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MIGRATION AND TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA: EXPERIENCES FROM DIASPORA VISITS TO THE REDEEMED CHRISTIAN CHURCH OF GOD

By

Adetola A. OMITOLA

Department of Hospitality and Tourism, Redeemer's University Ede, Osun State, Nigeria.

Abstract

Africa has been involved in migration right from the ancient time for various reasons; however, the modern variant is seen as conditioned largely by issues such as war of independence, civil wars, educational pursuits and lately severe economic crisis forcing large population of African skilled workers to become labour migrants. Thus, "brain-drain" which is also referred to as "brain gain" is of mutual benefit to the home country as well as the host country of such labour. This is due to the tendency of emigrants to maintain a close linkage with their home country through various means such as sponsoring or supporting political activities, supporting family members, religious and other societal links. This is the case with Pentecostal churches in Nigeria with members in Diasporas who maintain close linkage with their church headquarters through various annual programmes. This paper interrogates human mobility and religious tourism development in Nigeria using the case of annual programmes of the Redeemed Christian Church of God. The paper adopts descriptive statistical analysis based on primary and secondary data to determine the influence of this mobility on the socio-economic activities of the study area and how the development of infrastructure such as hotels, eatery and others had impacted on the area. The paper concludes that movement of members of the church to attend annual programmes could enhance tourism development in the country however; there is need for more government involvement in terms of policy decisions, awareness among others for the development of religious tourism.

Key words: Migration, diasporas, tourism development, RCCG and Nigeria

Introduction

African has been involved in migration right from the ancient time, various factors such as trans-Saharan trade, trading with Europeans, slave trade, civil war, religious and many other factors have been responsible for movement of Africans to other lands and people of other descent to Africa. However, the modern phenomenon of movement of people from Africa to other parts of the world have been conditioned largely by issues such as war of independence, civil wars, educational pursuits and lately severe economic crisis forcing large population of African skilled workers to become labour migrants (Akinrinade & Ajibewa, 2004).

Among the population that have relocated outside the country are professors, doctors, nurses, lawyers, lecturers, students furthering their educational career due to inadequate facilities in the country and highly educated political elite. The emigration of this calibre of people from the country is often seen as a drain on the human resources available to the country hence the termed "brain-drain" used to describe the loss of these people to Nigerian society. However, this phenomenon rather than been seen in this light many a scholar would see it as globalisation of labour which can also be of immense and mutual benefit to the home country as well as the host country of such labour.

These migrations could also be economically driven and affect the economic fortunes of the people, as it depends on the 'quality of the migrants and economic needs of the origin and destination. The quality here refers to the skills, age, educational attainment, health amongst others. All the above affect the economic power of individual and needs. This can also include Diaspora spending during the various programmes and remittance which has been widely seen as having potential economic impact on migration (The World Bank, 2008).

However, in spite of the high levels of emigration observed in the recent years, there has been a tendency of emigrants to maintain a close linkage with their home country through various means such as sponsoring or supporting political activities, supporting family members, religious and other societal links (Akinrinade & Ajibewa, 2004). The capacity of migrants being a veritable source of development especially tourism has been subject of intense discussion. World migrant (World Migrant, 2008) has observed that the complex initial interrelationship of tourism and migration. This has led to some arguments that flows of leisure and business are unrelated to earlier migration movements; others are of the view that they actually spring from, or are related to former migration patterns.

Tourism migration nexus is viewed from VFR (Visiting Friend and Relations) tourism perspective. Various researches have examined the manner in which migration can generate tourist flows, in particular through the geographical expansion of friendship and kinship networks (Yamamoto, 2009). Such tourist flows are significantly shaped by the particular characteristics of migrant populations, such as composition, duration and direction, with each round of migration generating new spatial pattern of friendship and kinship networks, which potentially represent VFR tourism flows (Feng & Page, 2000).

