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FACULTY OF ECONOMICS

MASTER'S THESIS

A TYPOLOGY OF TOURISTS VISITING THE REFUGEE CAMPS OF WESTERN SAHARA

Ljubljana, 20th November 2018   MILOŠ POPOVIĆ

AUTHORSHIP STATEMENT

The undersigned Miloš Popović, a student at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Economics, (hereafter: FELU), author of this written final work of studies with the title "Tourism in Contested Regions: A Typology of Tourists Visiting the Refugee Camps of Western Sahara", prepared under supervision of doc. dr. Tamara Pavasović Trošt and co-supervision of doc. dr. Kir Kuščer.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AT – Art Tifariti
AU – African Union
ECHO – European Commission's Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations
EMTM – Erasmus Mundus European Master in Tourism Management
FS – Film Sahara
ha. – Hassani
ICJ – International Court of Justice
ICRD – International Committee of the Red Cross
MINURSO – The United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara
NGO – Non-governmental Organization
POLISARIO – Popular Front for the Liberation of Saguia, el-Hamra and Rio de Oro
PSA – Polisario Security Agency
PSDE – Spanish Socialist Workers Party
SADR – Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic
SIT – Special Interest Tourist
sl. – Slovenian
SM – Sahara Marathon
sp. – Spanish
TALC – Tourism Area Life Cycle
UN – United Nations
UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNWTO – United Nations World Tourism Organization
VFR – Visiting Friends and Relatives
WFP – United Nations World Food Programme

INTRODUCTION

Contested regions or disputed territories are often the results of political conflicts or disagreements between two or more territorial entities that claim possession and control over a piece of land. In extreme cases, when it comes to the war between the two sides, contested regions transform war zones into specific territories, sometimes resulting in permanent refugee camps. These areas are naturally not a popular destination among travellers and refugee camps are not very welcoming for travellers and visitors (Timothy, 2010). As Timothy (2010) has pointed out, although tourists pay very little attention to these types of destinations, different types of visits to contested regions do exist.

In the tourism literature, much is known about the development of tourist destinations or life-cycle of a destination. The most influential work examining the tourism life-cycle was initially proposed by Richard Butler (1980), whose model was later used in many different studies of tourist destination development (Getz, 1992; Haywood, 1986; Hovinen, 1981; Russel & Faulkner 1998).

In addition to the work on destination development, other scholars focused on the difference between the motivations of tourists in visiting particular destinations, proposing several typologies of tourists in different types of tourist destinations (Cohen, 1972; Pearce, 1993; Plog, 1974). These authors, for instance, classified tourists into groups by their motivation, desire, and interests for travel. However, while our understanding of different types of tourist typologies is extensive, there is limited research about the kinds of tourists who visit contested regions. In this thesis, I research a case of one of the oldest contested regions in Africa: the case of the refugee camps of Western Sahara.

The Western Sahara territory is known for its long-lasting conflict and fights for the land between Morocco, which considered Western Sahara as a part of their country, and the Sahrawi indigenous tribe. The conflict started in 1975 when Spanish colonial forces were withdrawn from Western Sahara, and subsequently, the Sahrawis proclaimed The Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (hereafter: SADR). In response, Moroccans occupied the Western Sahara territory, and Sahrawis were forced to flee to neighbouring Algeria as refugees, settling in six refugee camps known as the refugee camps of Western Sahara (Herz, 2013a). The refugee camps of Western Sahara were supposed to be temporary, but as the conflict had not been solved, they were gradually developed into permanent settlements. Over the course of more than 40 years, the refugee camps gradually developed into cities (Herz, 2013a). In his book "From Camp to City", Herz systematically described the stages of development of the camps in terms of economic and organizational structure. He concluded that there was a process of gradual development as different institutions were developing and creating new ones in order to allow them to have their own administrative roles. This means that Sahrawis who run refugee camps by themselves were responsible for bringing tourism to the camps.

Research has shown that different visitors, most of whom are politicians, students, researchers, journalists, athletes, artists, non-governmental organizations (hereafter: NGOs), etc. nowadays visit the refugee camps of Western Sahara (Chan, Guia & van de Velde, 2017, p. 134). Authorities of Sahrawis organize all the visits to the camps. Two flights now operate per day, from Algiers to Tindouf and from Oran to Tindouf, making Tindouf the more frequent airport in Algeria. The result of this is also the continuing development of the camps and huge efforts made by Sahrawis in organizing different festivals and events. As these sites of tourism are essentially former refugee camps which now have their own autonomy and are run by administration of SADR, this case is particularly interesting: it allows us to examine how the Western Sahara refugee camps evolved over a period, and to study the types of visitors who travel to contested regions.

The idea for focusing on the Western Sahara refugee camps originally came from attending a presentation by dr. Jaume Guia, professor of Business Organization at Faculty of Tourism, University of Girona, at which he presented the history of the camps, along with the research team composed of students from European Master in Tourism Management (hereafter: EMTM). After initially visiting the refugee camps, the EMTM research team observed that it is a case where the development of tourism in the SADR is an ongoing process. They were additionally able to observe that the types of visits have changed from its very beginning to now. After its start as a conventional refugee camp with the need for humanitarian aid, the visits slowly changed, little by little. Now, the region organizes the international Sahara Marathon and an art and film festival, both of which have significantly affected the development of the former refugee camps. In the case of the Western Sahara camps, it is clear that at each stage, tourist visits are not related according to specific needs of visitors but correlated with the particular type of needs of Sahrawis. The typology of tourists thus relates to Butler's (1980) evolution of destination development: each destination goes through different stages, and the types of visitors changed in response to the development of the destination.

According to World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2008, p. 4), a tourist is a person who travels away from home for leisure, business or other purposes for longer than one day i.e. 24 hours, but less than one year. Various typologies of tourists exist. One typology classifies tourists into four main groups: business and professional tourists, leisure and holiday tourists, visiting friends and relatives (hereafter: VFR), and backpackers or gap-year travellers (Bean, Kleyn, Llewellyn, Maliehe & Marx, n.d.). Similarly, Pearce (1993) proposed 15 categories, including tourists, explorers, travellers, missionary, holidaymaker, overseas students, jet-setters, anthropologists, businesspersons, hippies, migrants, international athletes, conservationists, overseas journalists and religious pilgrims. Other authors have proposed different types of tourist typologies, for instance, based on the purpose sought while travelling (e.g., Cohen, 1972), or based on the tourist's personality and curiosity while visiting a destination: allocentric/venture and psychocentric/dependable

tourists (Plog, 1974). These typologies and classifications offer several ways of systematizing the types of tourists and their profiles in the Western Sahara camps.

As reviewed above, preliminary research by the EMTM research team revealed that the Western Sahara camps attract different types of visitors than traditional tourist destinations: those visiting friends and relatives, those who visit the camps for political and/or humanitarian aid, members of NGO's, journalists, political activists, etc. Thus, understanding the typology of tourists is very important: defining who are the tourists in refugee camps, and in what ways do they differ from typical tourists in conventional tourism. In examining the types of tourists to this particular refugee camp, my thesis will allow us to understand the peculiarities of tourists in refugee camps. Similar to studies of so-called "dark tourism", where the attraction for tourists came as an unintended consequence of a conflict or tragic event (Foley & Lennon, 2000; Stone, 2006), in refugee camps the motivation for tourists also evolved over time, in a relatively unplanned manner. In the case of this refugee camp, the situation gradually evolved: from a conflict region to a refugee camp, a refugee camp with occasional visits, to a permanent settlement with regular tourism. Understanding the typology of tourists and their motivation for visiting a contested region will contribute to developing a classification of tourists in exile camps and contested regions.

The **purpose** of my research is to develop a typology of the tourists/visitors to this contested region, in order to understand if they differ from those of conventional tourists. My **research goals** are: to create a typology of types of tourists who visit the camps; to explain the role of the Sahrawi government in sanctioning particular events and thus attracting certain types of tourists; and to determine how the types of tourists in contested regions differ from that of conventional tourists.

Following the research problem outlined above, the **research questions** tackled in the master's thesis include:

1. What are the main types of tourists who visit refugee camps, and what are the patterns of their visits (timing, duration, etc.)?
2. In what way does this typology of visitors to refugee camps differ from what we know about types of visitors to conventional tourist destinations?
3. How have activities of the Sahrawi government affected the development of particular types of tourist visits?

The **methods** include both descriptive and secondary data, as well as primary research. For the first part of the thesis, I rely on secondary data on the refugee camps available online through pamphlets and from NGOs, and popular literature about the camps, in addition to data available from two visits made by the EMTM research team, as well as dr. Guia's own work about the Western Sahara camps and its history, and popular books focused on the development of this region (e.g., Herz, 2013a). In order to develop a typology of visitors

(the second and third research question), I rely on interviews with personnel in the camps. This includes the transcripts of 20 video-recorded semi-structured interviews that took place from 3rd to 13th of June 2017. The interview transcripts were analysed using thematic analysis method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

In chapter 1, I present a history of the Western Sahara region, a brief overview of the conflict between Morocco and the Sahrawis indigenous tribe, as well as the current situation of the Western Sahara territorial domain. Chapter 2 explains the theory of the life cycle of a destination and the descriptive phases in gradual development of Western Sahara into a tourist destination, along with a description of everyday life, public sector, economy, education and different aspects that dealt with the development of the camps. Chapter 3 provides the theoretical framework followed by an overview of theories proposing various ways to define tourist types and motivations. In chapter 4, I explain the methodology used for retrieving data. In chapter 5, I present my findings, which consist of three parts: first, my systematization of the different typologies of tourists who visit the Western Sahara refugee camps; second, an outline of how the types of visitors changed following the destination life-cycle development; and third, a discussion of how tourists to conventional destinations differ from those to contested regions. I also discuss the limitations that affected my research and its findings in this chapter. Finally, the conclusion summarizes the main points and arguments proposed by my thesis.

1   WESTERN SAHARA HISTORY

1.1   Western Sahara conflict

In the ninetieth century, Spain colonized the territory now known as Western Sahara. This region turned into a Spanish province in 1934 and back then became known as the Spanish Sahara. The interest Spain had in this area was largely connected to the considerable reserves of phosphates. The majority of the population who inhabited the area were nomadic tribes called Sahrawi, some of them worked with the phosphates resources and others were fishermen, both parties with joined efforts performed the main economic activity in that region. Both the opulence in natural resources and the region of Spanish Sahara itself were of huge significance to Sahrawis, Moroccans, and Mauritanians. As the indigenous people of what is now known as Western Sahara territory, Sahrawi always believed that Western Sahara is their territory. Only a couple of years later, in 1965, United Nations (hereafter: UN) took into consideration the decolonization of the today's Western Sahara, yet Spain guaranteed the region to Kingdom of Morocco and Mauritania, opposing to comply with the UN's "Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People". This resulted in the conflict between the Popular Liberation Front of la Saguia, el-Hamra and Rio de Oro (hereafter: POLISARIO), Sahrawi political

movement and Spanish colonialists that initially began in May 1973. In 1974, it seemed that the Saharawi people were to be allowed to decide if they wanted to be independent at a referendum. However, the idea of an independent Western Sahara was an issue for the Moroccans. They wanted the referendum to be postponed until the International Court of Justice (hereafter: ICJ) based in Hague dealt with this matter. The ICJ made a public and advisory decision; Morocco and Sahrawi people were to claim the historical sovereignty in the territories of Western Sahara, while on the contrary the Mauritanian people could not. In 1975, Spain was finally ready to desert its last colony in Africa. After the withdrawal of Spanish tropes, the conflict continued between POLISARIO and Kingdom of Morocco after Morocco occupied the territory. Moroccan King Hassan II convened the "Green March", a mass demonstration or "Black March" as Sahrawis call it, where 350 thousand civilian volunteers from across Morocco gathered at the territory to support the annexation of Western Sahara. Together with the military force of the Kingdom of Morocco, they were determined to maintain control over the territory and they managed to have it occupied. Within no time, after these events, Saharawi Arab Democratic Republic has been declared as a sovereign state from Sahrawi nationalists (Joffe, 2010). This resulted into the 16 years' war that was waged for Western Sahara and a long drama of African last decolonization.

The POLISARIO faced Morocco and Mauritania after both countries had divided their territory through a secret agreement with Spain. In spite of Mauritanian strong military, Sahrawi aggressors subdued Mauritanian armed force amid the war in 1979 to surrender the battle. Even the tactics of the guerrillas of the POLISARIO expelled Mauritania in 1979, Morocco moved and occupied the whole region that was initially guaranteed to Mauritania.

The conflict amongst Moroccans and Sahrawis kept going for many years and accordingly thousands of Sahrawi sought refuge on the other side of the border in neighbouring Algeria. Six exile camps were settled close to the Algerian city of Tindouf and they are known as the Refugee Camps of Western Sahara (Herz, 2013a). In between 1981– 1987 Morocco build the 2.500 kilometres long sand wall, which divided the territory. The so-called "Berm", or how Sahrawi call it "Wall of Shame", was built to isolate the occupied territory from the rest of the territory that was controlled by Sahrawis.

The war ended in 1991 with the ceasefire agreement; Western Sahara had claimed thousands of lives as the cost of war. The same year, The United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (hereafter: MINURSO) organized by the UN, attempted to resolve the conflict by organizing a referendum. Sahrawi were to decide about their future in a referendum that was to take place in 1992. The question was whether they would vote for independence or for their integration with neighbouring Morocco. However, the referendum has been repeatedly postponed and the Sahrawis have not yet voted for their future. Few attempts have been made in order to determine the conflict, however, until then the conflict remains unresolved and the situation of Sahrawis continues as before.

The refugee camps of Western Sahara situated close to Algerian city Tindouf are named after their original communities in Western Sahara: Smara, Boujdour, Dakhla, Ausred, El Aayun and Rabouni. The estimates show that about 174 000 refugees live in the camps (European Commission, 2018). Each camp represents one Sahrawi *wilaya*, and after two decades, these *wilayas* became perfectly organized and they managed to maintain a certain air of stability. Rabouni refugee camp functions as the national capital, also as the administrative capital of the province. In the camps people are speaking Hasanni Arabic as their mother tongue and Spanish as a second language.

Sahrawis govern the liberated territories from these camps, despite the fact that SADR claims sovereignty over the entire territory of Western Sahara. According to Joffe (2010, p. 378), at one point SADR was recognized by 73 UN member states, mostly African countries. Out of these 73 countries, 39 have frozen or reversed recognition decisions due to enormous pressure that Morocco exerted on these countries. SADR is a member of African Union (hereafter: AU) and in order to protest this Morocco withdrew their membership from the AU. Subsequently, the political clash amongst Sahrawi and Moroccans remains uncertain until the point where all the issues are addressed in a proper manner.

Nowadays, as shown in Figure 1, the territorial domain of Western Sahara borders with Morocco on the North, Algeria on the Northeast and Mauritania on the East and South. The Berm is dividing Western Sahara into two territorial parts that are around 20% controlled by the POLISARIO Front. The East of the Berm, until the Mauritanian border, is under the SADR power. This part Sahrawi calls it Liberated Territory. The Liberated Territory is otherwise known as one of the biggest minefields in the world. It is estimated that Moroccans placed around five million mines during the war. The rest of the Western Sahara territory, west of the Berm up to the Atlantic Ocean that is taken by Morocco and proclaimed Moroccan Southern Provinces, stayed occupied and Sahrawi call it Occupied Territory.

