MAWAZO

Tourism, Conservation and Development

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Acknowledgement

Editorial

This Issue of Mawazo is a follow up publication based on some of the selected papers that were presented at the 7th ATLAS Africa Conference 2011 in Kampala, Uganda- June 6-8, 2011 on the theme: **Tourism, Conservation and Development.**

In this issue, the first three papers discuss findings on debates about the use of tourism to improve the livelihoods of the people, new conservation initiatives in the world and the impacts of population growth on tourism development. These papers present the potential of Pro Poor Tourism as a tool to alleviating rural poverty. They draw examples of success stories from tourism enterprises within the East African region. The authors also suggest new conservation initiatives that can be adopted to ensure sustainable impacts of tourism and especially pro-poor tourism initiatives in alleviating poverty. They are also critical of the impacts of increasing population on tourism development and especially in the developing world as well as on these new tourism initiatives.

The following three papers focus on ecotourism development, its management and impacts on the environment, by drawing examples from Gros Morne National Park, Canada; use of indigenous knowledge in environmental education and how it can be used to promote ecotourism initiatives by drawing examples from the pastoralist community of Turkana in Kenya. Also addressed are the environmental impacts of tourism development on the resources upon which tourism and especially along the Nile River in Uganda depends.

The seventh paper focuses on tourist motivation. It draws examples from the student community of University of Dar es salaam. Results suggest that students are willing to populate the domestic tourist statistics, but highlight cost and time as hindering factors to travel. The eighth paper assesses the myths and realities of community conservation around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. It highlights the challenges and shortfalls of the community conservation approach and also presents the views of the community towards this approach.

The last paper in this issue presents an interesting inventory of Dark tourism sites within the African continent. Examples are drawn from the past dark tourism incidences such as former genocide sites, former slave trade dungeons in Africa and other war memorials.

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Editor
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Embracing pro-poor strategies in Community Tourism Enterprises: the case of Il-Ngwesi Community Group Ranch, Kenya

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Abstract

Tourism is increasingly becoming a major economic sector for many countries by contributing to Gross Domestic Production (GDP), income, Government revenue, employment (formal and informal), environmental conservation and trickle down effects. It is one of the important tools for addressing poverty, gender inequality and sustainable development particularly in developing countries where poverty is very common. That is why tourism has been included in the Poverty Reduction Strategies of more than 80% of low income countries. Community Tourism Enterprises (CTEs) have been popularized in a bid to improve community and individual livelihoods. Proponents of pro-poor tourism argue that the success of tourism in livelihoods improvement depends on the extent to which pro-poor strategies are integrated in tourism development. This paper used the case of Il-Ngwesi Group Ranch to examine how CTEs embrace pro-poor strategies in livelihood improvement. Information was solicited for through oral interviews, observation and Focus Group Discussions (FGD). The results of the study revealed that Il-Ngwesi Community Group Ranch has embraced diverse pro-poor tourism strategies which have yielded positive socio-economic and livelihood benefits. However, community participation is still low especially in the management of Il-Ngwesi Eco-lodge as management functions are performed by Lewa Wildlife Conservancy.

Key words: Pro-poor strategies, Il-Ngwesi, Community Tourism Enterprises.

Introduction

Poverty issues have continued to occupy a central position in international, regional, and national deliberations (Kieti, Jones and Wishitemi, 2009) and several national and international organisations have stepped-up their efforts to address the situation. The United Nations adopted the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of poverty reduction, education, better maternal health, gender equality, and reducing child mortality, AIDS and other diseases (UN, 2005). Proponents of tourism as a tool for sustainable development have identified it as a sector with potential to assist poor countries reduce poverty and an intervention towards achieving the MDGs (Croes and Vanegas, 2008; Schilcher, 2007; Goodwin, 2006; WTO, 2002).

Kenya has continued to experience increasing poverty levels where 56% of the total population live below subsistence level (Kenya Government, 2007), of which an estimated 14.4 million people live in absolute poverty, unable to adequately meet the minimum daily needs for food, shelter, clothing, education, transport and other essential non-food items (Daily Nation, 2005). The majority (85%) live in rural and marginalised areas with limited development opportunities apart from tourism activity based on utilisation of their landscapes and natural resources (Kenya Government, 2007; Manyara and Jones, 2007).

The Kenya Government has identified tourism as one of the sectors that will contribute towards poverty alleviation in the achievement of Vision 2030 and is envisioned to contribute10% to GDP growth per annum for the next 25 years (Kenya Government, 2007). To achieve this growth, the government is spearheading tourism development with an aim of increasing international visitors from 1.8 million in 2007 to 3 million in 2012 and visitor expenditure from Kshs. 40,000 to at least Kshs. 70,000 per visitor stay (Kenya Government, 2007).

Proponents of pro-poor tourism assert that different forms of tourism contribute substantially to poverty reduction when pro-poor tourism strategies are entrenched in their planning and development process. They identify Community Based Tourism (CBT), Alternative tourism and Ecotourism as models of tourism development which encourage community participation and benefit sharing (WTO, 2002; Bennett *et al.*, 1999). In Kenya, CBT has gained popularity as part of a search for effective conservation and sustainable development, management of resources by local people through devolution of decision-making and increased spread of tourism benefits among community members. CBT underscore the economic, environmental and social issues (the cores of sustainable tourism development). Economically, CBT initiates sustainable and rewarding employment, community private sector partnership and economic benefits that are distributed to members of a community (Sebele, 2010; Okazaki, 2008). Environmentally, CBT encourages conservation through community access to land, environmental education and sustainable use of natural resources (Forstner, 2004; Kellert *et al.,* 2000). Socially, CBT boosts social cohesion, harmony and cooperation that enhance individual self-reliance, pride and hope for the future and make use of traditional-knowledge systems (Scheyvens, 2002; Roe and Khanya, 2001; Bennett *et al.*, 1999; Goodwin, 1998; Ashley and Garland, 1994).

According to Goodwin and Santilli (2009), CBT contribute to social capital and empowerment, improved livelihoods/standards of living, local development, commercial viability, conservation/environment, education, sense of place, tourism and communal benefits (in order of importance) as important success factor

clusters of community based enterprises (Table 1). However, the success of CBT depends on community awareness and sensitization, empowerment, leadership, capacity building and appropriate policy framework. *"...sensitize and empower local communities and their leaders so as to make informed decisions, as well as, enable them secure appropriate capacity building to enhance skills and knowledge"* (Manyara and Jones, 2007:641).

CBT enterprise models serve as a mechanism to promote poverty alleviation and pro-poor development within a particular locality. This paper examines Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) strategies adopted by the Il-Ngwesi Community Based Tourism Enterprise (CBTE) and its role in livelihood improvement among the Il-Ngwesi Group Ranch (GR) community.

Tourism Development and Poverty Reduction

The promise of tourism as a vehicle for developing countries to gain a competitive advantage and reduce poverty is based on its potential impact on growth (WTO, 2002). Consequently, tourism development is being used as one of the tools to alleviate poverty in a less costly way in the developing countries

(Croes and Vanegas, 2008). According to Yunis (2004), tourism is better placed as a poverty reduction intervention for developing countries because: it is labour intensive and provides jobs for women and youth; developing countries have a comparative advantage over developed countries in terms of natural resources, cultural heritage and climate. There are few barriers in establishing small and medium size businesses; and it offers a wide range of benefits. In this regard, tourism's role in development has evolved considerably to ensure that it benefits the poor, conserves the environment and offers a satisfying experience to the tourist (Elliot and Mann, 2004). The 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) and Rio Earth summit and adoption of Agenda 21, identified Travel and Tourism as one of the key sectors that can significantly contribute to achieving sustainable development (UN, 2010). Sustainable tourism contributes to sustainable development and brings about social equity, economic efficiency and environmental conservation and fosters a balance between the economic benefits of tourism on one side and the welfare of residents, their social well-being and environmental preservation on the other (Mbaiwa, 2005).

Table 1: Success Factor Clusters.

Success cluster	Success factors
Social capital and empowerment	– Empowerment/decision making/capacity building – Local community ownership/leadership/governance Participation – Local community working together
Improved livelihood/standards of living	– Employment – Increased livelihood options – Poverty alleviation – Improved standard of living – Income/revenue generation
Local economic development	– Economic benefits – Use of local products – Rural development – Stakeholder partnerships
Commercial viability	– Profitability – Commercial functionality – Longevity of project – Sound business/project plan – Innovative/good product – Growth/opportunity for growth – Sustainability – Increased/high visitation – Achieved with minimal donor intervention/funding
Conservation/ environment	– Conservation- Environment/ heritage – Sustainable technologies/ use of resources – Environmental policies/standards – Environmental monitoring/management
Education	– Education/training/using local skills
Sense of place	– Cultural revitalization/conservation – Raised community/tourist awareness of cultural/natural heritage and environmental issues – Instilled sense of place/pride
Tourism	– Tourist experience – Raised awareness of destination – Award winner
Collective benefits	– Ability to fund social/other projects/products – Regeneration/infrastructure development
Others	– Triggered replication of other projects – Allowed sufficient time for project – Funding/investment

Source: *Goodwin and Santilli (2009)*

Despite the varied assertions of tourism in poverty reduction, there are sceptics on whether poverty is reduced and tourism potential to benefit the poor has been challenged as they depend on their economic participation (Ashley, 2000). Without active participation of the poor, poverty reduction through tourism may be a far-fetched dream. Proponents of PPT argue that for tourism benefits to reach the poor, PPT strategies must be integrated in the tourism development framework of a destination geared towards generating net benefits for the poor (PPT, 2010). PPT must provide economic gain, employment opportunities for small and medium-size enterprises (SMEs), infrastructure, improved health and education services, protection of natural and cultural resources, and build capacity for the poor to improve their livelihoods since PPT is not a form of tourism *per se* but part of a wider developmental agenda for 'pro-poor growth', which is not just fast growth, but growth which benefits and includes poor segments of the population (PPT, 2010).

PPT strategies can be categorised into three: economic, livelihood (physical, social and cultural improvements), participation and involvement (Meyer *et al.,* 2004; PPT, 2010). Ashley, *et al.* (2007) outlined pro-poor strategies that organisations could use to expand their economic opportunities to include; (i) creation of inclusive business models by involving the poor as employees, entrepreneurs, suppliers, distributors, retailers, customers, and sources of innovation in financially viable ways; (ii) development of human capital through improved health, education and skills of employees, business partners, and members of the community; (iii) building of institutional capacity and helping to optimize the '*Rules of the Game'* by shaping the regulatory and policy frameworks (Table 2).

Table 2: Tourism Development Strategies

PPT strategy	Strategy details
Creating inclusive business models	Involving the poor as employees, entrepreneurs, suppliers, distributors, retailers, customers, and sources of innovation in financially viable ways
Developing human capital	Improving health, education and skills of employees, business partners, and members of the community.
Building Institutional capacities	Strengthening the industry Associations, market intermediaries, Universities, Governments, Civil Organizations and grass root groups to play their roles within the system effectively.
Helping to optimize the 'Rules of the Game'	Shaping the regulatory and policy frameworks and business norms that help determine how well the economic opportunity system works and the extent to which it is inclusive.

Source: *Ashley et al. (2007)*

Alternatively, tourism spending can be channelled more directly towards the poor through employment of the poor in tourism enterprises; direct sales of goods and services to visitors by the poor (informal economy); and tax or levy on tourism income with proceeds benefiting the poor. PPT strategies focus on the local or community level and aim at increasing tourism contribution to poverty reduction and enabling poor people to participate more effectively in tourism development (Table 3).

Table 3: Pro-Poor Tourism Strategies

Increased economic benefits	Enhanced non-financial livelihoods impacts	Enhance participation and partnership
• Expand local employment, wages, commitment to local jobs, and training of local people • Expand local enterprise opportunities including those that provide services to tourism operations (food suppliers, guides) and those that sell to tourists (craft producers, sellers). • Develop collective income sources such as fees, revenue shares, equity dividends and donations, etc	• Capacity building and training • Mitigate detrimental environmental impacts • Address competing uses of natural resources • Improve social and cultural impacts • Increase local access to infrastructure and services provided for tourists (e.g. roads, communication, healthcare, transport)	• Create more supportive policy/ planning framework that enables participation by the poor • Increase participation of the poor in decision-making by government and the private sector • Building pro-poor partnerships with the private sector • Increase flow of information and communication between stakeholders to lay the foundation for future dialogue

Source: Meyer et al. (2004)

Box 1: Principles of addressing poverty through tourism

Mainstreaming: Ensuring that sustainable tourism development is included in general poverty elimination programmes. And, conversely, including poverty elimination measures within overall strategies for Sustainable Tourism Development.

Partnership: Developing partnerships between public and private sector bodies, with a common aim of poverty alleviation.

Integration: Adopting an integrated approach with other sectors and avoiding over-dependence on tourism.

Equitable Distribution: Ensuring that tourism development strategies focus on achieving a more equitable distribution of wealth and services as growth alone is not enough.

Acting Locally: Focusing action at a local destination level, within the context of supportive national policies.

Retention: Reducing leakages from the local economy and building linkages within it, focussing on the long tourism supply chain.

Viability: Maintaining sound financial discipline and assessing the viability of all actions taken.

Empowerment: Creating conditions to empower and enable the poor to have access to information and to influence and take decisions.

Human Rights: Removing all forms of discrimination against people working, or seeking to work, in tourism and eliminating any exploitation, particularly against women and children.

Commitment: Planning action and the application of resources for the long term.

Monitoring: Developing simple indicators and systems to measure the impact of tourism on poverty.

Source: Yunis (2004)

The Case Study

Il-Ngwesi II Group Ranch (GR) (Il-Ngwesi) lies between 0º 16' to 0º 25' North and 37º 17' to 37º 26' East. It is located in Mukogodo Division, Laikipia District, Rift Valley Province of Kenya, approximately 60 km north-east of Nanyuki and 30 km west of Isiolo. It borders other community Group Ranches namely Lekurruki to the north and Il-Ngwesi 1 (Makurian) to the west and the privately owned Borana Ranch and Lewa Wildlife Conservancy (LWC) to the south-west and south-east respectively (Harrison, 2001).

In the early 1990s, members of Il-Ngwesi Group Ranch entered into discussions with the management of the neighbouring Lewa Downs Ranch about the possibility of setting aside some of their land for wildlife conservation and to conduct tourism business ventures that could raise income for community projects. Through KWS/USAID Conservation of Biodiversity Resource Areas (COBRA) project and with the encouragement and support of LWC and Borana Ranch, Il-Ngwesi started the process of engaging in wildlife tourism. In

January 1996, construction of a tourist lodge in the conservation area started. The lodge is managed and run by local people. Other tourism oriented businesses (cultural dances, visit to traditional manyattas, making and sale of traditional handicrafts and bead works) have been started and this has given women a chance to participate in tourism. In 2009 and 2010, the lodge received over 600 visitors annually.

The main goal behind the establishment of the CTE was to improve community livelihoods and generate income through eco-friendly activities in order to conserve wildlife and its habitat, uphold the Maasai culture and develop local communities. Specifically, the CTE aimed at: increasing direct income to the local community, increasing access to clean water and improving health, infrastructure and education amongst the Il-Ngwesi Maasai.

The creation of Il-Ngwesi II GR was supported by the Group Representatives Land Act of 1968. The land tenure system is communal, owned and managed by GR members. Management is directed by the Group Ranch Management Committee (GRMC), of twenty elders who manage the GR on behalf of about 6,000 members. An Annual General Meeting (AGM) is held once a year to deliberate on matters affecting the project in regard to revenue sharing, management policies, registration of new members, and election of a management team and reviewing the progress of the GR development activities.

Methodology

Both secondary and primary information was collected. The main sources of secondary information included Il-Ngwesi Group Ranch strategic plans and reports, journals, economic surveys, Government and NGOs reports, academic research findings and news paper reports. Primary information was gathered through oral interviews,

observation and Focus Group Discussion (FGD). A total of thirteen key informants from the community (employees, community members, and elders) and two managers were interviewed and one FGD was held. The research participants were labelled as: individual respondents INGR 2-1...INGR 2-13, the managers INGR M1 and INGR M2 whereas, FGD participants FG3-1…FG3-8.

Purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to identify respondents for oral interviews and FGD respectively. This aimed at getting experts on the subject as it relates to their own community by virtue of living there and/or socializing with members of the community. The target was people who had the knowledge on tourism development in the study sites and willing to provide a non-biased account of the tourism impacts on the livelihoods of the community.

Oral interviews were both unstructured and semi-structured. The respondents were asked to comment on issues related to tourism, its impacts on reducing poverty and their aspirations from tourism development. The interviews were conducted from homesteads, shopping centres, offices and tourist facilities using English and Kiswahili languages. The native language (Maa) was used through a Masai research assistant as some respondents were not conversant with Kiswahili. All the interviews were audio-recorded. This was supplemented with observation of the physical settings, cultural handicrafts, bead works and traditional homesteads and modern infrastructure like schools, health centre, water storage and distribution.

FGD was used to gain insights into Il-Ngwesi GR shared opinion on the role of tourism in poverty reduction and eliciting a multiplicity of views and emotional processes within a group context. The FGD was heterogeneous (six men, two women and two youths) and in conformity with Kitzinger (1995) recommendation of four to twelver members

for a FGD. The FGD lasted about two hours and this prevented participants from getting bored and losing momentum, which would consequently impact negatively on the quality of responses (Finn *et al.*, 2000).

Results

The study revealed that Il-Ngwesi CTE had embraced varied pro-poor tourism strategies ranging from economic, livelihoods, participatory and partnership strategies that have resulted in communal and individual benefits. It was agreeable among respondents that Il-Ngwesi CTE embraces pro-poor livelihoods strategies that are evident from the resulting socio-economic benefits. Il-Ngwesi CTE has provided direct employment for the local people, for instance, 34 full time employees and six casuals are employed by Il-Ngwesi eco-lodge. In order to increase tourism benefits to the individual members, the CTE has established two cultural *manyattas*, as one of the respondents concedes:

> '*We consider ourselves lucky…we have this Manyatta here, there is another one on the other side…women can now make bead wares for sale*' [INGR 2-6]

another respondents added:

> '*….. my mother takes her bead wares to Lewa (Private-led tourism enterprise) to sale and this is good for the family as she can buy some household provisions without having to wait for Mzee (father) to provide*' [FG3-5]

The income from the tourists is shared:

> '*…each tourist pays $20 per visit to the cultural manyatta. Out of this, 20% is for community development, 10% is paid to the morrans [Warriors] and 70% is shared amongst the cultural manyatta members for individual use*' [INGR M1]

It was evident from the study that the Il-Ngwesi CTE has enjoyed increased economic benefits from the Il-Ngwesi eco lodge, cultural manyattas, curio and craft sales, camel rides, wildlife viewing.

The GR members have a greater say on most of the issues concerning the ranch. The members meet once in a year (AGM) to deliberate on various issues regarding the CTEs, schools, bursaries, road maintenance and medical facilities among others. One of the respondents had this to say:

> '*Before we decide on any development initiative within our community, we look at the needs common to every community member [for example] a cattle dip, everyone will use it…we look at what can bring us together… If we focus on individual benefits…we will break the existing community cohesion…we will be inviting more complaints from the community members*' [INGR 2-4]

However, it was frequently observed that a majority of women barely attend these meetings, something, which one of the managers linked to "*women's lack self confidence*" [INGR M1].

Il-Ngwesi CTE has continued to improve social development of the community through the provision of education, healthcare services, piped water and this was highlighted by all respondents as an important contribution to the welfare of the population.

> '*...We have built nursery schools in each of the villages…we pay teachers in these nursery schools…we fund six nursery schools spread over seven neighbourhoods. [Again] we are trying to discourage pre-arranged marriages [consequently] we have seen the number of pupils, particularly girl's enrolment increase over the last two years*' [INGR M1]

In fact;

> '*...We realised that many children were passing very well but they were not proceeding with their secondary education…their parents were not able to pay their fees…we started a bursary scheme. Over the last two years, we have spent more than one million Kenya shillings to sponsor over 200 children [INGR M2]. We are [also] running a mobile clinic, that offers services to the community members twice in a month…we have installed piped*

water in one of the villages (Sanga Village) and we plan to replicate the same service to other villages' [INGR M2]

Existing records indicated that in the year 2010, Il-Ngwesi group ranch spent Kshs. 380,000 towards construction of Lokusero Dispensary, Ksh. 35,000 in installing piped water at Sanga area and a further Kshs. 104,000 in constructing women's curio shop at Il-Ngwesi Lodge. Besides, the number of students under Il-Ngwesi bursary scheme increased from approximately 70 students in 2007 to 115 in 2010. (fig 1)

Figure 1: Number of students under Il- Ngwesi Bursary scheme
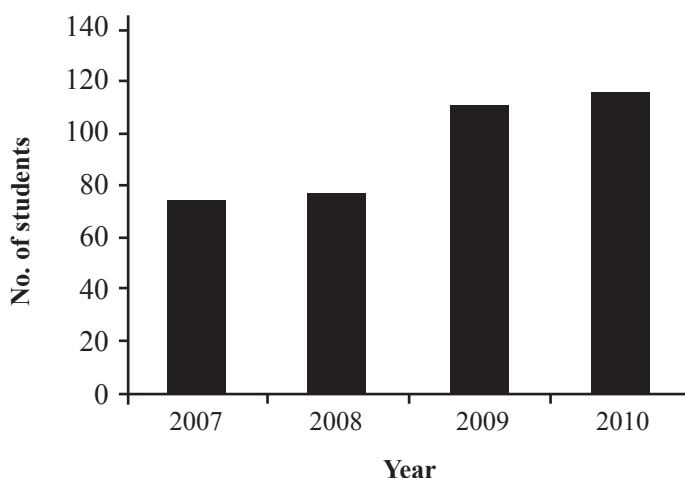
The study indicated that the CTE had resulted in enhanced livelihood impacts inform of social amenities. Subsequently, majority of Il-Ngwesi CTE respondents were optimistic towards tourism development as highlighted in the sentiments below and Table 4.

'I have not seen anything bad with tourism... the only help we have seen here is from tourism...even if it is minimal'. [FG3-1]

'Tourism is closer to us than the Government...the only help we get here is through tourism...help from Government is like a dream...I see tourism as a blessing to the community'.[INGR 2-3]

'We know our saviour is tourism, no other way...it is tourism to save us in all our economic aspirations and needs'. [INGR 2-8]

Il-Ngwesi CTE has contributed substantially to community involvement and participation in tourism development (Table 4). Since members are in charge of the management of the enterprise, they control the revenue accrued from tourism and budgetary allocations to different community development initiatives. As mentioned earlier, members meet once in a year (AGM) to deliberate on different issues regarding the GR, schools, bursaries, roads, medical and water facilities among others. This indicates that participation and involvement of the community in PPT strategies have been entrenched in Il-Ngwesi CTE.

Table 4: Contribution of Il-Ngwesi CTE to the Il-Ngwesi Community

Sampled elements of IL-Ngwesi CTE	Perceived contribution to the Community well being
Control of tourism development	Substantial: Community Committees
Community ownership	Substantial : Group Ranch, Il-Ngwesi Eco-lodge, Cultural manyattas
Communal benefits from tourism	High: Schools, Health centres, Bursaries, Enhanced security and communication, Water supply, Purchase of more communal land, Construction of cattle dips
Individual benefits from tourism	Minimal: Employment opportunities, Sale of handicraft, bead wares, cultural dances, visits to manyattas
Participation in tourism development	Minimal: Small Tourism Enterprises,
Community cohesion	Strong: Emphasis on group welfare
Revenue leakage from SMEs [e.g. cultural manyattas]	Minimal, if any

However, it is worth mentioning that a majority of respondents felt that their full participation in tourism development has been hampered by: lack of sufficient government support; lack of financial capital and lack of skills. The general view was summed up by two of the respondent who said:

'We need government support…even if it is minimal…if on one side we get some support from the government and on the other side, some support from tourism… poverty amongst the community members will reduce' [INGR 2-4]

'We need to be taken for seminars and exposure tours to renowned community based tourism enterprises…We would benefit if we are taught the best ways to conduct our businesses'. [INGR 2-6]

Discussion

The results revealed that the majority of respondents were aware of the positive communal benefits such as construction of schools, water and health facilities. These findings support the findings by Manyara and Jones (2007); Nyakaana and Edroma (2008) that CBT initiatives have led to clean water, and development of transport and communication infrastructure revenue sharing which are indicators of improved standards of living. Furthermore, the research findings revealed that tourism brings individual benefits through increased business opportunities for handicrafts, artefacts and employment. This is very important, considering the fact that unemployment in Kenya is very high, particularly in rural areas and amongst women and youth. These results are consistent with other findings from Kenya and other developing countries that uphold creation of employment through tourism development as very important in promoting rural development (Sebele, 2010; Nyakaana and Edroma 2008; Kieti and Akama, 2005; Goodwin, 2002; Lindberg and Johnson, 1997). Through provision of employment for the locals and creation of opportunities for

small scale businesses, the poor can access the main stream tourism industry, which is foreign dominated, sustain their livelihoods and help in poverty reduction (Nyakaana, 2008; Forstner, 2004).

Like Godwin (2002), a majority of the respondents raised their concerns on insignificant individual benefits accrued from tourism through selling of artefacts and entertaining visitors. The low-paying occupations are much sought after by the poor, because they do not require high academic skills, vocational or basic skills (Roe and Khanya, 2001; Bennett *et al.*, 1999; Goodwin, 1998; Ashley and Garland, 1994). The findings revealed that the majority of the Il-Ngwesi Maasai lack sufficient training to enable them have access to formal employment requiring specialised training and skills. Common sentiments amongst respondents such as "*they tell us…we are not educated*" [INGR 2-2] can be dealt with if they are supported with appropriate training to prepare them for a wide range of jobs in the tourism industry.

However, there was a widespread acceptance, particularly, among the management of Il-Ngwesi CTE that collective community benefits supersede individual interests. Moreover, the CTE emphasises on collective rather than individual benefits support. Clitton and Benson (2006) assert that such behaviour reflects substantial degree of social capital on elements, such as, common rules, norms and sanctions. This agrees with Goodwin and Santilli (2009) who identified social capital among success factors of CTEs.

Tourism requires high quality marketing and management skills (Sebele, 2010; Manyara and Jones, 2007; Mbaiwa, 2005; UN, 2005; Scheyvens, 2002; Goodwin, 1998). This study found that the majority of the Il-Ngwesi CTE members have inadequate tourism marketing skills. However, Il-

Ngwesi CTE has partnered with Lewa Wildlife Conservancy (LWC), a privately owned tourism project which markets the Il-Ngwesi CTE products, both locally and internationally. Forstner (2004) noted that a partner from the private sector serves as an important source of market information for a CTE which is crucial for a successful CTE. Furthermore, private partner could enable CTE to target higher-value markets.

The ability of Community Based Tourism to generate benefits is often controlled by policies that originate from Government agencies, Private sector, NGOs and International agencies. Local community, public and, private sectors, advocacy groups are all "*interdependent stakeholders in a complex and dynamic tourism domain, where no single individual or group can resolve strategic tourism issues by acting single-handedly*" (Timothy and Tosun, 2003:185). While Okello *et al.* (2003) and Okello (2005) acknowledge that any type of partnership should embrace joint response to the needs and concerns of each stakeholder. Jamieson *et al.* (2004) assert that an ideal tourism partnership framework should lead to PPT development. The success of Il-Ngwesi CTE is partially attributed to the cordial partnership framework between Government, NGOs, Private Sector and International Organizations and Il-Ngwesi GR.

