Cultural tourism in Africa: strategies for the new millennium

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The commoditisation and commercialisation of the Maasai culture: will cultural Manyattas withstand the 21st century?

Nanda Ritsma
Stephen Ongaro
Moi University
Kenya

Introduction

African perceptions and cultural practices have undergone a remarkable transformation during the twentieth century. Not to be left behind, have been the apparently ardent traditional Maasai pastoralists. Initially, it appeared that only the educated and urbanised Maasai had changed their ways of life. However, the commencement of cultural manyattas has demonstrated that the hitherto pastoralists are now venturing into the tourism industry and in the process, diversifying their source of livelihood.

Cultural manyattas illustrate the changing force of tourism and its ability to transform societies. A money economy is gradually taking root and the benefits to be derived from the tourism industry shall soon be appreciated by a wider section of the community. Also, young children are gaining exposure to tourists at a tender age and might grow up aping some of their mannerisms. Already, the income generated from visits to cultural manyattas is being invested in the education of young children. Within the cultural manyattas also, the women have been able to organise themselves to make and sell traditional items and bead ware to the many visiting tourists.

Maasai culture, like any other culture, is a dynamic phenomenon that evolves to adapt to new circumstances and includes a set of values and practices that is associated with a particular way of life. The pastoral Maasai occupy arid and semi-arid rangelands in southern Kenya and northern Tanzania, collectively known as 'Maasailand'. They maintain a semi-nomadic pastoral lifestyle, which still seems to be close to their 'traditional' culture.

Through the establishment of wildlife conservation areas within their traditional grazing grounds in the 50s, displacement from ancestral land and the development of tourist safaris therein, Maasai are more and more forced to change their lifestyle. Looking for ways to benefit from the established nature parks and the tourists visiting these parks, the Maasai created cultural manyattas where they sell beadwork and other cultural artefacts. The establishment of cultural manyattas along the fringe of Amboseli National Park in southern Kenya (see figure 1) was especially meant to help marginalized groups of the Maasai community but a wide range of organizational problems hampers these cultural manyattas to reach this goal at the moment.
Establishment of the Amboseli National Park

Shortly after the commencement of British rule in Kenya at the end of the nineteenth century, the colonial government declared the Southern Game Reserve mainly to protect wildlife from hunting. This reserve covered nearly the whole Kenyan Maasailand from Nairobi in the north to the Tanzanian border in the south. The Maasai were not restricted in their movements in any direction. After World War II more protection was sought for the game and a special Ordinance enabled the colonial government to alienate land for the creation of game reserves and national parks. The Amboseli National Reserve was established in 1947, covering 3,260 km². The boundaries were more or less arbitrary, the Maasai were not prohibited from entering the reserve for grazing, watering and settlement. Amboseli is named after a dry lake basin adjacent to the northern slopes of the highest mountain of Africa, Mt. Kilimanjaro. The basin of approximately 1,000 km² is fed by permanent springs from this mountain and is the centre of a much larger ecosystem. Both wildlife and livestock migrate in essentially the same pattern between wet and dry season pastures.

Efforts by the new post-colonial central government to gazette the whole of the Game Reserve or at least the 600 km² core area of the basin as a national park failed as the Maasai resisted this. But after long negotiations the Maasai finally agreed to accept the creation of a national park measuring 488 km² in 1974. Later, after detaching a part of the swamp from the park to give the pastoralists adequate dry season pastures, the Park area was reduced to the current 392 km². The Maasai are prohibited from entering the Park with their herds whereas wildlife is permitted to roam freely over the whole dry and wet season dispersal area (Vorlaufer, 1997). This state of affairs has resulted in a human-wildlife conflict. Wildlife disperses onto the group ranches during the wet season only to retreat to the perennial water springs in the National Park during the dry season.

Migration of wildlife from the Park to the surrounding group ranches seems to be essential in the survival of wildlife and, in the end, the Park in itself. Together with the expansion of agriculture and a growing human population, increasing competition for grazing ground with cattle and destruction of crops exists. The increasing reports on destruction of crops and
cases of human and animal loss through wildlife led to the building of game-proof electric fences around two agricultural areas near Amboseli National Park in 1997 (Community Warden ANP). Before the fences were built, until 1989, it was possible to obtain a compensation fee if crops, livestock or human beings were mauled by wildlife (GoK, 1989). At the moment Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) states that it is not responsible for payment of property compensation, that is crops or livestock. Since 1997, African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) pays consolation money for loss of cattle through wildlife on three group ranches surrounding the national park (Olgulului Lolarashi, Kimana Tikondo and Eselengei group ranches). The Kenyan treasury disburses compensation for personal injury or death (GoK, 1989).

After Kenyan independence in 1963 the conservation policy concerning Amboseli was closely connected with the implementation of the group ranch concept. It involved the setting aside of a certain area of land, communally owned by a group of Maasai families, within which livestock movements are expected to be confined. This group ranch policy is deeply embedded in the Constitution of Kenya, which at section 115 provides for trust lands vested in local government authorities. Some parcels of such trust lands have been adjudicated and allocated to private individuals, who have in turn acquired title to such land. Consequently, agricultural farmers have been introduced into the Amboseli ecosystem resulting in the emergence of a new form of land use replacing pastoralism (Berger, 1996). The majority of pastoralists no longer have the land nor flexibility of movement to support themselves from their livestock alone and this results in the adoption of other means of livelihood. One of the obvious options for the Maasai living around Amboseli NP was to get involved in tourism activities. Especially with the growing number of tourists to the park in the 80s, reaching its peak in 1990 with 237,200 visitors, after which a decline was set in to 117,200 in 1997, (Government of Kenya, economic survey, 1998), tourism offered a possible alternative way of meeting their livelihood.

Following the establishment of a national reserve, hunters with the help of colonial administrators, established the first safari camps. Hunters came to the Amboseli area in search of adventure and trophies (Berger, 1996). When the reserve became a protected area, hunting tourism was replaced by wildlife-based tourism and the safari camps for hunters became luxurious lodges for tourists on game watching safaris.

Over the years, the ‘picture’ used by tour operators to promote the Amboseli area did not change much. The tour operator markets the Amboseli National Park in Kenya as the place with the most beautiful view on the highest mountain in Africa, the Kilimanjaro. It is also the National Park in which one can find large numbers of elephants and the land where the Maasai people live. It is not only the tourism industry but also nature documentaries and books that helped to promote Amboseli National Park all over the world. And thus, when tourists visit the foot of the Kilimanjaro in southern Kenya, they want to see Maasai. They want to see Ilmoran (young Maasai warriors) with long ochre dyed and plaited hair wearing Maasai blankets together with their lion hunting equipment (spears, clubs and knives) and Maasai women decorated with beads and a child on their back in their traditional habitat. Tourists not only want to see the Maasai but also want to immortalise the experience by taking their pictures or filming them in addition to tangible souvenirs to remind them of the encounter.

Increasing numbers of Maasai are benefiting from tourism. The sale of handicraft and other cultural paraphernalia have drawn people to settle near the National Park where they can
supplement their livelihood with some money earned from tourism. Efforts by the local Maasai people to earn from tourism are exemplified by the ‘cultural manyattas’ visited by tourists (Berger, 1996).

**Organisation of cultural Manyattas in the Amboseli area**

Cultural *manyattas* have been established along the fringe of the boundary between Olgulului Lolarashi and Kimana Tikondo group ranches and Amboseli National Park. A manager of one of the lodges located in the Amboseli area mooted the idea under the Maasai living in the area. As he saw Maasai women coming to the lodge to sell beadwork, he developed the idea to build a special Maasai homestead where tourists could come to visit, hear and experience Maasai culture. The local community took advantage of this idea and agreed that their women should generate money out of tourism by establishing a central market to sell their beadwork. The generated money would go to the individual families and community projects. The idea of developing cultural manyattas around Amboseli National Park was later encouraged by KWS by a new policy of Kenya Wildlife Service in 1996 (KWS, 1996), which sought to promote partnership and community participation in wildlife conservation and tourism by the Maasai community. The income out of small enterprises like cultural *manyattas* should give the Maasai an incentive to conserve wildlife.

Where as before 1994, the group ranches surrounding the Amboseli NP (Kimana Tikondo, Olgulului Lolorashi and Kuku) each had one cultural *manyatta*, the establishment of cultural *manyattas* developed kind of uncontrolled after that. At the moment there are seven cultural *manyattas* operating along the border of Amboseli National Park (see figure 2) of which three are being established on Olgulului Lolorashi group ranch in the year 2000.

![Figure 2: cultural manyattas along the southern border of Amboseli National Park](image)

The organisation structure of the cultural *manyattas* is based on the way group ranches are organized. Members of the cultural *manyatta* elect the management committee, comprising of a chairman, secretary and treasurer together with a number of committee members. This committee manages the Maasai cultural *manyatta*. To become a member of the cultural *manyatta*, one is required to pay a registration fee.

To start a cultural *manyatta* at the group ranch, Maasai have to consult with the leaders of the group ranch and the chief of the area. The initiator first has to find a group of people with
whom he can construct a cultural *manyatta* and has to determine where to build the cultural manyatta. The group then seeks the consent of the group ranch officials and area chief after which the cultural manyatta is officially registered as a co-operative, or as a partnership at the Attorney General’s Chambers. Another alternative is to get a certificate of the Ministry of Culture and Social Service. When this all is done, the interested parties are free to establish a cultural *manyatta* at the approved site.

The men will start with fencing off the site with branches of the acacia tree, while the women will build the igloo-shaped houses along the inside of fence. For example, four members may build one (cow) dung-baked hut, resulting in several huts forming a traditional Maasai homestead. The four members of the cultural *manyatta* alternate occupancy of the hut, for example, each week, after which another one of the four members stays in the hut taking care of the hut and selling the beadwork as though it was her real abode. Members, who are present when tourists visit the *manyatta*, welcome them and represent the ‘residents’ of the homestead.

Although women themselves did not have an active role in initiating the idea of cultural manyattas, their men decided that women would do the core business. The cultural *manyattas* offer Maasai women a chance to benefit from tourism development in line with the Maasai ‘cultural conduct policy’: approved by their men and tasks in line with activities in their daily life. Women are playing an active and visible role at the cultural *manyatta*’s market, with stalls allocated to several individual women displaying their cultural artefacts for sale. Of the artefacts sold, Maasai women make the beadwork, which include necklaces and bracelets and decorating key holders and belts with beads. Other artefacts offered for sale at the market are obtained from the men folk and include spears, clubs and knives. Also, business people from outside the cultural *manyatta* (in most cases these are souvenir merchants from Nairobi) supply non-Maasai artefacts such as woodcarvings, which are popular with tourists.

The procedures for receiving tourists within the Maasai cultural *manyattas* are more or less the same between the existing Maasai cultural *manyattas*. Tour drivers who always double as tour guides take their clients to a preferred *manyatta*. Upon arrival, each tourist pays an entrance fee of around US$10. By entering the fence, the tourists are welcomed with song and dance by Maasai women. Then a resident guide who talks about the Maasai culture and the manyatta’s set-up will take them around the manyatta. The tourists are also exposed to demonstrations of several aspects of Maasai lifestyle such as warriors making fire from rubbing a stick against a small log, women making bracelets or necklaces and plastering a sun-baked mud hut with cow dung. Towards the end of the visit, the warriors stage a dance and during the dance, visitors are permitted to join then and even take pictures together. In the end the tourists are led to a designated market place within the cultural *manyatta* where Maasai beadwork and other handicrafts are sold to tourists as souvenirs.

One of the most interesting aspects of the entire scenario is that a cow shed occupies the centre of the cultural *manyatta*, as is the case with the traditional ones. Consequently, the floor of the cultural *manyatta* is full of dry cow dung with no seats or shade for the visitors. This environment of ‘authentic’ Maasai lifestyle in which the simulated events occur makes the tourist experience complete.

It is admitted that all activities taking place within the cultural *manyatta* are simulated. Consequently, a cultural *manyatta* serves as a museum where the Maasai culture is on display for tourists to experience. The forces of modernisation have however penetrated into
Maasai culture. It is common to see Maasai men donning western attire enter a hut only to emerge a few moments later in traditional Maasai gear. Also, the warriors are occasionally seen smoking cigarettes with filters, wearing socks and shoes or wearing watches (which are taken off the moment a tourist shows up with his camera). All of these are pointers to the modernisation process within the Maasai community.

A new development within the cultural *manyatta* is the permanent presence of warriors. The warriors play an important role in performing dances and seem to be extending their interests into the market place. Unlike most of the Maasai businesspersons within the cultural *manyatta*, the warriors never used to stay within the cultural *manyatta*. Traditional customary practice stipulated that the warriors should live together in their own *manyatta* in the bush. However, the advent of the cultural *manyattas* attracted warriors, who would stage dances for tourists at a fee. Gradually, the warriors integrated themselves into the cultural *manyatta* becoming part of its sedentary community. At present, there is a cultural *manyatta* occupied by warriors only, which is in line with Maasai tradition that requires the warriors to stay separately.

**Organizational problems within cultural Manyattas**

The development of cultural *manyattas* in the Amboseli area fits in the KWS community conservation policy focussing on empowerment of people on the ground through the development of wildlife conservation related activities (in its broadest sense). But up to recently these cultural *manyattas* had to do without proper knowledge and guidance in organization and development. As a consequence, the cultural *manyattas*, the Maasai and the environment are dealing with a couple of problems.

The powerful position of certain people, resulting in an unequal distribution of benefits in the cultural *manyatta* business in the Amboseli region can be seen as the main problem which involves many other problems. The root of this problem lies in the lack of a formal structural organisation of these cultural *manyattas*. The cultural *manyattas* in the Amboseli region do not have a clear work and development plan and cannot, for example, operate a bank account to manage its finances and open up the path to credit facilities because they are not officially registered with authorities concerned.

The consequence of this missing organisation structure is a marketing related problem. As is the case with more small-scale tourism projects in the Amboseli area, the cultural *manyattas* are poorly marketed. In an exceptional case the management committee of a cultural *manyatta* visits the surrounding lodges to distribute basic leaflets. In most cases the cultural *manyatta* uses advertisement by word of mouth, showing severe negotiation behaviour to encourage employees of the lodges to promote the cultural *manyatta* to drivers and their tourists staying overnight in the lodge or to negotiate with drivers directly. Occasionally, tourists passing by will stop to have a look within the cultural *manyatta*. The cultural *manyattas* depend on tour drivers as a source of tourists who visit them. Thus, whereas the tour operators and their agents may have packaged a tour, cultural *manyattas* are not institutionalised such that the tour drivers-cum-guides have a great leeway in selecting which *manyatta* should be visited. Especially when taking into account the small distinction between the one cultural *manyatta* and the other, the offered product for tourists is more or less the same in all cultural *manyattas*. Drivers-cum-tour guides act as the intermediaries between the cultural *manyattas* and tourists, providing a linkage to the external world. Consequently, tour
drivers are placed in an advantaged position vis-à-vis the cultural manyattas in terms of sourcing tourists.

In some cases, the drivers of tourists share their powerful position in the cultural manyatta business partly with the leaders of the cultural manyattas. These leaders form a cartel with drivers in which they make deals on benefit sharing. Consequently, little benefits remain for the other people working in the cultural manyatta because the negotiations the drivers and leaders of the cultural manyatta are not transparent.

Another appearing problem is the expansion of size and number of cultural manyattas in the Amboseli area. A typical traditional Maasai manyatta comprises of an extended family set-up composed of several nuclear families cohabiting together in a single homestead. Cultural manyattas on the other hand are business entities formed by business minded Maasai people although traces of an extended family kind of social setting seem to be emerging. The phenomenon of cultural manyattas is still novel in the Amboseli ecosystem and has not been spared of the nascent wrangling and infighting, which characterise the teething stage of many organisations. Consequently, splits have emerged leading to the multiplicity of cultural manyattas as hitherto business partners disagree. One of the presumed causes of splits within cultural manyattas can be attributed to the rivalry that exists between the different Maasai age groups. This rivalry manifests itself in most cases in disagreement on benefit distribution between members of the cultural manyatta. Those members with enough power, and who felt passed over, started their own cultural manyatta in the vicinity of the first cultural manyatta.

A cultural manyatta in the Amboseli area can contain up to 40 sun-baked mud huts whereas a traditional manyatta normally has about 8-15 huts. The number of persons inhabiting a cultural manyatta is incredible high, with some hosting up to 300 persons (including children and non-members). The quest to accommodate as many business-minded persons as possible has resulted in creating an enormously large settlement within the cultural manyattas, to the extent that they even have adjacent primary schools.

Although the original idea of a cultural manyatta was not intended to create a permanent place of residence, most of the members of a cultural manyatta seem to have permanently settled therein. One of the reasons for permanent settlement is that the members come from far away. However, upon close observation, it will be noticed that the cultural manyattas provide a ready occupation, which generates income. Indeed, the increasing population concentration within cultural manyattas appears to be leading towards the establishment of a market or trading centre attracting more people in its turn.

Besides these above mentioned organisational problems the expansion of cultural manyattas also gives pressure on the surrounding environment. The cultural manyattas are situated in the buffer zone of Amboseli National Park. This buffer zone acts as dispersion area for wildlife, and especially elephants are used to migrate between the park and surrounding areas in search for food. With six cultural manyattas within a range of six kilometres, the migration route for elephants is blocked. (Senior warder ANP) Other problems concern pressure on available water resources for Maasai and their cattle and an increase of waste-disposal in the surrounding areas of the cultural manyattas.
The way forward

Tourism activities, like cultural *manyattas*, are well established and still growing in Maasailand. The culture of the Maasai pastoralists is increasingly developing as a feature of tourism, attracting visitors to Amboseli. Behind the famous images of pastoralism are changing values, aspirations and livelihoods shaped by modern circumstances, propelled by influences such as tourism (Berger, 1996). But whereas cultural *manyattas* provide some income to the indigenous community, a sense of business exploitation in the cultural *manyatta* can be discerned.

The economic empowerment of women was the principal basis upon which cultural *manyattas* were established in the Amboseli region. Women were supposed to generate income by making and selling, to tourists, their cultural artefacts within an environment reminiscent of their traditional homesteads and Maasai lifestyle. Cultural *manyattas* brought change to Maasai lifestyle albeit with the Maasai men dominating the ensuing economic dispensation.

One reason for the ‘mushrooming’ of cultural *manyattas* appears to be a fallout occasioned by persons dissatisfied with the leadership of cultural *manyattas*. Consequently, fragmentation among the members of cultural *manyattas* is resulting in the creation of new cultural *manyattas* at a rapid rate, and apparently without adequate planning. If left unchecked, the proliferation of cultural *manyattas* will not only increases the human population density (with its environmental and health consequences) at the periphery of the park, but also an authentic Maasai habitat will be destroyed.

To control the mushrooming of cultural *manyattas* and eliminate their negative social and ecological impacts on the local community and the environment, the idea of establishing an association was mooted. The *Association for Cultural Centres in Amboseli Ecosystem* (ACCA) was established ‘to generate ideas and implement decisions that are favourable to the local community with a view to improving their incomes accrued from tourism activities while enhancing the dignity of Maasai people and protecting the ecological integrity of the Amboseli ecosystem’ (ACCA, 2000).

To reach this aim, the association focuses, among others, on the coordination of marketing; regulation and setting of pricing framework; negotiation with investors; taking measures to discipline fraudulent members, drivers and investors; training of staff; separation of business cultural *manyatta* from residential *manyatta*; reviewing shareholding to improve local participation; improving public hygiene; and reviewing location of cultural *manyattas* (ACCA, 2000).

With the help of African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), representatives of the cultural *manyattas* were brought together in the first months of 2000 to harmonize the cultural *manyattas* and develop a work plan under the guidance of AWF itself, KWS, the Ministry of Culture and Social Services and the local provincial administration.

In forming the ACCA the Maasai within the Amboseli area seem to be determined in regulating and coordinating tourists activities involving visits to cultural *manyattas*. Unfortunately, it is too early to see any benefits or improvements through the establishment of the association but it looks promising at the moment. As a supplement on the ACCA objectives, some other suggestions can be given. Firstly, to overcome seasonality of tourism...
within cultural manyattas, the people within a cultural manyatta could demonstrate or simulate traditional events, like the slaughter of a cow or even a marriage, which tourists can attend.