Figure 1: Map of Western Sahara

Source: United Nations Geospatial Information Section (n.d.).

1.2   Refugee camps

Refugee camps are temporary settlements made to host exiles or displaced persons who have fled their home country after a conflict most commonly of political nature. In the light of this, refugee camps are typically observed as extraterritorial zones that do not belong to any domain and are protected from another possible conflict or clash (Herz, 2008). In other words, refugee camps are known as contested zones. The term contested or closed, in this case, refers to the state of being limited in circulation and flow, thus the contested zones have little or no space for improvement and growth. Closed for the economy, trade, exchange, and not having a normal standard of living, the areas of the contested zones lack the essential requirements for regular tourism. In this situation, refugee camps are assembled and ran either by the government of a host country, UN, International Committee of the Red Cross, or some NGO. Therefore, refugees get all the necessary aid from these parties until their situation has improved and the time came for them to return safely to their homes. A common consensus indicated by UNHCR (2014, p. 6) states that refugee camps ought to be a temporary solution. Despite the fact that camps are supposed to be temporary settlements for refugees, there are situations where camps may continue to exist for a considerable length of time. According to McClelland (2014), the average refugee spends 12 years living in a refugee camps. Palestinian refugee camps exist since 1948, Burmese camps in Thailand exist since 1986, Sahrawi refugee camps branded as the Refugee Camps of Western Sahara exist since 1975, etc.

However, the excessive demand for a final resolution of a conflict situation has had a few camps developed into lasting settlements. High level of poverty and low level of advancement has inspired the inhabitants of the refugee camps to improve their situation by creating means to turn into a non-refugee population and devise plans to create grounds for tourism. As contested zones, these refugee camps may not be the most welcoming destinations for tourists, as their plight may deter many potential guests from visiting. As indicated in (Timothy, 2010), the attention allotted to tourism in these areas is meagre.

2   EVOLUTION OF THE WESTERN SAHARA REFUGEE CAMPS

2.1   Defining a tourist destination

Destination as a part of tourism, it is a territory composed of few elements (infrastructure, attractions, other touristic elements etc.) that are fundamental for welcoming a particular tourist or tourism segment (Lew & McKercher, 2006). Authors also state that some destinations are more prone to be touristic hotspots whereas others are not. According to the authors (in Leiper, 2004), this gives the tourists an idea of whether this place is welcoming tourists or not.

Other criteria for what determines and qualifies a place as a tourist destination is comfort and attractiveness. In each of two, there are several aspects needed to consider, and by examining those aspects, we can say if a destination is more or less touristic. The following elements include:

− Quality of accommodation and facilities,
− Journey costs,
− Easy access to attractions,
− Special events,
− Architectural attractions,
− Natural environment
− Climate, etc..

In any case, every destination that is visited by a certain type of tourists had undergone changes from a place that was not typically touristic to a touristic type of destination. In this way, destinations go through different stages of its development or evolution process.

2.2   Evolution of tourist destinations

The cycle of development is otherwise called "life-cycle of a tourist destination" or "Tourism Area Life Cycle" (hereafter: TALC). Butler's (1980) TALC is one of the most important contributors to the studies of tourism development, as it explains how destinations change and what leads to its development. However, the most persuasive work for life-cycle in tourism fields shows up from Richard Butler in 1980. According to him, the life-cycle of a tourist destination demonstrates a model of the distinctive stages in the evolution and changes in its progress to the following stage. Many authors (e.g., Haywood, 1986; Hovinen, 1981; Lagiewski, 2006) studied destination development stages according to Butler's life-cycle model. These authors contributed to the development of TALC, as they provided an overview of the different stages and issues they encountered when using TALC.

Other authors (Cohen, 1972; Plog, 1974) have expressed a general idea of destination development through the typology of tourists. They argue that types of tourists are changing according to the stages of development of a destination. Cohen (1972) firstly described different types of tourists in two categories: institutional and non-institutional, which consist of four types: drifters, explorers, organized mass tourists, individual mass tourists. Similarly, Plog (1974) suggested that destinations are attractive to different types of tourists and therefore it depends on the level of development of a destination whether it will be attractive to a particular type of tourists. He classified tourists into three groups: allocentric, midcentric and psychocentric, where each type would be found in a specific stage of destination development. Allocentric types of tourists who are adventurers, are the ones who appear first in Butler's exploration stage of TALC. In principle, as the destination

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evolves and becomes more popular, it attracts more midcentric types of tourists that require easier access and better infrastructure on a destination. Later, as it develops further, it brings more psychocentric tourists, at this point destination starts declining, not significantly in a number of tourists but, as he states, the destination becomes outdated in comparison to other newly developed destinations (Plog, 1974).

A few authors (Russell & Faulkner, 1999) criticize Butler's (1980) model, as it cannot predict different factors in the development path. They described a destination that can be prone to disorders as terrorism, natural catastrophic events, wars, etc. These unexpected situations can have negative outcomes for a destination, while for others can be certainly positive (Russell, 2003). For example, refugees are the ones who would positively affect the economy of the host destination. Natural catastrophe would have a negative impact on a destination that is affected. Therefore, describing the destinations life cycle is unpredictable and eccentric. Thus, differences in development in each stage can reflect different variables, geographical and so forth. Haywood (1986) further questioned if the TALC can be made operational. He reasoned that Butler's model is insufficient to be utilized without anything else.

The criticisms, as well as improvements, were presented with the respect to further development of Butler's work. Some authors gave importance to infrastructure, accommodation, as it has to meet the tourists' expectations and desires. On the other hand, (Tinsley & Lynch, 2001) argue that destination evolution is something more than infrastructure. The attitudes of the locals have to be taken into consideration when it comes to the complete understanding of the development of a destination. According to Ap (1992), he examines a few more stages in the development of tourism in a destination, described as "acceptance, tolerance, adaptation, and withdrawal". This model, which is compatible with Butler's, depicts how tourism's development influences the mentality of local people towards tourism. With this model, we can understand how influential tourism is for a community. He points out the significance of interest of the community in the overall development process, as they are influencers of either achievement or failures in local tourism.

2.2.1 Butler's evolution of destination life-cycle

Butler's (2006a) theory outlines six concepts that underline the evolution of a destination. With each stage, the destination changes and this model shows how touristic destination can "evolve" over time. However, not every destination goes through the same stages, and for every destination, the factors that influence its development change, therefore it can be presented with the following individual curve.

Figure 2: Butler's Tourist Area Life-Cycle (TALC), 1980
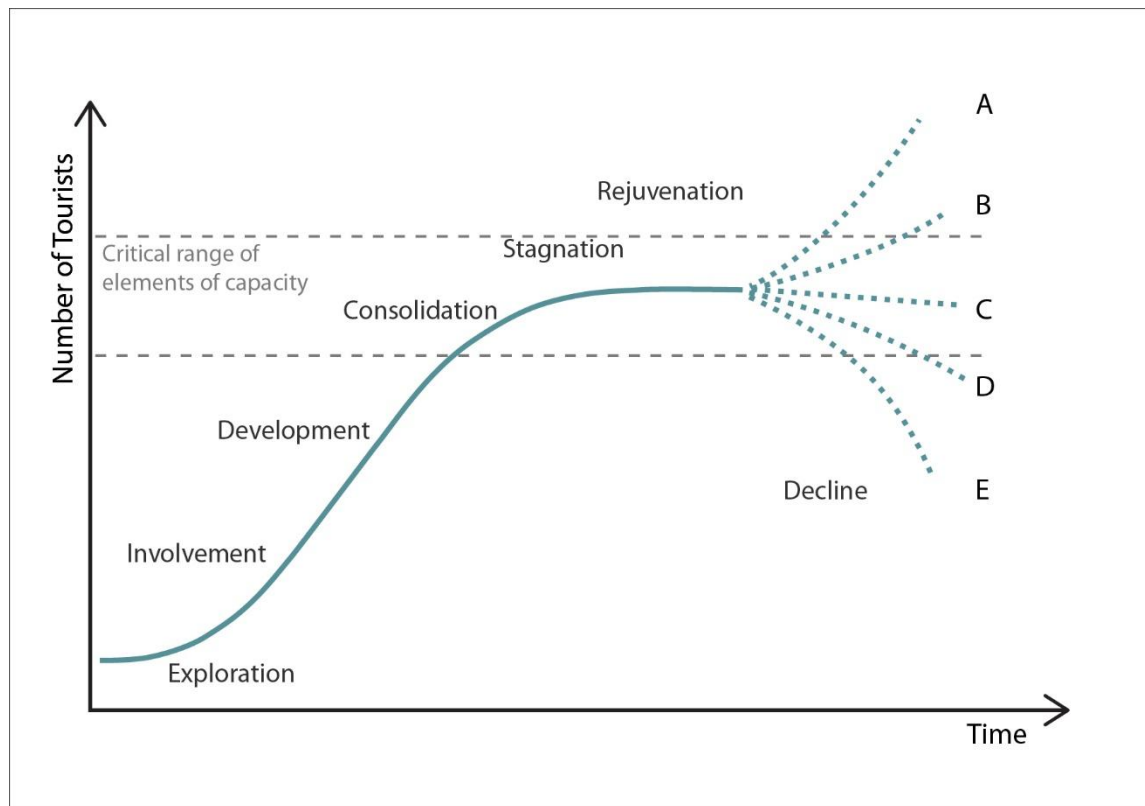
Source: Butler (2006a).

Figure 2 shows Butler's Tourism area life-cycle model. Following the curve, we can see the stages correlated with the number of tourists and time. Six stages are on different levels and at each stage destination can be described and the strategy can be implemented (Butler, 2006a). Therefore, Butler's TALC suggests that destination goes through the following stages:

− **The Exploration stage:** a modest number of tourists attracted by culture and natural beauty. Does not have an appealing infrastructure nor special touristic attractions. Has potential for further improvement, but no economic importance to local people. This stage is compatible with Plog's allocentric and Cohen's drifters and explorers' types of tourists.

− **The Involvement stage:** includes the proclamation of a touristic destination by the local population, promoting facilities such as restaurants, guests 'houses, etc. This stage includes the legislature entities that should contribute to the development of transportation. It is predictable that a tourist season will appear. This stage is compatible with Plog's midcentric tourists who are the near-allocentric type of tourists.

- **The Development stage:** a growing number of tourists' visits resulting in exceeding the number of locals during the high season. In other words, mass tourism appears and there is a greater involvement from the government and organizations, creating optional tourism attractions. A minority of locals might not be satisfied with the kind of changes that are inevitable to take place. At this stage, new types of tourist will appear. Plog's midcentric type of tourists and Cohen's institutionalized group of tourists.

- **The Consolidation stage:** a lesser number of tourists, nevertheless it still exceed the number of local people. This stage is marked by the business chains that enter the destination for the purpose of maintaining tourism. Marketing and promotions are extended; this stage is compatible with Plog's midcentrics the near-psychocentric and psychocentric types of tourists.

- **The Stagnation stage:** faces the saturation in the demand. Issues arise from a social, conservative and ecological perspective. Switching from original to non-original attractions as the primary offer of a destination. The image of a destination is well established but there will not be an economic improvement. This stage attracts Plog's psychocentric and Cohen's institutionalized group of tourist which fall into the category of mostly organized mass-tourist.

- **The Rejuvenation or Decline stage:** in the last stage after stagnation, Butler saw two possible alternatives. According to the author, there is either destruction or restoration. In the middle of those two potential outcomes, there are five different situations: i.e. success redevelopment (growth), modification of the capacity levels (modest growth), cutting capacity (stabilization), lack of investments (decline), and catastrophic scenario (immediate decline).

The above mention model is very important for the viability of a destination. However, the concept of Butler's life-cycle or evolvement-cycle received ongoing criticism, but on the other hand, it serves the purposes of evaluation to many researchers. Butler's model of destination life-cycle is made in a similar way the product life-cycle was made, with the s-shaped line which shows different stages and as it reaches or exceeds the peak, it starts to fall down. This model can also be seen in two stages that are transitional. The first one, "exploration" goes from involvement to the development stage, bringing Plog's allocentircs then midcentrics and Cohen's drifters, explorers, and later starting with the institutionalized group of tourists. Second, the transitional stage that is "consolidation", makes the progress in between development to stagnation stage, where Plog's midcentrics, who are more near-psychocentrics and psychocentrics, and Cohen's institutionalized group appear. After all, both stages are at one point expected to decline or proceed to the rejuvenation stage (Butler, 2006a). Conclusively, these stages are of a great importance for any destination equally, because they serve to show that every destination if it is not well managed may collapse.

2.2.2   Plog's evolution of destination life-cycle

Plog (1974) explained that destination development depends on the type of tourists and showed the transition between the allocentric to psychocentric. Types of tourists that first discover a destination are adventurers. They take a risk to come to an unknown and unpopular destination, or at least not familiar to the majority of travellers. After they discover a new place, they share experiences with their friends, and that results in a popularizing a destination by word-of-mouth marketing. More people will start coming to that destination and it will move from allocentric to near-allocentric type of a tourist. At the same time, as the popularity of the destination will raise it would bring more tourists that will move later to midcentric type. The new infrastructure will be developing, hotels and restaurants will appear. This destination development will then attract more tourists who will be more near-psychocentric. When it reaches a big popularity and already has a capacity to host and welcome a large group of tourists, it will be an interest in mass tourism and therefore to psychocentric types of tourists.

Figure 3: Plog's Tourist model of destination preferences, 1974
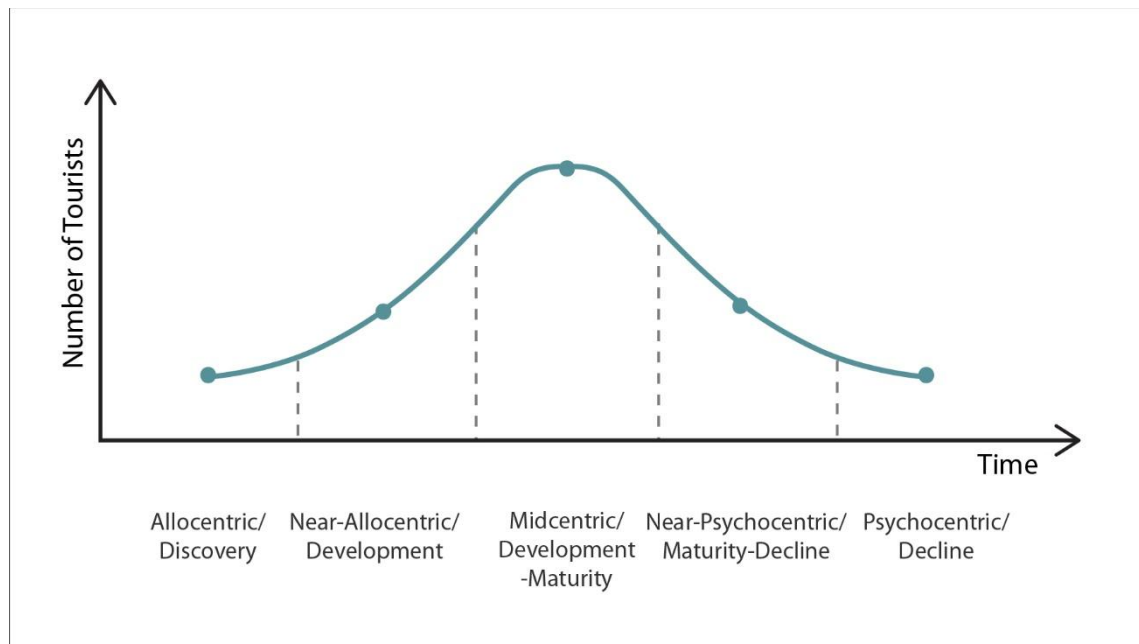
Source: Plog (1974).