On the other hands, tourism may also generate other types of mobility, including labour migration flows. First, tourist often prefer guides, cooking and food from their homeland; thus, over time, tourism and the preference of tourist contribute to labour migration from their home countries, including entrepreneurs. Other permanent and temporary migrants may also be needed for the construction of tourist resorts, hotels and restaurants in new locations catering to the growing tourist trade, and to fill job vacancies there. Second, tourism may eventually lead to the acquisition of new or second homes by regular tourists and their relocation there following retirement or even earlier. Many people visit a country several times as tourists before they eventually decide to move there permanently or on a long-term basis (World Migration, 2008).

Tourism induces migration for economic and social reasons, a process leading to sociocultural, economic and ecological change. Tourism infrastructures development such as housing, security, entertainment, communication, transportation and finance are put in place to serve them through tourism industry or services (WEF2019). The processes of providing these services lead to development. Tourism infrastructures development often attracts migrants over long distances, particular in developing countries where tourist numbers have increased rapidly in recent years and where relative and absolute poverty in economic terms is a widespread phenomenon (Gossling and Schulz, 2005).

It is in recognition of this that the distribution and expansion of infrastructure towards tourism or migration in any country is very important. More immigration might lead to more housing and service demand which creates jobs but also to urban congestion and expenditures for language courses, training, credential recognition, etc. In the case of tourism, resorts might consume high amounts of water and electricity while the rest of the country is still not developed (Bookman, 2006).

Research Problem

A review of literature on nexus between migration and tourism shows much work has been done especially on the breakdown of the earlier categorisation of human mobility into watertight cases of migration and tourism. Such area specifically includes retirement migration that has been described by William et al. (Williams & Hall, 2002) to "occupy a network of places' rather than a usual residence". Also, educational tourism which has increasingly contributed to blur the line dividing migration and tourism as the students are involving in work related activities while at the same time engaging in tourism (Akinrinade & Ajibewa, 2004). According to Rode, (2008) this falls "under the category of temporary migration with primarily economic interests such as socioeconomic upward mobility.

However, there is a dearth of literature on religious tourism, which is an important and integral part of human mobility behaviour, as human's attractions to locations/places of faiths not only cause human mobility but facilitate the use and consumption of services and infrastructure away from their usually place of abode. Periodic faith based human mobility behaviour, has become part of the people in Nigeria yet significantly unexamined. Faith based human mobility behaviour within Nigeria and by immigrants moving into Nigeria is not only developing a unique spatial mobility processes and pattern but is significantly changing the face of the tourist industry, which require scientific research search light.

It is important to note that one vital linkage in migrant – homeland relation in religion. The religious experience and commitment of some immigrants play crucial role in the way and manner they are integrated into the host countries as their former religious experience and sometimes religious groups provide necessary support for them. This is usually the case with most Pentecostal churches in Nigeria with large members in Diaspora (in countries such as USA, UK, Ireland and Germany amongst others). The annual migration of members of these churches especially Diaspora members and their foreigners-members to attend annual programmes constitutes significantly to tourism networking and development in areas or country with their respective headquarters.

Research Questions

The research questions that are posed for the study includes the following;

- i. What are the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of Christian and non – Christians Diaspora Nigerians who attend the programme?
- ii. Is there any relationship between the volume, place of abode, trend of visits, duration of stay and provisions of tourism infrastructural facilities within the camp and other host communities?
- iii. What are the likely negative effects of the visits especially on local communities of the movement of people into the areas where the Christian activities are held?

Objectives of the Study

The main aim of this study is to demonstrate that there is a relationship between the periodic migration of Christian Pentecostal Diaspora Nigerians to Redeemed Christian Church of God and tourism development of religious tourism. This aim is further consider as follows:

- i. Examine the socio-economic characteristics of Christian and non -Christians Diaspora Nigerians that visited the Camp and how this has influenced development of tourism infrastructural facilities.
- ii. Examine the relationship between place of abode of the Diaspora visitors, trend of visits, duration of stay and provisions of tourism infrastructural facilities within the Camp and other host communities?
- iii. Examine likely negative effects of the visits especially on local communities of the movement of people into the areas where the Christian activities are held.