Diversification of the tourism product offered could also be accomplished by organizing workshops for tourists in which tourists actually participate. Think of an afternoon building huts, herding and milking cattle, making beads, spears or other handicrafts, or short game walks (under the protection and guidance of warriors who explain Maasai use of specific herbs, plants and trees). Also lectures on Maasai culture and story telling in the shadow of an acacia tree just outside a cultural manyatta could attract the tourists who stay in one of the nearby lodges or the campsite.

Most importantly and lacking at this point, is the marketing of the cultural manyattas. As the ACCA resolves, it is important to take control of marketing by entering into formal and legally binding contracts with tour operators and lodges within their vicinity. The ACCA can also think of promoting the cultural manyattas via the Internet through a web site, or easier, through a display of pictures with a short introduction in the lodges of the park.

References


The development of cultural tourism in Kenya: a case study of the Bomas of Kenya

Prof John Akama
Moi University
Kenya
David Kemboi
Bomas of Kenya, Nairobi
Kenya

Introduction

In recent years particularly in the 1990s, Kenya’s tourism industry has been experiencing problems of poor performance and a decrease in the number of international tourist arrivals (Kenya Government, 1999). In the country’s major tourist centres, particularly in the Coast, Nairobi, and the inland national parks and reserves, there has been persistent low bed occupancy of less than 50% in most of the hotel establishments and lodges (see table 1). Due to problems of low bed occupancy, most tourism and hospitality establishments in the country have been offering rock bottom prices in order for them to balance their books and break-even.

Table 1: hotel bed-nights occupied by zone, 1993-1997 (in thousands)

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coastal-beach</td>
<td>3,762.0</td>
<td>3,071.5</td>
<td>3,059.6</td>
<td>3,144.9</td>
<td>3,074.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>196.2</td>
<td>185.2</td>
<td>166.7</td>
<td>70.9</td>
<td>71.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coast Hinterland</td>
<td>146.9</td>
<td>550.7</td>
<td>613.7</td>
<td>774.1</td>
<td>801.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi-high class</td>
<td>649.9</td>
<td>550.7</td>
<td>613.7</td>
<td>774.1</td>
<td>801.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>499.0</td>
<td>454.7</td>
<td>413.8</td>
<td>313.0</td>
<td>311.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central</td>
<td>369.0</td>
<td>299.0</td>
<td>275.4</td>
<td>253.4</td>
<td>218.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Masailand</td>
<td>372.7</td>
<td>247.8</td>
<td>245.3</td>
<td>237.1</td>
<td>215.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza basin</td>
<td>105.6</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>114.3</td>
<td>88.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>79.9</td>
<td>69.9</td>
<td>65.5</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>64.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>15.9</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total-occupied</td>
<td>6,188.8</td>
<td>5,110.0</td>
<td>5,054.8</td>
<td>5,061.2</td>
<td>4,910.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total-available</td>
<td>11,908.9</td>
<td>11,908.9</td>
<td>11,562.2</td>
<td>11,354.5</td>
<td>9,516.6</td>
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Source: Kenyan government, 1998

However, despite price adjustments, there has been a downward spiral in the number of international tourist arrivals to Kenya. The coastal region (which usually receives over 60% of Kenya’s international tourist arrivals) has been the worst hit. In the late 1990s, for instance, even during the peak season at the Coast (December to April) there has been a major decline of over 50% from over 300,000 international tourist arrivals in the early 1990s to less than 150,000 arrivals in the late 1990s (Kwena, 1997; Kenya Government, 1999). Furthermore, the poor performance of coastal tourism has had a spiral negative impact on other tourism related sub sectors including handicraft, car rental, sports-fishing, boating, and construction and rental industry. Consequently, thousands of workers in the tourism and other
related sectors have been laid off. Similar trends have also been observed in most of Kenya’s tourism centres.

Probably, the recent poor performance of Kenya’s tourism industry can be partly attributed to the nature of tourism product that the country offers. Over the last 40 years, Kenya has been offering a limited tourism product that is mainly based on beach and safari tourism. In fact, it has been noted that overseas tour operators and travel agents who market Kenya in major tourist generating countries in Europe and North America sometimes present Kenya as if the country is made up of only the ‘Big Five’ attractions (elephant, lion, rhino, cheetah and giraffe) (Akama, 1997). In this regard, not much is known in overseas tourism markets concerning Kenya’s diverse tourism attractions, especially the country’s diverse cultural attractions.

It can be argued that the presentation of a limited and undifferentiated tourism product based on beach and wildlife attractions resonated quite well with the post World War II international trends in mass production and consumption of undifferentiated and mass packaged tour packages and travel arrangements. Kenya’s undifferentiated and limited tourism product appealed to the relatively undifferentiated tourism markets of the 1960s and the 1970s which were characterised by mass packaging and sales of undifferentiated inclusive tour packages (Akama, 1999; Sindiga, 2000). Consequently, the post World War tourists were usually satisfied with the mass consumption of undifferentiated safari tours and participation in beach tourism in the Kenyan coast.

However, in recent years (starting from the 1980s to the present) international tourism demand has experienced tremendous changes in terms of visitor needs and expectations. There is increased demand for differentiated and unique tourism products which offer deeper meaning and enriching tourist experience (Silberg, 1995; Richards, 1996; Sharpley, 1999). Thus, in the so called postmodern era, different social groups are seeking to distinguish their social status in education and occupation in the kind of goods and services they purchase, including the purchase and consumptions of tourism goods and services. These mean that there exist different tourism markets which appeal to a variety of differentiated tourism products and services.

Within this rapidly changing global tourism market, a country such as Kenya which continue to offer an undifferentiated and limited tourism product may be left behind in the highly competitive tourism market. In this regard, in order for Kenya to be able to compete effectively in the volatile global tourism market, there is need for the country to diversify and provide differentiated tourism products that appeal to different market segments. Consequently, Kenya needs to broaden its tourism image of beach and safari tourism to include diverse tourism activities and attractions that will appeal to the rapidly changing and volatile tourism market of the Twenty First century. It is in this connection that Kenya should develop its diverse and unique cultural attractions in order for the country to broaden its tourism image and appeal to broader market segments.

Moreover, in recent years, tourism researchers have shown that, with the passage of time, cultural tourism is increasingly becoming a significant motivation for tourists all over the world. For instance, a survey conducted by Lou Harris Poll asked tourists in 1982 and again in 1992, ‘what is very important when planning trips?’ In the 1980s, cultural attractions were important to 27% of frequent travellers compared with 50% in 1990s; whereas understanding culture was important to 48% in the 1980s compared to an overwhelming 88% in the 1990s (Silberg, 1995; Alzua, O’Leary and Morrison, 1998). Thus, if Kenya is to continue maintaining its
position as a leading tourist destination in Africa, there is need for the country to diversity its tourism product to include the country’s unique and diverse cultural attractions.

The research uses the case study of Bomas of Kenya to analyse ways in which cultural tourism can be developed in Kenya with an aim of diversifying the country’s tourism product away from the overcrowded beach and saturated wildlife parks and reserves. Thus, the main objectives of this study are threefold:

- To examine the role played by Bomas of Kenya in the development and promotion of cultural tourism in Kenya

- To analyse the main socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the tourists who visit Bomas of Kenya and examine their perception and attitudes toward the centre’s cultural attractions.

- Suggest an appropriate strategy for the development, presentation and marketing of Bomas of Kenya cultural attractions and those of other cultural centres in the country.

Bomas of Kenya is located in the outskirts of the City of Nairobi, Kenya’s capital city and a leading tourism and business centre in the East Africa region. The cultural centre was established by the Kenya Government in 1972 and is located about 10 km from down town Nairobi beside the busy Langatta Highway. The cultural centre was to be developed into a major cultural-based entertainment and educational centre for both domestic and international tourists. The centre offers cultural dances and art performances; also there are 11 model cultural villages which portray ethnic architecture, displays and material culture from different Kenyan ethnic communities including the Kikuyu, Luhya, Kalenjin, Taita, Samburu, Luo, Kuria, Kamba, Mijikenda and the Embu. Other facilities in the cultural centre include two large conference size halls, a well-equipped children’s play ground, a souvenir shop which sells Kenyan handicraft and a large auditorium. Some other tourist attractions which are situated a few minutes drive from the cultural centre include Nairobi Safari Walk and Nairobi National Park, Kenya National Museum centre, Blixen Museum, various art galleries and souvenir ships and the city of Nairobi itself with various urban cultural attractions. In 1999, over 100,000 domestic and international tourists visited Bomas of Kenya (Kenya Government, 2000).

The fieldwork in the centre was conducted during the months of September and October 2000. The work involved conducting field observations on the forms of management and the presentation of the centre’s cultural attractions to both domestic and international tourists. Also, a total of 115 visitors (52 domestic and 63 international tourists) were interviewed using a structured questionnaire. The questionnaire was mainly used to collect data and information on the social and demographic characteristics of the tourists and their perception and attitudes toward Bomas of Kenya as a tourist cultural centre.

The data was analysed and tabulated into percentages representing various socio-demographic and economic characteristics of the various types of tourists who visit Bomas of Kenya. Principal component analysis was conducted to identify various cultural and service quality attributes in Bomas of Kenya that the tourists value most. In addition, linear regression analysis was conducted to find out whether various cultural and service attributes as presented by Bomas of Kenya influence overall visitor satisfaction.
Data presentation and analysis: the tourist perspective

Domestic tourists

Sixty three percent of the domestic tourists interviewed were men and 37% women (see table 2); also most of the local visitors were mainly on short excursion trips that usually lasted not more than 12 hours. Thus, in the overall, it can be said that more male tourists (both domestic and international tourists) visit Bomas of Kenya than women. This scenario is different from findings of other cultural tourism researchers, particularly in Europe and North America, who state that women are more predisposed (women tend to be more culturally oriented than men) to visit cultural attractions compared to men (Silberg, 1995; Richards, 1996; Alzua, O’Leary and Morrison, 1998). In this regard, the Kenyan situation needs further investigation to find out underlying factors that make more men visit Bomas of Kenya and, possibly other cultural attractions in the country than women.

Table 2: socio-economic characteristics of the tourists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Domestic tourists %</th>
<th>International tourists %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Age</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 20</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 30</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 - 40</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 - 50</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Level of education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of employment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self - Employed</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private sector</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public sector</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher

However, it can be stated that, probably, the main reason why more Kenyan men visit Bomas of Kenya and other cultural attractions than women may be due to existing socio-economic and cultural conditions. These include the fact that, generally speaking, Kenyan men tend to be relatively more educated and, also men earn more income than women. Thus, the men
therefore, have got more discretionary income that they may spend in leisure activities such as visiting cultural attractions and other recreational facilities.

Similar to the international tourists (see below), most of the domestic tourists were relatively well educated, with 65% of the visitors having college education and above. Whereas in the case of the local visitors who did not have college education, the majority, over 90% were primary and secondary school students who were involved in study tour. Thus, it can be argued that students in study and cultural familiarisation tours form one of the major segments of domestic tourists who visit Bomas of Kenya, and other cultural attractions in the country. There is therefore great potential for increasing the number of school institution tours to the centre through aggressive marketing of the centre’s cultural attractions in primary and secondary schools, and tertiary educational institutions. Thus in the long-run, the centre can play a bigger role in educating and enhancing the awareness of the Kenyan youth to the country’s diverse and unique ethnic cultures and; it can also assist in promoting cross-cultural understanding and national identity amongst the youth.

The majority, over 50% of the domestic tourists stated that they received information concerning Bomas of Kenya through friends and relatives (see table 3). Whereas about 30% of the tourists said that they came to know about Bomas of Kenya through the media (e.g. TV, radio and local newspapers). Only a small number, less than 5% of the domestic tourists stated that they came to know about Bomas of Kenya through advertisement and travel information received from local tour operators and travel agents. Probably, this is clear indication that there does not exist organised marketing and sales promotion of the cultural centre in the local Kenyan market. It may also be said that, probably, the same scenario arises as regards to the promotion and marketing of other cultural attractions in the country. This is reflected by the fact that, in the whole country, there is no local or foreign owned tour firm or travel agent which specialises in the promotion and marketing of Kenya’s unique and diverse cultural attractions to the potentially lucrative local market. This is despite the fact that an overwhelming majority, over 70% of the domestic tourists stated that their primary motivation which influences their decision to participate in domestic tourism is visiting cultural attractions and visiting relatives and friends (see table 4).

**Table 3: tourists’ source of information on Bomas of Kenya**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source of information</th>
<th>Media (TV, Newspaper, etc)</th>
<th>Tour Offices</th>
<th>Books</th>
<th>Hotel Brochures</th>
<th>Friends/Relatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher
Interestingly, unlike most (over 80%) of the international tourists who stated that this was the first time they were visiting Bomas of Kenya, the majority, over 60% of the domestic tourists stated that they had made more than one visit to the cultural centre (39% of domestic tourists stated that they had visited the centre several times). This is clear indication that the domestic tourists had a satisfactory experience in the centre. Generally, the findings indicate that there exists great potential for attracting and retaining an increasing number of domestic visitors however this will require aggressive marketing and promotion of the cultural centre in the local Kenyan market.

**International tourists**

Of the total number of international tourists interviewed, 60% were men and the remaining 40% were women. In age classification, 60% of the tourists were between the age of 31 to 50 years; whereas 30% of the tourists were in the age bracket of 21 to 30 years, and 10% of the tourists were 20 years old and below (see table 2 above). An overwhelming majority, over 90% of the international tourists had college level education and above. This shows that the majority of the tourists (both domestic and international) who visit Bomas of Kenya are relatively well educated. These confirms with the findings by other researchers, particularly in Europe and North America, which have shown that well educated people are usually more inclined to visit cultural centres and other types of cultural attractions (Silberg, 1995; Alzua, O’Leary and Morrison, 1998). Further, in their quest for cultural tourism, the well-educated persons are usually looking for something more than contrived tourist experience common in conventional mass tourism. Thus quite often, these types of tourists are searching for a deeper and enriching educational and recreational experience. Consequently, appropriate packaging of cultural attractions, and the provision of adequate interpretation services is required in order to be able to provide enriching cultural experience to the enlightened tourists who visit cultural sites and other forms of cultural attractions. Of particular importance, the provision of interpretation services should be holistic in nature, capable of providing aesthetic, intellectual, emotional and psychological satisfaction to the post-modern tourists who are relatively well educated and are looking for value for their money.

Forty eight percent of international tourists stated that they found out about Bomas of Kenya through information that they had received from relatives and friends (see table 3 above). Thus probably, international tourists who had made earlier visitations to Kenya may have recommended Bomas of Kenya to their relatives and friends as a ‘must’ place to visit in order to experience unique Kenyan cultural attractions. Whereas 31% of the tourists said that they found out about the cultural centre through information that they had received from overseas tour operators and travel agents. The relatively small number of international tourists who stated that they received information concerning Bomas of Kenya from overseas tour offices shows that, unlike wildlife safari and beach tourism, Kenya’s cultural attractions are not

---

**Table 4: most important recreational activity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recreational Activity</th>
<th>Domestic tourists %</th>
<th>International tourists %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Visiting friends and relatives</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting cultural attractions</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Going to the beach</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visiting wildlife parks</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher
effectively promoted and marketed in overseas tourist generating countries. As a matter of fact, it has been noted that, quite often, overseas tour operators and travel agents provide partial and sometimes inaccurate promotional information concerning Kenya’s tourist attractions. Thus, the tour operators and travel agents mainly market Kenya as the land of the Big Five (elephant, lion, rhino, cheetah and giraffe) whereas the country’s diverse and unique cultural attractions are rarely marketed in overseas tourist generating countries if at all (Sinclair, 1990; Akama, 1997).

Asked to name one main activity that they will be engaged in during the next one-week, the international tourists stated different activities including holiday 27%, business 25%, visiting friends and relatives 21%, and study tours 10%, among others. The different responses show that there exist a variety of motivational factors and individual interests among various types of tourists who visit Bomas of Kenya and other cultural attractions in the country. Thus, in order to attract more visitors, the packaging of the centre’s cultural attractions should aim at enhancing the level of tourist exposure to different types of cultural activities and services that meet various expectations and demands of different tourist market segments. Consequently, this form of cultural tourism product development and packaging will make it possible for Bomas of Kenya to be able to appeal to broader tourist market segments, in the long run.

Over 50% of international tourists stated that the main factor that made them decide to visit Kenya is the country’s unique wildlife attractions (see table 4). This shows that to the majority of the international tourists who visit the country, cultural attractions form an ‘adjunct’ (secondary) attraction; whereas visiting the unique wildlife attractions is the core or primary factor which influence their decision to visit the country. Probably, this particular finding may point to the fact that has already been stated that Kenya’s cultural attractions are poorly marketed in overseas tourist generating countries and therefore the majority of prospective tourists may be unaware of their existence. However, it should be stated that due to the high cost involved in international tourism promotion and marketing and; also the existing appeal of Kenya’s unique wildlife heritage, both the wildlife and cultural attractions should as much as possible be marketed jointly in tourist generating countries. This overseas marketing strategy can assist in strengthening the overall international appeal of Kenya as a destination that offers diverse and unique cultural and nature-based attractions.

Other observations by both the domestic and international tourists

Most domestic tourists (89%) and the international tourists (98%) stated that they had a satisfactory cultural experience at Bomas of Kenya. However; there were notable differences between the perceptions of the two groups of tourists on the quality of various attributes of the services that are provided by Bomas of Kenya (see factor analysis tables 5 and 6).

Principal component analysis was conducted to identify various cultural and service quality attributes in Bomas of Kenya that the domestic and international tourists value most. Also, varimax rotation was conducted to minimise the number of variables that had high loading on the same factor and the decision to include a variable was based on eigen value equal to, or greater than 1. Three factors (information and employees knowledge; cultural aspects of Bomas of Kenya, and presentation of indigenous home states) that accounted for 74.3% of the explained variance were extracted from the original 10 service quality attributes (see the list of the attributes below) in the case of the domestic tourists. Whereas 2 factors (cultural aspects of Bomas of Kenya, and information and employees knowledge) which accounted for 69.6% of the explained variance, were extracted in the case of the international tourists.
Thus, whereas the domestic tourists ranked information and knowledge of the centre’s staff as the best service quality factor, the international tourists instead ranked cultural attributes (cultural performances) as the best service quality factor that is provided by Bomas of Kenya. Perhaps, the main reason why there is a difference in perception of service quality attributes provided by Bomas of Kenya is due to the fact that unlike the international tourists, most of the local visitors are relatively familiar with the various cultural aspects that are presented in Bomas of Kenya.

Consequently, local visitors had high expectations of the quality of the cultural presentations than the international tourists. Moreover, the majority of local tourists (66%) stated that the main motivation factor which influenced their initial decision to participate in domestic tourism is the desire to visit cultural attractions; meaning that they put high premium/expectation on those forms of tourist attractions as presented by Bomas of Kenya.

Linear regression analysis was conducted to determine whether there is a significant relationship between tourist satisfaction (the dependant variable) and the 10 cultural and service quality attributes that are presented in Bomas of Kenya (independent variables) as listed below:

1. Bomas of Kenya’s physical facilities and equipment
2. Prevision of necessary information concerning Bomas of Kenya
3. Services provided by the Bomas of Kenya staff
4. Background information/interpretation services
5. Knowledge of the staff on the cultural attractions
6. The physical appearance/layout of the cultural attractions
7. Level of the cultural performances
8. Presentation of the various cultural attractions
9. Presentation of various Kenyan ethnic/indigenous home states
10. Presentation of various Kenyan ethnic/indigenous cultures
Table 5: results of factor analysis on 10 attributes measuring perceived quality by domestic tourists of various services in Bomas of Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>Factor loading</th>
<th>Communality</th>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Eigen value</th>
<th>% of variance</th>
<th>Cumulative variance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of staff on the cultural attractions</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.79</td>
<td>FACTOR 1 Information and Employees knowledge</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>35.37</td>
<td>35.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background information interpretation services</td>
<td>.833</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of necessary information concerning Bomas of Kenya</td>
<td>.804</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service provided by the Bomas of Kenya staff</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>72</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomas of Kenya physical facilities and equipment</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>.52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The physical appearance/Outlook of the cultural attractions</td>
<td>.63</td>
<td>.69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation of the various cultural attractions</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>.81</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of cultural performance</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>Factor 2 Cultural aspects of Bomas of Kenya</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>26.73</td>
<td>62.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation of various Kenyan ethnic/indigenous home states</td>
<td>.85</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation of various Kenyan ethnic/indigenous home states</td>
<td>.95</td>
<td>.91</td>
<td>Factor 3 Presentation of indigenous home states</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>12.23</td>
<td>74.32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher
Table 6: results of factor analysis on 10 attributes measuring perceived quality by international tourists of various services in Bomas of Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attribute</th>
<th>Factor loading</th>
<th>Communalit y</th>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>Eigen value</th>
<th>% of variance</th>
<th>Cumulative variance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Level of the cultural performance</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>Factor 1</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>40.64</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preservation of the various cultural attractions</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>.73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation of the various Kenyan ethnic/indigenous home states</td>
<td>.82</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation of the various Kenyan ethnic/indigenous cultures</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The physical appearance layout of the cultural attractions</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bomas of Kenya's physical facilities and equipment</td>
<td>.51</td>
<td>.510</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background information/ Interpretation services</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>FACTOR 2</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>28.96</td>
<td>69.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provision of necessary information/ interpretation services</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of the staff on the cultural attractions</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services provided by Bomas of Kenya staff</td>
<td>.60</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher

The regression analysis indicated that there is a significant relationship between visitor satisfaction and the various cultural and service quality attributes of Bomas of Kenya ($F = 3.296; DF = 10,40; P<0.01$) in the case of domestic tourists. Whereas, the relationship between visitor satisfaction and the various service quality attributes was insignificant ($F = 1.453; DF = 10,52; P>0.01$) in the case of the international tourists. Thus, it may be stated...
that unlike the domestic tourists there, probably, are other extraneous factors other than the visit to Bomas of Kenya that contributed to the overall satisfaction of the international tourists. Moreover as already stated, the majority of the international tourists said that their visit to Bomas of Kenya was secondary (adjunct) to visiting other attractions in Kenya, particularly visiting the country’s unique wildlife attractions. Whereas to the majority of the domestic tourists, the centre’s cultural attractions formed the primary motivation factor which influenced their initial decision to travel and participate in domestic tourism.

