Cultural tourism in Africa: strategies for the new millennium

Proceedings of the ATLAS Africa International Conference
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Editorial board

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Preface

This important book derives from a highly successful international conference on cultural tourism in Africa, held in Mombasa, Kenya in 2000 and co-hosted by Moi University's facility of Forest Resources and Wildlife Management, Department of Tourism Management and Wageningen University, Netherlands, through the support of the Association for Tourism and Leisure Education (ATLAS).

The book, which is the first of its kind, is dedicated to the study and promotion of cultural tourism in Africa and is a true representation of partnership between learning institutions and other bodies that promote educational initiatives in tourism and leisure.

It is important to note from the start that Moi University was probably the first university in the region to realise the importance of tourism, including cultural tourism, and as such established a full-fledged department on the same. This book therefore is a result of the commitment of the institution and its partners to address a neglected area of our development, yet one that has the potential not only to contribute to different countries' economies, but also to substantially uplift the standards of life of the people of the region, through their involvement in this fast growing industry.

It is recognised that Africa does not have large industries and other manufacturing concerns: however, Africa has a rich diversity of cultural heritage, probably the most important resource available. The recognition of African heritage as a resource and the need to address the issues affecting its exploitation resulted in this collaborative venture and, ultimately, this book.

This book is the work of academicians and practitioners in the tourism and leisure industry from different parts of the world who discussed and presented critical issues affecting the development of cultural tourism in Africa. It is very true that despite Africa's important position as an emerging tourist destination, with great potential, a lot of attention has been placed on the development of limited tourism products, namely wildlife and beach tourism. The rich and diverse indigenous African culture has hardly been seen as a potential tourism resource. In developing this book, the authors realised not only the potential of cultural tourism in developing sustainable tourism in the region, but also the potential of cultural tourism in promoting inter-country travel (i.e. local/regional tourism) among the different countries. This of course has the extra potential of creating common understanding among the regions peoples and as such reducing unnecessary conflicts. The aim of this book is to identify existing impediments in the development of culture based tourism in Africa and to search for innovative and creative strategies for the development of culture tourism in Africa in the new millennium. The text contains succinct and thought-provoking articles on topics such as critical reflection on cultural tourism in Africa; development and impacts, the Cultural Tourism and Experience, Strategies for the New Millennium to the important issues of Sustainable Tourism in Africa.

This book is not only a must reading for students of African tourism but it is also well suited to all practitioners and lovers of tourism in Africa. Those who have put this book together have contributed immensely to the future development of the African continent at a very critical time by drawing the world's attention to a forgotten resource.

Dr George Abungo
National Museums of Kenya
December 2001

Acknowledgements

This book is the product of the ATLAS Africa inaugural conference which was held in the Resort Town of Mombasa, Kenya in December 2000 in which over 80 delegates from different parts of the world attended. The title of the publication, "Cultural Tourism in Africa: Strategies for the New Millennium," derives from the main theme of the conference. Not all the papers that were presented at the conference, on various issues and aspects of cultural tourism development in Africa, are included in this volume but we would like to thank everybody for making the conference proceedings lively and intellectually stimulating. Special thanks go to the authors of this publication for their co-operation and timely return of scripts.

We are particularly indebted to Moi University in Kenya and Wageningen University in the Netherlands for agreeing to sponsor the ATLAS Africa conference. Our special thanks go to Nuffic for providing initial finance for conference activities, promotion and marketing through the Moi University MHO Tourism Project. We would also like to thank the ATLAS Secratariat in the Netherlands for their technical and logistical support for the conference.

Our special thanks goes to Leontine Onderwater, Rene van der Duim, Bob Wishitemi, Greg Richards and Puis Odunga for their significant contribution in the preparation and co-ordination of the conference and its activities, and for their advice and support in the preparation of this book. Also to our editorial boards in Moi University, Kenya and Salford University, UK, who were tireless in their efforts to read through the many manuscripts which had been presented for possible inclusion in this volume. Our special appreciation is extended to Salford University for their support in the preparation of the final papers for publication.

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Introduction

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The papers in this volume are a selection from those presented at the Atlas Africa conference, '*Cultural Tourism in Africa: Strategies for the New Millennium*' in Mombasa, Kenya, December 2000. The main aim of the conference was to identify innovative and creative strategies for the development, promotion and marketing of culture-based tourism in Africa in the New Millennium. Invited speakers of distinction from a number of different countries, including Africa, USA, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Australia, debated, challenged and explored issues associated with the goals of the conference and addressed specific themes. Speakers did not aim for definitive answers but speculated on strategies for Africa that would increasingly become a basis for economic prosperity. We also identified initiatives that would gain mutual advantage from collaboration.

To give shape to the volume we have organised it into five sections with papers that provide an important contribution and inform the debate. First however we will open with a brief discussion of the key themes and issues that appear to be the basis of cultural tourism in the African context.

Cultural tourism: the African context

Culture is a main 'pull factor' which influences visitors' initial decision to travel to destinations in different parts of the world. Thus in most regions of the world, particularly in Europe and North America, cultural attractions have become important in the development of tourism. At the global level, cultural attractions are usually perceived as being icons of important streams of global culture (Richards, 2001). This global conception of culture has led to the designation of World Heritage sites which attracts millions of tourists yearly. Whereas, at the national and/or local level, culture is seen as playing an important role in establishing and reinforcing people's unique identities and a sense of belonging to a particular locale. The recognition of the role of culture in creating and reinforcing people's identity has, in recent years, played a significant role in the growing interest in diverse aspects of heritage tourism, especially in the developed world. As Richards in this volume states, "it seems that the combination of nostalgia for the past, the need to reassert national and local identities … have had a dramatic effect on the supply of cultural tourism." Thus, it can be argued that cultural attractions are critical for the development of tourism at the local, regional and international level.

The development of tourism in Africa in general, and the development of cultural tourism in particular, is at its incipient stage. However there is a great variation in the level of tourism development in the 53 African countries. As Dieke (2000) contends, the variation in the theoretical tourism development continuum ranges from the dominant (i.e., most developed) to the late entrants (i.e., least developed). Within this spectrum of tourism development, countries such as Kenya in the east, Mauritius and Seychelles in the Indian Ocean, Morocco and Tunisia in the North, South Africa and Zimbabwe in the South, and Cote d'ivoire and Senegal in the west, (the so-called African success stories), have a well established tourism

industry. Whereas, other countries such as Nigeria, Cameroon, Eritrea, Sierra Leone, Angola and Zambia, for one reason or another, have limited tourism development, but by comparison have considerable potential for future development.

However, even in those African countries, especially in eastern and southern Africa, which are considered a 'success story', the development of tourism is currently narrowly focused on a limited tourism product based on wildlife safari and beach tourism. Even in those countries, especially Senegal and Cote d'ivoire in West Africa which have developed elements of cultural tourism, the product (usually referred to as 'roots' tourism) is targeted to a narrow market segment, mainly the Africa-Americans and other Africans in the Diaspora. Thus, in most African countries, the rich and diverse indigenous cultures (i.e., the living heritage of the African people), with Africa's multiplicity of ethnic material and non-material culture has not been developed for tourism.

Nevertheless, the diverse indigenous African cultures can be perceived as having a latent comparative advantage in the development of cultural tourism because they possess unique cultural and nature based attractions. These are the very tourist attractions which people from major tourist generating countries are looking for.

Within this global context of cultural tourism development, it is usually argued that with the rapid economic growth and increasing affluence in most parts of the world, the number of international and intra-country tourists visiting local communities and other destinations in Africa will continue to increase in the foreseeable future. Although the recent terrorist events in the USA may well have a detrimental effect on global tourism in the short-term, in the longer term it is hoped that the development of cultural tourism will continue to be a major growth sector.

At a more utopian level, political analysts argue that the development of cultural tourism in Africa will in the long-run assist in the promotion of cross-cultural understanding between the local host communities and tourists. Tourism will, therefore, assist in removing existing stereotypes and misrepresentations of indigenous African cultures. In this regard, cultural tourism may well contribute to the promotion of international harmony and cross-cultural understanding.

The context of culture and critical issues

Cultural tourism has to be explained within the broader context of culture. In this regard, culture can be viewed in two inter-related perspectives: the psychological perspective – what people think (i.e., attitudes, beliefs, ideas and values), and what people do (i.e., ways of life, artworks, artifacts and cultural products). From the psychological perspective, therefore, culture is seen as the organised systems of knowledge and beliefs in which people structure their experiences and perceptions, formulate acts and make choices between different alternatives (Kessing and Kessing, 1971). Thus, it can be argued that culture is both a psychological and physical phenomenon. As Reid in this volume explains, "culture is a product of human psychology which has manifestation in the physical world, usually created as a purposeful technology which enhances living, including beautification of technological objects or art."

In most instances, it is the physical aspects of culture (i.e., visiting cultural sites and monuments) which has tended to dominate the development of cultural tourism. However,

ideally, cultural tourism should involve both the psychological and physical expression of people in a given setting. Thus as Richards (2001) states, “cultural tourism … covers not just the consumption of the cultural products of the past, but also of contemporary culture or the ‘way of life’ of a people or region. Cultural tourism can therefore be seen as covering both ‘heritage tourism’ (related to artifacts of the past) and ‘art tourism’ (related to contemporary cultural products).”

The development of cultural tourism in Africa should take into consideration the two perspectives of culture. This is due to the fact that when we talk of African culture as it relates to tourism, we are talking about a ‘living culture’ of the African people which is usually based on art performances and dance, and the contemporary ways of life of indigenous African communities (Tomaselli, 1999). This is unlike Western cultural tourism initiatives that are mainly based on monuments and other forms of Western material heritage. Furthermore as Reid comments in this volume, “Africa in the minds of outsiders is understood to be the cradle of humankind.” Most visitors therefore may seek to understand a bit of themselves through African traditions (existing, contemporary) and cultures in addition to, or perhaps in spite of, the artefacts and trinkets that are purchased to take home as souvenirs and gifts.

The following critical issues on cultural tourism development in Africa run through most of the papers. First, there is clear indication that starting from the initial stages of cultural tourism product development, tourism planners and developers from the private and public sector should look at both the supply and the demand side. At the supply side, the most critical question that has to be answered is who is specifically entitled to decide and choose the forms of cultural manifestations that should be developed and presented to the tourists. In many African countries as is the case with most countries in the developing world, the government is seen as the main custodian of the countries’ cultural manifestations as represented in the diverse indigenous cultures. But should this be always the case? What role should other interest groups, particularly members of the local ethnic communities and private sector representatives play in the commodification process?

Second, there is generally a danger of cultural tourism studies being product-based rather than market-based. As examples in the text indicate, developing cultural attractions for tourism does not mean necessarily that tourists will come knocking at the door. With increasing supply of cultural attractions there is stiff competition among attractions at the local, regional and international level. As Richards (in the text) comments, “tourists will not come unless their needs are met.” This means that it is important to understand the structure and development of the cultural tourism market.

Third, the papers which look at the demand side of cultural tourism indicate that cultural tourists are generally well educated compared to other market segments and; the main motivation for visits to cultural attractions is the desire to learn ‘new things’. Particularly cultural tourists are usually keen to learn about the history and local culture of the places they visit. In this aspect therefore Africa has a comparative advantage because most of the Africa culture is the living heritage of the contemporary African people with their diverse art performances, dance and other forms of contemporary cultural expressions. These are the very attractions that postmodern cultural tourists are in search of.

Fourth, it is argued that after a given cultural attraction, say ethnic art or indigenous dance performance has been developed for tourism, one of the main challenges that has to be tackled is development of appropriate interpretation services that meet visitor needs and

expectations. Consequently, cultural presentation and interpretation should involve more than the exchange of mere information, and should inspire and even provoke the visitor to be able to experience and probably to relive a given cultural experience or cultural phenomenon.

Finally, the general thrust of the arguments in this text is that representatives of local African communities are not well represented in the planning, design, development and management of their respective cultural resources for tourism. Thus members of respective indigenous communities are usually not appropriately represented in the commodification process in which local cultural resources are transformed into tourism products to be presented and sold to consumers (tourists). Due to lack of proper representation of local communities in the commodification process, ethnic attractions are usually presented to tourists in a manner that the people themselves may not like to be presented to the outside world.

The lack of representation of indigenous communities in the commodification process of local cultural resources for tourism raises serious questions, particularly with regard to the authenticity of cultural tourism products and ownership of the tourism resources. This inevitably leads to the question of equitable distribution of revenue which accrues from the presentation of indigenous cultural attractions to tourists, and the forms of images concerning the local people which are presented to tourists. As Reid (in this volume) contends, “the commodification of culture by the tourism industry has added new meaning to the sun, sea and surf reputation it has garnered over the last two decades. Cultural tourism has introduced subjugation, servility and subservience.”

Consequently, in order to initiate cultural tourism projects which benefit indigenous communities, policy and institutional mechanisms need to be put in place which encourage local participation in the design, implementation and management of the tourism projects and local use of cultural resources. In particular, for local community participation to succeed, indigenous communities need sanctioned authority to enable them to implement cultural tourism programmes.

Organisational structure

This volume is organised in five sections in order to present, systematically, the various issues and perspectives of cultural tourism development in Africa in the new millennium. The first section is a critical reflection of the issues of cultural tourism. It opens with Donald Reid’s paper on Learning from the Past and concludes with Harry Wels’ critical reflection on *The Power of European Imagery*. The authors contend that, in most instances, the current forms of cultural tourism presentations in most African countries have neither contributed to socio-cultural and economic empowerment, nor has tourism initiatives contributed to cross-cultural understanding between host communities in Africa and tourists. At the worst, most current forms of cultural tourism presentations in Africa have perhaps contributed to further socio-economic marginalisation and the creation of stereotypes.

The second section is concerned with development and impacts. Here authors develop various frameworks and analysis of current practices, potentials and impacts of cultural tourism development in Africa. The papers provide a reasonable indication of cultural tourism development in Africa at present. One of the important aspect that is presented in the papers is the fact that indigenous communities should be actively involved in the decision-making processes of cultural tourism development and in the choice of the forms of cultural attractions that are to be presented to outsiders (tourists). Concerns about the extent to which

tourism and modernisation may damage the cultural fabric of Africa can be seen in the papers about the impacts of tourism. There should be clear trade-off between the existing market demands and local people's needs and social values.

The third section focuses on the cultural tourism experience. Many of the papers, particularly those that are based on specific case studies, focus on the use of the living heritage of Africa societies as cultural attractions. The richness of contemporary culture and cultural traditions is underlined by the variety of topics covered: traditional dance, arts and crafts, and sacred landscapes. The intimate connection between rural communities, nature and culture is reflected in the number of papers covering wildlife and rural culture.

The penultimate section provides strategies for interpretation, for attracting non-visitors and a comparison between potential and achievement. Since specific studies on cultural tourism in Africa are limited, research information and experience acquired elsewhere can be useful especially in assisting to chart the way forward for the development of cultural tourism in Africa. One of the main challenges of new initiatives which has to be tackled is the manner in which to provide appropriate interpretation. As Sterry in this volume contends, "interpretation conveys the narrative of meaning and understanding of cultural heritage and provides a synergy between what is often a commercial activity on the one hand and a special bond between people and place, and between community and culture on the other." Consequently, interpretation is an important component of the successful development and presentation of cultural attractions; it is crucial to visitor understanding of cultural manifestations and portrayal of culture. Sterry describes Heritage Centres as a successful model in the UK that may well be appropriate for African initiatives. Critical questions, she suggests, such as who has the control over cultural sites and whose interpretation of the past and present is to be conveyed, should be answered when planning and designing appropriate interpretation techniques.

The concluding section tackles issues of sustainable development as they relate to cultural tourism development in the African context. The authors point to the fact that there is ongoing debate on what constitutes sustainable development in general, and sustainable cultural tourism development in particular. It is generally agreed that sustainable development is that form of development that meets the needs of the present generations without compromising the ability of the future generations meeting their own needs. The authors contend that the concept of sustainable development particularly as it applies to cultural tourism development has not been appropriately defined and operationalised. There are no agreed parameters, for instance, to gauge and ascertain the characteristics of sustainable development of cultural tourism. The papers present the view that for appropriate development of cultural tourism, the needs and aspirations of all the stakeholders including those of local communities, whose cultural resources are being presented to tourists, should be taken into consideration. There is also consensus that sustainable development of cultural tourism should include elements of improvement of the quality of life of local communities, visitor satisfaction and the conservative use of the cultural and nature based resources.

The papers in this volume will stand as a lasting contribution to the conference aims that explore strategies for new cultural tourism initiatives in Africa for the New Millenium. They were a collective response and illustrate that the way forward will be reasoned, diverse and developed through cooperation, insight and partnership.

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Section 1: a critical reflection

Development of cultural tourism in Africa: a community based approach

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Introduction

Globalization of the world's economy is a phenomenon sweeping across all countries and continents. The tourism sector of the economy is not immune to this new force. In fact, tourism is one of the main products being globalised. Likewise, Africa is becoming, or has become, dependent on tourism as one of the top foreign income generators in most of the continent's countries; so much so, that the tourism product is often in jeopardy of losing its uniqueness, at best, and runs the risk of being severely damaged at worst. There are a number of ways to deal with this problem without jeopardising the necessary income that tourism produces. In the case of Africa, perhaps, the two most notable examples are (a) dispersion of tourists to underdeveloped or under-utilised areas, and (b) diversification of the product to include cultural tourism as well as reliance on nature tourism. This paper will focus on the latter point.

While cultural tourism has great potential for development in most, if not all African countries, it must be well thought out and planned if it is to escape the problems that are currently being realized in nature tourism. There are however, some fundamental issues that must be addressed before cultural tourism is developed to its potential. In this case, potential must be defined in development terms and not just in terms of raw growth; a subject to be dealt with in more detail later in this paper. This paper is devoted to beginning the debate on cultural tourism development in Africa and is constructed around four basic questions as follow:

1. How should culture be defined when speaking of it in the context of tourism development?
2. Does tourism imply the commodification of culture and if so what problems that present to traditional societies in Africa?
3. Cultural tourism implies earning profit from peoples' lifestyle and, what's more, the intrusion of outsiders into every-day life. What are the implications of that form of intrusion in terms of benefits and constraints to the community, and do the benefits out weigh the constraints?
4. What can traditional societies in Africa do to benefit more from tourism while protecting the values and integrity of the community?

Defining culture

When speaking of cultural tourism we need to define culture from two distinct perspectives. Both perspectives are founded on anthropological concepts that are not mutually exclusive. The first is the psychological approach that relies on the thought processes of culture for its basis. Kessing and Kessing (1971: p.20) suggest that, "culture has been used to refer to the organised system of knowledge and belief whereby a people structure their experience and perceptions, formulate acts, and make chooses between many alternatives. This sense of

culture refers to the realm of ideas." Cultural studies, a recent field to academia, defines culture as "a network of embedded practices and representations (texts, images, talk, codes of behaviour, and narrative structures organising these) that shapes every aspect of social life" (Frow and Morris, 2000: p. 316). These definitions put culture squarely in the minds of humans and the social structures that are developed to support those intellectualisations. It is what separates humans from the other animals and makes one group of people distinct from others.

The second notion of culture centres around the physical expression of those belief systems and knowledge. Again Kessing and Kessing (1971: p.20) suggest, "in this sense, culture has referred to the realm of observable phenomena, of things and events out there in the world". A famous anthropologist, Louis Leakey (1960: p.54) stated that, "an associated group of implements is spoken of as an industry." He went on to say that "when a number of industries have been found which are very similar to each other we say they belong to the same culture, even if they are found hundreds of miles apart" (ibid.). Leakey's definition gives concrete meaning to this second notion of culture. That is, that culture is a product of human psychology which has manifestation in the physical world, usually created as purposeful technology which enhances living, including the beautification of technological objects or art. So culture, then, is both psychological and physical.

While it is the second way of looking at culture that dominates the definition of culture in tourism, it may well be the first, or psychological construct, which may be intriguing to visitors in the future, particularly if we can believe the literature which suggests that today's tourist is more discriminating and intellectual than earlier visitors and in pursuit of an authentic and educational experience. Given that Africa in the minds of most outsiders is understood to be the "cradle of humankind", visitors often seek to understand a bit of themselves through African traditions or cultures in addition to, or perhaps in spite of, the artefacts and trinkets that are purchased to take home as souvenirs and gifts.

In addition to the anthropological definitions of culture, I believe there are two additional typologies which characterise cultural tourism, especially, as it relates to Africa. The first, is what I refer to as historical culture; this is the form of cultural that we are most familiar with, the anthropological folkways and mores that often result in the display of dress, food, art and dance. This is the category that most visitors are familiar with and expect to view when touring African countries.

The second category of culture that needs to be identified when dealing with cultural tourism in Africa, is what is termed "emancipatory culture". Here I mean culture that was born in opposition to colonialism. Kincheloe and McLaren (2000) describe this phenomenon as "…culture (that) needs to be better understood as displacement, transplantation, disruption, positionality, and difference" (p.299). While tourists are less familiar with this approach to the portrayal of culture there is some importance attached to this form in order to explain the transition from the traditional to the present society. This approach to cultural interpretation will help to explain the African society's transition from traditional socio-political organisation to the present configuration, with all its accomplishments and struggles. This approach may also be the key to the development of a Pan-African domestic tourism market.

The commodification of culture

While capitalism has been built on commodification of labour and goods it is globalisation and the new economy which has transformed culture into a commodity as well. In many areas, tourism has hastened the commodification of traditional and unique cultures. As Mowforth and Munt (1998: p.64) suggest, "with the spread and intervention of capitalism into the Third World societies, tourism has also had the effect of turning Third World places, landscapes and people into commodities. In other words, we consume these elements of a holiday in the same way as we consume other objects or commodities." The tendency of cultural tourism is to commodify culture so that a society's (particularly the traditional societies) ways of relating to the world are packaged and sold to tourists, much in the same way that other products are consumed. In many ways the commodification process this extends the notion of colonialism, and it also incorporates many of the racist notions on which it was built. At the very least, commodification of culture suggests subtle and not so subtle power relations, in terms of served and server, as well as, between capital and culture. As a result, tourism must be analysed within the culture in which it is created.

From a Marxist perspective, "commodities come into the world in the form of use-values" (Marx, 1977: p. 138). Commodities have a social value due to the fact that they are created by labour. Tourism transforms cultural into a commodity to be sold and consumed which converts it from social value and use value to an exchange value, thereby trapping the identification of that culture in some earlier point in historic time. This may produce some conflicting values in that culture is supposed to evolve and change in a given space and time. The commodification of culture therefore presents at least two fundamental problems to those producing it, especially with regard to the traditional culture. The first is the commodifying of the culture in the first instance. The second is the unbalanced distribution of the surplus value of capital to actors outside the culture that is producing it.

Given that culture is a dynamic and not a static concept what gets commodified is a culture which has a fixed point in time and space. This can lead to two separate concerns. First, is the stereotyping of the group in question both inside and outside the culture. Hence, the notion of the "noble savage" and other such forms of mistaken identities in history. This can have profound effects on the culture in question for if and when culture loses its usefulness to the group who has constructed it in order to respond to the environment people will adopt new practises.

There will however be pressure to retain the commodified culture because someone, usually an outsider is liable for potential economic loss if the group continually adapts and homogenizes its culture. So there is usually tension between renewal and regeneration on the one hand, and commodification of a saleable cultural product on the other. Often, the tradeoff is the commodification and retention of the artifacts of culture, usually singing, dancing and food but not the other psychological elements that allow a people to respond to their changing environment. Unfortunately, the result of this schizophrenic existence is the emergence of conflict in the community and recognition, on the part of the visitor, that the cultural display is inauthentic.

The second concern, is the distribution and control of what gets commodified. Capitalism and hence the commodification of elements and the objectification of relationships in that system is foreign to most traditional societies whose relationships, including economic relations, are usually constructed on a totally different basis. Therefore, the sharing of culture, in the first

instance, is often from different points of view resulting in the potential for economic exploitation. Secondly, the profits produced by cultural tourism often leak out of the community rapidly without much benefit going to those who produced it, resulting in unequal sharing of the profits in spite of great expectations on the part of the local community. This is a point worth turning to in some detail in the next section.

The implications of tourism's intrusion into traditional culture

The goal of tourism development in developing countries has been generally devoted to the purpose of raising foreign capital in order to pay interest charges on debts held offshore. Whereas, for foreign owned tour companies, the motivation has been for increasing profit through expansion of exploitation resulting in a "new form of colonialism", which sees much of the profits repatriated to outside sources. As a result, regional and local development has not been a high priority in these forms of tourism development. Many local communities and groups have been exploited for the, supposedly, "national good". Consequently, local people have become more vocal in their opposition to tourism development, particularly, when they have not benefited from the fruits of that production. It can also be argued that even the national governments of many of these countries have not benefited fully either. It is reported that upwards to eighty (80) percent of tourism's receipts never arrive on the shores of the host country but remain in the accounts of the multi-national corporations which control tourism's economic flows.

The commodification of culture by the tourism industry has added new meaning to the sun, sea and surf reputation it has garnered over the last two decades. Cultural tourism has introduced "subjugation, servility and subservience" (Mowforth and Munt, 1998: p.70) to that description. It is precisely these three S's that will destroy cultural tourism unless the industry, both national and international prevent this *modus operandi* from becoming pervasive. We must therefore be clear on the distinction between service and servitude.

Essentially, the move from traditional forms of production to capitalism as demanded by the intricacies of tourism, also represents for some communities a capacious change in culture and existing social relations. The skills associated with a money economy, for instances usually belong to the relative young, well educated members of the community which, often, pit the elderly, who are revered in a traditional society but not necessarily in a money oriented system, against the youth. This is no small intrusion. If left unchecked, this could produce cultural genocide, and while some suggest this huge change is inevitable given the invasion of the mass media and technology, great consideration must be given to the implications of this revolution.

What can traditional societies do to benefit from cultural tourism?

First, it may be important to look at the construction of the cultural tourism product, its value base and how it is conceived, and by whom. Cultural tourism (all forms of tourism for that matter) must be considered as one tool of development among many, and not as an isolated, singular economic activity. Consequently, the development of cultural tourism must be based on a development model rather than being based on a pure growth model. Development differs from pure growth in several ways and most importantly it considers social and environmental concerns as well as economic concerns in its strategy.

This development model also considers the winners and losers of the proposal. Environmental and economic sustainability and social stability are the focus of attention and not just the maximation of economic profits. Development does not rely solely on the "invisible hand" or the market forces "trickle" down the benefits from economic growth. It does consider equitable income distribution to regions and communities that are actively engage in producing the tourism product. Sustainability and stability result from local control of the tourism enterprise and; the retention and distribution of profit in the local community that is responsible for providing that product.

Cultural tourism will suffer from the same problems as mass tourism, if it is developed by the same mentality and on identical principles. Culture must not be thought of as a product that is sold by locals and consumed by visitors much in the same way as other goods. Culture tourism must therefore be considered as a mechanism that allows people to come to know themselves and those with whom they are visiting. Cultural tourism must be developed that are meaningful to both the hosts and guests. This means that both forms of culture as described above (historical and emancipatory) need to be part of the new forms of cultural tourism development.

The focus of cultural tourism needs to be considered from the "inside out" rather than from the "outside in" approach. For example, many North American aboriginal communities present many cultural events not as a tourist exhibition in the first instance but as a cultural celebration in its own right and primarily for the aboriginal people. Outsiders are invited to participate secondarily, and not as the subject of the event. In this way authenticity is guaranteed and what takes place, basically singing, dance, crafts and food, is aboriginal and not solely contrived for outside consumption. This method of organizing the aboriginal celebration prohibits the event from being completely commodified and turned into an inauthentic touristic spectacle which can result in the alienation of people from their own culture.