Study Area

The Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) camp is situated along kilometre 46, Lagos-Ibadan Expressway within Ogun State. The State is located on Latitude 3 and 5 N and Longitude 6 and 8 E, and shared boundary with Osun and Oyo States in the North, Lagos State on the South, Ondo State on the East and Republic of Benin on the West. The study area lies within the sub-equatorial climatic belt. The rationale for selecting The Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) camp is due to the fact that the church and its camp represent the fastest growing

Pentecostal organisation not only in Nigeria but in the whole world (Oyeweso, 2011). The Redemption camp is on a major international transportation, from the northern to the southern part of the country. It is about sixty kilometres to the major international airport in the country, the Murtala Mohammed International Airport; it is also close to the major seaports in the country, the Apapa and Tin Can Island ports. The transportation network links the camp to the other parts of the country and overseas, this facilitates the flow of visitors from within the country and the Diaspora into the Camp and this further makes it a vintage point for this study.

The estimated population of people currently residing on the camp is about 14,000 (Camp Manger, 2021) people while during the monthly Holy Ghost and Annual Programmes, this number often rise to over 3million. Available infrastructural facilities in the camp includes the following; four commercial banks, two micro-finance institutions, a University, secondary and primary schools, clinics and maternity centre, a post office, several supermarkets, shopping malls and eateries, bookshops, over ten modern middle income estates, over ten branches of Redeemed Christian Churches, modern fire control station, a water work, an independent power project and security services with posts and patrol (Interview of Camp Manager, 2021). Historically, the Camp was founded in 1983 and since then witnessed tremendous growth. It is important to also to note that the development of RCCG camp is with various programmes; the Monthly programme which comes up every first Friday of the Month, The Convention-every August Yearly, The December Programme tagged The Holy-Ghost Congress etc. There have also been the developments of other settlements such as Mowe, Ibafo, Simawa and other settlement areas that rely on this religious tourism for their survival and livelihood.

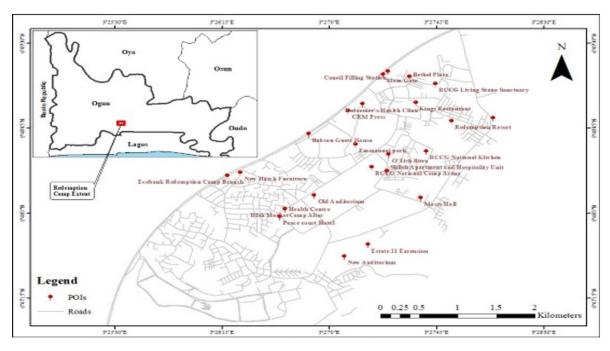


Figure 1
Map of the Study Area: Redemption Camp

Source: Camp Manager Office, 2018.

Methodology

This section puts forth the research methodology required to address the specific objectives of the study. The objectives which are hereby restated are as follows; the socio-economic characteristics of Christian and non–Christians Diaspora Nigerians that visited the Camp and how this has influenced development of tourism infrastructural facilities, the relationship between the volume, place of abode, trend of visits, and duration of stay of the Diaspora visitors and provisions of tourism infrastructural facilities within the Camp and other host communities, likely negative effects of the visits especially on local communities of the movement of people into the areas where the Christian activities are held and the policy implications of these movements from the government; local, state and national on the development of tourism in Nigeria.

Data Types and Sources

Primary and secondary data were employed in the study. The primary data was collected from a field survey, divided into two phases: i) Reconnaissance survey. ii) The field work proper. The reconnaissance survey included the inspection of the study area, the preparation of the research tools, such as the questionnaire, pre-testing of the research instrument, training of field assistants and logistics. The field work involved the administration of the research questionnaire, that solicited information on volume, demographic and socio-economic characteristics of visitors, period and frequency of visits, personal consumption pattern, available tourism infrastructure and services in the camp in terms of the number of hotels, short term lodging rooms, eateries, and restaurants, gift shops, banks.