Figure 3 shows Plog's (1974) model according to his types of tourists and their personality associated with phases in the evolution of a destination, and it describes its popularity in the tourism market. As he points out, different types of tourists demonstrate the evolution of a destination that is going through. According to the graph, Plog relates each type to the special stage:

- **Discovery stage:** it is only a destination where few people would come and visit. Only those with the same interest for the unknown and the risk takers. Those ventures are in search of new destinations and discoveries.
- **Development stage:** later, when it becomes explored it attracts more different types of tourists who are near-allocentrics or near-ventures. As it becomes more popular and visited by new visitors, it demands more services and starts to develop.
- **Development-Maturity stage:** switches to different types of tourists that are so-called midcentric. New tourist's preferences are known and therefore destination is trying to meet the requirements and make a strategic plan for its expanding. As it grows, ventures and near-ventures are not coming anymore but the number of midcentric tourists grows and the site develops into a mass tourist destination.
- **Maturity-Decline stage:** as a result of the evolution in the previous stage, new hotels are still opening and many other facilities being opened, many agencies are arranging, bringing and attracting visitors. As it became a very touristic destination, midcentrics are not so interested any longer, and the near-psychocentric becomes the main visitors. Destination will start to decline if the total number of visitors reaches 30% of those who book their tour through reservation packages.
- **Decline stage:** in this stage, despite previous development and destinations' capacity to host many visitors, destination declines in popularity even though it attracts a psychocentric type of tourists.

2.3   First settlements in the refugee camps

Exile settlements in their nature are meant to be impermanent settlements constructed with tents and provided with the basic nourishment and help they lack (UNHCR, 2014, p. 6). Over an undefined period, as the conflict raged and little to no guarantee for a secure future was in sight, refugees felt the need to do something in order to increase their standard of living. With this in mind, the communities in the conventional refugee camps began creating a foundation for a good infrastructure and started changing temporary settlements into permanent. When we talk about tourism, regular tourism in conventional refugee camps does not exist and it is, by all means, difficult to imagine something of the kind. Nevertheless, some form of tourism does exist and because of the inevitability of the refugee camps of Western Sahara, its inhabitants put effort to bring tourism to the camps. The camps of Western Sahara progressively formed into urban areas in the period of 40 years (Herz, 2013b, p. 390). According to Herz, there are different phases of improvement in aspects of infrastructure, economy and socio-cultural life.

Figure 4: First settlements in refugee camps

Source: O. X. F. A. M. (1995).

As shown in Figure 4, camps were made of thousands of tents formed in rows and clusters, and settled in a desert. At this time, the Sahrawi woman had the lead role in the organization, support, and maintenance of the camps as most of the Sahrawi men were fighting against the Moroccans. At first, with hardly any help from the UN and other international organizations, Sahrawi men and women were in charge of setting up schools and medical units. Later, upon realising that there is hardly any improvement in their situation, they started changing tents for stronger settlements, like concrete houses. These modest houses were built from time to time and nowadays they continue to exist as permanent homes of the refugees. Rabouni refugee camp that became a capital and administrative centre has been built first, Smara and El Aayun were built later, and Dakhla and Ausred were the last among these camps to turn into permanent settlements. Today, as shown in Figure 5, we can see permanent settlements in Smara refugee camp.

Herz (2013b, pp. 376, 377) stressed that the development of the Sahrawi administrative structure depended on the level of independence from Algerian authorities. To be able to access a refugee camp anywhere in the world, one has to go through UNHCR control or through the security system of the host country. When it comes to Sahrawis who differ from the other refugee camps, one has to go through Sahrawi control, which in fact is POLISARIO force. Upon arrival, POLISARIO takes care of them. The visitors first have to check-in in Rabouni – the administrative centre, which collects the data for all the other refugee camps as well.

Figure 5: Smara refugee camp today
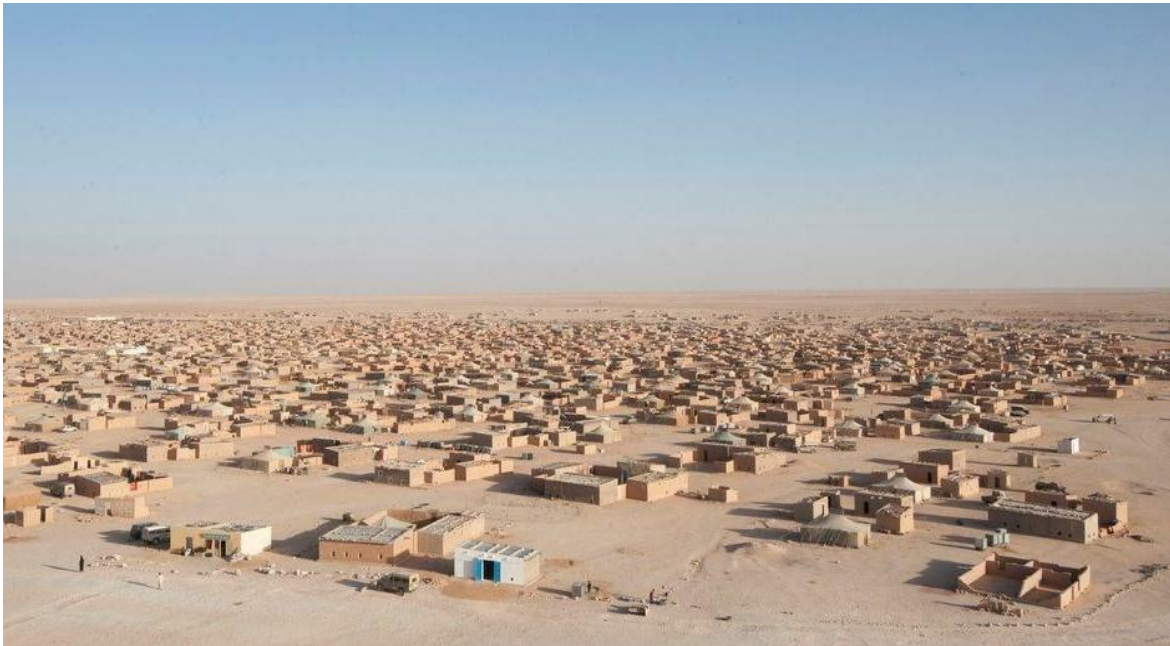
Source: Danish Refugee Council. (n.d.).

Throughout the years and after the cease-fire agreement in 1991 new markets started to emerge. Spain was paying pensions to former Sahrawi workers that were employed in Spanish colonial administration or worked in phosphate mines in Bou Craa (Herz, 2013b, p. 382). This brought money to the camps, and refugees who went to work in Algeria and Spain started sending money to their families in the camps. New shops and markets were opened, which created noticeable differences among the population. New economic mind-set emerged, that understood the importance of the development of the economy and the impact it could have on them. It resulted in a big change for the camps and the quality of life there, especially in the wake of the ceasefire agreement. In addition, when the ceasefire agreement was signed in 1991, the issue of trade in camps surfaced and the entry of economy has played an important role in terms of development. Two markets were opened and currency called dinar was established.

Development in certain areas of life lad to some shortcomings in other. Namely, the accumulation of waste posed a problem for the Sahrawis. Environmental worries were raised and the question was where to store the waste. This concern sparked further development, and a system for the collection of the waste emerged and involved Ministry of the Environment. With joined funds provided by the Ministry of the Environment, as well as the humanitarian organisations, public service was established.

The issue of waste was solved successfully and the camps were kept clean. Sahrawis had a major concern regarding the potential health problems that could have been caused with

the accumulation of waste and lack of hygiene in general, so they got into the habit of maintaining their surroundings neat and clean. Nevertheless, the waste had to be reposed somewhere, and now it posed a problem again, this time accumulation outside the camps, hence further steps were taken and the solution was found; recycling the waste and converting it into raw materials seemed to function well. This was just another step further in development.

This kind of development happened at a slow pace nevertheless, it was successful. These changes were not very common for contested areas; however, over time and with a lot of effort, the changes became permanent. In this case, we have witnessed that initially, temporary camps in Western Sahara changed their status into permanent settlements and not just the status but the entire infrastructure emerged, and all the changes that took place made it possible for the seed of tourism to be planted there as well.

2.4   Organizational structure of the Western Sahara refugee camps

Algeria granted the land where the refugee camps have been settled, but the Sahrawi authorities are administrating it. Even with a lot of effort to make it look better than it is, the reality is obvious, the camps have not been built using the best quality materials, nor have they been adjusted to the conditions that they exist in. Sahrawis have their basic needs met, they have schools and hospitals, however the standard of living is still not even near to what we could call "the normal way of life".

When it comes to functioning within the camps, Sahrawis in refugee camps have developed some habits that show a certain level of normalcy. Meaning that Sahrawis go to work in the morning, have their lunch break in canteens or in food stores/restaurants, and after working hours are over, they go back to their homes. Kids go to kindergartens, students to schools, libraries, court fields, etc. This shows that the camps are already maintaining a certain level of a normal life.

WILAYA
Croquis tipo del urbanismo de una Wilaya

Jaima
Casa de adobe
Ayuntamiento
Preescolar
Escuela
Administración Dispensario
Almacén
Hospital
Policía
Control
Cisternas
Huerto
Taller mecánico
Tienda
Corral

DAIRA

Barrio 1

Barrio 2

Barrio 3

Barrio 4
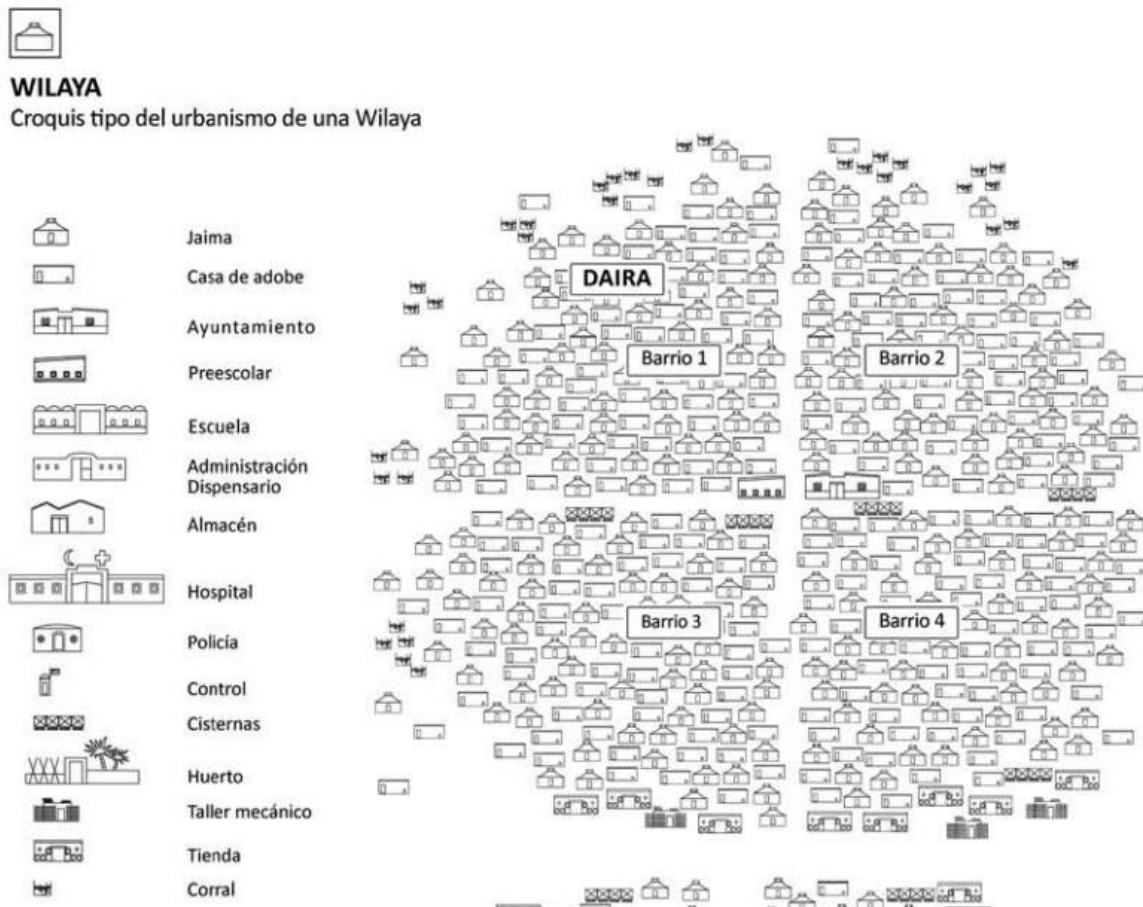
Source: Arenós (n.d.).

Urbanism: as shown in Figure 6, camps or *wilayas* represent all five districts in the area of refugee camps. Each *wilaya* is divided into sub places which are called *Dairas*; several villages form *Dairas*, and each village is divided into four neighbourhoods or *Barrios*. The distance between *wilayas* is approximately 20 kilometres with the exception of Dakhla camp, which is approximately 140 kilometres far away from other *wilayas*. Every *wilaya* consists of clay hunts and concrete houses. There is also a city hall, primary schools, high schools, administrative departments like ministries, hospitals, police stations, check-in controls, water tankers, green gardens for growing vegetables, auto mechanic services, shops, restaurants, etc.

Administration: Administration unit (sp. *protocolo*) is the administrative body of *wilaya* and it serves as the entry and exit place of the all six *wilayas* for all visitors and locals. The national administration unit is located in the camp of Rabouni and it is in charge of the other four units in each camp. It was founded in 1978 in a small house for the sole purpose of accommodating foreigners, journalists and people who came as delegates. Today, all administration units are places where the volunteers live permanently in the camps,

furthermore, some organizations also have their offices both there and at the place where Polisario Security Agency (hereafter: PSA) is located. Together with accommodation, they offer a dining room, kitchen, showers, and internet. One room is arranged for meetings or activities that are led by people who decide to stay in the administration unit. It can accommodate up to 100 persons in different *wilayas*. The rooms for NGOs are rented per month and it depends on the projects of NGOs, whether they stay for three to six or more months. Obligations of administration unit include picking up the arrivals from the airport and bringing them to the unit, as well as arranging all the activities and guided visits for the visitor upon request. For safety reasons, guards of PSA are placed outside the administration units and there are security rules that everyone has to adhere to.

Economy: the Sahrawi economy is of a peculiar nature and is divided into an emergency and a subsistence economy. The emergency economy is mostly dependent on NGOs and international help. The goal is to feed Sahrawis with most basic food supplies like rice, oil, flour, cans of tuna, pasta, milk etc. This food is arranged through United Nations World Food Programme (hereafter: WFP), Red Cross and other NGOs. These organizations receive help from UN and EU, as well as from the Spanish Ministry of Social Affairs and Cooperation. On the other hand, the subsistence economy started to emerge in the 1990s. According to Arenos (n.d.), big effect on Sahrawi economy and development happened when the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (hereafter: PSDE) granted pensions to Sahrawis who worked for Spanish colonials.