Conclusion

The manner in which tourism development is approached is critical for its success in terms of promoting the well-being of local people, both individually and communally. Il-Ngwesi CTE presents an optimistic situation, whereby tourism development to a greater extent is being initiated and driven by community members. There is substantial involvement of the local community in identifying the resources to be maintained and enhanced, and developing strategies for

tourism development and management. The success of Il-Ngwesi CTE calls for a shift from other forms of tourism development models to a PPT led model that involves communities in improving their general well-being.

In order for Il-Ngwesi CTE to be sustained and increase benefits to the individuals, there is need to:

- Incorporate the cultural manyattas into tour packages rather than a stop on the way to the protected areas.

- Encourage tourists to purchase local goods and services directly from the local people.

- Ensure that ownership and control of the CTE are bestowed upon the community members fully through capacity building and creating linkages with other tourism stakeholders.

- Create an appropriate partnership framework that should respond to the needs and concerns of each stakeholder, with special emphasis on the local communities as 'nucleuses' of all the phases of tourism development.

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Local communities' perceptions on and expectations of conservation initiatives in the Amboseli Ecosystem

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Abstract

Conservation initiatives that targeted the local community were first introduced to Kenya in the 1950s in an effort to involve them in wildlife conservation efforts. This study identified the types of conservation initiatives in the Amboseli ecosystem and evaluated local community perceptions on and expectations of those initiatives. Through random selection and semi-structured questionnaires, 234 local resident and 234 key informants were interviewed. Three types of conservation initiatives were identified; including government initiatives (National Parks e.g. Amboseli), Community Wildlife Sanctuaries owned by members of a group ranch and conservation initiatives co-owned by a group of private landowners. The landowners did not participate directly in management of the initiatives; instead they transferred the responsibility to investors, primarily due to a lack of local capacity. There was a general feeling by especially those who suffered wildlife related losses that KWS was mismanaging Amboseli and thought that the park would be better managed collaboratively with the community. The majority (67%) of the respondents lived adjacent to an existing or proposed wildlife conservation area but they were not involved in their management and did not realize any benefits. This in addition to fear of losing land contributed to a lack of support for community-based conservation initiatives. Almost all the respondents incurred wildlife related costs in the form of injuries, loss of life and property, but many (50%) would support wildlife conservation if it benefited them. These results bring to light the fact that conservation authorities have not been able to assist local communities in the setting up and management of wildlife conservation initiatives which would enable them to benefit from the lucrative wildlife-based tourism. If conservation is to succeed in the Amboseli Ecosystem, the Government and conservation agencies should provide local communities with strategies to benefit from tourism.

Keywords: Amboseli National Park, Benefit-Cost, Community Conservation, Eco-tourism, Group Ranches, human-wildlife conflicts, land use changes, Maa.

Introduction

Since the beginning of the 18th Century, the western world has strived to separate what it perceived as the "human world" from the "natural world". This concept was largely driven by the notion that "where man is, nature is not", a value which was to be embodied in the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 (Cronon, 1996). Since then, this model has been replicated globally and further mirrored in the organizational mind-set of environmental agencies.

In North America, the national park movement began at the end of the Indian Wars, a time when all Native Americans were conveniently rounded up to be slaughtered or moved to distant reservations (*Ibid.*). In Africa, indigenous people were displaced from their ancestral lands to make room for conservation areas (Adams and Hulme, 2001). This 'fortress' conservation model, whereby protected areas are managed as self-sufficient islands, without any involvement of nearby communities is becoming more unpopular (Murphree, 2001; Butler, 1998), mostly due to the high economic costs associated with the model, and the low economic returns from protected areas compared with alternative land uses (Adams and Hulme, 2001).

This paradigm change might also have come from "the self-interest of the conservation constituency, which, during the late 1970s, recognized that fortress conservation would be difficult to maintain politically due to objections by local people and their political leaders, in countries with renewed democracies" (Hutton et al., 2005: 343). Their focus is to empower communities to control and access resources in combination with social development, education and poverty alleviation (Brockington et al., 2006; Igoe, 2005; Wilshusen et al., 2002). The argument is that by giving people economic incentives for preserving their environment, conservation can be an alternative form of land use and conservation will work better.

While many conservationists still maintain that protected areas in the form of strictly state controlled national parks and game reserves is the only viable option for preservation of nature and biodiversity (Duraiappah, 2004; Oates, 1999; Brandon et al., 1998; Kramer et al., 1997), there is no doubt that a great deal of these establishments create considerable social impacts (Igoe, 2006; West et al., 2006; Schmidt-Soltau and Brockington 2004; Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997). These include discrimination against indigenous peoples, displacement of people, changes in land-use rights, denial of access to resources leading to reduced livelihood security and impoverishment of local communities, deepening inequalities and creating conflicts between local people and wildlife management. In response to this unfavorable situation, new approaches that integrate the needs of local people while conserving wildlife have increasingly been initiated over the past decades (Shyamsundar et al., 2005; Awimbo et al., 2004; Hulme and Murphree, 2001; Barrow et al., 2000; IIED, 1994). Some examples of these programs include, Integrated Development and Conservation Programs (IDCPs), co-management of natural resources, and Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) and Community Based Conservation (CBC). Such programs were introduced to address two goals; environmental sustainability and alleviation of poverty especially in the context of rural development. These programs were developed upon the notions of compatibility between sustainable use of natural resources and community/rural development.

The main challenges to successful integration of conservation and community development are based on two central questions. First, to what extent does community-based conservation programs

involve community participation in decision-making, implementation, management, monitoring and evaluation of such programs Second, to what extent do the communities receive benefits from such programs which can improve their livelihoods and contribute towards poverty alleviation?. The two questions are very closely interrelated and hence must be addressed to ensure success of such programs. This can be done by assessing people's attitudes and perceptions towards conservation (Ebua et al., 2011; Tessema et al, 2007; Baral and Heinen 2007; Jackson et al., 2003; Mehta and Kellert, 1998).

The assessment of people's attitudes and perceptions towards conservation is an important aspect in many studies of wildlife conservation. This is primarily because the success of wildlife conservation depends on the attitudes of the local population, their perception of concepts and strategies put forth by conservation organizations (Ebua et al., 2011; Mehta and Kellert, 1998). Given the recurring nature of conflict between conservation and local communities, it is critical that conservationists better understand local views with respect to wildlife and protected areas. Further, developing a good understanding of factors which influence attitudes is important to enable wildlife managers to implement approaches that attract the support of stakeholders and the general public.

Unfortunately, despite the well-intentioned goals of CBC, it appears that these initiatives have often increased the local community's opposition to protected areas instead of reducing it (Logan and Moseley, 2002). One reason for this outcome is that most CBC ventures have failed to offer local communities alternative and truly sustainable forms of livelihoods (Songorwa, 1999). In Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Tanzania, rural communities have failed to achieve autonomy over local resources and wildlife

management strategies because of inherent weaknesses in the planning, structure and implementation of CBC initiatives. For Example, in Tanzania, the new approach of creating Wildlife Management Areas (WMA) has been met with a lot of stiff resistance from local communities who view it as another ploy by wildlife authorities and their supporters to create more space for wildlife at their expense (Hulme & Murphree, 2001; Baldus et al., 2001). As a result, these communities are unable to reap the financial benefits of such initiatives (Songorwa, 1999). Local empowerment is also often poorly achieved because of national governments that are unwilling to relinquish control over land and resources. The lingering top-down administrative structure leaves only narrow "decision-making avenues for rural communities," thereby defeating the purpose of Community-based Conservation initiatives.

Conservation efforts in Kenya in the 1950s were commendable for their foresight that the success of conservation would depend largely on the cooperation of the local people. The creation of Game Reserves in the 1940s was the first time Kenya's conservation policy took into account the needs of local communities (Barrow and Murphree, 2001). The purpose of the Game the Reserves was to protect wildlife in areas that could not be established as National Parks because they were already allocated for other purposes (Kameri-Mbote 2003). Both humans and wildlife could use the natural resources in these multiple-use areas. The Amboseli and Chyulu West areas both became Game Reserves in 1948 (Barrow and Murphree, 2001; Okello and Tome, 2007). In the colonial government's mind, though, these reserves were established as a conservation effort of last resort, which authorities hoped to eventually convert, exclusively for the purpose of wildlife conservation, to National Parks (Kameri-Mbote, 2003). When the colonial government did convert these areas

to National Parks in 1974 for Amboseli, and 1982 for Chyulu West, it reverted to fortress conservation and forbade the use of resources within the park by local communities (Lange, 2006). This unilateral decision contributed to a deterioration of relations between local residents and conservation authorities. In the case of Amboseli National Park, this hostility was further exacerbated by the fact that the Kenyan Wildlife Service did not keep its promises of compensation for the resources that the locals could no longer use inside the park (Poole, 2006).

Early community-based conservation initiatives remained localized and no effort was made to incorporate them into the policies being outlined by conservation authorities. For example, increases in tourism-based revenue, in conjunction with a growing concern for the sustainable protection of wildlife in the Amboseli region, resulted, in 1961, in an initiative to share revenue with the local group ranch members, in the hope that the community would recognize the value of conserving wildlife (Barrow and Murphree, 2001). In June of 1961, at the recommendation of the Game Policy Committee, the National Park Service transferred the management of and the revenue from Amboseli National Park (ANP) over to Kajiado County Council (Barrow and Murphree, 2001). In 1974, management of the park was transfered back in government in an effort to reclaim what had become one of the most profitable conservation areas in Kenya. Since then, the residents of the group ranches bordering the park have received few benefits from (ANP) and as Kajiado County Council controls one lodge and a small percentage of the park's land (Poole, 2006). In September 2005, the government again devolved control of the park back into the hands of the county council (Lange, 2006) but was immediately reversed which exacerbated the mistrust local people have on the government.

Many essential migration corridors and dispersal areas are found outside parks and reserves making these protected areas alone insufficient for the survival of Kenya's wildlife population. And, within the 6000km^2 Amboseli ecosystem, the situation is much dire because the formally protected areas at 400km^2, make up less than 7% of the whole. Consequently more well-managed community-based conservation initiatives are needed to ensure that wildlife is protected both inside and outside the parks and to ensure that tangible benefits reach people at the community level, thereby promoting conservation as a viable land use option.

It is also important to understand the complexity of factors involved in shaping public attitudes towards protected areas and conservation. Many studies have examined socioeconomic and demographic variables as predictors of attitudes towards protected areas in developing countries (Wang et al., 2006; Fiallo & Jacobson, 1995). While socioeconomic variables are often found to be powerful correlates of attitudes, they tend to vary in their relation to attitudes from case to case, and it may be that the perceptions people hold about a protected area more directly influence attitudes. Allendorf et al. (2006) found that peoples' perceptions of a national park in Burma were more powerful predictors of attitudes than socioeconomic variables, which only indirectly affected attitudes. This study strived to document the types and spatial distribution of local community conservation initiatives and explore the local communities perceptions on and expectations of local conservation initiatives in the area.

Study Site

The study area lies between Amboseli and Tsavo National Parks and is divided into six group ranches: Kuku, Kimana, Mbirikani, Rombo, Olgulului, and Eseleikei. These group ranches are essential dispersal areas

for the wildlife from the two parks (Hurt, 2001). As such, they have a high potential for ecotourism and community conservation initiatives. The bulk of revenue from this area comes from the two national parks and is directly controlled by the government. Amboseli alone generates approximately 3.4 million dollars each year from tourism, but only two percent of this money goes to the local communities (Lange, 2006).

This study focused on community conservation initiatives in four Group Ranches, Kimana, Kuku, Mbirikania and the Entonet. Until recently, the Maasai were the predominant ethnic group in the area, but in the last decade, Kikuyu, Kamba and Tanzanian agriculturalists have migrated to the region and changed the area's ethnic composition (Berger, 1993; Coast, 2001). These migrants, in addition to increased birth rates among the local Maasai have resulted in high human population growth (Luseneka, 1994; Coast, 2001; KNBS, 2010). For the purpose of this study, local community will include all the inhabitants of the study area irrespective of their duration of stay within the area. The area has also experienced a high growth in livestock numbers, hence competition for the scarce resources and increased human-wildlife conflicts. Land use changes have also exacerbated these conflicts because conversion of land for agriculture reduces the available habitat for both livestock and wildlife.

Map 1: Amboseli Ecosystem Showing the study area
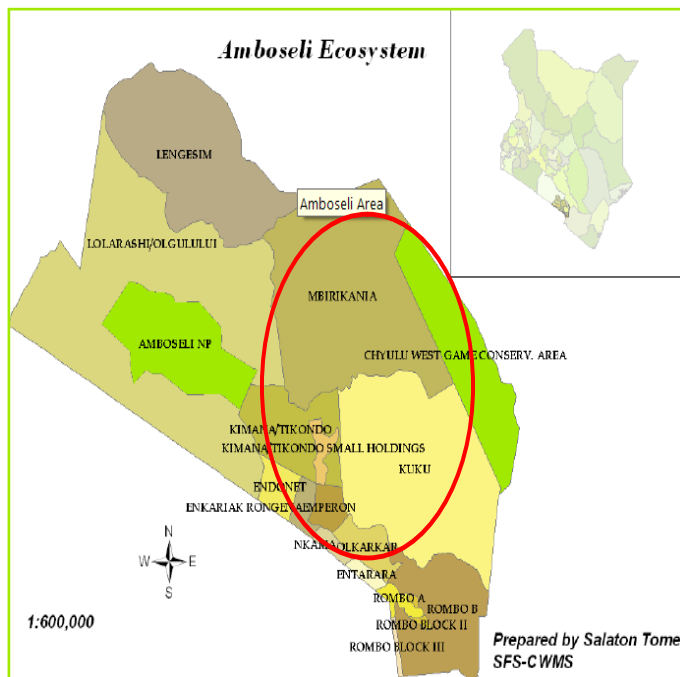
Materials and Methods

Data was collected using different qualitative and quantitative research methods. Demographic data, attitudes and expectations from 234 randomly selected respondents from Kuku (41%), Kimana (19%), Mbirikani (26%) and Entonet (15%) were obtained using semi-structured questionnaires. To assess the level of the community's participation and their expectation, participants were asked to provide biographical data (age, sex, tribe, and membership status in the group ranch in which they lived), whether they benefited from local wildlife conservation efforts and what the nature of those benefits was, what impacts wildlife conservation had on them, and what their attitude and perceptions were on the subject. The interviewers used a cluster sampling method. Focus Group Discussions and Key Informant interviews were used to obtain information on the role of the existing and upcoming community conservation initiatives in wildlife conservation, and the attitudes of local communities towards these ventures. Secondary data was obtained through literature review on community conservation programs.

The data obtained were analyzed with the help of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (PASW Statistics 18.0) software. Inferential and descriptive statistics, such as chi-square goodness of fit tests was used to determine if the observed differences between answers were statistically significant and chi-square test of independence was used to establish whether the paired observations on two variables, expressed in a contingency table, are independent of each other.

Results

Composition of respondents in this study was Maasai (80%), Kikuyus (12%) and other ethnic groups (8%). Ethnicity affected where respondents resided (χ^2=110.413, df=12, p<0.001) with most Maasai occupying the group ranches while the Kikuyu community dominated areas where land is privately owned.

Education level is very low as no formal education constituted 60% of the sample and influenced the level of education (χ^2=17.691, df=3, p=0.001) with males as dominant groups and the Maasai emerging as the least educated.

Table 1: Level of education (N=234)

		Level of Education				N
		No Education	Primary	Secondary	University	
Ethnicity	Maasai	68%	18%	12%	2%	187
	Kikuyu	25%	54%	21%		28
	Kamba	40%	40%	20%		10
	Tanzanian	67%	33%			3
	Other	20%	60%	20%		5

Based on key informant interview and spatial survey conducted during the study, there are seven operational and four proposed community conservation initiatives in Amboseli Ecosystem covering over 260km^2 (Table 2). The majority of the interviewees (67%) lived adjacent to an existing or proposed conservation area.

Table 2:   Distribution of community conservation project in the Amboseli Ecosystem

Name of the Sanctuary	Year proposed / established	Proprietorship	Area in sq. km	Objective	Current status
Kimana Sanctuary	1997	Former Members of Kimana Group Ranch	22.9	Conservation Area/Investor	Operational
Loosikitok Rhino Sanctuary	1997	Members of Mbirikani Group Ranch	5.69	Conservation Area	Proposed
Olosoito/ Mutikanju Wildlife Sanctuary	2006	Members of Kuku "B'Group Ranch	32.4	Conservation Area/Investor	Proposed
Elerai-Rupet Conservancy	2002	Privately owned by a group related landowners	52.5	Conservation Area/Investor	Operational
Kilitome Conservation Trust	2008	Privately owned by a group of unrelated landowners	24	Conservation Area/Investor	Operational
Osupuko	2008	Privately owned by a group of unrelated landowners	13.3	Conservation Area/Easement	Operational
Kitirua/Tortilis Concessional Area	1985	Members Olgulului Group ranch	80	Conservation Area/Investor	Operational
Eselenkei/Porini Concessional Area	1997	Members of Eselenkei Group Ranch	60	Conservation Area/Investor	Operational
Olowuaru camp	2005	Members of Rombo Group Ranch	12	Conservation Area/Investor	Operational
Oldonyo Wuas Conservation Area	1987	Members Mbirikani Group Ranch	4	Conservation Area/Investor	Proposed
Kampi Ya Kanzi	1998	Members of Kuku 'A' Group Ranch	2.4	Conservation Area/Investor	Proposed

Livelihood Strategies

Pastoralism is the most common livelihood strategy in the area (43%) followed by agro-pastoralism (29%) and agriculture (26%). A respondent's primary livelihood strategy depended on ethnicity (χ^2=131.866, df=12, p<0.001) with most Maasai practicing pastoralism. Very few Maasai (2%) engaged in agriculture as their primary livelihood.

The primary livelihood strategies of the local population did not influence whether or not they benefited or suffered from the presence of wildlife in the area where they lived (benefited: p=0.058; suffered: p=0.179). It did, though, influence how they suffered from the presence of wildlife (p<0.001).

Benefits and cost of wildlife to the local population

At a personal level, most of the respondents in this study benefit from wildlife. Such benefits are in the form of bursaries to help them pay for their children's school fees (54%), employment by KWS or other conservation agencies (20%), compensation for the destruction of their crops, property, or livestock (12%) and a combination of these benefits (13%). Primary livelihood strategy did not significantly impact on how respondents benefited from wildlife (χ^2=12.996, df=8, p=0.112).

Most of the respondents felt that wildlife was imposing a cost on them personally. The type and extent of the cost incurred was dependent on their primary livelihood strategy (χ^2=112.048, df=27, p<0.001) with most pastoralists suffering from livestock depredation, injury and death to people. Interestingly, this group did not consider fencing the parks as a solution to the problem. They suggested improvement in the compensation strategy and utilization of wildlife both consumptive and non-consumptive. Agriculturalists who suffered crop destruction and agro-pastoralists who experienced both crop damage and loss

of livestock, in addition to compensation wanted wildlife to be confined in parks and sanctuaries to solve their problems.

Community Perceptions and expectations from the initiatives

Most of the respondents (44%) were of the opinion that KWS was mismanaging parks, with only 27% believing that the agency was doing a good job. These opinions depended on whether wildlife was imposing a cost on the particular respondent (χ^2=0.034, df=2, p=0.034) with more than 90% of those who believed KWS was mismanaging the park having suffered from the presence of wildlife on their land. People in the study area are aware of the many efforts put in place to conserve wildlife, but the majority (67%) have no faith in them. Their main complaint being poor wildlife based benefit sharing mechanisms and lack of access to resources in the areas set aside for animals.

The respondents' overall opinion on wildlife conservation depended on their primary livelihood strategy (p=0.003). Most pastoralists wanted compensation for the damages they suffered because of local wildlife, while agriculturalists preferred that wildlife be kept inside the parks. On the issue of managing wildlife, 38% were in favor of creating community sanctuaries, 23% wanted to set up revenue sharing initiatives with local wildlife-based enterprises, and 14% were in favor of building eco-lodges. Others suggested a return to hunting and traditional uses.

Discussion

One of the biggest challenges to wildlife conservation in the study area is the limited availability of resources in the area and the human-wildlife conflicts that has stemmed from competition over these resources. Both these factors are a direct consequence of the increase in human settlements within the group ranches (Okello and D'Amour,

2008; Okello and Kiringe, 2004). Due to the constant human population growth in Kenya, migrants from higher potential areas are continuously moving down to marginal arid and semi-arid areas to capitalize on the cheap land being sold (Ole Pasha, 1986). In this study the researchers recorded a large number of Kikuyu, Kamba, Tanzanians and other migrants who have settled in the more agricultural potential parts of the area. These migrants are adding to the number of permanent human settlements in the group ranches and putting further strain on the area's already limited natural resources. Unless something is done to limit human settlement in the region, competition for resources will only get worse and human-wildlife conflicts will escalate, creating an atmosphere inauspicious for wildlife conservation.

The level of formal education in the sample population was very low especially among the Maasai (68%). The low level of education among the Maasai in this area has influenced the ability of the community to take full responsibility in the management of the conservation initiatives. This is the reason why management of these initiatives has been transferred through lease agreements to private investors, making meaningful participation by the community impossible. The investors pay the rent to leaders who in most cases are the same people who receive revenues from conservation agencies for distribution to community members but fail to do so, a situation that has frustrated community members for long.

Widespread corruption among local leaders especially in the County Council contributes to the unequal distribution of wildlife conservation-based benefits. Bursaries and compensation funds do not always reach those it is meant for, because the chairpersons of county councils in charge of distributing the revenue generated by conservation initiatives can single-handedly decide who

should and who should not benefit from it (Wood, 1999). There are no systems of checks and balances in place to ensure that funds are not misappropriated. According to some of the key informants, it appears that community members' channels for voicing their complaints about the mismanagement of conservation initiatives are completely lacking and this has led to the frustrations of the local communities and resentment to wildlife conservation which hampers the implementation of future community-based conservation projects. Many people are unwilling to support such income generating activities because they believe the money from these ventures will only benefit those in charge. Hitchcock and Brandenburgh (1990) observed that wildlife-based tourism can exacerbate problems of factionalism and social stratification in local communities, thereby creating more hostile feelings towards wildlife conservation. One of the key informants pointed out that unequal distribution of the revenue from wildlife is responsible for the tension between community members and conservation agencies and existing ill feelings about conservation. Consequently some of the conservation initiatives have not been activated even after fifteen years since they were proposed (Table 2).

The primary livelihood strategies of the local population did not influence whether or not they benefited or suffered from the presence of wildlife in the area where they lived. This can be explained by the fact that as permanent settlements are established, human encroachments on wildlife dispersal areas increase, intensifying competition for limited resources, regardless of how these resources are being used by local residents. It did, though, influence how they suffered from the presence of wildlife. Pastoralists primarily suffered when wildlife killed their livestock or the herders while agriculturalists suffered crop destruction. These differences in how wildlife imposed a cost to local

residents can be attributed to the various ways in which they utilize the extant resources. Wild animals do not target a particular type of livelihood strategy; they simply utilize whatever resources are available in the area. Since people use resources differently based on their primary livelihood strategy, wildlife affects them in different ways which makes resolving human-wildlife conflict far more complicated. Consequently, there is no single solution available. Every human-wildlife conflict situation requires a unique solution. Fencing in agricultural fields, for example, will not stop wildlife from killing the pastoralists' livestock. Unfortunately, limited financial resources make it impossible to resolve every conflict. As a result, those who do not receive financial benefit from wildlife related income continue to have negative opinions of wildlife and are therefore unlikely to support wildlife conservation initiatives.

While many of the respondents knew of the many efforts to establish conservation areas away from the parks, they did not support such initiatives for fear of losing their land and the fact that they did not expect any benefits from such ventures. The Maasai have experienced a history of land loss as the government reclaimed parts of Maasai land to create national parks and game reserves that rarely benefited local residents (Okello and Tome, 2007; Berger, 1993; Ole Pasha, 1986). This traditional insecurity in lieu of land rights has fueled local distrust of any initiatives involving the use of communal lands (Campbell et al., 2000). This fear of the Maasai of losing their land has made it difficult to establish conservation ventures in the area. One of the key informants from Loosikitok Rhino Sanctuary mentioned that although the sanctuary had potential, it would only attain its full potential when community members stopped believing that conservationists were trying to take their land away from them.

The fear of losing control of communally managed conservation areas by the Maasai in the study area is plausible considering recent political events. For example in September 2005 in a highly contested politically motivated move, Kenya's president downgraded Amboseli National Park back to a game reserve and handed over its management to the Kajiado County Council (Lange, 2006). The president gave local residents control over the high income generating Park then reversed the decision. This event fueled local debate over who should own Kenya's parks. In the end, what should have been an empowering and income generating opportunity for the residents of the Amboseli region created tensions between them and conservation authorities and other stakeholders especially conservation civil society organization.

The fact that a large number of the respondents especially those suffering wildlife caused loses thought KWS is mismanaging parks, brings up an interesting point about what people expect from conservation authorities. Most community members believe that wildlife belongs to the government and it is therefore the government's responsibility to protect them from wildlife. Further and especially in the Amboseli area, watering points (boreholes) were provided outside the park so as to keep the pastoralists from trespassing into the park in search of water. Most of these boreholes have not been operational for a long time and the community blames KWS for this. Another reason that can be associated with this attitude is the failure of KWS to share any of the 3.4 million dollars the park generates in tourism revenue with neighboring communities (Lange, 2006; Poole, 2006). Since the land on which the park is situated was curved from community land, many local Maasai feel entitled to share in the park's profits or at least to its natural resources. These are the reasons why, many people in the area

want the Park's management transferred to the County Council because they believe the council will do a better job of sharing the park's revenue with the locals (Poole, 2006). It is ironical though as the same people were apprehensive about the council's ability to transparently share the revenue generated with the community.

The results further showed that a respondent's overall opinion on wildlife conservation depended on their primary livelihood strategy (p=0.003). Pastoralists prefer an open system which allows free movement of their livestock while agriculturalists support fencing to protect their crops. This difference in opinions is in accordance with both group's way of life. Pastoralists move around in search of water and grazing land some of which is within protected areas and this makes fencing a no option for them (Poole, 2006). It is impossible to confine all wildlife and and some will always be outside the fence to prey on the pastoralists' livestock. This is one of the reasons why pastoralists would prefer compensation for loss of their livestock to wildlife. Agriculturalists, on the other hand, need only to fence off their crops as they would make more money from crop sales than compensation.