The second point that is critical to the construction of cultural tourism is the mechanism for its creation and presentation. Cultural tourism must be based on transformative learning principles rather than being guided by pure market forces. Transformative learning seeks to fundamentally change the worldview of the individual and not simply add to the bank of information stored in the cranium. It is transactive so that, in the cultural tourism context, both parties involved in the process are fundamentally changed. As Clark (1993) suggests:

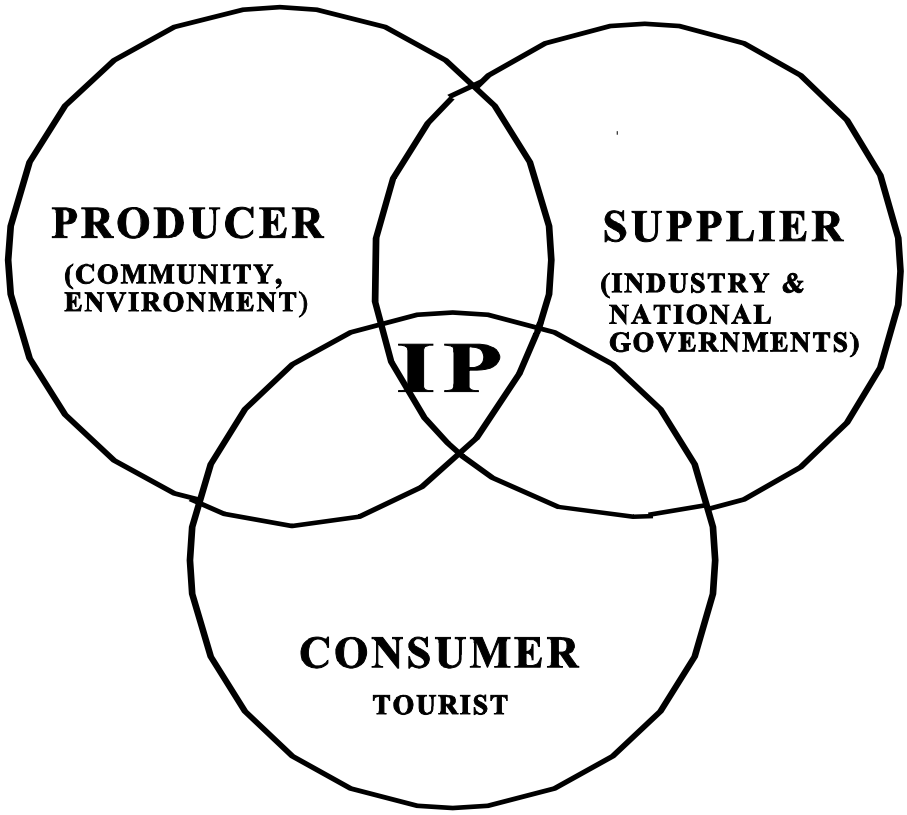
> In short, transformative learning shapes people: they are different afterward, in ways both they and others can recognize. The process can be gradual or sudden and it can occur in a structured educational environment or in the classroom of ordinary life (p.47).

Trans-formative learning is a two way process, and while hosts and guests in the exchange learn about each other's culture, the hosts who live in traditional non-money economy will need to receive an education in all aspects of the market economy, including skills of literacy and numeracy. There is need for fundamental education in target communities to accompany tourism development. Local communities must develop strategies for receiving and interacting with tourists as well as displaying themselves and their visible culture. This holistic approach is characteristic of development but not necessarily of the pure growth model.

Certainly, planning cultural tourism needs to be accomplished through a bottom up planning process. The normal approach to tourism planning has left the local community out of the planning process. In the growth model, at best, planners develop a concept or strategy and then late in the process try to sell the idea to those who will be most affected by it retrospectively, and after most of the decisions have been made. However, while community involvement may be messy what is needed is an integrated planning (IP) model that not only involves the community right from the beginning but makes it an equal partner in the planning process (see Figure 1).

Historically, tourism planning has relied on those who sell the tourism product (the supplier) and the potential visitor (consumer) but little if any attention has been paid to those who produce the product in the first instance (the community and the environment). Figure 1 calls for an integrated planning model that gives equal weight to all stakeholders in the planning process. In the final instance, those closest to the product and those who will have to live with the consequences of project implementation should have veto power over all decisions. This veto power will ensure that the product is oriented to regional and community development and not suffer from the overbearing influences of capital or national governments that may have a completely different agenda for economic development than the local area.

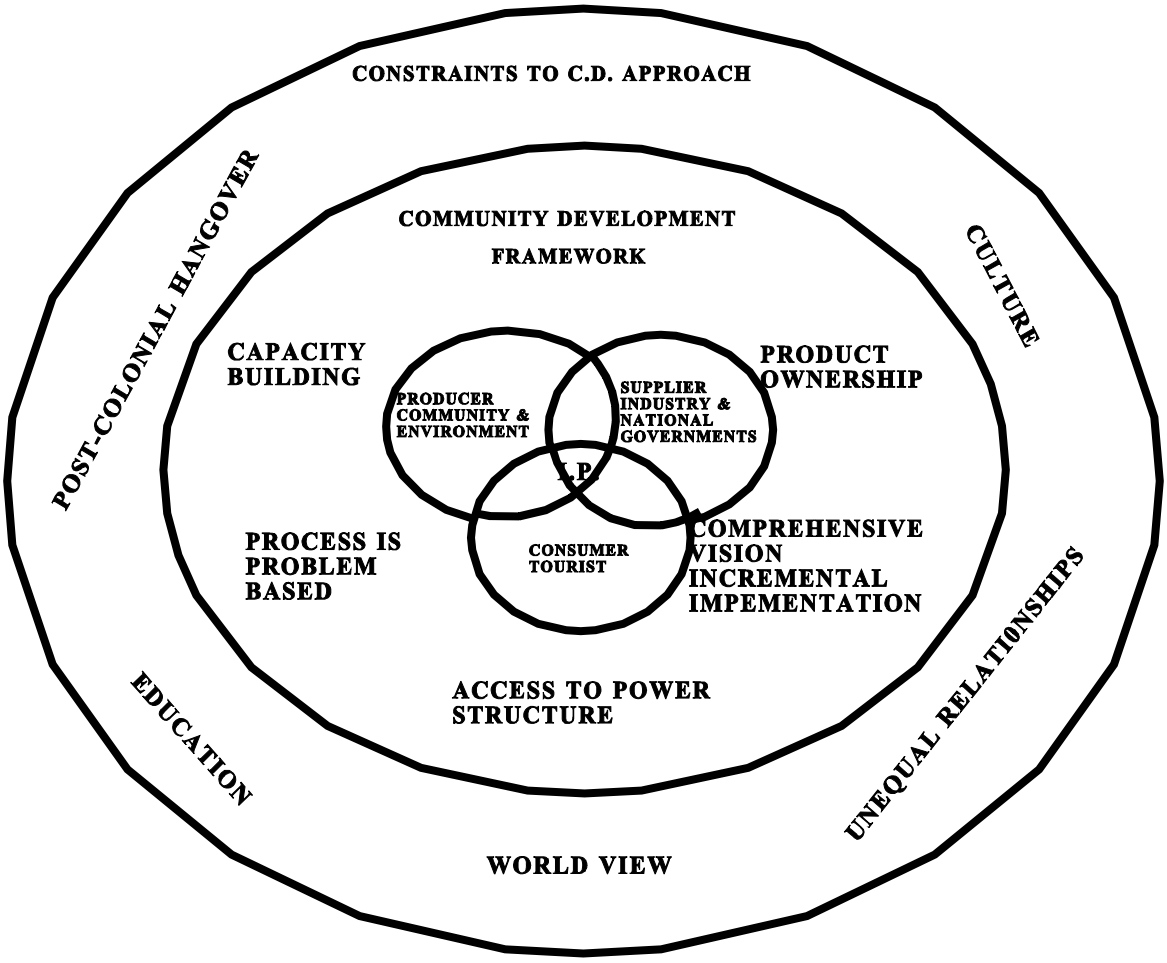
Figure 1: Integrated Planning for Cultural Tourism Development



Source: Mair,H., Reid,D.G and Taylor.J. 2000, p.71

The IP approach will also ensure that the development potential of the cultural tourism product is maximized in the social and environmental realm as well as purely an economic enterprise. The middle ring in Figure 2 “the Community Development Framework” outlines the most important variables which will aid local communities in the development of cultural tourism.

Figure 2: The Community Approach to Cultural Tourism Development



The cultural tourism product ownership process has already been discussed above so little will be said about it here. However, suffice it to say that the community must not only perceived to be involved in product development but must own the product in actuality so that the values on which the attraction is based can be debated in the community before inclusion in the product. The community must therefore not only have control of what goes into the formulation of the product but also what is excluded.

In conjunction with having ownership of the product, communities should take a problem solving approach to development so that the community can solve its most pressing problems through cultural tourism. It may be an economic problem that is the focus of attention for development or it may be some other dynamic in the community that can be solved through cultural tourism development. For example, it may serve as a method for introducing the young people of the community to cultural practices, and hence their heritage, which may be on the verge of extinction through the lack of interest on the part of the majority of society, especially the youth. This has been the method used by many North American aboriginal communities to pass on cultural practices which otherwise would have been lost some years ago. It is also used to combat alcohol and drug abuse by teaching community and cultural values to young aboriginal people who have become alienated due to straddling between two cultures, the dominant society and the traditional ethnic group. Participation in cultural practices, for instance, which are displayed to the wider society through traditional "First Nations Pow-Wows" become a source of pride to the youth who take part.

Finally, cultural tourism may be a forceful ingredient in developing a pan-African domestic tourism movement that could strengthen cultural tourism and cultural practices of diverse African communities. Eventually, in the long run, domestic tourism may be one method of breaking down the ethnic differences that exist across the continent. While vision creation needs to be comprehensive, implementation of a comprehensive vision must be accomplished incrementally so that local communities can maintain control of the situation and not become overwhelmed by it. Also, learning about the many aspects and intricacies of presenting the cultural tourism product needs time to evolve. The literacy and numeracy skills discussed earlier also need time to nature and cannot be rushed.

For the community development approach to evolve and solidify, the local communities also need to gain access to existing power structures in order to present their ideas on how tourism should develop generally and specifically in their local environments. Often local communities are viewed as an isolated part of the total tourism product and are not integrated and/or involved in the development of tourism, particularly at the national level. However, if communities are to be true partners in the development of cultural tourism, then partnership needs to extend to the national as well as the local level.

Finally, the community development approach to cultural tourism may lead to capacity building in the local communities who develop and grow in this way. Many skills and insights gained during development of cultural tourism may lend themselves to other projects and developments that are badly needed in many communities across the continent. Usually success breads success, and success in local community development terms means community independence and sustainability.

Constraints to community development approach

The outer ring of Figure 2 suggests some of the constraints to the community development approach to cultural tourism development**.** There are many obstacles to cultural tourism based on the community development approach. There is no doubt that the development of cultural tourism will happen faster if it is pursued through a top-down bureaucratic approach to development. However, it won't be the same product in the end and should, therefore, be seen for what it is; an inauthentic exhibition of long-ago practices which do not capture anyone's imagination, least of all the tourists.

Perhaps the most significant of the constraints in the community development approach in Africa is the post-colonial hangover so prevalent throughout the continent, and particularly in the traditional societies which are the likely targets of cultural tourism development. These societies are not accustomed to taking the initiative independent of historic or present government involvement. Independence will need to be fostered and encouraged. Fostering independence of these local groups is not always encouraged by national governments that feel more at home when in control prescribing action and outcomes rather than facilitating local and national development.

Culture stability is always a difficult issue particularly when trying to preserve a culture while integrating it into a totally different world-view at the same time. There are enormous consequences, for instance, of attempting to preserve a society which is built on hunting and gathering principles or a cattle economy, and at the same time asking it to fit into an economy which is based on market principles or a money exchange system.

Certainly, unequal relationships that are often a result of unequal education levels are a constraint to community development and cultural tourism. Attempts to overcome many of these equality differences are a focus of the community development approach in itself. However, it must be recognized that this inequality pervades all levels of society. While, most often, we tend to think of it as an antagonism between the local community and the national governments or trans-national corporations, it often exists inside the community as well. Often, disunity exists between the elders and youth of the community especially when each has been educated in different ways and on different principles. Also, women and girls in many traditional societies are excluded from certain activities and decision-making. Traditional societies are often organized on a hierarchical basis that is antithetical to the community development model.

Conclusion

The development of cultural tourism in Africa is now being seen as an alternative product that will augment the traditional focus on nature tourism. It is becoming increasingly recognized by tour operators that the market is becoming more sophisticated and desires a meaningful and safe encounter with the people of Africa as well as its wildlife and environment. However, this same market will recognize an inauthentic presentation of the African culture and reject its contrivance.

However, tourism generally, and cultural tourism in particular has not performed well in the arena of authenticity and sustainability. This makes imperative the authentic development of tourism, not only for the sake of the tourists and market forces, but also for the integrity of the community and those who live that culture. Not only is it necessary to retain some of the features of the past that have created the culture in question but the recognition of transformational mechanisms that will eventually generate new forms and adaptations of that culture. Tourists will be interested in the dynamic properties of culture if it is revealed and presented to them in an authentic and meaningful way. Programming must become as important as marketing. If there is a lesson which has been learned about rural tourism development, be it be nature or culture based, it is that those who will be most affected by development must have a major role in its creation and shaping. Only through active participation by all partners in the tourism system will success be achieved the development of in cultural tourism.

Culture deserves to be treated on a higher plain than other human forms because it is so central to defining who we are as a species. It is "the" distinguishing characteristic of humanity and its partitions. We must, therefore, elevate this focus on cultural tourism to the status of a "sacred trust" and not view it simply as another economic endeavour to be exploited in less than a noble manner.

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Satisfying the cultural tourist: challenges for the new millennium

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Introduction

Cultural tourism has been identified as one of the major growth markets in global tourism, and the World Tourism Organisation expects this growth to continue in the new millennium. In all world regions, governments at national and local level are becoming increasingly interested in the potential for cultural tourism to attract tourists and to support cultural attractions.

In some areas cultural tourism has been adopted as a doctrine – the holy grail of 'good' tourism that can bring the benefits of development without the evils of mass tourism (Picard, 1996). There is also the assumption that because every location has 'culture' that the tourist will automatically arrive once he or she is made aware of its existence. For many regions, both in the developing and in the developed world, however, the initial promise of cultural tourism has not been fulfilled.

The basic reason for this is that much cultural tourism development has been product led. The 'Field of Dreams' philosophy (Richards, 1999) has proved an illusion – if you build it, the tourist will not necessarily come. In spite of much research that indicates the importance of looking at the motivations, needs and wants of the visitor before developing cultural attractions, policy makers and developers seems determined to continue developing them. This inevitably leads to increasing competition for the attention of the cultural tourist and; the iron rule of the modern 'attention' economy is that attention is a scarce good. The result in many areas of the world has been falling average visitor numbers at cultural attractions and serious debates about the need to stop developing new cultural attractions (Richards, 2001).

The situation in the developing world is, however, very different from that in the developed countries. In Africa in particular the situation is very different, because the cultural heritage is a living heritage, rather than the legacy of a rich built environment as is the case in Europe. This difference is made clear if one looks at the designations of World Heritage Sites globally (see table 1).

Table 1: World heritage sites, 1994, classified by type and date of designation

Region	Sites designated 1972-84		Sites designated 1985-94		Total
	Cultural	Natural	Cultural	Natural	
Africa	29	19	15	7	70
Asia	27	2	55	18	102
Australasia	3	2	2	6	13
Europe	57	5	102	7	171
N. America	8	12	4	2	26
S. America	13	8	4	2	26
Total	137	48	207	45	440

In spite of these inherent differences in the supply of cultural attractions, it seems that many developing countries are following the European model of cultural attraction development. In some ways this is logical – many of the tourists are European, and will therefore expect to find attractions that they can 'read'. In some ways, however, this is a futile strategy, as most developing countries cannot expect to compete on even terms with European destinations in terms of the density of historic monuments and museums.

Cultural tourism in Africa

There is of course every reason to be worried about the basic cultural resource that tourists are coming to see. However, the sustainability of cultural resources depends on their use, not placing cultural objects or people in museums. This means that proactive means must be found of harnessing tourism for the good of culture. In order to achieve this, however, it has to be realised that tourists will not come unless their needs are met. This means understanding the structure and development of the cultural tourism market. Very often studies of cultural tourism are product-based rather than market based. Africa is no exception.

Further, looking at previous studies of tourism in Africa, it is clear that most analyses of the market look at visitor streams in very general terms – visitor origin, purpose of visit, length of stay. Studies seldom make serious consideration of the motivation and needs of tourists. In part this may relate to the relatively undiversified products that have been developed. In Kenya, for example, the tourism product is effectively divided into three markets: urban tourism in Nairobi, safari tourism in the inland parks and beach tourism on the coast (Rajotte, 1987). Growth of long haul tourism has given a particular boost to beach tourism, but this product suffers from stiff competition from other developing regions. There is therefore a strong need to diversify the tourism product in most Africa countries, and this means that more attention should be paid to 'new' forms of tourism, such as ecotourism or cultural tourism.

However, specific studies of cultural tourism in Africa are relatively few. Most of the research being undertaken also tends to be product rather than market orientated. For example, much anthropological research has focussed on the way in which African peoples represent themselves and are represented for tourists. The research of Tomaselli (1999a; b), for instance, has underlined the role of the tourist industry in creating images of indigenous peoples for tourist groups. The 'culture' created by the tourist industry is largely based on living culture, such as dance and performances. This contrasts strongly with the European cultural tourism 'industry' which rests more heavily on monuments and other material heritage.

The prevalence of living culture in the African cultural tourism product means that much depends on the health of arts and crafts production. As Miettinen (2000) has shown in Namibia, traditional arts and crafts are often under threat from the pressures of modernisation. Sustaining local skills and knowledge in the face of rapid socio-economic change is a challenge that is common to less developed areas of Europe as well as much of Africa. It is little wonder that most attention is focussed on the needs of the cultural producer, rather than those of the consumer. However, the needs of the visitor are crucial if cultural tourism is to be developed effectively and make a contribution to supporting the culture the tourists come to see.

In our previous studies of cultural tourism in Europe, such as the EUROTEX project (Richards, 1999), we have taken the approach that cultural traditions will only survive in a modern market economy if people have an economic incentive to maintain them. The production of traditional crafts and textiles, for example, can only compete effectively with cheap manufactured goods if the crafts products can be sold at a premium – otherwise local people will not find it worthwhile to invest time in making them.

The ability of cultural goods to attract a premium price depends on their appeal in the marketplace. If tourists appreciate that crafts products have the 'added value' of scarcity, uniqueness and authenticity, they are willing to pay more for them. The problem is that the marketplace tends to devalue cultural goods by selling hand made and manufactured goods next to each other. What is required is a clear distinction between the arts and crafts products and manufactured goods. This allows the cultural products to be sold at a premium – provided that the visitor wants to purchase them. This is the most important point – the sale of cultural goods and services is dependent on the needs and wants of the visitor.

In order to understand these, we need to carry out research on the tourist, to find out what it is that motivates them, and why they buy certain goods or experiences when they are on holiday. This allows us to adapt the products on offer to the needs of tourists, increasing their chance of success. Although this approach may seem like blasphemy to the cultural purists, it should be recognised that culture is not fixed. Cultures evolve all the time, and cultural goods and services with them. The key to the process of adapting culture to the needs of the tourist, as Picard (1996) has shown in Bali, is to make a clear distinction between the tourist culture and culture that belongs to local people. Local people do not 'sell' their culture to tourists – they produce cultural goods and services on the basis of that culture that can be offered to tourists.

If we accept that there is a need to learn more about the needs of the tourist, then we need to carry out research on the needs of tourists visiting Africa. In the future, we would hope to be able to extend the ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project to Africa through the ATLAS Africa network. In the short term, however, we will need to rely on the picture of cultural tourism we have built up from research in Europe.

What can we learn from Europe?

ATLAS has carried out research on cultural tourism in Europe since 1991. Over the past 9 years we have surveyed visitors to over 120 cultural attractions and completed about 20,000 visitor interviews. The research therefore gives us a reasonable profile of the cultural tourist from Europe and beyond, and helps us to analyse their needs and motivations, and relate the findings to the African situation.

Although the surveys were held at cultural attractions in order to capture as large a proportion as possible of cultural tourists, it should be recognised that not all visitors to cultural attractions are cultural tourists. The ATLAS research indicates that only 26% of the tourists interviewed in 2000 indicated that they were on a cultural holiday. Many of the people visiting cultural attractions do not see themselves as cultural tourists, and may not even be culturally motivated.

The cultural visitors interviewed during the ATLAS research were generally highly educated, with a professional or managerial occupation and a high-income level. Tourists accounted for

about 60% of all cultural visitors interviewed, with domestic tourists slightly outnumbering foreign visitors. Almost a third of the cultural tourists were relatively young (under 30), which conflicts somewhat with the traditional image of cultural tourists as being predominantly older. The relatively high proportion of younger tourists can be explained by the fact that most cultural tourism is concentrated in cities, which are also areas with high levels of young visitors. In rural areas the visitors tend to be older, with a slightly lower level of education and lower incomes (Richards, 2000a).

Motivations

Research on cultural tourism in different countries has consistently indicated that not all visitors to cultural attractions are culturally motivated. Bywater (1993), for example, makes a distinction between 'culturally motivated', 'culturally inspired' and 'culturally attracted' tourists, with the highest level of cultural motivation being accorded to the culturally motivated visitors. In the ATLAS research in 2000 about 11% of visitors could be classified as culturally motivated, 35% as culturally inspired and 54% as culturally attracted. In comparison with previous surveys, it seems that the proportion of culturally motivated tourists is declining, and the proportion of culturally inspired tourists is increasing. Culturally attracted tourists, who only have a secondary interest in culture, consistently make up the majority of cultural visitors. The decline in the proportion of culturally motivated visitors is confirmed by research elsewhere. In the UK, for example, national surveys of inbound tourism show that the proportion of tourists with a specific cultural motive declined from 10% in 1989 to 6% in 1993, while the share of general cultural tourists grew from 26% to 28% over the same period?

Looking at the specific motivations for visits to cultural attractions, it is clear that the desire to learn continues to be the most important reason for cultural tourists to travel. Almost 70% of visitors agreed with the statement 'I want to learn new things'. Cultural tourists are particularly keen to learn about the history and local culture of the places they visit (both more than 60% of visitors). Although learning is the prime motivator, the leisure function of cultural attractions should not be overlooked. Relaxation (64%) and entertainment (60%) were felt to be almost as important as learning about culture. This points to the development of a 'postmodern' style of tourism, characterised by cultural 'omnivores' who move easily between culture, tourism and leisure in their consumption patterns.

Again, the important point for cultural attractions is that by no means all their visitors come for cultural reasons. Almost 40% of visitors indicated that the cultural attraction was not important in stimulating them to visit the destination. It is therefore important to provide a mix of cultural and leisure elements that can cater to different visitor types, and also meet the needs of 'postmodern' cultural tourists to combine culture with other forms of consumption.

A further important consideration is the role of 'atmosphere' in stimulating people to visit a particular attraction or destination. Over 60% of visitors indicated that 'atmosphere' was an important motivation for their visit. This proportion increased to nearly 70% for cultural tourists. This supports the argument put forward by Goedhart (1997), that the choice of a cultural destination often depends on a combination of the cultural attractions available and the perceived atmosphere of the place. In view of the fact that the 'living culture' has an important influence on the atmosphere of the destination, African destinations should have an in-built advantage as far as this aspect of cultural tourism is concerned.

Destinations

In Europe, cultural tourism consumption is dominated by the built environment – museums and monuments. This differs greatly from the African experience, but it indicates the style and type of cultural tourism that many western tourists are used to.

Museums are undoubtedly the most popular form of cultural attraction for cultural tourists in Europe. In 2000 more than 50% of the tourists visited a museum during their stay in the research location. Monuments (41%) and galleries (26%) were also very popular, but the performing arts (14%) and festivals (10%) were less frequently visited. This supports the distinction made in the 1992 research between 'heritage' attractions, which have a low visit threshold and 'arts' attractions, which are often less accessible, because of the limited time of performances, the difficulty of obtaining information and tickets and the language barriers which are often involved. This is a crucial problem in Africa, where much more of the cultural tourism product is 'arts based' than in Europe.

Implications for Africa

The ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research provides a number of pointers for the potential future development of cultural tourism in Africa.

As far as tourist motivations are concerned, it is clear that learning and experiencing new things are crucial to the cultural tourism experience. Although many of those visiting Africa will be visiting for the first time, and therefore will see everything as 'new', the tourism market is becoming increasingly experienced. This means that the product needs to be continually developed and innovated to provide new experiences for first time and repeat visitors alike. One of the important trends in this regard is the shift away from static representations of heritage to more active and involving forms of culture, where the visitor is able to learn things for themselves.

This is evident in what Richards and Raymond (2000) have termed 'creative tourism' which they define as:

> Tourism which offers visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in courses and learning experiences which are characteristic of the holiday destination where they are undertaken.

Africa has the potential to offer many such creative experiences, particularly as western society has lost touch with many traditional forms of knowledge that are alive and well in Africa. Creative tourism also have the advantage that it relies very heavily on the living culture and the knowledge and skills of local people as the basic resource. It does not require the provision of expensive facilities, and it is easier to maintain local control of such products. The important point in developing creative tourism is to provide visitors with the opportunity to involve themselves actively in local culture, rather then being mere spectators. This is not without its problems however – thought has to be given to how the contact between visitors and local people is to be managed.

The fact that not all 'cultural tourists' are equally interested in culture is also an important point to remember. Very often it is assumed that local history or culture is intrinsically interesting. But what is of interest to local people will differ from the visitor with specific

cultural interests, which in turn will differ from the general cultural visitor. It is important not just to provide a range of potential experiences (allowing for example for the mixing of education and entertainment) but also to capture the interest of the non-specialist by linking local culture with their own. If visitors can provide their own context for particular cultural phenomena, they are more likely to understand, and therefore enjoy them. In Africa this link between local and global culture can, however, be very sensitive, because it often relates to the contacts made between Africa and the west during the colonial period. But in this case the important thing is to use the link between cultures to challenge stereotypical views of local culture. As Rooijakkers has pointed out, this can be achieved using a shifted perspective – telling the same story from a number of different viewpoints, which can serve to link the everyday experiences of hosts and visitors as well as displaying the cultural diversity of the location.

It needs to be recognised at the same time that allowing the tourists to experience the everyday life of African peoples is not without problems. As Sindiga (1996) has shown in the case of the Waswahili in Kenya, contact with tourists can cause significant social and cultural problems that may cause local people to withdraw from contact with tourists. What this indicates is the need to educate the tourists about local culture and make them sensitive to existing cultural differences. Otherwise the cultural tourist may become too intrusive and can become even more destructive than the mass tourist most destinations are trying to avoid. It is therefore important to engage cultural tourists in the local culture, and not just let them look through western eyes, but to see things from the 'shifted perspective' of the local people.

The ATLAS research also underlines the importance of 'atmosphere' in attracting tourists. Of course this is a very vague concept, and there is no magic formula for making a place atmospheric. However, the EUROTEX research has indicated a number of ways in which the atmosphere can be heightened for tourists. One of the most effective ways of doing this is through narrative and storytelling. Being able to weave the disparate elements of a culture into a coherent story is a skill that has been lost in the west, but is still thriving in Africa. In postmodern society the dissolution of 'grand narratives' has created a need for new stories, and the most successful place marketing strategy will be linked to the creation of attractive stories about the location.

The creation of narratives and creative tourism products will be particularly important for Africa given the growing competition in the cultural tourism market. In Europe the supply of cultural attractions is actually outstripping the growth of cultural tourism demand, causing financial problems for many cultural attractions. There is therefore a great need to develop distinctive attractions that cannot be replicated elsewhere. While museums, monuments and other physical attractions are easy to replicate, the narratives attached to particular places cannot. This holds out the prospect of interesting, desirable and distinct cultural tourism products for Africa in the future. If this is the case, Africa should be able to compete successfully in the highly competitive global cultural tourism market.