The following are some selected statements from domestic and international tourists discussing Bomas of Kenya. The quotations complements the above research findings and provide accurate representation of the tourists’ perceptions concerning the centre’s unique cultural attractions and performances.

“It is the best cultural site I have toured in the country. I learned a lot about the different Kenyan tribes and their tradition. Of course, you don’t see this kind of thing where I come from.” (British).

“It is wonderful to be able to see the cultural heritage of Kenya put together in one place. Great show! It is very nice and should be conserved for posterity. However, the provision of an information booklet describing the various cultural dances from different regions of Kenya could have been very useful.” (Danish).

“A very good introduction to what you can expect to see when visiting different regions of Kenya. However, the following areas need further improvement in order to make the cultural presentations even more attractive: the provision of adequate interpretation information on the various cultural performances, the traditional home states should be made to be part of the cultural performances by having the performances conducted in the open air space surrounding the home states. These will make the cultural performances to be more natural and authentic.” (Germany).

“All the cultural performances are quite distinct from what is found in the rest of the world. However, if the interpretation services could be improved and be made more clearer, it can lead to an even more enjoyable cultural experience. Also, there is need for a wider perspective of advertising this valuable cultural entity at the global spectra.” (British).

“It is wonderful being taken back to the African cultural roots. However, an invitation to dance with the troupe needs to be extended to the audience.” (Malawian).

“I loved each and every thing I saw, and I enjoyed myself to the utmost. I wish you could advertise more! However employ more experienced dancers and other cultural performers in order to make sure that the quality of the performances is maintained.” (Kenyan).

“Everything presented was excellent! However, representatives of Bomas of Kenya management and cultural product developers should visit different parts of the country and come up with some new cultural activities. Also, they should conduct more promotion in order to attract more visitors. People out there do not know what is presented at Bomas of Kenya!” (Kenyan)

“There is absence of Maasai cultural dance. Also, some performers appeared to be very weary in what they were presenting. The dancers should be serious in their presentations and
Bomas should have more experienced workforce in order to make sure that the quality of the cultural performances in made even better.” (Kenyan).

The way forward: the process model for the developing a cultural tourism in the Bomas of Kenya

As the study shows, Bomas of Kenya as perhaps is the case with the country’s other cultural sites and attractions have great potential for the development of cultural tourism; the centre’s cultural attractions have great appeal to both domestic and international tourists. However it could be stated that, currently, the centre’s potential in attracting an increased number of domestic and international tourists has not been realised. Based on initial reviews of existing government documents with reference to Bomas of Kenya, (particularly the statutory document which led to the establishment of the cultural centre in 1972, discussions with various people involved in the presentation of cultural performances, the management of the centre and personal observations), it was concluded that one of the main shortfalls in the development of cultural tourism in Bomas cultural centre is the absence of a clearly defined systematic framework for the development, packaging and marketing of cultural tourism products.

Although most of the interviewees (both domestic and international tourists) indicated that they enjoyed watching various cultural presentations and art performances that were provided by the cultural centre, they also stated that there is a need for the provision of interpretational information to assist visitors in having a clear understanding and meaning of the various cultural presentations and art performances. Most of the tourists stated that they had found out about Bomas of Kenya through information which they acquired from relatives and friends, a clear indication therefore that there exists a minimal organised marketing and sales promotion of the centre’s diverse cultural attractions both in the domestic and overseas market. Researchers Sinclair (1990), Dieke (1991), Akama (1997) and Sindiga (2000) have also ascertained that, overall, Kenya lacks a well co-ordinated strategy to market the country’s tourist attractions, particularly the country’s unique and diverse cultural attractions, both locally and internationally.

Thus, based on these findings, it was concluded that there is need for the development of a clearly defined process model which can be used in the packaging, presentation and marketing of Kenya’s cultural attractions in general, and the marketing of Bomas of Kenya’s cultural attractions in particular. In general terms, the process by which cultural manifestations, arts and craft, and other forms of cultural artefacts are transformed into tourism products that are intended for the satisfaction of tourist consumption is usually referred to as the ‘commodification process’. Thus, in order for any cultural centre to successfully develop and promote cultural tourism, it should have a clearly defined framework on how to transform identified cultural resources to meet specific tourist demands and expectations.

The commodification process model need not be static, but should be dynamic and capable of modification, from time to time, in order to meet changing cultural and socio-economic conditions and tourist expectations. Consequently, the process model of cultural tourism product development should consist of the following principal components: cultural product packaging, cultural product presentation and interpretation, and cultural product marketing and promotion (see figure 1).
In any given place, cultural resources are usually diverse and varied. As a consequence, not all cultural resources in a given place or destination can be presented to tourists (i.e. not all forms of Kenyan ethnic cultural dances or art performances can be presented to tourists). Thus, a process of selecting the cultural resources and/or the cultural manifestations that are presented to tourists has therefore to be undertaken. At this initial stage of cultural tourism product development, the most critical question that has to be answered is who is entitled to decide and choose the forms of cultural manifestations that should be developed and presented to tourists.

As was stated earlier, Statutory Act created Bomas of Kenya and in this regard, the central government as represented by the centre's Board of Directors and management play a central role in deciding and choosing the forms of cultural attractions that should be developed and presented to tourists. Consequently, the government is seen as the main custodian of the Kenyan culture as represented by the country's diverse ethnic communities. However, it can be argued that in the supply side of cultural tourism, the government is not the only interested party in the development of cultural tourism. Thus, the government should not therefore be the sole decision-maker in choosing the forms of cultural manifestations that have to be presented to tourists. For instances, members of the various ethnic communities whose respective cultures are packaged and presented to tourists are, probably, the most important interest group in the development of cultural tourism product. But, in most instances representatives of various ethnic communities are usually not well represented in the development of their respective cultural resources and cultural manifestations for tourism.

Source: Researcher
Thus, members of respective ethnic communities are usually not appropriately represented in the commodification process of transforming their cultural resources into tourism products to be presented and sold to tourists.

The lack of proper representations of respective ethnic communities in the commodification process raises serious questions particularly with the authenticity of the cultural tourism product, and the critical issue of equitable distribution of the revenues that accrue from the presentation of ethnic cultural attractions to tourists. Also, due to lack of proper representation of local communities in the commodification process, ethnic cultural attractions are usually presented to tourists in a manner that the local people themselves may not like to be presented to the outside world. A case in point is the manner in which the Maasai have, over the years, been misrepresented to tourists as a primitive and backward community that provides additional anecdotes to international tourists seeking exotism and adventure in the African wilderness. (For more on this aspect refer to the Akama paper on the Maasai image and tourism development in Kenya in this volume).

Apart from the government and the local ethnic communities, there are other interest groups that should also be involved in the packaging and development of cultural tourism products. They include private tourism investors, non-governmental groups involved in the preservation and restoration of indigenous cultures, local and international welfare organisations and other professionals groups. Thus, the development of cultural tourism products affects diverse interest groups and organisations. Quite often these diverse interest groups have different and conflicting interests with regards to the development and management of existing cultural resource or cultural manifestations whether the cultural resources have to be used in the development of tourism or not.

Consequently, in the commodification process, representatives of the various stakeholders should, ideally, be involved in choosing, packaging and presenting given cultural attractions to tourists. In this regard, the government should mainly serve as a facilitator and should endeavour to establish a level playing ground in which the needs and expectations of all the stakeholders are taken into consideration. In cases of arising conflicting interests, the government should as much as possible encourage appropriate dialogue among the affected parties with clearly laid down procedures followed by finding solutions to other problems that may arises in the commodification process and the presentation of cultural attractions to tourists.

Whereas on the demand side, consumer or tourist needs and expectations have to be met if the cultural tourism product is to be attractive and remain competitive in the tourism market. Thus, it could be argued that the nature of a cultural tourism product should be determined by the requirements of the consumers and not by the mere existence of the cultural attraction. However, although this assertion may be true to a certain extent, the commodification process should be properly planned and managed in order to meet the needs of not only the tourists, but should also meet the needs of all the affected interest groups in both the supply and the demand side.

The questions of who is supposed to be involved in choosing, designing, planning and developing a cultural tourism product, and for whom and for what purpose is cultural tourism being developed for, are inherently crucial, and should be probably tackled if the development of cultural tourism is to be sustainable in the long-run. Consequently, in the commodification process and the transformation of cultural manifestations into specific tourism products,
appropriate decisions should be made which incorporate all aspects of product development and the requirements of all interest groups in the supply side. Also the cultural tourism product that is being developed should, as much as possible, meet the demands and expectations of the tourists if the product is to remain competitive in the highly volatile tourism market.

**Cultural tourism product presentation and interpretation**

After a given cultural product, say ethnic art or a indigenous dance performance has been developed for tourism, one of remaining challenges which has to be tackled is the manner in which to provide appropriate interpretation of the cultural elements to prospective visitors; particularly, how to reconstruct those past historical and cultural elements to tourist through interpretation (i.e. how to provide appropriate interpretation information on the various ethnic homesteads that are represented in Bomas of Kenya). In this regard most tourism researchers contend that in order to meet visitor needs and expectations, cultural presentations and interpretation should involve much more than the exchange of mere information and should inspire and even provoke the visitor to be able to experience and probably to relive a given cultural experience or cultural phenomenon.

In the case of Bomas of Kenya, for instance, although most visitors feel that, overall, they enjoyed watching the traditional dance performances and other cultural presentations they felt that more background information and interpretation should have been provided so as to enable them to have clear understanding of the role and significance of the various cultural performances or cultural presentations as they relate to the Kenyan ethnic communities where the performances were derived from. In this regard, since most of the traditional dances and art performances were usually undertaken during particular occasions and events (i.e. wedding, circumcision, commemoration of good harvest, thanks giving and spiritual songs and dance) the provision of appropriate interpretation should provide clear meaning of the underlying messages of the performances. Thus, the following principal elements drawn from Tilden as presented by Nuryanti (1996:252) can serve as guidelines in the provision of background information and interpretation services in Bomas of Kenya and other cultural centres, namely that ‘cultural presentation and interpretation should go beyond the provision of information’. Thus cultural interpretation should therefore be ‘revelation based on information’. In this regard the provision of information should only form part of the cultural interpretation process.

- Cultural presentation and interpretation is an art that combines many forms of art, whether the cultural materials that are being presented are scientific, historical or architectural.

- The main aim of cultural presentation and interpretation should not be instruction, but should be provocation.

- Any form of cultural presentation and interpretation should aim at presenting a whole or holistic picture rather than a part, and must address itself to the whole picture rather than any phase.

- Cultural presentation and interpretation presented to different tourist segments should follow a fundamentally different approach.
Marketing of cultural tourism product

It has been noted that Kenya lacks an appropriate and well co-ordinated strategy to market the country's cultural attractions, in particular and other tourism attractions in general. Consequently, over the years, no appropriate market research has been undertaken in order to find out the types of tourists who may be attracted to cultural attractions such as those that are being provided by Bomas of Kenya. Thus in most instances, the marketing of Kenya’s tourist attractions is usually perceived as a ‘one-stop’ affair that mainly involve top government officials and private tourism executives making occasional visitations to tourist generating countries mainly in Europe and North America. In addition, the marketing of the cultural attractions in the domestic markets is rarely done if it is done at all.

As in the case of Bomas of Kenya, cultural attractions are usually developed without the realisation that there exists different tourist market segments, each with different demands and expectations (i.e. students on study tours, international visitors on inclusive tours, domestic visitors on short excursion trips, business and professional groups, etc). Thus, in order to appropriately develop cultural tourism, it should be realised that there exists different market segments, each with different expectations, demands and relationships. Consequently, one of the critical questions that should be taken into consideration in the development of cultural tourism is what type of cultural tourism product should be developed in order to meet the demands and expectations of specific market segments. However, when developing different cultural products for various market segments, it should also be understood that it is not only the physical or tangible aspects of a cultural attraction that constitutes a cultural tourism product. In this regard, cultural tourism attractions may include indigenous architecture, dress, artefacts, handicraft and cultural sites, but may also include intangible components and feelings such as fantasy, nostalgia, pleasure and pride etc which are presented through various cultural manifestations and interpretation of the physical cultural attributes.

The marketing of a cultural tourism product therefore, should underline the whole approach of planning and management of the cultural attractions. It should entail clear understanding of what forms of cultural attractions are to be sold, to whom and by whom. Also at the marketing stage, it is important to recognise the market scale of given cultural attractions. For instance in most cases, a cultural attraction may not be of sufficient value by itself of attracting international tourists. For instance, most of the international tourists who were visiting Bomas of Kenya indicated the cultural centre was not the main factor that made them decide to visit Kenya. Most of the tourist indicated that the decided to visit Kenya mainly because to the country’s unique wildlife attractions. Thus when marketing and promoting a cultural centre such Bomas of Kenya, particularly in overseas tourist generating countries, the cultural and wildlife attractions should be jointly marketed in order to present and position the country as a unique tourist destination. However, due to the overwhelming appeal of Bomas of Kenya to the local market, the centre should be marketed as distinct cultural attraction to Kenyans who are willing to make short excursion trips.

Conclusion

Bomas of Kenya has great potential for the development of cultural tourism; however it lacks a clearly defined cultural tourism product development strategy that can be used for the systematic packaging, presentation and marketing of its cultural attractions. Perhaps, the same can be said with regard to the development of cultural tourism in Kenya in general.
Thus, it can be argued that currently there is no properly organised and systematic packaging of Kenya's unique and diverse cultural resources for tourism. The various stakeholders, particularly the representatives of local ethnic communities (whose cultural resources and cultural manifestations are used for the development of cultural tourism), private sector representatives, and members of professional and welfare groups are, most often, not involved in the process of commodification in which existing cultural resources are transformed into cultural tourism products to be presented to tourists.

Proper interpretation of some of the cultural manifestations that are presented to tourists in order to enable visitors to conceptualise and have clear understanding of the cultural presentations is also lacking. The development of cultural tourism in Bomas of Kenya and the country in general is conducted as if the tourists who are attracted to the cultural attractions are an homogenous entity with similar needs and expectations. Thus, there are no systematic differentiations of the various cultural attractions in order to appeal and meet the demands and expectation of various market segments (i.e. school children on study tours, professional groups, business tourists, locals on short excursionist trips, and tourists who purchase inclusive tour packages, etc).

The conclusions of the study therefore suggest formulating a process model that can be used in the packaging and marketing of cultural tourism in Bomas of Kenya, in particular and the packaging and marketing of the country's cultural attractions in general. Of particular importance, is the fact that representatives of the various stakeholders should be involved the commodification process and the presentation of cultural attractions to tourists. Further, proper marketing strategy should also be built into the commodification process in order to target the cultural attractions to specific market segments. Also, in the main overseas tourist generating countries, the country's tourism image should broaden beyond the presentation and promotion of safari and beach tourism. In this regard, the Kenya government should liaise with overseas tour operators and travel agents in the presentation of up-to-date and accurate promotional and advertisement information concerning the country's unique and diverse cultural and nature based attractions. In the domestic market, there is need for the establishment of local tour firms and travel agents who specialise in the promotion and marketing of the country’s cultural attractions to the Kenyan people. These will lead to systematic and organised marketing and promotion of cultural tourism in the existing, potentially, lucrative domestic market.

Last but not least, the cultural attractions that are offered by Bomas of Kenya should be expanded in order to appeal to broader market segments and attract an increasing number of domestic and international tourists. Thus, the centre can incorporate aspects of sport tourism and other leisure related activities, traditional cuisine and drinks, indigenous theatre and art galleries and indigenous festivals and special events tourism. Also, the presentation of the traditional home states should be expanded to include the main cultural aspects that are found in traditional Kenyan home states. This will allow for holistic and accurate presentations of the unique and diverse Kenyan ethnic lifestyles.

References


Development of religious tourism in Africa: strategies for the 21st century

Roselyne Okech
Maseno University, Kenya

Introduction

Religion has been a powerful force, which has long caused people to travel to religious centres in many parts of the world. Travel to ancient cities of Palestine and Christendom, Mecca, Medina and Bangkok is not new. Pilgrimages by the Persian Shiites to their sacred death-place at Kadhimain in Iraq, by the Jews to Jerusalem and by Sunnis to Medina, have been described as tourism of the dead. Although tourists of Western Europe do not often travel for spiritual reasons to their aspired burial place, they are often motivated to travel because of religious affiliations or curiosity. The peak tourist periods in Jerusalem and Damascus during Easter and the time of the Passover are partly a result of the spiritual devotion of western Christians. Rome or, more specifically the Vatican, attracts Catholics from all parts of the world. The Cathedrals of England have become such popular tourist attractions that their very fabric is threatened by pressures from visitors.

Relationships between tourism and religion have changed from their traditional form. Holy places, such as Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina, have become tourist destinations for visitors lacking a strong spiritual motivation. Anti-western sentiment has increased in such places because of political factors and because locals and devout pilgrims find their living conditions and religious experiences have been marred because of frequent photography, the proliferation of signs and rowdy behaviour. Thus, conflict is arising between locals, the religiously devout tourist and the curious visitor. There is concern that Holy places are being developed for tourism and that it is distracting from the religious significance that has made them famous.

The Church has recently expressed concern over the growth of tourism because of the emergence of associated social, cultural and environmental problems. They have attempted to define the role of the Church in contributing towards a more adequate understanding of tourism. They saw their role as primarily an advisory one. They proposed the following:

- The education of the populace of host countries. This would include a reorientation of attitudes to enable hosts to fulfil their role in a positive and responsible manner;
- Churches of host countries should initiate pastoral relationships that would encourage visitors to share their anxieties and personal problems with a friendly and receptive host community;
- Ensuring that tourist experiences renew the human condition, promote the perception of things not customarily perceived, and thereby promote a spiritual rethinking.

What is religious tourism?

Religious tourism usually includes visiting places with religious significance, such as shrines, or attending events such as Saint's day festivals. However, it would be a mistake though one...
that is often made by tourism mainly in terms of Christian pilgrimages. Religious tourism undoubtedly existed long before Christianity. Devotion to a religion motivated trips by ancient peoples, including the Egyptians, Greeks and Jews. Travel for religious reasons existed in India and Asia, for example, before Christ was born. Many early religions, which motivated pilgrimages in ancient times, are now much less influential, such as the Fire Worshippers or Zoroatrians.

For one market segment, there is a strong link between religious and health tourism. These are the people who visit more modern shrines such as Lourdes in the hope that they will be cured of their diseases. Religious tourism in Europe is a good example of how infrastructure developed for one form of tourism can be used in the future for another type of tourism. The greatest Cathedrals that were built as symbols of, and places for, religious devotion and pilgrimages, are now often merely another sightseeing attraction for the package tourist. Events with great religious significance, such as processions parading the town's patron saints through the streets, become entertainment for tourists. Pilgrimage routes, such as Santiago de Compestella have become themed tours for ordinary non-religious tourists, while accommodation built to shelter pilgrims has become a trendy stopover for tired cyclists. However, this can only happen when the original fundamental purpose has largely become obsolete or of relatively minor significance.