The target population was the Christian and non-Christian visitors which constituted the respondents. Respondents were randomly interviewed during the course of the annual meeting in venue of religious activities and various locations within the Redemption Camp, where the pilgrims' needs were met during their period of stay. Secondary data were sourced from articles in journals, text books and relevant web sites on pilgrimage and tourism development. In addition, archival materials and data from the records of RCCG were also employed in the study.

Sampling Technique and Data Collecting Procedure

The study adopted a multi-stage sampling technique. In stage one, The Redeemed Christian Church of God (RCCG) Camp also referred as the Redemption camp is purposively selected for this study. This is based on the fact that it is the worship camp of one of the leading Christian faith based organizations in Nigeria. This study area was chosen for the research for several reasons. Firstly, it is an international event which received wide media coverage and importance in the recent past. Secondly, as both foreign and domestic pilgrims were expected to attend the event, the study would likely receive a wider validity. Thirdly, the arrangements and allocation of resources for the event have been elaborate giving the study a wider scope to measure the pilgrims. Finally, the event was at a nearby destination to us and we could optimize our time and in addition, the monthly and annual movement of Christian and non-Christian visitors into the Redemption camp have impacts on both the experiences of visitors and the development of tourism infrastructure and services and this require investigation.

At the second stage, systematic sampling technique was used to classify the RCCG Camp into areas of activities where visitor's needs were determined. The classified areas are: the worship auditorium, restaurants, shopping centres, eateries, hotel rooms, gift/souvenir shops, car parks, bookshops and banking halls etc. At the third stage, respondents were randomly selected from these classified areas for the administration of the structured questionnaire.

Table 1 Population of visitors to the Camp over 4 year's period

Years	Attendance/Population		
2015	875,000		
2016	901,610		
2017	1,300,050		
2018	1,680,267		

Source: RCCG Ushering Department, 2018.

The sample size of visitors was determined statistically using the formulae given by Taro Yamane as follows:

$$n = \underline{N}$$

$$1 + N (e)^2$$

Where:

n = sample size,

1= Constant

N = Estimated population of pilgrims in 2018

 $E = significant level or level of precision 0.05^2$.

1,680,267

 $= 1 + 1,680,267 \times 0.05^2$

= 399.99

= 400

The algorithm above gives a total of 400; this implies that 400 pilgrims were sampled as a representative population. However, for the purpose of sampling of Diaspora visitors, 100 visitors were sampled. Hence, one hundred (100) questionnaire copies were randomly administered to pilgrims who stayed at least one day at the venue and attended the event. Each respondent was requested to spare fifteen minutes of their time to complete the questionnaire. In case the respondent felt he had no time such respondents were contacted in the evening in their respective hotels/dormitory after seeking permission. In all, one hundred (100) respondents were interviewed as follows: auditorium, restaurants/eateries, shopping centres/gift shop, car parks, banking hall, bookshop/Compact Disc shops and hotel/short time lodging rooms. This allocation is based on purposive observation of areas of high and low activity in the course of the annual meeting at the Redemption camp.

Population of Diaspora

Since the focus of this study is on the Diaspora visitors and thereby contribution to religious activities and tourism development in the Camp, we set out to interview and obtained records (Indepth Focus Group Discussion from the RCCG Ushering Department). The information provided stated that every year, twenty five percent of those who attend the programmes are Nigerian Diaspora. It is possible for the Unit to come to this conclusion because the practice is to register Nigerians who are coming from outside the country to attend the programme. Thus, one hundred Diaspora visitors were purposively sampled from the various activities centre stated in the previous section.