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The creation of the Maasai image and tourism development in Kenya

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Kenya

Introduction

This study presents a historical analysis concerning the development of the Maasai image and the representation of the Maasai culture in the tourism industry. It can be argued that instead of tourism assisting to ameliorate social and economic problems that are confronting the Maasai, it has become part of the process of marginalisation of the Maasai and the distortion of their historical and cultural values. Thus, the Maasai are represented in advertisements and tourism commercials as a primitive and backward community which provides additional anecdotes for international tourists looking for exotism and adventure in the African wilderness.

Indigenous African communities in general and the Maasai in particular, confront serious social and economic problems of increasing levels of poverty, high rates of unemployment and poor living conditions. In recent years, tourism has been taunted as a possible tool that can assist ameliorate the socio-economic problems confronting indigenous communities. The main appeal for the development of tourism as a tool for socio-economic development in indigenous communities, may well be due to recent tremendous increase in the number of international tourists, especially from developed countries in the North, who are willing and have the financial ability to travel to various destinations including visiting indigenous communities in far off Third World destinations. Currently, there is also increased expectation that with the rapid economic growth and increasing affluence in major tourist generating countries in the North and emerging tourism markets in South East Asia, the number of international tourists visiting indigenous communities and other tourist destinations in the Third World will continue to increase in the foreseeable future. Thus in recent years, the tourism industry is increasingly being perceived, in many quarters, as a major growth sector which has great potential in assisting ameliorate the developmental problems that are confronting indigenous communities in the Third World in general and Africa in particular.

In this global context, most indigenous communities, particularly in Africa, are usually perceived as having a comparative advantage in the development of tourism because they possess unique cultural and nature based tourist attractions. These are the very tourist attractions which people from major tourist generating countries seeking to escape from perceived monotony of every day life in the often over-crowded and congested urban conglomerates are looking for. In this regard, tourists want to travel to other places, albeit temporarily, in order to escape from routine living and are, therefore, looking for alternative environments that are perceived as having pristine natural attractions and pleasant exotic cultures.

It is also argued that the development of tourism, particularly the development of indigenous tourism in the Third World, will in the long run assist in the promotion of cross-cultural understanding between indigenous people and tourists. Tourism can therefore, assist in

minimising existing stereotypes and misrepresentations of indigenous cultures. In this regard, tourism can contribute to the promotion of international harmony and cross-cultural understanding. It is therefore assumed that as tourists visit and experience indigenous cultures, their overall understanding of those cultures will be enhanced and, thus, existing stereotypes and misrepresentations of indigenous culture will be eliminated.

This study provides a historical analysis of the origins of the Maasai image as it is represented in the Kenyan tourism industry and; also examines how the development of tourism has impacted the Maasai people. As the study shows, instead of providing an accurate representation of the Maasai history and culture, tourism has continued to present the colonial images and stereotypes concerning the Maasai as a backward community which provide additional anecdotes to Western tourism lurking for exoticism and adventure in the African wilderness.

Thus it can be argued that the development of tourism in Maasailand has neither contributed to the empowerment and socio-economic development of the Maasai, nor has it contributed to cross-cultural understanding between the tourists and the host community. If anything, over the years, the development of tourism has led to further marginalisation and increasing misrepresentation of the Maasai history and culture. Moreover, Kenya's tourism industry is mainly managed and controlled by external interest groups and multinational corporations that are far removed from the social and economic reality which confront the Maasai people in particular, and other African communities in general, in their daily struggle for survival. As a consequence, the nature of tourism development in Maasailand has led to increased reinforcement of the colonial images of the Maasai as a belligerent and backward community, a people bypassed by time and still living in the stone age. The final section of this paper provides policy related suggestions concerning the development of an alternative cultural tourism strategy that will empower the Maasai to determine what forms of tourism project should be developed in their communities, and how the tourism benefits and costs should be shared among different stakeholders.

The distortion of the Maasai culture: a historical perspective

The Maasai have over the years had a turbulent relationship with the outside world and, in most instances, these forms of contacts with the Maasai and the outside world have been to the detriment of the former. Partly, due to these forms of past encounters, the Maasai are currently grappling with serious problems of poverty, landlessness, and poor living conditions; problems that can be linked with the nature of contact which the Maasai have had, over the years, with the outside world.

The perception of the Maasai as an esoteric and 'warlike' community has it roots in the period preceding the establishment of British colonial rule in the Eastern Africa Protectorate (present Kenya) in the late 19th Century. Prior to the establishment of colonial rule, Arab traders, adventurers and other fortune seekers who ventured into the East Africa hinterland in search of ivory and slaves, often, spread inaccurate and exaggerated stories concerning the Maasai upon their return to the outside world. Thus, the Maasai were portrayed as people who were always at war, terrorising their less belligerent neighbours such as the Kikuyu, Kamba, Gusii and Chagga. Furthermore, the Maasai were also portrayed as people who were hostile to foreigners who attempted to passed through their expansive territory . As a consequence of these historical mispresentations, there emerged a general perception, during this period, that it was not possible to venture into the East African hinterland without

being attacked and possibly killed by marauding Maasai tribesmen. However, it can be argued that the portrayal of the Maasai as a belligerent and warlike community was a deliberate attempt by pioneer Arab traders to discourage and scare away could be competitors from other parts of the world from taking part in the lucrative ivory trade.

These forms of images and perception of the Maasai as a warlike community were reinforced further by pioneer European explorers and adventure seekers who managed to penetrate the East Africa hinterland in the late nineteenth century. Writing about the Maasai, for instance, a pioneer Western explorer, Krapt (1968: 359) described the war mentality of the Maasai as, "conquer or die, death having no terror for them". Whereas another early European explorer, Leys (1925) described the Maasai as, "the most fearlessness and truculent of savages". However, it can also be argued that these forms of stories concerning the Maasai were, most likely, blown out of context, by the pioneer explorers and adventure seekers wishing to win acclaim and admiration from their fellow country men and women for their extra-ordinary courage and daredevil spirit in managing to venture into the hostile hinterland of the African continent.

Thus, over time the whole socio-cultural and political structure of the Maasai came to be perceived as being organised around warlike activities. For instance, the Maasai cultural practice of conducting cyclic rites of initiation of the youth (moran) into adulthood came to be perceived as a form of military regimentation; where various Maasai age groups were organised into different military regiments, ready to conduct attacks and raids against their neighbours in order to steal livestock. As a consequence, with the establishment of colonial rule in 1895, one of the immediate administrative tasks which were undertaken by the government was to 'pacify' the belligerent and hostile Maasai tribesmen in order to make them submissive to the colonial rule. Maasai land was converted by European settlers due to the lush savannah grasslands that were ideal for livestock rearing; whereas pioneer European nature lovers wanted protected wildlife preserves to be established in Maasai land in order to protect the diverse array of savannah wildlife from wantonless destruction by professional and amatuer hunters. They also wanted to develop and promote organised tourism activities (i.e. sport-hunting, wildlife viewing and photographing) in pristine setting of state protected wildlife parks.

Consequently, the colonial government hatched an administrative strategy which was aimed at pacifying the belligerent Maasai tribesmen and bringing them under the control of colonial rule. The strategy involved moving the Maasai from the expansive lands in Central and Northern Kenya, and confining them to selective Native Reserves in Southern Kenya. Thus, in 1904 the Maasai were moved to prescribed Native Reserve in the Southern parts of the country. As a result of the relocations, the Maasai lost prime grazing ranges in Baringo, Laikipia, Naivasha, Elmentaita and Nakuru in Central and Northern Kenya. Furthermore in the later 1920s, due to increased pressure from pioneer Western nature lovers, the colonial government also declared the whole of Maasailand in Southern Kenya (an area covering 27,700 sq.km) as a protected game reserve. As a consequence, the Maasai were lumped together with wildlife and were supposed to share their land with the diverse array of savannah wildlife. Eventually, through government legislaton, specific wildlife parks were curved out of the Maasai territory. They include Nairobi in 1946, Amboseli in 1948, Tsavo West and Maasai Mara in 1949 (Simon, 1962). Due to these forms of colonial administrative arrangements and wildlife conservation policies, over the years, the Maasai came to be perceived as being part of the African wildlife. These forms of colonial images and perceptions of the Maasai have persisted to the present, and are being used by international

tour operators and travel agents who market Kenya as a wildlife 'Mecca' and the land of exotic Maasai tribesmen.

The creation of the Maasai tourism image

With the recent increased growth of tourism as a leading economic sector in Kenya, the colonial image and perception of the Maasai as a belligerent and warlike community as been repackaged for the promotion and marketing of Kenya's tourist attraction, especially in major tourist generating countries in the West. Thus in tourism circles, the Maasai are presented as an esoteric community, or "noble savages"; a people who have managed to resist Western influence and have managed to retain their exotic culture. These forms of images are represented as ideal for tourists, particularly the Western tourists keen for exotism and adventure 'in the manner of the early European explorer.' Thus currently the Maasai are being marketed by overseas tour operators and travel agents as one of those rare esoteric indigenous African community which has over the years remained untouched by Western influence.
Moreover, the construction and marketing of the Maasai image in tourist generating countries, is mostly controlled by overseas tour operators and travel agents with minimal or little say by the Kenya government on how the country's tourist attractions should be marketed overseas (Sinclair, 1991; Akama, 1997). These overseas tour operators usually specialise in the design and development of promotional and marketing images that are aimed at communicating particular messages and information on various tourist destinations or tour packages which they market to prospective tourists. The design and development of tourism promotional messages and images that are used in sales promotion and the marketing of tour packages to prospective tourists, derives from and are usually based on existing dominant Western cultural values and economic systems. Further, the promotion and marketing of Third World tourist destinations in major tourist generating countries in the West also derives from the forms of historical and economic relationships that exist between the developed and the less developed countries. According to Morgan and Pritchard (1998: 6):

> Tourism image (as constructed by tour operators and other tourism marketers) reveals as much about the power relations underpinning its construction, as it does about the specific tourism product or country it promotes. The images projected in brochures, billboards and television reveal the relationships between countries, between genders and between races and cultures. They are powerful images which reinforce particular ways of seeing the world and can restrict and channel people, countries, genders and sexes into certain mind-sets.

In this regard, while creating the Maasai touristic image, tour operators and travel agents do not involve nor consult with the Maasai people and other indigenous communities in the Third World, in order to find out the manner in which they would like to be represented to the outside world. Thus, the Maasai as is the case with other indigenous African communities usually play a subordinate role vis-a-vis multinational tourism investors and tour operators. Consequently, the Maasai image is usually constructed and presented by external interest groups who may not necessarily represent the interests of the Maasai people. Moreover as already stated, in most cases, overseas tour operators and travel agents have preconceived ideas on the types of marketing and tourism promotional images they would like to present to prospective tourist in order to promote their market sales, and increase their profit margins.

In this context, it can be argued that the Maasai image is constructed and reconstructed around notions of Western superiority and dominance. Consequently, the Maasai, as is the case with other indigenous communities in the Third World, are usually not represented in the manner which they would like to be presented to the outside world. Thus for instance the Maasai may be presented in tourism commercials, brochures, print and electronic media that market Kenya's tourist attractions in tourist generating countries as primitive and/or noble savages who inhabit parts of the unchanging and wild Africa; the land of roaring loins and trumpeting elephants. The Maasai image which is usually presented by tour operators is one which has not changed since the pioneer European explorers and adventure seekers first ventured into the East African hinterland in the early nineteenth century. Yet apart from practicing traditional pastoralism, the present day Maasai may include Maasai businessmen or politicians who may be dressed in three piece suit attire, and/or Maasai large scale wheat farmers who may own four-wheel drive vehicles and living in well furnished masonatte houses, just like their Western counterparts.

The marketing of Kenya's attractions in tourist generating countries, usually presents the Maasai as if they are the only existing African community in Kenya. Yet Kenya is made up of 42 plus ethnic communities with diverse cultures and historical experiences. Therefore, when tourists visit Kenya for wildlife safari, they are also supposed to catch a glimpse of the exotic Africa culture as represented by the Maasai tribesmen. Consequently in tourism circles, wildlife and the Maasai are usually wrapped together as one and the same thing. The African culture which the international tourists are represented with is that of the Maasai tribesmen and their physical adornments, dance and other Maasai cultural artefacts.

Thus, Kenyan tourism image is constructed and reconstructed to revolve around wildlife and the Maasai image. It appears not to have changed since early European explorers and adventure seekers encountered the first Maasai over two hundred years ago.

Consequently, when marketing Kenya's tourist attractions, the Maasai are prominently featured in brochures, advertisements, electronic media and other forms of tourism commercials that market Kenya as a leading tourism "Mecca" in Africa. Scenes of the Maasai dressed in red ochre shuka and/or traditional regalia are juxtaposed with the "Big Five" (elephants, rhinoceros, lion, cheetah, and hippopotamus) and are promoted as ideal African tourist attractions. The Maasai Moran (youthful warriors), carrying traditional long spears and clubs, are projected in the media as people who "walk tall" amidst the deadly Africa wildlife. Scenes of Maasai livestock are also projected in commercials, grazing in harmony worth other savannah herbivores such as antelopes, zebra, wildebeest, buffalo, and elephant.

Tourism impacts on the Maasai

The tourism images of harmonious co-existence between the Maasai and the savannah wildlife may, probably, have been tenable in the period preceding the creation of state protected game parks, and the establishment of tourism facilities and infrastructure on land previously owned by the Maasai. In reality, currently, the Maasai are often in severe persistent and accelerated conflicts with park wildlife over grazing and water resources (the wildlife parks were created in important dry season grazing ranges). For instance, during the severe problems of drought experienced in Kenya in 2000, Maasai pastoralists in search of pasture and water moved their livestock inside the wildlife parks accelerating the severe problem of human-wildlife conflict. The situation was further accentuated by state tourism and wildlife policies which focus narrowly on the protection of park wildlife for foreign tourists

without any involvement of the Maasai in the management and utilisation of these resources (Akama, Lant and Burnett, 1996).

The Maasai incur immediate and direct social and environmental costs from tourism development and wildlife conservation. They suffer damage by park wildlife and forego the opportunity of using this protected land for agricultural production. Yet it would appear that insignificant amounts of the country's tourism receipts trickle down to the Maasai and other rural communities in areas adjacent to the tourist attractions. It has been noted that there is a major foreign presence in almost all of the country's tourism subsectors, such as marketing and promotion, travel and transport, and hotel and hospitality service (Akama 1997; Dieke 1991; Sindiga 1994; Sinclair 1990). In consequence, there is high leakage of Kenya's tourism receiptsThis is despite the fact that Kenya's most visited wildlife parks are located adjacent to Maasai settlements and, also, Maasai culture is used as a marketing logo for Kenyan tourism.

Some Maasai sell traditional handicraft and souvenirs such as bracelets, necklaces, swords, and headgear to tourists. They also perform traditional dances for tourists for minimal fees. However the Maasai handicrafts and cultural performances have been removed from their authentic social and cultural context, and have been commercialised to suit the whims of mass tourism. These distorted handicrafts and contrived cultural performances serve to reinforce existing stereotypes and negative images of the Maasai, as a "backward and primitive people" who form an additional anecdote to international tourists keen for exoticism and adventure. Worse yet, incidents of tourists paying Maasai women and morans to strip so that they may take the "most exciting" photo have been reported (a recent front cover photo in the Swimsuit Issue of Sports Illustrated Magazine attests to this). The visitors themselves acquire these forms of illusionary images and expectations from overseas tour agents who market these images, such as wild and darkest Africa, complete with roaring lions, trumpeting elephants, semi-naked and bare breasted natives in order to increase package sales. The tour operators and travel agents are often driven by profit margins, and thus the tourism advertisements and commercials are aimed at creating an illusionary exotic image to lure Western tourists keen for exoticism and adventure.

In addition, various forms of unwanted behaviour and vices of mass tourism have been noted in Maasailand. They include incidents of prostitution, alcoholism, smoking, and drug taking. The Maasai youth are especially influenced by tourist behaviour and are enticed to indulge in such deviant activities. There have been reports of prostitution as some tourists keep off the well-beaten track of conventional tourism and indulge in commercial sex with Maasai women. Health problems such as sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis, and dysentery that were uncommon in the widely dispersed traditional Maasai environment have increased in recent years, as they concentrate in cultural manyattas (local centers where the Maasai assemble to sell handicraft and perform traditional dance).

Moreover, most Kenyans who work in the tourism industry tend to occupy low unskilled and semi-skilled positions (Sindiga 1994). These jobs include tour guides, security guards, gardeners, housekeepers, porters, and waiters. These are servile, seasonal, and low paying positions. But even among these low paid jobs, the Maasai are least represented. However, it appears that the only area where there is a relatively high representation of them is security guard positions (watchmen). Those who work as security guards earn the most sought-after income with these jobs tending to reinforce existing stereotypes and perceptions concerning the Maasai. There is a general perception that since they live in the wilderness areas, where they share habitats and interact with dangerous and deadly wild cats they are thus best

suited to provide security and protection to tourists and hotel workers, against any form of real or perceived danger. Thus, whereas employees are safely camped inside well-protected hotels, the Maasai are supposed to stand guard at the entry gates to provide protection against any form of perceived danger.

Discussion

As this paper has illustrated, the development of tourism in Maasailand has not lead to economic and socio-cultural empowerment of the Maasai; nor has the development of tourism contributed to cross-cultural understanding between the Maasai and tourists. The development of tourism in Kenya, as is the case with most other African countries, is mostly under the control and management of external and multinational tourism companies. These forms of tourism development are usually externally oriented and mainly respond to exogenous factors and demands of international tourists and multinational tourism investors.

For instance, it has been estimated that over 80% of the international tourists who visit Kenya travel in inclusive tour packages (Sinclair, 1990; Akama, 1999). In these forms of travel arrangements, prospective visitors pay overseas tour operators for a complete travel package. The payment arrangements include almost all travel components, such as air ticket, food, accommodation and recreational activities. Tour operators contract non-Kenyan air carriers to ferry visitors to the country. Even within Kenya, foreign-owned tourism and hospitality facilities, internal flights and car rentals are contracted. It has been estimated that in these forms of tour packages leakages of tourism receipts to overseas contractors may range between 40 and 70% (Sinclair 1990; Dieke, 1991; Sindiga 1996). After these extremely high leakages, it has been estimated that only between 2% and 5% of Kenya's total tourism receipts trickle down to indigenous communities such as the Maasai, in forms of low paying and servile jobs, and the selling of souvenirs and agricultural produce (Bachman, 1988; Sinclair, 1990).

The promotion and marketing of Kenya in tourist generating countries, particularly in Europe and North America, is mainly done by overseas tour operators and travel agents. In this regard, it has been noted that tour companies and travel agencies play a significant role in influencing tourist attitude, behaviour and preferences, and in determining the types and volume of tourists who visit a given tourist destination (Mathieson and Wall, 1982; Shaw and William, 1994). As discussed, overseas tour operators play a significant role in reinforcing existing stereotypes and inacculerate images of indigenous African communities in general and the Maasai in particular.

Consequently, the Maasai image which is presented in overseas brochures, advertisements, electronic media, and other forms of commercials which market Kenyan tourism attractions usually misrepresent the Maasai history and cultural values, and may therefore be far removed from the current existing socio-cultural and economic reality of the Maasai people. It is clear that Maasai history and social norms of interaction with neighbouring ethnic communities has, over the years, been distorted and misrepresented to fit the whims and demands of mass tourism. Thus, for instance the Maasai are usually represented as a belligerent and warlike community which used to cause terror and havoc to their neighbours. However, according to historical and anthropological records, the Maasai people were not always at war with neighbouring communities (Waller, 1993; Campbell, 1993). If anything, the Maasai had a beneficial symbiotic relationship with neighbouring communities such as the Kikuyu, Gusii, and the Chagga. Moreover, pastoralism which was practiced by most Maasai

people, could not survive in the long run without having adequate access to other forms of agricultural produce such as cereals, vegetables and fruits which were needed to supplement the limited pastoral diet. Consequently, there was always peaceful social interaction and trade between the Maasai and other neighbouring African communities. This was facilitated by the shared cultural norms and common social understanding between the African communities. There existed shared bilingualism, intermarriages and common traditional rituals and ceremonies between the Maasai and their neighbours. Ideally, it is these forms of accurate historical information concerning the Maasai and their cultural experiences that should be presented to tourists.

Policy implications and conclusion

If the development of cultural tourism in the Maasai community and other indigenous African communities is to contribute to socio-economic development among the indigenous people and assist in the promotion of cross-cultural understanding between the tourists and the host African communities there are a number of critical issues that will have to be tackled (Smith, 1997). If cultural tourism is to be encouraged, one must consider by whom and with what criteria? With due respect for cultural authenticity and integrity, the core values of language and belief, and personal sensitivity, one should ask how should indigenous tourism be commoditized? What aspects of heritage can be publicly shared? How can handicrafts be expanded to supply a larger audience yet still retain individual artisanship and cultural integrity. Thus, there is need for the initiation of alternative cultural tourism development strategy which derives from the dynamic and changing socio-economic and cultural environment of the Maasai, in particular and other indigenous African communities in general. Other issues which have to be taken into consideration in the development of cultural tourism in indigenous African communities include:

- Enhancement of equitable distribution of the cultural tourism revenues.
- Increasing local participation in the decision making processes of cultural tourism development.
- Reduction of the high leakage rates and increase the multiplier effects of tourism in general and cultural tourism in particular.
- Minimisation of the social and environmental impacts of cultural tourism.

Quite often, the development of cultural tourism in indigenous communities usually bring into contact people who are very different in terms of economic status, cultural practices and norms, cultural beliefs and behaviour. Encounters between tourists and indigenous people may not be on an equal basis. As the case study of the Maasai shows, quite often, the local people are not involved in the decision making processes of tourism development. Thus the development of cultural tourism projects is, usually, imposed on local people, and the tourism industry, in general, is usually under the control and management of external multinational investors, and overseas based tour operators and travel agencies.

Consequently, in order to initiate cultural tourism projects which benefit indigenous communities, policy and institutional mechanisms need to be put in place which encourage local participation in the design, implementation and management of the tourism projects and local use of cultural resources. However, for local community participation to succeed, indigenous communities need sanctioned authority to enable them to implement cultural tourism programme responsibilities. This has to include authority for tourism and cultural resource proprietorship to determine and sanction user rights including the right to determine

the types of cultural tourism programmes to be initiated and the right to benefit fully from the local cultural resources. The authority should also include the right to sanction access to the local cultural and nature based tourism resources and protection from external encroachment of powerful interest groups including local elites.

At least, local communities should be empowered to determine what forms of cultural tourism facilities they want to be developed in their respective communities, and how the tourism costs and benefits are to be shared among different stakeholders. To achieve these socio-political changes will require the decentralisation of tourism authority and decision-making processes from the national level to democratically elected regional and grassroots institutions, such as municipal councils, welfare societies and local pressure groups. As Pleumarom (1995:142) states:

> Yet if it is to pose a real challenge to the status quo, tourism alternatives must be part of a wider debate as to how to construct an alternative 'new world order' in which people themselves, rather than outside interests, determine and control their lives.

Community based indigenous tourism activities that are designed and implemented through community consensus other than centrally planned (top-down) cultural tourism programme, may case less negative effects and disruption of the rural cultures. These tourism programmes may also enhance the opportunity for spontaneous, rather than contrived, encounters between host communities and tourists. Also, community based cultural tourism projects will possibly lead to increased linkages and multiplier effect of tourism with other domestic economic sub-sectors.

Already, examples are emerging in a number of Third World countries which after being disillusioned with mass tourism and the many socio-cultural and environmental problems brought about by it, are implementing alternative tourism programmes (Butler, 1990; Smith and Eadington, 1992; Brohman, 1996). These alternative tourism projects are designed and implemented either by themselves or in concert with mainstream tourism to enhance sustainable long term development, and also, to help reduce the negative effects and increase the positive impacts of tourism. As Brohman (1996: 64) notes:

> Alternative (cultural) tourism is thought to consist of small scale dispersed, low density developments. Often these developments are located and organised by villages or communities, where it is hoped they will foster more meaningful interaction between tourists and local residents, as well as being less socially and culturally disruptive than enclave type resorts ... Ownership patterns in alternative (cultural) tourism are weighted in favour of local, often family owned, relatively small scale businesses rather than foreign owned transnationals and other outside capitals ... (Also) alternative tourism emphasises sustainability in both an environmental and cultural sense.

For instance, some Caribbean countries, which are popular tourist destinations, have implemented alternative cultural tourism programmes, they include, "indigenous and integrated programme" in St Vincent, the "meet-the-people project" in Jamaica and the programme to "diversify tourism into small scale accommodations" in Guadeloupe. In Africa, the widely cited example is that of the Lower Casamance region in Senegal. The project is centred around accommodating tourists in indigenous Diola dwellings in rural villages away from concentrated beach resorts (Brohman, 1996). However, the citing of examples of

alternative cultural tourism projects doesn't mean that similar programmes have to be transplanted into Kenya, or any other Africa country for that matter, wholesale, but is merely intended to indicate the applicability of the new tourism concept.

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A critical reflection on cultural tourism in Africa: the power of European imagery

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Introduction

The idea of (southern) Africa in Europe has always been dominated by imagery, mainly images of landscape and physical aestheticism derived from Romanticism (Grove, 1987). Images, which have and had strong ethnocentric and specific Eurocentric characteristics. European images of Africa simultaneously had to function as contrast to and measure of European 'civilisation' (Corbey, 1998). The two strands of romantic aestheticism are related to each other in the sense that it can be argued that our idea of Africans is constructed on the basis of our image of African landscapes in which its people have to blend (Wilmsen, 1995). In other words, Africans should blend in an aesthetically dominated European image of African landscape. That is why European tourists, for example, usually perceive huts with thatched roofs and African women with water buckets on their head as 'authentic Africa', while Cape Town is considered 'not the real Africa'. Huts and women with buckets on their head blend in our perception of African landscapes, while bubbling, cosmopolitan city-life is alien to that image.

European imagery of Africa has often been presented in the most literal sense of the word, in photographs and art. Imagery lays at the basis of 'us' and 'them' categorisation, which has the serious danger of leading to 'us' stereotyping the African Other. The central issue for reflection in this paper is the question in how far current initiatives towards cultural tourism in Africa, can be interpreted as a continuation and perpetuation of processes of stereotyping and 'measuring' African culture in an hierarchical relation to European civilisation, primarily rooted in the colonial era. In order to persuade the reader I will use three chronological examples of described imagery in anthropological critical literature with regards to Africa in general and African people in particular: Raymond Corbey (1989) on the role of photographs / postcards in colonial France and World Exhibitions in representing African culture and custom to the European home front and Sally Price on the Western perception of primitive (African) art (Price, 1989). The third example is an exploration into similar and current processes taking place around the Bushmen in southern Africa.

Following the introduction I shall start with shortly describing the European notion of romantic aestheticism, its roots in Romanticism and its consequences for imaging the African landscape and the African Other. This shall be followed by subsequently describing the three examples mentioned above. The paper will be concluded with some tentative conclusions about European imagery and cultural tourism in Africa.

African landscapes and African others in European imagery

The concept of landscape has two distinct but related usages. In the first place it denotes 'an artistic and literary representation of the visible world, a way of experiencing and expressing feelings towards the external world, natural and man-made, an articulation of a human

relationship with it'. The second usage is in current geography and environmental studies. 'Here it denotes the integration of natural and human phenomena which can be empirically verified and analysed by the methods of scientific enquiry over a delimited portion of the earth's surface'. These two usages are 'intimately connected both historically and in terms of a common way of appropriating the world through the objectivity accorded to the faculty of sight and its related technique of pictorial representation'. It is important to note explicitly that 'the concept of landscape is a controlling composition of the land *rather than its mirror*' (Cosgrove, 1984). So landscape is about constructing images.