Although, many respondents did not know of measures put in place to mitigate human-wildlife conflicts, they did have a clear idea of how they wanted local wildlife utilized. The recommendation made included creating community sanctuaries, revenue sharing, building eco-lodges and reintroduction of hunting and traditional uses. A closer look reveals that all these suggestions represent the types of conservation initiatives that already exist in the District. A simple explanation is that the respondents simply provided what they thought was the best option among those that exist around them and this was not even influenced by their primary livelihood strategy (p=0.206). This trend amongst community members of making do with what

is available around them has both positive and negative consequences. It is negative because no one is thinking "outside the box" and coming up with new options that might in the end shirk the current obstacles facing wildlife conservation in the area. On the other hand, it could imply a determination to work on a conservation project until it starts to generate profits and this determination could turn out to be very useful in the face of wildlife conservation's many obstacles.

Conclusion
Despite the many challenges elaborated in this paper, there are great opportunities in the establishment of community-based conservation initiatives in the study area especially considering that the Maasai constitute the largest ethnic group. Their pastoral livelihood strategy is considered compatible with wildlife conservation. Their predominance in the group ranches affects issues of group ranch subdivision, which can, in turn, determine how easy it will be to set up local conservation initiatives in the area. People are generally less willing to allocate their private land as opposed to communal land for conservation initiatives because they feel a stronger sense of propriety for land they own individually than the one they own as a group. Furthermore, pastoralists are more likely to oppose group ranch subdivision because their livestock production depend on their ability to move freely between dry and wet season grazing areas which may not be possible under private ownership.

This situation is changing especially among the younger Maasai generations who are afraid of losing their land through outside encroachment (Berger, 1993; Campbell et al., 2000). The majority of the young generation is calling for group ranch subdivision in the hopes of securing a piece of land before nothing is left. Their support of group ranch subdivision makes them less likely to spearhead community conservation

initiatives that would further reduce the amount of land available for subdivision. Observations among the Maasai at least at present show that they continue to use their land communally even under subdivision, a situation that should be encouraged to support conservation. There is need therefore to develop arrangements that will facilitate the use of resources communally even under individual land ownership system.

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Implications of Rapid Population Growth on Sustainable Tourism Development in Uganda

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Abstract

This paper explores the implications of rapid population growth on sustainable tourism development with particular reference to Uganda. Basing on desk research, data generated through extensive documentary review and telephone interviews with key stakeholders, evidence is provided that at a population growth rate of 3.2% per annum, Uganda's population is more of a liability than an asset. The rapid growth in absolute numbers has caused pressure on tourism resources, has contributed to poverty as dependants dominate it, and contributes to unemployment, civil unrest and uncertainty to the detriment of sustainable tourism development. Therefore, if tourism is to continue playing a role in the development process of Uganda, the resource base has to be protected and the population growth rate reduced.

Key words: Sustainable Tourism, development, Population Growth, Environment and encroachment.

Introduction

Tourism is one of the world's fastest growing industries and henceforth an economic catalyst bringing earnings to countries in form of foreign exchange. International tourist arrivals reached 940 million in 2010, contributing US$ 919 billion and is estimated that by the year 2020, there will be 1.6 billion international tourist arrivals and international receipts will reach US$ 2 trillion (UN WTO, 2011). Over the last two decades, tourism has attracted increasing attention from national governments and development organizations as a low impact, non-consumptive development option for developing countries (Ahebwa *et al.,* 2011; Spenceley, 2010 and 2008). It is argued that tourism has the capacity to play a significant role in transforming areas which are otherwise of little value with limited commercial activities such as; the very dry and unproductive areas, marginal areas (mountainous, swampy and other delicate areas) and those that are very remote (Gossling, 2000). Developing countries are increasingly marketing themselves as 'sustainable tourism' destinations and largely rely on natural attractions such as landscapes, fauna and flora, water based resources, climate, and other geographical features to attract visitors (Ashley *et al*., 2007). As Holloway (1994) puts it, attractions largely determine the consumer's choice and influence buyers' motivation.

The concept 'sustainable tourism' is derived from the more general concept of 'sustainable development', the former being a specific term used to denote the application of the latter to the particular context of tourism. Sustainable development is development that 'meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Mowforth and Munt, 2003). The concept can further be defined based on the vision put forward by the Brundtland report '*Our Common Future'* as economic development that is not concerned simply with attaining maximum economic growth, that is; pursuing economic efficiency but also with issues of fairness between individuals and groups making up today's society (Intra-generational equity), as well as fairness between the present generation and those that are to come (intergenerational equity). The notion of sustainable development was espoused in the World Conservation Strategy (WCS) in March 1980 where the relationship between economic development and the conservation and sustenance of natural resources is emphasized (Djunaidi, 2004).

Sustainable tourism is based on the principles of sustainable development. It is that tourism that meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social, and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support system (Hall *et al.,* 1998). Achieving the balance between human development and wildlife and habitat conservation in developing countries is therefore essential if sustainable tourism development is to be attained. A number of studies that attempt to evaluate the implications of tourism on economic, socio-cultural and environmental sustainability dimensions in the developing countries can be found with a lot of ease (e.g. Spenceley, 2010; Tao and Wall, 2009; Roe, 2008; Sandbrook, 2006; Goodwin, 2002; Archabald *et al.,* 2001; Ross *et al.,* 1999). However, very little has been done to assess the implications of rapid population growth on sustainable tourism development in the developing countries, Uganda inclusive. This paper addresses this gap. First, the methodology adopted is introduced. Second, the population growth trends in Uganda and the underlying causes are described. Third, the tourism trends in Uganda are analysed. Fourth, the implications of rapid population

growth on sustainable tourism development in the country are elaborated. Finally, recommendations on what can be done to address the situation are suggested.

Methodology

This paper is based on data generated through desk research approach (Vaske, 2008; Kumar, 2005). The specific methods of data collection included extensive documentary analysis, augmented by telephone interviews. The study utilized population and tourism documents such as: Population Reference Bureau (PRB) data sheets: the Uganda Population and Housing Census results (UPHC) (1980, 1991 and 2002) and the Uganda Demographic Health Surveys (UDHS) of 1988/89, 1995 and 2000/01: the Uganda tourism policy (2003) and newspaper articles. In addition, websites of the Uganda Tourist Board, Uganda Population Secretariat and the United Nations World Tourism Organization were visited to generate more on tourism and population facts.

Data generated through secondary sources was confirmed and expanded through key stakeholders telephone interviews. The stakeholders were purposely selected based on the role they play in any of the following sectors: Tourism; Conservation, Population; Development Planning and Management. Those interviewed included officials from: the Uganda Tourism Board (UTB); Ministry of Tourism (MOT); Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA); Nature Uganda (NU); National Planning Authority (NPA); National Forestry Authority (NFA); Uganda Community Tourism Association (UCOTA); Association of Uganda Tour Operators (AUTO); Uganda Investment Authority (UIA); National Environmental Management Authority (NEMA); Population Secretariat (PS); and Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development (MFPED) (n=12).

Population growth in Uganda

Population geographers focus on size of the population (the number of persons); distribution (the arrangement of the population in space at a given time); structure (the distribution of the population according to sex and age) and change (the growth or decline of the total population) (Tumwine, 2010). This paper dwells on the later (change) to explain the implication of population on sustainable tourism development in Uganda. This is because, Uganda's population problem is not the size (number) but the rate at which the population is growing. Uganda has not yet experienced the expected demographic gift because the demographic transition caused by fertility decline that occurred in countries such as Singapore, South Korea, Hong Kong and Taiwan has not yet occurred as expected. Table 2 shows that fertility has remained at an average of TFR 7 for the last 40 years. Demographic gift occurs when the proportion in the labour force (15-64) shows a big surge upwards and dependency ratio declines because there will be more workers and less dependants culminating to rapid social economic development (UNFPA, 2004). In the case of Uganda, the dependency ratio has been increasing as observed from the population aged below 15 years (46.2 percent, 1969); 47.3%, 1991 and 49.3%, 2002) (Tumwine, 2010). Rapid population growth brings in a large supply of new entrants into the labour market which creates unemployment and underemployment (UNFPA, 2006). Unemployment and underemployment do not favor sustainable domestic tourism.

Population growth is the change in the population over time. It results from the additions due to births, deductions due to death and/ or the net migration. In Uganda, population change is characterized by natural increase (growth) resulting from the excess of births over deaths (Tumwine,

2010). Uganda's population growth rate of 3.2% per annum is the second highest in the world (after Niger's 3.4% per annum). This is higher than that of Tanzania (2.9%), Kenya (2.9%) and Rwanda (2.5%) (PRB, 2010). At this growth rate, the country adds approximately one million people per year. The high rate is mainly because of the constant high fertility (TFR, 6.7) and the slight reduction of infant mortality (IM) and child mortality (CM) in the last twenty years. Infant mortality reduced from 122/1000 in 1988 to 76/1000 in 2006 and child mortality from 180/1000 in 1991 to 137/1000 in 2006 (UNFPA, 2006). The detailed trends in population growth rates and some selected measures of population are clearly shown in Tables 1and 2.

Table 1: Population growth rates of Uganda from 1911 to 2011

Year	Population	Inter-censual Interval	Growth rate per year
1911	2,466,325	-	-
1921	2,854,608	1911-1921	1.5
1931	3,542,281	1921-1931	2.2
1948	4,958,520	1931-1948	2.0
1959	6,536,616	1948-1959	2.5
1969	9,535,051	1959-1969	3.9
1980	12,636,179	1969-1980	2.5
1991	16,671,705	1980-1991	2.6
2002	24,227,297	1991-2002	3.2
2010	33,800,000	-	3.2

Source: *Uganda Population Census, Population and Distribution (2002) pp.16 World Data Sheet 2010*

Table 2: Selected population measures of Uganda from 1988 to 2006

Years	1969	1988	1991	1995	2000	2002	2006	2010
Fertility (TFR)	7.4	7.3	7.1	6.9	6.9	6.9	6.7	6.5
Contraceptive use (%)	-	5	-	15	23	23	23.7	24
Infant Mortality (per 1000)	-	122	122	81	88	82	76	76
Child Mortality (per 1000)	-	-	180	147	152	141	137	137
Full immunization coverage (%)	-	-	31	47	38	63	46	-

Sources: *Uganda Population Report 2005 pp. 41, Uganda Population Report 200 pp. 5; UDHS 1995 pp.3. PRB 2010*

The high population growth rate of Uganda is because of the persistent high fertility rates with the slight decline in mortality rates as observed from Table 2. While mortality slightly declined in the last twenty years, this was not reciprocated by the decline in fertility, as should have been the case. Fertility has remained at an average of seven children per woman.

The high fertility in Uganda is attributed to a number of factors: levels of education. As high level of education, increases age at first marriage, use of modern methods of contraception, exposes women to decision making in family affairs and reduces cultural values attached to many children (Tumwine, 2007). Low use of modern contraception is yet another factor that has kept fertility in Uganda high (PS Official, Research Interview, 2011). Family planning services were first introduced in Uganda in 1957. During the 1970s and 80s, family planning provision remained at low scale and mainly provided by the non-governmental sectors. Besides, family planning service provision remained urban based with minimal access in the rural areas. It is clear from the results of the three Demographic and Health Surveys conducted in 1988, 1995 and 2000 that family planning uptake has remained poor. Contraceptive prevalence was 5%, 15% and 23% respectively. Also, the unmet need for family planning was 56%, 29% and 35%

respectively (UNFPA, 2005). Misconception about modern methods of contraception, such as the belief that contraceptives lead to sterility and the pro-natalist tradition with a heavy entrenched value for children as labor sources and care in old age, especially by sons are responsible for the low levels of use of contraception (PS Official, Research Interview, 2011).

Low level of urbanization in the country (6.9% 1969; 7.4% 1980; 11.3% 1991; 12.3% 2002 and 14.8% 2010 (UNFPA, 2010) is also responsible for the persistent high fertility levels of the country. Urbanization as a factor of influencing fertility decisions promotes anonymity, secularism and diminution of kinship ties. It is associated with literacy, high- income levels and aspirations for better living standards, which discourage large family sizes. In 2002 urban areas had fertility rate of 4.1 children per woman compared to 7.4 for the rural areas.

War in Northern and Eastern Uganda has contributed to increase in population growth rate in the region. Due to redundancy in the camps, many parents encouraged early marriage of their children. Table 3 shows that population growth rate suddenly shot up from 2.2% and 2.4% per annum for Eastern and Northern regions respectively between 1980 and 1991 to 3.5% and 4.6% in the 1991-2002 periods.

Table 3:   Population growth rates in Uganda by regions 1969-2002

	Average Annual Growth Rate in %		
Region	1969-80	1980-1991	1991-2002
Central	2.8	2.7	2.7
Eastern	2.4	2.2	3.5
Northern	2.3	2.4	4.6
Western	3.2	2.7	2.9
Uganda	2.7	2.5	3.2

Source: *NEMA (2002)*

Religious factors are also responsible for the high fertility in Uganda. Catholics for example, are opposed to modern methods of contraception. The Catholics form the biggest proportion (42%) of the population (MoFEP, 2005). Early marriage has also been contributing to high fertility. Marriage legalizes exposure to sex. The earlier the age at first marriage, the higher the fertility. Most (56%) of the Ugandan women aged 20 to 29 married before they reached age 18 (UDHS, 1995).

Paradoxically, while Uganda's population is growing at an alarming rate, the land which forms the natural resource base is fixed at 241,038 square kilometers of which 197,096 (82%) is land (MFPED Official, Research Interview, 2011). This natural resource base that supports life and economic growth (of which tourism is part) is declining at an unprecedented rate (NEMA Official, Research Interview, 2011). Currently, the country is witnessing natural resource degradation and declining per capita availability of the major natural resources (NPA Official, Research Interview, 2011). Pressure is being exerted on the environment and natural resource (ENR) base to supply food, energy, water, raw materials, natural fibres and other provisions including services to meet the needs of the growing population and the economy. In the process of meeting

these needs, the environment and natural resources are harvested unsustainably and are degraded, leading to their declining quality, quantity and productivity (UNFPA, 2010).

Implications of high population growth on Sustainable Tourism Development in Uganda

Since tourism in Uganda is nature-based, population pressure on nature has an implication on the industry. But rapid population growth also has other economic and social implications that have a direct bearing on sustainable tourism development (UTB Official, Research Interview, 2011). The current section discusses the implications of rapid population growth on tourism resources and limitations related to rapid population growth as far as domestic tourism purchasing power is concerned are considered.

It should be emphasized that the tourism sector in Uganda has witnessed a growth trend in terms of tourist arrivals between 1986-2008 (Figure 1). This growth is however based on international tourist arrivals who constitute more than 95% and domestic arrivals are less than 5% (UTB, 2011; UBOS, 2010). This scenario poses a big sustainability challenge as reliance on international arrivals renders the industry

unpredictable. Globally, factors such as epidemic outbreak, terrorism, economic and political crises curtail international travels and for sustainability purposes, domestic tourism acts as a shock absorber (Lepp *et al.,* 2010; Mowforth and Munt 2003).

Figure 1: Tourist Arrivals in Uganda
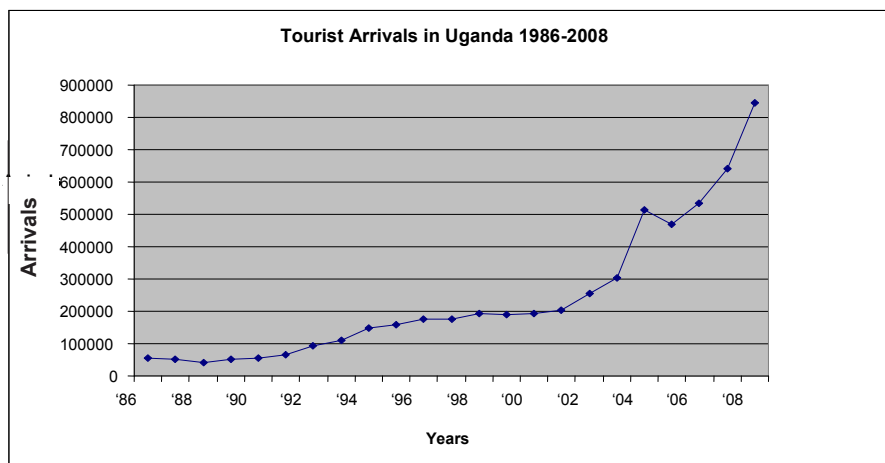
Source: UTB, 2010

Depending on the quality, age and sex composition, spatial distribution, levels of income and education, the population size of a country can enable or constrain sustainable tourism development. For example, the rapid expansion of the middle class population in China between 1979 and 1997 was a blessing to the country's domestic tourism as that population segment was characterized by high purchasing power (Wen, 1997). To date, China's tourism sector has expanded and does not need to rely on international arrivals alone (UTB Official, Research Interview, 2011). In the case of Uganda, the high population growth rate is associated with high dependency ratio that discourages domestic tourism due to reduction in savings. About 56% of Uganda's population is under the age of 18 and does not increase production by as much as it consumes. For every 100 adults in the working age bracket, there are 105 dependants under the age of 15 (UNFPA, 2010). In such as situation, domestic tourism is therefore regarded as a luxury (UTB Official, Research Interview, 2011).

High population growth makes it difficult to reduce poverty (NPA Official, Research Interview, 2011). This in away explains why despite the falling poverty levels from 56% in the 1990s to 34% in 2000, poverty is still rampant. To worsen the situation, income inequality is widening among Ugandan population and majority of the poor are concentrated in rural areas (UNFPA, 2006). This is because, while the percentage reductions are high, the differences in absolute numbers are very small which means the number of poor people has instead increased. For example, in 1991 the population of Uganda was 16.7 million (Ministry of Finance, and Economic Planning, 1992). A simple calculation shows that 56% of 16.7 million was *9,352,000 (i.e 9.35 million people were poor in 1991).* In 2007, the population of Uganda was estimated at 28 million. While poverty levels had reduced to 34%, the number of the poor was 9,520,000 (*i.e 34% of 28 million).* This explains that the high population growth rate of Uganda keeps the absolute numbers

of people below the poverty line increasing despite the percentage reduction in poverty levels. Assuming that the population growth rate was 2% per year, the population of Uganda would have been 22,044,000 in 2007 and the poor would have been 7,494,960 (*i.e 34% of 22 million)*. This is in agreement with the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment (UPPAP, 2002) that identified large families as the primary cause of poverty. Further, it linked large families to limited access to land or asset shortages. Many families were found to have very small plots of land that were grossly inadequate to meet their household needs due to subdivision of land between male children. It should be noted that poor people are more destructive to the environment as they think in terms of the present and not the future. It should also be observed that poor people who cannot meet the basic needs of life such as housing; clothing and food cannot spend money on tourism because it is regarded as a luxury and therefore low domestic tourism. And yet, it is also difficult to talk of sustainable tourism without domestic tourism taking the seasonality issue of international tourist arrivals into consideration.

The factors above are complimented by Kremer and Chen (2002) and Croix and Doephe (2003) who emphasize the distributional dynamics inherent in high population growth and large fertility differentials between the rich and the poor. High fertility differentials between the educated rich and uneducated poor leads to the few children of educated rich having better education than those of the poor therefore increasing income inequality. If the poor continue to have large families, improvements in the average human capital of the population are difficult and growth will lower as a result. Other things being equal, increased household size also consistently place extra burden on household's asset/ resource base and in general is positively related to chronic poverty. This is in

agreement with the head of NFA board of trustees who blames poverty on Bukaleba forest encroachment in Mayuge district when he says that there are many landless people seeking a livelihood (Tenywa, 2011).

For people to participate in tourism, they need some disposable income to be able to spend (UTB Official, Research Interview, 2011). This necessitates having a job either formally or informally. However, it is evident that high population growth exacerbates the unemployment problem. The people retiring are far less than the young people entering the job market. For example in Uganda, 390,000 people per year are added in the job market but only 20,000 jobs are available in the formal sector (UBOS, 2005). Despite the industrialization strategy, with the high rate of population growth many young people remain unemployed. Unemployment rate is about 23% and unemployment contributes to instability. For example the riots that have occurred in Kampala and other towns of Uganda in the recent past (11th September 2009 and 'walk to work' May 2011) were largely stirred by unemployment bearing. It has to be emphasized that stability and peace is a prerequisite for sustainable tourism development. Tourists cannot go to places where they are not sure of their security (UTB Official, Research Interview, 2011).

The high population growth rate is largely responsible for the environmental degradation evident from soil fertility reduction, soil erosion, landslides, deforestation, swamp reclamation that have in turn led to flooding and drought in many parts of the country (NFA Official, Research Interview, 2011). It creates pressure on ecologically sensitive ecosystems such as forests, wetlands, riverbanks, lakeshores, rangelands and mountain areas (UWA Official, Research Interview, 2011). This is in agreement with the findings of NEMA (2002) that 80% and 70% of the wetlands in Jinja and Kabale districts respectively have been modified.

This is because as populations grow and people's expectations increase, the pressure on wetlands and their resources also increase. For instance, in Mbale region, people are extensively encroaching on the National Park, the key tourism resource in the area (UWA Official, Research Interview, 2011). At Lake Mburo National Park, serious conflicts are reported with people wanting to access the park to graze their livestock (Ahebwa *et al*., 2008). In Kasese, rampant clashes have been reported between the Basongola cattle keepers who have inadequate land for their cattle and keep on invading Queen Elizabeth National park (UWA Official, Research Interview, 2011). All these indicate interruptions on the tourism resource base. An eco-tourist can never be amused by cattle grazing in a National Park (UTB Official, Research Interview, 2011).

The invasion of National Parks, Game Reserves and Forest Reserves by peasants is largely due to population pressure. The NRM government is now being regarded as one that does not care about environmental protection because of the encroachment and the agitations by groups of people to change the land use of a number of protected areas. More encroachment examples are evident in Bundibugyo, Kasese, Mbale, Bugiri and Kapchorwa just to mention but a few. The good environment policies the NRM government had embarked on in early 1990s *(i.e getting rid of squatters from forests such as Mabira and establishing forest national parks like Kibale, Mgahinga, Ruwenzori mountain and Mount Elgon)* have been overshadowed by the destruction and encroachment of the protected areas after 2005. It has to be noted that a country cannot have sustainable development without environmental protection.

Protected areas (PAs) which include; national parks, wild reserves, wild sanctuaries, central forest and local forest reserves, Ramsar Sites, fresh open water and wetlands, ensure effective management of the country's natural resource base for use by the present and future generations. The major threat to protected areas management is encroachment which is related to increased population growth and the resultant increase in demand for resources including land for cultivation, pasture, water, timber and fuel wood (UNFPA, 2011). Lunga and Tala savanna forest reserves in Singo County have been heavily settled since the 1980s by in migrants from Kigezi (Hamilton, 1988). Landless people are to be settled on 500 hectares curved out of the 8000 hectare Bukaleba Forest Reserve in Mayuge district. The destruction of the forests in Mayuge district has gone with the unique species such as the white and black colobus monkeys, buffaloes and crocodiles in the Mayuge peninsula that would be important for tourism (Tenywa, 2011).

Natural and human-induced hazards and disasters are rapidly increasing in Uganda. Landslides which are downward movement of rock materials and soils by gravity have occurred around the mountainous areas of Elgon, Muhavura and Rwenzori. The mountainous districts of Mbale, Sironko, Kapchorwa, Manafwa, Bukwo, Kabale, Kanungu, Bundibugyo and Kasese that are prone to landslides are ranked as areas with high population densities. Landslides apart from displacements of people, loss of lives, property and farmlands, destroy infrastructure such as roads and bridges thereby disrupting movement of tourists. These occurrences keep Uganda in international media headlines as an area with disasters and desperate people who need help. This negative publicity is very detrimental to promotion of sustainable tourism (Lepp *et al*., 2010). The tourist market constitutes of people who want to travel to peaceful areas for relaxation.

Forest cover in Uganda drastically declined from 4,933,375 hectares in 1990 to 3,554,594 hectares in 2010 and currently constitutes only 17 percent of the total land area (NFA, 2008). This decline estimated at 1.8 % per annum is mainly attributed to the growing population. Table 4 clearly shows that districts with high population densities registered the highest rates of forest cover losses. Mgahinga Forest, well known as one of the only two sites in Uganda for gorillas, originally gazzetted an area of 34 square kilometers in the 1950s had reduced to 23 square kilometers as a result of population pressure (Hamilton, 1988). At this rate, Uganda may not succeed in promoting herself as a sustainable tourism destination.

Table 4:   Relationship between Population Densities and Declining Forest Cover

No	District	Population density (km2)	% of Forest Cover lost
1	Mayuge	229	100.0
2	Wakiso	485	86.7
3	Mubende	124	79.0
4	Mityana	125	59.6
5	Kibaale	150	48.9
6	Mukono	179	36.4
7	Mpigi	230	32.6
8	Hoima	98	21.6
9	Masindi	56	12.2

Sources: *Atlas of Our Changing Environment (NEMA, 2009) and District State Of Environment Reports (NEMA, 2004-2009) and NFA Records, 2010*

It should also be noted that some of the protected areas were gazzetted when the population of these areas were low. However, with the increase in the population, people who had left these areas are now reclaiming them. Cases in point include Queen Elizabeth National park formerly occupied by the Basongora of Kasese district and Toro reserve by the Batuku of Ntoroko district. The same applies to Lake Mburo National park in Kiruhura district. For example, residents of Tsekhululu sub-county in Manafwa district claim that their grandparents were buried in what is part of Mt Elgon National Park in order to justify their encroachment on the protected area (Gwebayanga, 2010).

Conclusion

The study explored the implications of rapid population growth on sustainable tourism development with particular reference to Uganda. Results provide evidence that at the growth rate of 3.2% per annum, Uganda's population is more of a liability than an asset. The rapid growth in absolute numbers has caused pressure on tourism resources, contributed to poverty as dependants dominate it, contributes to unemployment, civil unrest and uncertainty. Therefore, if tourism is to play a role in the development process of a country like Uganda, the resource base has to be protected. As Tumwine (2010) argues, "population control through family planning and improving the quality of education should be used to reduce fertility and therefore population

growth rate". This will culminate into faster economic development as a whole and sustainable tourism development in particular. Sustainable tourism development cannot occur without conservation of nature that needs a multi-dimensional approach (UNFPA, 2005).

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Management of Ecotourism Impacts at Gros Morne National Park, Canada

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Abstract

Ecotourism is nature-based travel that embraces principles of sustainability, and is managed to conserve the natural environment on which it depends, provide economic benefits to the local community and the industry, and to educate and satisfy the tourists. The key research question on which this paper is based was to examine the role played by the accommodation sector in ecotourism management, conservation and sustainable development in Gros Morne National Park, a World Heritage Site in Newfoundland, Canada. Data was collected using a survey with 15 tourist accommodations within Gros Morne National Park and analysed using SPSS. The literature indicate that the role of accommodation sector in ecotourism management is still relatively unexplored in this area, however, they are positive in their approach even though attitudes and reactions of individuals change in time depending on the tourism development in an area. Implications are that innovative marketing practices are required to respond to the industry market demand for ecotourism as this will influence the behaviour of all the players in the industry.

Key Words: Ecotourism, Sustainability, Accommodation, Gros Morne National Park.