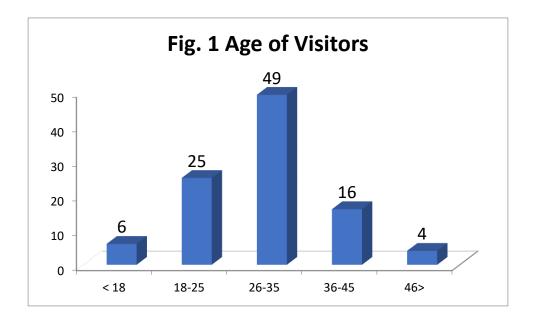
Data Presentation and Data Analysis

Socio-economic Characteristics of Diaspora visitors

A number of studies have shown that differentials in social-economic status of men and women have effect on their travel behaviour (Kastenholz, 2007; Mayer, 2014). Diaspora visitors differ in terms of the attributes and socio-economic profile such as their age, life stage, gender, family status, occupation, income, and religious affiliation. Information about each of these variables is fairly easy to obtain visually or by interviewing visitors.

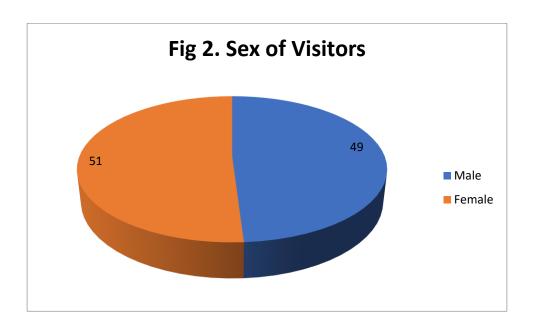
Age of Diaspora Visitors

Age of pilgrims has significant effect on travel decision and choice of pilgrimage as well as on the desire to explore places of interest. The age pattern of visitors to the RCCG Camp is shown in figure 1. The age distribution of the pilgrims showed that 6.0 per cent of the respondents were less than 18 years of age, 25.0 per cent were within the age group of 18-25 years, 49.0 per cent fell within the age group of 26-35 years, 16.0 per cent were within the age group of 36-45 years, while 4.0 per cent were between 46 years and above. This implies that majority (90.2%) of the visitors are in the active age (18 – 45yrs.) hence, they are involved in the pilgrimage. This is consistent with the findings of (Badabaan 2001 and Benson, 2013). It further shows the age when most visitors have knowledge of RCCG Camp and are capable of attending the yearly event for spiritual and educational reasons among others. Furthermore, the age of pilgrims implies that people of peoples of lower and middle age groups (active population) are more involved in pilgrimage. This realisation affects the provision of accommodation, eatery and the establishment of other infrastructural facilities that are sensitive to the needs of these population groups.



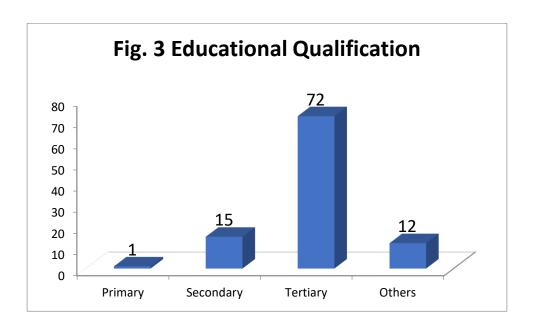
Sex Pattern of Diaspora Visitors

Sex of pilgrims gives a picture of gender composition to the RCCG Camp. The sex pattern of the visitors is shown in figure 2. The sex distribution of the respondent revealed that 49.0 per cent of the respondents were males, while 51.0 per cent were females. This shows that both the male and female are religious and are involved in pilgrimage, but females are more involved in pilgrimage to the RCCG camp. As a result of this development there are many accommodation facilities for women than men in the RCCG camp.



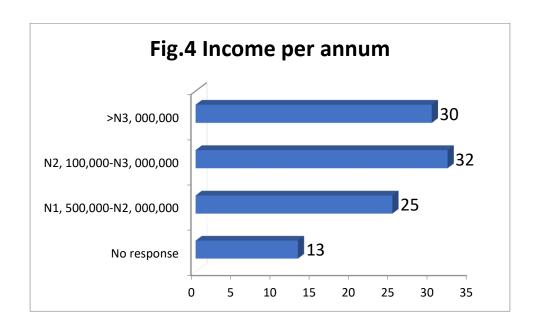
Education Qualification of Diaspora Visitors

Educational is one of the factors that have a strong positive correlation with income which invariably has effect on pilgrim's decision making. The educational qualification of visitors varies ranging from primary education through tertiary education and is shown in figure 3 Information shown in Figure 3 indicated that majority (72.0%) of the respondents had tertiary education, this was followed by respondents with secondary education (15.0%), while only a few (1.0%) had primary education. The educational background of respondents to the RCCG Camp therefore shows that majority have post-secondary education. This is not unexpected since most of them are highly skilled and educated Diaspora.