In southern Africa, the Scottish Reverend John Croumbie Brown, is described by Grove as the 'single most influential voice' in creating a colonial discourse on landscape (1997). Grove argues that the Scottish landscape and environmental sensibilities were the 'major vehicle' for the expression of their national identity in opposition to the English and English rule. The Scot's perspective was a highly aesthetic one, rooted in Romanticism which was firmly wrapped and strengthened by a mythology about their specific Scottish history, which separated and distinguished them sharply from the English. They translated their love for their own Scottish aesthetic landscapes to Africa in general and (virtually) followed, for instance, the Scotsman Mungo Park on his travels through the African interior around the River Niger, bewailing his tragic death which made him a martyr whose example should be followed. Africa even became a 'national obsession' in Scotland, according to Grove. Southern Africa was given a starring role because a particular journal, *Penny Magazine*, paid especially generous attention to southern Africa through the efforts of the poet Thomas Pringle. He wrote numerous articles about the region in which he compared the Scottish landscape, so important to his and their sense of social and national identity, with that of South Africa. From there it was only a small step to romanticise and sacralise the landscape in South Africa in the same fashion and derive a new and strong identity from it. See for a similar interpretation about the relationship between landscape and national (Afrikaner) identity processes with regards to the development of South Africa's tourist flagship Kruger National Park (Carruthers, 1995).

From this perspective it is not difficult to see why the European imagery about Africa's landscape is often expressed in terms of the ultimate aesthetic natural icon, their 'lost Eden'. 'Much of the emotional as distinct from the economic investment which Europe made in Africa has manifested itself in a wish to protect the natural environment as a special kind of 'Eden', for the purposes of the European psyche rather than as a complex and changing environment in which people actually have to live … (thus) Africa has been portrayed as offering the opportunity to experience a wild and natural environment which was no longer available in the domesticated landscapes of Europe' (Anderson and Grove, 1987). Africa, or Eden, in other words, became synonymous with a European sense of authenticity, both naturally and as a model of how people should relate to nature, and blend into it. 'The game reserve might be said to theatricalize a framing, primal past for modernizing Europe' (Bunn, 1999). The usage of the term 'Eden' for describing African landscapes from a European perspective is probably one of the stronger metaphors to describe the norms for perfect natural aesthetics.

This positive image of an African Eden contrasts sharply with the European fear for the 'dark continent' with all its connotations of death and destruction. Both images taken together, let us call them Eden and Armageddon, form the paradoxical European imagery of Africa(ns). It is not without meaning in this respect that in Joseph Conrad's 'Heart of darkness' his gloomy descriptions of landscape and his stereotypical descriptions of the 'primitiveness of African people can be perceived as two equally important 'characters' in directing Marlow's search

and ‘descend’ to Colonel Kurtz: ‘At night sometimes the roll of drums behind the curtain of trees would run up the river and remain sustained faintly, as if hovering in the air high over our heads, till the first break of day. Whether it meant war, peace, or prayer we could not tell. The dawns were heralded by the descent of a chill stillness; the woodcutters slept, their fires burned low; the snapping of a twig would make you start. We were wanderers on prehistoric earth, on an earth that wore the aspect of an unknown planet. We could have fancied ourselves the first of men taking possession of an accursed inheritance, to be subdued at the cost of profound anguish and of excessive toil. But suddenly, as we struggled round a bend, there would be a glimpse of rush walls, of peaked grass-roofs, a burst of yells, a whirl of black limbs, a mass of hands clapping, of feet stamping, of bodies swaying, of eyes rolling, under the drop of heavy and motionless foliage’ (Conrad, 1989). It seems that in the European perspective on Africa, its people only get shape, meaning and a personality against the physical background of landscape. Landscape is the necessary context of describing and relating people to Africa. Not only Africans, but also Europeans in Africa for that matter, as the masculine descriptions of fearless ivory-hunters indicates. The white hunters derive their masculinity solely in the context of their surviving the African landscape, in which descriptions of fierce wildlife, harsh climate and pristine landscapes plays an important role. This might well be one of the reasons for the successes of for instance Wilbur Smiths’ books on Africa: it appeals to and seems to verify the European image of Africa and Africans.

Europeans developed a similar paradoxical image of the African Other. On the one hand the African was considered an authentic ‘noble savage’, on the other hand the African was considered a violent and promiscuous barbarian. Both images are in fact the two sides of the same coin: an image of what Erlmann has described as ‘spectatorial lust’ (Erlmann, 1999) Elsewhere this is described as ‘a carnival act consciously designed to play up their abnormalities – i.e., their radical deviation from European norms of dress and behaviour’ (Lindfors, 1999). The ‘abnormalities’ can be categorised, according to Corbey, into four main themes, dominating the European image of the African Other during the colonial era: violence, sexuality, eating habits and dress codes.

Africans were seen as violent warriors, capable of the worst types of barbaric violence towards their enemies and towards Europeans. The European image of Shaka Zulu is probably one of the most well known examples of this aspect of the European image of the African. African male Others were usually seen as a sexual danger towards white women. In the classic movie ‘Out of Africa’, Karin Blixen, played by Meryl Streep, sets out on herself, helped by her servants, to go and find her husband. This was considered an outrage in the white settler-community, because it was unthinkable for a white woman to travel on her own through the country: the danger of sexual abuse by Africans was considered too high. African women were usually considered to be sexually willing. I will come back to this issue later on, when describing the European image of Africans as articulated on postcards sent to the European homefront. The European idea of the eating habits of Africans has always been stereotyped as cannibalistic. The well-known stereotype of Africans dancing around the cooking-pot while preparing Europeans for their diner is as classic as it is stereotypical in this respect. This while cannibalism was very rare indeed in Africa. Finally the Africans, especially in the context of Victorian prudence, were stereotyped as underdressed. The fact that women were walking around bear-breasted was ‘proof’ of their state of primitiveness and strongly reinforced the image of sexual willingness of African women I mentioned earlier on. At the same time, by way of contrast, it reinforced the Western idea of its superior civilisation (Lindfors, 1999).

The aesthetic aspect of the African Other came especially prominently to the fore in the European image of African women. During the colonial area the number of male Europeans travelling to and through Africa was far larger than European women. In depicting the African Other, the African women played an important role in the sense that they were 'measured' and contrasted to European aesthetic standards of women. The German ethnologist Stratz wrote a study about 'Die Rassenschönheit des Weibes' in which he placed European aesthetic standards upon African women. His assumption, which was the general European assumption at the time, was that 'Die weiβe Rasse besitzt als höchststehende die vollkommenste Schönheit; je nach ihrer Entwicklungsstufe nähern sich ihr die anderen durch das maβ ihrer Vorzüge' (Stratz in Corbey, 1989). These kinds of comparisons were by no means the prerogative of German scientists alone but were widespread among scientists from other countries as well. One of the important representations of this European aesthetic imagery of African women was photography, and more specifically what Corbey has labelled the 'colonial nude' (Stratz in Corbey, 1989). This type of photography was especially dominant in representations on postcards sent to Europe from French and Belgium colonies in black Africa. German, English and Portuguese postcards of colonial nudes are not as common. This can probably be explained by differences in Christian confessionals between these countries and the differences in the ascribed role of sexuality and eroticism (Stratz in Corbey, 1989).

European standards of aesthetics, i.e. ethnocentric aesthetics, both with regards to landscape and African people, played an important role in the representations through photographs, literature and art on Africa and Africans in Europe. Most representations depict the paradoxical attitude of fear and attraction, which many Europeans had with regards to Africa and Africans. A combination which was often used on purpose in visual and literary representations to keep the audience and / or readership interested: fascinated without the risk of reality involved. In this fashion a complete 'Otherness-industry' (Schipper, 1995) emerged in Europe in the second half of the eighteenth century to represent Africa and Africans to a European audience. The Otherness-industry manifested itself in Europe in various forms, like photographs / postcards, museums, travel-literature and world exhibitions. All manifestations were primarily oriented on Europeans who did not have the opportunity, or didn't dare, to travel to Africa themselves, but who nevertheless wanted to experience 'the authentic Africa' through the representations and comments of people 'who had been there'. People who travel and can say that they have been at places, or have been close-by at least, are readily believed by the home-front about what they saw, heard or experienced. 'Being There' was an accepted 'proof', never mind how weird it sometimes sounded in the European context. On the contrary it even seems: the more exotic and deviating form European standards the representation, the more possible it seemed. The higher the contrast which is suggested the more it seemed to verify European superiority. In that sense the African Other became 'extremalised' for the sake of contrast to European standards against the backdrop of a powerful image of the African landscape in which it took place. Romantic aesthetics were the major undercurrent in these forms of representation, which put 'authentic' Africa and Africans on a European stage.

Africa(ns) on stage in Europe

During the second half of the nineteenth century the stage was set to show Africa and Africans to Western civilisation through 'World Exhibitions'. The first exhibition was held, where else, in London in 1851 at Crystal Palace, specifically build for the occasion. It was followed, amongst others, by Paris (1855 and 1900).

These exhibitions coincided to a large extent with the peak of the postcard in Europe. The postcard was introduced in Austria in 1869, followed in 1870 by the *Korrespondenz-Karte* in Germany. In a couple of years all other European countries followed suit. Within two months after its introduction in Germany, already two million postcards were sent. In the first month after its introduction in the United States of America in 1873, more then 30 million were sent. In 1889, more then fifty million postcards were sent in France alone (Corbey, 1989). The postcard proved a perfect stage for representing Africa and Africans to a Western audience. As the camera 'can not lie', the idea was that it represented the African Other in its most pure and most authentic form. But as already mentioned above, there were striking uniform themes dominating the postcards send form Africa to the European audience: violence, sexuality, eating habits and dress codes. This was not showing Africa and Africans in all its social and natural complexity, but this was Africa(ns) reduced and reshaped to dominating Western expectations and modes of controlling and appropriating the African space and the Africans themselves. By way of categorising their behaviour into four categories, the Otherness was neutralised and a European meaning was 'glued' unto it. African reality was made fit to a European discourse on Africa, by way of the violent framing through the photographic image.

One of the better known examples where an African women appeared on stage in World Exhibitions and who featured in many visual representations of Europeans is the Khoisan Saartjie Baartman (Corbey 1989 and Stroher, 1999). Far from being 'only' an example from times gone by, she is still part and parcel of a struggle between European imagery of and domination over Africa and African self-determination. Saartjie Baartman was a Hottentot woman who was first presented to the European audience in 1810 in London, from which she toured the English provinces and Paris as a sensational curiosity and representative of and for Africa and African women. She died in 1815, 25 years of age, because of an infection. She suffered from *steatopygia*, enlargement of the behind, which was shown naked when 'on stage' and which stimulated many (male) sexual fantasies of European spectators. She came to be known as the Hottentot Venus. The Hottentot / Bushmen were at that time considered to be, together with Australian Aborigines, a race coming closest to primate monkeys. In other words, on a hierarchical scale from the superior Western Caucasian race to primate monkeys, the Bushmen featured close to the lowest hierarchical level. This combination of *steatopygia* and status as lowest ranking race secured the exploiters of Saartjie Baartman of tremendous interest from the European audience. In France, the most respected anatomist at the time, George Cuvier, took a keen interest in her bodily composition. When alive she never allowed the famous scientist an analysis of her private parts, in which he was interested most, because of what has popularly become to be known as the 'Hottentot apron', 'or hypertrophy of the *labia minora'*. Some Khoisan women develop that peculiar condition, but many do not. Only when she died was he able to analyse them in detail. 'The final product of Cuvier's artists' examination depicts a landscape in which the photographic realism of the woman's three-quarter portrait fuses seamlessly with a *beautiful landscape* full of such typical Venus figures' (italics added). Body-landscape and natural landscape both fuse aesthetically in a painting of Louis-Jean Allais in his representation of Saartjie Baartman in 1815.

But this was not yet the end of Saartjie Baartman, not in terms of artistic display, nor in terms of academic attention. A plaster cast of Saartjie Baartman appeared on display at the *Musée de l'Homme* in Paris until 1982. From the 1980s onward she began to draw new scientific attention in the literature on nineteenth century exhibitions of people, and especially through the work of Stephen Jay Gould and Sander Gilman on the constructions of sexuality in science and medicine (Strother, 1999). In 1993, a dispute arose after the Orsay museum in

France tried to redisplay the plaster cast of Saartjie Baartman. But South African organisations began demanding that her remains be returned to South Africa instead. Their demands have recently become more strong now the remains of a man, only known as 'El Negro', returned to Botswana, where he was given a 'decent burial'. In an attempt to get back what was originally theirs but taken during the years of 'colonial plunder', full attention has now turned to Saartjie Baartman. 'The French proposed that her remains be granted to a South African museum on an extended loan, rather than be repatriated for a dignified burial. But such a move would have to be endorsed by the French parliament, which regards the museum's contents as national treasures. (…) The French have denied that Baartman had been treated badly and kept in France against her will in the 19th century, and rejected claims that body parts were being kept in jars. (Cecil le Fleur), who represented the Khoi-Khoi Indigenous First Nations of South Africa organisation (pleaded:) 'She had to display her posterior and genitalia in order to amuse callous, inhumane, insensitive crowds and white audiences as one of their peculiar finds in Africa (The Star, 2000). Story to be continued.

Saartjie Baartman can be seen as a very strong example of the imagination of Europe about Africa. Saartjie Baartman was an African tourist attraction in Europe, both representing its people and even its landscape in an aesthetic context of comparison and contrast. Africa and Africans were in the representation of Saartjie Baartman confined to the few general categories in which the European tourist was able to capture the African continent (i.e. violence, sexuality, eating habits and dress codes), and (partly) through science this violent moulding of Africa to European categorisation was 'proved' and legitimised.

Primitive art

Another strong example of Africa(ns) on stage in Europe is the Western perception of so-called 'primitive art' in ethnographic museums (This part of the paper is primarily based on the work of Sally Price (1989) unless indicated otherwise). '(A)rt, specifically so-called primitive art, seems best to reflect in contemporary consciousness the idea of Africa' (Mudimbe, 1994). Here I do not mean to write about a 'primitive' surge in modern art, which inspired European artists like Gaugain and Picasso. No, with primitive art in this paper I refer to primitive art in the definitions like: 'We are dealing with the arts of people whose mechanical knowledge is scanty – the people without wheels' (Hooper and Burland, 1953 in Price, 1989) or 'primitive art is produced by people who have not developed any form of writing' Christensen, 1955 in Price, 1989). In the words of Price, 'it deals, in short, with some of our most basic and unquestioned cultural assumptions – our 'received wisdom'- about the boundaries between 'us' and 'them'' (Price, 1989). In European perceptions of primitive art, culture with a capital C, the same paradoxical attitude can be witnessed as I already described for landscape and Africans earlier: on the one hand admiration for the 'natural', 'instinctive' and 'basic' approach of art by the primitive, i.e. African, artist. The ideal of the noble savage can be discerned again here. On the other side, primitive art has always been associated in the West with the more dark side of the Other; the Otherness-stigma in words which could be taken straight away from Conrad's 'Heart of Darkness': 'Doubtless, a bloodier eccentricity was never conceived by human madness: crimes continually committed in broad sunlight for the sole satisfaction of god-ridden nightmares, of terrifying ghosts! The priests' cannibalistic repasts, the ceremonies with cadavers and rivers of blood – more than one historical happening evokes the stunning debaucheries described by the illustrious Marquis the Sade' (Bataille in Kraus, 1984 and in Price, 1989).

Let me just go into these two sides of the European perception again, but now in relation to primitive art. Price describes the noble savage under the heading of 'The Universality Principle'. She argues that in a world which is becoming smaller and smaller all the time because of technological innovation, there is a strong tendency of Westerners to think of the world as one global family, enjoying equality. This Universality Principle is most strongly promoted and marketed, and used for marketing, by companies like Coca Cola and Benneton. They present a happy world with all shades smiling towards each other and the camera. The role art plays in this idea is that it is considered to play a major role in unifying the people of the world. Art, just like music and sports for that matter, brings people of all corners of the world together: '(a)rt in all its forms has been historically the most enduring language for the mingling of souls in common enjoyment…' (Seligman in Price, 1989). According to Price, the universality of primitive art in this respect is that it pours out of the very universal depths of our human souls, psychological drives and existence. 'Primitive artists are imagined to express their feelings free from the intrusive overlay of learned behaviour and conscious constraints that mould the work of the Civilized artist (Price, 1989)'. That is where primitive art unites people from around the world. That is where Africans and Europeans can meet as equals, although 'from the privileged perspectives of white Europeans and Americans, the mingling of races strongly implies an act of tolerance, kindness and charity' (Price, 1989), (probably similar to the 'kindness' and tolerance shown by Westerners in educational and pedagogical programmes towards children, models of intercultural communication and development aid). Similar to the European image of pristine landscapes of Africa primitive artists were considered 'as purified bearers of the human unconscious, as survivors of our lost innocence' (Price, 1989). In other words a pristine psychological landscape of Eden, fitting in and matching to the African natural landscape. What else can you expect from a noble savage?

But the other side of the coin of the Noble Savage in art is, according to Price, the Pagan Cannibal and 'the imagery used to convey Primitive Artists' otherness employs a standard rhetoric of fear, darkness, pagan spirits, and eroticism'. A formulation with remarkable overlap with the categories discerned and described by Corbey. Price also explicitly stresses that 'sexuality is clearly another important aspect of the image of Primitives as 'the night side of man''. This aspect is considered one of the major selling points of primitive art as one primitive arts dealer told Price once: '(o)bjects that are strongly sexed sell well'. But I have already touched upon that theme while describing the case of Saartjie Baartman. So I would like to leave it there for the moment and turn to two other issues which Price raise in relation to primitive art, which I think are worthwhile in the context of the European image of African culture: anonymity and timelessness of primitive art (Price, 1989).

Both issues bear broader meaning for the European image of Africa with which the tourist industry has to deal. In art it is usually the name of the artist which is partly responsible for the perception of the public and the price of a piece of art. People go to the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam, because they consider Van Gogh a great artist. His famous painting of sunflowers sold a few years ago at an incredibly high price, partly because it was an 'authentic Van Gogh'. The same holds true for an 'authentic Rembrandt' and now and then discussions flare up about the authenticity of a painting: is it a real Rembrandt or not? One of the defining criteria in deciding if it is authentic or fake, is the determination when it is exactly painted. The exact year and date of a painting is important in the construction of the perception, if we deal with art with a capital A, or with just another drawing. Exactly determining when the piece of art was created is usually related to certain periods in an artists life and are important to know in order to be able to determine in which stage of his or

her creative development the painting can be placed. One of the consequences when it is found out that it is a fake, is that its price drops immediately, coming close to worthlessness. All because of the artists name, authorship, and the periodisation of the piece of art. A name in art is literally worth millions and gives the respective artists an aura of high respectability. This holds for painters, but also for other artists like for instance sculptors and composers.

If we now turn to primitive art, we can see two things: one is that it is hardly ever known what the name of the artist is, and also the exact periodisation of the piece of art is not important, because it is considered to be in line with 'age-old' traditions, in which individuals should be merely considered as torchbearers of collective traits, not as individuals with their own specific creativity. Personal inventiveness is not considered to be an option for 'primitive artists'. Price comes to the cynical observation that 'once having determined that the arts of Africa (…) are produced by anonymous artists who are expressing communal concerns through instinctual processes based in the lower parts of the brain, it is but a quick step to the assertion that they are characterized by an absence of historical change', in other words anonymity and timelessness (Price, 1989). It is important to mention these two issues here, especially because the earlier case of Saartjie Baartman seems to suggest otherwise, that there is individuality in the European image of Africa and Africans. But Saartjie Baartman only became to be known as a *representative* of all African women, not as an individual with personal traits (compare figure 6, where *all* women in the painting are painted and portrayed in a similar fashion). Saartjie Baartman was the strictly coincidental choice out of 'strictly similar' options of other African women. She did not become known because of being Saartjie Baartman, but because a European choose her specifically to represent African women and gave her a European name.

The same process of Europeans showing the European tourist the 'authentic and timeless Africa' can be clearly depicted from the case of the Bushmen in southern Africa. A case which starts during the colonial era and is still in full process in present day tourism developments in southern Africa. Therefor it is a fitting final case of making plausible that European imagery with regards to Africa(ns) is not something to safely confine to our days of colonial blindness, but which still is an important aspect of European perceptions of present-day Africa(ns).

The bushmen of Southern Africa: from exhibition on stage to exhibition on location

The Bushmen of southern Africa are probably the most exploited example of the ambivalent European image of Africa(ns). On the one hand perceived as people most clearly indicating to be closer to primate apes than to Europeans and on the other hand hailed as the 'noble savage' living in complete harmony with its natural African environment. The result was that the distance between myth and reality was stretched to its utter limits: '(f)ar from being "beautiful people living in a primeval paradise", they are in reality the most victimized and brutalized people in the bloody history that is southern Africa' (Gordon, 2000). During the early years of colonisation of South West Africa by the Germans around the turn of the 20th century, Bushmen were literally being hunted, in the same fashion as vermin. Bushmen at that stage we seen as a 'plague'. In a sworn statement a farmer admitted that he 'accompanied the German police and troops when they used to hunt Bushmen (…)' (Gordon, 2000). It was partly through the influence and created imagery from anthropology that the Bushmen became a romantic curiosity which had to be conserved in a specially created reserve for reasons of their language and physical constitution. Chilvers, in 1928, 'reckoned the Bushmen as one of the Seven Wonders of southern Africa' (Chilvers in Gordon, 2000). They had to be conserved just like the Taj Mahal. Two major influences can be discerned in

creating, polishing and legitimising the current Bushmen myth. The first is Donald Bain, a big-game hunter and the second is anthropological science.

In 1936, there was an Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg in South Africa. While in Europe the ethnological exhibits lost their attraction to the broader public in the 1920s, in South Africa, they continued to attract (white) people until the 1950s. In 1952 there was the van Riebeeck Festival celebrating 300 years of European settlement in South Africa and the display of Bushmen was one of the highlights of the festival (Gordon, 1999). The imagery of Europeans emigrated to and living in South Africa can be perceived as constituting a bridge between European imagery during the colonial era which I described above and the new interest for African culture which we experience in tourism today. The image of pristine African landscape and people who fit in that landscape is clearly articulated in the text accompanying the exhibits: 'These people were one time sole owners of Africa – the only living beings who could speak, kindle a fire and fashion implements. Their signature in the shape of rock carvings and paintings is writ large over the face of Africa. All that today remains to them of their mighty heritage is a small portion of the Kalahari desert and the primeval forest to the West of the Albert Nyanza' (Gordon, 1999).

One of the reasons Bain exhibited Bushmen to a larger audience was to persuade the government to grant them a 'Bushmen reserve'. As an almost natural ally for Bain in his struggle to create a special Bushmen reserve were scientists. The first to join Bain were scientists from the Witwatersrand University, starting with Raymond Dart, one of the most prominent scientists at the time in South Africa (Gordon, 1999). It proved to be a start of a row of, mainly, anthropologists who constructed an image of the Bushmen, which still holds today in (cultural) tourism and the popular perception of the Bushmen in Europe. In an early photo-book, 'Children of the Kalahari', Alice Mertens for instance, describes the Bushman-girl she pictures in the following words, relating her to the landscape she (seems to) belong to, in *optima forma*, 'Unkra, a girl with a skin as smooth and coppery brown as a ripe berry, and a smile as bright as the early morning over the Kalahari veld. Unkra, whose name sounds like the cracking of a nut shell, was born in the year of the good rains when game and veldkos were plentiful and all the Bushmen were happy and content' (Mertens, 1966). The pictures going with the further narrative seem solely selected to illustrate this harmonious relation between people and landscape. The fitting last words of the book are: '(a)nother fine day has passed and Unkra and Xua watch the glow of the sun getting softer and the dark shadows getting longer over the golden grass of the Kalahari' (Mertens, 1966).

The history of San studies from the 1950s onward shows an impressive list of scientists who devoted their time and energy to the study of the San in similar vain as Mertens, amongst which Lee and De Vore (1968), Kuper (1970), Marchall (1976) and Shostak (1981). Therefor one thing most of these studies have in common, is that they start with describing and emphasising the landscape against which the life of the Bushmen should be and can only be understood. The word landscape itself is not often used, because at the time it was not (yet) part of the anthropological discourse, but it was translated into concepts like 'environment' (Marshall) or 'life in the bush' (Shostak) or 'ecology' (Lee and De Vore). The history and tradition of the San studies is also of interest to note as it indicates in how far the anthropological discipline was still working within a format developed during the colonial era about the evolutionary continuum with stages from primitiveness to civilisation, and from non-human primates to European whites: 'In the early 1960s, the anthropological world was excited by the new data pouring in from field studies of non-human primates and from the Leakeys' discoveries of ancient living floors associated with *fossil man*. The ethnographic

study of a contemporary hunter-gatherer group seemed to be the next logical step' (Lee and De Vore, 1976). No wonder the Bushmen were sometimes referred to as 'living fossils'. Based on these explicitations I can conclude with Gordon, that 'there is little difference between the current and past scientific and popular images of Bushmen (and that) the overwhelming textbook image is that they are *different* from us in terms of physiognomy, social organization, values, and personality' (Gordon, 2000). I think what holds for the European perception of Bushmen can also be more generally applied to Africans: they primarily provide Europeans with a mirror. But on the European scale of African Otherness, Bushmen score a definite first, which makes this last case the more relevant for my argument in this paper. Or to say it in the conceptualisation I used earlier on, Bushmen can be perceived as the 'Ultimate Other' through which mirror Europeans can contrast and measure their own achievements. It is the colonial format of imagery of the African Other in new wordings.

Some tentative conclusions: from African culture on stage to African culture on location and the European quest for authenticity

In our European search for authenticity and the authentic experience we have replaced the stage for the African Other from Europe's World Exhibitions, journals, scientific ethnographies, National Geographic, television-documentaries and so on, to Africa itself. But we have replaced the stage, but left the format of the imagery intact. Europeans want to see the Africans and the African landscape in the same way as they are taught them to see during our formative years of image-moulding during the colonial period. Therefore Europeans long for pristine African landscapes with the picturesque thatched roofs dotted and blending into it and expect to hear the drums the minute they arrive in Africa, with Africans rhythmically dancing to its ongoing cadenza. That is Africa. That is the Otherness (i.e. 'them') Europeans (i.e. 'us') want to experience in Africa and for which they are prepared to pay money. This is the imagery to which the tour-operators have to relate in their brochures in order to persuade clients/tourists to book a holiday with them. This is the imagery of African culture, which cultural tourism must reflect in its programmes. Therefore, the Kgalagadi TransFrontier Conservation Area between South Africa and Botswana is sponsored by the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) to initiate a San Cultural Centre. Therefore, the PPF supports 'Projects 26/2: Mobile Cultural Tourism Workshop'. 'A workshop examining the potential of cultural tourism was held to examine various existing cultural tourism businesses as well as develop new ideas that would allow communities *to showcase their culture* in a financially and culturally sustainable way' (PPF). The stage has changed from Europe to Africa itself, but the accompanying text, discourse and associated imagery remains firmly the same.

To come to the end of this paper, one might wonder if I, aside from analysing European imagery about Africa(ns), simultaneously formulate a moral judgement on current practices of cultural tourism? Maybe I do. But at the same time I would like to stress that I do it 'on purpose' in the sense that at this beautiful beginning of ATLAS Africa, here in Mombasa, Kenya, we should already clearly indicate that we study tourism in Africa in its broader and historical context of relations between the continent and other parts of the world, be it Europe or any other part of the world. This should imply that we study the power of imagery and its relational consequences. This should imply, that we take care that cultural tourism in Africa is not only a further step and extension of the Otherness industry which was started and has its roots during the colonial subjugation of Africa. Development of cultural tourism in Africa, in my

view, should to a certain extent counter the powerful and still pertaining European imagery of Africa. ATLAS Africa might want to play a role in that process.

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Cultural tourism in Africa: strategies for the new millennium

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Section 2: development and impacts

Cultural heritage and tourism development among the Abagusii community In Western Kenya

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Introduction

Tourism development for long has been focused on tourist consumption needs that gave more emphasis to single product elements. In Kenya this kind of development is manifested by the domineering role of wildlife-based and beach-based tourism in specific geographic regions. Government efforts to increase the share of cultural tourism attractions/ products within the last three decades has not achieved much due in part to lack of research on which aspects of ethnic culture, Kenyan communities wish to be preserved for posterity and subsequently for tourism. In Kenya, it is only the Maasai, Samburu, Swahili and the Miji kenda ethnic groups, whose cultural heritage is partly being exploited for tourism by hoteliers and tour operators. Much of the cultural heritage of Kenya's 42 ethnic communities is only exhibited in the regional museums in the form of artifacts whereas the most significant cultural aspect are dying out as little efforts are expended towards its preservation for posterity and tourism.