One of the main economic activities is tobacco and fuel smuggling. Moreover, there are people who built their own saloons for practising their hobbies, making crafts, etc. There is also a production of food, new restaurants offering pizza, cafeterias, and small gift shops. There are different marketplaces offering various services and places one can shop:

- Food shops,
- Bazaars for different products like cosmetics and cell phones,
- Petrol stations,
- Auto-mechanic services,
- Hairdressers,
- Taxi services,
- Homeware stores,
- Butcher shops,
- Internet and coffee shops, and
- Souvenir shops.

Education: there are multiple schools build within the camps. They are built from donations. Sahrawis run not all schools, but Cubans and American couple run one school. All Sahrawi children go to the school where they acquire elementary knowledge. These schools have both Saharawi and international teachers. International teachers come as interns and stay for several months. There are teachers from different countries like

America, Romania, Australia, Canada, countries who have taken part in the programs of these schools. These aid workers, as a part of educational help, are of great value to the Saharawi community that struggles to get a proper education. Every Sahrawi kid enrols to an elementary school at the age of 7, and at age of 14, they go to secondary school. Higher education for Sahrawi kids it is only possible abroad, and the countries where they further pursue their academic education are mostly Libya, Algeria, Cuba and in some cases Spain. They also have kindergartens (ha. *crèche*) for 3 to 6 year-olds.

According to the data from Arenos (n.d. p. 138), there are:

- 5,500 Sahrawis with obtained University degree,
- 7,500 People who obtained a licence in their professional and career work,
- 6,000 Sahrawis who are abroad for the purpose of studying at different universities,
- 25,000 Saharawi kids who are attending primary and high schools in refugee camps, and
- 15,000 Saharawi pre-schoolers.

Health system: in each *wilaya*, a general hospital can assist patients in three different categories as general medicine, paediatrics and gynaecology. All of the hospitals can also hospitalize around 30 patients overnight stay. In each of them works 2 doctors who are helped and assisted with 10 nurses. Moreover, in each Daira, there are small health centres that contain waiting rooms and provide professional consultation on health and illness, and each of them has a small number of pharmaceutical products that are available to all Sahrawis. These drugs are limited, few and provided by licensed workers.

Transport and logistics: some refugee camps have direct flights coming only from Algiers and Oran to Tindouf, which happens to be the nearest airport for the refugee camps. Upon arrival at the airport in Tindouf, Argelian police escort the visitors to the Algerian checkpoint where Sahrawi security takes over and transfers them to the national administration unit in Rabouni. All the visitors must go through administration unit offices. There they get their permits to move freely and use other forms of transport to reach other *wilayas* and some liberated territories too. In the times of big events, some charter flights may be organised from Barcelona as well. When it comes to transport within and between the camps, the commodity of having one's own car is the best solution, however, taxi services are very affordable too.

Accommodation: each of the camps has administration units regulating accommodation. There are special accommodation units made for visitors. These places are mostly for administrative purposes and do not offer any comfort, thus people are often not satisfied with their lodging. The accommodation provided by the administration unit is seasonally limited. Therefore, sometimes the visitors may end up staying with one of the Sahrawi families. This type of accommodation, the so-called "family accommodation" is usually granted when a Sahrawi child who travelled abroad and stayed with a host family comes

back and brings the host family along, in this case, the visitors stay with the family of the child they hosted. The same scenario goes for the periods of big events, like Art Tifariti, Film Sahara, and Sahara Marathon, some of the participants stay in accommodation with Sahrawi families.

Museums: a national war museum in Rabouni tells the story of the war between Morocco and Western Sahara. It is filled with weapons from all around the world that Moroccan and Saharawi troops used during a war, as well as documents and personal belongings of the imprisoned Moroccan army soldiers.

2.5   Events and their purposes

Events can have a big impact on the host destination, as well as on a region or a country. This impact is measured in an increased number of visitors to a destination and increased economic growth (Oklobdžija, 2015). In the case of Sahrawi or Western Sahara refugee camps, it has a slightly different impact, which is obvious and can be seen in the thematic concepts of all the events. Sahrawis have no intention to neither increase the number of visitors significantly nor make some profit out of it. There are other impacts that Sahrawis aim for, tourism is not their main goal, even though it can bring more economic growth.

The following events present Sahrawis' desperate voice, directed to the rest of the world. Art festival takes place in liberated territories of Western Sahara and the other two events take place in the Western Sahara refugee camps. It creates the atmosphere of regeneration, development and accomplishment, and they keep the youth in the camps during the season of the events. These events are of solidarity purpose, they aim to familiarize the visitors and broader audience with the reality of camps; hence, they spread their message through art, film, music, sport or by other means of communication.

Art Tifariti: SADR and the Ministry of the Arts in collaboration with NGO's organize International Art and Human Rights meeting in Western Sahara. Its goal is to exchange artistic experience and knowledge. At the same time, there it offers a program for the public who come and visit the festival, in order to understand the Sahrawi cause and culture. All the participating artists create pieces of art that are politically and conflict-related, using the topics of freedom, peace, war, that later become part of Tifariti's cultural heritage.

Film Sahara: Fisahara (Arabic meaning "in the Sahara") is the human rights and cultural film festival organized by Sahrawis and Spanish civil society since 2003, and it is celebrated in Dakhla camp. Like any event, Fisahara is also of solidarity characters. It continues throughout the 10 days and it strives to empower Sahrawis through films, hiding behind the idea of raising international awareness about the situation they are in. Apart from the film festival, they also organize a film school for two years and teach Sahrawi children to express themselves through different objectives. They have workshops on

filmmaking and different side events. Workshops are primarily set of activities made to teach how to record scenes, edit, narrate and share videos. These workshops take place in the film school during the festival. Participants in Fisahara are filmmakers from various places.

Sahara Marathon: Sahara Marathon is a sport-solidary event that was organized for the first time in 2001. The number of participants increases every year. More than 60 people attended the first marathon; these were the participants from 7 countries, and in 2018 the number of participants reached 400, coming from 33 countries. The whole marathon ceremony together with cultural visits is included in a seven-day plan, where participants visit schools and get to know the situation. Last year participants visited "Wall of Shame" dunes as a part of the program and Sahrawi families from various camps hosted many of them.

2.6   Non-governmental Organizations and their aims

About 20 non-profit organizations are active in humanitarian, social, educational spheres, healthcare, human rights, environmental, and other spheres of the Sahrawis' life. They are active around the year. They are mostly organized on an international level from different nationalities, especially Spanish, Algerian and French. They performed a variety of services and humanitarian projects like:

Holidays in Peace (sp. *Vacaciones en paz*) is a solidarity project for Saharawi children during the months of July and August, which in cooperation with other humanitarian organization and together with SADR offers the children the possibility to stay with other families abroad during the period of the big heat in Sahara. This solidarity initiative exists since 1991, offering Saharawi families the possibility that their children enjoy a pleasant, human and culturally rich stay, under the supervision and care of other families from Spain, Italy, France, etc. Moreover, it offers a unique chance to have the children get to know different ways of life which otherwise, since they were born in exile, they would never know. It is a very important experience for both families, as they form a bond after host family comes to visit the biological family of the child, establishing a connection between two families, and finally creating friends and relatives. This association considers two activities, apart from the primary activity of sending a child away from the big heat in Sahara, to raise awareness of the problem of the political situation.

Eyes of the Sahara (sp. *Ojos del Sahara*) work in the field of ophthalmology and optometry. Project Eyes of Sahara exists since 2001 in cooperation with the Sahrawi Public Health Ministry, the department for ophthalmology. They work for both ophthalmology and auto-metrics, supporting all the consultations that exist in each of the *wilayas* in the national hospital of Rabouni. They provide materials and training of existing human resources throughout the field of awareness and communication with the population. Therefore, medical-surgical commissions are made; two commissions are made per year in

which they bring a group of ophthalmologists to carry out interventions that cannot be performed there during the year, as they do not have a Sahrawi ophthalmologist permanently in the hospital.

3   TYPOLOGIES FOR TOURIST CLASSIFICATION

3.1   Different models of tourist classification

Generally, a tourist is defined as a person who travels away from home for leisure, business, education or other purposes for more than 24 hours, and less than a year to a certain place (UNWTO, 2008, p. 4). Additionally, by the definition of UNWTO a visitor is also classified as a tourist only if their visit includes an overnight stay, which means that the same day visitors or excursionists are not perceived as the tourists.

Definition appears to be very simple but when defining "what is a tourist", in addition to UNWTO definition we have to look at the specific criteria for exclusions. In this term, we have to consider duration and the purpose that are essential for classification. According to UNTWO, it appears that not all the types of travellers are considered as tourists. Types that are excluded are migrants, military workers and NGO visitors. It is the matter of their purpose of visiting a particular place and duration of their visit.

However, people travel for different reasons, for leisure, to visit friends and relatives, for business, medical reasons, etc. Based on different motives that drive people to travel, they belong to different groups or typologies of tourists. These typologies are useful in discovering new forms of tourism to specific destinations (Dann, 1998).

There are various typologies of tourists. "Via Africa Tourism" guide features types of tourists who come to Africa and classifies them into twelve types: business and professional, leisure and holiday, visiting friends and relatives, backpackers or gap-year travellers, adventure, eco/environmental, cultural, religion-based, sport and recreation, special interest, incentive, and health tourists (Bean, Kleyn, Llewellyn, Maliehe & Marx, n.d.). Other authors have proposed different types of tourist typologies, for instance, based on the purpose sought while travelling (Cohen, 1972), or based on their personality and curiosity while visiting a destination: allocentric/venture and psychocentric/dependable tourists (Plog, 1974).

These various typologies use different ways of categorizing the types of tourists. Most of them are based on a different evaluation system in order to arrange or classify a group of people in types according to their shared characteristics. Evaluations are according to their motives, type of travel, personalities, their needs, etc. Authors (Cohen, 1972; Pearce, 1989; Plog, 1974) have examined differences in what motivates the tourists for visiting a particular destination; what influences their decision-making in choosing a destination,

what are the preferences and satisfaction levels, as well as many other factors, which play an important role when it comes to classifying within different groups.

However, some authors (e.g., Horner & Swarbrooke, 2007) argue that there is no such thing as an ideal typology of tourists and that a comprehensive typology will never exist. According to the authors, it is very important to understand what are the main factors included in developing a tourist typology. The typology must include the individual characteristics of a tourist, the characteristics of the destination, as well as the process that people go through when choosing a destination for a holiday, work, etc.

3.1.1 General classification of tourists in Africa

Table 1 shows twelve types of tourists that are defined by the authors (Bean, Kleyn, Llewellyn, Maliehe & Marx, n.d., p. 2). This general typology relies on different motives, activities, preferences for a specific destination or the type of travel. It can be applied to any destination in the world and therefore can be used as a framework for creating a typology in Western Sahara refugee camps.

Table 1: General typology of tourists in "Via Africa" guide

TYPES OF TOURISTS	
− Business and professional	− Cultural
− Leisure and holiday	− Religion
− Visiting friends and relatives (VFR)	− Sport and recreation
− Youth travel (backpackers and gap year)	− Special interest tourist (SIT)
− Adventure	− Incentive
− Eco/environmental	− Health

Source: Adapted from Bean, Kleyn, Llewellyn, Maliehe & Marx (n.d.).

Description of each of these twelve types defined by Beat et al. is provided below:

1. **Business and professional:** a tourist who travel because their business or company makes them travel. They are away from home but still working and being paid to do their professional work in the country where they travel. Most of the business and professional tourists are travelling to other places to do business with others or to attend various events and conferences.
2. **Leisure and holiday:** leisure type of a tourist is the one which is most related to the term "tourist". They travel to have rest, relax, enjoy themselves and have fun. For these tourists, staying in hotels, going to the beaches and visiting cities is the most common activity.

3. **Visiting friends and relatives (VFR):** VFR or so-called social visits. People travel in their free time to see their friends, close family members and relatives. Usually, this activity is also considered a part of their leisure time, as they enjoy their times with friends and relatives.

4. **Youth (backpackers and gap year travellers):** backpackers or a gap year travellers are usually young people who decide to go on a trip in their gap year of university or after their graduation. They are travelling "light", with a small budget using low-cost transportation and hostels. They visit many places on the way and usually they try to meet the locals. As they carry a backpack, they are able to go long distance.

5. **Adventure:** adventure tourists usually look for some experiences and activities that will involve their physical strength. They look for unusual places and not typical tourist destinations. They go for an adventure with no hesitation, letting themselves perform different activities like white-water rafting, climbing, skydiving, etc.

6. **Eco/environmental:** eco-friendly tourists are people who are concerned about the natural environment and while they are travel, they try not to leave a carbon footprint, so they take alternative forms of transportation. Their visits also involve trips to relatively untouched parts of nature as they preserve the natural environment, and they are called responsible travellers.

7. **Cultural:** this type of tourist usually goes for the purpose of experiencing heritage sites and learning about the culture and historical facts of the places. They visit museums and many other cultural attractions (e.g. war sites where the battles took place) in order to gain knowledge and a better understanding of the places and people.

8. **Religion:** tourist whose main motive for travelling is to practise religion and go to sites of religious significance. They are considered a very large group of travellers and visitors, they usually visit pilgrimages.

9. **Sport and recreation:** athletes who travel to compete in their sport as professionals, or to participate in different sports events as their hobby. In addition, many people travel to watch different sports events as a primary reason.

10. **Special interest tourist (SIT):** travel to fulfil their special needs and motivations, either their hobby, purposes of education, relaxation, etc. They choose location and activities they want to do based on their specific interest for their travel.

11. **Incentive:** tourists who travel to a certain place because they have been rewarded by their company or some institution. Most companies and institutions are giving travel packages to their employees as incentives to make their employees work harder in order to be rewarded for their work.

12. **Health:** most of the people are going abroad for medical purposes, whether it is for improving one's health or physical appearance. On the other hand, many people make trips to healthier climates and stay for a few days as a part of their recovery and rehabilitation program.

3.1.2   Cohen's classification of tourists

Erik Cohen was one of the first authors to examine the questions about tourists' types, and according to his first work "Toward a Sociology of International Tourism" (Cohen, 1972); he identifies four different types among which are tourists who belong to the institutionalized and non-institutionalized category. His classification of tourists describes them through four different types, according to their behaviours and motivations.

He was one of the first authors to introduce a typology of tourists, which served as the basis for further studies and typologies. In addition, his model was criticized for excluding certain variations when it comes to preferences and behaviours of tourists, thus his model was not open to changes. In order to improve his studies on tourist typologies, Cohen (1979) focused on tourist experiences more than on tourist behaviour.

Table 2: Cohen's model of typologies of tourist, 1972

Non-institutionalized tourist	
Drifter	**Explorer**
- Venturous - Avoids anything touristic - Immerses with the local society	- Arranges his trip alone - Associates with locals - Looks for comfortable accommodation and transport
Institutionalized tourist	
Individual Mass-Tourist	**Organized Mass-Tourist**
- Similar to Organized Mass-Tourist - Certain control over his time - Services are arranged through agency - Limited contact with local population	- The least adventurous - Buys a package tours - Highly dependent on tourist industry - Stays in own environmental bubble - Itinerary is fixed in advance

Source: Adopted from Cohen (1972).