Introduction

One of the essential elements of true ecotourism is the participation and involvement of local stakeholders (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996; Wallace & Pierce, 1996; Boo, 1993; Brandon 1993; Drake, 1991). It is now generally agreed by academics, government and the tourism industry that ecotourism can be identified by three core criteria: nature, learning and sustainability (Beaumont, 2011). In view of that, Wallace and Pierce (1996) refer to ecotourism as a type of tourism that maximizes the early and long-term participation of local people in the decision making process that determines the kind and amount of tourism that should occur. Hence, ecotourism aims to conserve biodiversity, sustains the well being of local people, includes learning experience, involves responsible action on the part of tourists and the tourism industry, requires lowest possible consumption of non-renewable resources, and stresses local participation, ownership, and business opportunities, particularly for rural people. According to Blamey (1997), to be ecotourism-oriented, the attractions offered should primarily involve the natural environment, with associated cultural elements constituting a secondary component; also the interaction between the tourists and the environmental attraction should be based on education, learning, and appreciation; ecotourism should be environmentally, socio-culturally, and economically sustainable (Anderson, 2009).

Initially, ecotourism was promoted by Hetzer (1965) who endorsed 'ecological tourism' by identifying four criteria to measure ecotourism activities: minimising environmental impacts, respecting host cultures, maximising benefits to hosts, and maximising tourist satisfaction. Early definitions emphasised mainly the nature-based elements of ecotourism (Blamey 2001). Similarly, ecotourism is nature based, advancing conservation and sustainable development (Khan, 2003; Ayala, 1996; Boo, 1990). It has been called nature tourism, alternative tourism, cultural tourism, soft tourism, adventure tourism, responsible tourism, or green tourism (Wight, 1993; Eagles, 1992; Boo, 1990). However, rather than being demand-led or even industry-led, this approach appears to have been instigated by academics and government policy-makers. Many specified a large number of criteria to which a product must adhere to call itself ecotourism, including a number of elements associated with sustainability, such as conservation, non-consumptive use of wildlife and natural resources, respect for the integrity of and benefits for local communities (Beaumont, 2011).

Ecotourism has various definitions and synonyms such as green, sustainable, nature based, alternative, and adventure tourism; others include elements of environmental education (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1987). Ceballos-Lascurain defines ecotourism as travelling to relatively uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals and any cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas. Similarly, Cater (1994) argues that ecotourism achieves two-in-one: providing direct economic benefits and minimising negative environmental and socio-cultural impacts. The paper reports on research that was undertaken by surveying accommodation outlets within Gros Morne National Park. The objective was to determine the management of ecotourism impacts and the level of concern for the environment.

Ecotourism impacts

While ecotourism sounds comparatively benign, one of its most serious impacts is usurpation of "virgin" territories, national parks, wildlife sanctuaries and other wilderness areas which are then packaged as green products for ecotourists

(Buckley, 2001). The impacts of ecotourism depend on what ecotourism is. Definitions and characteristics have been reviewed extensively by several authors including Buckley (1994), Fennell (1999) and Honey (1999). The critical issue, however, is that ecotourism should involve deliberate steps to minimize impacts, through choice of activity, equipment, location and timing, group size, education and training, as well as operational environmental management. Under these circumstances, which are regrettably more of an ideal than a practical reality in most cases, the impacts of ecotourism should therefore be those of nature tourism and recreation which incorporates best practice environmental management (Buckley, 2001). With the tremendous expansion of commercialized ecotourism, environmental degradation, including deforestation, disruption of ecological life systems and various forms of pollution, has in fact increased. Even its proponents concede that ecotourism is far from a panacea for environmental destruction. Lindberg (2001) notes that there are two related, but distinct, economic concepts in ecotourism: economic impact and economic value. Even a small number of jobs may be significant in communities where populations are low and alternatives are few. The economic impact can increase political and financial support for conservation. A common ecotourism goal is the generation of economic benefits, whether they are profits for companies, jobs for communities, or revenues for parks (Lundber, 2001). Ecotourism plays a particularly important role because it can create jobs in remote regions that historically have benefited less from economic development programmes than have more populous areas. Protected areas and nature conservation generally, provide many benefits to society, including preservation of biodiversity, maintenance of watersheds, and so on, many of which are intangible (Lindberg, 1996, 2001). Hence, the benefits associated with recreation and tourism in protected areas tend to be tangible.

Ecotourists have high levels of environmental conscience. Their internal environmental philosophy dictates that nature must be protected and celebrated within a natural context, resulting in a superabundance of environmental protection rules, policies and laws (Eagles, 1995).

Significance of World Heritage Site Status

Hall and Piggin (2002) stated that the bestowing of World Heritage Sites (WHS) status on a heritage attraction is a significant factor on the basis of the inherent qualities of the property. It is evident from the contemporary heritage tourism literature that the World Heritage (WH) designation adds value to tourist attractions and offers other advantages (Reddy, 2009). For example, Shackley (2000) has stated that the significance of the designation is such that it will act as a magnet and the majority of the visitors to these sites are, predictably, motivated by an interest in heritage and culture although this motivation may not be matched by any prior knowledge of the site concerned. World Heritage sites offer several practical advantages to the tourism industry as they possess many of the features that create a successful tourism attraction (Hall, 2000) and may well explain their relative popularity (Peleggi, 1996). Besides generating more visitors, the WHS constitute extreme examples of global–local interactions and stakeholder involvements (Reddy, 2009; Wall and Black, 2004). Hall and Piggin (2001) assert that increased visitation to heritage attractions as a result of WHS status is somewhat tenuous. In saying this, however, they acknowledge that world heritage sites very often serve a sightseeing role and are an attraction for visitation to them and surrounding areas (Hede, 2007).

Many other examples envisaging the role of WHS designation in increasing or controlling tourism visits, effective visitor management, added conservation measures

and community development can be noticed in almost all the countries that have signed the WHS convention (Buckley, 2004b; Goodwin, 2000; Harrison and Hitchcock, 2005; Ho and McKercher, 2004; Leask & Fyall, 2006; Muresan, 2000; Pedersen, 2002; Ryan, 2000, 2005; Turley, 2000; Walters, 2004; Yamamura, 2004). Although it has been observed that WHS designation does initiate conservation measures besides promoting tourism in many cases, there is some controversy about sustainable tourism development in WHS (Hall, 2000; Shackley, 2000; Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Wall & Black, 2004). Buckley (2004b) argues that the WHS designation was not originally intended to be a marketing device, but has often been used that way. National tourism organizations have to attempt to accommodate notions that are suitable for their own community and resource base to enhance the positive benefits of tourism while minimizing the unfavourable ones. This is not straight forward, however, many ecotourism products rely on protected areas where environmental impacts are of particular concern (Buckley, 2004a). Ishwaran (2004) admits that tourism, particularly, ecotourism, is promoted as the promising industrial partner for nature conservation and protected area management.

In more than 44,000 protected areas recognized worldwide, World Heritage Centre has been able to demonstrate four benefits for both nature conservation and local communities. The scarcity of success stories apply even for the subset of protected areas designated as WHS. This underlines the fact that WHS in protected areas also needs sustainability assessments and constant attention from local governments (Reddy, 2009). While the primary aim of the WHS management plan is to protect the core values of the site, the principal secondary aim focuses on the local implications of WHS status and the need to identify policies and actions that will benefit the local economy

(Cochrane, 2007; World Heritage Team, 2003). One of the key indicators of success is that new activity amongst local communities and businesses should be inspired by WHS status (World Heritage Team, 2006). The concept of heritage enshrined in the World Heritage Convention of 1972 has developed over two or three centuries (Lyon, 2007).

The Role of Accommodations

The accommodations and facilities of an ecotourist operation set the tone for the guest experience. They are the structure that enables the business to prosper and guests to enjoy themselves (Garnder, 2001). They are an integral part of the backdrop and stage set of the total combined experience. It is essential that facilities are well considered in all respects and that they inform, and are informed by, the operations of the property, and are harmonious with the culture and natural landscape of their environment. Ecotourism facilities are in a uniquely advantageous position since they are inherently more diverse than traditional hospitality products. Gardner (2001) notes that a wide range of options is available when folding cultural activities with contemporary, vernacular or historical building forms and applying them to the activities that are promoted in each facility. The ideal of an ecotourism development concept is to marry a vision of the experience with environmental sustainability and the constraints of a successful business venture in such a way that the enterprise can function pragmatically. Given that hotel accommodation is an activity linked to its physical location, preserving and improving environmental quality and natural attractions are an essential factor in tourists' determining of their holiday destination. This reason becomes more important particularly when the tourist attraction is based on the physical and natural characteristics brought together in a specific spot: sun, beach, landscape and climate.

Furthermore, tourists are becoming more demanding in terms of the environmental quality of holiday destinations; proof of this is the drop in tourists in places affected by environmental or even natural disasters and the growing importance of factors related to contact with nature as a travel motive (main or secondary). When studying the measurement of environmental performance in the hotel sector, we should highlight two approaches: measuring the environmental performance of each hotel taken individually and measuring and comparing environmental performance of various establishments (Garnder, 2001). As regards the first approach, there is a high degree of consensus on the suitability of environmental auditing as a tool to help determine the impact of the hotel on the environment. However, in spite of this consensus in using environmental auditing, Goodall (1994) points out that even in hotels that expressed their interests in environmental aspects, less than half actually carried out formal environmental audits. Likewise, Brown (1996) affirms that, although some hotels recognised that they altered their practices in order to protect the environment, few of them included environmental objectives in their reports. With regard to the second approach- measuring and comparing environmental performance among different hotels, we should point out that, as the number of hotels under study rises, environmental auditing becomes a procedure that is difficult to apply.

Study Area

Gros Morne National Park (*Fig. 1*) is the second highest peak on the island of Newfoundland, located on the West coast of the island of Newfoundland, Canada. Gros Morne is a truly magnificent place with a rich variety of scenery, wildlife and recreational activities. With its landscape of mountains, fjords and scenic coastline, it offers world-class outdoor adventure opportunities such as hiking, camping and wildlife watching. Because of its geological significance, Gros Morne was designated a World Heritage Site in 1987 by UNESCO (Parks Canada, 2011).

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to survey the accommodations' role in ecotourism management. In order to gather information, a survey was developed and research was conducted by the author and one student assistant between April and October 2009. In addition to questions on type, age and size of accommodation facilities, the final survey predominately posed questions on whether facility managers implemented a series of environmental initiatives. There were no set criteria for choosing these initiatives other than their common citing in the above literature. The survey also questioned respondents' perceptions of barriers to future implementation of such initiatives. The study area and target population for the survey was 15 tourist accommodation facilities around Gros Morne National Park.

Map 1: Gros Morne National Park

Source: *Parks Canada http://www.pc.gc.ca/pn-np/nl/grosmorne - Retrieved March 15th 2011*

Results and Discussion

This section of the study will deal with the different aspects of the accommodation facilities in Gros Morne. Fifteen accommodation managers responded to the survey. One accommodation facility was established in 1970 while the others are fairly recent 1991-2008. In terms of gender, the females (n=9) represented 60% which is a good sign for more females participating in ecotourism ventures. The respondents age was high in the bracket of 51-60 years old. The education level with a higher percentage completing high school. The type of facility ranged from hotel to private home with bed and breakfast having the highest share (n=7) with the average mean for all establishments. The establishments had a combined total of 150 local employees in both permanent and temporary/seasonal positions which are a good indicator for community development.

Marketing is an important aspect of tourism in general and the respondents were asked as to how they marketed their facility. Word of mouth (n=13) and the internet (n=13) were ranked the highest mode of marketing followed by brochures (n=11) and friends and family (n=8). Interestingly, none of the establishments made use of the media such as television and radio. The establishments also belonged to conservation, environment or outdoor recreation organization and read environmental, nature or wildlife magazines. Only one establishment had a stated code of ethics which was listed on their website. However, these results do not represent the establishments' concern for the environment in the region. Even if aware of environmental issues through membership and readership, little evidence was found that environmental concerns translated into actions.

Environmental Performance

The main efforts aimed at comparing the environmental performance of hotels, according to De Burgos-Jiménez *et al.* (2002) have been made with the proposal of identifying the standard values of a company's partial efficiency indicators (use of productive resources such as energy, water and other factors). In this sense, it is assumed that these efficiency indicators are related to the impact on the major environmental areas. The developments in environmental protection and performance initiatives since the late 1980s reflect growing awareness by governments, industries and the community (Lim & McAleer, 2005). Collective responsibility (Okech, 2004, 2009a; 2009b) is definitely the key to successful biodiversity conservation and sustainable development. It has therefore been increasingly important for hotel managers all over the world to demonstrate that not only their understanding but also their investment strategies and daily operations should be sustainable, because the basic question of environmental performance (EP) in the service industry is the ecological and economic existence in long-term (Erdogan & Tosun, 2009; Karagozoglu & Lindell, 2000; Leslie, 2007; Mensah, 2006). The respondents were also asked if their facility implemented environmental initiatives. Twenty-four initiatives were listed (*Table 1*). Goods purchased in bulk; recycling facilities; energy efficient equipment and buying environmentally-friendly products seem to be highly rated as environmental initiatives that the accommodation establishments took. Nine other areas included in the initiatives table were not being performed and hence there was no response even though very significant were: training in environmental management; environmental policy; environmental management system; environmental auditing; waste water treatment unit; natural materials for building; renewable power used; rainwater tank and power sourced from a greener company.

Table 1: Environmental Initiatives

Initiative	N	%
Native plants planted	2	13
Goods purchased in bulk	13	87
Recycling facilities	9	60
Linen not washed daily	8	53
Energy efficient equipment	9	60
Buy environmentally-friendly or recycled materials/products	9	60
Reduced hazardous product uses	8	53
Waste, water and energy reduction programs	4	27
Guests encouraged to be eco-friendly	7	47
Garbage Waste Disposal	5	33
Employees have environmental responsibilities	4	27
Water efficient equipment	5	33
Green waste composting	4	27
Noise reduction encouraged	4	27
Advertise environmentally friendly tours	2	13

Community Relationships

The indicator that was selected for this principle of community relationship was the rapport with which the local community had with the accommodation facilities. The respondents were asked if they had a plan or strategy for engaging with the local community. Ten establishments did not have a plan/strategy in place, however, tourists visited the craft shops, restaurants, hiking trails and boat tours and in this way, fostered good relationships with the businesses. The establishments (n=5) that stated they had good community relationships did not however explain how the plan/ strategy was executed. The establishments however, contributed to the development of community based tourism enterprise by working with Gros Morne to manage and develop Gros Morne Gatherings, a tourism based marketing agency for the region.

The communities also take pride in the fact that international tourists are able to visit and stay at their establishments thus providing support for small businesses. With any business in a community, there are always positive and negative impacts on the local population and culture. Respondents had a positive impact (n=5) because they educate tourists about Gros Morne, have cultural entertainment that helps the communities accept diversity and variety.

In addition there is employment of locals which has helped local culture in accepting tourism as a preferred industry in the region. In terms of negative effects, one establishment responded

> *"there is still poor adoption of local culture", "lack of appreciation for local design and architecture in new building development".*

Management's relationship with the locals is measured by the attitudes of the local people (n=10, M=1.80) and the results in this study reveal that four accommodation had excellent and very good relationship with the locals whereas (n=3) had good relationship with reasons being cited as having positive feedback and word of mouth advertising for the establishments. The above results could be used as management tools to control impacts through facilitating increased community participation and involvement to ensure that they can voice their opinions about the way ecotourism is impacting upon the community. The accommodation management therefore needs to help promote the function of Gros Morne to ensure that the community is aware of the individual and community benefits of ecotourism.

Table 2: Measures for visitors' enjoyment

Measure	Mean	SD	SE	x2
Educate visitors more about conservation	2.00	1.07	0.28	6.07
Provide more maps and signs for directions	2.07	1.03	0.27	7.67
Limit the overall number of visitors	3.53	1.64	0.42	2.33
Limit the use of natural area	2.40	1.29	0.34	3.33
Limit length of stay during peak periods	3.53	1.30	0.34	3.33
Provide more visitor facilities	2.40	1.29	0.34	1.23
Provide more staff	2.47	0.99	0.26	2.33
Limit number of vehicles in Park	3.47	1.25	0.32	4.67

(Scale: 1= Strongly agree 2= Agree   3= Neutral 4= Disagree   5= Strongly disagree) p<.05

The respondents in this study (n=8) revealed that there needs to be improvements in signage on the roads, accommodation and walking trails in terms of indicating the distances to be travelled to a particular turnoff for businesses; public transit around the park; more wheelchair accessibility; promote winter tourism; work with communities to have standards for waste management, new developments, recycling and harvesting; harmonise any conflicts between policies and practices of small businesses in ecotourism as well as maintain ecological integrity.

Conclusion

There is considerable potential for Gros Morne to be drawn on, especially on improving the opportunities for local people to participate in ecotourism management at the local level and at the same time enhancing their economy for their future livelihoods in non-exploitative ways. Engaging the local community in tourism management discussions while working for the reinforcement of the tourism industry is also of high importance that can only be achieved in the context of an effective strategy aiming at sustainable development for Newfoundland tourism. Additionally, some of the considerations to be considered should include improved communications and marketing during the low and winter seasons. Appropriate planning and management is necessary to redress future mistakes and ensure the future welfare of ecotourism initiatives at any level. One cannot rule out the possibility that at some point, conservation and economic exploitation, through ecotourism, might become incompatible unless appropriate mechanisms of reconciling them are worked out. Communities, both individually and as clusters, have a role to play in both attracting tourist traffic, and getting those visitors to spread the word.

> *"While Newfoundland and Labrador has some fantastic main attractions, such as Gros Morne or L'Anse aux Meadows, it's the "distractions" people come across during their visit, such as a great night out on the town or experiencing the hospitality of an ordinary citizen on the street, which can make or break having a wonderful experience". (Clewer, 2009).*

Today, while the ecological integrity and attractiveness of Gros Morne Park as a World Heritage Site has not been impaired by visitor use, immediate, short-term and long-term planning and management actions need to be taken in order to stop any poor use and overuse of Gros Morne. The accommodation management of Gros Morne should therefore pay attention to any impacts / problems that may arise as a result of increased infrastructure that are not sustainably built or ecologically savvy. There should be a critique of the existing decision-making frameworks regarding their utility and feasibility. This is because decision-making frameworks provide a structure for organizing information and thoughts, and can therefore assist protected area managers in making rational and defensible tradeoffs between resource protection and visitor access to these resources. Additionally, these frameworks can help to better integrate local resource needs and systems of resource management into protected area management.

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The Potential of Turkana Indigenous Knowledge in Environmental Education and Ecotourism Promotion

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Abstract

This paper uses data collected for a doctoral dissertation on "Turkana pastoralists' sociocultural practices in relation to Kenya's science curriculum" and from research findings of the South Turkana Ecosystem Project (STEP) to demonstrate nomadic people's knowledge of their environment, wildlife and livestock management. Interviews with Turkana Elders concerning their Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) reveals that Turkana people possess exceptional detailed knowledge of how to detect the presence of water, predict seasonal fluctuations and use local plants. This knowledge is not available in the school curriculum. It should be harnessed and integrated with environmental education in the early childhood and lower primary curriculum of Kenya. Incorporating indigenous knowledge in the school curriculum will ensure that this knowledge is preserved, respected and valued. In Kenya the national education curriculum emphasizes Western forms of knowledge. This paper also argues that early integration of TEK within the Kenyan curriculum will facilitate future Turkana peoples' ability to engage in ecotourism as a strategy for economic survival.

Key Words: Turkana, Pastoralists, Traditional Ecological Knowledge, Environmental Education

Introduction

Turkana pastoralists are never regarded as key players in the socioeconomic policies of Kenya. This economic marginalization confines the Turkana to apathy as they live as passive recipients of the economy (Scoones, 1995). The best the Kenya Government can offer pastoralists are handouts in the form of relief supplies from the office of the president. Pastoralist lifestyles are viewed by the elites holding leadership positions in Kenya as primitive and outdated cultural practices characterized by irrational husbandry of large numbers of livestock for prestige (McCabe, 2004; Scoones, 1995). However, research in pastoral cultures acknowledged that pastoralists are keen decision makers who are intellectually capable of harnessing their indigenous knowledge to figure out ways of coping with their characteristically harsh environment and the shrinking resource base of their desert ecosystem. Strategies such as mobility associated with nomadic lifestyles are critical in ensuring pastoralists' adaptability to their environment. Mobility enables the pastoralists to preserve the resource base of their livestock foraging areas while ensuring the sustenance of larger holdings of livestock, which would not be possible within a restricted modern sedentary economy (Coughenour, 2004; McCabe, 2004; Scoones, 1995). Dei defines indigenous knowledge as the "common sense knowledge and ideas of local peoples about the everyday realities of living" (1993, p. 105). Indigenous knowledge includes the cultural traditions, values, beliefs, and worldviews of local peoples as a direct experience of the way they construct nature and its relationship with the social world (Dei, 1993).

To validate the potential of indigenous traditional knowledge in managing and manipulating the environment, research conducted by an interdisciplinary group of scientists (ecologists, social anthropologists, biomedical scientists, and human biologists) from the United Sates and Kenya studied human - environmental relationships in Turkana through a project known as the South Turkana Ecological Project (STEP) [Coughenour, 2004; McCabe, 2004]. This research investigated the effects of human resource extraction on the ecosystem and patterns of human exploitation, herd management, environmental effects on the social system, and the consequences of each for the health and adaptability of the people. The research was comprehensive and driven by the need for clear understanding of the ecologically adaptive features of pastoralist resource utilization strategies and the ecological processes that determine energy flow from plants to livestock and humans in spatially and temporally variable harsh terrain.

Methodology

The dissertation study from which information is used to support the views in this paper documented ways in which the Kenya national education curriculum, reflecting Western assumptions about education, often alienates and marginalizes nomadic children in its failure to capture their cultural indigenous knowledge epistemologies. The research investigated the relationships between Turkana children's sociocultural practices of pastoralist lifestyles and the national science curriculum taught in local pre-schools and first grade science classrooms in Kenya as well as the extent to which Turkana children's everyday life cultural practices inform science instruction in early childhood grades.

Multiple ethnographic methods such as participant and naturalistic observation, focus group interviews, analysis of documents, archival materials, and cultural artifacts were used to explore classrooms instruction and the indigenous sociocultural practices of the Turkana nomads.

Results

The research findings demonstrated the importance of human mobility as a strategy of harnessing resources for survival in an extremely dispersed and unpredictable arid lands ecosystem. The study showed that Turkana people have the ability to withstand long drought periods and continue to coexist with their livestock and wildlife without degrading the environment. The findings challenged the conventional belief that the accumulation of large herds of livestock by pastoralists cause overgrazing and degradation of the environment. Contrary to the conventional beliefs, the STEP study showed that there is no evidence linking subsistence pastoralism with overgrazing or with human malnutrition (Coughenour, 2004; McCabe, 2004). The findings overwhelmingly showed that pastoralist resource exploitation strategies are adaptive and rational. For example, the Turkana pastoralist are capable of recovering rapidly even when they are adversely affected by serious drought in comparison to African communities that depend on a subsistence sedentary economy for survival.

According to STEP research, the Turkana have a well-developed conceptual understanding of scientific explanations that involve studies of soil, water, plants and soil nutrients on which their domestic animals depend. These nomadic people have a deep and extensive knowledge of the five species of livestock that form the core of their survival and demonstrate the authority in use of this knowledge with precise accuracy. Turkana nomads study sheep, goats, camels, cattle and donkeys in relation to their seasonal diets, forage intake rates, movements, habitat utilization, and nutritional balances. Research conducted among the Turkana pastoralist reveals the potential for indigenous traditional knowledge in areas such as human biological adaptations to the physical environment, growth, morphology, and body composition, dietary intake and

nutritional status, health status and disease prevalence, physical activity levels and physiological work capacity, demographics structure and population dynamics, decision making, herd management, grazing orbits, mental maps, and human labor.

This knowledge that is available in the families with children can form the backbone of the study of ecotourism in the environmental conservation education in Turkana early childhood education curriculum. However, the challenge is that pastoralist cultural knowledge is not considered a serious form of knowledge in the national education curriculum taught in educational institutions in Kenya, especially at the formative years of learning in early childhood and primary schools (Dyer, 2006; Krätli, 2001, 2000). In the postcolonial era, marginalization is associated with silencing certain communities by ensuring that their indigenous ways of figuring out the environment for survival are exterminated or replaced with modern science data collection techniques funded by the Government such as drought monitoring (McCabe, 2004). Traditional knowledge and methods of monitoring nature find no place in contemporary postcolonial Kenya. For instance educators in Kenya would be quoted as saying "we don't need that backward knowledge, we have moved to modernity and you cannot take us back to primitive cultural practices" (anonymous, 2010, university professor, pers. comm.). This is contrary to the findings of STEP research that demonstrate the potential of indigenous peoples' knowledge in understanding environmental issues which are critical for their survival. Marginalization of the Turkana community by the mainstream culture of Kenya is responsible for the lack of integration of traditional people that rely on cultural knowledge for survival in the socioeconomic related issues of development in Kenya. For example, a social activity such as ecotourism can help in the reduction of poverty while people share cultures and

environmental knowledge with their visitors. One of the authors is a native Turkana and has witnessed over the past 50 years that the Turkana do not relate with tourists who visit their own backyards. The tourists pass by as foreign visitors who may have little to do with the Turkana. Although the Turkana people know by watching their behavior that the tourists are interested in the nomads' Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) and culture, the Turkana do not understand how tourists' activities can be connected to their survival. One exception is the small number of roadside markets where tourists buy traditional artifacts to carry with them as they return to Nairobi.

In Kenya, most tourist attractions, such as game reserves and national parks, are managed by a County Council and the Kenya Wildlife Service on behalf of the central Government. The funds collected from the tourists are a source of revenue for the National Government. However, based on the definition of ecotourism where the environment, the local community and visitor all benefit (Evans-Pritchard & Salazar, 1992; TIES, 1990), it appears that Turkana peoples' rights including the right to conserve their natural resources through tourism are unilaterally being denied.

Awareness by the Turkana that "ecotourism" is a type of environmentally responsible tourism that is an interdependent socioeconomic activity, which benefits local peoples with a low impact on the environment and culture, and promotes conservation is critical in ensuring that Turkana communities have the opportunity to gain from this enterprise. As pointed out at the beginning of this paper, the marginalization of Turkana communities is exacerbated by the denial of access to their own resources. The Turkana, and Kenya as a whole, could benefit by respecting the indigenous knowledge of pastoralists and providing a supportive climate for the development

of ecotourism enterprises (Jafari, 1996; Wight, 1994). Unfortunately, opportunities such as these are few or nonexistent for the Turkana. In other places of the world, the use of indigenous knowledge to enhance conservation of the environment and the betterment of local communities has found a place, for example, in communities living in the equatorial Amazon forests in Ecuador and Peru. Indigenous communities in these countries have established community ecotourism projects, which they have used to strengthen their economy (Stronza, 2008; Gray, 1997; Schaller, 1995).

Indigenous Knowledge and Science Curriculum in Kenyan.