Cultural heritage implies seeing a peoples' way of life in the past and present. Culture when defined within the spectrum of ethnic group, engulfs language as an aspect for further distinction as well as common cultural traits and traditions. In this regard, people need not be aware of their common identity nor live in one territory under one central authority (Were 1972). In this regard, culture is synonymous with peoples' civilization with its processes of continuity and change and finds expressions in a peoples values, beliefs and rituals as well as artifacts and tools (Were 1982). Cultural values are important because they provide a way of looking at the world, people and at things. They provide those who hold them with a set of beliefs, and attitudes that explain the structure and function of what is perceived in a particular society.

Cultural tourism therefore embraces the desire and effort to travel to where a given peoples' way of life in the past and present is most striking and the consumption of its cultural ideas, customs, skills, architecture and art. Kenya has over forty ethnic communities whose cultural values, customs and material culture are diverse. Cultural tourism potential in Kenya is therefore enormous and some of it is partly being exploited for tourism (Masara 1994). But the way the cultural tourism is to be developed needs to examine the cultural heritage elements within a specific time period. For instance in Kenya, much of the material culture preceding 1500 A.D may largely be classified as archaeological material culture, but what we know of the cultural heritage after this period has been passed to us from generation to generation by word of mouth. Though some of it has been documented particularly in the 20th century, there are some aspects of culture that are not in any written records. These sources of information can compliment each other and lead to our understanding of how individuals relate with their past in a meaningful manner. It is on this basis that the following discussion focuses on cultural heritage attractions amongst the Abagusii Community.

Objective of the study

The objective of this study was to assess and segment Abagusii community cultural heritage elements for preservation and cultural tourism development.

Research methods

The first step involved undertaking an inventory of cultural heritage elements of the Abagusii community. The inventory was based on written literature on the history of the Abagusii community that covered religious worship; political organization; judicial system (both traditional and colonial); social ceremonies, traditional clothing and ornaments; traditional industries such as pottery, carving, Iron smelting; traditional defensive system and homestead layout. From the list of the inventory a questionnaire was prepared. Besides the inventory there are open- ended questions in which the respondents were asked to include any other cultural heritage element that was not covered in the questionnaire and is an important cultural element worth preservation.

The second research method used were oral interviews with members of the local community. The oral interviews covered the cultural heritage elements and why they felt are of cultural significance to the Abagusii community. These interviews are used in highlighting the significance of these cultural elements.

The survey involved interviewing respondents in their homesteads for a period of four weeks. The survey interviewed a total number of 158 people drawn from the northern, central and southern parts of the Abagusii area. The survey was to interview people over 18 years of age with only one person selected per homestead as per who was in the homestead at the time of the survey. The people were sampled at random. The survey managed to interview a total of 158 people with the northern region Nyamira 78, central region Kisii 38 and southern region Gucha 42 people sampled. The constraint that the survey faced was the heavy rainfall downpours that are common in the area that makes the roads impassable leading to postponement of the survey to the next day.

A questionnaire with 27 items on the Abagusii cultural elements was prepared but the option for respondents to add any item they felt was important led to the increase of the items to 31. A list of 31 cultural elements was used. Responses were analysed using factor analysis to determine significant cultural heritage elements. The method is suitable as it enables data reduction into those variables/ items that are significant. In so doing, the significant elements are grouped together statistically into factors. The results are then used to segment the cultural elements into groups of cultural heritage attractions that the community felt should be preserved for posterity and tourism.

The 31 items were factor analysed for data reduction. Principal component extraction method yielded 11 factors. The choice of the factors was based on the Eigen values greater than 1. All factors with Eigen values less than 1 are considered insignificant and therefore disregarded. The 11 extracted factors are further analysed using Varimax rotation to minimise the number of variables that had high loading on the same factor. The decision to include a cultural element item in a factor was based on factor loading of .5 and above and the Eigen values equal to or greater than 1.

Results and discussion

The results show that eleven factors, which accounted for 67% of the explained variance, were extracted from the 31 cultural element items. The average commonality was also above .5, suggesting that at least one half of the variance can be explained by each variable by the eleven factors.

The predominant factor was factor 1, traditional handcraft/ homestead / political songs. It is related to local community view towards their preservation and posterity.

The second most predominant was factor 2, religious / nature-based cultural heritage, was Ngoro ya Mwaga which is associated with Abagusii ancestral worship, and Super-natural worship. The community holds Ngoro ya Mwaga, in which ancestral and supernatural spirits are believed to dwell in high esteem. In this factor also is Igena Mu (Igena ria Nyasindake) on Sameta hill which appears to be a stone Age cave that can comfortably accommodate three people. Local tradition laments that the site was where an old lady cursed a young girl over her anti-social behaviour and that the girl was transformed into a monkey. The physical form, cliff and cave, and the story surrounding the site transforms the site into a historic nature-based cultural attraction. In this factor also was Manga hills cave which is a nature based heritage and Eburi, a traditional defense system that involved digging of a trench with a width of about 50 feet and a length of 100 feet in areas with dissected landscape. People built their settlements inside the trench and accessed it through the ladder. It was commonly used in areas were natural stones were not common.

Factor 3, traditional adornment/ ornaments/ Iron smelting relates to the need to revive perhaps for curiosity the traditional Iron smelting industry, traditional adornment particularly for both males and females and the corresponding ornaments for the respective sex groups.

The factor 4, Judicial and political heritage, reflects the community's views for the pre-colonial and colonial political heritage of the community in the form of the lists of the chiefs who ruled in respective locations and sub-locations and the years they ruled. During the colonial period, another significant change that took place is establishment of colonial law courts for the administration of justice for Abagusii clans. These courts have retained their colonial architecture and internal design and the community regard them as part of their cultural heritage.

Factor 5, initiation cultural songs, reflects the need for the documentation and enactment of these songs for they are often used to educate the youths in their transition from childhood to manhood. And also prepare them for contemporary life challenges such as gender responsibilities. This has been a cultural practice but due to rapid modernization, the importance attached to these cultural variables is undergoing rapid changes and hence need for their preservation.

Factor 6 was the historic nature-based cultural heritage represented by Gotichaki, a rock art and stone alignment site (Kenya government 1991) and Tabaka soapstone carving quarry relates to the community's art of Soapstone carving.

In factor 7, sight seeing cultural sites, is represented by Igena mengere (huge stone with an underlying cave). Oral tradition says that evil spirits dwell at the site and are the cause of mysterious fire that is often sighted in the evenings in the months of November-December a

round the site (Oral interview with Obongo Nyong'o, 47 years, Nyatieko area in Kisii district, November 2000). Whenever there is mysterious fire, people in the surroundings area say ' Ebikondo biasambire Emanga' translated meaning ' the monkeys have set Manga hill on fire'. People visit the site to view it and take photographs. Esaba shooting ground was founded during the colonial period as a Gun shooting ground but the field and target ground are no longer in use. The shooting ground was initially a site were the Abagusii built a stone fortification (Orwaki) where also the Kipsigis were killed during the Saosao battle (Oral interview with Priscika Moraa Obare (90 years), Esaba area Nyamira district, November 2000). A traditional practice of planting a special local tree whenever one kills an enemy is found in the site. The tree has been held sacred since then. The battle is remembered by the traditional saying that 'Kiang'oso kia Mokaya giatera manyinga inse ka'matobu a kebaye' translated meaning 'the present Kiang'oso kia Mokaya (Esaba) site was a battle ground where the enemy shed a lot of blood'.

Factor 8, cultural judicial system, represents the traditional forms of justice in which ancestral spirits were invoked in cases of arbitration. This form of justice is based on selection of respected clan elder who are deemed to be wise and impartial to arbitrate clan-based disputes with emphasis on customary law. It is useful as it minimizes the number of legal cases in the civil courts.

Factor 9, religious / historic nature-based cultural site is associated with the Abagusii religious beliefs and historic heritage. The factor represents a rockshelter to the northern part of the Abagusii community area referred to as Nyakomerere, near Nyaramba Market. Whenever, one visits the site there is a cultural practice of collecting firewood and throwing it into the rockshelter at the same time altering 'Nagotenyeire' translated meaning 'Here is firewood, do not haunt me' phrases to appease the spirits believed to be dwelling inside the rockshelter. The factor also represents 19th century cultural site, Saosao battle site, in which the Abagusii won a battle against the Kipsigis tribe in 1892 (Bogonko1986). The location of this site is historic as it marks a period in which the Abagusii community started expanding their settlement northwards and eastwards without resistance from the Kipsigis until the advent of colonialism. Due to the fact that the battle site is located in a steeply dissected landscape and the remnants of the war spears are often exhumed in the site when cultivating the site is treated as historic nature-based cultural attraction.

Factor 10, defense architecture / nature-based heritage relates to Abagusii defense architecture (Orwaki) and reflects the Abagusii sense of security before the advent of colonialism. They built (stone) fortifications made of stone and mud that was later subjected to fire to harden it. The fire enabled the fortification to withstand climatic conditions that would have shortened its life span. The community in the 19th century was subjected to frequent raids from the Maasai and Kipsigis for cattle. In the course of the raids they killed. The stone fortifications provided the security that was required as people lived within the enclosure and therefore led to the increase in population. Factor 10, also represents the three land slide Lake Series commonly referred to as Okari lakes. These lakes though nature-based, oral tradition regards their occurrence as a bad omen from the ancestral spirits that befell the Okari family. The lakes form part of the itinerary for those visiting the nearby Ngoro ya Mwaga cultural religious site (Oral interview with Noah Kimori, 55 years, Manga Market)

Factor 11, marriage ceremonies, relates to elaborate weddings, recreation and gifts that are involved in girls marriage ceremonies. The community values marriage but some of the processes involved are being phased out and hence need documentation and staged

performances. Factor 11, marriage ceremonies, are normally driven by the marriage as a social fulfillment in which young couples getting married give parents good reputation and respect. Though modernization has caught up with the community, there have been some adjustments, but still tied to the traditional values such as wedding and honeymoon for the married couples and exchange of gifts between the bride and bridegroom's families. The festive mood that covers the period of the honeymoon and gifts exchanged is illustrated below to offer insights into how some of these aspects of cultural can be exploited as part of the cultural tourism product.

Getting married has never been a cheap undertaking but among the Abagusii, the traditionally prescribed sequence of gifts could seriously deplete a bridegroom's wealth. The "nyaika" (animals of substitution) expected for a bride included at least one bull, a relatively fixed number of cows and heifers, and some goats. Originally, goats were not part of bride wealth. Instead they were counted as " nyaika". Calves and kids as " embiara" were not counted whether they were born later or transferred together with their mothers. These animals could be any number but nine, which for spiritual reasons was considered unlucky. A specific figure was arrived at by comparison with the market rate for brides of similar social station at the time.

The reciprocal gifts between the groom's family and the bride's family were given out in two periods; the "enyangi' (wedding ceremonies) and the "egechabero" (honeymoon). The list of things given out could be reduced by having one animal do double duty e.g. the bull of "omoyega" could also be the bull of "amaikanse".

The 'apron" bull (eri y'egesicho") was a compulsory gift for the wedding ceremony, which the bride's father would slaughter. From the hide, he would make himself an apron. In modern times, this has been replaced by giving the father a greatcoat. One hindquarter of the slaughtered bull was customarily returned to the groom.

For the three-day "enyangi" ceremony, the bride's family would provide a bull of discussion and a goat of 'enyangi". The groom on the other hand was to present a bull for the ritual garments: an "enyangi" head-dress ("ekiore") and jacket ("esumati"). He also needed a bull of "egataoro". A he-goat was also required for sacrifice with sanctions against adultery. The skin of he-goat would make an apron for the bride and the meat would be split between her parents and the best man. The goat of the grandmother and the goat of the sister were the last two goats required. The former went to the maternal grandmother while the latter went to the eldest sister who provided two pots of beer for it. She was then bound to make occasional visits to the couple with small gifts for the rest of her life or the goat could be repossessed by force. The cow or goat of heat (" ye riberera") was also given to the mother of the bride to compensate for the labour during the "enyangi".

There were various other gifts given during the "egechobero" month. The hen of dew "engoko" ye'rime" was the first of the sereval hens slaughtered to reward the young men who brought the bride for "egechobero". Sometimes, if the groom could afford it, a he-goat was killed and the best meat sent to the brides's parents during the honeymoon. One forleg and breast (traditional parts for young men) was kept for the groom and his friends. The goat of laughter ("embori ya maseko") was given when the bride's girlfriends made an overnight visit during the honeymoon with presents of beer. The next morning, the bull of "amaikanse" was slaughtered for them. Two hind-legs and the hide were sent to the bride's mother.

At the end of the “egechabero” month, the bride would go back to her parent’s home with the groom’s friends who were fed the bull of “egekobo”. Apart from this, the bride’s mother was expected to send young girls with containers of “obokima” and soured milk at least three times during the honeymoon. The containers would be returned filled with finely threshed grain (‘oborabu’) and a little of the original milk. If milk was not presented it would be thought the young couple were wishing poverty on the bride’s family.

The Abagusii traditional marriage/wedding shows the values that the community attaches to marriage. The historical context of these ceremonies can be enacted for curiosity and for tourists who are increasing in search of how other people lived in the past and present. The rational underlying cultural practices should be investigated in order to re-package and market salient aspects of a given community’s culture for tourism as well as posterity.

Conclusion

Within the Abagusii community area covering the three districts of Nyamira, Kisii and Gucha, a cultural tourism product can be developed to attract more tourists into the western Kenya region. Here a differentiated tourism product that is unique in Kenya will comprise of the identified nature-based cultural attractions, and the Abagusii cultural heritage elements. The panoramic view of Lake Victoria from Manga escarpment and the surrounding area and Tabaka soapstone-carving are the only tourism attractions in the area that have been identified for tourism development (Nyamira District Development Plan 1997-2001; Kisii District Development Plan 1997-2001). The potential of historic sites for tourism has also been identified (Kisii District Development Plan ibid). However, the potential for these attractions has not attracted any research in respect to cultural tourism development.

This study, therefore, has managed to identify the major cultural attractions that can be used to offer a differentiated and integrated tourism product whose focus will be the under- utilized tourist attractions such as culture (Akama and Ondimu 2000). Tourism in the region can be built around the purely cultural-based attractions. Cultural elements in this category include; traditional handcraft, homestead and political songs; traditional adornment, ornament and Iron smelting; Judicial and political heritage; initiation cultural songs; traditional judicial system, and marriages ceremonies. The other category are those that are nature-based cultural attractions that include; historic nature-based cultural attractions; sight seeing nature-based cultural attractions; religious nature-based cultural attractions, and traditional defense architecture and nature-based heritage.

There is strong appeal also for cultural performances and establishment of a community museum to preserve and exhibit non-nature-based cultural attractions within the Abagusii community area. Public land on which there are former colonial law court buildings that are no longer in use, covering about 5 acres at Manga urban centre, close to ‘Ngoro ya Mwaga’ religious cultural site and the panoramic view provided by Manga escarpment offers an ideal location for a community museum. Abagusii traditional defensive architectural system will also be reconstructed and serve as part of the Museum exhibits. The existing local court buildings can therefore be converted into museum buildings to exhibit the Gusii material culture. Some of the former court residential buildings shall be part of the museum exhibits with particular emphasis on their usage in the administration of justice during the colonial period.

Nature-based cultural attractions such as religious sites, historic battle and cultural sites are threatened by encroachment due to high population pressure. There is need for concerted efforts particularly from the local government, central government, the national museums of Kenya to list these sites as national monuments or as protected areas and develop and open up these sites as cultural attractions.

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Cultural tourism: a trade-off between cultural values and economic values

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Introduction

Based on its great potentials, tourism has traditionally been studied in terms of its economic impacts on a destination. However, in the early 1980s a considerable attention has been focused on its potential social, cultural and environmental impacts (O'Grady, 1981; Var *et al.,* 1985; Cohen, 1988; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Snaith & Haley, 1994). Specifically Milman & Pizam (1988) and Long *et al.* (1990) have studied the United States of America, Var *et al.* (1985) and Kariel *et al.* (1989) Europe and Brougham & Buttler (1981) the United Kingdom. However, there have been no attempt to highlight systematically the cultural impacts of the same on a specific ethnic community and more so the Maasai community in particular. This is the focus of the current study.

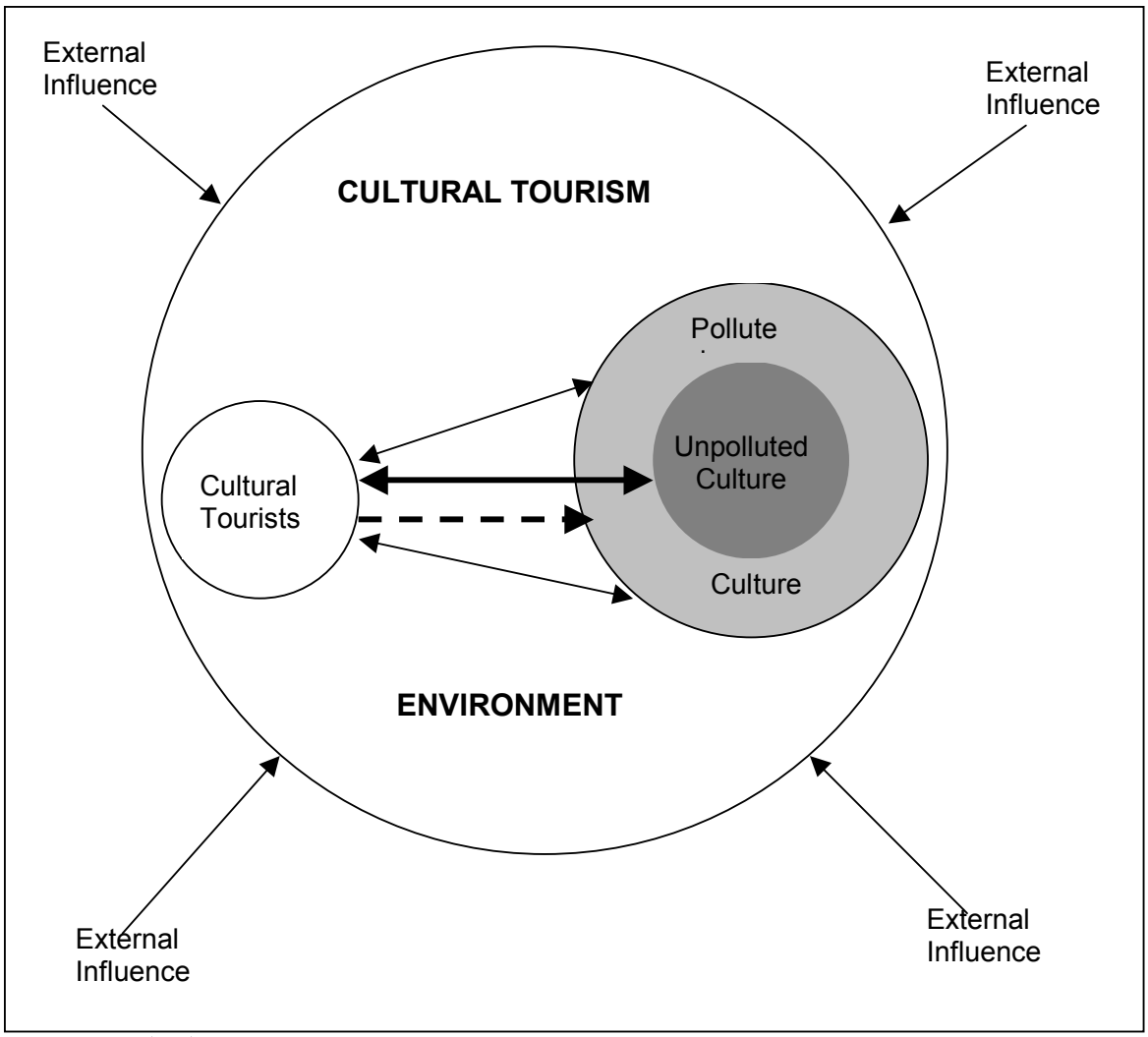
Cultural tourism has introduced a change in the Maasai Community. Today, traditional cultures are understood and exploited primarily from an economic point of view. The community has discovered in cultural tourism a means of survival and indeed of advancement. Cultures have been re-evaluated and integrated into the mechanisms of economic production. However, associated with these positive marks of cultural tourism are several negative points. Traditional performances, for instance, have been revived in an artificial manner, and detached from the contexts which had originally given them meaning. They have lost the authenticity associated with their cultural past.

Whereas substantial references are made throughout the literature which deal peripherally with the subject, those invoked to support the main thrust of the current argument about the relationship between tourism and Maasai culture are fewer (KATO, 1998; Kismir, 1998; Mbugua, 1999; Ndung'u, 2000). This study therefore distinguishes itself from many ethnological discourses which point out the constructive effects of tourism on traditional community (de Kadt, 1979; Lanfant *et al.*, 1995).

The impact model of tourism

Tourism development and modernity in a destination are inextricably linked in a variety of ways (de Kadt, 1979; Travis, 1982; Cohen, 1988; Lanfant *et al.*, 1995). The process of tourism development marks the beginning of modernity. Paradoxically once a tourism destination has been developed to the extent that little of the vernacular culture exists then, tourists tend to shun it in favor of new ones (Greason, 1996). This happens as more than often cultural tourist are looking for archaic communities, which are unpolluted, close to perfection, the guardian of truth, beauty and goodness (de Kadt, 1979; Popper, 1979; Berger, 1996). Thus communities are vigorously encouraged to retain their traditional cultures intact for the sake of cultural tourism (Bruner, 1995; Lanfant *et al.*, 1995; Rozenberg, 1995).

Figure 1



The current research framework reveals a patrimonial movement which leads to the touristification of a community's culture. It found that tourism and traditions actually stand in polar opposition to each other as the latter attracts the former. Cultural tourism also brings in modernization of the local traditions making the destination unattractive to the eyes of the cultural tourists (Figure 1).

As figure 1 indicates many cultural tourism destinations, Maasai-land included, find themselves in the paradoxical development of encouraging tourism as a way towards economic development but realizing at the same time that cultural tourists are attracted and want to see underdeveloped primitive local cultures. Otherwise put, the more modern the

local cultures become the less attractive they become to the occidental tourists. This argument is borne–out of the fact that cultural tourism thrives on difference between the visitors, tourist, and the visited, hosts (Bruner, 1995; Lanfant *et al.*, 1995; Berger, 1996). Cultural tourists cannot travel thousands of kilometers, spend thousands of dollars and time to view a Maasai culture essentially similar to their own. The cultural gap between the visitors and the visited presents an intricate situation. This is because cultural tourists are attracted by destinations where the said socio-cultural gap is comparatively large. And as Greason (1996) observes, where the cultural gap is large there are high potentials for cultural damages. In a nutshell cultural tourism relies on culture, but cultural tourism is a threat to culture.

Cultural tourism: double-edged sword

Like the Impact Model of Tourism (figure 1) this study looks at cultural tourism as a double-edged sword with the powers to marginalize or repress a host community and at the same time able to empower the locals to claim and assert their identities. It arouses the native to re-use traditional designs thereby reviving long–forgotten know–how. This is so as cultural tourists enjoy to experience the performance of the past and to buy what is 'original' (Lanfant *et al.,* 1995). In such a situation as Bruner (1995) would say, the local knowledge of Maasai community fulfils the demand for authenticity from cultural tourists in search of all that is Kenyan and African at large. Cultural tourism in this case ceases to be a simple catalyst towards affirmation of a community identity but rather legitimizes the increase of cultural pretenders and ends up peddling a cultural ideology (de Kadt, 1979; Travis, 1982; Bruner, 1995). More precisely Lanfant and his co-editors feel that "…the identification traits by which individuals recognizes themselves as being part of the same community are manipulated and lose their legitimacy (1995:8)" through cultural tourism. This happens as cultural tourism exerts a double influence on a society's traditions: it is a factor for change, but also implies a certain cultural crystallization (Bruner, 1995; Berger, 1996).

Cultural tourism impacts on the Maasai social structures come mainly from inside the tourism supply side rather than the demand side. This is mainly from the tourist operators, who in their destination marketing endeavors, create a demand for specific cultural manifestation. Such publicity is only economic oriented and not preservation or maintenance of the publicized cultural traits.

The double polarity of cultural tourism calls for a balance between the zest for modernity and the appeal for community identity. This is necessitated by the fact that international tourism leads to extroversion, global villigisation or deterriotorialization (de Kadt, 1979; Lanfant *et al.,* 1995). At the same time it causes retrenchment of communities (Rozenberg, 1995; Vidas, 1995).

The paper however does not aim to provide a quantitative analysis or statistically accurate results, owing to the small sample size, but provides insights into the perspective and expectations of the tourism stakeholders. Quantitative analysis based on a larger sample is due at a later stage in the study.

Research methodology

This paper is underpinned by research which was carried out into the impacts of tourism on the Maasai culture. The gathering, interpretation and evaluation of the data discussed in this study are heavily dependent on the author's observation and experience of the coast region as a Tourist Officer at the Provincial Tourist Office, Coast – Ministry of Tourism, for over a period of some two years. The article discusses a two months field study made on a series of interviews with tourists and Maasai entertainers/dancers in Malindi. The interviews were carried out between the end of the year 1999 (November – December) and the beginning of 2000 (January – February), the tourist peak season. Findings of a two weeks cultural trip to Maasai-land (Kajiado and Narok) involving 52 oral interviews with the local Maasai also shaped this study. The research attempted to investigate whether the Maasai culture has been able to withstand the impact of tourism development in Kenya. This was done by submitting to analysis of what various sources – local Maasai and tourists – say about the Masaai culture when they speak of tourism.

Extant literature on cultural tourism was synthesized in order to identify those areas of Masaai's culture most likely to be affected by cultural tourism development (e.g. Pizam, 1984; Travis, 1984; Cohen, 1988; Dogan, 1989; Pearce, 1989; King *et al.,* 1990; Smith, 1995). The review of these studies was also aimed at determining whether there are any agreed indicators which could be used to structure the interpretation of the impacts of cultural tourism development to the Maasai culture. Despite the existence of a considerable common ground between the various researchers, their organization of the indicators was found to vary considerably (Brougham & Buttler, 1981; Var *et al.,* 1985; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Kariel *et al.,* 1989; Ap, 1990; Long *et al.,* 1990; Snaith & Haley, 1994).

The study takes as its point of departure the specific example of the Maasai community, and sets out to explore several questions:

General question:
- Has Maasai culture been able to withstand the impact of tourism?

Specific questions:
- To what extent do Maasai entertainers' demographic characteristics (sex, age, tribe, level of education) and economic reliance on tourism industry predict positive perceptions of tourism impacts?
- To what extent do Maasai entertainers' demographic characteristics and economic reliance on tourism industry predict negative perceptions of tourism impacts?
- To what extent do Maasai entertainers' demographic characteristics and economic reliance on tourism industry and positive and negative perceptions of tourism impacts predict support for tourism development?

The study sample

In order to ensure that each Maasai entertainer within the Malindi area possessed an equal chance of being selected for the study a list of all tourist hotels in the area was obtained from the Malindi Tourist Office. Ten hotels were randomly selected from this list using a random numbers table. Maasai dancers who participated in this study were selected randomly from every 1st and 3rd Maasai groups entertaining tourists in the selected hotels between 1930 – 2130 hours (local time) on weekdays.

According to Di Grino (1985), the required number of responses to achieve a representative sample from a population of 25,000 plus individuals is 348 (1.4%). This percentage allows for 95% confidence within ± 2.5% margin of error. In order to account for non-response, 360 questionnaires were distributed to the selected Maasai entertainers.

