism industry was dominated by low-budget backpackers and visitors who came for cross-border business. In order to reverse the situation government adopted a number of measures. First, the government adopted eco-tourism as a strategic approach to realize tourism economic benefits from international source markets through the Tourism Strategic Development Plant (TSDP), 2000-2006. The goal was to position Malawi as a leading eco-tourism destination in the southern African region (Malawi, 1999). This would take

advantage of the existing natural resources the country possessed. TSDP (2000-2006) proposed the development of eco-lodges in strategic places in a short, medium and long term plan (Malawi, 1999). The TSDP (2000-2006) further suggested the promotion of alternative forms of tourism and special interest groups such as bird watching, horse riding, cultural tourism and other niches. In terms of the development of cultural tourism, the government in 2007 opened a Yao Cultural Village in Mangochi district in the southern region. Second, the government through MDC invited the foreign enterprise, KaiRo International, to develop a gaming industry in the country for tourist entertainment (Malawi, 2000c). The Malawi Gaming Board was formed to assist in realizing the casino industry. Six years after the Gaming Act of 1996, KaiRo International opened the Colony Club Casino in Blantyre District in December 2002 (Malawi, 2000c). The Casino included a restaurant and a sports bar. Later, in the mid-2000s, the America Palace Pirates Casino opened in Lilongwe with two restaurants. Third, government included the promotion of sustainable tourism in the tourism development strategies. The aim was to use tourism as a tool of alleviating poverty while at the same contributing to the Millennium Development Goals. The government intended to promote sustainable tourism as a way of enhancing community participation in tourism development. Nevertheless, monitoring and controlling measures to assess its impact were not clear.

These attempts to boost Malawi's involvement in global tourism have been limited in impact. Relatively, Malawi tourism has lagged behind its main African competitors in realizing the tourism benefits. Competing destinations such as South Africa, Morocco, Egypt, Tunisia, Kenya, Tanzania, Senegal, Namibia and Gambia are countries which offer a similar tourism product and compete for the same set of origin markets. Of these ten countries examined by the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), Malawi ranked the ninth out of ten destinations in tourism's direct contribution to GDP; the eighth in tourism's direct contribution to employment; the tenth in tourism investment, and tenth in visitor exports (WTTC, 2011).

5.3 The Butler's Model and the Malawi Tourism

It is evident that Malawi tourism has diverged from the stages depicted in Butler's model (Butler, 1980). Malawi tourism has been depicted as going through three stages of Post-Colonial Development, Fragmented Development and Attempted Recovery since independence. In the Malawi case, the analysis of early development stages of Exploration and Involvement as depicted in the Butler's Model time frame have been excluded as tourism was already in existence at the attainment of independence. Instead, tourism development from the time of independence has been highlighted. During the period of Post-Colonial Development, it was anticipated that the number of visitors including holidaymakers would have been higher than it was realized. The main challenges were lack of publicity of Malawian tourism products and perhaps, the draconian law that insisted on a particular dress code. In the former case, there was no reputable international hotel brand that was willing to franchise the hotels in Malawi at this stage. As a result, little was known to major European or American tour operators that could include Malawi in their programmes, although Malawi was keen to attract air package tourists. In terms of the draconian law, the government has maintained a strong policy on dressing since 1968 (1968 - 1993) (Malawi, 1968a). The dress code was perceived as an infringement of individual rights by the tourists, making Malawi one of the least desired countries as a holiday destination. Investment in the tourism industry remained monopolistic under government and there was little private investment because of confiscation without compensation under the Forfeiture Act. In addition to the above challenges, there were conflicts in neighbouring Mozambique and Zimbabwe that gave a bad reputation for the whole region of southern Africa.

The evolution of tourism from this stage should have advanced to that of consolidation. But instead, Malawi tourism experienced an unforeseeable Fragmented Development Stage due to powerful influential external policies. Malawi tourism proceeded through 19 years of a "Fragmented Development Stage" when a wide spectrum of operators was involved in the development process. Low cost accommodation mushroomed within this period. This freedom also encouraged cross-border trade, which was the main market for the low cost

accommodation units. Before the multi-party government, this form of trade was not common. As a result of the implementation of World Bank Structural Adjustment Programme, legislation which affected the establishment and operation of tourism enterprises was changed. The most significant change was the removal of the Forfeit Act which encouraged new private sector investment in tourism as government involvement was reduced. During this stage, the Malawi accommodation sector grew quantitatively but not qualitatively. Although there had not been a reduction in the number of visitors according to the UNWTO wide range definition, Malawi's tourism industry lost the momentum of attracting leisure tourists to the country. Malawi started to cater for short-stay visitors, overwhelmingly from neighbouring cross-border traders and the budget tourists during the Fragmented Development Stage.