To illustrate the indigenous knowledge used by the Turkana that could be integrated within the current science curriculum, we will focus on the findings of data related to indigenous epistemologies of water exploration and fire making. Water is critical to herdsmen relying on livestock for survival. An Elder made the following comment: "God is the one that gives water". Traditional people are firm believers in God and most times explanations beyond their scope are attributed to God's presence. The Turkana would not accept that they are capable of manipulating natural resources such as water, plants, animal reproduction etc but will attribute their success in figuring out natural phenomena to God. However, the pastoralists demonstrate a variety of techniques to figure out and survive water scarcity associated with their desert terrain ecosystem. Interviews with Turkana Elders revealed that they know the likely places along the dry river courses where wells can be dug to get water for human and livestock consumption. When the community is confronted with drought challenges, for example, when traditional regular water sources dry up, Elders will use indigenous knowledge of their ecosystem to examine and explore alternative water reservoirs underground. The Elders study the

sand carefully, observing the type of sandy soil on the river courses. White clear sand, grey sand and black fertile agricultural soil observed on the river bed or by the dry river banks indicate the possibility of the water table being close underneath. The Elders study the characteristics of certain types of plants, for example, *Esirite* (Sporobolus spicatus*, also known as salt grass)*, atesiro* (Calotropis procera, also known as Apple of Sodom)*, ngikalalio* (Ziziphus mauritiana, also known as Jujube and Chinee Apple)*, Edome* (Cordia sinensis, also known as grey-leaved saucer berry), etc. (Turkana names in italics). Places on the river where these plants grow are associated with proximity of the water table to the surface. Generally places along the river where some acacia woody trees appear green for a sustained period of time will be an indicator of water under the surface. In addition, Elders study the rocks underground or at a river bend, they observe the leaves of trees, they study the frequency at which birds and wild animals hang around at some isolated places at the river courses. Elders study the slope of the land and examine places where land flattens at the bottom of the sloping landscape including river bends. A place where an anteater has dug when it is searching for water is one of the surest ways for the Elders to tell the presence of water at a dry river course. After examining all possible water indicators, an Elder confirms the presence of the water table by dipping a sharp pointed end of his spear into the indentified area on river surface. If the water table is close, the tip of the spear will be wet and this will be sufficient indication to enable the digging for the well to start. As one Elder narrated;

> *We test for the presence of water using a spear. We use the tip of the spear to get the indication that there is water. You spear on the sand on the river. The father does this in the presence of his children (girls and boys). When you spear, the spear goes down through soft sand much deeper. When you pull out the spear, the tip appears wet showing the presence of water. Digging a*

> *well is not just the preserve of a particular group. Everybody does the digging.*

A well can take many hours to dig. Sometimes diggers work overnight before the water table is reached. The diggers will return to continue digging the following day if they were not successful the first day. Sometimes when the diggers return the following day, they will find the place has overflowed with water. The depth of a well during drought seasons can be estimated to be as deep as thirty feet. The number of people (males and females) who enter the well at one time to give water to the livestock determines how deep the well can be. A well as deep as thirty feet can take approximately up to ten people to line up down to the bottom of the well to water the livestock. People stand on steps constructed at a slope along the wall of the well as the digging progresses down to the water table. The shallowest well is one with two people passing water to each other. Usually members of the family help each other in drawing water from a deep well for the livestock. But neighbors can assist in cases where members of the family do not have the numbers needed to reach the bottom of the well.

The Government water engineers use the indigenous knowledge of the Elders in identifying possible sources of water in the pastoralist areas. Usually places where the locals get water, the Government water experts are likely to get water from the same places, but in large quantities. Local water experts believe that the knowledge was given to them by God and argue that the knowledge will be passed to their children.

Fire symbolizes the presence of God as well as the presence of human life in the village or in a home. Besides it's use for cooking, fire helps the livestock to trace the way home. Fire is used for branding livestock as well as for treating both humans and livestock. A woman giving birth should stay in a hut lit with fire to symbolize life as well as lighting

the environment for the baby. Rituals performed for the infant are carried out with the help of fire. For example, women and close relatives visiting the mother will chew tobocco and spit some in the baby's fire.

Turkana make fire from two sticks by rubbing on dry donkey dung. The two sticks are obtained from trees known for producing fire. Some of these trees are; *Edome* (Cordia sinensis)*, Eurumosing* (Commiphora rostrata)*, Ewoi* (Acacia tortilis)*, Ekurichanait* (Delonix elata)*, Ekadeli* (Commiphora Africana), *Esekon* (Salvadora persica)*, Ekali* (Grewia bicolor)*, Epongae* (Grewia villosa) and others (Turkana names in italics). Men as well as women can make fire from the two sticks. A family carries two fire sticks whenever they move to new locations. The sticks are safely kept in the house when not in use. Fire is made by spinning one of the sticks into a small groove made on the second stick. One stick has a pointed end and in the other a small grove is cut with a knife. The pointed stick is pushed into the second by spinning it hard with both hands on the groove of the other. A lot of human power and energy is required to generate the friction required to produce fire from the two sticks and for this reason two men or women spin alternately until a small fireball drops. The fireball is caught by the dry donkey dung which immediately turns into smoke as the herdsmen continue to blow on it to produce the flames. Fire making is not an activity that is done on daily basis. It is done only when the family settles in a new place with no home close by to obtain fire. Herdsmen hunting will need fire to roast their prey, and fire has to be made from the dry tree sticks. Otherwise, traditionally fire continues to be maintained in the home as the family has the responsibility of ensuring it does not extinguish after it has been used for cooking.

As one can clearly see from the first example, the integration of the Turkana indigenous knowledge related to finding and harvesting of water would enhance children's understanding of botany, biology, ecology, and hydrology just to name a few. From the second example, physics concepts related to fire making could include friction, heat, flashpoint, and hardness. This narrative focused only on two areas of Turkana ways of exploring and utilizing the environment and natural resources of their ecosystem. However, Turkana people have developed an understanding of weather patterns, knowledge of the universe and knowledge of livestock including wildlife.

Educators should be concerned with the status of indigenous knowledge in this modern age and the extent to which Turkana Elders use this knowledge today. Interviews with children and Turkana teachers in schools showed that most of this knowledge is not accessible to the majority of young people including teachers. Therefore, introducing indigenous ways of coexisting with the environment in schools as a precursor to jobs in ecotourism, environmental and conservation education would be a justifiable and logical conclusion. Inclusion of TEK in the form of curriculum and textbooks would ensure the preservation of these traditional forms of knowledge and facilitate accessibility to tourists.

The authors are proposing a curriculum and instructional approach appropriate for science and environmental education for pastoralist Turkana children based on a model of teaching that argued for a conceptual eco-cultural content of science drawn from the sociocultural environment in which the learner lives and operates (Aikenhead, 1994; Jegede and Aikenhead, 1999; Jegede, 1997). Arguing for cross-cultural science education for African children, Jegede (1997) asserted that the so called African's fetish, primitive, or crude practices can be developed and linked to some Western science principles to facilitate understanding of science and environmental education in

children learning Western education but are close to their cultural traditions. To illustrate how Western science can be taught side by side with Turkana cultural knowledge of the environment, we analyzed the literature of Turkana cultural practices of their everyday lifestyles of livestock herding and their socio-cultural activities and compare these skills with the national science curriculum of Kenya that draws from Western science as shown in the Table 1.

Table 1 Indigenous Knowledge and Kenyan Science Curriculum

Traditional Science Practices Curriculum	Early Childhood Science
Preserving food stuffs	Human body
Gathering fruits	Health education
Animal skinning & slaughtering	Plants
Making cheese	Weather
Drying Milk, meat, fish	Water
Animal sounds	Animals
Animal hooves	Soil
Interpreting the clouds	Food
Rain making	Light
Classifying plants	Energy
Livestock treatment	Sound
Hunting	Air
Tracking animals	Making work easier
Rabbit snares	
Fire making	
Sharpening with stones or hard steel	
Myths	
Songs	
Stories	

Source: *(Ng'asike, 2010)*

The table doesn't present very divergent differences in both traditional and Western science concepts. Local knowledge, even though very practical, appears to demonstrate many similarities with modern science and environmental knowledge as presented in the Kenyan science curriculum. Educators arguing for the integration of indigenous worldviews in education for Aborigines, Native Americans and African children are emphatic that scientific understanding exists in both indigenous and Western cultures (Cajete, 1994; Kawagley, 2006; Aikenhead and Jegede, 1999). However, the differences appear profound in the ways in which Western and Native cultures, including how the pastoralist of Kenya, figure out understanding and use of natural phenomena for survival. Whereas an indigenous worldview may use mystical, pragmatic or inductive ways of sense making (or a complex mix of these examples), the Western approach contends the use of a secular, experimental, and more deductive ways of investigating natural phenomena (Cajete, 1994; Kawagley, 2006; Nakashima and Roué, 2002). Globally it appears that school curriculum and pedagogy privilege Western thinking in science and environmental education.

The proposed curriculum and instruction for pastoralist children in Kenya draws support from educationists and researchers from Native People all over the world that advocate for instructional strategies that capitalize on knowledge already existing in the children's culture. Teaching environmental education on the basis of children's culture provides the basis for acquiring new knowledge on how to increase the quality of life of the community while remaining focused on the sustainability of the environment by maintaining those values that are deemed necessary to give life and maintain the integrity of the tribe (Cajete, 1994; Kawagley, 2006). Instructional strategies should incorporate oral literature, mystical philosophy and conservation promoted through the use of traditional cultural practices that emphasize the sacred relationship with nature and use of traditional people's spatial awareness of nature. By involving elders as resource persons and developing written materials in both native and English language, indigenous knowledge of the environment can be preserved in schools. Learning institutions will become the archives of indigenous environmental knowledge as well as being agents for the dissemination of local knowledge for ecotourism development. The use of Turkana elders as resource persons ensures that both children and teachers can benefit from the elders' knowledge of nature, the secrets of the land and the use of idiosyncrasies of the language, including their ability to explain cultural knowledge concepts using native language vocabularies. The use of a mother tongue as the language of instruction is critical in ensuring that the natural language is used as the tool of communicating the spirit and the voice of the culture (Kawagely, 2006). Other indigenous appropriate instructional strategies of science and environmental knowledge that resonates with African children, and children of other native cultures, include mythology, listening, observation, reasoning, intuition, ecological ethic, and cultural technology (Cajete, 1994;

Kawagley, 2006; Aikenhead and Jegede, 1999).

Based on the curriculum argued in this article, the authors believe that Turkana children can learn traditional knowledge about important animals, (e.g., anteaters and birds – for finding water, and snakes – venomous vs. nonvenomous), and their relationships to nature. Children will learn cultural techniques for making sense of the natural world including strategies for water exploration, identifying soil types, uses of plants as medicine and the study of rocks for locating water. Livestock husbandry and drought management and monitoring using traditional knowledge will be critical skills for young students. Children equipped with this knowledge can be agents of transforming their communities in applying environmental knowledge for survival. This knowledge can be used to develop relationships with tourists and others. Children can liaise with their families to package this knowledge for ecotourism endeavors. This ensures the applicability of education to local ways of survival and strengthens the acceptance of education as a tool for the survival of the community.

The proposal for an education curriculum and instructional approaches commensurate to cultural knowledge of the pastoralists Turkana children in Kenya is timely as the African Union kicks the debate for African countries to commit to the plan of action for the second decade of education for Africa (2006-2015) to focus attention to achieving universal education with special attention to marginalized groups such as the pastoralists (SOS, SAHEL International, UK, 2008; UNESCO, 2000). To demonstrate its support and commitment to pastoral education in Africa, the African Union is preparing a continental pastoral policy, which will include a strong statement on education. This commitment of the African Union led to an Africa-wide workshop

held at Garissa in Northern Kenya in June 2006 in which various recommendations, including retraining of teachers, supporting the development of curricula appropriate for pastoralists, the design of new textbooks and other pedagogic materials relevant to pastoralism (Souza, 2006).

Kenya Education curriculum is universal and English is the official language of instruction. Responding to international policies of education such as the Millennium development goals (MDGs), Education For All (EFA) (Torres, 20000), and its own economic development strategy (Vision 2030), Kenya has implemented free primary education since 2003 (MoE, 2005). However, access to education in diverse culturally marginalized groups remains problematic. As a result, Kenya is joining the rest of African countries to rethink its education policies, especially strategies for ensuring education access to children in pastoralists' communities. One such strategy is the development of a Policy Framework with the support of UNICEF (MoE/UNICEF, 2008). This policy recognizes children of nomadic pastoral communities as having complex and challenging educational needs and thus the policy commits to ensuring equitable access to education by all children in nomadic areas; maintaining the quality of education in nomadic areas and adapting the national curriculum to nomadic pastoral livelihood systems. The policy also committed the government of Kenya to establishing a legal body referred to as the National Commission for Nomadic Education in Kenya (NACONEK), which will oversee the implementation of pastoralist education (MoE/UNICEF, 2008; SOS, SAHEL International, UK, 2008). In addition, UNICEF, OXFAM-UK, the Ministries of Education and Northern Kenya and NGOs are implementing education in mobile schools, which lack localized cultural materials appropriate for nomadic cultural lifestyles (Dyer, 2006; Krätli, 2002;

Ng'asike, 2011; Torres, 2000). These are the challenges of education in Kenya that require the authors' contributions as the debate for an alternative relevant curriculum begins that links TEK with ecotourism economic potentialities-especially in reference to environmental and conservation education.

The authors are also aware of the wider debate that appears to privilege Western science over TEK. However, the strength of the argument of this essay is in the growing research that supports a holistic view of science that acknowledges cultural diversity in environmental understanding (Agrawal, 2004; Huntington, 2000; McGregor, 2006; Warner, 1991) and the teaching of science from a cross-cultural perspective (Aikenhead, 2001; 2000; Jegede and Aikenhead, 1999; Jegede, 1997). For instance the argument raised by STEP researchers on the Turkana peoples' knowledge of their harsh terrain ecosystem for survival with their livestock adds to the debate on the validity of indigenous knowledge. In Kenya, traditional marginalized cultural communities like the Turkana (pastoralist nomads), the Ongiek (hunter gatherers), the Elmolo (fishermen) and other communities living by harnessing their TEK are considered societies leading primitive lifestyles. The Kenyan Government perspective in the best way to assist those communities would be to change their barbaric primitive ways of life to modernity. But as outlined earlier the landscape of the Turkana is not well suited to a more "modern" way of living. Education in postcolonial Kenya becomes the tool through which cultural ways of knowing and living are replaced with modern scientific lifestyles (Dyer, 2006; Kraeli, 2002). This education sometimes takes place in mobile schools, which operate at the doorstep of the culture of the children and families, without regard to the cultural capital of the children.

Kenyan researchers and scholars can learn from indigenous works of the Aborigines,

Alaskan Eskimos, First Nations and other indigenous groups worldwide which promote the use of TEK for survival, including environmental management and sustainability. TEK is knowledge and insight acquired though extensive observations of the environment or of a species, and includes knowledge passed down through oral tradition or knowledge shared among users of a resource (Agrawal, 2004; Huntington, 2000; McGregor, 2006; Warner, 1991). Although, positivist oriented scientists continue to push for the marginalization of TEK and for TEK to exist only through the documentation and storage in international, national and regional archives (Agrawal, 2004), TEK is gaining ground as critical knowledge that can contribute to the improvement of scientific research and management of the environment (Huntington, 2000; McGregor, 2006; Warner, 1991). Furthermore, the argument that there exist vast rift between TEK and Western science raises substantive methodological, epistemological and contextual questions and is now considered more a political argument of power of control than truth (Agrawal, 2004). Contrary to the notion of such a chasm, TEK has a proven empirical basis and indigenous people have used this knowledge for centuries to predict environmental events upon which the livelihoods of their society depended for survival (Huntington, 2000; McGregor, 2006). TEK should be promoted on its merits, scrutinized as other information is scrutinized and applied in those instances where is makes a difference in the quality of research and the effectiveness of management and involvement of resource users in decisions that affect them as they coexist with their environment (Agrawal, 2004; Huntington, 2000). Indigenous knowledge has value not only for the culture in which it evolves, but also for scientists and planners striving to improve conditions in rural localities (Warner, 1991).

Conclusion

As evident from other indigenous cultural communities, Turkana pastoralists have used their indigenous knowledge as the basis for decision making in agriculture, health care, food preparation, education, natural resource management and livestock husbandry. For instance, it is not by mere guesswork that they observe certain types of rocks, soil, plants, and animals when searching for water. Using their long standing knowledge of their ecosystem, the Turkana know the types of trees for making fire, the plants for feeding livestock and treatment of human ailments. Associating the behavior of an anteater, with the level of the water table appears unscientific, but this is knowledge acquired after centuries of people's coexistence with the anteater and the environment. This knowledge of nature is not unique to Turkana, but has been established in the Eskimos knowledge of whales, fish migration, birds and navigation technology (Dick, 1997; Huntington, 2000; Kawagley, 2006; McGregor, 2006). Similar cultural knowledge has been reported by Aikenhead (2001; 2000; 1996) in science education curriculum for the Canadian Aborigines referred to as "Rekindling Traditions".

The questions that the authors are wrestling with relate to issues such as; how can science help to improve the life of Turkana pastoralists? How would Turkana nomads benefit from research such as STEP? If the Turkana are aware of the benefits of their environment, it follows that they can also conserve this environment for posterity. The way Turkana people use their environment is complimentary to their conservation strategies to the same natural resources. The benefits of the ecosystem are likely to motivate peoples' commitment to coexisting with nature. To honor nature, Turkana attribute its use to God. For example, water, plants, livestock, and wildlife are all

attributes of God's creation and therefore must be preserved for the sustenance of society.

As we conclude this paper, let us revisit part of the question asked related to the extent of use of Turkana traditional cultural knowledge today for survival. Indeed one may wonder why the Elders were so knowledgeable about their environment and yet lived in poverty. Why not use their knowledge to predict drought or use it to develop alternative ways of survival? According to the Elders, modern ways of knowing have rendered their own indigenous beliefs redundant. Their predictions of weather and cultural practices related to use of the environment have been pronounced unscientific. They have to wait until scientific predictions, for example the report from the draught monitoring department of arid lands, are released, to advise them on the status of weather. Yet the Turkana figure out weather patterns day-by-day and strategize continuously as to where they will graze their livestock or find water, and in this way they are able to continue surviving even in a very harsh environment. Socioeconomic activities related to tourism have no bearing to the Turkana ways of life and people view the revenue generated by such practices as belonging to the Government. The mismatch between modern ways of knowing and traditional ways of survival may have contributed to the Turkana's apathetic state in this regard. Perhaps this is one reason why the Turkana are currently the poorest community in Kenya.

The Turkana argue that when their children attend school they will succeed and provide an additional source of income to the family. They contend that education enables them to stand with "two legs" (Dyer, 2006; Krätli, 2000), one leg in school and the other in livestock. Integration of ecotourism in Turkana cultural lifestyles is likely to translate to the creation of a "third leg".

Turkana culture should be honored and valued, and with the integration of TEK within the school curriculum, perhaps the next generation of Turkana will be able and willing to benefit from ecotourists craving a culturally transformative experience.

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Environmental Implications of Tourism Development on River Nile, Uganda

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Abstract

River Nile and the environs of Jinja town are among the leading tourism destinations in Uganda offering tourists an opportunity to participate in viewing the source of Africa's longest river, the associated falls and engage in activities ranging from nature walks along the river to high adventure activities such as bungee jumping and rafting. The opportunities offered by the River Nile have increasingly favored the development of tourism facilities such as hotels, camping sites, cottages, trails, and walkways which have environmental implications. Basing on data collected through questionnaires, documentary study, key informant interviews, experiments and observation, this paper describes the main tourist activities along the Nile and examines the strategies in place aimed at achieving environmental sustainability. It also highlights the key environmental implications of tourism development along the river. The findings indicate that there are a number of tourism sites which offer a variety of tourism activities. Most of the tourism sites do not manage their waste appropriately, water quality tests reveal evidence of contamination and the vegetation along the river banks has been cleared for tourism development and agriculture. However there is evidence of tourism positively contributing to local community livelihoods which has had positive impacts on nature conservation along the river banks.

Keywords: Environmental implications, River-based tourism, River Nile.

Introduction

Tourism is the world's fastest growing industry, growing at an annual rate of 4% (UNWTO, 2010) providing foreign-exchange which is highly required especially by developing nations. Tourism has also opened up opportunities for foreign investment, infrastructure development, regional planning, access to technologies and international prestige (Mowforth and Munt, 2003; Pleumarom, 1994). Developing and developed countries alike are endowed with various tourist attraction features including the sun, sea, sand, lakes, rivers, unique and beautiful scenery, wildlife, historic ruins, and exotic cultures (Pleumarom, 1994) which have contributed to the development of the tourism sector. Despite the immense contribution of tourism to the development of nations, the industry is not free of shortcomings. Even the most conscientious tourist will have some degree of impact on the environment and tourism development should therefore attempt to minimize the negative environmental impacts (Holden, 2000; Cater, 1994).

The government of Uganda has put in place a number of measures to ensure sustainable tourism development. A number of legislative and regulatory instruments have been formulated overtime such as the Public Health Act (1964), Wetlands, River Banks and Lakeshore Regulations (2000), Tourism Policy (2003), Tourism Act (2008) among others. They have laid out measures and procedures that have to be followed by different land use activities to ensure negative environment impacts are avoided or minimized (NEMA, 1995). An Institutional framework is in place for the protection of wetlands, river banks and lakes bringing together the Ministry of Water and Environment, National Environment Management Authority, Directorate of Water Development, Wetlands management Department and the District Local Governments (MNR,

1995). The government of Uganda is also a member of a number of intergovernmental initiatives that foster collaboration in the use, protection and conservation of water bodies including River Nile such as the Lake Victoria Environmental management Project and the Nile Basin Initiative. The extent to which these regulatory frameworks achieve their intended aims remains largely unresearched.

Tourism in Uganda is undertaken in a number of ecosystems, some of which are fragile such as the Afro-montane tropical forests in Bwindi and Mgahinga National Parks (which are habitats to the rare Mountain gorillas) and also in watershed environments along lakes, swamps and rivers (Nebel, 1993) including River Nile. The increasing numbers of visitors to Uganda, coupled with the country's history of political strife, poverty, uncontrolled tourism development and the high rate of population growth of 3.4% per annum (UBOS, 2010), have put pressure on the existing tourism resources resulting into a number of environmental implications.

Against this background, the authors embarked on the study, to document the tourism activities along River Nile (between Owen Falls Dam and Nankandulo parish – Figure 1), examine the environmental implications of the activities and suggest strategies to ensure sustainable tourism development.

Tourism and Environment Implications

Various authors (Farrell & Runyan, 1991; Murphy, 1994; Holden, 2000; Gunn, 2002; Mason, 2003) note that different forms of tourism will have environmental impacts even including the low-impact forms of tourism such as ecotourism. Tourism will either have positive or negative impacts but rarely, if ever, will it have a neutral relationship (Holden, 2000). Although

tourism has positive impacts such as; conservation of the environment, financing site restoration, improved infrastructure and income generation, it has also been associated with a number of negative impacts including; pollution, damage to biodiversity, negative social and cultural change. The extent of the impacts will depend on the ecological characteristics of the environment itself, the activities the tourists are engaging in and the nature of tourism infrastructure in place (Mason, 2003). As much as tourism has been considered a major contributor to nature conservation (Reid, 2003), it has also been cited as a significant threat to the environment (Williams, 1999; Holden, 2000; Goeldner and Ritchie, 2006) that it is supposed to protect in the first place. There is therefore need for sustainable tourism planning to ensure that the negative impacts of tourism on the environment are mitigated without unduly constraining growth (Griffin, 2002).

A number of approaches and tools have been developed in an attempt to determine equilibrium between tourism developments and the resultant environmental impacts. These include carrying capacity, limits of acceptable change, and visitor impact management. However the major limitation of these approaches is to assume the existence of fixed and determinable limits to development with a threshold below which no changes or deterioration will occur (Murphy, 1994; Farrell & Runyan, 1991; Gunn 2002) which is not always the case. There is an increasing use of tourism indicators as a tool for improving the development and management of destinations. The widely used indicators are the universal indicators developed by United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) as a result of research in more than 20 countries (UNWTO, 2004). This study applies the UNWTO indicators mainly relating to environmental impacts on waste management, water quality and nature conservation.

Study area

The study was conducted along River Nile in the parishes adjacent to the banks of the river in the districts of Jinja, Buikwe and Kayunga, stretching from the Owen Falls Dam to Nankandulo parish (map 1). This section of River Nile was purposively selected since it is where most tourism developments have taken place, largely as a result of the spectacular scenery and proximity to Jinja municipality, the second largest town and industrial area of Uganda. Jinja is mainly known for the source of River Nile, Africa's longest river flowing 6,400 kilometers to the Mediterranean Sea.

Map 1: Study area
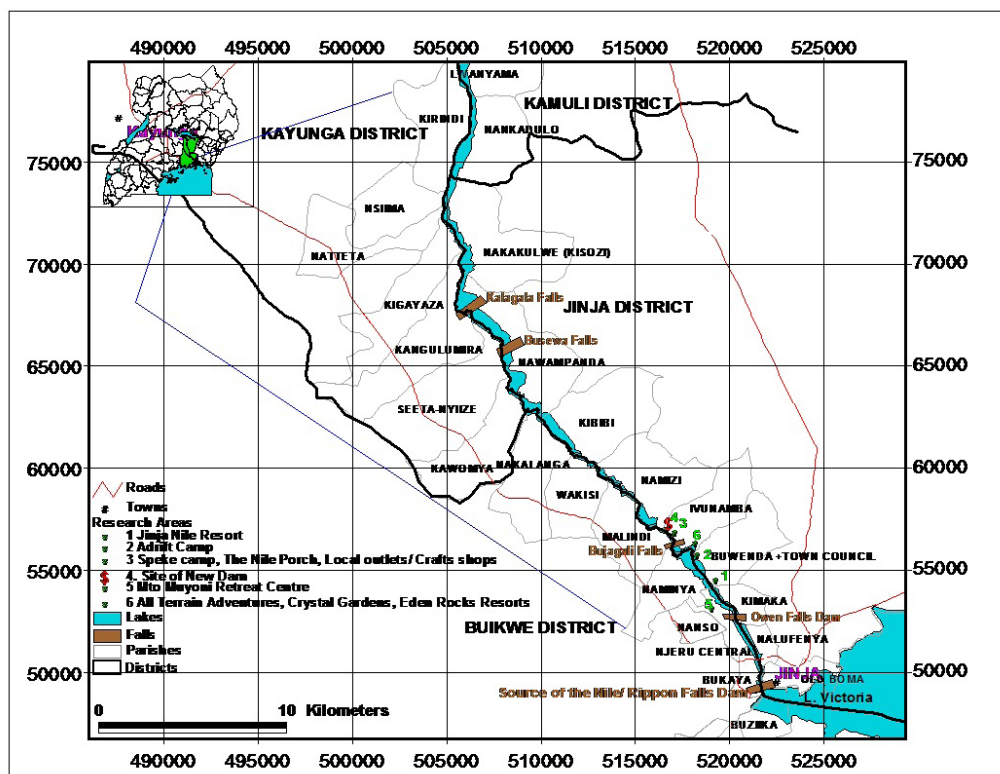
Methods

This paper is based on results of a cross sectional descriptive study, where a multidisciplinary approach was applied (Holden, 2000). Semi structured questionnaires were administered to household heads (n=79), tourists (n=180) and management of the 18 tourism establishments along the River Nile. Based on the UNWTO (2004) sustainable tourism development criteria, data was collected on; tourist activities, solid waste management, water quality and general perception on the impacts of tourism on the river banks environment. Interviews were also held with the District Environment Officer as a key informant since his office is directly in charge of managing and monitoring the environment along the River Nile banks. Documentary review enabled the researchers to collect data on legal and regulatory instruments governing wetlands, rivers and lakeshore management. Observation was further used to note the tourism facilities, activities, solid waste management practices and general impacts of tourism on the environment.