Data collection

The questionnaires were completed in usable form by 71 respondents. The final response rate was 20%.

The survey instrument used in this study comprised of some items from the Lankford Tourism Impact assessment Model (1991) and a scale developed by Milman & Pizam (1988). The instrument consisted of two sections. The first section sought demographic information as summarized in Table 1.

The second section included 14 closed – style items and required respondents to rate their level of agreement with each item, through indicating their response on a five-point Likert Scale which ranged from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). Each of the items were related to specific aspects of tourism social impacts, positive or negative. Several of them had common interest in a particular tourism aspect, thus enabling the creation of sub-scales. This enabled the development of two scales. The first contained six items related to positive aspects of tourism impacts (See Table 2), while the second eight items were concerned with negative aspects of tourism impacts (See Table 3).

Table 1: The respondents profile

%	demographic characteristics	n
	Sex	
87.3	Male	62
12.7	Female	9
	Age	
7.0	>20	5
26.8	21 – 25	19
63.4	26 – 30	15
2.8	31 – 35	2
0	<35	0
	Education	
16.9	None	12
64.8	Primary	46
16.9	Secondary	12
1.4	College/University	1
	Tribe	
52.1	Maasai	37
40.8	Kikuyu	29
7.0	Others	5

Table 2: Percentage distributions for the perceived positive impacts scale (n= 71)

Statement	Mean	SD	Percentage Distribution*				
			1	2	3	4	5
Positive tourism impact							
Tourism is the major reason for the great variety of Maasai entertainment in Malindi	4.83	1.12	2.8	8.5	9.9	52.1	26.8
Tourism has caused more need for Maasai cultural exhibits	4.12	1.10	2.8	5.6	12.7	45.1	33.8
Tourism encourages a variety of cultural activities by the host communities (e.g crafts, arts, music)	4.01	1.07	1.4	8.5	11.3	47.9	31.0
Tourists have a positive impact on the Maasai traditions	2.82	1.14	12.7	33.8	25.4	19.7	8.5
Benefits of tourism outweighs negative impacts	2.56	1.20	14.0	38.0	18.3	23.9	5.6
Tourism is important as a source of employment	4.00	1.09	1.4	8.5	12.7	46.5	31.0
Reliability Coefficient (alpha Score = 0.83)							

*1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly disagree

Summary of results

Several items within the groups of independent variables proved significant in their ability to predict the dependent variable during the research questions testing process. Quite consistent with the findings of Milman & Pizam (1988) there was a significant relationship between the importance of tourism as a generator of employment and the positive perception of tourism impacts on the Maasai traditions (Beta = 0.30, $P < 0.05$). Similarly, non-Maasai entertainers (Beta = 0.22, $P < 0.005$) were more likely to perceive the positive aspects of tourism impacts on the Maasai traditions than those who were from the community. The entertainers' negative perceptions of tourism impacts on the Maasai traditions (Beta = 0.20, $P < 0.01$), were found to be significant predictors of respondents' support for the aspects of Maasai culture to be exhibited to the tourists to be carefully selected and controlled.

Of interest are the results of research question three testing. 'True' Maasai entertainers (Beta = 0.18, $P < 0.05$) were less supportive of the tourism development in the current form than the non-Maasai entertainers. The greater the respondents' level of education the more supportive they were to tourism development (Beta = 0.16, $P < 0.05$). As the respondents' age increased (Beta = 0.12, $P < 0.01$), so too did their agreement to control the aspects of Maasai culture to be exhibited to tourists and eventually proposes some improvements in the current tourism nature especially that exploits the Maasai traditions.

Table 3: Percentage distributions for the perceived negative impacts scale (n= 71)

Statement	Mean	SD	Percentage Distribution*				
			1	2	3	4	5
Negative tourism impact							
Masai cultural exhibits are organized to meet the tourists' expectations	4.18	1.13	1.4	5.6	8.5	47.9	38.0
Tourism has lead to more prostitution involving Maasais	4.03	0.95	1.4	7.0	12.7	47.9	31.0
Tourism has lead to high crime rate	3.69	0.89	1.4	11.3	46.5	33.8	7.0
Maasai traditions are being exploited by tourism	4.02	1.03	1.4	8.5	12.7	47.9	31.0
Tourism is responsible for the increased use of illegal drugs by the Maasai youths	4.10	0.82	1.4	5.6	11.3	47.9	35.2
Tourism is responsible for the declining level of honesty involving Maasais	3.34	0.98	1.4	12.7	15.5	32.4	8.5
Tourism is responsible for the increasing level of sexual permissiveness	4.01	1.14	1.4	8.5	12.7	47.9	31.0
The aspects of Maasai culture to be exhibited should be carefully selected and controlled	4.00	1.05	1.4	8.5	12.7	47.9	31.0
Reliability Coefficient (alpha Score = 0.83)							

*1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree, 5 = strongly disagree

The results of the hierarchical regression models used to test research questions one and three were found to be particularly strong (See Table 4 and Table 6). They explained 15% and 23% of the variance in positive perceptions on tourism impacts on Maasai traditions and tourism development respectively. In contrast, the hierarchical regression model used to test research question two using Maasai entertainers' negative perceptions of tourism impacts as the independent variables (See Table 5) was more modest in its ability to explain the total variance in the dependent variable. It explained only 6% of the variance.

The finding that the Maasai entertainers or tourist host community characteristics predicted their perceptions of tourism development is consistent with results reported in earlier research by Snaith & Haley (1994) but contradicts the findings by Davis *et al.* (1988), Milman & Pizam (1988) and Perdue *et al.* (1990). These researchers had concluded that residents' demographic characteristics had little effect on their perceptions and attitudes towards tourism development.

Table 4: Hierarchical regression of positive perceptions of tourism impacts on Maasai entertainers' characteristics (n =71)

Independent Variables	Beta**	R	R²
entertainers' characteristics			
Sex*	-0.05		
Age	-0.02		
Education	0.11		
Tribe	0.01		
		0.43	0.15

*Male = 1, Female = 2
**P < 0.05

Table 5: Hierarchical regression of negative perceptions of tourism impacts on Maasai entertainers' characteristics (n =71)

Independent Variables	Beta**	R	R²
entertainers' characteristics			
Sex*	0.02		
Age	0.04		
Education	-0.12		
Tribe	-0.08		
		0.30	0.06

*Male = 1, Female = 2
**P < 0.05

Table 6: Hierarchical regression of support for tourism development on Maasai entertainers' characteristics (n =71)

Independent Variables	Beta**	R	R²
entertainers' characteristics			
Sex*	-0.17		
Age	-0.15		
Education	0.22		
Tribe	-0.08		
		0.57	0.23

*Male = 1, Female = 2
**P < 0.05

Limitations

It is true here, as it is in many other studies in socio–cultural impacts of tourism, that there were many methodological, definitional, and attitudinal difficulties in the current study. This made it difficult to isolate the tourism's impact from other external influences (Fig 1). This is so because tourism is not the only agent for change to the Maasai culture. Education mainly is a strong pervasive influence which may have similar implications to tourism especially to

the young sector of the population. This, therefore, lead to a considerable methodological shortcoming of how to examine the scale and significance of the impact.

The fact that the Masaai-land is characterized by several distinct interest groups with equally non–homogenous local perspective made the analysis even more complex and multi-layered.

Discussion

Cultural tourism marketing in Kenya

Kenyan Government has made a clear determined commitment to the development of a large tourism sector signaled by its policy which goes all out for growth in tourist numbers. This calls for marketing of the country's tourism resources, culture included.

The task of promoting the cultural image of a destination falls to the state in the form of the Ministry of Tourism in the Kenyan case. More than often the Kenya's tourism marketing body, Kenya Tourist Board, boasts about the diverse cultural resources within the country - 42 different ethnic groupings with equally different traditions and culture (KTB, 2000). One can easily detect contradictory process at work here in the form of an existing gap between discourse and practice. They talk of diverse cultures but practically they shape the tourists' expectations to the Maasai community and its culture. It is a portrayal of no bias to claim that Kenya's cultural tourism promotion is one-sided over-emphasizing on Maasai culture. This is why a respondent wondered "why is it that only half–naked Maasai men, dread locks-wearing Maasai *morans* or bare-breasted Maasai women are stocked in all curio shops in major tourist destination areas in the country".

Maasai traditional cultures have come to be a resource for publicity in the international tourism market. This has affected the Maasai community in which tourism today provides one of its economic development. The touristification process has made the Maasai traditions to become a cultural tourist commodity, part of a tourist package. A visit to the world famous models of Maasai cultural villages mainly in Kajiado district, for instance, is sold as just one component within the southern tourist circuit (JICA, 1995), which is made up of many and various tourist attractions. The culture has become a capital to be used profitably and has to yield a return. This conversion of the culture into a tourist object means that its traditional value is transformed into commercial value. This transformation course comes with several sematic changes, both positive and negative to the Maasai vernacular traditions. In this case it has become a cultural tragedy as authentic traditions are being packaged to fit into tourist expectations and desires. Legendary Maasai artistry is today being harnessed to meet the growing tourist souvenir market, and age-old ceremonies like *eunoto* are being turned into tourist shows. It is a true commoditization and commercialization of once uncorrupted culture.

Cultural tourism marketing models the image of a destination and then correlates the motivational systems of potential tourist with the components of its identity. In this image shaping process, the identity of the community/destination is described in terms of seductive attributes and crystallized during the publicity phase (Popper, 1979; Vidas, 1995). This insidiously induces the tourist host community to recognize itself. An encounter with the Masaai people, for example, is sold by presenting them as a society which is close to savagery (Kismir, 1998; Ndung'u 2000). Thus the Maasai identity is framed and becomes fixed in order to meet the needs of the cultural tourism market.

In presenting its traditions for cultural tourism development, the Maasai community is expected to participate actively, both materially and subjectively. This is mainly in an attempt to demonstrate that things are as they used to be (Lanfant *et al.*, 1995). This calls the Maasai community, through its representatives, to reinvest in its past and reappropriate it so as to present it to the foreign tourist as their diacritical marks(s). Of course all this does not happen of its accord, as it is a struggle to decontextualize it, culture, to meet the tourist demand. In the process of responding to these external demands for authenticity, most of the 'Maasais' engaged in tourism activities end up willingly indulging the fantasies of the tourist. In this same spirit of aestheticism they reinvest *fêtes*, shows among others for their audience for economic benefits. This leads to artificial or manufactured traditional cultures (Bruner, 1995) recomposed to meet the audiences wishes (de Kadt, 1979; Lanfant *et al.*, 1995; Vidas 1995). The end result is an obscurrance to their traditional reference.

Maasai culture and tourism

Maasai culture has become an important tourism resource internationally and in Kenya in particular. This has been boosted by the increasing number of foreign tourists, especially those of American and European origins, interested in learning and/or experiencing the 'uninterfered' with Maasai culture. Some interviewees referred to it as the 'true' African culture.

Kenya's cultural tourism is not in any way a catalyst for the movement to affirm a community's identity. As earlier noted it legitimizes pretence and for this reason peddles an ideology especially when foreign tourist gatherings are to be entertained by folk dances. In most cases the dances are presented by people who rarely understand the value and meaning of what they are presenting. Many non-Maasai dancers, for instance, were found to have perfected the Maasai dances for monetary gain. Most of these dances are taken out of their customary frame of reference and filtered through a new scheme of interpretation deliberately designed to fit into the tourists' expectations. At the end of the day what was the prerogative of a particular group becomes, in the eyes of anonymous foreign tourists who do not know how to tell the difference, the distinctive mark of a given community (Pearce, 1989; Greason, 1996).

Tourism development in Maasai-land has seen the Maasai youths, mainly men, to work outside the cattle ranches as herdsmen as they opt to cater for the tourists' needs. This has consequently emancipated them, the youths, from the power of their elders. A greater income associated with the tourism industry as compared to that of their fathers further conferred on them a new autonomy - enhanced status and freedom. This has been made complex by their greater receptivity to change making them to have high level of wisdom of experience rendering age to signify more and more a lack of adaptation to economic realities (Rozenberg, 1995). There are also clear signs of increasing commercialization impinging on Maasai's intergenerational social relations.

Changes in Maasai behavior

Like in many other cultural tourism destinations, it is through the employment in the tourism related organizations in the study areas that opportunities for interactions between the Maasais and tourists arise. In the three studied areas (Kajiado, Narok and Malindi) various changes in Maasai behavior and attitudes are apparent.

Demonstration effect

The demonstration effect resulting from tourism development is observable in Narok and Kajiado. It has mainly penetrated the sector of the population which has direct contact with the tourists. This impact is noticeable on the young members of the population who now prefer the western jeans (both long and short trousers) and leather jackets as their style of clothing. The female youths also prefer putting on trousers and a times mini-skirts, quite unlike the olden days. In contrast older male and female members of the community still retain predominantly traditional modes of dressing marked by red *shukas* for men and blue ones for women.

Prostitution and begging

Prostitution is a re-known socio-cultural impact frequently associated with the tourism growth (Cohen, 1988; Robinson *et al.,* 1996; Kibicho, 1999). In Maasai-land there are signs of male as well as female prostitution.

Begging, another social feature often associated with tourism in the developing world (Robinson *et al.,* 1996), is also apparent in the three studied towns. Mostly it involves children asking for money which some times culminate into selling of other products or services like beads, necklaces and even sexual services in case the self-proclaimed beggar is a girl old enough to offer these services.

Handcrafts and souvenirs

Local production of traditional craft goods, particularly Maasai swords, shields, spears, clubs, beads, blankets, basket-ware among others has been stimulated by the growth of the tourist trade. This has a positive economic bearing not to mention the obvious benefit of helping to keep traditional skills alive. However, the products show some signs of adaptation and modifications to fit into the tourist market demands. The colors used in weaving and clothing, for example, has been extended beyond the traditional range. Traditionally made dies, mainly from plant roots and leaves, have also been replaced by the imported synthetic ones.

Staged authenticity

Ninety-three per cent of the total hotels that participated in this study in Malindi, offer, 'entertainment' in the form of Maasai traditional dances. Other Maasai traditional ceremonies are on exhibition in Kajiado and Narok towns. Interestingly these 'entertainments' from an insider's eyes seem to have reached the point of losing touch with 'real' Maasai culture.

Impingement on the cultures

Tourism development in Maasai-land has consequently led to the impingement of the Maasai culture. This impingement is well illustrated in an American journal *US Sports Illustrated of winter 1998.* The journal had published a story and pictures of half-naked American fashion models with Maasai *morans* based on a visit to *Iltilal* Maasai cultural village in Kajiado district.

Kismir (1999) reports that as the tourists entered the village with their cameras flashing, the Maasai *morans* lined-up for the 'usual' photography. The lining-up in this case is usual as the *morans* have adopted this as a form of their occupation for cash in return. This is quite dissimilar to the traditional ways in which the *morans* are supposed to be pre-occupied by their society's protection and expansion. In *Iltilal* case the white women, tourists, dropped their clothes in preparation for the photograph taking session with the *morans.* This resulted into some unbelievable developments as Kismir (1998: 7) later reported:

(i) "…Maasai women screamed as they ran into their houses to hide"
(ii) "Elders herded children away…" and
(iii) "…the young worriors stayed put as the cameramen went wild with their flashes. Some Maasais turned away from the camera, others watched with indifference while others though few watched with interest".

This example clearly illustrates the bad feelings inflicted on the Maasais by unexpected tourist activities.

The director of a Washington-based Maasai Environment Resources Coalition (MERC), Mr. ole Dapash, also protested in writing to the Kenya Association of Tour Operators and the Kenyan press for the disrespect and direct exploitation that "…local tourism perpetuates against the Maasai (Kismir, 1998: 7)". The director's protest was heavily worded. He stated:

> We are horrified and dismayed by the length at which the local tourism industry is willing to go to capture the tourist dollar at the expense of the rights and values of the Maasai people. The tourism industry can not continue to take so much interest in exploiting the Maasai resource without even affording respect to the owners of the resources (KATO, 1998: 13).

A senior elder in Kajiado, interviewed during the two weeks trip, categorically noted that "our decency, pride and future is more important than what we get from the tourists." This elder suggested that cultural tourism destinations should not stoop so low as to completely sell its culture and dignity in exchange of tourist dollars.

However, in most cases tourists and their agents often pay some small fee to get the local Maasai people pose nude for photographs. Specifically, "women pose bare breasted and men with their buttocks exposed (Kismir, 1998: 7)". Narok and Kajiado districts are notorious for this business. Such photographs are used to make postcards, brochures and some times books a broad (Dapash, 1998 cited in Kismir, 1998). Out of this the Maasai people have won a reputation as an epitome of primitivity and a symbol of backwardness and savagery with little or no socio-economic benefit. This is probably why any cultural tourist interested in African life-style must in one way or another have come across the Maasai's culture. This argument is supported by the 89% of the respondents who reported to have had a prior knowledge on 'un-spoilt' Maasai culture.

Whether in support of the MERC's director strongly worded protest note or not, it is worth noting that the move towards a form of tourism respectful for the Maasai culture squarely lies on the assertiveness of the Maasai people and any other tourist host community in general. It will be in the social – cultural interests of the whole community to monitor and positively manage the cultural impacts of tourism. This observation is made on the fact that; Kenya's economy is quickly being liberalized thus making it hard to control this form of cultural tourism as its activities seem not to infringe on any part of the legal framework – assuming that controlling it is desirable in the first place!

For cultural tourism to prosper a balance between the visitors and the hosts in terms of culture must be charted. Our *Iltilal* example presents a clear trade-off situation between Maasai cultural values and economic values. The tourists in this case are out to gain economically by making the most 'exotic' photographs at the expense of the Maasai cultural values. On the same strength the Maasai people, including the *Iltilal* chief and his fellow

morans, are sacrificing their traditional cultural values for monetary gains. The challenge to the proponents of cultural tourism is: how do we balance between the cultural and economic values, at what stage and to what extent should we encourage the trade-off between the two?

In summary the economic impact of cultural tourism to the Maasai community is positive whereas its cultural impact is on the whole negative. Precisely, tourism is 'polluting' the Maasai culture. The pollution symptoms can be seen everywhere, be it the profanation and desecration of religious ceremonies, the monetization of social relations, weakening of communal solidarity and slackening of moral standards resulting from the ever pervading mercentilism.

Culture – tourism boundary maintenance

Like in any other cultural tourism destination it is upon the Maasai community to decide to what extent they are willing their cultural values to be assessed according to their tourist economic value. This decision is necessitated by the increasing importance their culture is gaining within the tourism market circles as Kenya's prime resource for cultural tourism (KTB, 2000; Kuoni, 2000). They should know their cultural boundaries, that is, they should differentiate between their own values and foreign ones brought in by tourists. Failure to do so results to a tourist culture marked by an axiological confusion between what belongs to their culture and what goes with cultural tourism (Picard, 1995; Vidas, 1995).

Maasai traditional symbols and artifacts have heavily been used as decorations for hotels, restaurants and tour companies' offices. A visit to the CHN hotel in north Netherlands readily justifies the foregoing. Sacred ceremonies have also been turned into tourist performances. Just like the Balinese dances (See Picard, 1995) some Maasai dances are rituals to be enacted with utmost care. This is so because these dances are not only intended for human audiences as among the spectators are the ancestors, the gods and other supernatural beings. In their old-age performances the dances were meant to be a means of communication between the society and its gods in one hand and entertainment for the human audience on the other. In today's dances the godly part has wholly been replaced by the human, tourists', interest and monetary profit derived therefrom. The demarcation between rituals, 'sacred art', and spectacle, 'profane art', has completely been blurred. It should be underscored that a culture – tourism boundary should be drawn differentiating between the sacred and the profane, what Maasai cultural aspects that can be commercialized and what must be protected at all costs.

The Maasai culture is known for not knowing its cultural boundaries (Mbugua, 1998) signified by their disability to borrow only whatever foreign influence suits them while maintaining their identity. This argument is validated by the many self-pronounced Maasai cultural ambassadors who are highly influenced by the western culture (Mbugua, 1998, Ndung'u, 2000). Their presentations are normally tailor-made to conform to their audience expectations.

From a general perspective the Maasai community has failed to take advantage of their cultural appeal to tourists without sacrificing their cultural values in the alter of monetary gain.

Recommendations

For cultural tourism to be operational, it should be bi-directional. That is, it should be directed to the tourist host community, such that they know the need to conserve their own culture, and also to the visiting tourists, so that they become mutually respectful of their hosts.

It is with no reservation that this study recommends that if the Maasai culture and traditions are to be used as Kenya's cultural tourism promotion point, either explicitly or/and implicitly, deliberate attempts must be made to select and define which aspects are to be marketed and how they should be displayed. This attempt should bear in cognizance the likely differing opinions that might be expressed by the various stakeholders concerned – the tourist host community, tourism developers, tourists and the Government.

It is crucial that future tourism development is pursued sustainably. Importantly care should be taken when developing cultural tourism not only in Maasai-land but countrywide. Any damaging impacts should be negated or at least mitigated without further ado.

Conclusions

This study reveals that through the touristification process of the Maasai-land, the Maasai community has discovered its capacity to make its own impact upon the national economic scene. This has quickly resulted into a loss of some of its characteristics, mainly because cultural tourism development is grafted onto its cultural factors. Therefore, un-coordinated cultural tourism presents an immense power to destroy territorial and local identities. However, cultural tourism has proved to be an integral part of Maasai cultural process and it provides institutionalized and prestigious forms through which these cultural ideological processes can be mediated. It also provides a rhetoric of presentation which conjure the community's cultural undertakings of the past into being.

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Towards cultural tourism development around the Kakamega Forest Reserve, Kenya

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Kenya

Introduction

Although tourism is a multi-faceted and multi-billion industry that involves relationships and phenomena arising out of the journeys and temporary sojourns of people travelling primarily for leisure or recreational purposes, the development of this industry in Kenya has over the years focused on a limited tourist resource base based on wildlife and beaches. As a result, cultural tourism based on the local peoples rich and diverse material and non-material cultures has been negated or poorly developed, promoted and marketed to meet the diverse and changing consumption tastes and patterns of the tourists. Moreover, around the Kakamega forest reserve, concerted efforts have been geared towards developing and promoting forest tourism to meet the needs of mainly international tourists.

Whilst the efforts of the government of Kenya in promoting and marketing tourism in general should be lauded, it should nonetheless be pointed out that the country's inability to recognize the changing demand and consumption patterns of tourists has resulted in promotion and marketing strategies being focussed on wildlife and beach tourism. Further, unlike in the West where cultural tourism has been institutionalized and culture is promoted and marketed as a unique tourist product, this tourism sub-sector remains undeveloped in Kenya. Thus, apart from a few aspects of traditional cultures such as dances and traditional attire drawn from the Maasai, Samburu and Turkana cultures being used in promotional materials such as posters, brochures, post cards and documentary films, indigenous cultures of most ethnic communities remain untapped. The goals of cultural tourism have therefore remained an illusion amongst local communities including the Luhya who border the Kakamega forest reserve.

The resurgence of interest in indigenous cultures as a unique tourist product coupled with the need to diversify and deconcentrate the tourism product in order to meet the changing needs and interests of tourists has in the recent years added a fresh impetus to the tourism sector. This, coupled with the declaration of the twenty first century as a cultural tourism millennium has not only re-awakened the global community's appreciation of traditional cultures but also led to the development of promotional and marketing strategies that can enhance the touristic value of authentic indigenous cultures. Based on the foregoing reasons, this paper uses the case of Kakamega forest reserve and its environs to examine ways in which various aspects of the Luhya culture can be developed, promoted and marketed to enhance cultural tourism around the reserve. It is envisaged that the adoption of appropriate strategies will not only promote the cultural tourism sub-sector around the reserve, but also enhance the touristic value of the entire Western tourism circuit.

The study area

Kakamega forest reserve and its surroundings are located in Kakamega and Vihiga Districts of Western Province, Kenya (Map 1). As a tourist zone, it is located in the Western tourism circuit.

Kakamega forest is the only remnant tropical rain forest found in Kenya. Because of its nature and geographical location, it is endowed with a unique diversity of flora, fauna and avifauna. Among its tourist attractions are its unique and diverse plants, birds, primates, forest snakes and butterflies. It is these attractions that are the basis of nature-based (wildlife) tourism in the forest and its environs (KIFCON, 1994).

The people

Although the area surrounding the Kakamega forest reserve is inhabited by a mixed community, the dominant and incidentally the oldest tribe in terms of settlement history is the Luhya. The Luhya are one of the Kenya's major tribes, and are said to have migrated from Eastern Uganda about one thousand years ago.

The Luhya who inhabit the study area are composed of five sub-groups namely: Tiriki, Isukha, Kabras, Idakho and Maragoli. Despite their dialectal differences, common salient features in their cultures can be discerned. It is this feature that constitutes the potential cultural resource base for this area.

Cultural tourism: towards a working definition

The declaration of the twenty first century as a cultural tourism millennium is a landmark in the history of the global tourism development movement. Inherent in this declaration is the belief that the development of cultural tourism will not only enhance tourists appreciation of the cultural heritage of tourist destinations, but also facilitate the involvement of the host communities in the conservation, promotion and marketing of their cultural resource base. Ultimately, this will diversify the tourist product and boost the tourism industry further.

Literature reviews have shown that cultural tourism is by no means a new phenomenon and for many centuries people have travelled, seeking adventure and new experiences of different cultures. The Grand Tour, undertaken by young Englishmen of means in the 18th and 19th centuries to broaden their cultural knowledge of Europe and in particular of Italy, was a classic example (UNEP, 1984). In this tour culture was the central focus and the travellers adapted themselves to the resources and culture of the host destinations. Hence in recent years, culture in its many guises, has been recognized as an important area for tourism, especially in countries and regions that are neither geographically nor climatically favoured for other forms of tourism (Robinson et al, 1996b).

A plethora of definitions and expressions for cultural tourism abound in literature on tourism and culture. Wood (1993) has defined cultural tourism as the art of participating in another culture, of relating to people and places which demonstrate a strong sense of their own identity. Swarbrooke cited in Robinson et al (1996a) defines cultural tourism as any form of tourism that is motivated by a desire to observe, learn about, or participate in the culture of the destination. Musyoki (2000) defines this concept as tourism that is about experiencing cultural traditions, places and values that influential groups throughout the world are proud to

conserve. Viewed from this angle, it can be argued that cultural tourism is the form of tourism that is about visiting a place whose resident population has a special sense of belonging or place and a continuity that is different for each person. Hence this sense of place is gained through a respect for, and understanding of past roots in relation to present circumstances.

Much as the foregoing definitions might be at variance, one thing that is clear is that cultural tourism is an emerging multi-faceted concept that is hard to conceptualise both in meaning and scope. Nonetheless, in the context of this paper, cultural tourism is viewed as a phenomenon that is based on material and non-material elements of a host community's culture and which serve as a basis for tourist attraction.

Growth and development of cultural tourism

Cultural tourism, an offshoot of international tourism, has gained global prominence over the last forty years. However, despite this phenomenal growth most of the activities of this tourism sub-sector have been concentrated in the Western world, especially Europe and North America. The growth has been slowest in Africa partly due to the existing stereotype theories and paradigms that view Africa as a 'dark continent' and its culture as outmoded. In Kakamega - the focus of this paper, tourism promotion and marketing strategies by the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS), Forest Department and other stakeholders focus on the forest and its wildlife resources like birds, primates, snakes and butterflies. Cultural attractions hardly feature in this campaign.

A number of reasons have been advanced to account for the recent growth in cultural tourism. Notable among this have been the desire for more and more tourists wanting to learn something new; the positive image that cultural tourism enjoys and the status it bestows on participants; and the growth of other forms of cultural tourism such as leisure shopping (Robinson et al, 1996a, 1996b; Chamber, 1997; WWF, 1992). Other reasons include the role of the media in arousing peoples awareness about cultural opportunities; marketing activities of the private and voluntary sector, globalization of world economics and aggressive campaigns by the public sector (Robinson et al, 1996a, 1996b; Vukonic, 199). In addition, the declaration of the 21st century as a cultural millennium has further aroused global interest in indigenous cultures as cultural products.