In Africa as elsewhere in the developing world, governments have already accepted not only the importance of tourism but also have played the dominant role in the planning process. But few African countries have given careful consideration to the type of tourism they want, and to what extent their declared aims are realistic, and what needs to be done to achieve those aims.

Against this brief background, it is possible to identify a number of issues relating to the development of tourism in Africa. Addressing the issue areas is important, not least because the issues are crucial ingredients to maximize religious tourism's contribution to Africa's development.

Issues arising

Some of the key critical issues arising in the wake of religious tourism development in the 21st Century can be considered as follows:
- To assess the contribution of religious tourism in the African heritage and development plan.
- What are the effects of documentation in the development of religious tourism Africa?
- What are the impacts and outcomes of International tourism on religion and society in Africa?
- Analyse the response of African communities to international tourism with regard to religious tourism.
- To consider possible recommendations for alternative religious tourism strategies with applicability to African countries.

Visits to religious retreats

The pressures of everyday life and the search for new spiritual values appears to have stimulated the demand for trips to religious retreats in two main ways as follows:
Visits by non-believers or agnostics to conventional religious retreats, not only for religious enlightenment, but also for relaxation and spiritual enrichment. Examples of such retreats are Mount Athos in Greece that only admits men, for a limited period of time, and the Tiaze community near Cluny in the Burgundy region of France.

Visits to the homes of modern religious cults and sects, notably in the United Kingdom, the United States of America and Asia. In most retreats, life is simple and the comforts few. Personal, private, contemplation, is often the core of the experience. The "customer" is not paying for the services they receive but rather for peace and the space to think or meditate.

**Characteristics of religious tourism**

Religion mainly consists of five parts:

1) **Beliefs** - These are an essential part of any religion. They show the way people think about the universe and their attitude towards life itself. African religious beliefs are concerned with topics such as God, spirits, human life, magic, the hereafter, and so on.

2) **Practices, ceremonies and festivals** - This is also very essential to any religion. Religious practices show how people express their beliefs in practical terms. They include praying, making sacrifices and offerings, performing ceremonies and rituals, observing various customs, and so on. Festivals are normally joyful occasions when people sing, dance, eat and celebrate a particular occasion or event.

3) **Religious objects and places** - This part of religion covers the things and places which people have set apart as being holy or sacred. They are not commonly used except for a particular religious purpose. There are many religious objects and places. Some belong to private individuals and families, while others belong to the whole community in a given region. They include places like shrines, groves, sacred hills or mountains and objects like rivers, amulets, charms, masks, and many others.

4) **Values and Morals** - The ideas that safeguard or uphold the life of the people in their relationship with one another and the world around them. Values and morals cover topics like truth, justice, love, right and wrong, good and evil, beauty, decency, respect for people and property, the keeping of promises and agreements, praise and blame, crime and punishment, the rights and responsibilities of both the individual and his community, character, integrity, and so on. They help people to live with one another, to settle their differences, to maintain peace and harmony, to make use of their belongings, to have a relationship with their total environment.

5) **Religious officials or leaders** - These are the people who conduct religious matters such as ceremonies, sacrifices, formal prayers and divination. In many cases they are trained men and women. They know more about religious affairs than other people, and are respected by their community. They hold offices as priests, rainmakers, ritual elders, diviners, medicine men, and even as king and rulers. These officials may or may not be paid for their duties, but in most cases people give them presents and gifts to show their gratitude.
What is the African heritage?

Africa has a rich heritage that is divided into three main categories:

1. Historical
2. Cultural
3. Religious

Historical heritage
African history shows that a lot of activities have gone on in our continent for many thousands of years. These include migrations, calamities, wars, invasions, hunting, fishing, food-gathering, domestication of animals, farming, mining, metal work, and settlement in villages and cities. Great empires and kingdoms have arisen and gone, such as those of Ghana, Mali and Songhay in Western Africa, the kingdoms of the lower Congo (now Zaire), of the Zulu in Southern Africa, of Axum in Ethiopia and Nubia in the Sudan. We see some traces of these past glories of African empires and civilizations in the works of art and buildings which have for example the great pyramids of Egypt, which were built three or four thousand years ago.

Cultural heritage
Every people have a culture, and culture is changing all the time, whether slowly or rapidly. The word culture covers many things, as the way people live, behave and act, and their physical as well as their intellectual achievements. Culture shows itself in art and literature, dance, music and drama, in the styles of building houses and of the people's clothing, in social organization and political systems, in religion, ethics, morals and philosophy, in the customs and institutions of the people, in their values and laws, and in their economic life. Each African has its own cultural heritage. Stories, proverbs, riddles, myths and legends are found in large numbers among all African peoples. Music and dance are also found in the community. Arts and crafts including the making of the pots, baskets, tools, utensils, spears, shields, bows and arrows, masks and carvings are produced all over Africa.

Religious heritage
Religion is part of the cultural heritage, but we can consider it here separately. It is by far the richest part of the African heritage. Religion is found in all areas of human life. It has dominated the thinking of African peoples to such an extent that it has shaped their culture, social life, political organizations and economic activities. Because of its great importance in the life of Africans, religion should be developed and studied carefully and thoroughly. Much of the African heritage that has been exported to the outside world was cultural and religious. African music, for example, became very popular in the Arab countries in the seventh century A.D. (the time when Islam began). African music has influenced the evolution of popular music and dance in South and North America, and the famous "Negro Spirituals" of the United States of America are based on African musical heritage and religious feeling. African religion is part of the African heritage. It is the product of the thinking and experiences of our forefathers and mother who formed religious ideas, beliefs, observed religious ceremonies and rituals, told proverbs and myths that carried religious meanings, and they evolved laws and customs that safeguarded the life of the individual and his community. African religion is found in the rituals, ceremonies, festivals, shrines, sacred places, religious objects, art, symbols, music, dance, proverbs, riddles, wise sayings, names of people, places, myths, legends, beliefs and customs.
What is the value of religion?

Religion and society
People find religion a necessary part of life, they are ready to spend their wealth on religion, are often ready to die for their religion, sacrifice the best they have for religion, are ready to fight for their religion, carry out religious duties freely, governments see the value of religion and public holidays are associated with religion.

Religion cultivates the whole person
People apply their religion to their social, emotional, economic, intellectual and spiritual life. They believe that religion is relevant in all these areas of their life.

Religion provides people with a view of the world
This is important, because understanding of the world affects the experience of life. It supplies them with answers to the questions that arise for all human beings. By giving people a way of interpreting the world, a way of understanding their own existence, religion has equipped us emotionally, intellectually and culturally to go through life and face its many experiences. It acts as a light and guide to people as they go through life and reflects upon it.

Religion answers some questions that nothing else can answer
Today science has become the main source of our knowledge of the physical universe. But for all its great contribution to human knowledge and learning, science has its own limitations. There are questions that it cannot answer. But most people in the world cannot understand philosophy or science, whereas almost everyone is able to follow or obtain something from religion. It is religion, therefore which tries to solve these profound questions for everyone.

Religion provides mankind with moral values by which to live
Part of any religious system is its moral values that regulate and harmonize human life. It is religion that tells us what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is evil, what is just and what is unjust, what is virtue and what is vice. No society can exist without morals. Religion enriches people’s morals, for the welfare of the individual and society at large.

Religion gives food to meet spiritual hunger
In many religions of the world, it is recognized that people have both physical and spiritual parts. It is only religion that nourishes the spiritual part of man. That does not mean that religion ignores the physical side. To feed the spiritual half of man, religion provides spiritual insights, prayers, rituals, ceremonies, sacrifices and offerings, dedication, devotion, trust in God, and other religious exercises. Through them men stretch out their spiritual parts towards the invisible world and the things of the spirit. The spiritual hunger for peace, joy, comfort, security, hope, love and so on, can only be satisfied by religion.

Religion has inspired great ideas
Great ideas have been passed throughout the centuries the answers to the problems that people faced. It has inspired the great ideas of our peoples concerning, for example, the moral life (courage, love, endurance, helpfulness, sense of kinship, and so on), cultural achievements (music, art, carving, dance and architecture), social organizations and institutions (such as the family, marriage, kinship, clans and age sets), political systems (such as the idea of divine rulers), and the building of the past civilization of our peoples.
Religion as a means of communication
Religion helps people to communicate in two directions. First, there is social communication. People meet together for a common purpose, for example to pray together, to perform a ritual together, to sacrifice together, and so on. They also meet indirectly through having common myths, legends, values, traditions, morals and views of the world. Because of religion they are able to understand one another, to communicate ideas and feelings and to act more or less as a social unit, even if there may be other differences. This can be thought of as the horizontal direction of religious communication. Secondly, there is the vertical communication between man and God, as well as between man and the spirit beings. It is religion that turns their life in that direction so that they can communicate with God and with the spirits.

Religion pays attention to key moments in the life of the individual
This is done through ritual and ceremony of the key moments in the life of the individual, particularly birth, initiation and puberty, marriage and death. This shows that religion recognizes the value of the individual, since it is the individuals who make up the community. It is also religion that reminds the individual, through these ceremonies, that at death his life will not terminate, and that someone will remain to remember him.

Religion celebrates life
Religion affirms life, and celebrates life through the number of rituals, festivals and ceremonies, which are carried out. This all adds up to the celebration of life. People know that they are alive. They want to celebrate the joy of living. They do not sit down meditating upon life. Instead, they put it into action: they dance, sing, ritualise, drum, shout, ceremonize and festivize life for the individual and for the community. But this does not mean that people must go wild in trying to get the most out of life. Life is well regulated to ensure that all the right to live and to join in the celebration of that life. In some religions of the world, there is the idea of salvation for which their followers must strive.

Religion shows people their limitations
Probably the greatest value of religion is to teach people to be humble because of their great limitations. It tells them that they are created, and that however much they may celebrate this life, it is short, temporary and flowing like a river. Religion teaches men to be dependent on their Creator. It puts men at the centre of the universe; it also shows them very clearly that they have their limitations. This is what drives them to their rituals, prayers, ceremonies and trust in God. Even the greatest achievement of man is limited, and does not last forever. Whether religion is right or wrong, it tells men to be humble in the sight of their Creator who is God, and to trust in God, religion is doing the best it can for men, by showing them both their origin and their destination.

Strategies for the new era
The following are suggestions that may well provide the basis for future planning:

- To offer professional management and marketing service for religious tourism facilities in Africa. There is a need for an appropriate marketing strategy for religious tourism. This would be achieved through printed literature such as brochures, the traditional tour guides, tariffs, tourist literature and prospectus. Professional management of all the religious sites and attractions should be implemented at the destinations visited.
- Development and promotion of innovative religious products in every part of Africa. Development includes inventing of new ideas and the promotion of the religious products including souvenirs, decorative art, paintings, carvings and crafts through advertisements, national and international music extravaganzas and religious shows.

- Organizations of events such conventions, conferences, seminars and exhibitions to be held at the attractions site and the destinations. These can play a major and significant role in Africa where people of all walks of life are brought together in love and unity for spiritual purposes. It can also be a thrilling idea to hold such functions at the famous tourist attractions like the Maasai Mara that in turn could be made into an annual event. Conventions and visitor bureaus could be established at strategic points.

- Presentation and preservation in a natural state of the main types of religious spots found in Africa depicting their aesthetic beauty and religious purposes. This can be done effectively by the rehabilitation and refurbishment of existing buildings and religious sites if necessary and care must be taken not to tamper with their intended original meaning.

- Provision of educational and religious appreciation opportunities for the present tourism professionals and the future generations. The basic requirements for effective education will be in terms of respect for self, others, for the environment, natural and cultural, for beauty and for truth. These helps the professionals to develop a basic self-awareness, attitude of empathy, curiosity towards diverse traditions, sense of wonder, interest in questions about the meaning and purpose of life; and a basic concern for wholeness.

- Promotion of interdependence between tourism and other religious activities pursued by the resident human population and the tourist. A specific segment of tourism has developed in Harlem, New York in the United States of America. European tourist especially Swedes and Germans flock to African-American churches on Sunday mornings. They are attracted by the unique African-American way of worship in which gospel singing in the tradition of Negro spirituals of a past generation plays a prominent role. The tourists pay a fee and also donate money to the churches. This allows the churches to make extra income for their development projects.

A key requirement for the success of development is that they should not only be relevant to specific country situations, but that “they must be designed, implemented, and owned by the African countries themselves”. And for this, African countries must possess the technical, analytical, management and institutional capacities.

Conclusion

Developing religious tourism as a tool of African development presumes that there is conscious choice and selection of tourism in order to yield defined optimal results. Throughout Africa, tourism has developed without much planning. In the few countries in which there is substantial tourism development, none had an initial blueprint on the type of tourism desired, growth rate control and even consent by local communities. This also suffers from lack of detailed data on length and location of visits, visitor expenditure patterns and related information. Lack of proper tourism planning leads to serious cultural problems and a deterioration of the tourism product. Goals and objectives should be set very clearly to work out whether the expectation of religious tourism as a tool of development is being met.
Development within the Intra-African communities should be enhanced so as to make the indigenous African be leisure minded. This creates the sense of desire to move out to the world and also experience the pilgrimages. An attempt should be made to include the local people in the planning and implementation of religious tourism in Africa. There is need to develop human resources, particularly indigenous personnel, both for reasons of delivering quality services for tourists, as well as enhancing general skills of the local workforce.

In the final analysis, it should be added that for tourism sector in Africa to respond to changing realities in the international tourism market scene, the strategic development of the industry is paramount. This requires co-operation from all concerned in the tourism industry; the national governments and indeed, the international community - to make it happen, provided there is political will.

References


Introduction

In pre-colonial Kenya, land use was a combination of pastoralism and subsistence agriculture (Cone and Lipscomb, 1972). This subsistence agricultural system was based on shifting cultivation, an extensive land use system with vast areas being under grazing. A large number of indigenous crops such as bananas, yams, sweet potatoes, millet, sugarcane and cassava were grown. With such a sustainable agricultural system food production was diverse, which made for a varied diet (Tengnas, 1994). Also available were forest foods of plant origin which included wild leaves, seeds and nuts, roots and tubers and mushrooms as well as insects and other wild animals.

Radical changes occurred after arrival of the white settlers and independence. The entire area of the fertile white highlands was reserved for white settlers and Africans became restricted to various tribal reserves. Indigenous agriculture was confined to insufficient area of relatively poor soils. With increase in population and scarcity of land, the practice of traditional shifting cultivation would not be practiced. Many exotic foods brought to Kenya by the settlers found their way into the small scale farming system. The spread of these foods has taken place at the expense of the indigenous ones.

Following these developments within the last 50 years in the majority of Kenyan communities, there have been changes in food habits and traditional diets being replaced by western oriented diets. Consequently many traditional foods and methods of food preparation for instance the use of three stones and earthenware pots are being abandoned. The sources of skills and knowledge are now looked down upon as inferior because they have no scientific backing and many are not even documented (Opole, 1989). The conflict here is that those foods and preparation methods involve time-tested skills, and have been developed over long periods of time.
Table 1: distribution of foods in the agro climatic zones

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<th>Sub Humid</th>
<th>Semi Humid</th>
<th>Semi Humid to Arid</th>
<th>Semi Arid</th>
<th>Arid</th>
<th>Very Arid</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kenya is home to approximately 42 ethnic communities, each with staple foods prepared and preserved using unique methods of cooking, as well as technology in production and preservation. However, many of these indigenous food processing technologies are in a rudimentary state because they are not infused with entrepreneurial spirit in marketing them and globalizing them to make them fit into the modern competitive lifestyle.

Food is an integral part of the culture and tradition of any community, however, tourism in Kenya has focused more on wild game, traditional dress and dance customs and cultural artefacts and much less on food. The aim of this paper therefore, is to highlight the role of indigenous Kenyan foods in the promotion of cultural tourism in Africa.

**Kenya’s ecological diversity**

Kenya has a wide selection of both indigenous and exotic foods. Normally, the agro-ecological zones would give an indication of what may be grown in a particular place. Kenya’s land area covers a very wide range of ecological zones. Based on moisture and temperature regimes (Jaetzold and Schmidt, 1982/83) divided the country into seven agro climatic zones: Humid, Sub humid, Semi humid, Semi humid to arid, Semi arid, Arid and very arid.

The moisture and temperature determine what can be grown in each of these zones. However socio economic factors such as population density, access to markets, level of education, infrastructure and support services, farming practices, culture, tradition and government policy also have an influence. Table 1 overleaf indicates the distribution of foods in the agro climatic zones as well as animal production and forest species available.

**The chemical composition of selected indigenous foods**

There is a close relationship between the diet of a community and the ecological zone where it is situated. Kenya is a country with a varied ecological environment, which is characterized by differences in agricultural potential and in patterns of food production and consumption. So far, very little analytical data exists on the consumption of some of the indigenous foodstuffs in Kenya. Table 2 below shows some of the indigenous foods, which are prepared and served in the tourist hotels in the country.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Foods</th>
<th>Scientific name</th>
<th>English name</th>
<th>Local/Swahili</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Pennisetum typhoides</td>
<td>Bulrushes</td>
<td>Mawele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sorghum vulgare</td>
<td>Sorghum</td>
<td>Mtama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eleusine coracona</td>
<td>Millet</td>
<td>Wimbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zea mays</td>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>Mahindi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vegetables</td>
<td>Amaranthus blintum</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mchicha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Basella alba</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Corchrous acutangulus</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Msaafa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Solanum nigrum</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mnavu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gynachropsis gynandro</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cucurbita maxima</td>
<td>Pumpkin leaves</td>
<td>Malenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vigna ungulata</td>
<td>Cowpea leaves</td>
<td>Kunde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td>Tamarindus indica</td>
<td>Tree tomato</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cyphomadra betaca</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mkwaaju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Passiflora edulis</td>
<td>Passion fruits</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persea Americanc</td>
<td>Avocado</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Annona senegalensis</td>
<td>Custard apple</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Psadium guaiava</td>
<td>Guava</td>
<td>Mapera</td>
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<td>Eriobotrya japonica</td>
<td>Loquat</td>
<td>Mzabibu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Carica papaya</td>
<td>Pawpaw</td>
<td>Paipa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Artocarpus heterophylus</td>
<td>Jackfruit</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M.serentia</td>
<td>Ordinary banana</td>
<td>Ndizi ya kupika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M.paradisiana</td>
<td>Sweet bananas</td>
<td>Ndizi tamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Macadamia tetraphylia</td>
<td>Macadamia nuts</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roots &amp; tubers</td>
<td>Maranta sp.</td>
<td>Arrowroots</td>
<td>Nduma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ipomea batata</td>
<td>Sweet potatoes</td>
<td>Viazi vitamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Manihot esculenta</td>
<td>Cassava</td>
<td>Mhogo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dioscorea spp.</td>
<td>Yams</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legumes &amp; nuts</td>
<td>Sesumums</td>
<td>Sesame seeds</td>
<td>Simsim</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Arachis hypongea</td>
<td>Groundnuts</td>
<td>Njugu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Voandzeia</td>
<td>Earch nut</td>
<td>Njugu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subterranea (L) Thou</td>
<td>Madagascar groundnut</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cocos musifera</td>
<td>Coconut</td>
<td>Mnazi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish</td>
<td>Rastrineobala argentea</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Dagaom/omena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Oreochroms niloticus</td>
<td>Tilapia</td>
<td>Ngege</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Protopterus</td>
<td>Mudfish</td>
<td>Kamongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lates nibiricus</td>
<td>Nile perch</td>
<td>Mbuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Shark</td>
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<td>Foods</td>
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<td>English name</td>
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<td>Pigeons</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and game meat</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Quails</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>White ants (termites)</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Grasshoppers (locusts)</td>
<td>Nziige</td>
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<tr>
<td>Milk and milk pr.</td>
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<td>Mursik/mala</td>
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### Table 3: composition of selected foods

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<tr>
<th>Edible Portion</th>
<th>water</th>
<th>calories</th>
<th>Protein</th>
<th>Fat</th>
<th>Calcium</th>
<th>Iron</th>
<th>Vit A</th>
<th>Ribofl</th>
<th>Nicotinic acid</th>
<th>Ascorbic acid</th>
<th>Thiamine</th>
<th>Phosphorus</th>
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<td><em>Sweet potatoes</em></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kunde</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>590</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>58</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>0.04</td>
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<td>200</td>
<td>0.05</td>
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<td>43.5</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>3000</td>
<td>8.5</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Termites</td>
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<td>148</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rabbit meat</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Yams</em></td>
<td>67.2</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bananas</td>
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<td>95</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gooseberries</td>
<td>90.1</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Cabbage</em></td>
<td>90.1</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>385a</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>0.49</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>25</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>Raw</em></td>
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<td>153</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.35</td>
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<td>Cassava flour</td>
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<td>342</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cassava leaves</td>
<td>73.1</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>95.0</td>
<td>1372</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>66.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Irish potatoes</em></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>81.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beetroot</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mushrooms</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.031</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>64</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Key:**
- * For comparison purposes
- ? Not tested
- Tr. Trace elements
- a Average figures for the amount of carotene in green leaves.
From the table above, the nutrient content in some of the indigenous foods is high compared to the commonly prepared exotic foods in our tourist hotels. For example, cowpea leaves are rich in Kcalories, calcium, and iron compared to cabbage. Similarly, Amaranthus leaves are rich in calcium, vitamin A, ascorbic acid and phosphorus compared to cabbage. Guavas, which grow wild, are in vitamin C compared to other popular fruits such as oranges and mangoes. Compared to Irish potatoes, yams are rich in Kcalories, whole cassava is rich in calcium and can be made into cassava chips and served as a snack or the flour (available as tapioca flour) can be utilized in many other ways in the hotel industry. Sweet potatoes have a high vitamin A and caloric content as compared to Irish potatoes. Omena commonly found in Lake Victoria, contains a high amount of protein, fat, calcium, iron, and nicotinic acid compared to other foods with similar nutrients. Generally, there is evidence that a number of indigenous foods have a high nutrient content.