Data on water quality were collected through experimentation, where water samples were taken from five selected tourist points along the River Nile on three occasions – in March, April and May 2010. This was done at an interval of one month in order to gain a representative sample of the water quality over time. The samples were analyzed at Makerere University, Department of Chemistry Laboratory and the National

Water and Sewerage Corporation Laboratory for chemical properties (pH, ammonia, phosphate, nitrate, total dissolved solids and salts), physical properties (turbidity, temperature, water colour, conductivity) and biological properties (fecal coliform bacteria).

Tourism establishments, services and activities long River Nile

The study identified 18 tourism establishments in the study area (i.e. along the banks of River Nile). They include two Hotels (Jinja Nile Resort and Hotel Marble); 11 Resorts/lodges (Eden Rock Resorts, Nile Horse Safaris, Nile River Explorers Camp, Black Lantern Lodge, Huts Lodge, De Nile Café ,The Nile Porch, All Terrain Adventures, Speke Camp Bujagali, Crystal Gardens, MtoMoyoni Retreat Centre); two stand alone restaurants (Green Light Restaurant and Momma Joyce's Fine African Dining); two craft site (Sunset Craft Shop and Kongo Old Mask) and one camping site (Scouts Camping Site). The largest establishment in the study area is Jinja Nile resort hotel occupying 30 acres of land with 140 rooms (276 bed capacity), a swimming pool, conference facilities (700 people capacity) and green leisure gardens (Mada Hotels, 2007).

Various establishments were noted to offer a number of services and activities which are carried out either on their premises (such as accommodation, swimming pool, restaurant, bar and conference facilities), or along the river banks (such as Horse riding, quad biking, Bungee jumping, nature walks), or the activities carried out on the Nile itself (such as White water rafting, swimming, boating and Sport fishing). The services and activities offered at individual establishments are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Services and activities offered by various tourism establishments

Tourist establishment	Service /Activity
Adrift Adventure Company Limited	Rafting; Accommodation; Bungee jumping; Bar and restaurant
Eden Rock Resort	Accommodation Bar and restaurant
Nile Horse Safaris	Horse riding Accommodation
Nile River Explorers Camp	Accommodation Rafting
Black Lantern Lodge	Accommodation; Rafting
Jinja Nile Resort	Accommodation Rafting Conferences Restaurant Curio shop Business Centre

Tourist establishment	Service /Activity
Huts Lodge	• Accommodation • Restaurant
De Nile Café	• Accommodation • Restaurant
The Nile Porch	• Accommodation • Restaurant
Scouts Camping Site	• Accommodation • Retreats
All Terrain Adventures	• Quad Biking • Accommodation
Speke Camp Bujagali	• Accommodation; • Rafting
Crystal Gardens	• Accommodation • Gardens
Hotel Marble	• Accommodation • Restaurant
MtoMoyoni Retreat Centre	• Accommodation • Restaurant
Kongo Old Mask	• Retreat centre • Arts and Crafts
Sunset Craft Shop	• Arts and Crafts
Momma Joyce's Fine African Dining	• Restaurant
Green Light Restaurant	• Restaurant

In order to determine the activities that are mostly engaged in, questionnaires were administered to tourists (n=180) asking them to indicate the main activity they engage in while visiting sites along the Nile and results are presented in Table 2.

Table 2: Activities tourists mainly engage in when visiting sites along on River Nile

Attraction	Frequency	Percentage of tourists attracted to the activity
Swimming	19	10.6
Boating/ sport fishing	7	3.9
Sports (Volleyball, biking)	6	3.3
River Bank Walks	31	17.2
Rafting	80	44.4
Viewing water falls	12	6.7
Cultural tourism	6	3.3
Others	19	10.6
Total	**180**	**100**

Results indicate that the activities tourists mainly engage in are rafting (44.4%), river bank walks (17.2%), and swimming (10.6%). A relatively substantial percentage of the tourists (10.6%) selected 'others' and a further scrutiny of this category revealed that most of them mentioned bungee jumping and leisure/relaxation activities. Other activities include viewing waterfalls 6.7%), boating/ sport fishing (3.9%), sports (3.3%) and cultural tourism (3.3%).

Environmental implications of tourism developments along River Nile

Information collected from the study area was mainly analyzed based on the UNWTO (2004) sustainable tourism development criteria. National environmental standards were also applied, where they existed. The environmental criteria used in this study included; solid waste management, water quality and impact on river banks environment.

Solid waste management

According to the United Nations (2006), solid waste is described as useless and sometimes hazardous material with low liquid content and may include municipal, industrial, commercial waste and sewage. The UN further describes solid waste management as supervised handling of waste material from generation at the source through the recovery processes to disposal. The level of solid waste management was investigated by considering the composition of the waste, how it is collected and disposed.

Observation by the researchers revealed that the generated solid waste mainly consists of plastic bottles and cups, polythene bags, beer and sodas cans, food residue and vegetation litter (leaf litter, cut grass etc). In a number of separate interviews with the tourist site managers, 85.0% of them revealed that plastic bottles and kitchen wastes were the most dominant solid wastes generated. They also revealed that the waste is collected in litter bins (unseparated). However, observation during the study revealed the opposite at some of the sites which had no litter bins and plastic and paper containers were found littered in the compounds. Some of the waste was dumped in close vicinity of the river banks easily ending up in the river as a result of wind or surface runoff.

During the interviews, 85.7% of the managers indicated that they dispose off their wastes in rubbish pits dug onsite and 14.3% indicated that their waste is deposited in Jinja municipal garbage bins which are later taken away by the municipal garbage trucks. However on all sites, researchers could not identify rubbish pits but only rubbish heaps as a result of damping waste on the ground surface at one spot. More so, during the time of the study, it was not possible to locate a garbage collection bin being filled up for collection. Further investigation revealed that over 80% of the sites manage their solid wastes by periodically burning it whenever it accumulates. Indeed it was common during the study to observe solid waste being burnt at various sites. Management of the sites indicated that all their sewage and fecal waste is disposed in septic tanks constructed at individual sites.

Water Quality

Measuring the level of water quality is important for tourism development along the River Nile since the facilities use the water and tourists engage in a number of water based activities such as swimming, fishing and canoeing. The water samples collected from five selected tourist points along the River Nile were analyzed for chemical properties (pH, Total dissolved solids and salts, ammonia, phosphate, nitrate), physical properties (turbidity, temperature, water colour, conductivity) and biological properties (fecal coliform bacteria).

The results obtained from the sites were analyzed and averaged in relation to the Uganda water quality maximum acceptable consumption limits (NEMA, 2007) to determine the level of water quality – as presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Water Analysis Results at selected Tourism sites along River Nile

No.	Parameter	Uganda Water quality standards (NWSC) – MAC	SITE 1 (Mto Moyoni Retreat Centre)	SITE 2 (The Nile Porch base)	SITE 3 (Nile R. Explorers)	SITE 4 (Speke Camp Bujagali)	SITE 5 (Jinja Nile Resort/ Adrift Camp)
1	pH	6.5-8.5	7.62	7.54	7.46	7.35	7.05
2	TDS mg/l	500 mg/l	32	43	104	186	44
3	Ammonia – N mg/l	1.00mg/l	0.43	1.46	0.45	1.54	0.25
4	O-phosphate mg/l	10 mg/l	0.07	0.34	0.20	0.25	0.24
5	Nitrate – N mg/l	10 mg/l	0.131	0.173	0.159	0.148	0.123
6	Turbidity NTU	10 NTU	6	18	54	110	60
7	Conductivity us/cm	<100	75	82	211	386	85
8	Temp 0C	20-350C	25.8	25.7	25.8	25.7	25.7
9	Coliforms (bacterial load)	0/100 ml, MAC =50	55	53	59	53	58

MAC   TDS   NTU   NWSC

The chemical composition of the water samples tested reveal that the pH of water at all the sites was within the acceptable 6.5-8.5 pH range. The Total Dissolved Salts (which include chlorine, calcium, magnesium, sodium, Nitrite), phosphates and the nitrate levels were also found to be within the acceptable range of 500 mg/l, 10 mg/l and 10 mg/l respectively at all the sites. However, two out of the five sampled sites had ammonia levels above the maximum acceptable levels.

The physical properties of the water samples tested indicate that the turbidity (ability of light to pass through water) was within the acceptable levels (10 Netherometric Turbidity Units - NTU) at only one site. The other four sites had NTU higher than the acceptable limits, some 10 times higher, such as at site 4 (Speke Camp Bujagali). The tested samples indicated that water conductivity (number of electric ions) were within the maximum acceptable levels (< 100) at three sites while at the other two it was higher. On the other hand, water temperature at all the sites was within the maximum acceptable levels (20-35⁰C). In order to determine water colour, the study used the observation method. 42% of the local residents and 50% tourists when asked to observe the water, they described it as

having a brownish-greenish colour especially on areas near the river banks where water was not fast flowing. The local residents revealed that water mainly changes to this colour during the rainy season when there is high surface run-off from the surrounding areas into the river. The researchers noticed that the brownish-greenish colour was more prevalent along river shores that had bare river banks exposed by trampling of vegetation by tourists or by tilling the land for agricultural purposes. Green algae were observed along the river banks at different points along the study area.

Bacterial load test were carried to measure the amount of colibacteria in water which are mainly as a result of human or animal wastes contamination. The test results indicate that all the sites were above the maximum acceptable level of 50/100ml, with the highest having 59/100ml.

Impact on river banks environment

In order to assess the impact of tourism on the river banks environment, the study referred to the national Wetlands, River Banks and Lakeshore Management Regulations (2000). The regulation recognizes wetlands, river banks and lakeshores as ecologically sensitive and important areas that should have very limited human activity, if any, in order not to alter the ecology settings in the area. It states that water bodies shall have a protection zone of 200 meters from the water mark where no activity shall be permitted without written authority from NEMA. The study identified the location of the tourism establishments along River Nile to determine if they were within River Niles banks' protection zone. Through observation, it was found out that over 85% of the sites had some facilities or carried out some activities in the river protection zone. Through an interview with the Jinja District Environment Officer, the researchers were informed that only 5% of the establishments had approval from NEMA. The environment

officer further revealed that even then, most of these sites had introduced a number of tourism activities and established more facilities within the protection zone without seeking additional approval from his office and from NEMA. He revealed that as a result, these tourism developments were negatively affecting the ecological system mainly by clearing river banks of vegetation to construct accommodation units (especially cottages) create green lawns, parking lots and other facilities such as swimming pools, open bars and restaurants. The study however failed to secure permission from the site managers to measure the area of protection zone that each individual site had cleared of vegetation. The local residents also revealed that tourism activities such as river bank walks, horse riding and quad biking had led to trampling of vegetation leading to bare ground along the tourist trails. According to the Environment Officer such bare ground trails increase the chances of surface runoff into the river hence affecting the water quality.

Even though tourism along the Nile seems to only have negative implications, the study found out that it also had positive implications. In an interview with the Jinja District Environment Officer, he revealed that tourism had contributed to environment conservation along the river banks in the study area. The local residents who had hitherto mainly relied on subsistence farming along the banks of the Nile (clearing all vegetation and increasing runoff and soil erosion in the river), now have an alternative source of livelihoods which reduces their dependency on exploiting natural resources along the river such as soil. Study results indicate that a total of 72 households derive an income from selling crafts and employment within the tourism sites as causal labourers (cleaners, porters), site guides and in administrative and supervisory positions. Indirectly, tourism developments have helped raise awareness about the need for environment

conservation. The community has realized the need to preserve the river banks in their natural settings, to protect the flora and fauna in the environment since they enhance the attractiveness of the area to tourists, who eventually contribute to their livelihoods.

The study also investigated why, despite the existing environmental laws, regulations and institutions, tourism establishments were developing and being managed in disregard to the laid down guidelines and procedures. When asked as to why this was the case, the Jinja District Environment Officer revealed that the major reason was limited resources (both financial and human) at the district level to monitor and regulate all the developments along the River Nile. He also cited political interference from the district and national levels, where an investor is allowed to establish or expand a tourism site without going through all the necessary approval procedures.

Discussion

The results indicate that various tourism establishments have over time been developed along the shore of River Nile. Interviews with management reveal that 80% of the establishments are less than 10 years old, which implies that they are recent developments – having been established in the year 2000 and above. The tourism sites are largely composed of resorts/lodges (n=11) that offer restaurant, bar and accommodation services. The accommodation is mainly in form of cottages and the average bed capacity of the resorts is 20 beds. There are also two hotels, two stand alone restaurants, two craft shops and a camping site. This implies that most of the sites along the Nile are medium scale developments that mainly cater for day visitors and a few tourists who spend a night or two in the cottages as opposed to large scale developments such as hotels.

The tourists visiting these sites engage in a number of activities and the results indicate that they mainly engage in white water rafting, swimming, river bank walks and bungee jumping which are adventure tourism activities. Indeed, River Nile shrouded with very many features that make it 'a must see' for any adventurous tourist (Richards, 2008), has enabled Jinja town to market itself as the 'adventure capital of East Africa'. However, it should also be noted that some of the tourists are attracted by 'soft' tourism activities such as leisure/ relaxation and cultural tourism.

Tourism development along the Nile has had substantial impact on the environment along the banks of River Nile. The last decade has witnessed an upsurge in the number of business operators rushing to put up tourist businesses. This has been coupled with increasing number of visitors to the sites who engage in various activities such as swimming, boating, rafting, sport fishing and nature walks. This has in most cases resulted in construction of more tourist facilities to carter for the increasing numbers, sometimes with disregard to the existing environment guidelines.

Results indicate that the sites generate a considerable amount of solid waste which has not been properly managed. Most of the waste is deposited on surface and burnt on site including plastics contributing to pollution by introducing toxic fumes in the air, contrary to the guidelines in the National Environment Statue (1995), which indicate that solid waste should be disposed off in an officially gazatted area. Burning also destroys vegetation, opening up more bare ground and exposing it to surface run-off which ends up in River Nile. Although the sites deposited their sewage in septic tanks, the Jinja District Environment Officer revealed in an interview that less than 20% of the sites had got approval to construct them. This implies that over 80% of the sites are using unapproved sewage disposal tanks contrary to the Public health Act (1964) -

drainage and sanitation rules (section 59), which states that all septic tanks and other sewage reception or disposal systems have to be approved by the local authority.

Water quality test results revealed that at most sites, the chemical and physical water properties were generally within maximum acceptable limits apart from water turbidity and ammonia levels that were high at most sites. The high turbidity levels (which gives the water a brownish colour), according to the Jinja District Environment officer, are due to increased surface runoff in the river as a result of clearing of river banks vegetation mostly for tourism developments expansion and for agriculture purposes. He further revealed that the high ammonia levels are attributed to the effluents from some industries along the river which discharge their waste into the river. On the other hand water test results revealed high bacterial load, above the maximum acceptable limits at all the sites. This implies fecal contamination which most likely, according to the Jinja District Environment officer is from the various unapproved septic tanks which could be licking or over flowing into the river. His observations are consistent with the results of a study by NEMA, which documented instances of some tourist sites discharging some of the waste into the River Nile (NEMA, 2004).

The study recognizes that it is not easy to separate environmental impacts attributable to tourism from the effects of other activities (Holden, 2000) and does not claim that tourism developments along the River Nile are solely responsible for the bacterial load and other water characteristics. However evidence of unapproved sewage systems and sometimes overflowing waste water suggests that tourism developments do contribute to fecal contamination, a situation that needs to be addressed in order to ensure sustainable tourism development along River Nile. This also points to the need for a comprehensive study that can segregate the impacts of tourism from the impacts of other activities along the river such as agriculture and human settlement.

Conclusion

In general, the study reveals that irrespective of the existing environmental laws, regulations and institutions, tourism establishments along River Nile have continued to develop with limited monitoring and control. This has resulted into negative environmental impacts characterized by poor solid waste management, high levels of bacterial load in the water and continued clearance of vegetation to establish and expand tourism facilities within the restricted river banks protection zone. This implies that if this situation goes on uncontrolled and unmonitored, the very resources which tourism thrives on may end up being destroyed. Therefore, there is need for both local and central government and other environmental departments to put in place both the short and long-term measures to minimize negative environmental impacts. Such measures should not only focus on tourism but also on other economic activities along the banks of River Nile, such as agriculture, to ensure sustainable and environmentally friendly resource utilization. There is also need to explore the avenues through which tourism can be used as a vehicle to promote environmental conservation especially through contributing to community livelihoods and channeling some of the profits generated from tourism to environmental conservation initiatives.

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Tourism Motivation among University of Dar-es-salaam Students to Visit National Parks and Game Reserves

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Abstract

This paper examines tourism motivation among students of the University of Dar-es-salaam. The study was centered on the premise that understanding specific domestic tourist motivations can help in sustaining development and promotion of the tourism sector. Domestic tourism is acknowledged for its ability to buffer the tourism and hospitality industry during off-seasons for international tourists. Demographic data of the respondents were captured on the questionnaire and a 5-point Likert scale was used to capture motivational factors and travel barriers. The survey was conducted between November 2010 and January 2011 and covered 184 students. Data were analyzed using SPSS. The reliability of the measurement was calculated and the Cronbach alpha (α) for travel barriers and tourism motivation scales were 0.79 and 0.84 respectively. Findings revealed that: Cost (M=1.73, SD= 1.045) and Time (M=2.01, SD=1.056) are the most constraining barriers for surveyed students to visit national parks and game reserves. The students were highly motivated by enjoyment of scenic beauty of the Tanzanian national parks and game reserves (M=4.70, SD=0.655), and learning more about Tanzania natural resources (M=4.54, SD=0.848). It is therefore important for stakeholders (tour operators, government agencies, and community based actors) involved in promoting domestic tourism to make efforts to provide activities that allow for actual and potential domestic tourists from universities to combine enjoyment and learning in tourism packages. This recommendation is embedded in the concept of market segmentation and targeting which call for designing special packages for special groups of people with differing travel motives.

Key Words: Students, Domestic Tourism, Tourism Motivation

Introduction

Knowledge of people's travel motivations and its association with destination selection plays a critical role in predicting future travel patterns (Banerjea, 2010). The premise of this study is that students like other tourism interest groups have needs which give rise to motivations (i.e. energizing forces directed at meeting those needs). University students with more or less similar income levels and knowledge of the domestic tourist attractions might have motivational differences that distinguish those who have traveled to national parks or game reserves and those who have not. Questions on why people travel to various tourism destinations have interested and plagued researchers and scholars such as Huang (2010) who believes that tourist motivation has been at the central stage of tourism research for several decades. The interest on tourist motivation is among other reasons, because its understanding can help in planning for better products and services, more efficient marketing communication, developing visitor attractions and generally giving tourism planners and entrepreneurs in the realm of tourism a vital edge in a competitive and dynamic environment (Titta, 2010). In fact, it was Wahab (1975) who noted that tourist motivation is basic and indispensable in tourism analysis and fundamental to tourism development itself.

After years of focusing on international tourism, the Government of Tanzania through its Ministry of Tourism and Natural Resources (MNRT) and the Tanzania Tourism Board (TTB) now realizes that in order to sustain the sector, domestic tourism must be encouraged. According to Karume (2002), Tanzania domestic tourism is envisaged to "generate greater awareness of the value and importance of tourism…., thereby winning support of local people to the industry… and help develop a true continental tourism brand". The country is thus intensifying its efforts to revamp domestic tourism which, was estimated to grow by 19.3 per cent to reach 639,749 in 2009. Tourism development in Tanzania is now focused on wildlife conservation and sustainable tourism. With approximately 28% of the land protected by the government, the country boasts of 15 national parks and 32 game reserves. These globally renowned attractions have been visited mostly by international tourists and missed out by domestic tourists.

Tourism is one of the country's major sources of foreign exchange playing a pivotal role in the country's economic growth and development. According to Kahyarara and Mchallo (2008), the sector is estimated to account for 12% of the country's GDP, and is among the fastest growing economic sectors (Mamadi, 2004). In 2007, Tanzania tourism sector directly and indirectly contributed US$1.6 billion to the economy, while in 2008 the contribution declined to US $1.1 billion (Mitchell et al., 2009). Tourism is credited for its current and potential generation of direct and indirect employment opportunities. In addition, Shitundu and Luvanga (2003) note that other sector advantages include boosting of sales of different goods and services, such as, agricultural products and handicrafts, as well as cultural entertainment performed by mostly poor locals. Most importantly, tourism contribution to poverty alleviation has invariably been acknowledged.

It is in recognition of its importance that the government of Tanzania, albeit late, promulgated its first ever National Tourism Policy in 1991(reviewed in, 1999) whose overall objective was and still is to promote the economy and livelihoods of the people, essentially poverty alleviation through encouraging the development of sustainable and quality tourism that is culturally and socially acceptable, ecologically friendly, environmentally sustainable and economically viable. Prior to 1991, past government policies stipulated that the state would have a major shareholding in the tourism industry, and foreign companies

were thus reluctant to invest in the country. By government distancing itself from the running of the tourism sector, the rent seeking private sector and large international companies, with little or no interest in ensuring that poverty is alleviated among the locals will subject the local people to exploitative relationships (Shitundu and Luvanga, 2003).

Despite the now well-developed literature from western world and emerging economies on international tourist motivation, there seems to be scant studies in Tanzania on why people travel domestically. Even where tourist motivation has been studied, inconclusive findings have come to the fore. Dann (1981) for instance warns that when tourists are probed, tourists may not still be willing or able to reflect and express their real travel motives. Tanzania as a country is equally made up of very diverse people with different background and attributes such that it would be difficult to describe any motivational elements as being typically "Tanzanian". It is in this context that this study sought to examine motivation to travel to national parks and games reserves by University of Dar-es-salaam students. Specifically, the study sought to: (i) examine travel barriers to national parks and game reserves by university students and (ii) examine motivational factors by university students to visit national parks and game reserves.

Tourist Motivation Theories

Basically, theories and models used in studying why people travel which encapsulate tourist motivation dates back to early 1970's. Lundberg (1971) lamented the paucity of research on tourist motivation and ever since, many researchers have come with many theories, models and definitions of tourist motivation. Kay (2003) points out that extant tourism literature reveals four main approaches to the study of tourist motivation. These are Needs-Based, Values

Based, Expectancy Theory and Benefits Sought approaches. Under the Needs Based Approach to tourist motivation is the Maslow's (1943) Hierarchy of Needs theory that has been adopted by numerous scholars. Likewise, following from the foundation of Maslow's (1943) theory, three alternative frameworks have been commonly used to explain tourists' motivation. The three frameworks are Escaping-Seeking Dichotomy (Iso-Ahola, 1982), the Travel Career Ladder (Pearce, 1988) and the Pull-Push Factors (Crompton, 1979). It would seem then that, despite its many noted shortcomings, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory is accepted by many as the foundation of understanding tourists' behaviour thus warranting a brief albeit detailed description of the theory.

Generally, Maslow (1943) points out that human need must be satisfied in the order of psychological, security, social, self-esteem and self-actualization. However, Maslow (1954) noted that unfulfilled lower needs dominate human behaviour. Hence, only when the lower level needs are met can people progress to the next level (Cook et al., 2002). Due to its simplicity and despite its popularity in consumer behaviour studies, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory has received a fair share of criticisms over the years. Cooper et al. (2005), for instance, have criticized the theory by claiming the ambiguity on why and how the basic five needs were selected and subsequently arranged. McIntosh et al. (1995) further state that there is little empirical evidence to support the theory. Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory largely ignores more recent developments in motivation theory and tend(s) to concentrate in one particular aspect of motivation (Witt and Wright, 1992).

The Leisure Ladder Model (LLM) is a specific form of Travel Career Ladder (TCL). The theory was first developed by Pearce (1988) by borrowing from Maslow's

(1970) and Mill's (1985) findings and recommendations. The model postulates a tourist ascending hierarchy from relaxation/bodily needs, stimulation, relationships, self-esteem/development and fulfillment needs as they age and gain more travel experience. The LLM is one of the most representative motivation models, which proposes patterns for an individual's temporal dynamic nature. It is one of the most accepted conceptual theories (Cook et al., 2002).

Methodology

A self-administered questionnaire was developed, distributed to 200 respondents and used to measure the University of Dar-es-salaam students' motivation to travel to national parks or game reserves. Self-administered questionnaires are believed to get the most reliable responses (Hurst, 1994). Given the paucity of studies on this area in Tanzania, the data collection instrument for this study was adopted from Cheong et al. (2007) and Pearce (1988) studies. However, wherever appropriate, the items were modified to reflect Tanzania context. Fourteen (14) motivational items were generated on a 5-point Likert Scale with 5= Strongly Agree and 1= Strongly Disagree. Demographic information such as age, gender, education, and marital status, average monthly income, and frequency of visits, and occupational status were also measured. The survey was conducted from November 2010 to January 2011. Of the 200 students targeted for participation in this research 10 could not be reached, and 6 did not duly fill the questionnaires resulting in an effective sample size of 184. This is effectively a 92% response rate. Data were analyzed using SPSS. Firstly, the reliability of motivation items was tested using Cronbach's coefficient alpha. A coefficient alpha (α) of 0.79 for travel barrier scale and α=0.84 for tourism motivation scale were considered as adequate. Secondly, descriptive statistics (frequencies, mean and standard deviations) were used in the analysis of the collected data.

Study findings and discussions

Profile of respondents

Out of one hundred and eighty four (N=184) students who constituted the sample of this study, 57.1% were aged between 20 and 29, 64.1% were males and 63.6% were single. Majority (70.15) had an average monthly income of less than TZS. 700,000. Undergraduate students constituted 71.2% of the respondents while graduates were 27.2%. 47.2% were already employed, 42.4 unemployed and 9.8% were self-employed. The highest academic qualifications attained by the respondents were ordinary secondary education (0.5%), advanced secondary education level (42.4 %), Diploma (14.7%), Advanced Diploma (1.6%), Bachelor Degree (33.2%) and Master Degree (1.1%)- *See Table 1.*

Table 1: Profile of respondents

Respondent age	Frequency(N)	Valid Percent (%)
20-29	105	57.1
30-39	54	29.3
40-49	19	10.3
50-59	6	3.3
Respondent gender		
Male	118	64.1
Female	66	35.9
Monthly Income range (Tanzania Shillings)		
Below 300,000	88	47.8
300,000-700,000	41	22.3
700,000-1,000,000	18	9.8
1,000,000-2,000,000	24	13.0
2,000,000-3,000,000	8	4.3
Above 3,000,000	5	2.7
Marital Status		
Single	117	63.6
Married	65	35.3
Widowed	2	1.1
Academic programme		
Certificate	2	1.1
Diploma	1	.5
Bachelor Degree	131	71.2
Master Degree	50	27.2
Highest level of Education		
O-level	1	.5
A-level	78	42.4
Certificate	12	6.5
Diploma	27	14.7
Advanced Diploma	3	1.6
Bachelor Degree	61	33.2
Master	2	1.1
Employment Status		
Employed	88	47.8
Self Employment	18	9.8
Unemployed	78	42.4

Visitations to National Parks and Game Reserves

Out of the 11 national parks and games reserves mentioned to have been visited, Mikumi National Park (44%) was the most visited, followed by Ngorongoro (32.1%), Serengeti (26.1%) and Lake Manyara (24.5%) national parks (Table 2.). The least visited national parks were Katavi (2.2%), Selous (8.20%), Udzungwa (10.3%) and Ruaha (12.0%). While the rest falls within the northern circuit of tourism in Tanzania, Mikumi is on the southern circuit. One explanation for this could be that some students might have mentioned to have visited Mikumi while travelling through the highways that passes through the national park from Dar-es-salaam to Malawi and Zambia. It is thus concluded that even within the domestic tourism, there is high concentration to the northern circuits compared to other tourism circuits in the country.