The scope and nature of cultural tourism

Attempts to define the scope and nature of cultural tourism as well as what it constitutes have given rise to different classifications and theoretical frameworks. Basing their study on the supply side of cultural attractions Ritchie and Zins (1978) identified twelve elements that constitute the handicrafts, language, gastronomy, art and music, the history of the region including its visual reminders, the type of work engaged in by residents and the technology used. Other components include the architecture giving the area distinctive appearance, religion including its viable manifestations, educational systems, dress and leisure activities. This classification has been supported by others among them Robinson et al, (1996a; 1996b; Chambers, 1997).

Whatever constitutes the cultural tourism resource, what is clear and discernable is that cultural tourism products are marketed for the purpose of experiencing contemporary human products and activities. Consequently, this tourism sub-sector is associated with learning of the social and cultural aspects of the host and the tourist population (UN, 1992). Therefore

what encompasses a cultural tourist resource should include the host community's value systems, identity and behaviour, artistic and cultural character, traditional activities and ceremonies, handicraft, folklore, cultural heritage, moral conduct and collective lifestyle. This paper will adapt a framework for the Luhya cultural resources based on the foregoing.

The Luhya Cultural Resources Base which can be developed for tourism

Information gathered through field surveys, informal and formal discussions, interviews and field observations between 1998 and 2000 have revealed that the Luhya cultural resource base is rich and diverse. Material and non-material cultural elements that hold potential for the development of cultural tourism are shown in figure 1 overleaf. Notable among these are: historic ruins and landscapes, cultural sites, indigenous wildlife, language, folklore, traditional foods, farming practices, ceremonies and festivals, handicraft. An overview of these elements is given in subsequent sections.

Findings from the study revealed that the following material cultures hold great potential for cultural tourism development around the Kakamega forest in terms of both material and non-material culture.

Figure 1: Aspects of the Luhya Cultural Tourism Resource Base.

Material culture	Non-material culture
Cultural heritage sites (Sacred graves, caves, granitic rocks, water falls)	Traditional ceremonies and festivals (Initiation, bull fighting, marriage, etc.)
Historic ruins and landscapes (Gold mine ruins)	Folkmedia (songs, music, dances, myths, folktales)
Sites associated with historic events and people. (Hills, rocks, caves)	Traditional farming practices (Agroforestry, mixed cropping)
Musical Instruments (Drums, horns, flutes)	Traditional food processing and storage techniques (smoking, salting, drying)
Traditional arts and crafts (baskets, mats, mortars, pestles).	Herbalism and herbal practice
Traditional regalia (Ceremonial robes, hood, fly whisk, traditional stool, spear, shield etc)	
Traditional cooking stoves	
Traditional huts	
Indigenous wildlife (totems) (Leopard, frogs etc)	
Traditional medicine	
Traditional utensils (earthenware, wooden utensils)	

Material culture

Cultural heritage sites
Sacred groves (Kavunyondes) where Tiriki initiation ceremonies for young boys are held abound on the Tiriki Section of the forest around Kaimosi. These sites are not only used for circumcision ceremonies but also for housing the initiates. While here initiates are taught about the traditional ways of life, the names and uses of different wildlife resources and how to conserve them by elders the groves are rich in biodiversity. These groves together with the nearby Maragoli hills, and grantic rocks along the Kisumu - Kakamega - Webuye road can be an inspiration to the tourists. Other cultural sites that could be inspiring include the weeping stone (Ikhongo Murwii) near Ilesi, Kakamega and Isiukhu falls. The site below the waterfalls has traditionally been used by the Isukha as a cleansing ground to ward off any evil or omen that could befall the community should one of the clan members be involved in crimes such as murder and incest.

Historic ruins and landscapes
The ruins of the gold mines and buildings at Rosterman around Kakamega offer unique experiences typical of the cultural and architectural ruins of the west.

Sites associated with historical events and people
The Maragoli who inhabit the area bordering Maragoli Hills have a myth linking these hills to their story of migration and settlement. This myth together with the view that the hills have from colonial times acted as a refuge in times of war or calamities could be promoted as a cultural resource. Other features that have been associated with refuge during tribal wars, cattle rustling and other calamities are the caves in Lirhanda Hills.

Musical instruments
Luhya musical instruments including drums, horns, flutes and traditional stringed instruments are comparable to modern guitars and hold a lot of potential for cultural tourism in this area. Isukuti - the famous Isukha drum together with Lidungu and Ubukhana should be promoted and marketed as a unique tourist product. Isukuti drum and dance are so famous that the drum is played in numerous national ceremonies in Kenya.

Traditional arts and crafts
The Luhya traditional arts and crafts industry is so well developed that its products are sold beyond the forest borders. Handicrafts made using palm (Lishindu) leaves from the forest and along river banks include baskets, table mats, traditional granaries (Madele) and trays. These together with other products like walking sticks, serving sticks and spoons, and ropes should be promoted as unique products. Besides this, the skill acquired by women in making pottery products such as cooking pots and flower pots should be promoted and marketed. In addition, belts and other articles made from wildlife skins and twines, bracelets, earrings and necklaces, and also products such hoes, axes, slashers and sickles made by blacksmiths hold a lot of potential.

Traditional clothing and regalia (Ubucheka)
Traditional ceremonial clothes made from leopard and the white and black colobus monkey skins and worn by chiefs during installation ceremonies among the Isukha hold a lot of potential for cultural tourism. This together with the accompanying regalia composed of the three legged traditional stool, spear and shield for defence, walking stick and the fly whisk

should be marketed as an important resource base. Similarly, bark cloth - a product derived from *Antiaris toxi caria* (Mulundu) and used as a blanket holds a lot of potential.

Traditional food and drinks
The Luhya traditional food like ugali (mixture of boiled water and flour derived from ground maize, millet or sorghum) accompanied by traditional vegetables such as cow peas, *Corchorus olitorius, amaranthus*, *hybridus, crotalorid, Gynondropsis gynandra, Solanun nigrun and Cucurbita moschata* constitute an important cultural resource. Other foods that should be promoted include the Isukha delicacy of smoked primate derived meat, mushenye (mixture of pounded maize, sweet potatoes and beans), muduya (fried beans whose husks have been removed, pounded and boiled with traditional salt to a smooth paste), sweet potatoes, fermented porridge served in traditional pots and calabashes, and sour milk served in gourds and clay and wooden mugs. In addition edible mushrooms, fungi and termites which are also a delicacy should be marketed. Healthy drinks made from a mixture of herbal concoctions, water and honey also constitute an important resource in the local peoples diets. Promotion and marketing of these products could be an advantage.

Traditional cooking stove
Despite the introduction of modern energy saving cookstoves, most women around the reserve still attach a lot of significance to the traditional three stone cooking stove. Thus, apart from its cultural importance, this cooking device can keep food stored in its inbuilt metallic furnace warm for six hours.

Traditional houses
Although iron roofed houses are fashionable in this area, most families have a preference for grass thatched kitchens and granaries. These home based traditional houses together with bandas at Udo's camp (Buyangu) and Esecheno could offer an alternative source of inspiration among tourists. Moreover, traditional beds made of sticks, twines and clay as well as beddings made of mats, bark cloth and animal skin could offer an added experience.

Indigenous wildlife (totems)
Wildlife such as leopards, frogs and snakes kept as totems by some clans among the Luhya sub-groups named abound in the area. Apart from their socio-cultural importance, some of these animals are viewed as a source of power, strength and magic. Thus the power derived from some of these animals is viewed as a tool for protection against evils or evil men, satanic forces and bad eyes. Elsewhere keeping these totems is viewed as a source of blessings and wealth.

Traditional medicine
Although the majority of people interviewed acknowledge the role played by biomedicine in primary health care, the potential of herbal medicine in treating different ailments alongside modern medicine cannot be over-emphasized. Herbal medicine derived from various parts of plants and animals is used to treat different diseases including stomachache, headache, impotence, barrenness and other respiratory problems. Therefore the revival of interest in herbal medicine should be used as a tool to promote it as a cultural resource.

Traditional utensils
The arts and crafts skills held by the Luhya bordering the reserve have over the years enabled them to manufacture a variety of utensils and other household items using clay, wood, twines and other forest materials. Traditional household items like gourds, calabashes,

wooden pestles, mortars, and a diversity of clay products should be promoted and marketed to enhance cultural tourism in the study area.

Non-material culture

Traditional festivals and ceremonies
The diversity of Luhya festivals and ceremonies hold a lot of potential in developing cultural tourism around the Kakamega forest reserve. The rich and diverse circumcision ceremonies especially among the Tiriki, Isukha and Kabras, the annual bull fighting ceremony of the Isukha as well as traditional wedding ceremonies should be marketed as a tourist attraction. Other ceremonies that should be promoted as unique products include the installation of a chief or traditional ruler among the Isukha, cultural festivals like the annual Maragoli festival that is held every end of year at Vihiga, and the eshirembe bull fighting ceremony in honour of a departed hero or elder among the Isukha.

Folkmedia
The Luhya culture is a repertoire of songs, drama, dances, myths and folklore. Folklore about the migration history of the Luhyas as well as their socio-economic and political organization should be promoted as an important resource. In addition, the rich and diverse songs about social activities and wildlife, together with myths about the origin of the Luhya sub-groups, dances, folktales, oral literature and legends should be marketed for the same purpose.

Traditional farming practice
Traditional farming systems and practices including agroforestry using indigenous multi-purpose tree species like *Sesban sesban, Grevillea robusta* and *Markhamia platycalyx* also hold a lot of potential for development of cultural tourism. This together with the traditional mixed cropping and animal husbandry systems as well as the traditional farming tools and technologies used could serve as a springboard for this tourism sub-sector.

Traditional food processing and storage techniques
Traditional food processing and storage technologies are still widespread among the Luhyas who border the Kakamega forest reserve. Popular technologies used in food processing include thrashing of crops like maize and beans using wooden sticks, winnowing using traditional baskets, and sun-drying to remove excessive moisture. Other technologies used include salting, boiling and smoking of meat before storage. Finally, excessive foods are stored in pots and traditional granaries, or put in storage bags and hang near the fire place for preservation.

Herbalism and herbal practice
Herbal practice by both medicine men and women alongside biomedicine is still widely practiced among the Luhyas who inhabit the study area. This together with the indigenous knowledge held about the medicinal value of plants and animals as well as their curative and therapeutic properties should be tapped to broaden the cultural resource base.

The foregoing shows the potential diverse cultural products hold for the development of tourism. However, developing these attractions to suit the different needs of tourists, and also providing a meaningful picture and linkage with other tourism products within a historical perspective remains a big challenge. Moreover the notion that indigenous cultures are primitive and outdated should be discarded if a breakthrough has to be made and this tourism sub-sector is sustainable. Consequently, various strategies that have a local focus and

grassroots support should be adopted. However, before discussing these strategies an overview of potential obstacles to the development of cultural tourism around the reserve is given.

Obstacles to the development of cultural tourism in the environs of the Kakamega Forest Reserve

Despite the existence of the diversity of the Luhya cultural resources base as outlined above, investigations into its potential in promoting cultural tourism around the Kakamega Forest Reserve revealed that there is a myriad of problems and constraints that could impede its development. Information gathered from interviews and informal discussions revealed that there is widespread ignorance among the locals about the touristic potential and value of cultural resources. Generally, people's awareness about the inter-relationships between cultural resources and cultural tourism is still low. Furthermore, current strategies that have been adopted to promote tourism in this area are narrowly focussed; most focus on forest tourism. Consequently, the local community is not well sensitised on the role and place the cultural tourism sub-sector holds within the tourism industry in Kenya.

Most campaigns that have been undertaken around the reserve have over the years been geared towards sensitising the international community and tourists about the global value of the forest and its potential for forest tourism. These campaigns more often are geared towards promoting and marketing the forest fauna, flora and avifauna. As a result; the cultural resource base has been negated and neglected. Consequently, the goals of international tourism have tended to override those of domestic tourism.

Poor planning as well as poor infrastructural development have rendered some areas around the reserve inaccessible. This coupled with poor promotion have resulted in many areas endowed with cultural resources being left untapped and undeveloped. This has further marginalized the potential of culture as a resource base for the development of cultural tourism.

Limited research on various aspects of the Luhya culture has resulted in little information on the location, status and touristic value of diverse cultural resources being generated and documented. As a consequence the vital background information needed to help planners, policy makers, conservationists and cultural tourists to make rational decisions about the development, promotion and marketing of cultural tourism in this area hardly exists. This has partly contributed to poor planning.

Exposure to Western education, religion and culture especially by the youths has over years had a negative impact on some aspects of the Luhya cultural resource base. For instance, negative attitudes and perceptions towards some traditional foods, totems, traditional clothing and ceremonies among the youthful generation were clearly discernible during the researchers' visits to the study area. It was also further noted that the symbolic value attached to some wildlife by the elderly was shunned by the youths. Problems associated with generation gap and inter-generational equity need to be addressed if a breakthrough has to be achieved.

Shortage of well-trained staff that can articulate the Luhya cultural issues with regard to cultural tourism as well as promote and market the cultural touristic resource base was evident during the author's field visits to the area. Most of the KWS and forest department

staff are outsiders with limited knowledge on Luhya culture. The freelance tour guides around the reserve are a young crop of Luhyas with limited knowledge on various aspects of culture. Moreover, the main objective of these tour guides is to earn money from tourists through guided tours to specific parts within the forest. In essence, the guides strive to promote forest tourism vis-à-vis cultural tourism as a basis for their livelihoods.

Despite the above impediments, there is a lot of potential for the development of cultural tourism around the Kakamega forest reserve. The section below discusses some of the strategies that can be developed to enhance culture-based tourism in this area.

Discussion

Planning strategies for developing cultural tourism around the Kakamega Forest Reserve
Sustainable cultural tourism development is possible if careful planning is done. This therefore calls for balancing local needs and the development of cultural tourist products. Consequently, an approach that integrates tourism with other socio-economic activities so as to ensure optimal use of tourist resources with minimum socio-economic and ecological costs should be adopted.

Establishing and supporting an appropriate policy, legal and institutional framework
Cultural tourism can only develop in a conducive environment. The government should ensure that a supportive policy, legislative and institutional framework with grassroot support is established. This will enhance local participation thereby enabling local people to mobilize their resources and capabilities within the framework of integrated community development.

Promotion and marketing of cultural tourist products
Aggressive promotion and marketing strategies should be adopted with a view to diversifying and enhancing the value of the cultural attractions found in this area. These strategies should aim at capturing both the international and domestic tourist market including the Western world, Middle East and the Orient. Promotional materials such as brochures, posters post cards and guidebooks depicting various aspects of the Luhya culture such as artefacts, dances, totems and traditional ceremonies should be developed. In addition, instruction materials for travel agents, tour operators and media should be developed and circulated. Advertising through the media to capture the interest of the public and ganner public support should be encouraged. A code of ethics to govern the conduct and behaviour of tourists should be written and circulated with these materials. Finally, local tourism offices should be established and charged with the responsibility of undertaking research on the potential and dynamics of cultural tourist products, tourists' consumption patterns and the impacts of cultural tourism. These offices should also monitor and disseminate information on tourism trends and impacts on the cultural products and the people. Other services that can be rendered by these offices include: - marketing of the tourist products, dissemination of information on local travel conditions, opportunities and challenges that exist.

Whilst the foregoing efforts should aim at enabling tourists to have unique experiences during their visits, over-romanticisation of these cultural attractions as well as exaggeration of their potential value as has been the case in the Pacific and other Caribbean islands, like Jamaica, should be avoided (AERDD, 1992; Eber, 1992).

Enhancing conservation awareness among locals
Enhancing conservation awareness among the locals through public education and extension, workshops, seminars, public rallies and other social meetings will arouse peoples awareness about the importance of culture as a tourist resource and the need to conserve it. This will also re-awaken the local peoples interest and commitment to conserving this invaluable cultural resource for their own benefit.

Local participation
Enhancing public involvement through formation of partnerships will not only encourage grassroots support but also promote local initiatives. Local involvement in the design and development of promotion materials, village routes and trails, artefacts and other authentic products is necessary to give the product a local appeal. Moreover, collaborative links between stakeholders will enable local peoples skills to be tapped and enhance collaborative marketing of the cultural tourist product. Such has been the case in Europe, North America and the Pacific Islands (Robinson et al 1996a; 1996b; Eber, 1992).

Developing a cultural museum and centre
A cultural museum that will enhance the preservation of authentic cultural products should be developed and centrally located. The museum should conserve artefacts, exhibits of cultural value, and other collections of great ethnographic and archaeological value. Among the products to be conserved are art and craft products like baskets, earthenware and wood products; the iron industry products like pangas, hoes, axes, ankle rings, jingles, spears, bows and arrows; traditional foods and drinks; and the traditional ceremonial regalia. To complement these material products, interpretive displays illustrating both traditional and modern cultural activities and products should be mounted.

Among the things to be displayed are photographic imageries and graphic techniques of heritage attractions, festivals, ceremonies, themed itineraries and routes, cultural products, architectural ruins and tourism impacts. Similarly a local museum expert should be employed to tell stories that reflect the history and growth of the community, and highlight important events in the evolution and socio-political organization of the community. A case in point could be the mythological story about the origin and settlement of the Maragoli around Maragoli hills.

Cultural centre
Like the cultural museum, the development of a cultural centre will not only revitalize the forgotten cultures but also help in conserving them. Traditional songs, music and dance featured in initiation, wedding, funerals and other social functions will be performed and displayed here. Other cultural functions that could be displayed include the practice of herbalism, the installation of a chief among the Isukha, and naming ceremonies. Bull fighting, Tiriki circumcision ceremonies and wrestling contests could also feature. Traditional Luhya homesteads/huts, farming practices, dietary patterns as well as food processing and storage techniques both in space and time should also be featured. These efforts should be complemented by experiences gained through attendance of cultural festivals like the annual Maragoli cultural festival organized every end of year, watching videos, documentary films and other shows, and reading information on these ceremonies and festivals from guide books and promotional materials.

Capacity building through training
Training of locals, tour guides and other stakeholders in information, communication and interpretation skills enables them to acquire specialist skills necessary in managing tourist facilities and serving diverse visitors with different needs and interests. Ultimately, this leads to capacity building at grassroots level. Training of freelance tour guides operating around Buyangu and Esecheno area of the Kakamega forest reserve will boost their skills and enhance their interpretative and communication skills.

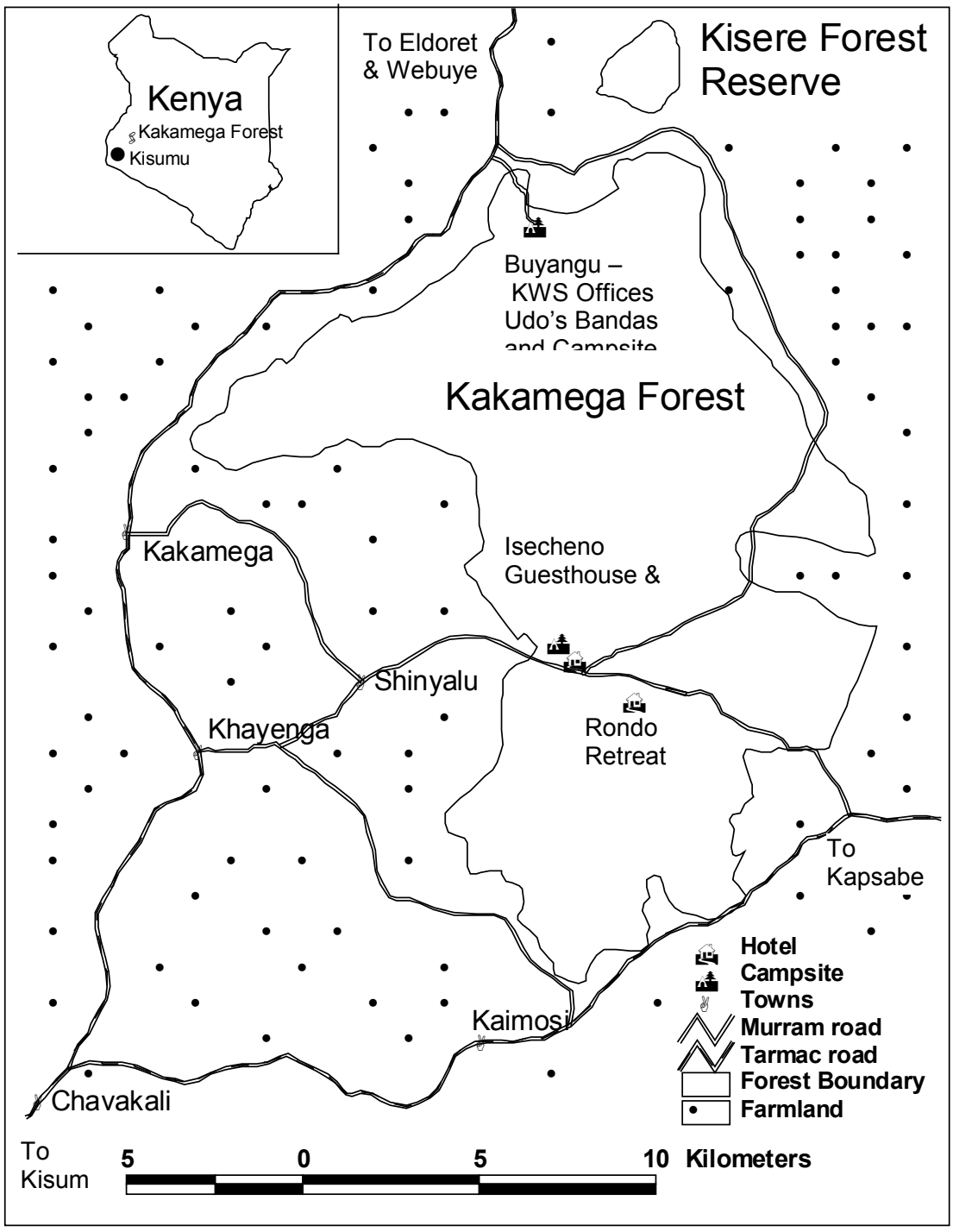
Development of tourist facilities and infrastructure
A good network of tourist accommodation and catering facilities and infrastructure is necessary for the development of an area's tourism industry. Currently, the study area has very few tourist facilities with an international appeal. Thus apart from Golf Hotel in Kakamega Town and Rondo Retreat Guest house near Isecheno, other facilities do not meet international standards. There is need to invest in these facilities to boost the image of the area. In addition, the area's communication and infrastructure network should be improved to enable it become a tourist destination all year round. In essence, the road network should be improved to make the roads all weather, the air strip should be expanded and modernized, and above all telephone and other communication lines should be improved to facilitate communication with other parts of the world. Within the reserve, nature trails should be improved in terms of design and accessibility to facilitate day and night walks.

Conclusion

The discussion in this paper has shown that Kakamega forest reserve and its surrounding is endowed with rich and diverse cultural products that remain untapped and undeveloped. Current promotion and marketing strategies have continued to focus on nature-based tourism within the forest reserve. Tourism development based on the cultural resources outlined will diversify and deconcentrate the tourist product which will in turn minimize some of the negative environmental impacts associated with mass and nature-based tourism. Similarly, the development of culture-based tourism will revitalize local cultures and offer new and exciting products to the tourists. In the long run benefits such as employment, capacity building, provision of social amenities, and income from sale of products from agriculture, arts and crafts industries will be bestowed to the local community. It is envisaged that through linkages with other industries as well as the multiplier effects associated with tourism, rural development around the forest reserve will be further stimulated.

To ensure that the benefits associated with cultural tourism accrue to the society various strategies should be adopted. Notable among these are encouraging local participation through partnerships and institutional linkages, awareness raising through cultural and environmental education, and capacity building through training. Rational planning, development of a code of ethics, establishment of a cultural museum and a cultural centre, and provision of quality communication and infrastructural facilities are other strategies that should be adopted if the goals and objectives of cultural tourism in the environments of Kakamega forest have to be achieved.

MAP 1: STUDY AREA: FOREST LOCATION AND ITS ENVIRONS



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Perceived socio-cultural impacts of tourism: the case of Malindi, Kenya

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Introduction

Tourism has the capacity to interfere with the host society's socio-cultural set-up. According to Pizam & Milman (1988: 191) socio-cultural impacts of tourism contribute to "…changes in value systems, individual behavior, family relationships, collective lifestyles, traditional ceremonies or community organization." Tourism in Malindi has impacted directly on employment resulting in changes in the occupational and consumption patterns of the local community. Tourism has traditionally been studied in terms of its economic impacts due to its high economic potential. Nevertheless, a stream of studies is developing based on its potential social, cultural and environmental impacts (Var *et al*., 1985; Snaith & Haley, 1994). This was after the realization that continued support for the tourist host communities was vital for successful tourism development from regional to national levels.

Early research on this topic reported the existence of several correlations between tourism development and modifications to host community's socio-cultural lifestyles. A number of studies show a strong linkage between economic reliance on tourism and the hosts' support for it (See Var *et al.,* 1985, Milman & Pizam, 1988; Long *et al.,* 1990; Perdue *et al.,* 1990; Haralambopoulus & Pizam, 1996). A study by King and his co-researchers (1993) found that tourism-employed residents were more supportive of tourism development than those who were not employed in tourism. Similarly Snaith & Haley (1994) and Var *et al. (*1985) concluded that residents that were economically dependent upon tourists were generally more satisfied with tourism than those who were not. Milman & Pizam (1988) found that increased tourist concentration leads to negative attitudes towards tourism development. Other research by Perdue and his co-workers (1990) revealed that residents' perceptions of tourism impact are unrelated to the hosts' demographic characteristics. Various studies have also shown that the hosts perceive the tourism's positive impact to be related to its potential as an employment generator (Var *et al.,* 1985; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Long *et al.,* 1990; Perdue *et al.,* 1990; Snaith & Haley, 1994; Haralambopoulus & Pizam, 1996).

The Malindi study

Malindi is situated in the Coast province of Kenya. The town of Malindi serves as the headquarters of Malindi district. It is located at latitude 3.2°S and longitude 40.1°E, which is 125 kilometers north of Mombasa. The importance of tourism to the Malindi economy can not be gainsaid. It is the largest component of the region's economy contributing over 95% of the local economy's activities (Viser & Schrool, 1991; PTLC, 1998). The development of modern tourism dates back to 1931 when an 18 bed 'hotel' was built as the base for deep sea fishing off *Malindi Bay* (Amin & Willets, 1986). This is where the world famous reporter on sport fishing, Ernest Hemmingway, stayed for several weeks in 1934. The hotel, classified as '3-star', is still in existence by the name 'The Blue Marlin'. In the same year, 1934, the tourism industry was formerly launched by the then District Commissioner, Sir Leo Lawfords. He later

built a *makuti,* coconut palm fronds, hotel in 1935 under the name 'Lawfords Hotel' (Amin & Willets, 1986; Finlay & Crowther, 1997). The hotel still stands as a 4 - star establishment. By 1962, two more hotels were built on the aforementioned bay. The arrival of the first group tours from Europe in 1965 displaced the local clients from the hotels. By 1968 the resort had almost tripled its bed capacity to 500 (Amin & Willets, 1986). Today, on account of its beaches, Malindi Area has experienced a tourist boom especially in terms of hotel bed capacity. The area has a total of 4,120 beds, 42 star–rated restaurants, 28 tour operators and 517 beach operators (PTLC, 1998).

Despite the absence of opposition from the local community towards the tourism industry, the host residents can be affected, both directly and indirectly, by the various socio-cultural consequences of this tourism driven economy. The aim of this study, therefore, was to assess the residents' perception of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism.

Methodology

The overall object of this study was to examine the socio-cultural impacts of tourism as perceived by the Malindi residents. It aimed at investigating the tourist hosts' perceptions and attitudes towards the ever expanding tourism industry within their locality.

To achieve this the survey aimed to answer the following research questions:

General research question
- Do heavy tourist concentrations in a tourist destination lead to negative host perceptions and attitudes towards tourism?