**Tourism in Kenya**

Tourism is an important sector in Kenya’s economy. The country continues to spearhead the development of tourism as a reliable source of foreign exchange, job creation and economic growth (Republic of Kenya, 1995). Kenya’s tourism depends largely on her natural resources such as wildlife and magnificent landscapes. Although tourism products will have to be diversified by using various resources in future, it is expected that the natural resources will remain a basic and most important resource. In addition to nature, culture and society in Kenya are also highly diverse because of her many ethnic groups. ‘High diversity’ is therefore considered a key word for tourism development (Republic of Kenya, 1995). In other words, the crucial point towards success in tourism development is to diversify through promoting various aspects of cultural heritage such as cultural dances, dress and foods and how to use the natural resources in a sustainable manner.

This section identifies the natural resources and climatology of the tourist zones, selects a few commonly grown indigenous foods within these zones and discusses ways by which these foods can be incorporated and promoted in the hotel industry.

**Kenya’s tourism regions and attractions**

Tourism regions in Kenya may be categorized as the Central, Masailand, Western, Northern and Turkana, the Tana Basin, the Eastern and the Coastal tourism regions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourism region</th>
<th>Natural resources/attractions</th>
<th>Climatology</th>
<th>Tourist hotels</th>
<th>Indigenous foods available</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Central tourism region</td>
<td>A good scenery of the Rift Valley with lakes dotted on the valley e.g., L. Nakuru. National parks include; L. Nakuru, Longonot, Hell’s gate, Aberdare and Laikipia.</td>
<td>Mainly highland and mountain area</td>
<td>Mt. Kenya Safari Club, Safariland, L. Nakuru lodge, Sarova Lion Hill, the Grand Regency, Norfolk, etc.</td>
<td>A wide variety of exotic foods. Different types of cereals, legumes, vegetables &amp; fruits. Some cereals, and vegetables. The Masai are nomadic pastoralists hence the diets consist of meat &amp; milk. A wide variety of indigenous foods e.g., quails, white ants, fish. Several varieties of exotic vegetables and fruits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Masailand tourism region</td>
<td>Bushland, grassland and shrubland. The Amboseli and Masai Mara are famous destinations. Masai traditional dances and handicrafts</td>
<td>Typically semi-arid.</td>
<td>Masai Mara, Amboseli lodge and Mara Serena lodge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Western tourism region</td>
<td>The L. Victoria is the main attraction, Kakamega and Nasolot National reserves and Mt. Elgon. Traditional dances and ceremonies.</td>
<td>Mainly highland</td>
<td>Imperial, Sunset and Golf hotels, and L. Baringo Country Club.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tana Basin tourism region</td>
<td>Natural resources/attractions The main attractions are the Kora and Meru national parks. Rahole, North Kitui and Tana river national reserves. Tana river provides opportunities for river safaris. Traditional Akamba dances.</td>
<td>Semi-arid and arid area.</td>
<td>Garden hotel and Sarova Shaba</td>
<td>Different varieties of legumes, nuts and vegetables. Honey.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Eastern tourism region</td>
<td>Tsavo national park is situated here; there’s rich wildlife and excellent bird watching facilities. Taita, Chyulu, Ngulia and ‘Sheitani’ mts. are also found here.</td>
<td>Semi-arid and arid area.</td>
<td>Kilaguni, Voi, Taita and Aruba Safari lodges</td>
<td>A large variety of indigenous cereals, legumes, fruits and vegetables.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Coastal tourism region</td>
<td>Beautiful coastal scenery, white coral sandy beaches, rich culture of the Swahili and the Miji-kenda people.</td>
<td>Warm and humid</td>
<td>Several hotels dotted all over the North and South coast; Diani Grand Reef, Whispering Palms, Mombasa beach, Oceanic, etc.</td>
<td>Several exotic and indigenous foods- cereals, nuts, vegetables, fruits, fish, sea foods etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Menu planning in the tourist hotels

Menu planning has been long recognized as one of the most important functions of food service managers. A recent review of food attitudes that are important to the menu planner should be assessed in order to avoid planning menus with less widely acceptable foods. Due to highly diverse, ethnic, cultural, religious, social and economic groups, a selective menu with several choices per meal component provides the greatest opportunity for meeting the needs of the various subgroups. Menu item familiarity and acceptability engender feelings of comfort and are soothing. Unfamiliar foods cause feelings of alienation (Eckstein, 1983).

According to (Kibii, 2000) in order to meet the needs and preferences of different diners, a wide array of dishes are planned from which the diners can make a choice. Besides, menu planners include two or three items, which are a favourite to the diners or use a method of preparation and cooking which is typical of the diners’ culture. For instance, lamb casserole, fish and chips and steak pies are a favourite of the British, with Irish stew a favourite for the Irish and seafood and burgers for the Americans.

A number of indigenous foods are prepared and served in most hotels in this country. For instance irio is made using boiled Irish potatoes, green maize, and peas, which are mashed with some oil and spices (Kibii, 2000). Mokimo is made using Irish potatoes, green grams, maize and pumpkin leaves all boiled together, seasoned and then mashed. Matoke a dish made by boiling raw green bananas, seasoning and mashing and githeri a mixture of boiled maize, beans and cabbage are also very popular. These form the main meals but may be served with accompanying meat and vegetable dishes. Arrowroots, sweet potatoes and cassava are boiled, salted and served as breakfast items.

Meat of all types are cooked in different ways so as to offer variety to the diners. It may be boiled, fried, roasted, stewed or grilled. One very popular meat dish is mutura, the African sausage. The ingredients used are, boiled minced meat, which is spiced then stuffed into the large intestine of a cow, some raw blood is poured over it, the ends are tied and it is boiled. It is then grilled shortly and served as part of a main meal or accompaniment for cocktails.

Fish is widely used in the tourist hotels. The commonly served kinds of fish are Tilapia and Nile perch. These may be stewed as fish in coconut or fish in groundnut sauce, fried as fish fillets or served whole. Tourist hotels particularly in the coastal tourism region serve seafood.

Several kinds of indigenous vegetables are cooked and served in hotels for instance mchicha (amaranthus blintum), cowpeas (vigna unguiculata), pumpkin (lagenaria vulgaris), saga (gynadrapsis) and mrenda (corchorus acutangulus). Mushrooms are served incorporated into vegetables, meat and chicken dishes. Nuts are commonly used to enhance flavour of foods. For instance, groundnuts may be served as a snack or pounded and used to make groundnut sauce. Cashew nuts are normally served as a snack or used in the preparation of chicken oriental.

All these indigenous foods are prepared and served in most tourist hotels. Though the main ingredients are the indigenous foods, additional ingredients and methods of preparation and service make them more appealing to the guests thereby losing their traditional authenticity. For instance mokimo and irio are over mashed, matoke is whipped, fish is skinned, flaked or filleted, chicken may be deboned. Consequently, the colour, taste and texture are compromised. In addition the methods of presentation or service involve the use of platters,
casserole dishes, pie dishes, punch bowls, foil paper etc that totally distort the cultural identity of these foods.

Suggestions on improvement will include: incorporation of traditional equipment for service, introducing new types of indigenous foods and improving the interior décor to reflect aspects of the African culture.

**Specific recommendations**

Boiled starches such as sweet potatoes, arrowroots and cassava can be served in lined woven baskets. Cereals grains such as sorghum and millet, ground into flour would be cooked as ugali or used to prepare fermented porridge served as a breakfast cereal preferably in calabashes.

Grilling meat over open fire is a popular traditional method of cooking meat. This is because the fat is burnt away leaving the protein, which is cholesterol free (Sasse, 1992). Additionally, the heat seals in all the meat juices therefore improving the flavor (Ndungi, 1982). Mode of service would be on wooden platters or wooden skewers as is the case of kebabs.

Fish in particular Tilapia is preferably served whole in shallow clay pots. Preparation and service of omena or whitebait should be encouraged. Milk is common in most communities and so yoghurt-like milk products can be cultured in a special way and served as mursik. It may be served as a dessert, preferably in gourds. Raw blood from a cow can be added to mutura or minced meat or sausage meat to improve its colour and nutritive value.

Other traditional dishes, which may be introduced, are:

- Quails and pigeons are a delicacy in the Western part of the country. These birds are first roasted then stewed in a small amount of liquid to which traditional salt has been added then served as the main part of a meal preferably in shallow pots.
- White ants are first trapped as termites and kept in a covered container sprinkled with salty water they are then dried in the sun or on a hot dry pan and served as a snack or mixed with other dishes.
- ‘Matumbo’ or offal’s: These are rich due to a high nutrient content. They are first boiled until they are tender then grilled over open fire, or stewed and served as part of the main meal or an accompaniment for alcoholic drinks. Beef tongue can be marinated, spiced and roasted and forms a perfect snack item or part of the main protein dish (Ndungi, 1982).
- Variety in soup preparations may be introduced by boiling cow or goat’s head in water for a sufficient amount of time to extract flavour. This liquid can be served as soup or broth. A similar preparation can be made from the tail and hooves of animals (Ndungi, 1982).

In order to fully promote aspects of a specific culture, in any eating situation, there is need to display certain of the culture into the interior décor. For instance, *lesos of khangas* can be neatly arranged on the walls, banana plants planted into vases or clay pots. The waiters would dress in traditional attire including the traditional sandals (akala). Entertainment would include traditional dances from any community, listening to African music, folk tales and/or watching videotapes, which depict aspects of culture among Kenyan communities.
General recommendations

- Tourists may have different perceptions of places they have not visited before. They may experience great cultural shock when coming from a predominantly western culture to a totally different culture and environment. There is therefore need to demystify these wrong perceptions through tourist information centres in each region in the country and also through the Internet.

- The government through the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife needs to invest in the infrastructure within the tourist regions. In so doing, the communities around these regions could benefit from the tourist attractions. Consequently, these communities could be involved in activities, which can boost tourism – hence sustaining the industry.

- Most tourist advertisements on Kenya in the western media, mainly focus on the ‘Big Five’ i.e., the elephant, rhino, lion, buffalo and giraffe (Akama, 1995). Attention should shift towards advertising the cultural aspects of tourism i.e., cultural dances, foods and architecture, dress etc.

- As part of the training of chefs in institutions like the Kenya Utalii, Universities and courses should be included in the curriculum, which address traditional Kenyan cooking and preparation methods. In addition demonstrations could be carried out on the use of traditional cooking such as 3-stone cooker.

- In the tourist hotels, sections should be created which address the cultural housing, foods etc, of the ethnic community found within the region.

- There is need for the Universities and industry to develop the traditional alcoholic drinks like busaa, muratina etc, to be safe and acceptable e.g., and busaa could be pasteurised to improve the keeping qualities.

Conclusion

This paper has illustrated that Kenyan society has a rich heritage of ethnic foods and food preparation techniques which are not made use of in the hotel industry, and that there is a need to exploit this cultural tradition and market it so as to benefit the competitive hotel industry.

References


Catering to young visitors

Susan Bosire
Moi University
Kenya.

Introduction

Children are an important market segment in the tourism industry. They increase the number of visitors to tourist attractions, spend money on consumables and are a strong, sometimes major influence on their parent’s choice of venue (Parkin, 1987). Recently, there has been a growing recognition of the important role that children play in the family choice of tourist destination at certain stages in the family cycle. Unfortunately the role assigned to children as either tourists or visitors has been a passive one.

Ryan (1992) identified children as important from the viewpoint of their actual numbers and their role as a determining factor that accounts for the visitors’ satisfaction. He noted that satisfying the child generates a satisfactory experience for the adult. In their study, Thornton, Shaw and Williams (1997), children were found to influence the behaviour of tourist parties either through their physical needs (e.g., arrangement of meal times, need for sleep) or through their ability to negotiate with parents. They also pointed out that the satisfaction of children is highly rated by parents. Clearly, catering to the needs of the young visitors satisfactorily is a definite way of improving visitor numbers and ensuring repeat visits.

Children and tourism

Children recognize differences. The world is clearly divided in children’s minds, they make clear distinctions between countries that make good holiday destinations and those that do not. The basis of this discrimination lies in the similarity and familiarity of the country to their own. It has nothing to do with distance, but all to do with culture. Their picture of the world made up of different cultures and different habits is abetted by their personal experiences on holiday (Cullingford 1995).

Children are a strong, if relatively manipulated influence on tourist behaviour. Children can be influenced and can make their influence be felt by their parents. It is important to remember that the children are potentially a very powerful source of decision making and as future decision-makers, they will be strongly influenced by their experiences at a number of levels. The fact that in the past little attention has been paid to extending marketing of overseas holidays towards children should not be ignored.

Currently there is an urgent need to revamp the Kenyan tourism industry. The total visitor arrivals dropped significantly by 10.6% in 1998 with visitors on holiday dropping by 14.6%. For the first time the number of arriving visitors on transit surpassed that of visitors who came on business. Despite the fact that Europe continued to be the major source of tourists, the number of bed nights occupied by residents of Europe fell sharply by 54.9% (C.B.S., 1999). Various reasons were cited for this slump in the industry and some strategies laid out to reverse the situation, but the visitor numbers have not increased as was expected.
What reasons can be given for this scenario? In the recent years there has been growing interest in ensuring that places offer unique, desirable and satisfying products in order to attract and retain tourists (Bramwell, 1998). He argues that if users have poor quality experiences of a place’s product they may be less loyal to that location ahead of others. The quality of experiences is greatly influenced by the quality of the place products.

Therefore, product development may be a way out for Kenya. Smith (1994), identified product development as a prerequisite for satisfying tourists’ changing demands and ensuring the long-term profitability of the industry. He advised that tourism products should meet market place demands, be produced cost efficiently and be based on the wise use of the cultural and natural resources of the destination. Based on this, I strongly believe that the development of a distinct high quality Kenyan cuisine that is both appealing and satisfying to young visitors can be a good strategy to revamp the country’s tourism industry in the new millennium

**Food and culture**

Culture is complex being the sum total of a group’s learned, shared behaviour, unique in that it is shared through time. Culture is a group phenomenon that is transmitted from one generation to the next. Culture is learned, for example, food habits are acquired early in life and once established are long lasting and resistant to change.

Food is an integral part of culture. It is a cultural product. Food is one of the basic mediums through which adult attitudes and sentiments are communicated to the child (Fieldhouse, 1992). The value system of a culture shapes the way in which foods are used. People communicate who they who they are through their uses of food (Jerome, 1969). Food usages are signposts to understanding different cultures. Therefore, it is imperative to consider the promotion of exotic cuisine in the development and promotion of cultural tourism.

**Research methodology**

To find out the special arrangements made for young visitors and the extent to which traditional foods are incorporated in the menus featured in tourist hotels, interviews with food and beverage managers were conducted. To find out the attitudes and responses of the young visitors to the Kenyan cuisine, questionnaires were distributed to the rooms with visitors aged between 6 and 12 years. The rooms were selected by simple random sampling.

The study approach was descriptive in design. Descriptive studies are designed to obtain information concerning the current status of phenomena. They are directed towards determining the nature of a situation, as it exists at the time of the study. Their aim is to describe “What exists” with respect to variables or conditions in a situation.
Findings

Visitor responses

One hundred and twenty usable responses were obtained from the visitors and analysed. The respondents were between six and twelve years old, distributed in the following order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6 – 7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 – 9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 – 11</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12+</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The purpose for visit to Kenya was varied; 75% of the respondents were in Kenya for holiday, 12% had accompanied parents on business trips, 5% had migrated to Kenya, 4% were on transit and 4% were not clear on the purpose of their visits.

The frequency with which the respondents had their meals in the hotels they were booked in indicated that lunch was not eaten as regularly as breakfast and dinner. The majority of the respondents reported that the choice of restaurant is made solely by their parents (56%), 34% made restaurant choices in consultation with parents and 10% indicated they make the choice independently.

Of those that consult the waiters before placing an order, the information sought, was largely on the time the order took 77%. 43% inquired on price/cost of the menu items, 13.3% sought to know the methods of preparation of the food, 33% sought to know the ingredients used, while 7% sought to know the sources of the ingredients/foods used in the preparation.

Consumer practices in restaurants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Practice</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Consult the waiter before placing an order</td>
<td>Seldom or never</td>
<td>Once in a while</td>
<td>Always</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Request for nutrition information</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Select exotic Kenyan dishes</td>
<td>89%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Select fast foods</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Inquire on the pricing</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The visitors that select exotic Kenyan cuisine

Percentage of all visitors giving a rating of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Food quality aspect</th>
<th>Poor or Very Poor</th>
<th>Average</th>
<th>Good or Very Good</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colour</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taste</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texture</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority of the children that had eaten Kenyan food did so in the hotels they were booked in (72%), 12% had requested to go out to a restaurant specifically because it served Kenyan food, for example, the Carnivore Restaurant or the “nyama choma” restaurants in town. Those that never selected Kenyan foods were mainly those that had most of their meals out of the hotels they were booked in.

Ninety eight percent of the respondents order fast food in the restaurants. The reasons given for the selection of fast food such as fries and burgers varied as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saves time</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economical</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easy to eat/less fuss</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tastes good</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Better Hygiene</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiarity</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Management responses

The special arrangements made for children by the hotels varied. Most of them have special entertainment programs for the children which include; face painting (30%); comedy (10%); sport events like swimming, pool, table tennis and having animators during meals (60%). Only 45% of the hotels visited had special menus for children.
The types of menus used in the restaurants of the hotels visited varied as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Menu Type</th>
<th>% of Restaurants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Static</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cycle</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full Choice</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limited Choice</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Choice</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These percentages do not total to 100% as some restaurants gave multiple responses.*

The choice determines the freedom of choice that a consumer may have. With the full choice menus there are many meal alternatives to choose from unlike in the no-choice menu where the food items are grouped into courses and alternative meals that can be chosen are not included as may be in limited choice menu types.

62% of the hotel respondents were found to seldom or never introduce new products or food in their restaurants while 38% did so once in a while mainly as ‘chef’s specials’. This was based on the rules that govern menu type selection, which include:

- Company standards or regulations.
- Type of clientele targeted.
- Market availability of foods.

At the same time I found out that menu planning in the restaurants was done by individual effort (60%), team effort (30%) and company management (10%). In this case, individual effort was described as involving the executive chef only; team effort involved the executive chef, food and beverage manager and chef de partie. Company management was involved in menu planning in franchises; that strive to maintain the same standards in all branches.

Most establishments reported requests for special foods from guests. 55% had these requests 1 – 2 times a week and 35% did so daily, while 10% never got these requests. The ‘special’ foods that were requested were mainly by mothers for their young children. The requests also included requests for traditional dishes as accompaniments to meals, mainly by local patrons.

This clearly indicates that the initiative to vary meals to suit young visitors is left to the parents. The requests may or may not be met depending on the availability of the ingredients. This calls for more sensitivity when planning menus to include varied items for children besides having the typical burgers and fries or fish and chips.