Table 2: Visitations to national parks and game reserves

No	National Park/Game Reserve	Yes (%)	No (%)
1	Mikumi National Park	44	56
2	Ngorongoro Conservation Area	32.1	67.9
3	Serengeti National park	26.1	73.6
4	Lake Manyara National Park	24.5	75.5
5	Arusha National Park	19.6	80.4
6	Kilimanjaro National Park	17.4	82.6
7	Tarangire National Park	12.5	87.5
8	Ruaha National Park	12	88
9	Udzungwa National Park	10.3	89.7
10	Selous Game Reserve	8.2	91.8
11	Others	5.1	94.9
12	Katavi National Park	2.2	97.8

Barriers to visiting National Parks/ game Reserve

Barriers to visiting national parks or game reserves were examined. The measurement scale ranged from 1= Very important to 5= not important at all. According to Table 3, the barriers that were ranked very important or important were Cost (M=1.73, SD= 1.045) and Time (M=2.01, SD=1.056). The rest of the factors were considered important barriers though they inclined more towards "indifference" on the 5-point Likert scale. These results indicate that cost and time is the most constraining barrier for surveyed students to visit national parks and game reserves. Fear (M=3.83, SD= 1.290) was revealed to be not a very important barrier.

Table 3: Barriers to visiting National Parks/game Reserve

Barriers to visiting National Parks/game Reserve	Mean	Std. Deviation
Cost	1.73	1.045
Time	2.01	1.056
Health	2.93	1.499
Family	2.90	1.439
Interest	2.76	1.619
Fear	3.83	1.290
Security	2.74	1.560
Distance	2.76	1.477
Other	3.39	1.435

Travel Motivations to National Parks and Games Reserves

An examination of each dimension of travel motivation was conducted. Overall, students were highly motivated by 'Scenic beauty enjoyment' factor (M=4.70, SD=0.655), followed by 'Learn more about Tanzania natural resources' factor (M=4.54, SD=0.848), and 'skills and ability development' factor (M=4.42, SD=3.897).

Notably, the standard deviation for the skills and ability development is large demonstrating that the motivation was not agreed unanimously. Students noted that they were least motivated by such factors as physical pressure escape (M=2.56, SD=1.455), social pressure escape (M=2.86, SD=1.445), keeping physically fit (M=3.03, SD=1.299) and development of leadership skills (M= 3.15, SD=1.329) - *See Table 4.*

Table 4: Travel Motivations to National Parks and Games Reserves

Motivational factors	Mean	Standard deviation
Scenic beauty enjoyment	4.7	0.655
Learn more about Tanzania natural resources (Knowledge)	4.54	0.848
Skills and ability development	4.42	3.897
New things discovery and experience	4.32	1.002
Excitement experience	4.24	1.001
Increase creativity	3.73	1.294
Meet new people	3.61	1.258
Personal and spiritual values development	3.58	1.295
Self confidence	3.57	1.222
Family ties strengthening	3.28	1.381
Development of Leadership skills	3.15	1.329
Physically fit	3.03	1.299
Social pressure escape	2.86	1.445
Physical pressure escape	2.56	1.455

Discussion and Conclusion

Several studies have pointed to a number of dominant motives for travel to various destinations. Enjoying scenic beauty/nature and knowledge acquisition as found in this study are shared amongst many findings from both developing and developed countries and transcends different groups of tourists. Kay (2007) found that acquiring local cultural knowledge was one of the motives that the four groups had studied as their motives to travel for cultural experiences. Escape from social and physical pressure was found to be less relevant. This was different from the findings by Dunn Ross and Iso-Ahola (1991) who found that escape from routine is equally another important motive for travel. Given the target group for this study, it is considered imperative to note that university students may place a lot of emphasis on knowledge acquisition escape. Students are less stressed as to escape from perceived mundane environment.

Enjoying scenic beauty and learning more of the Tanzania natural resources were considered the most important motivation factor for university students participating or intending to travel to national parks and game reserves. It is important that stakeholders involved in promoting domestic tourism make an effort to provide activities that allow for current and potential domestic tourists from universities to combine enjoyment and learning in tourism packages while attracting them. This may be done through offering more instructional programs or workshops as part of the package. Likewise, two of the barriers noted as inhibiting students from visiting national parks and game reserves were cost and time. For most students coming from poor families, time and cost is used as an excuse for not being able to engage in domestic tourism as they would rather spend time in studies and work to earn a living than engage in maintenance and leisure activities. Broadly, it is envisaged that the surveyed students will progress upward through the levels of motivation when accumulating travel experiences gradually. People's travel decisions and decision-making processes are however not static; they change over a person's lifetime based on their travel experiences.

The preceding suggestion is built on the basis of the realization of the importance of segmentation. Obviously, not all tourists will respond in the same way to different stimuli in destinations. It is important therefore that tourism planners and other stakeholders are informed of the perceived and real differences of different tourist groups- in this case university students.

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The Reality and Myth of Community Conservation at Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Uganda

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Abstract

Community conservation has been embraced by many developing countries as a link between communities and wildlife conservation on the premise that, if conservation and development could be simultaneously achieved, then the interests of both the community and conservationists could be served. It is widely seen as a way through which communities can take part in benefit sharing, decision making and management of Protected Areas (PAs). Community participation in conservation activities became popular on the failure of the exclusionist policy which alienated local communities from resources that provided livelihoods options before being gazetted as protected areas. This paper is based on data generated through qualitative inquiry; using both formal and informal interviews, participant observation, life stories and documentary review. Guided by the principles of the community conservation concept, the paper analyses the various community conservation strategies at Bwindi Impenetrable Park (BINP) and examines the associated challenges and shortfalls. There is evidence of community conservation at BINP as evidenced by the level of community participation in conservation efforts, revenue sharing arrangements, problem animal management mechanisms, collaborative resource management, integrated conservation and development initiatives through conservation education and awareness programmes. If the challenges and shortfalls of these strategies are addressed, community conservation arrangement at BINP has the potential to bridge the gaps between communities, conservation and development.

Key words: Community-Based Conservation, Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, Development, Uganda

Introduction

Over the last few decades, scholars, conservation practitioners and policy makers have advocated for an alternative approach to conservation based on bottom-up trend with a focus on communities (Barreti *et al.,* 2001) in response to real or perceived shortfalls of the top-down conservation tradition (Wells and Brandon, 1992). The top-down tradition, for long, vested the governance and management of Protected Areas (PAs) solely in the hands of the central or local governments and denied the communities access to the park resources they once owned and utilised to meet their livelihood needs (Ochieng, 2011; Kathori, 2008; Redford *et al.,* 2008). This state-centric tradition also resulted into increasing abuse of human rights and disempowerment of the local people, continuous conflicts with park management and inability to use local knowledge (Kathori, 2008). The situation necessitated the shifting of the paradigm of wildlife management to a new approach that recognizes local people's involvement in conservation as well as putting their livelihoods into account (Ochieng, 2011; Hulme and Murphree, 1999). In Africa for example, conservation policies and agencies were under 'attack' by 1980s. The criticisms were based on the evidence that the state-centered policies were failing to achieve conservation objectives (Hulme and Murphree, 2001). Illegal activities continued to flourish, park-community conflicts were worsened by negative community attitudes towards protected areas (Hecker, 2005; Hulme and Murphree, 2001; Nowak, 1995). As Wells and Brandon (1992) argue, the weaknesses of the traditional state-centered conservation approaches meant few options other than the community-focused conservation. The paradigm shift was further reinforced by the works of the common property resources' scholars who provided evidence - empirically and theoretically that communities can own, manage, co-manage, sustain and promote conservation of natural resources (Kumar, 2005; Baland and Platteau, 1996; Ostrom, 1990).

Community conservation has become a wide spread approach adopted by international and national conservation agencies in many developing countries (Hulme and Murphree, 2001). The proponents advance it as an appropriate link between communities and wildlife conservation based on the idea that if conservation and development could be simultaneously achieved, then the interest of both could be served (Ahebwa, 2012; Berkes, 2004). Adams (2005) identifies two main characteristics of the community conservation tradition: it should allow people living in and around the protected areas or those with property rights inside the National Parks and or with claims on the land to use protected resources and participate in making management decisions; it should link conservation objectives to local development needs mainly through tourism and other donor driven projects. Community conservation was adopted from the 1980 world conservation strategy which defined conservation in relation to development; as the management of human use of the biosphere so that it may yield the greatest sustainable benefit to the present generations while maintaining its potential to meet the needs and aspirations of the future generations (Scott, 1992). Accordingly, conservation should be 'positive', embracing maintenance, sustainable utilization, restoration and enhancement of the natural environment (ibid). This paper elaborates the extent to which community conservation at Bwindi fulfills the outlined characteristics of the notion of community conservation.

Overview of Community Conservation Policy in Uganda

The community conservation approach was adopted in Uganda and is enshrined in the Uganda Wildlife Statute (1996) and the Uganda Wildlife Policy (1999). These

two policy instruments emphasize the management of wildlife in collaboration with strategic partners who include local communities, local governments, NGO's and the private sector. Community Conservation programmes were initiated in recognition of the role that the local people play in ensuring the protection of wildlife both within and outside Pas (UWA, 2004). It is stipulated in these regulatory frames that the conservation of wildlife in Uganda is centered on the need to foster growth that is beneficial to the nation as a whole and the local communities in particular through tourism (UWA, 2004).

The Government of Uganda realized that the previous paramilitary wildlife management approaches were not doing much to save wildlife (UWA Official, Research Interview, 2011). A community conservation approach was adopted to complement the 'traditional' policing practices, harmonize the relationship between the PA managers and neighbouring communities, ensure community access to PA resources through dialogue, benefit sharing, and local community participation in planning for and management of protected area resources (UWA, 2004). UWA in collaboration and consultation with stakeholders identified a number of key programmes that would enhance its community conservation arrangement (UWA, 2004);

- Collaborative Management

- Tourism Revenue Sharing

- Problem Animal Management

- Conservation Education and Awareness Programmes

These programmes are being implemented at Bwindi coupled with several other donor driven Integrated Conservation and Development (ICD) arrangements. The community conservation strategies employed by the Uganda Wildlife Authority and the supporting donor and conservation agencies like USAID, Bwindi-Mgahinga

Conservation Trust and International Gorilla Conservation Programme (IGCP) were the basis of this study coupled with other indicators of the community conservation strategies.

It is important to note that some authors have criticized the community conservation approach on grounds that, it has performed below the conservationists' expectations and leaves a lot to be desired if conservation is to be attained especially in the developing world (Berkes, 2003; Barret et al., 2001; Kellert et al., 2000). Therefore, more examination of this approach especially in respect to its implementation and results is important to ascertain and contribute to debates on its role as a conservation tool. This paper elaborates how community conservation policy has been operationalised in Mukono parish around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park, the ways through which communities benefit, participate and the emerging challenges.

Bwindi Impenetrable National Park and Mukono Parish

Bwindi Impenetrable National Park is located in south-western Uganda, at the edge of the western arm of the great East African rift valley. The National Park covers an area of 321sq km and is known for its exceptional biodiversity, with more than 160 species of trees and over 100 species of ferns. Many species of birds and butterflies and the endangered mountain gorilla (UNESCO, 1995). More than half of the total mountain gorillas in the world are found at BINP (Ahebwa et al., 2011). The National Park also has more than 95 species of recorded mammals, which include among others the buffaloes, forest elephants, duikers (black fronted duikers), and the giant forest hogs. The park is bordered by three districts of Kanungu, Kabale and Kisoro. The study was carried out in Mukono parish located in Kanungu District.

According to Uganda National Population and Housing Census of 2002, Mukono parish has a total of 11 villages of which four directly border the park. (Nkwenda, Kyumbugushu, Buhoma, and Mukono Central) which formed the study area (Map 1.).

The four villages have about 552 households. These households are affected by the park in one way or another in terms of choice of land use, access to resources from within the park and are directly affected by the decisions made by the park management.

Map 1: Study Area

MAP OF MUKONO PARISH, KANUNGU DISTRICT SHOWING THE STUDY AREA
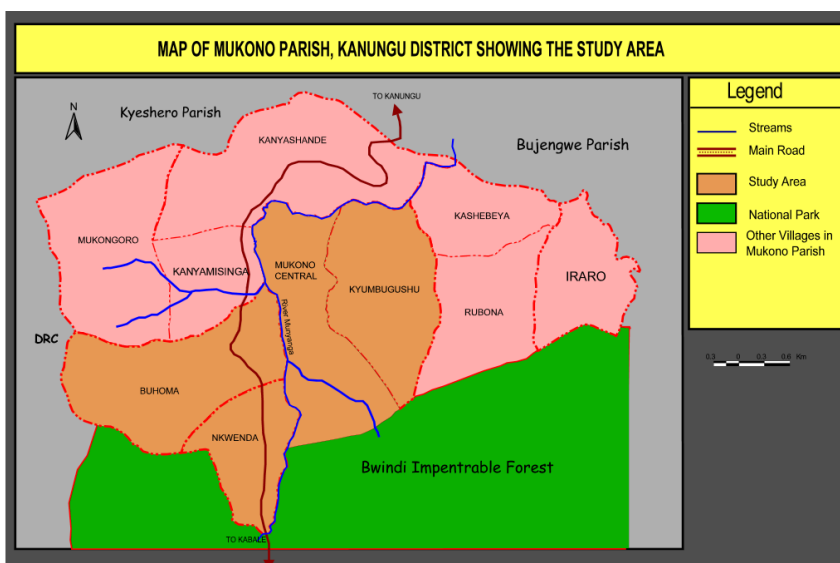
Methodology

The study adopted a qualitative research approach since it was concerned with the way people make sense of their social worlds and how they express their understanding of the world around them (Daymon & Holloway, 2002; Kvale, 1996). The key intention of the study was to get to know peoples' life experiences with regard to wildlife conservation and how they perceived the contributions of wildlife based tourism towards their wellbeing. The approach gave the researchers the freedom to interact with the people at will and not follow the written interviews all the time, but also used informal methods like discussions to get as much information

as possible. A qualitative approach also allows the researcher freedom to change and formulate questions as they come in mind around the issue being investigated. This allows the researcher flexibility in what he or she asks the interviewee thus bringing in rich information (Kvale, 1996).

The study covered a total of 35 respondents who were purposively chosen and interviewed. A total of 50 questionnaires were administered to residents in each of the four study villages. The study endeavored to understand social reality from the point of view of those living in it. To collect unbiased data, 4 focus group discussions in

these four villages that directly 'touch' the park were conducted. 10-15 people attended each of these meetings that were composed of both women and men above the age of 18 years and were given equal opportunities to express their views. The above approaches were beefed up by documentary study involving documents from Uganda Wildlife Authority and community groups around Bwindi. These provided clarity on some issues raised by the respondents.

Results

Community participation in conservation

It was evident that community participation in Bwindi started taking shape in 1994 after the Park authorities realized that conflicts were being catalyzed due to the alienation of locals. As indicated in Table 1, three different typologies of community participation exist at Mukono parish. These are; i) passive, ii) Active, iii) On request/through subscription. Passive participation takes the form of communities simply being members of local organizations by virtue of being born within Mukono parish. With this typology however, members participate in some meetings. Those who participate actively are directly involved in running tourism related business establishments, running of community associations such as Human- Gorilla conflict resolution Organization (HUGO). They also directly engage in planting barriers around the national park, tree planting and running other community groups. It was found out that the most dominant type of participation in Mukono is participation on request/ through subscription.

Table 1:   The Nature of Community Participation in Mukono Parish

Forms of participation	Participation Channel	Activities
Passive	Membership of organizations like BDCA	Meetings
On request/ through subscription	Through organizations like BDCA, Buhoma women's group	Tourism initiatives. Establishment of educational projects. Decision making and planning
Active	Through HUGO, business ventures and local associations.	Planting thorny hedge around the national park boundaries Tree planting.

Revenue sharing

Revenue sharing is one way that Bwindi Impenetrable National Park and indeed, all national parks in Uganda give back to the local community through tourism revenue sharing. Twenty percent of all National Park entrance fees is given back to local communities that live around the park as a community conservation strategy. This money is channelled through local government authorities to help build schools, health centers and also for maintaining roads (Community Conservation Warden, Research Interview, 2010). But as we found out, the mood within the local community is not one of joy, though they somehow appreciate the contribution. They feel they have received a raw deal because Bwindi generates far much more money than they

give communities (see also Ahebwa et al., 2012). For example during the interviews, people were knowledgeable of how much is supposed to be given, but the problem was that they rarely get to know whether the National Park authorities have reimbursed the money or not. The second concern is that it takes so long for the money to be released. During the study, it was revealed that, since Bwindi was gazetted, TRS funds have been released only six times. Between 1996 and 2009, a total of Uganda Shillings 680,349,200 (approx. US

$ 263,000) was disbursed representing only 9.3% of the tourism revenues that Bwindi generated in the year 2009 alone (Ahebwa et al., 2012). Of this only UGX 61,920,000 was disbursed for projects in Mukono (see Table 2). The balance was allocated to other parishes bordering the park (UWA TRS Report, 2009)

Table 2:   Portion of Tourism Revenue Sharing funds distributed in Mukono, Nteko and Rubuguri Parishes (1996-2009)

Year	Total TRS Funds Released in UGX Shillings	Portion of TRS fund disbursed to Mukono Parish
1996	76,000,000	4,000,000
2000	43,819,600	3,717,000
2002	89,815,000	3,755,000
2005	149,491,900	0
2006	114,218,700	5,100,000
2007	107,000,000	41,000,000
2009	100,004,000	4,348,000
	680,349,200	61,920,000

Source: *UWA TRS Report, 2009*

Even then, the community members complained of misuse of the said funds, corruption and unfair distribution (see also Ahebwa et al., 2012). The warden community conservation agreed to this, but argued that they always wait for the money to accumulate and it is the Community Protected Area Institution (CPI) on which the communities are represented that decisions are made regarding the usage of these funds. He also argued that Bwindi is the largest earner among the National Parks in Uganda that break even, and this means that it has to contribute to funding of other non profit making National Parks in the country. But the people's argument is that

why doesn't each conservation area cater for itself and benefit its own locality. This alone may have the potential to steer resentment among the locals around Bwindi towards this conservation approach. This is because many of them believe that the money that would have otherwise been used to cater for their needs is being used to cater for the needs of other communities who do not necessarily suffer the kind of losses that they incur from wildlife around BINP.

The other concern related to revenue sharing was that 'too little' is allotted to the scheme. For example the National Park charges US $ 10 per person as entrance fees, of which

20% is given to the local communities as the official share for the scheme. Holders of gorilla permits are charged US $500 for gorilla tracking which include park entrance fees. Putting this in context, it means that the National Park gives only 2 dollars per visitor to the community but keeps 498 dollars for itself. 40% of the respondents suggested that the percentage share should be increased so as to be able to increase on benefits to the community. They argue that, only then will the money be meaningful and do something that stands out. However, this has since been addressed through the introduction of the gorilla levy, where US $ 5 for each permit sold is channelled back to communities through TRS arrangements (Ahebwa et al., 2012).

Problem Animal management

Problem animals are mainly vervet monkeys, baboons, gorillas and sometimes elephants and buffaloes, though the last two are not so much of a problem and rarely come out of the forest. However, gorillas, vervet monkeys and baboons attack people's crops most especially bananas, millet and maize crops. This is one of the main problems that the park posses to the local people and yet most of them derive their livelihoods from peasantry agriculture. During the interviews, of the 21 respondents, 19 were directly involved in peasantry farming. Most of them claimed that time and again they do cultivate only for wild animals to eat most of their crops, but they cannot abandon cultivating since it's their main source of work and food. One farmer in Kyumbugushu narrated as follows;

> *"In 2006, Gorillas raided my banana plantation and destroyed nearly half of the crop. When I reported this to the park authorities, they came and assessed the loss and I have never had a response from them (park authorities)".*

The warden in charge of community conservation confirmed that it's true that people are not compensated for crop damage simply because it's too expensive if they were to compensate all the people whose crops have been raided by the animals and yet there is no proper method of quantifying in monetary terms the value of the damage. Some people have since taken the matter in their hands and kill the animals through poisoning. The other reason for not giving compensation was that since there are alternative sources of income that the people can engage in, it gives them options in case they are to abandon cultivating. Being a densely populated area with a population density of 300 people per km² (Mapesa and Makombo 2003), this means that there is less land to shift to, and given the poor infrastructure in the area, it makes it more difficult for people to engage in other activities. This at times has strained relations between the national park authorities and the local communities and therefore threatens the sustainability of good co-operation and relationship they have had for years.

However, several problem-animal control mechanisms have since been put in place, including stone walls (against buffalos), thorn hedge and red pepper growing (against primates and forest elephants) in some parts of the park with an intention of stopping wildlife from crossing to communities' gardens (Ahebwa, 2012). In addition, some of the people we talked to have shifted from growing crops that attract animals to those that deter them such as tea at the edges between the park and community land as evidenced by the quotation below;

"*Tea cannot be eaten by the animals and provides steady income because it is harvested all year round*" (Resident of Nkwenda Village). There is ready market provided by Kayonza Tea Growers Co-operative which itself is owned by the farmers in the area.

Life is also at stake from the problem animals that attack people's crops. Some of the people are injured by the animals in

the process of chasing them from the crops. They are also attacked by these animals and at times seriously injured and the national park authorities rarely come to their rescue;

> *"A community member was attacked by baboons while looking after his millet garden and they injured his leg which had a big scar, yet the park did nothing to compensate him" (Community Member).*

Such incidences leave people traumatized by the experience and in some instances shattering their lives. The victim lamented that animals have become more important than people to an extent that some people have been ignored and died. Of the households covered, four households indicated that they no longer use their land because of problem animals. During interviews, people expressed dissatisfaction and unhappiness because the land available for use has reduced. This affects their productivity and consequently the level of food production, given that most of the residents are small holder peasant farmers.

In order to deal with some of the above challenges, the local people, the national park authority and non-governmental organisations working in the area have adopted a direct approach. This includes for example the planting of a thorn hedge that is done by the local people and the national park authorities provide facilitation like hoes, pangas and supervision. The seeds are provided by IGCP (International Gorilla Conservation Programme) in collaboration with CARE-UGANDA and Bwindi Mgahinga Conservation Trust to make sure that the animals are deterred from crop raiding and injuring people. It remains to be seen whether this will work, because by the time of this study, the plants were still young. It is hoped that when they grow, gorillas and elephants will not be able to cross the boundary. The other related short term solution has been a voluntary vigilant group called HUGO that helps in detecting and chasing the animals before they reach on

the community land. But this is a much more time consuming process that needs a lot of labour and money. The fact that the people who do this do it on voluntary basis without any pay renders the approach un sustainable. This is so because apparently, the monetary economy is taking shape in the area and growing in relevance to people's lives and livelihoods. In future, the national park authorities might find themselves at cross roads with the communities especially when they begin to demand pay for their work. This is possible because they know how much the national park makes in terms of permits and entrance fees which will make it hard for them to be told that they cannot be paid yet there is a windfall of dollars in millions.

Collaborative Resource Management

Non-governmental organizations have been instrumental in making it possible for the community to accept the conservation drive in Bwindi and later enjoy the benefits that come along with it. Non-governmental organizations that work in the Bwindi area are mainly conservation organizations that were formed or attracted to the area to stem off resistance to the declaration of the national park. According to the warden in charge of the community conservation whose department is responsible for liaising with the communities, the major NGOs operating in the area are; CARE (Carry American Relief Everywhere), MBCT (Mgahinga and Bwindi Conservation Trust), IGCP (International Gorilla Conservation Programme), MGVP (Mountain Gorilla Veterinary Programme), UCOTA (Uganda Community Tourism Association), CTPH (Conservation Through Public Health), and MGCF (Mountain Gorilla Conservation Fund) and also the local NGO Buhoma Community Development Association (BCDA). Under collaborative resource management agitated for by the actors named above, access to some of the park resources (whose harvest does not cause

serious negative conservation impacts) by the local community like medicinal plants, firewood (dead wood), mushrooms, and honey is allowed with permission from the Chief Warden. This means that communities' access is still very much controlled.

Integrated Conservation and Development Interventions

In a further manifestation of community conservation drive, various Integrated Conservation and Development (ICD) interventions were initiated by international conservation and development organizations working with UWA and the local community at Bwindi. These included the establishment of a major agricultural development programme, and support for farmers to grow substitutes for forest products, such as timber in woodlots (Blomley et al., 2010). In addition, funding has been provided to the communities to start several income generating activities such as bee keeping, goat rearing and poultry. A crucial component of the ICD programme was the establishment of tourism. Tourism was launched at Bwindi in 1993 after the preparation of its development plan by IGCP and the communities were supported through the Buhoma Mukono Community Development Association to set up a tourism related enterprise that has since been useful in channelling benefits to communities (see Ahebwa and Van der Duim, 2012). Table 2 gives details of the actors and their roles in conservation and development around Bwindi.

Table 3: Key actors supporting conservation and development in and around BINP

Institution	Primary focus	Funding
MBCT (Mgahinga and Bwindi Conservation Trust)	Provides funding for community development projects(income generating projects and rural infrastructure), Park management, research, the Batwa programme and the ecological monitoring project	Netherlands government, GEF/World Bank, previously USAID.
BMCDA (Buhoma-Mukono Community Development Association.	Community tourism, accommodation, education and conservation education	Membership fees, MBCT, Tourist revenue and accommodation
Institute of Tropical Forest Conservation	Applied ecological and socio-economic research, ecological monitoring, resource use monitoring, biodiversity assessment and inventories, training of students	Netherlands government/ MBCT,WCS, WWF, Fees from researchers
International gorilla conservation project(IGCP)	Support to protected area authorities in the range states of mountain gorilla and certain communities around Pas. Revenue sharing and development of regional collaboration on conservation of the mountain gorilla.	AWF,WWF,FFI
DTC (development through conservation).	Community conservation, park planning and management , institutional development ,sustainable agricultural intensification, income generating projects	DANIDA,(Previously USAID, European development fund

Source: *UWA 2001*

It is evident From Table 3 that different organisations are part of the conservation drive in partnership with the National Park through provision of help especially funding, planning and development of certain activities that are crucial for sustainable conservation management. The Warden Community Conservation was quick to point out that; "MBCT has been of great help to both the people and as a partner to the national park". The organisation has helped people with business ventures through technical assistance and training especially for women. For example the Buhoma women group is one of the beneficiaries and its members disclosed that they receive advice and help from MBCT. This group makes hand crafts like baskets, masks, mats, wooden carvings and other varieties of crafts. MBCT helps them on how to market and sell their products as well as skills improvement which they appreciate a lot. The money generated from the sale of the crafts is invested back in the business and some shared amongst the members. The authors were told that each member

makes her own product(s) and brings it to the association, which buys it and after sale, pays the purchase price to the owner and retains the profit. The profit is invested back in the association's money lending scheme that operates as a microfinance scheme which they started with the help of MBCT. When we asked the group how much money they received from MBCT, they were unable to disclose the information. But the association has been able to lend money to members at relatively lower interest rates. One of the respondents, a lady who owns a shop in Buhoma trading centre told us that she borrowed 200, 000. Ug shillings (around US$ 100) that she invested in a small shop that sells clothes in Buhoma trading centre and has been able to pay back the money and its interest.