Specific research questions
- Are the hosts' perceptions and attitudes towards the socio-cultural impacts of tourism a function of their direct economic dependency on the industry?
- Are the hosts' perceptions and attitudes towards the positive aspects of tourism development a function of certain demographic characteristics?
- Are the hosts' perceptions and attitudes towards the negative aspects of tourism development a function of certain demographic characteristics?

The study sample

A list of housing within the Malindi area was obtained from the Malindi Municipality Housing Department. The residents from the listed residential houses were randomly selected using computer generated random tables, then two representatives of the household were requested to fill in the questionnaire. A total of 400 questionnaires were distributed. One hundred and sixteen usable questionnaires were collected, for a response rate of 29%.

Data collection

The survey instrument used in this study consisted of two sections. The first sought demographic information. The second section included 20 closed-style items requiring the respondents to rate their level of agreement with a particular item. This was done by indicating their response on a five-point Likert Scale ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5). The twenty items were as outlined in Table 1.

Limitations
A few limitations of the current study should be noted. First due to the patriarchal nature of the study area, husbands did not allow their wives to independently participate in the study. In other cases, the husbands insisted on being present as their wives were interviewed which undoubtedly affected her opinions on some crucial issues.

Results and analysis

Attitudes towards the tourism industry

The majority of the respondents (about 63%) were male, have lived in Malindi area over 15 years (57%), had a primary level of education (52%) and their median age was between 40 - 50 years. About 46% of the respondents were employed full time, 10% were employed part-time, 8% were retired, and the rest were unemployed or students. Of those who were employed, 80% worked in tourism related establishments. About 93% of the respondents also reported that at least one family member was employed in the tourism industry. This demographic profile of the study sample is consistent with the population of Malindi area as reported by the National census conducted by the Ministry of Planning, Government of Kenya (Kenya, 1989).

Seventy four percent of the total respondents Favoured or Strongly Favoured the presence of tourism in Malindi. This was represented by a mean of 3.6 and a standard deviation (SD) of 1.3 on a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 = Strongly Oppose; 2 = Oppose; 3 = Make No Difference; 4 = Favour; 5 = Strongly Favour. Some 71% of the respondents either Favoured or Strongly Favored tourism activities and development in the Malindi area with a mean support score of 3.4 and an SD of 1.2. Only 3% of the respondents Strongly Opposed any form of tourism existence in the area. Two of these respondents felt that tourism is to blame for their daughters who ran away from home and entered the commercial sex business in Mombasa. Being staunch Muslims and indeed Muslim leaders the two fathers feel let down by their daughters and indirectly by the tourism industry.

A vast majority of the respondents (69%) are of the opinion that the image of Malindi, both nationally and internationally, had somewhat or Significantly improved as a result of tourism development in the area. They all feel that the number of tourists to Malindi should somewhat or significantly increase. Only 4% of the respondents supported a decrease either Significantly or Somewhat, of the tourists numbers in the study area.

Social impacts of tourism

The respondents were requested to express their opinions about the current tourism development on various socio-economic issues as outlined in Table 1.

Table 1: Residents' perceptions of tourism's impacts on socio-economic issues[a]

Statement	Mean[b]	SD
1. Employment opportunities	4.4	1.1
2. Personal income	4.6	1.0
3. Standard of living	4.5	0.6
4. Prices of goods and services	4.1	0.7
5. Attitudes towards work	3.3	1.1
6. Honesty in any commercial exchange	3.0	1.0
7. Quality of life in general	4.3	0.8
8. Courtesy and hospitality towards visitors	3.1	1.0
9. Morality	2.2	1.3
10. Sexual permissiveness	3.9	0.8
11. Alcoholism	2.0	1.1
12. Drug taking	1.8	0.9
13. Prostitution	1.9	0.7
14. Organized crimes	2.0	1.2
15. Individual crimes	2.2	1.0
16. Gambling/Illegal games	2.0	1.0
17. Vandalism	2.9	1.1
18. Local economy	4.7	0.6
19. Improves the image of Malindi	4.3	1.0
20. Increases recreational opportunities	4.1	0.5

[a]What impact do you think the current level of tourism development has on the following issues?
[b]Scale: 1 = Significantly Worsen; 2 = Somewhat Worsen; 3 = Not Make Any Difference; 4 = Somewhat Improve;
5 = Significantly Improve SD = Standard Deviation

Table 1 shows that local economy, personal income, standard of living, prices of goods and services, employment opportunities, Malindi's image, quality of life in general and recreational activities were perceived to improve as a result of tourism growth in Malindi. Specifically, the hosts' perceptions seemed very positive about the role played by tourism on economic-related issues with tourism's contribution to the local economy scoring as high as 4.7 on the Likert Scale. By comparison, sexual permissiveness, especially among the youths, was perceived to increase as a result of tourism. This could be attributed to the increased close contact between the local youths and tourists when the former work in the tourism industry. In addition drug taking, alcoholism, prostitution, gambling/illegal games, organized crimes, individual crimes and general morality were perceived to worsen as a result of tourism expansion in the area. The remaining three variables (attitudes towards work, honesty in any commercial exchange and vandalism had a mean response of 3.3, 3.0 and 2.9 respectively). Overall, this suggests that the Malindi people perceive the current tourism development to have positive effects on their economic wellbeing. These findings were in-line with those of the early studies on socio-economic impacts of tourism on a destination (See Var *et al.,*1985; Milman & Pizam, 1988; Long *et al.,* 1990; Perdue *et al.,* 1990; Snaith & Hailey, 1994).

The survey also sought to investigate the residents' attitudes towards tourism employment and its impacts. The respondents reported that out-migration of the locals to other areas has substantially decreased as they get employed in the tourism industry (mean = 1.3). By

contrast in-migration of people, mainly from upcountry, coming into the area seeking employment in the tourism industry has increased (mean 4.6). When asked to express their feelings about the desirability of tourism-related jobs, the locals showed a high degree of desirability (mean = 4.5 on the 5-point Likert Scale). About 89% of the respondents ranked tourism jobs as either Desirable or Very Desirable. However, this was an expected result bearing in mind that 95% of the Malindian economy revolves around the tourism industry either directly or indirectly (Visser & Schrool, 1991; PTLC, 1998). Respondents also felt that tourism was responsible for the weakened community cohesion and cooperation as they are replaced by new values which encourage competition and entrepreneurship. This has mainly resulted to increased economic independence of the youths from the family bonds (mean = 4.2). The industry was also perceived to have an influence on the marriage of the youths especially the girls (mean = 3.9) and for increased travel of the youth to foreign countries mainly Europe (mean = 4.1).

Socio-economic characteristics and tourism's social impacts

In order to test the correlation between the respondents' socio-economic and demographic characteristics and their opinions on tourism's social impacts, a variety of tests were conducted. These included *t* - tests and Pearson product-moment correlations.

To examine the perceptual differences between those respondents who were directly economically dependent on tourism and those who were not, a series of *t* - tests were undertaken (See Table 2 overleaf).

Generally Table 2 indicates that the hosts who had a direct tourism - economic reliance had more positive perceptions towards the industry and its impacts than those who had no direct relation. Significant differences between the two categories of residents were noted in variables such as tourism's development in Malindi, Malindi's image, standard of living, personal income, and morality. Unsurprisingly, those residents with a direct economic link with tourism were more significantly supportive of the industry compared with those with no linkage to it.

Significant differences were also noted regarding the economic - related issues. These included employment opportunities, personal income and living standards. Residents directly relying on tourism perceived the industry to impact more positively on these factors than the other group. Moreover, only 2.2 % of the respondents in the latter category exhibited negative attitudes, towards tourism in the area. This implies that even those residents who did not derive direct economic gains from tourism recognized the industry's contribution to the local economy.

Table 2: Perception of residents according to tourism - economic reliance

Impacts variables	Means economic reliance	Means no economic reliance	t - val[a]
1. Tourism development in Malindi	4.3	2.9	-6.4
2. Malindi Image	4.5	3.2	-6.8
3. Employment opportunities	4.9	4.0	-6.3
4. Personal income	4.8	3.1	-5.2
5. Standard of living	4.6	3.6	-5.6
6. Prices of goods and services	3.0	1.8	-5.1
7. Attitudes towards work	4.1	2.0	-6.3
8. Honesty in any commercial exchange	3.3	2.4	-3.2
9. Quality of life in general	4.7	4.2	-5.2
10. Courtesy and hospitality towards visitors	4.0	2.3	-6.1
11. Morality	2.9	1.4	-2.8
12. Sexual permissiveness	4.5	4.2	-0.8
13. Alcoholism	2.2	1.6	-2.7
14. Drug taking	2.1	1.5	-2.6
15. Prostitution	2.8	2.5	-2.2
16. Organized crimes	3.1	2.6	-1.2
17. Individual crimes	2.9	2.4	-3.5
18. Gambling/Illegal games	2.9	2.6	-1.3
19. Vandalism	2.2	1.7	-3.2
20. Local economy	4.6	3.8	-5.8
21. Increases recreational opportunities	4.4	3.9	-5.5
22. Out - migration of the youths	1.8	2.4	1.7
23. In - migrations of the youths	2.3	2.6	1.9
24. Economic independence of the youth	4.6	4.3	-1.6
25. Marriage of youth	3.6	3.0	-1.8
26. Travel of the youths	4.7	4.4	-5.9
27. Overall opinion about tourism in Malindi	4.5	3.3	-1.7

[a]Statistically significant at < 0.05

Other differences between the two groups of respondents were found on variables such as attitude to work, morality, sexual permissiveness, alcoholism, drug taking, gambling and the Malindi's image. Tourism dependent residents perceived it relatively more positively in terms of the above issues than the other group.

These results answer our first research question on whether the hosts' perceptions towards the socio - cultural impacts of tourism is a function of their direct economic dependency on the industry. The results are also consistent with the work of earlier researchers on the topic who found similar differences between the perceptions of the hosts who were economically dependent on tourism and those who were not (Var *et al*., 1985; Milman & Pizam, 1988; King *et al.,* 1990; Perdue *et al.,* 1990).

A second attempt was made to investigate the possibility of any perceptual difference based on sex, origin and marital status of the respondents (Table 3). The purpose of the remaining tests was to answer our second and third research questions.

Table 3: Difference in perceptions based on residents' sex, origin and marital status

Impacts variables[a]	Sex[b]			Origin[b]			Marital status[b]		
	Male	Female	*t*-Val	Malindi	Other	*t*-Val	Married	Other	*t*-Val
1.	4.5	4.5	-.32	4.3	4.7	2.0	4.6	4.4	1.4
2.	4.6	4.5	.59	4.3	4.8	3.1	4.6	4.6	-.44
3.	4.4	4.5	-.41	4.3	4.6	2.2	4.4	4.4	.42
4.	4.0	4.3	-1.4	3.8	4.5	5.1	4.2	4.1	6.5
5.	3.4	3.2	1.2	2.9	3.7	5.7	3.3	3.3	-.34
6.	2.9	3.1	-1.3	3.0	3.0	-3.1	3.0	3.0	.29
7.	4.3	4.3	-.32	4.2	4.4	.09	4.3	4.3	-.36
8.	3.0	3.2	-1.2	3.1	3.1	-3.0	3.2	3.0	-1.3
9.	2.2	2.3	-.75	2.5	2.0	-4.5	2.2	2.3	-.56
10.	3.7	4.1	-2.3	4.4	3.8	-2.5	3.8	4.0	-1.4
11.	2.1	2.0	.22	2.3	1.8	-3.6	1.9	2.2	-1.2
12.	1.8	1.8	.24	1.9	1.7	-.10	1.7	1.9	-1.5
13.	2.0	1.8	1.1	1.9	1.9	.09	1.9	1.9	.08
14.	2.0	2.0	-.20	2.1	1.9	-.13	2.0	2.0	-.11
15.	2.3	2.1	.26	2.2	2.2	-.21	2.3	2.1	-1.3
16.	2.0	2.2	-1.4	2.3	1.9	-2.1	2.1	2.1	-.19
17.	3.0	2.8	1.3	3.2	2.6	-1.9	2.9	2.9	-.27
18.	4.7	4.8	-.70	4.6	4.7	.22	4.7	4.8	-.75
19.	4.2	4.3	-.25	4.0	4.5	3.1	4.3	4.2	.20
20.	4.1	4.1	-.43	4.1	4.1	-.39	4.0	4.2	-1.6
21.	1.6	1.5	.26	1.7	1.4	-1.8	1.5	1.5	-.06
22.	2.0	2.1	-.40	2.4	1.7	-5.4	2.1	2.1	-.13
23.	4.4	4.3	.32	4.2	4.5	.32	4.4	4.2	1.1
24.	4.4	4.4	-.19	4.4	4.4	.21	4.6	4.5	.59
25.	4.5	4.5	-.21	4.6	4.2	-2.3	4.5	4.4	-.60
26.	4.2	4.1	.46	4.7	4.3	-2.2	4.0	4.1	-.72
27.	4.6	4.7	-.57	4.5	4.8	1.8	4.6	4.6	-.42

[a]Impact Variables are as in Table 2
[b]Mean Scores

Table 3 indicates that there are no statistically significant differences in attitudes towards tourism and its impacts as far as the sex and marital status of the respondents were concerned. It seems that whether one is male or female or even married or otherwise makes no difference as to his/her perception of tourism impacts. However, the *t* - test results regarding respondents' origin showed statistically significant differences (Table 4). It was found that respondents of non-Malindi origin had more positive attitudes towards tourism and presented a higher level of support for the industry. They had more positive perceptions of not only tourism's impacts on the local economy, but also of its effects on certain social impacts such as morality, sexual permissiveness and vandalism. This finding may be attributed to the fact that majority of the non-Malindi respondents (about 87%) have a direct economic relation with the tourism industry. And as found out in the *t* - test analysis, those respondents who were economically dependent on tourism have positive perceptions and attitudes towards the industry.

To further investigate whether the residents' perceptions of, and attitudes towards, the positive or negative impacts of tourism development were a function of the respondents' socio-demographic characteristics, Pearson product-moment correlations were computed for selected socio-demographic characteristics and the twenty impact variables as listed in Table 4.

Table 4: Pearson correlations[a] between impact variables and respondents' demographic characteristics @@ check significant correlations

Impacts variables[b]	Years living in Malindi	Age	Nº of family members	Education	Household income
1.	-.26	-.28	.17	.25	.34
2.	-.22	-.27	.28	.24	.39
3.	-.35	.31	.34	.28	.30
4.	-.27	.19	.31	.43	.36
5.	-.22	.20	.16	.44	.40
6.	-.18	.22	.10	.26	.11
7.	-.21	.25	.18	.31	.21
8.	-.05	-.07	.10	.18	.20
9.	-.11	-.20	.04	.22	.22
10.	-.13	-.22	.06	.24	.24
11.	0.05	.02	-.01	.30	.31
12.	0.31	.08	.28	.15	-.15
13.	-.29	-.31	.11	.01	.06
14.	-.25	-.27	.07	.02	.02
15.	-.21	-.20	-.00	-.03	-.04
16.	0.06	-.10	-.08	-.08	-.08
17.	-.13	-.25	.01	.23	.23
18.	-.05	-.12	-.01	.11	.05
19.	-.21	-.30	.11	.23	.30
20.	-.25	-.24	.20	.14	.44
21.	-.30	-.33	.14	.11	.36
22.	-.12	-.10	.12	-.09	-.12
23.	-.11	-.09	.10	-.11	-.13
24.	0.10	.09	.07	.32	.34
25.	-.03	.06	.27	.11	.43
26.	-.00	-.06	-.09	.14	.26
27.	-.28	-.27	.24	.18	.45

[a]Statistically significant at <0.05
[b]Impact Variables are as in Table 1

Table 4 presents results with a variety of implications. First, it is clear that the fewer the number of years a respondent lived in Malindi, the more positive attitudes s/he had for the future tourism expansion. The most statistically significant variables were found to be those related to economic related issues followed by social impact variables.

Second, age was found to correlate negatively with 16 impact variables (See Table 4). The results imply that, the older the respondents, the more negative their perceptions of the tourism industry. The highest correlations were found between age and variables relating to economic issues such as employment opportunities, personal income, standard of living and prices of goods and services. This was again followed by some social impact variables like alcoholism, drug taking, prostitution, sex permissiveness, crimes (both organized and individual) and vandalism. This finding suggests that the older respondents were less disposed towards the tourism industry in Malindi.

Third, there are 10 positive correlations between the number of family members in the household and the study's impact variables. It was found that those households with more members showed a relatively more positive attitude towards the industry. They all seemed to support further tourism development in the area. Specifically, high correlations were found between economic issues and Malindi's image.

Fourth, regarding the correlations between the level of education and the twenty-seven impact variables only 13 were found to be statistically significant (Table 4). The results generally show that the more educated the respondents were, the positive perception and attitudes towards the tourism industry.

Lastly, eighteen impact variables were found to have high statistically significant correlations with the household income (Table 4). The analysis revealed that the higher the household income of the respondents, the more positive they were in terms of their attitudes and perceptions towards the tourism industry in their area. These positive attitudes and perceptions by the respondents with high incomes were also extended to other issues like tourism development as well as its positive effects on certain social issues like prostitution and morality.

Both the *t* -test and the Pearson product-moment correlations analyses show that the Malindi residents' perceptions and attitudes towards the positive or negative aspects of tourism development are a function of certain socio-demographic characteristics with the exception of the respondents' sex and marital status. This answers our second and third research questions.

Discussion

Socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Malindi

Viewed as a socio-cultural process, tourism has the power to bring together people of such diverse backgrounds. It is the sure way to reinforce the reality of global villagisation as tourists intersect areas of cultural differences. The social changes, resulting from the interactions between the tourists and the host community, influence employment and income, determine whether the process of coastal tourism development is judged good or bad by those affected (de Kadt, 1979; Ap, 1990; Berger, 1996; Price, 1996). In an ideal set-up, contact between tourists and the host community should promote a wider understanding and remove prejudices (Lanfant *et al.,* 1995). Tourism in such a situation is also expected to engender the pride of ones culture to an extent that preservation of traditional cultures like arts and crafts should occur (Turner & Ash, 1975; de Kadt, 1979). However, WTO/UNEP (1983) observes that tourism has frequently played a more disruptive role in socio-cultural

relations. It can lead to complete or partial breakdown of the host community's culture and to its replacement by alien values imported by tourists.

Socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Malindi were found manifest to themselves in value systems, individual behavior, family relationships, collective lifestyles, traditional activities and the THC organization. For the purpose of this discussion the socio-cultural impacts are categorized into five groups namely; impacts on the population structure, modifications of consumption patterns, cultural impacts, transformation of norms and lastly occupational impacts (Table 5).

Table 5: The socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Malindi

Impacts	Examples
Population Structure	Size and composition of population, age
Modification of consumption patterns	Commodities, Food, Education, Infrastructure
Culture	Changes in traditions, religion, language
Transformation of norms	Values, sexual role, morals (e.g. crime and prostitution)
Occupational	Change of occupation, professionalization, age and sex distribution of certain occupations

Source: Modified from Pearce (1980) and Pizam & Milman (1984)

Impacts on the population structure

Tourism has the power to create new settlements that did not previously exist especially in the tourism-developing areas (Pearce, 1980; Pizam & Milman, 1984; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996). This mainly occurs as tourism development attracts people from other areas to come and work in the industry. At Malindi more and more people of upcountry origin were found to migrate to the area mainly to work, directly or indirectly, in the industry. According to PTO (1999) amongst Kenya Association of Tour Operators (coast branch) members the average number of non-Malindi people employed is 43% in direct employment. In the hotel sector the percentage is believed to be higher than this.

As Holloway (1994) puts it, immigration of workers is mostly typical in tourist destinations where the local people do not like working in the tourism industry or where they lack the required skills. It is a fact that some Malindi residents simply opt not to work in the tourist industry. Islamic religion has a strong influence on the socio-cultural structure in Malindi and in Kenya's coast region as a whole. Therefore any activity, which happens to contradict the Islamic principles, is strongly resented. The tourism industry happens to be grouped together with those industries with unacceptable activities by some local people, though this feeling is now fading out. The main reason behind the resentment as Migot-Adholla (1980: 63) says is that, apart from "... lowering the moral standards at Malindi, tourism is one of the most

important contributory variables in the spread of prostitution, alcoholism, drugtaking and crime". Thus the local Muslims perceive tourism as a source of evil. "On the other hand the immigrants, mostly from upcountry, accept tourism ostensibly because they engage in it for economic benefits (PTLC, 1998:24)". They see nothing negative about it and hence can comfortably work in the industry. Europeans and Asians likewise see no harm in working and investing in this lucrative business. This has lead to the tourism industry in Malindi being dominated by Italian investors. "Some Italians are even running small-scale businesses which include curio shops, hair dressing salons patronized by Kenyans, boutiques, grocery stores, bakery, video library, fruit juice kiosks, ice-cream parlors (PTLC, 1998: 32)".

The level of education is relatively low as compared to other regions in the country (Visser & Schrool, 1991; PTLC, 1998). In Malindi and indeed the coast region in general, secular education is not taken as a priority. Francula (1998:7) observes that, "because of widespread poverty, the few secondary school candidates who pass national examinations can not go on with their education". Thus, there are few local people with skills required by most of the managerial posts in the industry. This has led the hotel owners to "import" skilled labour from upcountry and elsewhere in the world.

If such trends, of importing workers, continue it is true that the population structure of Malindi will be highly modified. It will be marked by a high population ratio between the local people and others in favour of the former.

Modification of consumption patterns

Due to the increased income resulting from additional job opportunities created by tourism, there is a change in consumption patterns of the Malindi people. The cost of living in the region is relatively high. Among the influences, which have led to the rise in cost of living standards are over-reliance on "imports" of foodstuff from upcountry and the presence of the tourist hotels and restaurants in the market. When food supply declines it is a priority for the hotels to obtain fruits, fresh water fish and vegetables since they are ready to pay high prices. This leads to an increase in the market prices and often leaves the locals with little to eat. It is an undeniable fact that tourism development in Malindi had an influence on the social fabric of the locals. This has been directly through a change in local consumption and indirectly through the introduction of new styles of social behavior. The local consumption has been affected as the prices and quality of the available goods and services have changed. During the off-peak period, for instance, the *makuti* makers/sellers do a booming business. A piece of *makuti* sells at Ksh.1.50 during the peak season as opposed to Ksh.17.00 during the off-peak season (pers. Communication - *makuti* seller, 1999). During the off-peak seasons the *makutis* are in high demand as this is when most hotels are closed for renovation in preparation for the next high season. De Kadt (1979) and Lanfant *et al* (1995) explain the above scenario by saying that shifting resources to tourism from alternative activities tend to decrease the supply of goods to local people and raise their prices.

Cultural impacts

Tourism in Malindi presents an opportunity for cultural exchange between the hosts and the tourists. It can be a means of preserving local cultures, while at the same time it has the capacity to harm traditional ways of life and local culture (Bruner, 1995). A study conducted by the English Tourist Board on tourism in cathedrals has shown that tourism caused severe problems in terms of tear and wear, litter and disturbance of religious services (E.T.B., 1979).

In the Malindi area the disruption of culture has been in a different context. The local craftsmen, especially Kamba and Kisii people have accordingly responded to the ever-growing demand for souvenirs, arts and crafts by tourists. They have come up with new designs tailored to satisfy the tastes of their new customers. However, Greason (1995) and Lanfant *et al*. (1995) observe that when craft production is aimed at meeting the demands of coastal tourism it becomes the manufacture of mere souvenirs, which are not necessarily objects of traditional craftsmanship.

The Maasai culture has featured prominently in tourism promotion literature. It is used as the subject of photography as well as entertainment through dancing in tourist hotels in Malindi. This has resulted in the Maasai culture being highly commercialised in Kenya and in the world at large. Carvings of half-naked Maasai men, dreaded Maasai morans or bare-breasted Maasai women continue to be popular products in the curio shops not only in Malindi but also in other tourist destinations in the country.

Performing art has not been spared by tourism in Malindi either. Almost all tourist hotels organize traditional dances like Giriama, Kamba and Maasai dances. These performances are normally done on a commercial basis as the performing troupes get paid after their show, quite contrary to some 50 years ago! The commercialisation of the performing art has led to an upsurge of the traditional performances, shows and festivals culminating to competition between various dancing groups. Such competition for customers, as de Kadt (1979) and Lanfant *et al.* (1995) feel, can lead to lowering of standards of more serious groups. On the other hand "brokers" who usually organize the performances may have an upper hand in influencing what is to be presented, and how, rather than the performers themselves deciding, eventually making the shows fake.

Despite all this, tourism has also contributed to preservation of traditional arts and crafts because the high demand for similar handcrafts may help preserve traditional craftsmanship as it makes great demands on the abilities of the producers.

Transformation of norms

Coastal tourism can lead to changes in social norms and moral values both to the hosts and the tourists (Pearce, 1980). Such social changes can be at individual or at family levels or at the community level. The changes stem from the association between the residents and the tourists, which is usually in terms of service provision. Tour operators in the Malindi area offer city excursions to Malindi town. Here the contacts are between the locals and the tourists through the purchase of souvenirs in the curio shops especially at the African Curio Market. Such contacts can have an influence on the local people’s norms.

It is true that in Malindi, rich visitors come to poor communities. The rich visitors display their wealth and leisure which raises the expectations and needs of the local people, especially unemployed locals. So as to meet the raised expectations the youth engage themselves in antisocial activities like prostitution, drug peddling and mugging among others (PTLC, 1998).

In Malindi the situation is similar to de Kadt's (1979) observation that girls in Seychelles seek contacts with tourists perhaps in the hope of a prestigious wedding to a white foreigner, being given money and presents, and, at least for a while, taken away from hard realities of life. Young men in the coast region have also not been left behind. They make themselves available to white women tourists of all ages and to homosexual tourists at a price.

Occupational Impacts

The creation of employment opportunities has had a direct impact on the work patterns as local people change their previous jobs for new well-paid ones in the tourism industry.

A transformation to new tourism-related occupations such as waiteressing and tour guiding is taking root. The tourism industry has attracted the youth who prefer to work in the tourist establishments such as nightclubs, casinos, hotels, and tour companies while others work as beach operators. The majority of beach operators have abandoned their previous occupations in favour of tourist related jobs.

Ongoing research

As noted already, data collection and analyses are yet to be completed and, therefore, this paper only reports on some initial statistical results. The survey instrument is currently being used in a second phase of the study which is being undertaken on a larger scale. It is expected that this bigger sample will generate more statistically accurate results.

Conclusions

This survey examined the residents' perceptions of, and attitudes towards, the social consequences of tourism in Malindi. The study revealed that the respondents had both positive and negative attitudes towards tourism in the area. Firstly, the study found that, the majority of the respondents feel that tourism has a positive economic impact both to the individuals as well as to the overall local economy. Among these impacts were job creation, improved living standards, improvement of Malindi's image and personal income. Secondly, despite tourism's economic impact, the respondents reported the existence of some tourism related negative social impacts. Tourism was blamed for the worsening or increased levels of drugtaking, alcoholism, sexual permissiveness, vandalism and crimes (both individual and organized). Although the respondents are aware of these negative social impacts of tourism, they do not oppose its expansion. However, they feel that the current trend should be mediated to encourage more local people's ownership of tourism businesses.

The study also found that there is a strong relationship between the respondents' socio-economic characteristics and their perceptions and attitudes towards tourism's impact. It is important to mention is that economic dependency on tourism is the most significant determinant of the residents' attitudes toward the industry. Those residents who were associated with the industry had more positive attitudes than those who had no business interest in it. Certain demographic characteristics also were found to influence the study sample. The most important variables were the residents' occupational status, years living in Malindi, education levels, employment of one or more family members in the tourism industry and area of origin.

Like many other studies on this topic of socio-cultural impacts of tourism the conclusion for the current study is that, the intensity of the socio-cultural impacts of tourism in Malindi depends to a large extent on: (i) tourism activities, (ii) the capability of the locals to absorb coastal tourists without compromising desirable traditional activities, and (iii) the rate and intensity of tourism development (Pearce, 1980; Burner, 1995).

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