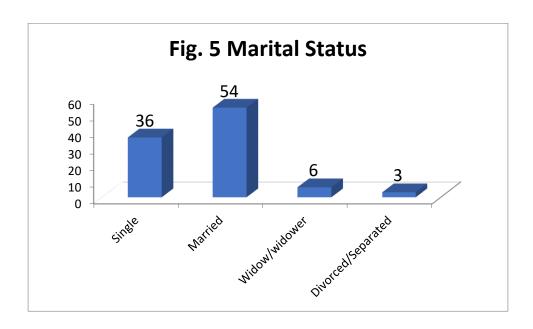
Income Pattern of Diaspora Visitors

The income of pilgrims substantially impact on their ability to make visits to religious sites irrespective of the distance. Visitors pattern of income per annum are shown in Figure 4. The information showed that 25 percent earned one million naira, five hundred thousand (№1,500,000 - №2, 000,000), 32 per cent earned two million one hundred thousand to three million naira (№2, 100,000 - №3, 000,000), while 30 per cent of all the respondents earned more than (>№3, 000,000) per annum. The analysis presented implies that all the respondents 87 percent earned > N1,000,000 to N3,000,000 per annum which gives them the financial ability to travel to Nigeria for the programme. The income category of visitors to the RCCG Camp has serious implication on kind of accommodation used or paid for during the yearly religious activities such as their ability of pilgrims to pay for luxurious hotels around and within the camping ground.



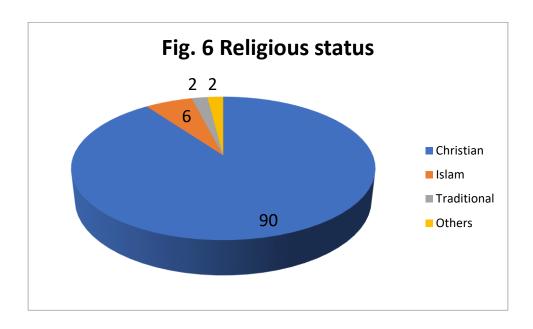
Marital Status of the Diaspora Visitors

The marital status of visitors who visited the RCCG ranged from single/unmarried to divorced/separated, the pattern is shown in the Figure 5. The information showed that 36.0 per cent of the respondents were single, 54.0 per cent of the respondents were married, and 5.0 per cent were Widow/widower, while 3.0 per cent were individuals with marital problems of divorce and separation. The analysis therefore indicates that majority of visitors are married and this affects pilgrimage positively. In a related study, Balogun et al. 2013 alleged that marital status influences women spiritual help-seeking behaviour as more married women and those who are never married, but are eager to marry, significantly sought for spiritual help more than others. Thus, there is constant influx of Diaspora to the camp.



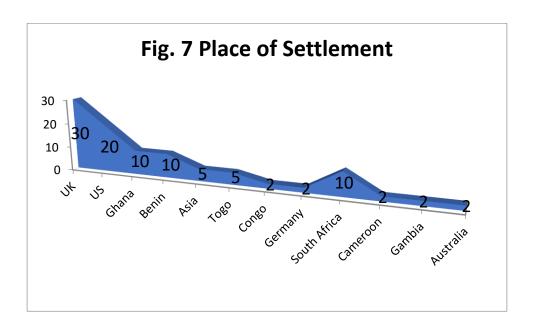
Religious Status of Diaspora Visitors

Information on the religious inclination of the visitors is depicted in Fig.6. The information indicated that 90.0 per cent of the visitors were Christians, 6.0 per cent of the visitors were Muslims and 2.0 per cent of the visitors were traditionalists, while 2.0 per cent of the visitors belonged to other religious sects such as Hindu. From the above, other religions also visit the camp which could be for other reasons apart from religious. The dominance of Christians is expected as it is a Christian crusade that attracts Christian worshippers from other churches within and outside Nigeria. The need for salvation and to encounter God's presence is among the numerous reasons that make religious pilgrims to visit the RCCG Camp.