MBCT has a local steering committee that screens local proposals for funding and provides the capital to the beneficiaries. Most of the people on the committee have received training in proposal writing and are able to help people in writing proposals that can easily be funded. The grants to communities are used to invest in small scale business ventures that benefit local communities or individuals. This and many others are some of the success stories that MBCT has been able to record that seems to stem off resistance to conservation and has been able to contribute to improvement of peoples' livelihoods. This has reduced greatly the dependency of the people on the national park for resources thus reducing conflict. Women who used not to have a say in society have since been empowered and no longer fully depend on their husbands for basic subsistence and their status both in family and public has improved.

Conservation Education and Awareness Programmes

Education and awareness creation are critical areas that are used to educate communities on the need to conserve wildlife and the benefits that accrue from it. The study revealed that different channels have been used to convey conservation messages to the communities i.e. through dance and drama especially using local drama groups like the Batwa and Buhoma- Mukono Community Development Association. These groups provide entertainment but also relay different messages that have helped to enhance local communties' understanding of the importance of conserving wildlife and the benefits that accrue from it. Conservation education and communication has also been implemented through drama organized in schools around the park and conservation messages sent over the radio and through meetings with local leaders in the areas around the park

Conclusion

This paper elaborates a range of community conservation strategies implemented around Bwindi Impenetrable National Park. It highlights the associated actors and the challenges and shortfalls of these strategies. Despite the associated challenges and shortfalls, this paper indicates that the community conservation arrangement at Bwindi is manifested through some level of community participation in conservation, implementation of a number of problem animal management mechanisms, collaborative resource management, and integrated conservation and development interventions as well as through conservation education and awareness programmes. This is real proof that community conservation is a reality at Bwindi. However, there is an urgent need to address the challenges and shortfalls of the strategies employed so as to make them more effective. By and large, conservation aims, to a large extent, are being achieved at Bwindi. This is evidenced by improved community attitudes towards the park, reducing trends of illegal activities and increasing number of gorillas as well as other animal species (Ahebwa, 2012).

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An introduction to dark tourism in Africa: Contested heritage or opportunity for a new proposition?

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Abstract

Dark tourism as a concept was developed in the late 1990s by Lennon and Foley. To them, included the act of travel and visitation to sites, attractions and exhibitions which were related to death, dying and suffering with battlefields as the main theme. Later, Seaton developed a typology of travel related dark tourism (Seaton, 1996) and Stone categorized sites and attractions along a lighter or darker shade (Stone, 2006). Most of the research on this specific type of tourism had a focused on Europe and hardly took into account the possible opportunities for the international tourism industry. Another omission is lack of focus on the actual tourist demand. This paper offers an inventory of the sites and locations in Africa that could be connected to the concept of dark tourism, using the framework of Seaton and Stone as a point of departure, but also introducing a cultural anthropological approach and start a discussion on this type of cultural tourism in Africa. Is this an obvious example of contested heritage, or are there other factors that could influence the decision to include these sites in the overall proposition for tourists, and if so which ethical issues should be dealt with?

Keywords: dark tourism, contested heritage, ethical dilemmas, cultural tourism, thanatourism.

Introduction

Over the last years the concept of Dark Tourism has become a widely known phenomenon amongst academics interested in tourism and has led to a variety of articles and other publications. Dark Tourism as a concept was first coined and used by Lennon and Foley in 1995 after extensive research in Berlin, Dallas, Cyprus and the battlefields of the First World War. They saw dark tourism as a specific type of cultural tourism influenced by the speed and influence of modern means of communication and media appealing to the feelings of uncertainty and doubt which they considered characteristics of a post-modern western society. They also indicated that some dark tourism locations showed all the signs and characteristics of commodification and commercialization (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Later, this type of tourism became defined as:

> *"....the act of travel and visitation to sites, attractions and exhibitions which have real or recreated death, suffering or the seemingly macabre as the main theme" (Stone, 2006).*

In 1996, Seaton introduced the concept of Thanatourism, linking this type of tourism to the older European tradition of Thanatopsis, the contemplation of death, which had been part of a larger framework of Judeo-Christian values. He also specifically indicated the developments of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when those who could afford it engaged in making a trip to several European cities, the so-called Grand Tour, for their cultural self-development or to extend their nobility network (Seaton, 1996). Some entrepreneurs of this period succeeded fairly well in institutionalizing elements of death and horror on behalf of the demands of commerce and leisure. The Chamber of Horrors of Madame Tussaud's Wax Museum being the best known example of this type of exploitation. But London was not the only destination that offered visitors the opportunity to indulge in macabre entertainment. In early nineteenth century Paris, a visit to the morgue or the catacombs with the remains of more than 6 million of its former inhabitants was a must-see (MacCannell, 1976).

According to Seaton (1996), the phenomenon of Dark Tourism can be divided in the following five categories:

- Travel to witness public enactments of death, such as executions and public hangings.

- Travel to see the sites of mass or individual deaths after they have occurred, such as the Coliseum in Rome or mass destruction sites as Auschwitz.

- Travel to internment sites of, and memorials to the dead which includes visits to graveyards, catacombs and war memorials.

- Travel to view the material evidence, or symbolic representations of death, in locations unconnected with their occurrence which includes such venues as museums and the aforementioned Madam Tussaud's.

- Travel for re-enactments or simulation of death which varies from the Passion play in Oberammergau restaging the death of Christ, to the re-enactment of famous battles or even participating in so-called 'murder-weekends'.

Stone emphasizes the locations or attractions as resources as Seaton does, but he has a special interest for the motivation of the visitors and the involvement of different stakeholders as 'producers' of tourism attractions. In his article on Dark Tourism, he introduces a dark tourism spectrum of perceived product features ranging from 'lightest' to 'darkest'. He discerns the following categories, ranging from 'light' to 'darkest':

- Dark Fun Factories, such as the London Dungeon aimed at entertaining visitors. This attraction is part of the Merlin Group which exploits theme parks such as these and the famous Lego-land worldwide.

- Dark Exhibitions, where elements of education are present, such as the Body World Exhibition touring the world. In this exhibition human corpses that have been prepared by a process known as plastination, are exposed in life-like poses to show the functions of muscles, bone structure and internal organs

- Dark Dungeons which include medieval gaols, but also more recent prisons such as Robben Island.

- Dark Resting Places, including cemeteries visited for the cultural historic or artistic values, but also the 'Dearly Departed Tours' offered to tourists in Hollywood.

- Dark Shrines which are often constructed formally or informally close to the site of death and sometimes become a more permanent presence such as Ground Zero.

- Dark Conflict Sites which revolve around war and battlefield sites and which have an educational and commemorative focus.

- Dark Camps of Genocide represent the darkest side of Dark Tourism and include the destruction camps of the Second World War (Stone, 2006).

This last category is also known as Holocaust tourism and not restricted to the Second World War, but used to indicate locations such as the infamous Killing Fields of Cambodia and Rwanda as well (Hitchcott, 2009). The English language has more options when it comes to dark tourism and concepts like Grief Tourism, Morbid Tourism, Funerary Tourism, Cemetery Tourism, Prison Tourism, Slavery Tourism, Battlefield Tourism and Disaster Tourism are encountered in several

publications (Turnell-Read, 2009; Holguin, 2005; Bristow, 2004).

Most of the research on Dark Tourism has been focussed on the supply side and as such, the examples above have demonstrated mostly on sites and locations that can be found in the western world. There are some researchers that have expanded their view to Asia, and there has been some research undertaken in Ghana (Essah, 2001) and in South Africa´s Robben Island (Ashworth, 2004; Strange & Kempa, 2003). But, in general, the African continent has not been fully represented in the dark tourism literature. This paper, treating Dark Tourism as a specific type of cultural tourism wants to address this omission and offer an overview and inventory of possible dark tourism sites and destinations on the African continent. It is the first attempt at an inventory and far from complete. But, by raising some questions about the ethical dilemmas that might arise from including these sites and locations within the overall tourism proposition, it hopes to get the discussion started. It also wants to make a beginning by identifying potential sites thereby allowing tourism planners to identify sites in the regions they are familiar with.

An Inventory of Dark Heritage

A close look at both Seaton´s and Stone´s categories, more often than not the sites and location they refer to are part of a local, national or even international heritage. And therefore, a first start of a possible inventory of Dark Tourism sites in Africa could be made by looking at those sites and locations that are included in the UNESCO cultural world heritage list. It will be interesting to see if some of these cultural destinations contain elements that could be related to dark tourism characteristics. First of all there are quite some archaeological sites in Northern Africa and Egypt that could be considered dark tourism attractions because they fit the two categories that Seaton describes as:

- *Travel to see the sites of mass or individual deaths after they have occurred, such as the Coliseum in Rome or mass destruction sites as Auschwitz.*

- *Travel to internment sites of, and memorials to the dead which includes visits to graveyards, catacombs and war memorials (Seaton, 1996).*

His second category can be applied to the large amphitheatre in the Tunisian site of El Djem and his third category would include many of the historical burial sites in Egypt, ranging from the famous pyramids at Gizeh to the Valley of the Kings near Luxor. These last sites would be categorized by Stone as 'Dark Resting Places, including cemeteries visited for the cultural historic or artistic values'. But when we look further south and contemplate on Sub-Saharan Africa as a possible destination of Dark tourism, we will recognize more locations that fit into this last category. These include the following:

- The four groups of stone circles, located in the Kaolack region between Gambia and Senegal are some of the 1000 monuments along the Gambia River. Used as burial grounds, they were erected between the 3rd century BC and the 16th century AD.

- The pyramid-shaped tomb built for the emperor Askia Mohammed in 1495 in the Gao region in Mali.

- The royal hill and burial site of Ambohimanga in Antananarivo on the island of Madagascar.

- The tombs of the Buganda kings in Kampala built after 1884 and regarded as a major architectural achievement in organic materials. The tombs were almost completely destroyed by fire in March 2010 (http://www.unesco.org).

Other UNESCO sites cannot be connected that easy to any of the other categories offered by Seaton, but do belong to the category that Stone describes as Dark Dungeons (with an explicit reference to Robben Island), or to the Dark Shrines or a combination of these two. These sites include the following:

- The island of Goree in Senegal, the largest slave-trading center on the West African coast from the 15th to the 19th century. It's Slave-House museum functions as a monument and shows exhibits from this dark period.

- The forts and castles of the Volta regions and Ghana, built between 1482 and 1786 and considered as one UNESCO heritage monument have a similar background as Goree and also testify to the inhumanity of slaving period.

- James Island in Gambia, also known as Kunta Kinteh Island which is also linked to the history of slaving.

- The island of Zanzibar, in Tanzania including Changuu or Prison Island is host to several monument and locations that are connected to the slave trade. These include the former house of the famous trader Tippu Tip.

- The island of Lamu, although smaller in size than Zanzibar it also played an important role during the slave trade. Its nomination as UNESCO world heritage however, seems more based upon its unique architecture and lay-out.

- Robben Island in South Africa is probably the best known of all African UNESCO heritage sites to the international tourist trade. As a former prison for political adversaries of the Apartheid system it became synonymous with the struggle against this system (http://www.unesco.org).

From this first inventory, it seems that slavery related sites and locations make up the bulk of the dark tourism proposition in Sub-Saharan Africa when restricted to the list of UNESCO World Heritage. It is therefore interesting to see if any of the other categories, as discerned by Stone is present in this region as well. As mentioned before,

the inventory is far from complete. But, by providing examples of each type, the author hopes that tourism planners may be able to identify 'dark sites' in the regions they manage, not just in an international context but also for a domestic market.

Dark Tourism locations and sites in sub-Saharan Africa

We can assume safely that the first category of the so-called Dark Fun Factories until now is still not available for international tourists. The company responsible for the Dungeons in Europe, Merlin Entertainment has so far not undertaken any activities in the region, although some countries, especially South Africa do offer themed leisure parks.

Dark Exhibitions do form part of the region's proposition. Not just in the case of former slavery forts as mentioned above but in many other locations as well, as in some national museums where attention is paid to that same subject and objects from that period are shown. Some museums, especially in South Africa have specialized on specific themes as the Anglo-Boer War. As a true Dark Exhibition, again with a strong emphasis on education, but also allowing for visitors to get emotionally involved with the practices of the Apartheid system, the Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg/ Gauteng fits the description best. Another example of a dark exhibition is the Jenocide Monument in Kigali. Opened ten years after the Rwanda Genocide and located at the site chosen for mass burial of the 250, 000 victims from Kigali, the Memorial Centre exhibits an overview from colonial times to the apocalypse of the genocide and focuses on education and reconciliation (Jenocide, Kigali Memorial Centre, 2004). Although it is not positioned as a tourist destination, most foreign visitors do make time to include it during their stay (Hitchcott, 2009).

There are numerous representations of Stone´s third category Dark Dungeons in

Sub-Saharan Africa, mostly found in the slave forts that we´ve encountered earlier. The structure of these forts, not just in Western and Eastern Africa, but also in Cape Town's Good Hope Castle often includes prisons, cell blocks and even torture chambers. Some of these emphasize the historical background and others draw the attention to the human suffering that was involved. The best known of all dark Dungeons in the region is probably the site of Robben Island near Cape town in South Africa, which has been attracting several hundred thousand national and international visitors each year, generating more than 37 million SA Rand in ticket sales in 2010 (Strange & Kempa, 2003; Ashworth, 2004; Annual Report 2010 at http://www.robben-island.org.za).

Dark Resting Places are to be found in large numbers in this region and one could make a division between grave monuments erected to famous leaders like that of Kwame Nkrumah in Accra and the Du Bois mausoleum in the same city, and funeral monuments erected for traditional leaders as the ones described above in Mali, Madagascar and Kampala. Also traditional are the constructions at the Bandiagara Escarpment in Mali's Dogon-land. Again a UNESCO World Heritage site, mostly so because of its unique cultural architecture that includes granaries, places of worship and also graves. Of a more recent past are the grave monuments and memorials dedicated to the victims of colonial wars and repression. A good example of this is the Old Location Cemetery in Namibia's Windhoek where 13 people were buried after being shot by South African Police on December 10, 1959. This date later became Human Rights Day and is a public holiday in the country. The long history of colonial occupation of the continent and battles amongst colonial powers and between them and the indigenous peoples has left numerous cemeteries where the remains of those who were killed during these struggles and wars where laid to rest. It will come as no surprise

that many of these are British or related to the Commonwealth. In fact the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (CWGC), that is also responsible for many of the cemeteries in Europe and Asia lists more than 500 of these on the African continent with many of these related to the First and Second World War (http//:www.cwgc.org.uk). Often these cemeteries are part of commercial battlefield tours that we will encounter again later as a category in itself.

The next category of Dark Shrines is also represented in Sub-Saharan Africa, although in some cases as with the Jenocide Memorial in Kigali, the distinction from a dark Exhibition is not very clear and this raises the question if the categories developed by Stone can be applied without further adaptions (Jenocide, Kigali Memorial Centre, 2004). The author of this paper realizes the fact that this question is absolutely not relevant to the victims being commemorated, but suggests that it might lead to implications for the management of the said memorials. Other examples of Dark Shrines are the Hector Peterson Memorial in Soweto commemorating him and the other children that were killed in the 1976 uprising in that township and the Women´s Memorial in Bloemfontein dedicated to the thousands of women and children who perished in concentration camps established during the Anglo-Boer War. However, more often than not, many memorials focus on the deaths suffered by the representatives of the colonial powers and no mention is made of the losses of local lives. A clear example of this can be found in the Alte Feste (Old Castle) in Windhoek listing in detail the casualties amongst officers (107), NCO's (261), sailors (72) and other members of the imperial German Army and Navy (1180), but with no reference to the tens of thousands of dead Heros or other population groups, as could be established during a visit in 2007. In Uganda the basilica Church of the Uganda Martyrs in Namugongo also needs to be mentioned in this category. Dedicated to the canonized 22 Catholic martyrs that were killed during the reign of king Mwanga in 1885-1886. June 3rd, the day that most martyrs were killed is a national holiday in Uganda and attracts tens of thousands of people from East Africa as pilgrims to this heritage site (http://www.buganda.com/martyrs.htm). Finally two other monuments or shrines that deserve to be included here are the 50-foot tall archway named the Gateway of No Return near the city of Ouidah in Benin and the recently built slave monument in Zanzibar.

The category of Dark Conflict Sites was already referred to earlier in the overview of Dark Resting Places. The wars in this part of the world have left this region with a large collection of battlefields where colonial powers fought either each other or local people. Most of these are to be found in the southern part of the continent and in fact a wide array of commercial tours from the UK and ANZAC countries are offered to visitors with a specific interest in this part of history. To illustrate how this tourism product is offered on the market, a description from an itinerary of one of these tours indicated.

KwaZulu Natal - Battlefields

Guests will be met after breakfast and the day will be spent visiting the sites of two of South Africa's most famous Battlefields; Isandlwana and Rorkes Drift. On January 22 1879, it was the site where approximately 22 000 Zulu warriors defeated a contingent of approximately 1350 British and Native troops. The force was largely wiped out by the Zulus under Cetshwayo and the battle remains the single greatest defeat for the British Army at the hands of a native army. Rorkes Drift is the site where 139 British solders successfully defended their garrison against an intense assault by four to five thousand Zulu warriors. The successful defense of the outpost is held as one of history's finest defenses (www.battlefieldsofsa.com).

But there are also locations in Eastern Africa, or further North and off the beaten track like Sudan´s Omdurman. Compared to the propositions on the southern African tourism market, these locations are still rather undeveloped. Whether this is because of lack of appeal, or due to lack of organizational touristic development on the supply-side is something that might be a future topic of research. The locations that witnessed more recent fighting and strife such as encountered in countries like Uganda during the turbulent reign of Idi Amin or in the Congo have not yet been institutionalized by memorials, but in the future this might change when it is realized that history should be remembered rather than forgotten and the development of a 'dark tourism' site might help a nation to come to terms with its violent past.

The Dark Camps of Genocide as encountered in Europe and Asia, more precise Cambodia, do not have an equivalent in Africa. However this does not mean that there have been no genocides and in fact most people will think of Rwanda upon hearing that word. Some of the locations in this country where organized genocides occurred on an institutional scale, such as Murambi, Nyamata and Ntarama have been transformed into emotional and gripping memorial sites and has become part of the tourist trail for some visitors (Hitchcott, 2009; Sharpley& Stone, 2010). The difference with European and Asian counterparts is that they have not (yet) been transformed into venues with amenities that cater for (paying) visitors as is the case in Auschwitz in Poland or the Killing Fields of ChoeungEk in Cambodia. But in the future this might change and it will be important for all stakeholders involved, that they can strike a just balance between the demands and expectations of international and domestic visitors and the needs of survivors.

Contemporary research and visitor motivation

As mentioned before the inventory of such a large region can never be complete within the contents of a congress paper and this endeavor should be seen as a first attempt to compare potential resources with current typologies. Apart from references to Southeast Asia and South Africa´s Robben Island, most of the existing literature and research has been focused on the western world. This includes the cultural and historical interest in graveyards, cemeteries, funerary customs and death as a social and cultural-anthropological phenomenon. Not even well established tourist attractions and features as the Hindu cremation sites at Varanasi or on the island of Bali have been subject of research yet, or even mentioned within this framework. And the same can be said for the complicated burial traditions of the Toraja people of Sulawesi that all attract thousands of international visitors and feature prominently in travel guidebooks. The author is not familiar with all funerary customs in Africa, but he does know that the burial coffins of West Africa are exposed as art work in European museums and regarded as excellent examples of applied art (Secretan, 1995 cit. in: Schoelvink & Oele, 2008). This obviously means that there is an interest in this element of local, regional or national culture and it might be interesting to pursue this line of thought as a possible option for future tourism development within the region. It might be unusual to think of visitors paying money to receive a guided tour on a cemetery where they receive explanations about burial customs, the art and symbolism of the funerary monuments and the final resting places of artists, politicians or other people who made a contribution to society, but it does occur and not just in Europe (Aries, 1976; Weil, 1992; Skal,2002; Bergen & Clement, 2010). One might question why tourists visit places that can be considered dark? Raising this

question leads to the area of motivational research. This research topic however is dealt with scarcely, although some enlightening attempts have been undertaken recently (Yuill, 2003; Strange & Kempa, 2003; Ashworth, 2004; Poria, Reichel & Biran, 2006; Thurnell-Read, 2009; Dunkley , 2011). However, the outcome of these attempts does not give us a clear overview yet, nor have they led to a system or categorization of motivational factors. Regarding the wide variety of locations where the research was undertaken, it comes as no surprise that the motivation is often in line with the destination of the visit, meaning that those who visit dark camps of Genocide or the battlefields of the first and second World Wars often refer to their identity and connection through family members or friends and want to pay homage, or learn something (Thurnell-Read, 2009; Dunkley, 2011). People visiting funerary locations often demonstrated their interest in social and cultural traditions of a society or in the development of funerary art or were merely interested in having an interface with the deceased artist, political leader or whatever (Werdler, 2011). Other researchers have focused on the emotions of the visitors, especially when visiting former prisons or locations related to civil strife (Best, 2007; Kang ed., 2011). More specific research in Ghana on some of the heritage sites related to the Trans Atlantic slave trade has shown that foreign visitors, especially those from Denmark, could be classified as the experiential type, looking for meaning outside their own society and searching for authentic experiences. They consider these sites as much part of their own national heritage, even when confronted with painful memories (Yankholmes & Akeyeampong, 2010). In a recent Dutch newspaper article on these forts, wealthy Africans from neighboring countries are mentioned as a new target group for this heritage (Volkskrant, 15/1/2011). But the largest group that is known to visit the forts in Ghana is that of the Afro-Americans, who are described

as:*"….those tourists making the emotional journey in search of a past deeply rooted in Africa"* (Essah, 2001). The same author also mentions the fact that these forts and castles are important for Ghana´s tourism industry and bring many socio-economic benefits. But also indicate that they are not free of controversy and that there is a debate on whose heritage should be restored and or preserved. Other academics have raised questions as well about what to show and for whom, especially when dealing with dark tourism on locations where cruelty was involved (Seaton, 2001).

Implications for management

Regarding the previous remarks, it is wise to consider the following factors before propositioning dark heritage on the international tourism market. The responsible stakeholders should know what the perception of the site is in relation to the visitors' own heritage and what their overall motivation for visiting the site is. Furthermore, they should also be informed about the expected effects of the experience of visiting the site and the expectations about the interpretations offered (Poria et al., 2006). It should also be clear which groups are to be considered stakeholders, since local entrepreneurs and host communities might have different ideas about representation than the actual owners of the site, which is often the national government. The possible stakeholders might have different and even conflicting motives. While some residents may be pleased by the interest from foreign visitors, others might be resentful about past atrocities. The motives of one stakeholder, such as the national government may be based on a legitimation of a dominant ideology and not always in favor of, or even marginalizing local sensibilities (Ashworth, 2004). Some governments consider showing past atrocities as the best option to resist revisionism and to prevent future violence (Hitchcott, 2009). Bearing this in mind, a

final question should be raised about the ethics. Is it justified to show the remains of the victims of war and atrocities, and if so, can this be done in such a way that survivors have the opportunity for remembrance and homage and victims are commemorated in a dignified manner? This is one of the questions that stakeholders and those responsible for the site should bear in mind first and foremost, since a place of commemoration can become a tourist attraction, but more often than not was not intended as such.

Given the amount of possible dark sites that can be of interest to both international and domestic tourists, there are definitely opportunities for diversifying the current offer of tourism propositions in many African nations. Existing examples show that both international and domestic visitors are interested in sites connected to the history of the slave trade and that there are commercial opportunities when it comes to dark conflict sites. However, recent conflict sites have not yet become part of the resources that have been developed for tourism and it might take some time before all those involved reach the point where the joint commemoration of history takes precedence over revenge or remorse. Furthermore, examples from other parts of the world show that many people have an interest in elements of local, regional or national culture that are connected to funerary art and customs and in the final resting places of those that made a contribution to society. Here again there are opportunities for those involved in the tourism industry and keeping in mind the remarks made before, the marketing of these sites and locations for both domestic and international visitors deserves further attention.

Conclusion

The African subcontinent is not only rich in natural and cultural heritage but offers quite a few sites and locations that could be considered as focal points for the possible development of dark tourism resources. Many of them fit in the categories offered by Seaton and Stone, although it is obvious that some do so more than others and that not all sites and locations are part of the international tourism trail due to lack of appeal or the lack of organizational development from the supply-side. However the dark sites and locations we have encountered differ greatly and obviously attract (international) visitors for a variety of reasons. As we have seen from the inventory, many locations in both western and eastern Africa refer to the period of the slave trade and these resources, especially in Ghana have often become an important part of the overall tourism product. The same cannot be said about related resources in East Africa, where the proposition for (international) tourism still seems more focused on the traditional resources such as safari's and the coastline. Diversifying the region's product might be regarded as an element in its future tourism policy and perhaps the addition of certain dark resources can play a role in that effort. In South Africa the dark resources either representing the colonial heritage such as the battlefields or the heritage of Apartheid are already part of the total proposition and compete with many well-established features such as the national parks.

When it is decided to further develop certain dark tourism locations, it is important that all stakeholders involved are clear about their motives so that they can reach an agreement on the representation and interpretation. Furthermore, they should have a vivid idea about the motives and expectations of their visitors and research prior to the establishment and marketing of these specific resources is strongly advised.

Heritage as a reminder and relic of history is not a fixed concept. Opinions and political ideologies can change and new generations might have new ideas about the representation and interpretation of the past

and maybe aim for new target groups in a constantly changing world of (international) tourism. Sensibility to the feelings of those who were the victims of atrocities or those who suffered injustice remains essential to prevent these dark sites from becoming an ordinary leisure attraction and historical integrity and should be maintained so that both hosts and guests are certain the experience offered justifies the visit even when those motives for visiting cannot be generalized. The last thing one should want is a situation as described by Hitchcott where one sensation-seeking tourist is overheard complaining to the guide in Rwanda that some blood has been washed off the walls: "Vousn auriez pas du nettoyer le sang, on ne voitpresque plus rien!" (Hitchcott, 2009). *("You should not have cleaned the blood away, now there's hardly anything left to see".* transl. by author).

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