During this Fragmented Development Stage, the private sector took control of some properties and developmental activities. The main challenge was that the existing tourism private sector was not yet vibrant to play such role and responsibility. In addition, tourism projects were not attractive to the private sector as tourism benefits take time to accrue. This is evidenced by the fact that MDC had to initiate investment without joint ventures with foreign or local investors. Eventually, the policy to allow the private sector to drive tourism development ended without much success.

In the last stage that commenced in 2000, there was an attempted recovery of increasing bona fide tourists to the country as government promoted eco-tourism as a strategic tool to influence high yield tourists in the country and recover its position as a holiday destination. This is evident in the Tourism Development Strategies of 2000-2006 and 2008-2013 in which eco-tourism development is encouraged in order to increase leisure tourists.

It is argued that Malawi tourism clearly diverged from the pattern as depicted in Butler's model. These findings, however, do not invalidate Butler's model. This 'lack of fit' assists to direct attention to other factors underlying the development of tourism in Malawi. As Akama (1999) has argued, not all destination areas may conform to the identical stages of evolution and to a

single unilinear model. In the case of Malawi tourism, policy formulations influenced by both endogenous and exogenous factors have been the major causes of developmental changes in the tourism and accommodation sectors in Malawi. None the less, Butler's model is useful in providing a conceptual tool on which specific development stages can be assessed. In addition, the model assists in locating social and economic conditions that have contributed in the periodisation of the tourism development in Malawi.

5.4 Conclusion

Tourism has increasingly become a profitable and large economic sector in Africa. Tourism generates foreign exchange earnings, employment and contributes to the balance of payments for many countries in Africa. Accordingly, tourism is prioritized in the development agendas of many African nations. The significance of tourism has gained increased academic attention. Although during the past decade Africa has witnessed the growth of research on tourism, Malawi tourism has been neglected and little is known about issues that have affected the development of tourism in Malawi.

The study aimed to understand the development of tourism and the accommodation sector in Malawi through applying Butler's well-known destination development model. The study sought to contribute to the applicability of the Destination Development Model through the case study of Malawi tourism and accommodation sector. The study also investigated the various factors and issues that affected the development of tourism and the emergence of accommodation sector since Malawi's independence in 1964.

It is evident from this study that Malawi did not conform to the Destination Development Model. The study revealed that Malawi tourism diverged from this model and that the tourism evolution process went through three stages of development, namely, the Post-Development Stage, the Fragmented Development Stage and the Attempted Recovery Stage.

It has been demonstrated in this study that Malawi provides a good example of a developing country that has struggled to realize its full tourism potential due to several factors, such as the reliance on external assistance and the incorporation of external policies for its developmental activities. Malawi had to depend on external aid and loans during the post-colonial development stage for the construction of large tourism projects. This contention is pertinent to many developing countries especially Africa where tourism development is characterized by shortfalls in strategic planning, increased external control, economic instability and deteriorating infrastructure (Britton, 1980, Sinclair, 1990). Indeed, Britton (1982) argues that the development of tourism in the third world conforms to the historical and economic structures of economic dependence. Malawi's decision to incorporate external policies caused the growth patterns of the tourism and accommodation sector in the Fragmented Development Stage to diverge into high cost government accommodation units under contract management; medium to low cost accommodation units under foreign and local elites investors, and low cost accommodation, especially in forms of resthouses, under local investors. These changes were quantitative rather than qualitative and did not facilitate tourism to contribute significantly to the economy of the country. Nevertheless, despite these shortfalls, Malawi continued to promote tourism and included tourism development in the national policy documents. In the Attempted Recovery Stage, Malawi demonstrated a continued interest to pursue the development of tourism by strategically promoting eco-tourism in order to attract high-yield low volume eco-tourists.

Finally, the study revealed the critical role played by government in shaping the growth of tourism in Malawi after independence. The post-independence government built hotels and encouraged both regional and long-haul international tourists to visit the country. The study has showed also the significance of political change, which took place in 1994 with the end of single party rule under President Banda and the change to multi-party democracy, which brought Malawi into the global tourism economy.