Place of Settlement of Diaspora Visitors

From Figure 7, Nigerians from the United Kingdom (UK) made up 30% of the total Diaspora flows to the RCCG Camp. The mobility pattern of visitors from other countries were USA (20%), Ghana (10%), Benin (10%) and Asia (5%), Togo (5%) and 2% from Congo, Germany, Cameroun, Gambia, and Australia respectively. The fact that Nigerian from abroad flow in to the RCCG Camp is not unexpected due to the fact that Nigerians believe so much in the supernatural being for salvation and redemption. This is in line with previous works of researchers who have asserted that Africans believe in spirits and the supernatural and can hardly be divorced from such beliefs. In the words of Nkemleke, and Hale, (2018), spirituality is on the increase in Africa which makes people to travel over a long distance and look for solution.



Trend of Pilgrimage (2015-2018)

The trend of pilgrimage over the past four years (2015-2018) is depicted in Figure 8. The information revealed that there was an exponential increase in the population of visitors to the RCCG Camp between 2015 (875,000), 2016 (901,610) and 2017 (1,300,050) and a further increase was noticed in the population of visitors involved in faith based pilgrimage in the year 2018 (1,680,267). The information further revealed that the highest population of pilgrims to the RCCG Camp was recorded in 2018, while 2015 had the lowest. There was however, 55.7 per cent increase in the population of Pilgrims for the four years. The steady increase could be attributed to the increase in faith-based tourism over the years and general security situation in the camp. The desire for spiritual fulfilment has made pilgrimage to holy land in the increase over the years. For instance, in Nigeria, more than five thousand pilgrims visit the holy land in Jerusalem and Saudi Arabia yearly. This is in agreement with the assertion of Timothy and Olsen, (2006), and Maddrell, (2011) that faith-inspired travel is one of the most significant types of tourism in the world today by volume and prevalence. However, the increase in the population of visitors to the camp is affecting the Camp area negatively as the flow of people during the programme caused traffic problems including gridlock bringing untold hardship to the people with homes around the Camp.

Duration of Stay of Diaspora Visitors

Duration of stay in a particular tourist site depends on a lot of factors such as income, length of programme of activities, security, and comfort and food type among others. The information in Table 4.9 showed that 15.0 per cent of the respondents stayed for one - two days, 25.0 per cent stayed for more than seven days, while 35.0 per cent spent five to seven days in the RCCG Camp. This simply means that majority of Diaspora visitors (60.0%) to the RCCG Camp usually spend more than 4 days in camp. This is due to the existence of adequate facilities to accommodate the visitors for the total duration of the programme. This is depicted in Table 1

No. of days	Frequency	Per cent
1-2	15	15.0
3-4	25	25.0
5-7	35	35.0
> 7	25	25.0
Total	100	100.0

Frequency of Visits by Diaspora Visitors

The number of times Pilgrims visit a particular place is predicated upon by several factors notably services rendered. Table 2 gives vital information on the frequency of visits of pilgrims to the RCCG Camp. From the table, 69.0 per cent of the Diaspora had visited the camp more than once, and their revisit could be explained by their previous experience. It further revealed that 11.0 per cent visited the Camp for the first time, while 20.0 per cent visited the Camp 1 to 2 times. This therefore implies that majority of the pilgrims have been to the RCCG camp for more than 2 times, and as such are individuals who are familiar with the Camp. This result is consistent with the findings of Benson (2013) and Aggarwal et al (2008), when they also reported high frequency in the number of tourist that revisited religious centres. Perhaps, past experience of spiritual fulfilment, security and favourable climatic condition, provision of facilities among others could have influenced their continuous or revisit to the camp.