The types of tourists proposed by Cohen (1972), shown in Table 2, include:

1. **Drifters:** tourists who are definitely separating from conventional tourist places and their motivation are to become a part of the destination and engage with the local population. It travels spontaneously without planning and has no contact with the tourism industry.
2. **Explorers:** travellers that like to make the plans by themselves, to avoid masses and be on their own. Motivation is to meet the locals and share their view and interest. They also aware of a certain level of security and likes comfort.

3. **Individual Mass-Tourists:** this type of tourist is more relaxed in choosing a destination, know where it goes and it takes a typical offer. They are partly dependent on a tourism industry and tourism infrastructure. In addition, they like to take some freedom for themselves.
4. **Organized Mass-Tourists:** a tourist who travels in big groups to popular destinations and has a very clear plan of the journey. They are highly dependent on tourism agencies and they take very little planning.

When it comes to the distinction between institutionalized and non-institutionalized tourists, Cohen described non-institutionalized tourists as drifters and explorers, the pioneers to unknown places and untouched nature. As they are risk takers and open to the unknown, they are discovering beautiful places where eventually there is no sign of any tourism happening. They will avoid typical touristic places and go to some less attractive destinations. On the other hand, non-institutionalized tourists are travellers who would rather be avoiding organized groups and mass-tourism. The majority of the non-institutionalized tourists will try to engage with locals (Cohen, 1972, p. 174). Moreover, he also stated that these less attractive destinations have the potential for further development of a destination for opening new hotels, restaurants, etc., and at some point will become a popular destination for a mass tourism.

On the other hand, Cohen's individual mass-tourist and organized mass-tourist fit the category of institutionalized tourist. Travellers would hire an agent to organize trips and would go to popular touristic places, they go either with a group of friends and relatives, or alone. They are not risk takers and they hope everything turns out smooth. They like comfort and safety; therefore, they take standardized and checked tour packages.

Finally, Cohen argued that each of his four types has the power to influence different aspects of a destination. In different ways, each tourist or visitor will have an impact on the environment, society, economy, culture, etc.

3.1.3   Plog's classification of tourists

Two years after Cohen (1972) made this typology of tourists, Stanley Plog (1974) developed in his own work a different typology. He classified three types of tourists according to their personality and preferred destination. In his study "How destinations rise and fall in popularity", he examines the destination level in different types of tourists, as they either grow or fall, it depends on a specific type of a tourist. Thus, attractions and activities in a destination are highly dependent on tourist type. Therefore, his model of tourist types is used for the better planning of a tourist destination. Many researchers used his tourist typology model, as it was useful for understanding which tourists choose different destinations.

Figure 7: Plog's model of Tourist Behaviour, 1974
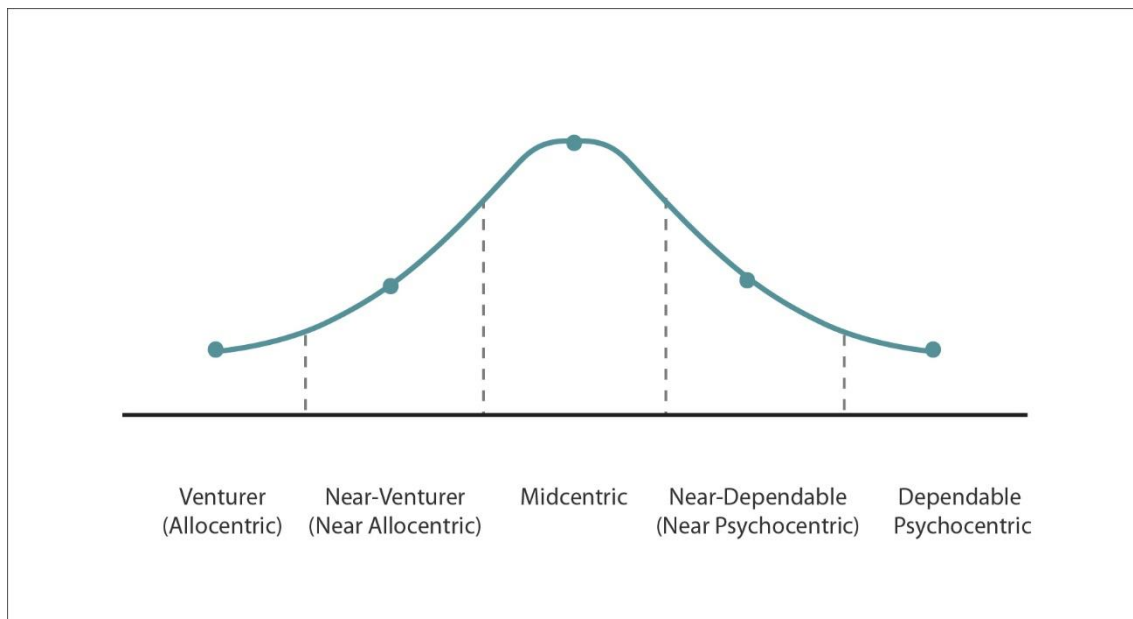
Figure 7 shows Plog's (1974) typology of tourists. Plog, in comparison to Cohen, used in his studies to classify tourists based on their personality ranging from allocentricity to psychocentricity:

1. **Allocentric/Venture:** chooses egotistic places and they travel on their own without major planning and organizing. They are risk takers, engaging with locals, like to experience new cultures and expose themselves to something new.
2. **Midcentric:** the average tourist who is in the middle of allocentric and psychocentric. In addition, their personality type can vary from being just midcentric to more near-allocentric or near-psychocentric.
3. **Psychocentric/Dependable:** this type of tourist does not like adventure and travels in organized journeys with hotel accommodation. Dependable's are risk-averse and prefer familiar destinations, as they travel to the same places a few times.

According to Plog's (1974) allocentric type of tourist is the one who discovers new places, takes risks and is open to unknown. As they are adventurer type of tourists, they are responsible for their journeys and they are in control over what they do. On the other hand, psychocentric or tourists that are depending on agencies and travel in groups, feel that what happens to them are not in their control and therefore they let themselves be led by others. Furthermore, midcentric tourist type is in between the two above mentioned.

3.2 Tourist typologies based on motivation theories

Travel motivation is a very important determinant that classifies tourists within different categories (Iso-Ahola, 1982). Today, every typology is more or less based on travellers' motivation. Therefore, typologies determined from different motives of the tourists can be classified into two groups (Raj, 2004). The author divided those two groups into interactive tourist typology and cognitive-normative typologies. The first one explains the reciprocity between the tourists, their destination and environment, whereas the other observes the tourists and their psychological elements that define them.

When it comes to motivation, many authors conducted research (e.g., Pearce, 2013; Iso-Ahola, 1980, 1982; Tolman, 1959) in order to understand tourists' behaviour. The need for something is the fundament of every motivation. It is very important, although difficult to understand the behaviour, investigating the types of tourists becomes a problem when it comes to identifying each type by their motives. There is either no unique framework to follow, or there are many motives followed by big cultural differences (Lew, 1987).

Pearce (2005, 2013) offers three approaches when determining motivation in tourism: one based on Plog's (1974) typology of tourists; second, based on Maslow's (1943) hierarchical needs; and third, based on Iso-Ahola's intrinsic motivation theory (1980). Pearce also talks about scale in tourist career. Tourists never stay the same, every need and desire contributes and changes them, and the same is applied to their professional careers. With experience, motivation changes, and at the same time their needs grow (e.g., the need for having a full body rest, need for stimulation, need for connection with others, need for self-respect, need for self-development, etc.) (2005).

Iso-Ahola's (1980) model of intrinsic motivation focuses on the experience or the state of mind of tourists without specific activities or travel time. He further states that tourists' motivation consists of seeking intrinsic awards. Moreover, it can be difficult to understand the real motivation of tourists and therefore personality must be taken into account when describing tourist types.

Tolman (1959) developed a push and pull motivation theory. Push motivation (intrinsic) is internally generated. It is based on emotions and results in different responses to different situations. However, a motivation that pulls (extrinsic) is generated from the knowledge of the goal that is awaiting a tourist. Most common are those attractions and destinations that are promoted with the purpose to attract tourists. They are based on the powerful influence that they have on a person. Furthermore, every individual travels to satisfy some of their inner needs; to see something new, to make some sort of change in their lives and to visit an attractive destination. Nevertheless, tourists will rather satisfy their inner needs, therefore the destination attractiveness is of secondary importance. It is only seen as a tool over which tourists are satisfying their inner need (Pearce, 2013).

Gray (1970) divided tourist motivation in two aspects. The first, the desire for exploring and the second, the desire for the nice weather and the Sun. In another hand, UNWTO

(2012) has defined tourists based on their motivation for travelling and put them in three different groups: social, family, and personal motivation.

4 METHODS

4.1 Research purpose and goals

This research investigates different typologies of tourists from different authors in order to be able to understand and classify them into groups. After understanding each of the types, apply them to tourists visiting the Western Sahara refugee camps.The **purpose** of my research is to develop a typology of the tourists/visitors to this contested region, in order to understand if they differ from those of conventional tourists. My **research goals** are: to create a typology of types of tourists who visit the camps; to explain the role of the Sahrawi government in sanctioning particular events and thus attracting certain types of tourists; and to determine how the types of tourists in contested regions differ from that of conventional tourists.

Following the research problem outlined above, the **research questions** tackled in the master's thesis include:

1. What are the main types of tourists who visit refugee camps, and what are the patterns of their visits (timing, duration, etc.)?
2. In what way does this typology of visitors to refugee camps differ from what we know about types of visitors to conventional tourist destinations?
3. How have activities of the Sahrawi government affected the development of particular types of tourist visits?

4.2 Data collection methods

In terms of data collection, I rely on descriptive and secondary data, as well as primary data face-to-face in-depth interviews. For the first part of the thesis, I relied on secondary data on the refugee camps available online, through pamphlets and from NGOs, and popular literature about the camps, in addition to data available from two visits made by the EMTM research team, as well as dr. Guia's own work about the Western Sahara camps and its history, and popular books focused on the development of this region (e.g., Herz, 2013a).

Table 3: Respondents' information

Name	Sex	Place of residence	Nationality	Work since	Work place
Respondent 1	male	Washington DC	USA	2013	English teacher in Smara and Ausred
Respondent 2	male	n.a.	Sahrawi	n.a.	President of Afrapradesa
Respondent 3	male	n.a.	Sahrawi	n.a.	Afrapradesa Association
Respondent 4	male	Smara	Sahrawi	n.a.	*Protocolo* of Rabouni
Respondent 5	female	n.a.	Spanish	2017	Nurse
Respondent 6	female	Bilbao	Spanish	2014	Nurse
Respondent 7	female	Santa Coloma	Spanish	n.a.	Coordinator in Holidays in peace
Respondent 8	male	Donoste	Spanish	2014	Nurse
Respondent 9	male	Smara	Sahrawi	n.a.	Restaurant in *Protocolo*
Respondent 10	male	Ausred	Sahrawi	n.a.	*Protocolo* of Ausred
Respondent 11	male	Smara	Sahrawi	n.a.	Sahrawi artist
Respondent 12	female	n.a.	Spanish	2017	Nurse
Respondent 13	female	Salamanca	Spanish	1998	Coordinator in Eyes of Sahara
Respondent 14	male	n.a.	Sahrawi	n.a.	Ministry of Youth and Sport
Respondent 15	male	Smara	Sahrawi	n.a.	Director of National Committee of Sport
Respondent 16	male	Dakhla	Sahrawi	n.a.	Sahrawi artist
Respondent 17	male	Rabouni	Sahrawi	n.a.	Director of Rabouni *Protocolo*
Respondent 18	female	Smara	Sahrawi	n.a.	Unemployed
Respondent 19	female	n.a.	Romanian	2013	English teacher
Respondent 20	male	Dakhla	Sahrawi	n.a.	Director of Ministry of Youth and Sport
Respondent 21	female	Barcelona	Spanish	n.a.	Participant in Holidays in peace
Respondent 22	female	Villanova y Geltru	Spanish	2000	Holidays in peace
Respondent 23	male	Galicia	Spanish	2015	Ministry of the Environment

Source: Own work.

In order to develop a typology of visitors (the second and third research question, covered in the subsequent chapter), I rely on interviews with the 23 personnel in the camps. Some

interviewees were separately interviewed and some were done together with two or three respondents (dyads or triads). This includes the transcripts of 20 video-recorded semi-structured interviews that took place between 3rd of June and 13th of June 2017. Mr Brahim, who previously arranged visits for the EMTM research team, and is Saharawi by nationality, carried out the interviews. Face to face, in-depth interview allowed Mr Brahim more flexibility in asking questions and more involved in the topic as for both. I provided Mr Brahim with a fieldwork guide and questions for interviews that I composed in order to answer the research problems in my thesis and are available in appendix 2 (Spanish original version), and in appendix 3 (English translated version). The questions included details about each type of visits that are received in the camps, its history, its main reason etc. Respondents, 23 of them answered the questions in different camps: Rabouni, Smara, Ausred and Dakhla (see Table 3).

Without prior arrangement of the interviews, all the respondents were instantly giving the answers to Mr Brahim. They were 14 males and 9 females of whom are mostly Saharawi and Spanish by nationality. The data approximately indicate that majority of all respondents range from 30 to 55 years of age. Thus, most of them are working for different organizations that operate in the camps. All the respondents spoke Spanish as a first or second language, thus all the answers are in the Spanish language.

In addition, together with the interviews done by Mr Brahim, I based my findings on the discussions I have done with dr. Guia and van de Velde Sil, member of the EMTM research team. They supported me with the data they obtained during their field trips in Western Sahara refugee camps and presentation of dr. Guia's "Innovative Mobility's and Sustainable Tourism Development: The Case of the Displaced Sahrawi Community in North-western Africa" held in Hong Kong at the International Conference on Sustainable Tourism Development.

4.3   Data analysis methods

I analysed the interviews using the thematic analysis method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I attempted to make a classification scheme relying on previous works on tourist typologies. The results of the research are presented in the following chapter.

5 TYPOLOGY OF TOURISTS IN THE WESTERN SAHARA CAMPS

5.1 Typology of tourists in visiting the camps

According to interviews, the approximate number of visitors to the camps is 7.000 annually, of which 3.000 are foreigners. All types of visits are mostly of solidarity people who are helping to develop the destination for residents in a way that is better for them and better for the visitors.

Table 4: Typology of tourists in Western Sahara refugee camps and liberated territories

CATEGORY	TYPE
Institutional business-related tourist	− Military (MINURSO)
	− Political (Diplomatic Delegations)
	− Humanitarian (UNHCR)
Work-related tourist	− Aid Workers (Health, Education, Engineering)
	− Mine cleaners
	− Political activists
	− Journalists
	− NGO donor visits
	− Scientists
	− Artists
Visit friends and relatives (VFR)	− VFR tourist
Personal self-related tourist	− Educational – youth (language)
	− Pure leisure tourist
Solidarity tourist (caring for the others)	− Large Events (SM, AT, FS)
	− Cultural trips (discovery)
	− Voluntarism, voluntarist – donor
	− Awareness-raising tourist

Source: Own work.

The results of the interviews together with the data I have collected show different types of visitors to the Sahrawi community. The sort of flows come from everywhere to the place

like refugee camps of Western Sahara. This classification is tentative but serves to form a preliminary typology of tourists visiting the camps, forming some kind of structure for each type of visit. If we move away from the conventional line which we are forced to think only in types of visits or tourism and those are mostly for leisure purposes, we see absolutely every single type and we identify all the different types in which the conventional doesn't exist, that means, all the visits we find here are not very typical for a destination. Typology of tourists in these types of places goes beyond the conventional visit of tourists. Therefore, if we look in a place where people do not go for leisure, it means that not all the types of visits will be conventional. My definition of the topology map of visitors to Western Sahara refugee camps and liberated territories is provided in the Table 4.