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APPENDIX A – List of Files from National Archives, Zomba

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2. IC/1 Central African Corporation 1939-60, 81989,3-2-6R44163
3. IDL/1/4 Nyasaland Industry Development Loans Board, 1960-63, S1989, 3-1-7R, 44161
4. B/F13 Minutes from Circulars from Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1964-1976, S19923-2-6R, 44167
5. GLB/MPSRA/1 MPSR Amendments 1970-74, S1989,3-2-7R, 44168
6. CLS/AR/1 Annual Report, 1966-68,S1989, 3-6-10F, 44169
7. PPB/1108 MDC-Establishment, constitution and Membership, 1968-72, S1987, 2-10-9F, 38854
8. BL/101/01/988/1 Application for business licence, Blantyre District Hotels and Tourism Ltd. 1974-74,S1987, 7-2-1AF, 38864
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10. TR/10 Tourist Guide: Welcome to Malawi, 1963-67, P1987,5-1-4F,25634
11. TD/7A Hotels; Hotels Board, 1968-69, P1987, 5-1-4F, 25634
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13. TD/44 Rhodesia National Tourism Board, 1962-1970, P1987,5-1-4F, 25634
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33. MS/4, Visits General, 1962-68, P1988,3-11-12F, 25621
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35. TD/MB, Hotel Service Charges, 1970, P1988,3-11-12F, 25621
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37. TD/33, Game (Reserves, Camps and Hunting), 1960-68,P1988,3-11-12F,,256621
38. TD/18 Hotels – Zomba Inn, 1968, P1988,3-11-12F
39. TD/22 Palm Beach Inn, 1963-68, P1988,3-11-12F
40. TD/51, UNO Tourism, 1965-68, P1988, 3-11-12F, 25621
41. TD/51 Commonwealth Tourism, 1966-68, P1988, 3-11-12F, 25621
42. TD/9A , Hotels and Catering Trade Association, 1963-67, P, 5-1-4F, 25634
43. TD/10, Tourism Guide: Welcome to Malawi, 1963-67, P, 5-1-4F, 25634
44. TD/7A Hotels: Hotels Board, 1969-69, P, 5-1-4F, 25634
45. TD/26, Hotels: Salima, 1968-69,P, 5-1-4f, 25634
46. TD/44, Rhodesia National Tourist Board, 1962-70, P, 5-1-4F, 25634
47. TD/1 Tourism Development Policy, 1962-69, P, 5-1-4F, 25634
48. HT/13, Hotels: Tourism; New Lakeshore Hotel – Salima, 1967-68, P, 5-13-2f, 2538

APPENDIX B – List of Interviewees

1. Mr Biko Nthindwa, Sales Manager, Sunbird Capital Hotel, Sunbird Hotels Ltd, Lilongwe
2. Mr Rob McConaghy, Marketing Manager, Ulendo Safaris, Lilongwe
3. The Marketing Manager, Pacific Hotel, Lilongwe
4. Mr H. Sakraine, Crossroads Hotel, Lilongwe
5. Mrs Virginia Mahata, Lilongwe Hotel, Lilongwe
6. The Manager, Hotel Masongola, Zomba
7. Mr Dumasi, the Manager, Lifupa Lodge, Kasungu
8. Mr Ron Matikita, Protea Ryalls Hotel, PO Box 20, Blantyre
9. Mr Max Del Bufalo, The Manager, Nyala Lodge, PO Box 2279, Chikwawa
10. Mr Ken Katuma, Accommodation Manager, The Sanctuary Lodge, PO Box 5, Lilongwe

APPENDIX C – List of Questions

1. What type of visitors frequently patronised your hotel / lodge/ Inn?
2. Who are your main competitors in the accommodation business?
3. What influences the flow of visitors to your establishment?
4. Would you describe the accommodation sector in the country as an area of significant contribution to the overall development of the country?
5. In what way has the accommodation sector affected the tourism development?
6. In your view, is Malawi among the preferable destinations in Africa?
7. Are there any government policies that have influenced positively your establishment's growth?
8. Do you network with other units either within or outside the country?
9. What are the challenges facing the growth of your establishment?
10. In your opinion, who is the biggest player in the accommodation sector?