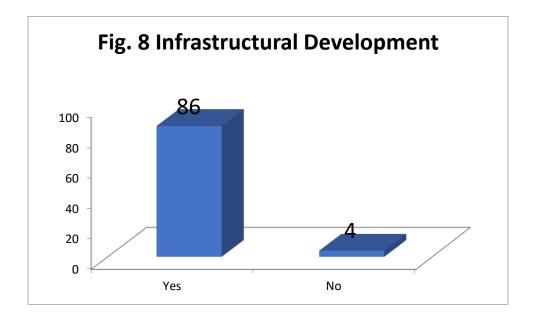
Frequency of Diaspora Visit to RCCG Cam	Frequency	of Diaspora	Visit to I	RCCG Cam
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Number of Visits	Frequency	%
First Timers	11	11.0
1-2 times in a year	20	20.0
2-3 times in year	24	24.0
More 3 times in Year	45	45.0
Total	100	100.0

Source: Fieldwork, 2012

Infrastructural Development of RCCG Camp

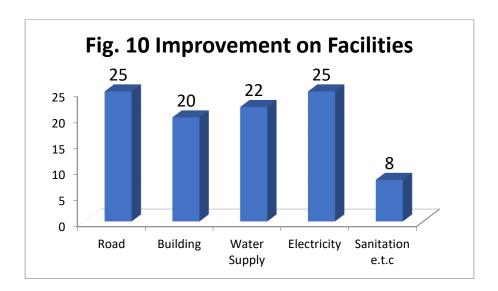
From the interview of those who have visited more than one time, it is revealed in the figure no. 8. that 86.0% are of the view that the RCCG Camp is growing in the area of Infrastructural development which includes accommodation, transportation, and communication among others. Some respondents indicated No as a result of reasons which may range from inadequate awareness of development of the development in the Camp or that they are first time Diaspora visitors.



Improvements on the Facilities in RCCG Camp

The interview of Diaspora visitors as stated below in figure 9 shows that 25% of respondents agreed that RCCG Camp is experiencing improvements in the area of road construction, while 20% agreed that the Camp is growing the area of building construction and 22% supported that the Camp is improving in the area of water supply.25% also agreed that the

electricity situation on Camp is improving while 8% indicated that the Camp is improving on provision of sanitation and waste management. This conclusion is based on their previous experience in the Camp.



Conclusion and Recommendations

The findings of the foregoing study have clearly demonstrated that religious tourism is playing a major role in the growth of the RCCG Camp and overall socio-economic development of especially the surrounding lesser city areas such as in Mowe and Ibafo who develop basically due to the locational advantage of RCCG Camp in the area. This study has shown that some visitors to the RCCG camp do stay in hotels in these communities. The findings of the study have suggested for the improvement of basic facilities such as road, parking areas, traffic and health services. Since there is a strong relationship between preferences for destination selection and improvement in basic services, efforts should be made at the higher level of the government administration to help build the infrastructure at all three sites.

However, for many countries in general and the least developed countries in particular, pilgrimage tourism is a sector in which they have comparative, if not competitive, advantages for which they can efficiently convert domestic resources into foreign exchange. If appropriately used, such foreign exchange can purchase the investment goods necessary to support more broadly based economic development policies. It has also illustrated that appropriate pilgrimage tourism-related interventions can play a role in raising the standard of living and in reducing poverty in local

communities. It is often necessary, however, to develop and implement policies that take advantage of the potential benefits of pilgrimage tourism in socio-economic development. In some cases, this is simply a matter of increasing awareness so that the joint benefits to pilgrimage tourists and local communities can be factored-in at the planning stage. In other cases it may involve reducing leakages (or retaining pilgrimage tourist spending). In yet other cases affirmative action may need to be taken to capture the benefits.

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