5.1.1   Institutional business-related tourists

In the table above, institutional business-related tourists include representatives of foreign governments and international organizations (UN, UNHCR, MINURSO, etc.) visiting the camps for political and/or humanitarian aid. These visits are made especially in Rabouni and in some cases the liberated territories. Institutional means: people who travel, institutional role makes them travel for their institutional purposes. Therefore, assumption is that those people are motivated only by accomplishing their work what it requires from them. It is more governmental than non-governmental business.

Military (MINURSO): This group consist of soldiers who are staying for one season and after they return to their countries the new group of soldiers replaces them. Military visits are not in the camps but in the liberated territories. Military and the forces of the United Nations (peacekeepers) are going to different spots in liberated territories, staying there for several months and afterwards they go back to their countries and change. These visits have remained constant throughout the years.

Political (Diplomatic delegations): representatives of countries that are going to the Western Sahara camps for the purpose of negotiating and meetings. It can be defined as diplomatic, institutional or administrative visits. Additionally, the representatives of other municipalities and different regions who act in this case as donors, visit social centres, institutions and help different activity to continue onward. Often they give money to one of the schools and help other institutions in order to keep running. Usually is one to two days' visit.

Humanitarian (UNHCR): The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees come and visit the camps for the purposes to safeguard the rights and well-being of the people, in this case Sahrawis who have been forced to flee their country.

5.1.2   Work-related tourists

Work-related tourists are proficient individuals from NGOs of all types and participants in community-oriented undertakings on various themes (health, training, education, engineering, culture, art, security, mine clearance, etc.). These professionals/experts carry out the cooperation work in the camps or in the liberated territories.

Aid Workers (Health, Education, Engineering): there are many individuals and a group of people (doctors, nurses, instructors, teachers, engineers, etc.) who are coming to the Western Sahara camps to work, spend a week and return as a part of their program and mobility abroad. All aid workers are paid. For instance:

− **Teachers:** they travel to the camps to give support for educational purposes. In addition, there is a small school located outside of the refugee camp Smara and it is lead by Cubans. The children do not go as much to Cuba anymore but there is a teacher that comes and teaches for several months. As well, there is an American teacher in the English school run by them.
− **Engineers:** people who travel to the camps to help for the aspects of water, recycling and projects of agriculture. For instance, family gardens, the idea is to help the families grow their own vegetables and create their own food from the gardens they are building. It is definitely sustaining the families and helps them be independent. There are also workshops organized by engineers in building and architects. They teach people to build houses from plastic bottles filled up with sand and it is providing a good solution for the Sahrawi community. Moreover, recycling many materials that are from the junk and from the surrounding places that have a lot of wood and metal. This workshop based on materials for recycling and building is very important in their society to understand the importance of garbage that can be beneficial to them.
− **Doctors:** travel to the camps for the purpose to work in hospitals. These doctors come together with nurses to do mostly operations of cataracts. They have zero leisure time, spend seven days doing operations, finish and go back to their countries.

NGO donor visits: workers of all kinds of organizations that finance infrastructures and projects in the camps or in the liberated territories. There are many people from the civil society of Spain and they are involved in helping organizations that gather money and aid in order to send it to the Western Sahara camps.

Journalists: informers who travel to the camps to disseminate news about the Saharawi people. Journalists here are like awareness raisers. Likewise, they are doing it for professional purposes.

Political activists: representatives of organizations and associations of civil society or political parties who visit the camps in support of the political demands of the Sahrawi people, and who in their places of origin carry out the work of "ambassadors" of the

Saharawi cause. Political activists are people who are sensitive to Western Sahara justice or political issues of Sahrawis.

Mine cleaners: international professionals who travel to the liberated territories in order to train the locals. This is entirely in their liberated territories and mine cleaners are the only outsiders who go there and stay for a while beside MINURSO. People having to do with mine cleaning are additionally help labourers, they are not paid but rather mine cleaners who are professionals hired by an NGO are being paid.

Scientists: researchers and university members who visit the camps and/or liberated territories in order to carry out doctoral thesis and other sorts of academic research. Obviously, there are scientists, archaeologists, economists, and anybody that does research and particular study. This is supposed to be my purpose of visiting Western Sahara refugee camps.

Artists: a significant number of artists come to Western Sahara camps and liberated territories. They make movies or some other form of art, alone or together with the local artist Mohamed Suleiman. Generally, these artists go to the camps for the purpose to work on their piece of art for several days. In addition, few artists work on big projects before coming to Sahara to present their art at the Art Tifariti festival. Some artists are getting funds and as they work throughout the year and therefore their stay is work-related.

5.1.3   Tourists travelling to visit friends and relatives (VFR)

VFR tourist: visits to friends and family cover all visits to Saharawi friends and relatives. Numerous Sahrawis like Mr Brahim who are currently living in different countries go to camps and visit friends and relatives. Moreover, families of the children of the Holidays in Peace program who travel to the camps and spend a few days with them. These are individuals that go there to visit, not only immediate family but also their hosted families. For example, if some families host a child in Spain in the summertime, in a way the child becomes a part of the family. It means, everyone that is participating in hosting Sahrawi children is invited to visit the family of the hosted child and the family of the hosted child will take care of them. These visitors stay in their houses and they will be accommodated with everything they need. The same goes for the people who participated in the Sahara Marathon, who were hosted by Sahrawi families the first time, they can return multiple times to the camps to visit those host families. It is not just related to Holidays in Peace but it can be also identified within different events.

5.1.4   Personal self-related tourists

Personal or self-related tourists are those who visit the camps only for their personal purposes and own motivations, either pure leisure or for activities with the purpose to enjoy themselves, which is leisure to some extent.

Educational – youth (language): groups of students travelling to camps with the main objective of making the experience a part of their educational training. For instance, young people who are willing to learn the Arabic language called Hassani. Young people who travel to the camps to reinforce their knowledge as part of their educational programs, also to learn and obtain skills. Another example is German students that were travelling to the camps and have one month of intensive Hassani language class. On the other hand, students from America come with a slightly different purpose, but also as a part of their school/education. They came in the late spring, spend a couple of weeks in the camps, teach English in the schools and travel some routes. They are a part of a religious association for youth. These students visited camps and continue further to Egypt. From there they go somewhere else and then back to the United States. It is a form of volunteer work in any case, which is still a part of their educational training. They stay around 10 days and they do not perceive it as an obligation to work, it is not for the institutional purpose but rather they are encouraged to see it not just as a personal choice made for pleasure, but a good way to invest their time into something positive and worthwhile.

Pure leisure tourist: it is nearly impossible to have 100 percent of leisure in places such as Western Sahara refugee camps. In the aspect of leisure, there are dependably several aspects of solidarity and awareness-raising. In the case of the Western Sahara camps, at least some awareness-raising will always happen even though it is just for tourists' pleasure, but it will happen after they decided to come and take a part in some event. For instance, in the Sahara Marathon, there is a program of leisure and many visitors are participating in the sense that they are doing it for pure pleasure. Actually, many people take part in the Sahara Marathon as not just for solidarity but also because of the event itself, for the sport itself.

> "When I did this kind of small interview, I only ask a few people, it was this guy from Ireland, his name is Patrick and I asked him why you participated in Sahara Marathon, and he said: It is my 50th birthday and I wanted to take a part in this marathon." (Van de Velde Sil)

Indeed, Sahara Marathon is where a most people travel truly for the purpose of leisure. This event has more aspect of a leisure visit than any other does. Particularly, it has a large component of leisure where all the other events have short component or no component of leisure. Moreover, this event is considered as relaxation event persuaded by activism.

Similarly, during the film festival in Dakhla camp, not only the filmmakers are the visitors, but also anyone can come. The same like in the Cannes festival, they are not only

filmmakers but people can go as audience as well. It is considered as their leisure time and activity. Moreover, in Art Tifariti not only the artists that are presenting their piece of art but all the visitors willing to see the festival are welcome.

5.1.5   Solidarity tourists

Solidarity visits are part of the leisure time of the tourists but we cannot call it tourism since people are not going there for sightseeing but rather for another purpose. For this situation is where individuals engage in some matter and as an outcome it turns to solidarity visit. Additionally, the solidarity here it can be considered as a contributor trips, however not the donors of NGOs. Here we have large events, cultural trips, volunteerism and awareness-raising which in a way is a type of solidarity trip where the idea is that all of them share the common: while they are there, they will be visiting few places, attending some events, visit some exhibition hall, help with working or donation, and obviously it is not just the pure leisure but rather it bends to solidarity.

Large Events (SM, AT, FS): participants in international events (art – Art Tifariti, sport – Sahara Marathon, cinema – Film Sahara, scientific and other congresses). These visits focus on the concentration of experts on a particular topic. Although the principal reason is the subject of the event, there is always an important dose of political demands and justice, awareness, and twinning with the Sahrawi people.

An event where artists go, Art Tifariti festival, people share their views, help, and create something out of it. These events are held every year, a large number of foreigners come to contribute and share their knowledge about art and/or share experience, and afterwards they create something new out of that. Moreover, people who travel to these events are not only the artists themselves, but for the reason of "carrying for the others" are mostly solidarity tourists.

Cultural trips (discovery): groups of visitors whose primary reason is the visit of the place with the aim of discovering heritage sites and reality, the attractions of the Sahrawi community displaced in the refugee camps.

These types of visitors are the ones that are the most similar to the typical tourists and they are very rare. These visitors, in spite of the fact that their first motivation is the discovery and culture of the place, can contribute with donations and/or with activities twinning with the Sahrawi community. At the point when the visit involves donations or twinning, these cultural trips also take the form of solidarity visits. For instance, if they travel to this place more as a cultural place, afterwards in compensation they contribute some money. This type of trips is more of a solidarity kind of a trip with some aspects of leisure and culture.

Voluntarism/voluntarist – donor: these individuals travel to work and cooperate for a short period, and join their opportunity for leisure activities and cultural visits in the area

where they have worked. These types of visitors do not exist in the camps, unless they are some of the volunteers beyond their dedication in the form of teachers, doctors, etc. Hypothetically, extending their stay to visit the liberated territories, museums, and other places of general interest. This volunteerism is different and is done mostly from a personal board, not institutional. Furthermore, here voluntarist can be as opposed to volunteering with work, but to volunteer with donating, private donor. Many individuals go as donors.

Awareness-raising tourist: visits of individuals or groups whose commitment is to learn about the reality and truth of the Saharawi community. These tourists after the visit they return to their countries and spread the reality, defend Sahrawi rights and thus become an "ambassador" of the Sahrawi cause. These visits can be attributed to cultural visits since they include the same type of visits. The main difference is that in the form of the reward to the Sahrawi community, which is mainly in monetary form, the reward is realized in terms of militancy and twinning. People who spread awareness of what is happening there.

> "I think that most of the visitors who come to the camps through either sports program, cultural programs, are very important to our cause because our cause is being kept or pushed away from the mainstream attention of the international community. So, we need these people to take these stories and take this experience and share it with the world either through mainstream media that they work with or through their personal connection." (Respondent 11)

There is a big difference in the film festival event, which is organized by Sahrawi. Here is to enjoy the film festival and for financial purposes. However, in Western Sahara, it is also to enjoy the festival but there are no economic purposes. The event is organized to attract individuals who are interested in that event and in the meantime engage them into what is happening there, as well as to spread awareness. Therefore, it is not just purely about the film, purely about the sport but about Sahrawi situation and raising awareness about their struggle.

In fact, donors and solidarity visitors seem to have a big contribution in terms of economy, whereas awareness rising visitors have significant contribution in reporting after their trip is done and return back home. However, all the type of visitors in Western Sahara camps are eventually being exposed to the reality of the situation, and all of them became some kind of awareness rising visitor.

5.2   Evolution of changes in types of tourists

Eventually, we observe that it is a case where tourism has not grown, but rather is yet experiencing the procedure of development. In addition, it is an obvious improvement from its absolute starting point to now. After its beginning as a refugee camp with the requirement of humanitarian aid, the visits gradually changed, little by little. Presently, the

region arranges the international Sahara Marathon and the art and film festivals, both of which have altogether influenced the development of the refugee camps. This evolution, from an exile camp to a travel destination every year made an increase in the number of visitors in the camps.

Furthermore, in the Western Sahara camps it is clear at each stage that traveller visits are associated with the specific type of needs of Sahrawis. It is very interesting at the point where the place like Western Sahara known as a conflict zone including liberated territories, gradually developed not taking into consideration the tourist interest but more looking at their community needs in the camps. In addition, to make more tourists come, camps should be focused on the tourist's interest and not only on their needs. Therefore, Sahrawi managed to work on all of these aspects and organization when bringing tourists.

Presently, in refugee camps we have seen that the visits have additionally advanced from refugee-related visits to more traditional-related visits nowadays, but always with some aware-raising agenda and solidarity purpose. Moreover, after many years the reality of Sahrawis has been changed, they are transitioning from refugee to ordinary citizens. This can be the reason for encouraging the visitors to come, as there are many reasons to visit those camps.

5.2.1   First stage

The results demonstrate that in the primary stage visitors to the Sahrawi community were institutional and business-related tourists: representatives of foreign governments and international organizations (UN, UNHCR, etc.). They were visiting the camps for political and humanitarian aid reasons, those individuals who were motivated to support Sahrawi's rights and help them overcome their situation. Situation of Sahrawi refugees and their terrible living conditions in the middle of desert pulled in numerous supporters whose **principal motivation** was to help with basic humanitarian aid. NGO's started helping camps with goods, sending products and food, as well as organizing volunteer's groups to help with anything needed. At the same stage, we have volunteers which visits were restricted and only permitted in the camps, as the liberated territories were under the frozen-war zone and where only POLISARIO army were present.

5.2.2   Second stage

Lately in 1991, apart from the institutional-based and work-based types of visits, a new type of visits started evolving. Some Sahrawi from the Occupied Territories could come and visit their friends and families in the camps. Besides that, as the new and very innovative project was developing for the Sahrawi kids, which is based on travelling abroad from their camps during the summer months when the conditions in the Sahara are almost impossible to endure due to the extreme heat; the kids were welcomed by families

from Spain and other countries who paid for the expenses of transport of the kids and took care of them during their holidays. This activity, "Holidays in Peace" was one of the solidarity initiatives that helped many Sahrawi kids, but also created many friendships, as well as mutual visits, as the hosting families made visits to meet the kids' relatives. Along these lines, new and very strong family relations are being created and in this case, later hosting families were motivated to see their friends and relatives. This is one of the strongest drives for tourists to travel.

Moreover, the situation emerges where the host family may become politically determined, involved in political activism and provide support as an awareness-raiser for the Sahrawis. This specific type created VFR tourism started prevailing in the refugee camps of Western Sahara.

5.2.3   Third stage

Throughout the years, and especially when the war ceased, the Liberated Territory was not in danger as before and a few Sahrawi families started settling there, moving away from refugee status to the status of displaced persons. In the Liberated Territories, especially in the Northern part near the border with Mauritania and Algeria, four little settlements have developed. As a result, the need for assets and support for schools, health facilities and different administrations in these places developed. In trying to meet these needs, donors were invited from the Sahrawi government to contribute with money and other forms of support for these little settlements. Building schools opened new opportunities for foreign teachers to come in order to teach Sahrawi kids, other programs encouraged other schools to participate in field trips with the aim to provide some forms of learning and teaching.