I also noted that information on local foods is limited to labels at buffet tables and what the waiter will mention; which in most cases will be the name or group of the food. If we are to create interest in our exotic foods, then a lot more needs to go into informing our visitors about the food. For instance a description of the ingredients, their qualities, nutritive value, source and various uses could be on the menu, as is common in some specialty restaurants. This would give one a sense of confidence and a desire to try new foods.
Conclusion

Culture involves change and it is true that whilst food habits are often inculcated early in life and are on the whole stable and long lasting, they are never-the-less subject to change. Such change may be a consequence of changes in the physical or social environment. I believe advertising of food products may have a considerable impact on food requests by children and on the purchasing behaviour of adults. Indeed Abrahamson (1979) suggested that in industrialized countries new food habits are developed based on food marketing strategies rather than on rational experience or traditional practices.

Therefore, it will be very beneficial to market Kenyan cuisine to the world. Presently the hospitality industry is not focusing on advertising Kenyan food. The Kenyan food that is advertised to the world is based on the “nyama choma” and beer, culture. We need to develop and market a unique Kenyan food that strongly appeals to children; because children have an impact on the restaurant industry as they influence where to eat. Truly, if food usages are signposts to understanding different cultures, how well is our culture communicated in the hospitality industry?

References


Cultural tourism in Africa: strategies for the new millennium

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Section 4: potential strategies
Interpreting cultural heritage: the challenge for African initiatives

Dr Patricia Sterry
University of Salford
United Kingdom

Introduction

The Atlas Africa 2000 conference was convened to identify new opportunities to facilitate an accelerated growth in culture-based tourism in Africa. Africa has a unique heritage that defines the spirit of its people, its community, its landscape and its distinct cultural identity. Such heritage assets could clearly provide the foundation for new tourism development beyond its present narrow focus, and with careful planning form the basis for economic regeneration.

The demands of such dynamic growth in tourism destinations and the search for competitive advantage in a developing tourism market will conflict. The unsophisticated lifestyle of traditional rural peoples will need to be carefully balanced against tourist intrusion. Cultural heritage may well be seen by some commercial sectors as a strategy to conjure with and manipulate, without the sensitivity needed to conserve, protect and sustain for future generations. The challenge is to capture the uniqueness that is Africa and present it as a properly managed resource. Indeed the challenge for tourism planners is to take a holistic view of the cultural heritage infrastructure with projects that include a framework of decision making of the highest order.

In recent years in Western countries, there has been an extraordinary interest in all forms of cultural heritage (Middleton, 1996), so much so that it is now recognised that heritage assets and tourism are increasingly the basis for economic prosperity (Fladmark, 1994). Heritage Centres are just one type of successful cultural tourism attraction in the UK. They present heritage within a local dimension and in many instances have played an effective role in gaining economic prosperity for local communities in the UK. Importantly, the creation of Heritage Centres across the UK has preserved, conserved and sustained a rich diversity of local culture, artefacts, buildings and historic sites that might otherwise have been lost.

In Africa such initiatives are not particularly developed. This paper focuses on the UK model of a Heritage Centre as it may well be directly relevant to use in Africa, particularly in the development of culture-based tourism. The paper describes UK Heritage Centres and sets out guidelines and a range of interpretive media that might be employed in an African initiative. It also touches on examples of native American initiatives and highlights interpretation as a key factor that drives successful cultural heritage attractions. Interpretation conveys the narrative of meaning and understanding of cultural heritage and provides a synergy between what is often a commercial activity on the one hand and a special bond between people and place, and between community and culture on the other. Deciding which heritage asset to promote and which interpretative media to use is a crucial first step in promoting Africa’s unique identity.
Interpretation

Interpretation is a powerful and effective component in the tourism planner’s tool kit. It has proved a key element in the success of new cultural heritage attractions and crucial not only to visitor understanding of cultural artefacts and sites but to those whose culture is represented. At its best, interpretation aids understanding of the value of cultural heritage in all its manifestations. However, often interpretation is a poorly managed resource with schemes that manipulate the product to suit the commercial activity.

No paper on interpretation would be complete without providing an understanding of what is meant by interpretation and a consideration of the pioneering work of Freeman Tilden. The roots of interpretation are usually traced back to Freeman Tilden whose seminal book ‘Interpreting Our Heritage’ set out guidelines in 1957 for the practice of interpretation in American National Parks (Tilden, 1957). Tilden argued that it was fruitless to resort to a dictionary for a competent definition of the word interpretation because of its complexity. He defined six basic principles of interpretation, which are much quoted and still valued today.

Tilden’s recognition of interpretation as essentially ‘to reveal meaning and relationships’ is embedded in our consciousness of good practice today. His chief aim was to establish interpretation as more than a didactic exercise, so that ‘information as such is not interpretation’ but ‘revelation based on information’ and ‘provocation not instruction’. Tilden recognised that ‘interpretation forges emotional and intellectual connections between the interests of the audience and the inherent meaning of the resource’ and that interpretation ‘should relate to something within the personality or experience of the visitor’ so that interpretation becomes a two way process (Tilden, 1957).

Interpretation must, of course, be adapted to suit the needs and objectives of the cultural site. Of central concern to interpreters must be the significance and uniqueness of place (Uzzel, 1989). Uzzel also argues that it is important to understand political implications, to consider:

> Who has control over cultural sites and whose interpretation of the past and present is to be conveyed so that sites are not themed or altered either for interpretive effect or propaganda purposes to support particular ideological or political positions.

Interpreters should also be sensitive to native cultures and value systems that are different. Davis (1989) discusses, for example, how native American Indians have expressed offence at the display of bones from prehistoric human.

Interpretation is a complex activity and new initiatives for cultural attractions should not be influenced by a need to merely tell the story of the past. Laenen concluded that it would be a mistake merely to copy the past as ‘the past is not important in itself’ and that:

> Not everything from our past is worth reintegrating into present-day society, and only the cultural values that are significant and have a constructive function for society should be considered. (Laenen, 1989)

Consequently it is not merely a matter of ‘rummaging in the interpretive toy cupboard’ (Uzzel, 1996) to find a solution for a new tourism attraction.
The heritage centre model

Heritage Centres have been extremely successful tourist attractions in the UK and they may well prove to be a successful example for new initiatives in Africa. The closest example in Africa is that of cultural manyattas. Heritage Centres have been developed throughout the UK in response to different demands, not only the need for more cultural tourism destinations but also for the need to protect, conserve and regenerate particular culturally important local heritage sites and buildings.

There is no single representation and most Heritage Centres accommodate a variety of functions interpreting heritage and cultural assets with a local rather than a national dimension. It is this sense of the ordinary and the local that has been a major factor in the success of Heritage Centres. Displays communicate an aspect of local history often using redundant artefacts and themed reconstruction. Themes are developed according to the intended function of the centre, and the funding available at the outset. Most are low budget enterprises but may well combine creative and innovative displays.

Although most Heritage Centres in the UK are developed as commercial enterprises reflecting the changing economic, cultural and political demand patterns of society, some are quite small and run by volunteers. The extraordinary richness of historical material available for interpretation underpins their evolutionary journey as they attract visitors from across the social spectrum. Family groups, in particular, enjoy memories and reminiscences as ordinary objects on display stimulate a powerful response, which they share with other members of the family group (Sterry, 1996).

Heritage Centres are not museums although they may well function as museums with a collection of artefacts supporting the interpretive theme. Heritage Centres reflect a more commercially minded approach and are not considered elitist. They are people friendly, more entertaining rather than educational and appeal to a wider audience.

In many examples a redundant old building has been chosen to house new interpretive displays. Usually these buildings are of no major architectural importance. Examples in the UK include old warehouses, churches, a coaching inn or old houses. Visitors enjoy this link with the past and gain a glimpse of local history or culture via themed interpretive exhibitions. Some Heritage Centres with larger budgets have been commissioned as new buildings and benefit from the input of designers. Such designed projects often include the latest technology and live interpretation. Some Heritage Centres also become the focus for community arts and crafts projects, local craft displays and workshops. Thus they often act as community centres and, therefore, have multi-purpose, multi-functional roles (Sterry, 1996).

Examples of some of the many Heritage Centre attractions found throughout the UK are listed under web-site address in the reference section. Each example is a response to a unique set of aims and objectives. The intention is to provide an insight into successful initiatives at local and community level that may well benefit African tourism planning. Interpretation can define a unique local heritage asset highlighting its particular strengths and features. Such strategies might easily be translated to the development of authentic culture based tourism in Africa. Examples in the UK include The National Fishing Heritage Centre, Grimsby, Pendle Heritage Centre, Barrowford, ‘The Way We Were’ Heritage Centre, Wigan.
There are many more examples throughout the UK, from very simple heritage centres run by volunteers with free entry, to large interactive designed environments with themed experiences. What is clear though is that there are distinct advantages in using this model. The following are just some of the benefits a Heritage Centre can provide:

For visitors
- A unique and distinct environment for cultural tourism destinations
- A better understanding of place demystifying negative images
- An enjoyable, entertaining, informative visit

For planners
- Interpretation opportunities for economic development
- Resource management to include sustainable futures

For local people
- A sense of place in the wider community
- A strengthening of local identity and pride
- A multi-functional community centre

Multi-functional role

Heritage Centres specifically interpret cultural heritage assets drawn from the local community using a wide variety of media. They have the ability to take on a range of functions such as local Museum, Community Centre, Tourist Information Centre, Environmental Interpretation Centre, and Urban Studies Centre. Some of the Heritage Centres are referred to as Visitor Centres. Visitor Centres, however, have a more specific role as they provide a point of reference for information about a particular cultural site, (which may well be a park or heritage trail), and offer orientation and some interpretative media, usually two-dimensional graphic panels. There are strategies and guidelines for the development of visitor centres and these can be found in Atkinson 1996, Moth 1996, Barrow 1996, Bath 1996.

Training interpreters in best practice

Good training in interpretation practice is crucial if Africa is to enjoy successful development of Heritage Centres. It is important that new initiatives in Africa develop a training strategy, and plan and identify training needs at the outset. Training should also include evaluation of visitors and of exhibits as such data is an important element of future planning and decision-making.

The following section details guidelines for interpretive planning which may well be of benefit for those considering Heritage Centres as a possible tourism initiative in Africa.

Interpretive planning

Good interpretive planning is a combination of economic, cultural, political, and social considerations. Professional management of cultural sites and sustainable tourism are inextricably linked with completed schemes. Good interpretation has a number of advantages not least of which is increasing the visitors’ understanding of the need for conservation (Croft, 1996). Interpretive themes have proved to be effective and provide the design for multi-
layered attractions with distinct environments and opportunities for development that include sites of cultural significance, museums, monuments and artefacts.


This paper proposes the following guidelines as a model and useful starting point for effective interpretive planning.

**Guidelines for effective interpretive planning**

- Identify the resource/site/limitations of site.
- Consider your audience and market. It is worthwhile also to consider how demand might change in the years ahead.
- Identify your main aims and objectives
- Consider an audit of the full range of possible projects/ perhaps conduct a feasibility study?
- Identify suitable space/ consider building needs/ can you use the existing building or do you need to consider a new building?
- Identify the content, what is to be on display, the message you aim to convey
- Consult with local community/interested parties/professionals in the field; get as much advice as possible
- Consider issues of conservation/sustainability/perhaps there might be a collection of artefacts that need special care and protection/perhaps the site is of historic importance and access issues need to be discussed.
- Formulate a financial plan
- Budget permitting consulting a designer, professional interpreter
- Plan theme/story, do you want it to be innovative or traditional?
- Plan the most effective media to use. Consider the nature and quality of the various methods of interpretation and, also the potential of new technology to enhance visitor experience.
- Draw up a clear interpretive plan/design brief
- Include evaluation, both front-end and formative evaluation
- Build in good future management and marketing strategies

The process of interpretive planning embraces a number of professional disciplines and an inter-disciplinary approach might often be the way forward. Thus, it is unlikely that planning can be done on a shoestring budget or without due consideration of all parties concerned.

The following section considers the range of interpretive media that might be utilised.

**Interpretive media**

Identifying the most appropriate resource, theme and the media to be used in providing interpretation should be a carefully considered plan. Quality interpretation should be the guiding principle and it is better to propose a simple plan reflecting the aims of the project, especially if there is a low cost implication. Existing buildings, for instance, can be re-used. For large projects with no financial restraints a designer would create the most effective and innovative methods of interpretation. There is a wide range of interpretive media that can be
either low cost or high-tech. The following represents some of the most common methods advocated by most interpretive planning practitioners:

**Interpretation for an audience**
- Memory and Story telling
- Illustrated talks
- Workshops/demonstrations
- Guided trails
- Live interpretation/actors
- Audience participation

**Interpretation methods for designers**
- Exhibitions
- Graphic panels
- Audio guides
- Audio visual
- Reconstructions, dioramas, sets, animated figures (animatronics)
- Interactive computers
- Sounds/smells
- Rides
- Multimedia

**Interpretation for educational purposes**
- Linked to School educational needs
- In-house education programmes
- Workshops

**Conclusion**

This paper has provided an insight into interpretive planning, the range of media available and the advantages of good practice. The UK Heritage Centres model described is just one example that may well translate for African cultural tourism initiatives. However, interpretative strategies by themselves are meaningless and do not offer a universal solution to new developments. There needs to be a relationship between the interests and aspirations of all interested parties but the most important first consideration is audience. New cultural attractions will have a number of audiences mostly tourists from outside the area, but consideration must also be given to local people.

It is important therefore not only to understand your external visitor market whose expectations are widened by travel and television but also and importantly new cultural attractions should respond to the needs and interests of local people and not simply exploit them. The involvement of the local community is crucial in helping explore themes of common interest reflecting present need and chronicling cultural experience authentically and appropriately. It is important not to take a ‘top-down approach, which merely uses local colour to expand the coffers of a tourism promoter’ (Williamson, 1995).

Native and ethnic groups in the United States have developed projects along the same lines as the UK Heritage Centres and present their culture to tourists (Williamson, 1995). Anyan et al (2000) describe successful heritage management by various American Indians in the USA with examples such as how the Gila River Indian Community set up a successful Hohokam
Heritage Centre as a repository for Hohokam artefacts and as an educational unit. The White Mountain Apache Tribe’s Heritage Programme is planning to integrate cultural and linguistic education, repatriation, museum and archive development, heritage tourism and historic preservation. In this way such community groups are able to retain control over the way their culture is presented and preserved. Heritage is often presented via artefacts, memory and storytelling. Community arts and crafts not only preserve cultural practice but also encourage new creativity out of old traditions. Groups are able to market their distinctive cultural qualities and thus aid economic development driven by their needs (Williamson, 1995). Sri Lanka also, for example, has begun to address the need to manage its cultural heritage sites as a catalyst for urban development and local economic activities (Chandrasekara, 2000).

Africa must decide the type/s of cultural heritage product it needs and develop a framework that is supported by all interested parties. There should be collaboration with a wide spectrum of professional disciplines, local people and organisations. Children should also contribute to the planning process (Sterry, 2000). It is their legacy for the future. Quality and sustainability should be common themes and a balance drawn between all the different needs and demands. Thus inter-related elements including interpretation will form the basis of a dynamic way forward for the economic and social benefit of a region rather than neglect of cultural assets and public apathy.

References


Heritage Centres Websites:

These are a selection from the many examples available:

Wigan Pier Heritage Centre
http://www.wiganmbc.gov.uk/pub/leis/info/tourism/attractions/wiganpier.htm

National Fishing Heritage Centre, Grimsby, UK
http://welcome.to/NFHCentre

Pendle Heritage Centre, UK
http://www.lancashire-online.co.uk/auto/museum/Pendle

Nenthead Mining Heritage Centre, UK
http://www.visitcumbria.com

Jorvik Viking Centre, UK
http://www.jorvik_viking_centre.co.uk

New Mills Heritage Centre, UK
http://www.newmills.org.uk

King Arthur’s Labyrinth Heritage Centre, Wales, UK
http://www.enjoybritain.co.uk/counties/Powys/King_Arthur231
A comparison of tourism potential and tourism achievement of protected areas in Kenya

Moses Okello
Centre for Wildlife Management Studies
Dr Bob Wishitemi
A. Muusya Mwinzi
Moi University
Kenya

Introduction

The tourism industry has been the main rationale for conservation in Kenya. Most of the country’s tourism is based on nature attractions (Sindiga 1995, Akama 1996). As such, it has become a leading foreign exchange earner for Kenya (Kenya 1979, 1989 and 1994). It is only about the last ten years that this industry has almost collapsed following the destruction of the country’s infrastructure by El Nino rains, general rising insecurity is some parts of the country, economic decline and political uncertainty. The government of Kenya and every stakeholder in the tourism industry (including Kenya Wildlife Service) is trying to address what they perceive are reasons for the decline. However, but they do so without analysing comprehensively all the factors that influence tourism, recognizing if the attractions need to be diversified, isolating key factors influencing tourism, prioritising all the internal destinations so that they do not spend time money or manpower in areas which have no meaningful tourism potential.

There are protected areas in Kenya that have achieved and or exceeded their tourism potential, there are those whose tourism level is below their potential and there are also some who have no meaningful tourism potential. A study of this nature has never been done and needs to be evaluated for each park to focus effort and bridge the gap between realized and potential tourism in Kenya.

Conservation areas contain numerous number and diversity of wildlife and scenery. Most tourists come for big game hunting, collecting of trophies, sport – fishing and generally experiencing the wild animals in habitats preserved in near-natural state (Sindiga 1995). Other attractions have been shooting or wildlife film documentaries, which attract a lot of interest abroad. Apart from wildlife-based tourism, Kenya provides warm ocean beaches, cultural diversity and a range of physical features, which have great potential to attract tourists. Beach tourism draws most of its clientele from Western Europe, mainly Germany, Italy and Switzerland, but it is not known how much a mix of the sunny beach based attractions have with wildlife-based attractions on the Kenyan mainland.

Tourism as an industry is very fragile (Rogalsky 1980). Kenya’s unique and rich bio-diversity from the coast to the highlands, mountains, rift valley and the savanna boast some of the most spectacular conservation areas in the world. If tourism is going to succeed in Kenya, we need to re-examine where the problem is in achieving and maintaining our great potential to attract international tourism.

Kenya needs to assess the correct attraction (large diversity of plain mammals, the “big five”, large, often photographed mammals, physical features, coastal beaches or cultural
attractions), quality facilities and services (accommodation facilities, communication services, access to conservation areas), and a safe environment for tourists (low crime, low health risks). You do not want to market a wrong product or keep marketing when in fact the problem is facilities, services or safety for tourists. It is also futile to continue marketing a product in a location where there is no meaningful chance of international tourism. Effort must be focussed to target factors that will enhance tourism rather than spending colossal sums of money and time that does not bridge the gap between realized and potential tourism.

Local tourism can be a very useful cushion for a fluctuating tourism industry. Therefore, local tourism needs to be developed by understanding and actively addressing hindrances to its success. This represents a completely ignored area and many stereotypical opinions, which still exist on why domestic tourism in Kenya has never picked up despite incentives. This needs to be addressed with speed. But Kenya still has a great potential for international tourism and can still compete with leading world destinations like Australia, Costa Rica, Malaysia and the Caribbean (Johnstone 2000). Kenya has to re-evaluate her internal factors hindering tourism and deal with them if she is to compete well internationally. But needs focused effort and money based on reliable research knowledge. Effort and money need only be spent on protected areas with potential for tourism that has not achieved it rather than on those that have already achieved it or have nonexistent potential.

In an effort to isolate important factors influencing tourism at a national level, teach protected area was taken at a time in order to bridge the gap between realized and potential tourism. The objectives of this work were to: compare relative importance of these factors influencing a tourists’ internal destination choice; produce a ranked list of important protected areas in Kenya based on tourism potential and compare this with realized tourists numbers; assess the tourism achievements of the protected areas with this potential; and provide recommendations for dealing with the gap between realized and potential tourism.

**Research methods**

Almost all current protected areas (parks, reserves, and wildlife sanctuaries) in Kenya were considered. Presently, Kenya’s conservation areas cover 44,000 km² or about 8 % of the country’s land (KWS 1990). Kenya lies on the eastern part of Africa, and is surrounded by countries like Uganda, Tanzania, Somalia and Somali.

Information was obtained by site visits, interviews with park managers and a sample of tourists, and from records from a diversity of sources such as conservation area records, brochures, booklets, pamphlets, films and documentaries, print media (magazines, journals, newspapers and tourist guide books) and electronic media (television, radio, e-mail), oral presentations, and national and international NGO’s such as World Wildlife Fund, WWF and African Wildlife Foundation, AWF.

The scoring on various conservation area characteristics was conducted as follows:

**Tourist number scores**

A score of 1 to 5 was assigned based on the average of 13 years of tourist numbers visiting the protected area. Some protected areas had no reliable records but the protected area authorities gave the best annual estimates they had. The mean number of all protected areas in Kenya was calculated as 20,072. These were assigned a middle score of 3 (between 20,001 – 30,000). Protected areas with tourist numbers less than 10,000 were assigned a score of 1 while those with between 10,001 and 20,000 was assigned a score of 2. A score of
4 was assigned for tourist numbers between 30,001 and 40,000 and a score of 5 was assigned for any protected area with over 40,000 tourists annually.

**Marketing strategies**
This considered all forms of marketing or advertisement of individual conservation areas. Scores ranged from 1 where a conservation area was not marketed in any way to a maximum of 5 for a combination of national and international marketing. Areas with only local marketing scored 2, those with only national marketing within Kenya scored 3 while those with international marketing attracted a score of 4.

**Accessibility**
The score for accessibility was based on the ways in which the conservation area could be reached i.e. by air, sea, rail and road. Also an additional point was added if access was year-round. Each means of access accounted for a single score and each protected area was assigned a score based on the cumulative means of accessibility.

**Security**
Five levels were identified and score given on an informed assessment of their security. Crimes of severe nature were given the lowest score to devalue the rank of the protected area to correspond to low rank of security status. Terrorism acts (including gangs armed with sophisticated weapons) were given a score of 1. Localized conflicts such as tribal clashes in the vicinity of the park received a score of 2. Poaching was given a score of 3 (as it does not normally target tourist). Common thuggery and petty thefts received a score of 4 and a score of 5 was given where there are no significant security problems.

**Communication services**
This score was based on the availability of postage facilities, telephone facilities, faxing facilities and email facilities. Each facility contributed a single score. A conservation area was given a score cumulatively based on the availability of these services, and an extra score given for every conservation area having all the four facilities.

**Means of wildlife viewing**
Wildlife and other attractions can be viewed using different facilities. These are: on foot along nature trails, in vehicles (including motor boats, canoes), light planes (including balloons), constructed physical hides (including hotel pavilion) and watch towers (including cliff viewing). For marine protected areas, the means of viewing assigned were boats Snorkelling (including diving), cliff watching, watchtowers, hotel pavilions, other means (e.g. on foot along beaches to see turtle and bird breeding and nesting sites). The overall score for this criteria was cumulative, each means of wildlife viewing contributing a single score.

**Visibility**
This was defined as the probability of seeing wildlife, and was considered a function of vegetation cover. Thick cover conferring poor visibility to a tourist was given the lowest score to devalue the performance of that particular protected area as it would make wildlife viewing by a tourist hard. Therefore places with thick forest cover was given a score of 1, poor visibility arising from the presence of steep hills and valleys were given a score of 2, open woodlands were given a score of 3, presence of watering points and natural salt licks that attract wildlife and hence improve sighting probability were given a score of 4 and open Savannah was given a score of 5.
Proximity to other conservation areas
This could enhance the potential of closely more protected areas forming a single tourist circuit. The number of protected areas within 50-km radius was counted, and a score of 1 given for only one protected area within this distance. A score of 2 was given for two protected areas, a score of 3 for three protected areas, a score of 4 for four protected areas, and a score of 5 for five protected areas within this distance.

Proximity to other tourist attractions
This included archaeological sites, national museums, urban centres and ungazetted (unprotected) beautiful or spectacular landscape found within 50 km of the protected area. Presence of each attraction represented a single score and a protected area received scores cumulatively based on the number of these attractions within a 50km radius.

Health risks
Ranking was done to evaluate protected areas with health risks. This was based on the probability of contracting the killer tropical diseases such as malaria, cholera and Typhoid, sleeping sickness. Protected areas with negligible chance of the presence of the above diseases received a score of 5, those with one of the above diseases received a score of 4, those with two of the above diseases received a score of 3, those with three of the above diseases received a score of 2 and those with all of the above diseases received a score of 1.

Physical features
These included rivers, waterfalls, lakes, geysers and hot springs, mountains (including cliffs and hills). The score for each protected area was cumulative, each named physical feature contributing a score of 1.

Species of conservation concern
Protected areas were surveyed for any animal or bird species that were endemic, restricted, endangered, threatened and rare species. Each of the above contributed a score of 1 and the cumulative score was recorded. The score was given irrespective of the species in each category. Species were identified from IUCN Red Data Book.

Aesthetic value
This score was awarded on the authors’ interpretation (based on close observation and interviews with some tourists) of how a tourist would view beauty on a landscape scale. Scores were given on a scale of 1 to 5, homogenous landscape (score 2), followed by slightly heterogeneous landscape (score 3), heterogeneous landscape (score 4) and highly heterogeneous and aesthetically outstanding landscape (score 5).

Cultural attractions
This score was based on the attractive cultural activities (such as dances or traditional drama), cultural practices (e.g. circumcision rituals), indigenous knowledge (e.g. display of medicinal plants) traditional artwork (e.g. woodcarvings, marts, paintings etc.), and cultural attire (e.g. clothing, housing, shrines etc). An accumulative score was assigned to each protected area with each attribute contributing a score of 1.
Presence of “big five” species
“Big five” species are the large mammals most sought for observation, photography or filming by a majority of tourists. They often include the lion (*Panthera leo*), the leopard (*Panthera pardus*), buffalo (*Cincerus caffer*), black rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis*) and elephant (*Loxodonta africana*). Sometimes the buffalo is interchanged with cheetah (*Acinonyx jubatus*). We used the former group. Each of the “big five” contributed a score of 1 and the protected area was scored on a cumulative basis.

Fame of protected area
This was based on how the protected area was famed through historical events, geographical location, films, and academic documentaries and named after famous international personalities (e.g. Lord Aberdares, Queen Elizabeth II, “Elsa”, Mt. Kenya, etc.). Each of the above items contributed a score of 1 and protected areas were assigned a cumulative score.

Ecosystem significance
Ecosystems were classified as either being nationally or internationally important. Examples of international designations used included Ramsar Site, World Heritage Site, and Biosphere Reserve. A protected area was gauged nationally significant if it contained the only remnant habitat of its type in the country (e.g. Tropical rain forest, key wetland). A protected area was also nationally of economic significance if it was highly popular with tourists and hence made a big contribution to international tourism in the country. Scores were assigned cumulatively to each protected area on the basis of whether it was a Ramsar site, World Heritage Site, Biosphere Reserve, significant habitat (with ecological service such as water catchment or significantly contributes to nation’s foreign income) or a protected area with ecosystems in danger (or threatened with) of extermination.

Number of bird species
The number of bird species was compiled from documented records of each protected area. A total of 500 species was recorded over all the protected areas. This total number of species was divided into five equal classes and a score of 1 to 5 assigned with increasing number of species and an interval of 99 species, (1 to 99 species received a score of 1, while 400 to 500 species received a score of 5).

Number of large mammal species
The numbers of large mammal species from documented records were noted. A total of 100 species were recorded for all protected areas. They were divided into 5 classes and assigned scores with increasing number of large mammal species as follows: 0-19 (1), 20-39 (2), 40-59 (3), 60-79 (4) and over 80 species (5).

Recreational facilities
Each protected area was evaluated on the variety of recreational facilities it provided to tourists. The recreational facilities considered included photography, wildlife viewing (both fauna and flora), sport fishing, wind surfing, water rafting especially on rivers and swimming and scuba diving. A protected area that had more than five recreational facilities to offer scored a maximum of five. Those with up to four facilities scored four and so on.

Accommodation facilities
Hospitality facilities available at each protected area were considered on the basis of the presence or absence of star hotels, tented camps, and open self-contained campsites. The protected areas with both star hotels and tented camps scored the maximum score of five.
Those areas with only star hotels scored four while the availability of a tented camp earned a score of three. Areas with self-contained campsites earned a score of two while those with unequipped ones had a score of one.

All the above characteristics were amalgamated into six determinants of tourism: marketing campaigns (marketing strategies, fame and status), biodiversity resources (mammal species, bird species, ecosystem significance, number of the “big five” species, species of conservation concern, and visibility), physical attributes (physical features and aesthetic value), cultural attributes (cultural attractions), risks (insecurity, health risks) and facilities (proximity to other protected areas, proximity to other tourist attractions, ease of access, accommodation facilities, communication services, means of viewing wildlife, and recreational facilities).

Data analysis

The mean score for each protected area was determined by taking the average of all the characteristics. These mean performance scores for each park were also regarded as a score for tourism potential; the ability of each protected area to receive tourists under prevailing circumstances. Ranking these mean performance scores in descending order yielded a priority list of protected areas for tourism potential. These steps were performed on Excel® spreadsheets.

An important output of this work was to decide which protected areas had any meaningful tourism potential. Meaningful tourism potential was deduced if there was a significant deviation (one tailed, at type one error, $\alpha = 0.05$) of a protected area’s mean score from overall mean score for all parks.

The formula below was adopted based on student’s $t$ – test (Zar, 1984):

$$tp = \frac{(\text{Protected area's mean score} - \text{Overall mean score for all protected areas})}{\text{Standard error (associated with the overall mean score)}}$$

If the critical calculated $t_p$ is greater or equal to the critical value $t_{0.05(1)} n^{-1}$, (where $n$ is the total number of protected areas, and critical value taken from statistical $t$ distribution) then that protected area has a meaningful potential for tourism. If $t_{0.05(1)} n^{-1}$ is less than $t_p$, then that protected area do not have a meaningful potential for tourism.

Another important output of this work was to decide which protected areas had not achieved, had achieved or had exceeded their tourism potential. To make this deduction, a tourism achievement index ($tai$) was formulated to relate the score of tourists actually received, the overall mean score for all parks and a protected area's mean score. The $tai$ test was formulated as below:

$$tai = \frac{(\text{Tourist number score} - \text{Protected area mean score})}{\text{Overall mean score for all protected areas}}$$

The $tai$ values for protected areas with meaningful tourism potential ranged from a negative number through zero to a positive number. Inspection of the $tai$ values show that they tend to range from $-1$ through zero to $+1$ as the overall mean score for all protected areas.
approaches a maximum score. For this case, a protected area was considered to have exceeded its tourism potential if the tai value was 0.40 or above, and to have achieved its tourism potential if the tai value was between 0.00 to 0.40. If it's tai value was more negative, the protected area was considered to have not exceeded its tourism potential. No tourism achievement comparisons were necessary for protected areas considered to have no meaningful tourism potential.

Data was analysed using non-parametric tests. Differences between the scores of any two characteristics were established with Wilcoxon signed rank T test. Relationships were determined by using Spearman rank correlation. Differences between amalgamated tourism determinants were established by the Kruskal-Wallis test.

Data was transformed (from mostly cumulative count data) by square root transformation: $x' = \sqrt{(x+3/8)}$ (Zar 1984) in order to perform stepwise linear regression to isolate important determinants of tourist numbers and contribution of each determinant. All statistical tests and analysis were performed by SYSTAT® and STATGRAPHICS® statistical software. A probability value less than alpha (type one error) of 5% for all comparisons and tests was considered significant.

Results

Comparing achievement and potential for tourism

Based on mean performance scores, the top ten protected areas were Amboseli National Park, Hellsgate National Park, Maasai Mara National Reserve, Longonot National Park, Tsavo East National Park, Samburu National Reserve, Nairobi National Park, Watamu Marine National Park, Tsavo West National Park, Mount Kenya National Park and Buffalo Springs National Park (Table 1). The top twenty protected areas mostly contained the famous popular parks and reserves in Kenya (based on mean tourist numbers). The top twenty protected areas also comprised mountain protected areas (Mount Kenya, Aberdares, Longonot National Park and Mount Elgon) and coast – based marine protected areas (Watamu Marine National Park, Kisite – Mpunguti National Park, Malindi Marine National Park, and Mombasa Marine National Park). An examination of the mean performance scores revealed that most of the protected areas have scores less than the overall mean performance score for all protected areas. Only 22 out of 53 protected areas (41.51%) had mean performance scores significantly greater (See Table 1 at end) than the overall mean performance for all protected areas, and were therefore considered to have meaningful tourism potential under the prevailing circumstances.

Only a total of twelve (22.60%) of the of 53 protected areas in Kenya had achieved or exceeded their tourism potential (Table 2). These protected areas were: Lake Nakuru, Nairobi, Amboseli, Maasai Mara, Tsavo East, Tsavo West, Buffalo Springs, Aberdares, Hellsgate, Malindi Marine, Lake Bogoria and Shimba Hills. However, the top nine protected areas that have high tourism achievement index, tai, were Aberdares, Lake Nakuru, Buffalo springs, Tsavo West, Nairobi, Tsavo East, Maasai Mara, Lake Bogoria and Amboseli in that order. There were eleven (20.75%) of protected areas in Kenya that have potential but have not realized their full tourism potential. These protected areas were: Kisite-Mpunguti, Mombasa Marine, Watamu Marine, Impala Sanctuary, Kiunga Marine, Mount Kenya, Meru, Samburu, Kakamega Forest, Mount Elgon and Sibiloi (See table 2 at end). All other protected areas had low or no meaningful tourism potential under prevailing circumstances.
These findings are based on current circumstances, which, if changed, will influence the relationship between realized and potential tourism ranks for protected areas. Nevertheless, there was a positive correlation in realized and potential ranks (Spearman rank correlation, $r = 0.70$, $n = 30$, $p = 0.0002$). This implies that for most protected areas under current circumstances, the realized and potential tourism ranks increased or declined together thereby validating the predictive power of tourism potential to realized ones. However, the realized and potential ranks (positions based on mean scores) for each protected area were different (Wilcoxon signed rank test, $T = 1.97$, $n = 30$, $p = 0.049$). The lower scores for achievement compared to potential for tourism suggest further that many protected areas in Kenya have not achieved their tourism potential.

The differences in realized and potential tourism arise because of differences in performance of attractions, facilities, services and factors contributing to tourists’ well-being. Tourist number scores differed from overall mean performance scores (Wilcoxon signed rank test, $T = 3.00$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.003$) based on amalgamation of determinants, highlighting further the general unrealised tourism potential in most protected areas in Kenya. Scores based on the number of tourists (Table 3) differed with scores based on biodiversity resources ($T = 2.63$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.0084$), marketing campaigns ($T = 2.091$, $n = 52$, $p = 0.00035$), physical attributes ($T = 3.56$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.00037$), availability of facilities ($T = 3.58$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.003$) and level of security ($T = 3.89$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.0001$). This implies that differences in achieved and potential tourism can be explained by the discrepancy between determinant overall scores and tourism number scores.

**Association of visitor number and protected area characteristics**

Tourism numbers related variously with amalgamated tourism determinants of protected area characteristics. A positive correlation existed with biodiversity resources (Spearman rank correlation, $r = 0.33$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.0165$), availability of facilities ($r = 0.71$, $n = 53$, $p < 0.01$), marketing campaigns ($r = 0.64$, $n = 53$, $p < 0.01$), and presence of cultural attractions ($r = 0.35$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.0126$).

For individual protected area characteristics, tourist numbers increased with increasing number of other close tourist attractions (Spearman rank correlation, $r = 0.29$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.036$), number of mammal species ($r = 0.37$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.008$), fame of the protected area ($r = 0.40$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.004$), number of means to view wildlife ($r = 0.62$, $n = 53$, $p < 0.01$), types of communication services ($r = 0.68$, $n = 53$, $p < 0.01$), presence of the “big five” mammals ($r = 0.28$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.046$), marketing strategies ($r = 0.71$, $n = 53$, $p < 0.01$), Proximity of other protected areas ($r = 0.39$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.0047$), ecosystem significance ($r = 0.49$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.0005$), presence of cultural attractions ($r = 0.36$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.013$), diversity of physical features ($r = 0.34$, $n = 53$, $p = 0.014$), diversity and quality of accommodation facilities ($r = 0.61$, $n = 53$, $p < 0.01$), and ease of access ($r = 0.63$, $n = 53$, $p < 0.01$). No relationship was established between the number of tourist scores and other individual characteristics ($P > 0.05$ in all cases).

**Relative contribution of characteristics to tourism fluctuations**

Broadly tourist numbers were influenced mainly by facilities and services available to tourists (explaining 45.3 % variation in tourist numbers) and biodiversity resources in protected areas
(explaining 8.12%). The two variables explained 53.45% of the variation in tourist numbers. The significant predictive model was:

\[
\text{Tourist numbers} = -2.82 + 0.71 \text{ biological attributes} + 1.09 \text{ facilities.}
\]
\[
(R^2 = 0.5345; df = 2,50; p < 0.001)
\]

However, this finding implied that other amalgam of tourism determinants (not included here) explained the remaining 46.55% of the variations in visitor numbers. But by considering specific characteristics influencing visitor numbers, important factors were marketing strategies (explaining 50.47), communication services (explaining 8.80%), protected area accessibility (explaining 3.25%) and large mammal species diversity (explaining 2.62%). This significant predictive model was:

\[
\text{Visitors} = -0.72 + 0.27 \text{ Mammal species} + 0.29 \text{ Communication services} + 0.24 \text{ Marketing strategies} + 0.39 \text{ Accessibility;}
\]
\[
(R^2 = 0.6514; df = 4,48; p < 0.01)
\]

**Discussion**

Since the ranks of all attributes and ranks based only on visitor numbers were different, this suggests that prioritising protected areas solely on tourist numbers alone is not useful in providing an index of tourism potential for a given protected area. It also does not isolate protected areas, which have achieved and or even exceeded their tourism potential and those, which have no meaningful tourism potential. It is possible that a protected area that has many biological, physical and cultural attractions may not be visited due to inaccessibility, poor marketing, poor facilities and services, and general insecurity. Identification of such influencing factors and addressing them can improve tourism potential. However, the finding reinforces the importance of some protected icons in Kenya as receiving both many tourists as well as having high tourism potential. Such protected areas include Amboseli National Park, Maasai Mara National Reserve, Lake Nakuru National Park, Aberdares National Park, Nairobi National Park, and the Tsovos East and West National Park.

Kenya Wildlife Service needs to have varied objectives of conservation for each protected area depending on what it can offer. It is shown here that a majority of protected areas have no meaningful tourism potential. It would take phenomenal resources to improve the tourism potential for all parks. Based on this realization, it is possibly prudent that certain parks be conserved simply as a national service and contribution to global strategy to conserve biodiversity for posterity or for other alternative reasons. On the other hand, it also leaves open the option that certain protected areas can be used for meeting the human needs of communities surrounding these parks in a controlled sustainable resource utilization programs.

Protected areas have a diversity of birds, mammals and plants that can be utilized for the well being of rural poor communities. These communities shoulder much damage to crops and livestock depredation so much that wildlife damages have contributed or reinforced rural poverty. Since poverty eradication is a global strategy now, it may be meaningful for local communities to be allowed to use these resources. But what are needed are strong institutional arrangements to control and manage the use so that it is done sustainable with accurate monitoring mechanisms. The challenge is to change wildlife policy and laws to allow
for this on one hand, and to make it sustainable in the face of increasing human population and demand for natural resources, on the other.

The findings also clearly show protected areas with high tourism potential that have achieved or even exceeded it, no meaningful tourism potential, and those with tourism potential but have not achieved it. Tourism potential for certain parks may have been exceeded due to over marketing. Some protected areas in Kenya are only small remnants of their ecosystem (such as Amboseli and Nairobi) and their small size cannot allow for mass tourism even if they have all the attractions, superior facilities and services and have no risks to the tourist. Such protected areas may be a sensitive habitat that needs to have tourism numbers reduced or maintained.

Amboseli National Park, Lake Nakuru National Park and Maasai Mara National Reserves are some of the oversold protected areas that should now try to deal with and even reverse tourist congestion, environmental degradation and harassment of wildlife that accompanies enhanced tourism. No effort to market these protected areas is now necessary. Such protected areas (especially those smaller in size or are sensitive habitats) that have achieved or exceeded their tourism potential must regulate or even reduce the tourist numbers. One way of doing this is to target few but highly paying tourists by increasing entrance fees (as is the case with Amboseli and Lake Nakuru National Parks (Kipkeu pers. comm. senior warden, Amboseli).