At this point, as it is in liberated territories, it was dangerous to move around without knowing where the mines have been placed. This created another type of visits, as mine-cleaning specialists set out to train the local population as mine-cleaners, while archaeologists were doing research on heritage sites in the territory. Together with mine-cleaners, archaeologists represented two new types of visitors in the area.

5.2.4   Fourth stage

On the next stage, we can see that the most fundamental needs of the Sahrawi are now being satisfied. The new economy started to emerge after the ceasefire agreement and that was very important in the development aspect. Although they still have unresolved conflict behind and the political situation was not any better off. Morocco was working on to silent the conflict, it affected to media coverage, less and fewer media reporting about the situation. This diminishing of media enforces Sahrawi to think and both, Sahrawi government and NGO's started creating international events where they will invite all the globally known athletes, artists, researchers, specialists in their field who are willing to

engage in the process of helping them in their struggle to freedom. This led to many years successfully organized events like the film festival in the Dakhla Camp, The Sahara Marathon in the El Aayun, Ausred and Smara Camps, and the art festival in liberated territories. These festivals developed new types of visits that are solidarity-based and people visiting are called awareness-raising tourists. It means, primarily coming to a festival for pleasure and leisure. Afterwards, these visitors become solitary and they raise awareness through their social networks or after their visit.

5.3 Differences between tourists in refugee camps and tourists to conventional tourist destinations

"Generally I think Sahrawi people are very educated and very open and it has been a lot of communication and a lot of exchange. People go to Europe through "Vacations in Paz" and when they come back, they open their minds to different people and to the others from an early age. Also, families that are hosting people who visit the camps. So, there are strong connections and strong communications that bring those differences closer." (Respondent 11)

What we find in the camps is the Sahrawi community that is willing to have an interchange with different cultures, furthermore they actually see this as an opportunity for their own people to grow and become more educated and have a better understanding of the world. Therefore, there is a lot of cultural exchange between religions, between people who are very different and there is no rejection from the side of Sahrawis nor are Sahrawis isolating themselves. It is quite the opposite. It means, Sahrawi community is welcoming visitors to the camps and they are open-minded in terms of understanding other cultures.

"The idea I had was much poorer at all levels. And it brings me a very good surprise, a very pleasant surprise and the truth. I think there is immense wealth on a human level. As a collective, as a community and then a greater part of which is the international injustice against Sahrawis." (Respondent 6)

"When I arrived at the camps I really I did not know practically anything of what had happened. I did not know how the whole issue of the decolonization of the territory had been carried out. I had very little information about that, especially the Sahara issue." (Respondent 5)

Furthermore, we can see a particular situation as the main difference between tourists in refugee camps and tourists to a conventional tourist destination. Few people understand the case of the Western Sahara conflict. Very few people who go there for the first time know the reality on the ground. A part of that is due to the lack of media coverage but also because of the things that exist on the internet which do not accurately describe the people or the political situation in the camps. Therefore, this is very integrating for many people who want to know more about the history and the conflict itself. Going there, visiting

camps and liberated territories give a first-hand idea of the reality. Speaking with Sahrawi people, hear their stories and experiences it helps visitors to put aside the political narrative and start forming their own understanding of what has happened and the current situation.

Many interviewers said that they experienced something that they did not expect and they became more involved in the Sahrawi cause after working for some time and feeling empathy with Sahrawis.

> "We have lots of Sahrawi friends here and we spend a lot of time with our friends in their homes and with their families and experiencing real Sahrawi life. Not just being a guest in someone's home but feeling like one of the family. We get to see what people love to do with their free time, we see how they spend their afternoons, and we see what their nights are like, how they cook, how they manage their family, how they deal with conflicts." (Respondent 1)

> "People stayed with us from Germany or from Canada, and I think it was a very good time where we could get to know each other. They definitely ask you about every single detail, the little things in our lives. Because this is something different for them. They do not know about these things… about the water, about the toilet, and how do we do with the laundry, wash, the food, and how do you manage it without electricity that only came this year." (Respondent 11)

In addition, this is a culture with a very rich history and traditions that come from a nomadic Bedouin background and there are few places in the world where we can come to experience this type of lifestyle. Staying with Sahrawi families, learning about the history and traditions, visiting different places and the region it is a vantage point for visitor's experience.

Comparing tourists in the camps to the ones who are typical, in refugee camps are the ones who are visiting heritage sites of liberated territories and the territories where battles were held between Sahrawi and Moroccan troops. Nowadays, it is one of the biggest minefields but also sand dunes. Together with "wall of shame" dunes, liberated territories are also mountainous with the form of rivers, it is also a fertile zone with few settlements, and it is an area with interesting places and with few military units. More recently found, there are also paintings about the war and Sahrawi struggle. This heritage sites form a feeling and allows you to taste the hardship of the desert life with its challenges that happen there.

Visits apart from heritage sites of liberated territories are visits to places such as schools, city halls, hospitals, national war museum in Rabouni, marketplaces, etc. There are also few motives of tourist interest as a sculpture next to the Rabouni administration unit. These are very vital places but also interesting to see. A war museum is the one most recommended and important to see by interviewers. The national hospital of Rabouni and other hospitals in the *wilayas* are interesting to visit and to see how the health system works. Other places are creative initiatives like the art studio of Mohamed who is a

Sahrawi artist born in Dahkla camp. In his studio, he is practising art, drawing, calligraphy, sewing, woodworking and some other crafts.

> "Speaking of my personal experience has been very positive. I think the cultural and religious differences that are here may be always based on respect and it is positive. Especially, I believe that the most grievances come from foreigners and respect it is very important for everything they are doing." (Respondent 6)

Moreover, tourists have very positive experiences with Sahrawis, they see how Sahrawis are fighting through art, expressing themselves and not giving up on the status quo, trying to do something, and it is very inspiring what are they doing. These differences that tourists experience in refugee camps helps to get outside of the small understanding of the world and see people with many different ideas and different faiths, and see people live out their lives in a context that is completely different.

> "I prefer that they come here and see how we really live. We do not lack anything either good conditions to live. There is internet, telephones, light, water, but I would like them to come to see our culture too and to transmit messages that we cannot live here for the rest of our lives, we do not want our children to live here… there is nothing here. We do not have work or opportunity to study, to learn. I want to be in my country, not under the roof of Algeria." (Respondent 18)

Not typical/conventional tourist destination, it is a big difference and the experience there will change people's mind, educate, give them more skills in how should they interact and understand the people around them who are different and not make the same mistake in the future. In addition, all of these places communicate the same message. Together with own experience can enhance visitor's perspective not only about the Western Sahara conflict itself but it helps to understand what means the power, and understand that people who are just like any other human being are paying the consequences of those political conflicts.

It gives a real candid picture of who the Sahrawi are, and so, Sahrawi hope that by going to the camps and learning about the situation more and more people can be active in using their voice to support and encourage people like Sahrawis who are stuck in such a situation.

5.4   Role of the Sahrawi government in increasing particular tourism types

Together with each phase of development, building schools and hospitals, making different events and projects, the types of visits were changing. In addition, the Sahrawi government assumed the imperative part of the development, as they have embraced changes to welcome different visitors/tourists.

Initially, as conventional refugee camps visits were related to the requirements of humanitarian aid. Concerning this, Sahrawi build *protocolo* to be able to accommodate more institutional types of travellers. Proceeding onward from conventional camps to some type of urban areas, after schools, hospitals, libraries, and concrete houses were built, the travellers transitioned to various types: e.g. visiting friends and relatives (VFR) and work-related type of visitors. Other than that, Sahrawi struggle with Morocco has been abandoned for a long time. As per the European Commission's Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations (hereafter: ECHO), the situation is characterized as forgotten when a little media attention is paid. It implies that the conflict is obscure to a large portion of the world publicity nowadays and this turned into an issue to Sahrawis. Bringing new visitors that somehow can spread the problem and the world becomes more aware of the need for a solution to their problem, the Sahrawi government moved to another step with making different projects with NGO's to attract another type of visitors, which means they organize international events for those who will be determined to help their cause. In any case, Sahrawi made different events as an answer for raising awareness of their situation.

In addition, with the advancement of the camps, several establishments were developed enabling them to administrate and govern the camps independently. These institutions were in charge of bringing visitors to the camps and Saharawi government played an important role in this part, as it wanted to increase the number visitors they were increasing capacities and making different policies and establishing the roles.

For their government, the imperative was how to make it easy to come to the middle of the desert for anyone who wanted to come and help them. This level of access is one of the most important factors for Sahrawi government but also the aspect of inner logistics and accommodation. This determinate the rate of general growth and therefore tourism development in the camps. Better access to the camps changed in the number of visitors and increased air flights, which positively affected the number of visitors who come to refugee camps and were in constant increase annually.

Presently, with two flights per day operating from Algiers and Oran to Tindouf, thanks to the refugee camps the city of Tindouf is the more frequent airport-terminal in Algeria. The after effect of this is the continuous improvement of the camps and tremendous endeavours produced by Sahrawi government, arranging diverse festivals and events, as well as improving facilities and transportation system.

If we try to look at the Western Sahara refugee camps as it is a conventional destination and where destination development depends on the type of tourists and considering the results I got, the Western Sahara refugee camps would fit somewhere in between of discovery stage and development stage of Plog's model, and Butler's involvement stage. It is a destination where few people would come and visit when we consider all the facilities and difficulties one has to go through. On the other hand, we can see different types of

tourists who are attracted by Sahrawi culture and Sahara desert, and for this purposes it is becoming attractive and demands more services, which means is still developing.

However, we cannot compare destinations like Western Sahara refugee camps with any other conventional destination. Based on my results, the Western Sahara refugee camps as a destination simply were developing as a consequence of the flow of visitors to the camps. Meaning, the first stage for development part was when politically driven visitors and supporters for humanitarian aid were coming to the camps and Sahrawi built first administration unit from donations, which later will serve as an accommodation for many other visitors and NGOs. When an innovative type of mobility developed, which only existed for Sahrawi kids, involved also the invitation of the hosting families to the camps, as they were coming like supporters, donators, friends and relatives later, they influenced the development of the camps. Additionally, the cease-fire agreement influenced the development part when Sahrawi from the occupied side of Western Sahara were able to see their friends and relatives, and help them with the money and with other means. Moreover, an economy that emerged together with the events being organized brought a new flow of visitors, and as new shops and restaurants were opened, made the camps more functional.

In the end, the Sahrawi government demonstrates the importance of the actions they made in different stages of camp development, and the importance of bringing different visitors nowadays to such trigging urban areas.

5.5   Limitations

Due to visa issues, I was not able to travel to the Western Sahara refugee camps with the research team on their last research trip, which would have allowed me to complete interviews on my own. However, I was able to arrange interviews through a local guide Mr Brahim who has previously arranged visits for the EMTM team.

Firstly, Mr. Brahim obtained five hours of speech from 23 different personnel, posing the first challenge I faced. As a time-consuming process, the problem was the accent of interviewers that sometimes I did not understand, in addition to an issue with the quality of the sound of the audio, so data transcription took me very long. On the other hand, Mr. Brahim was in the middle of Ramadan, the month of fasting, not eating nor drinking during the day. At the same time, the heat was unbearable in Sahara and many people were absent in order to avoid hot summer in the camps. Many NGOs were not present, as well as the schools and other institutions did not work at the time. Therefore, all the interviews are done early in the morning or in the late evening when he managed to find people.

Following the situations in the camps, almost all the interviews went in a direction to their special case and politics, which depended very much on the interviewee, and posed a difficulty for Mr. Brahim to focus on the core research questions. In fact, the biggest disadvantage was that I could not engage in the interview personally. On the other hand, a

lack of planning for Mr. Brahim before his journey to Sahara disabled him to develop a real understanding of the topic and my interest in research questions. Additionally, the research is based on opinions of personnel of the *wilaya*, not based on interviews with tourists themselves.

Finally, a study of tourism in contested regions would benefit from a longitudinal lens – studying the camps over a period of time, either by repeating interviews or gathering data that can be comparatively analysed. In order to understand how the typology of tourists depends on the stage of development of the camps, a longer time frame is needed than a single cross-sectional study. I aimed to avoid this limitation by including data from secondary sources on the types of visitors in previous years.

CONCLUSION

The contested region of Western Sahara gradually developed from refugee camps into urban areas. From its early beginning as a conventional refugee camp in a war-zone, it gradually started receiving an influx of humanitarian aid, NGOs and relief workers, and over time, slowly developed into an actual destination. Most of the types of visits were at the beginning restricted and just a few people could visit the camps. Little by little, camps were transformed into cities. The Western Sahara camps thus demonstrate how the types of visitors can change: as the destination changed, it created needed infrastructure to host foreign visitors. For instance, the Holidays in Peace programme created new types of visitors, as participants in host families began coming to the camps to visit the biological families of children who had previously stayed with their family overseas. After the war ended, the conflict was largely forgotten, and Sahrawis began voicing their concerns to foreigners as a purposeful move to attract foreign attention, which in turn created new types of visitors. For the purpose of raising awareness, they started organizing different events, including festivals in art, film and sport. The attraction of more visitors also meant a certain economic relief for the Sahrawis.

While the literature has proposed many different typologies of visitors to conventional tourist destinations, tourist visits to contested regions are different. For instance, the most frequent type of visitors to conventional tourist destinations are those who travel for purely leisure purposes, but the specificity of the Western Sahara refugee camps of not allowing typical visits means that this category of tourists who travel for purely leisure purposes is significantly different when considering contested regions.

In this thesis, I attempted to develop a typology of the tourists/visitors to this contested region, in order to understand if they differ from those of conventional tourists. My research goals were to create a typology of types of tourists who visit the camps, to explain the role of the Sahrawi government in sanctioning particular events and thus attracting

certain types of tourists, and to determine how the types of tourists in contested regions differ from that of conventional tourists. I tried to answer the following research questions: What are the main types of tourists who visit refugee camps, and what are the patterns of their visits (timing, duration, etc.)? In what way does this typology of visitors to refugee camps differ from what we know about types of visitors to conventional tourist destinations? How have activities of the Sahrawi government affected the development of particular types of tourist visits?

Based on 23 in-depth interviews held in different camps over ten days, I found that tourists could be classified into five groups: Institutional business-related, work-related, tourists travelling to visit friends and relatives, personal-self related tourists, and solidarity tourists. After 42 years, until today, various types of visitors, the greater part of whom are government officials, students, researchers, journalists, athletes, artists, NGOs, and so forth visit the refugee camps of Western Sahara. They are all interrelated in terms of their motivation and the aspects of coming to Western Sahara refugee camps. I have demonstrated that at each stage, visits are correlated with the type of need of Sahrawis, and in a related manner to the particular stage of development of the camps.

The thesis has shown the need to pay attention to the dynamics of tourism in contested zones, and particularly cases where tourism develops under non-traditional circumstances. A better understanding of the typology of tourists in contested regions, as well changes in tourist types over time would be possible with a larger, longitudinal sample, ideally with the tourists themselves, as well as with the Sahrawis. However, the typology offered by my thesis can serve as a useful starting point in analysing the differences between the typology of visitors to traditional tourist destinations and in former conflict zones.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Povzetek (Summary in Slovenian language)

Sporne regije ali sporna ozemlja so pogosto posledica političnih sporov ali nesoglasij med dvema ali več ozemeljskimi subjekti, ki zahtevajo posedovanje in nadzor nad zemljiščem. V skrajnih primerih kot jevojna, se sporne regije na določenem delu ozemlja preoblikujejo v vojna območja, katera včasih postanejotudi stalna begunska taborišča. Ljudje, ki živijo na teh območjih oziroma tako imenovani begunski taborniki niso dobrodošli kot potniki in turisti v drugih državah in regijah, hkrati pa zavzeta begunska taborišča postanejo manj priljubljena destinacija med turisti (Timothy, 2010). Kljub temu, avtor navaja različne vrste obiskov tovrstnih destinacij. Nadalje, v turistični literaturi je znano veliko o razvoju turističnih destinacij ali tako imenovanem življenjskem ciklu destinacije. Najbolj prepričljivo delo, ki je preučevalo turistični življenjski cikel, je prvotno predlagal Richard Butler (1980), katerega model je bil kasneje uporabljen v številnih različnih študijah razvoja turističnih destinacij (Getz, 1992; Haywood, 1986; Hovinen, 1981; Russel & Faulkner 1998). Avtorji pa poleg raziskav na področju razvoja destinacij, razlikujejo tudi med različnimi vrstami motivacij turistov pri obisku določenih destinacij. Na podlagi raziskavtako navajajo več tipologij turistov glede na različne tipe turističnih destinacij (Cohen, 1972; Pearce, 1993; Plog, 1974). Turisti so na podlagi le teh razvrščeni v različne skupine glede na motive, želje in interese za potovanja. Kljub temu, da je razlikovanje med različnimi tipi turističnih tipologij v literaturi obsežno, so raziskave o vrstah turistov, ki obiščejo sporne regije bolj redke. V svoji magistrski nalogi raziskujem primer ene izmed najstarejših spornih regij v Afriki: primer begunskih taborišč Zahodne Sahare.

Ozemlje Zahodne Sahare je znano po dolgotrajnih spopadih in bojih med Marokom, kateri obravnava Zahodno Saharo kot del svoje države in avtohtonim plemenom Sahrawi. Konflikt se je pričel leta 1975, ko so se španske kolonialne sile umaknile iz Zahodne Sahare, kar je omogočilo plemenu Sahrawi, da razglasi neodvisno državo, tako imenovano Arabsko demokratsko republiko Sahrawi (SADR). Kot proti napad so Maročani zasedli ozemlje Zahodne Sahare in pleme Sahrawi je bilo prisiljeno pobegniti v sosednjo Alžirijo. Tam so si kot begunciuredili pet begunskih taborišč, znanih pod imenom begunska taborišča Zahodne Sahare (Herz, 2013a). Slednja naj bi bila le začasne narave, vendar so se postopoma razvila v stalna naselja, saj konflikt med Marokom in plemenom Sahrawi vse do danes še ni rešen. V več kot 40 letih so se begunski tabori tako postopoma razvili v mesta (Herz, 2013a). Herz je v svoji knjigi "od kampa do mesta" sistematično opisal faze razvoja kampov v smislu gospodarske in organizacijske strukture. Ugotovil je, da je bil razvoj iz kampov v mestapostopen, saj so se institucije razvijale počasi, hkrati pa ustvarjale tudi noveza namen različnih administrativnih vlog. Ta postopen razvoj pokazuje na dejstvo, da je pleme Sahrawa, katero je samo vodilo begunska taborišča tudi edino odgovorno za prenašanje turizma v taborišča.

Raziskave so pokazale, da somed različnimi obiskovalci, ki dan danes obiščejo begunske tabore Zahodne Sahare večinoma politiki, študenti, raziskovalci, novinarji, športniki, umetniki, nevladne organizacije in podobni (Chan, Guia, in van de Velde, 2017). Vsi

obiski so organizirani s strani institucij plemena Sahrawe, kar se odraža predvsem v velikem prizadevanju plemena zaorganizacijo različnih festivalov in dogodkov ter nadaljnji razvoj kampov.Ti danes namreč predstavljajo le še odsev nekdanjih taborišč ter so pod popolno avtonomijo uprave SADR.

Namen in razlog za privabljanje turistov, sta se vtaboriščih razvila relativno nenačrtovano in postopoma. Sprva je to območje predstavljalo konfliktno regijo, ki je sčasoma prešla v begunsko taborišče. V tretji fazi so bili v taboriščih dovoljeni le občasni obiski, kar pa se je kasneje v četrti fazi razvilo v danes poznanostalno naselje z rednim turizmom. Razumevanje tipologije turistov in njihova motivacija za obisk sporne regije prispevata k razvijanju klasifikacije turistov v izgnanstvenih taboriščih in spornih regijah.

Raziskava v okviru magistrske naloge raziskuje različne tipologije različnih avtorjev z namenom razumevanja in razvrščanja le teh v skupine, ki bi se potencialno lahko uporabile za klasifikacijo turistov, ki obiskujejo begunska taborišča Zahodne Sahare. Namen moje raziskave je razviti tipologijo turistov / obiskovalcev te sporne regije, z namenom prepoznati in razumeti razlike v primerjavi s konvencionalnimi turisti. Moji raziskovalni cilji so: (1) razložiti razvoj begunskih taborišč Zahodne Sahare v turistični destinaciji,(2) ustvariti tipologijo vrst turistov, ki obiskujejo taborišča,(3) pojasniti vlogo vlade plemena Sahrawe pri sankcioniranju določenih dogodkov in s tem privabljanja določene vrste turistov, in (4) ugotoviti, kako se tipi turistov v spornih regijah razlikujejo od konvencionalnih turistov.

Regija Zahodne Sahare se je postopoma razvila iz begunskih taborišč v turistično destinacijo. Od zgodnjih začetkov, še kot konvencionalno begunsko taborišče v vojni coni je postopoma začelo prejemati humanitarno pomoč s strani nevladnih organizacij terpomočnike. Večina vrst obiskov je bila na začetku omejena in le določeni ljudjeso lahko obiskali taborišča. Ta so se sčasoma preoblikovala v mesta. Spreminjanje namena in cilja taborišč Zahodne Sahare, to je ustvarjanja potrebne infrastrukture za gostovanje tujih obiskovalcev,so takopomembno vplivala tudi na spreminjanje vrste obiskovalcev oziroma turistov. Nadalje, z obiskovanjem so se ustvarjale in se še vedno, nove vezi, prijateljstva in poznanstva. Konflikt je v veliki meri že potonil v pozabo. Pleme Sahari se je odprlo zunanjemu svetu, začelo deliti svoje zgodbe in s tem tudi privabljati nove obiskovalce ter predvsem pozornost tujcev. Iz tega razloga so začeli organizirati različne dogodke z namenom dvigovanja zavesti, vključno s festivalom umetnosti, filma in športa. Privlačnost večjega števila obiskovalcev pa je navsezadnje pomenilo tudi določeno ekonomsko olajšavo za delovanje plemena.

Medtem, ko literatura navaja številne vrste tipologij obiskovalcev konvencionalnih turističnih destinacij, so turistični obiski v spornih regijah drugačni. Na primer, najpogostejša vrsta obiskovalcev konvencionalnih turističnih destinacij so tisti, ki potujejo izključno v prostem času. Specifičnost begunskih taborišč Zahodne Sahare, ki ne

dovoljujejo tipičnih obiskov pomeni, da se ta kategorija turistov bistveno razlikuje pri obravnavi spornih regij.

Na podlagi 23 intervjujev, ki so potekali v različnih taboriščih več kot deset dni, sem ugotovil, da bi se turisti lahko razvrstili v pet skupin: (1) institucionalni poslovni, (2) delovni oziroma službeni,(3) obiski turistov, ki potujejo z namenom obiska prijateljev in sorodnikov, (4) privatni obiski samozaposlenih turistov in (5) obiski solidarnostnih turistov. V 42 letih so regijo Zahodne Sahareobiskali različni tipi obiskovalcev, med katerimi se večinoma vrstijo vladni uradniki, študenti, raziskovalci, novinarji, športniki, umetniki, nevladne organizacije in podobni. Vsi so medsebojno povezani z vidika njihove motivacije prihoda v begunska taborišča Zahodne Sahare. V magistrski nalogi jasno dokazujem, da so obiski v vsaki fazi razvoja taborišč povezani s potrebo plemena Sahrawi po vrsti zunanjih obiskovalcev in s tem direktno povezani s stopnjo razvoja kampov.

Raziskavaje pokazala, da je treba pozornost posvetiti dinamiki turizma v spornih conah. Večina literature o turističnih destinacijah povzema le posebna dejstva, kot so turizem, ki ustvarja delovna mesta, ali vprašanja trajnosti. V primeru raziskave znotraj magistrske naloge pa so osrednjega pomena vsi vidiki turističnega procesa, od turizma, ki vpliva na lokalno skupnost, do načina, kako taborišča sama oblikujejo potrebo po določenih vrstah turistov.

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Appendix 2: Interview preparation and questions for Mr Brahim (Spanish version)

Trabajo de campo Junio 2017

De forma resumida el trabajo consiste en poder entrevistar principalmente al personal responsable de protocolo para valorar los tipos de visitas que se reciben, en que parte del año, como ha evolucionado con el tiempo, como se distribuyen las visita por las wilayas, quienes visitan los territorios liberados, etc. Eso es lo principal. Adicionalmente se podria entrevistar a los directores de los protocolos de las wilayas, pero si esto es complicado, con la gente de protocolo en Rabuni si colaboran le prodran proporcionar la información que necesita.

Como el objectivo es conocer detalles sobre cada uno de tipos de visitas, las preguntas a realizar podrían ser del tipo (para cada tipo de visita):

1. Cual es la historia de este tipo de visita: cuando empezó más o menos, su razón principal, si ha habido fluctuaciones a lo largo de los años, cual es la situación actual, cual es la procedencia principal de los visitantes de este tipo de visita, cuales son las principales wilayas afectadas, etc.

2. Cual es el beneficio que se desprende de este tipo de visita? Que se persigue? Como debería ser este tipo de visitas en el futuro si cree que pueden mejorarse y que sean más beneficiosas? Cual es la percepción de la satisfacción del visitante que viene para este tipo de actividad? Cual es la percepción que la población local tiene sobre este tipo de visitas? Han cambiado estas percepciones a lo largo de los años? etc.

3. Cual es la infraestructura que se ha ido creando para satisfacer las necesidades básicas de los visitantes en general: me refiero a los sitios donde se hospedan y los servicios de manutención (comida, etc.). Seria interesante conocer la evolución del sistema de protocolos, cual fue el primero que se construyó, como evolucionó la construcción de los nuevos, si ha habido renovaciones, etc... Cuando se empezó a utilizar las casas particulares como alojamiento para visitantes, en que tipos de visitas, como ha ido evolucionando, etc. También seria interesante conocer otros tipos de alojamiento del estilo del de la escula de ingles de Smara que visitamos en marzo pasado (si es que los hay), o los hoteles de Bir Lehlu i Bir Tigsit en los territorios liberados, y cual es la visión del POLISARIO sobre estos alojamientos alternativos.

Además de alojamiento y manutención, en que medida se han abierto restaurantes cuya existencia depende en gran medida de los visitantes extranjeros (si se da el caso, solo), y en que medida han aparecido negocios como venta de souvenirs y otros negocios cuya principal razón de ser sea el flujo de visitantes.

En principio con esta información se podría trabajar el objetivo principal de la tesis. Adicionalmente el proyecto podría avanzar si además de este tipo de información se

pudiera conocer el estado de cada uno de los protocolos y que los directores de los protocolos pudieran ser entrevistados para conocer en cada uno de ellos los tipos de visitas (de la lista anterior) que tienen, en que épocas del año se producen en términos generales, etc., que creen ellos que se podría hacer en el protocolo para mejorar sus servicios, etc. Se podrían tomar fotos de cada protocolo de sus partes (cocina, habitaciones, etc.). Se podría pregunta a cada uno de los directores de cada protocolo, si un visitante les pregunta que pueden hacer o visitar durante su estancia, que les diría, que les recomendaría? Que mejoras creen que deberían hacerse en el edificio, en los servicios, etc. Si la gente repite visitas o no y los motivos por los que lo hace. Si los visitantes han hecho sugerencias de mejoras, cuales, etc.

En la parte primera cuando preguntas por cada tipo de visita todas las cosas que explicamos arriba en el texto, no oblides de introducir siempre el caso de los territorios liberados, puesto que es importante conocer en estos lugares que tipos de visitas se producen y cuales no, como ha evolucionado en el tiempo, etc.

Appendix 3: Interview preparation and questions for Mr Brahim (English version)

Fieldwork June 2017

In summary, the work consists of being able to interview mainly the personnel responsible for the administration units, to assess the types of visits that are received, in which part of the year, as it has evolved over time, how are the visits distributed by the *wilayas*, who visit the Liberated territories, etc. That's the main. Additionally, you could interview the directors of the *wilayas*, but if this is complicated with the administration unit in Rabouni, if they collaborate you will be able to provide the information you need.

As the objective is to know details about each of these types of visits, the questions to be asked could be of the type (for each type of visit):

1. What is the history of this type of visit: when it started more or less, its main reason, if there have been fluctuations over the years, what is the current situation, what is the main source of visitors of this type of visit, which are the main *wilayas* affected, etc. etc.

2. What is the benefit of this type of visit? What are you pursuing? How should this type of visits be in the future if you think they can be improved and more beneficial? What is the perception of visitor satisfaction that comes to this type of activity? What is the perception that the local population has about this type of visits? Have changed these perceptions over the years? etc.

3. What is the infrastructure that has been created to meet the basic needs of visitors in general: I mean the places where they stay and the food services (food, etc.). It would be interesting to know the evolution of the system of administration units, which was the first to be built, how the construction of the new ones evolved, whether there have been renovations, etc. When private houses were started as guest accommodation, in which types of visits, as has been evolving, etc. It would also be interesting to know other types of accommodation of the style of the Smara English school we visited last March (if there are any) or the hotels of Bir Lehlu and Bir Tigsit in the Liberated Territories, and what is the vision of the POLISARIO on these alternative accommodations.

In addition to accommodation and maintenance, to what extent restaurants have been opened whose existence depends to a large extent on foreign visitors (if that is the case, only), and to what extent have businesses appeared such as the sale of souvenirs and other businesses whose main reason to operate is the flow of visitors.

In principle with this information could work the main objective of the thesis. Additionally, the project could advance if, in addition to this type of information, the status of each of the administration unit could be known and the directors could be interviewed to know in each of them the types of visits (from the list above) That they have, in which times of the year they occur in general terms, etc., which they believe could be done in the

administration unit to improve their services, etc. You could take pictures of each administration unit and its parts (kitchen, rooms, etc.). You could ask each of the directors if a visitor asks them what they can do or visit during their stay, what would you tell them, what would you recommend? What improvements do you think should be made in the building, in the services, etc.? Whether people repeat visits or not and the reasons why they do so. If the visitors have made suggestions for improvements, which, etc.

In the first part when you ask for each type of visit all the things that we explained above in the text, do not oblige to always introduce the case of the liberated territories, since it is important to know in these places what types of visits are produced and which are not, as it has evolved over time, etc.