For those conservation areas that have the tourism potential but have not realized it, a focused effort to bridge the gap is necessary. The results clearly indicate that to do this, a combination of “active ingredients” in place. A stepwise linear regression procedure showed that these are the key factors in bridging the gap in tourism. The appropriate attraction was identified as large mammal species diversity. This attraction must be supported by a consistent, well-focused and organized international marketing campaign. Further, an effective communication service was identified to be a key factor as it allows tourists to have contacts within and outside the country. An easy and round the year access to protected areas was an important service that was identified as influencing tourist numbers received. These “ingredients” identify the key attraction, services and facilities and all being tied together by focused marketing. No effort, other than in the context of alternative objective or rationale, is necessary for conservation areas without any meaningful tourism potential.

A notable observation is that all marine parks are among the top fifteen protected areas with high tourism potential in Kenya. Further, they are also among the most visited in the country. However, all (except Malindi Marine) coast-based tourist protected areas destinations have not achieved their full tourism potential. With excellent communications services, strong and focused marketing done by coast – based tour companies and hotels, and with an existing large range of attractions (marine life, sunny beaches and close important terrestrial protected areas), and easy access, tourist numbers should be much higher than what is observed. No further investments are possibly necessary for this heavily tourism marketed area. Instead, some other constraints need consideration to bridge the existing gap between realized and potential tourism for Kenya’s coast destinations. Important on the list is provision of adequate and efficient security for tourists. They must be made to feel free to explore the many attractions without feeling unsafe. A prudent step that has just been taken by ministry in-charge of tourism is to relocate beach vendors. This will allow tourists to go to them if they need to buy souvenirs rather than having them being followed, harassed and pestered to buy items they do not need.
Further, the marine biodiversity may only be appealing to only the professionals. Marketing should target the rich cultural heritage and attractions to compensate for lack of large terrestrial mammals. One possible alternative explanation for unrealised potential for coast tourist destinations is the fact that there are sunny beaches in other places of the world which may seem even more attractive, cleaner, secure and exotic than on the Kenyan coast (Johnstone 2000). Many leading tourist destinations of the world (e.g. Costa Rica, Malaysia, Australia and the Caribbean) may out-compete Kenya if the sunny beach is the only attraction marketed. It is likely that Kenya has mainly been marketed as an international tourist destination on the basis of large terrestrial wildlife.

Sunny beach and cultural attractions at the coast are silent attractions; a majority of tourists specifically come to view Kenya's wildlife on the mainland rather than marine protected areas. Thus, they target world famous terrestrial parks such as Amboseli, Maasai Mara and the Tsavos, and eventually end up in Nairobi. A trip to the coast may simply be a brief experience of the sunny beach and not necessarily the marine protected areas. It is therefore possible that the impression of unrealised tourism potential may change if one had to consider the number of tourists that simply visit the sunny beach and stay in the world-class hotels at the coast without visiting marine parks. This work show a strong association between tourists and wildlife attractions, but it may possibly be the fact that cultural centres, the sunny beaches and protected areas (dominated by wildlife) are always in close proximity (hence nested) and cannot be sampled independently so as to evaluate the independent effect on tourism numbers.

Tourists can hardly be classified as a homogenous group seeking a single product. Kenya has to diversify its marketing to target a whole range of tourist segments ranging from high class and high paying to middle class who are working within a constrained budget. Facilities and services should be good enough to cater for all these economic classes of tourists. Further, there are professional and student tourists that also seek intellectual satisfaction (such as ornithologists, naturalists, ecologists, biologists, geographers, anthropologists, etc) in their travelling and want more time for specific products. These segments also need to be targeted. It therefore makes sense to market biodiversity (for biologists, ornithologists and naturalists) than the "big five" which will thrill tourists who want to see flagship species in the wild. But a change of strategy is inevitable if a wide range and class of tourist market is to be tapped into.

Unique and ecologically intriguing ecosystems (such as lowland remnant Kakamega tropical forest, montane parks, unique wetlands, protected areas of high species endemism) can be marketed specifically for scientists and student tourists more biased towards intellectual satisfaction. Hellsgate and Longonot are some of the places that are by far under-utilised as they have a high diversity, nearby Maasai cultural areas, spectacular physical features and allow for a unique means of viewing wildlife such as on foot and biking. Protected areas that have these properties can be marketed to professionals. Kenya Wildlife Service should encourage its protected areas with tourism potential to individually participate in their own marketing efforts. They need to individually prepare and promote their own protected areas through the print media, electronic media and through videos. They should so clearly while emphasizing unique attractions, services and facilities offered.
Conclusion

In conclusion, the key attraction for tourists visiting protected areas in Kenya is wildlife (particularly a diversity of large mammals). “Big five” large mammals, cultural attractions and physical features had some relationship with the tourist numbers, but are generally low key because of poor marketing and targeting of professional tourists. The key facilities and services needed to bridge the gap between realized and potential tourism is communication services and ease of access. Accommodation facilities are important but comparatively low key, as many tourists will accept reasonable accommodation that also needs to be affordable. Many accommodation facilities (world class hotels) target effluent and high paying tourists, which may not necessarily be a majority of tourists. In all these aspects, quality improvement must be seriously considered as a useful instrument in achieving a competitive advantage (Potma and Jenkins, 1994).

The conspicuous absence of security among key determinants implies that crime level in Kenya does not necessarily target tourists and is within internationally recorded parameters. However, the security situation is comparatively more serious and wanting in and around reserves protected areas where KWS armed presence is unavailable.

One factor that has repeatedly been singled out by results is marketing. Kenya needs to seriously improve its intensity, consistency and focused international marketing strategies to popularise a diversity of tourist attractions (wildlife, culture, physical features and sunny coastal beach). Kenya also needs to actively counter negative international press (while simultaneously addressing the concerns that leads to bad press publicity) and target a diverse range of tourists (high paying naturalists, students and professionals). This is the way forward to addressing Kenya’s ailing tourism industry and bridging the gap between achievement and potential for tourism. It is recommended that tourism campaigns should expose all the tourist attractions (bird and animal species diversity, habitat uniqueness, ecosystem attributes, physical features and cultural attractions) and not only the “big five” large species as is commonly done by tour companies.
Table 1: Top forty protected areas based on mean performance scores of amalgam of characteristics. The top twenty protected areas are a mix of famous and those little known.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Protected area</th>
<th>Biodiversity attributes</th>
<th>Physical attributes</th>
<th>Cultural attractions</th>
<th>Marketing Campaigns</th>
<th>Number of facilities</th>
<th>Health and insecurity risks</th>
<th>Overall Performance</th>
<th>Calculated t values</th>
<th>Overall position</th>
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Table 2: Thirty protected areas based on tourist numbers and scores (s) and tourism achievement.

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<tr>
<th>Protected area</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Agency Responsible</th>
<th>Tourist number (Mean ± SE(rank))</th>
<th>Tourism Potential Scores</th>
<th>Remarks on tourism potential</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Lake Nakuru (p)</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>154918.2 ± 5 196 (1) (S= 5)</td>
<td>3.38 (13) (tai = 0.57)</td>
<td>Exceeded tourism potential</td>
</tr>
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<td>Nairobi (p)</td>
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<td>KWS</td>
<td>147072.7 ± 5 125.52 (2) (S= 5)</td>
<td>3.60 (7) (tai = 0.49)</td>
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<td>Amboseli (p)</td>
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<td>141581.8 ± 1.331.09 (3) (S= 5)</td>
<td>4.18 (1) (tai = 0.29)</td>
<td>Exceeded tourism potential for its size</td>
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<td>CC</td>
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<td>3.82 (3) (tai = 0.41)</td>
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<td>KWS</td>
<td>85890 ± 8777.7 (6) (S= 5)</td>
<td>3.57 (6) (tai = 0.50)</td>
<td>Exceeded tourism potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo Springs (r)</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>68327.27 ± 641.55 (7) (S= 5)</td>
<td>3.50 (10) (tai = 0.53)</td>
<td>Exceeded tourism potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aberdares (p)</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>60190.91 ± 1641.93 (8) (S= 5)</td>
<td>3.14 (19) (tai = 0.65)</td>
<td>Exceeded tourism potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hellsgate (p)</td>
<td>1984</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>39918.18 ± 3922.17 (9) (S= 4)</td>
<td>3.96 (2) (tai = 0.01)</td>
<td>Achieved tourism potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malindi Marine (rp)</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>35636.36 ± 2476.11 (10) (S= 4)</td>
<td>3.46 (12) (tai = 0.19)</td>
<td>Achieved tourism potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake Bogoria (r)</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>CC</td>
<td>34463.64 ± 2476.11 (11) (S= 4)</td>
<td>3.05 (22) (tai = 0.33)</td>
<td>Achieved tourism potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kisite – Mpunguti</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>29381.82 ± 1956.50 (12) (S= 3)</td>
<td>3.39 (13) (tai = -0.13)</td>
<td>More room for tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marine (rp)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>27945.45 ± 3610.37 (13) (S= 3)</td>
<td>2.69 (28) (tai = 0.11)</td>
<td>Achieved tourism potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shimba hills (r)</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>22727.73 ± 3610.37 (14) (S= 3)</td>
<td>3.38 (13) (tai = -0.13)</td>
<td>More room for tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mombasa Marine (rp)</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>22009.09 ± 1636.84 (15) (S= 3)</td>
<td>3.57 (8) (tai = 0.20)</td>
<td>NOT realized tourism potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watamu Marine (rp)</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>19222.73 ± 8405.19 (16) (S= 3)</td>
<td>2.64 (30) (tai = 0.22)</td>
<td>More room for tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impala Sanctuary (p)</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>16990.91 ± 319.72 (17) (S= 2)</td>
<td>2.14 (47) (tai = 0.05)</td>
<td>NOT realized tourism potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiunga Marine (rp)</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>15872.7 ± 726.03 (18) (S= 2)</td>
<td>3.50 (10) (tai = 0.53)</td>
<td>More room for tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Kenya (p)</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>9518.18 ± 1762.03 (19) (S= 1)</td>
<td>3.13 (21) (tai = 0.75)</td>
<td>More room for tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meru (p)</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>8371.02 ± 687.14 (20) (S= 1)</td>
<td>3.96 (6) (tai = 0.93)</td>
<td>More room for tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samburu (r)</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>4004.54 ± 214.79 (21) (S= 1)</td>
<td>3.14 (19) (tai = 0.75)</td>
<td>More room for tourists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakamega (r)</td>
<td>1985</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>31.82 ± 12.84 (28) (S= 1)</td>
<td>2.61 (32) (tai = 0.56)</td>
<td>NOT realized tourism potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldonyo Sabuk (p)</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>2509.09 ± 93.65 (22) (S= 1)</td>
<td>2.76 (27) (tai = 0.26)</td>
<td>NO MEANINGFUL TOURISM POTENTIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saitwa Swamp (p)</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>2437.27 ± 53.58 (23) (S= 1)</td>
<td>2.39 (39) (tai = 0.49)</td>
<td>NO MEANINGFUL TOURISM POTENTIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Elgon (p)</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>2177.27 ± 78.56 (24) (S= 1)</td>
<td>3.22 (18) (tai = 0.78)</td>
<td>NOT realized tourism potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruma (p)</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>705.45 ± 31.94 (25) (S= 1)</td>
<td>2.19 (46) (tai = 0.42)</td>
<td>NO MEANINGFUL TOURISM POTENTIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwea (r)</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>700.9 ± 20.02 (26) (S= 1)</td>
<td>2.25 (43) (tai = 0.44)</td>
<td>NO MEANINGFUL TOURISM POTENTIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marsabit (r)</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>372.73 ± 61.26 (27) (S= 1)</td>
<td>2.79 (26) (tai = 0.63)</td>
<td>NO MEANINGFUL TOURISM POTENTIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasalot (p)</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>331.82 ± 12.84 (28) (S= 1)</td>
<td>2.61 (32) (tai = 0.56)</td>
<td>NO MEANINGFUL TOURISM POTENTIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Island (p)</td>
<td>1983</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>324.55 ± 9.57 (29) (S= 1)</td>
<td>2.43 (37) (tai = 0.50)</td>
<td>NO MEANINGFUL TOURISM POTENTIAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sibiboi (p)</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>KWS</td>
<td>314.55 ± 18.02 (30) (S= 1)</td>
<td>2.96 (25) (tai = 0.69)</td>
<td>NOT realized tourism potential</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Exceeded tourism potential

Achieved tourism potential

NOT realized tourism potential

More room for tourists

But could take more tourists

But could take more tourists due to large size

But could take more tourists due to large size

Less tourism potential than expected
Acknowledgements

The authors acknowledge KWS, many people who gave advice, information and records. We would like to thank KWS for many unpublished records used and all the wardens in the protected areas who gave information. The funds and facilities for this work was supplied partly by the Deans Committee, Moi University and School for Field Studies, Center for Wildlife Management Studies, Kenya.

References


Shaping successful cultural tourism development: the role of visitor and non-visitor research

Debra Leighton
Dr Patricia Sterry
University of Salford
United Kingdom

Introduction

Many countries recognise the potency of cultural tourism and visitor numbers are on the increase to a range of cultural sites and new attractions worldwide. Africa, having established itself as a key tourism destination, has the potential for extending its tourism products beyond the wildlife and beaches to include its unique heritage and culture. There is no doubt that such developments will be of economic importance to the region and enable Africa to strengthen its foothold in cultural diversity (Borley, 1994). The starting point for the development of such strategies has to be the visitor, as knowing your market and meeting visitor expectations will underpin successful initiatives. Just as critical to success, and the focus of this conference paper, is an understanding of the non-visitor. There is a need to develop an understanding of the reasons why people do not visit particular sites or attractions. Such studies of latent demand can be revealing in terms of the insights they provide into the perceptions and motivations of non-visitors and are especially useful for planning and development purposes.

There are clear and persuasive arguments for basing the development of cultural tourism on knowledge of visitors and non-visitors. Using information from visitor studies can lead to better understanding of visitors and their expectations, needs and the extent to which the attraction has succeeded in meeting those needs. As competition increases across the sector the need to know your customers is crucial. The need to know why people are not visiting is also crucial.

The aim of this paper is to provide a context for non-visitor research as a key strategy in the development of successful culture-based tourist attractions. We explore the growth of cultural and tourism industries globally, the competitive nature of the cultural tourism marketplace and the compelling arguments for visitor research in general and for non-visitor research in particular. Finally, we propose an indicative model for the systematic development of cultural tourism strategy based on a synthesis of visitor and non-visitor research data.

Cultural tourism: the context

The cultural and tourism industries are among the fastest growing sectors of the world’s economy (Boylan, 1995) and may be the single biggest foreign exchange earner for some countries. Growth has been fuelled by the post second world war explosion in mass tourism together with increased leisure time and mobility, resulting in the emergence of an ‘industry’ which is driven by the dual, and often conflicting demands, of economics and cultural development.
Governments have eagerly embraced the economic and social potential for cultural tourism across the globe. In some parts of the world, such as the UK and the USA, limits are already being reached and competition for visitors is intense. In the UK alone one third of all cultural attractions in existence have come into being since 1979, (Herbert, 1995) and at one point a new museum was opening every fortnight. (Brisbane and Wood, 1996) The result is a surfeit of cultural tourism offerings vying alongside a diverse range of attractions from theme parks to shopping malls for the customer’s leisure pound. In such a highly competitive marketplace it becomes vital to focus on the needs of visitors in order to develop cultural tourism attractions and sites which are not only viable in the present but are also sustainable in the long term.

Apart from the economic attractions of cultural tourism, the recent interest in lifelong learning is cited as a key element favouring its growth (McManus, 1999). Visitors both national and international increasingly view cultural tourism as part of a wider educational experience, facilitated by higher levels of disposable income, a lower retirement age and better levels of health amongst older age groups.

There are compelling political arguments too for the development of cultural tourism. The development of cultural tourism strategy has been closely linked to the establishment of national identity. The 1980 Manila Declaration of the World Tourism Conference expressed the hope that tourism may contribute to a large extent to protecting and developing ... cultural heritage... tourism brings people closer together and creates an awareness of the diversity of ways of life, traditions and aspirations'. Tourism can serve then to emphasise unique place identities, thereby celebrating cultural diversity. Conversely, it can contribute to a standardised perception of place, creating homogeneous cityscapes which are reassuring to visitors seeking a tourism experience which conforms more closely to their preconceived ideas and prior experiences (Ashworth, 1995). Paradoxically, Africa is well placed to capitalise on both of these possibilities. The diverse range of local and regional tribal cultures provide opportunities for a rich and unique celebration of divergence and differentiation; at the same time governments may also seek to emphasise the homogeneity of African culture in order to contribute to the crafting of clear and distinctive national identities.

Concomitant with a desire to create national identity is the political imperative for wider social inclusion. Cultural tourism provides a useful vehicle for this since it offers the opportunity to use a variety of cultural forms and issues which may not reflect the dominant class, ethnic culture or indeed the dominant ideologies of the past or the present. Beyond the development of appropriate attractions that reflect greater social inclusion, there are opportunities to staff attractions with and encourage local visits from under-represented social groups. At the very least this may provide a forum for debate and at best may provide a real opportunity for greater social cohesion.

The cultural tourism product

Key to developing a cultural tourism strategy is an understanding of the nature of the cultural tourism experience. As an entity, cultural tourism may be perceived as exhibiting two core dimensions, contemporary creativity on the one hand and a heritage dimension, which incorporates notions of the past embodied in monuments, landscapes, historic buildings, sites and artefacts. The tendency for society to focus on notions of heritage rather than contemporary creativity and cultural innovation during periods of rapid change are well documented (Fowler, 1990; Hewison, 1987). Indeed it is possible that the very rapid pace of
technological change in particular in recent years has contributed to the current fascination with our physical patrimony, and it may be argued that this has become an obsession, obscuring and even stifling contemporary cultural developments. Balancing these twin dimensions of past and present is one of the key challenges to those responsible for the development of cultural tourism strategies.

Conceptually, passive but willing visitors have viewed tourism as a product for consumption, and most of the literature up to the late 1990s has perpetuated this approach. The marketing of tourism has therefore tended to be product focused, emphasising the importance of product features and benefits - for example the collection, the site, the architecture, and the work of art - as the basis of the visitor offering. There are a number of potential flaws in this approach, but the most significant lies in the lack of recognition of the role and expectations of the visitor as an active and discerning participant in the consumption process. In a crowded and competitive marketplace, comprising potential visitors who are media literate and sophisticated in their decision-making, it is simply not enough to promote the benefits of a museum collection or a prehistoric site and expect that they will visit in droves. Visitors are experienced consumers of a wide range of product and service offerings outside of the tourism arena and develop expectations and perceptions that they readily transfer to tourism experiences. For example, the provision of a café or restaurant and toilet facilities, the ability to pre-book a visit or pay by credit card may be core to the potential visitor’s decision-making process. These are all elements of the visitor experience they would expect to find in other leisure attractions such as shopping malls, cinemas and sports stadia and they may make little conscious distinction between this form of leisure attraction and tourism attractions.

There is an increasing need therefore to view the tourism experience as an experiential process, drawing on the contemporary experiential marketing paradigm, which places the product or service offering at the centre of a wider consumer experience (Schmitt, 2000). In the case of the cultural tourist, the visitor experience can be perceived as starting with the search for information regarding the site or attraction and the quality of this first encounter could well determine whether or not the individual will then go on to visit. For example the provision of training for hotel staff in providing information about an attraction and in facilitating a visit may be a critical first influence on the visitor’s encounter, followed by good quality and informative supporting literature. The transport provided for the visit and the demeanour and knowledge ability of tour guides may be the next key ‘moments of truth’. The visit can therefore be construed in terms of a set of experiences that collectively inform the overall experiential process. Critically, the visitor is likely to evaluate the process as just this, a collective whole that is variously positive or negative rather than perceiving the constituent elements as positive or negative.

It is certainly possible to collect visitor information on component elements of the visit through the use of visitor questionnaires but the culmination of the individual experiences is likely to be summarily defined in terms of positive or negative. The implications of this are that no matter how good the cultural tourism ‘product’ itself, how awe inspiring the landscape, how priceless the collection, how unique the artefacts, the overarching requirement is to ensure that the visitor experience as a whole is exceptional in order to ensure positive word-of-mouth and repeat visits.

Experiential marketing then provides a platform for delivering a cultural tourism experience that aims to exceed the expectations of the visitor. Aside from the success of this positive visitor experience itself, the visitor may then be moved to act as visitor advocate for the
attraction and becoming a powerful marketing instrument in their own right. It is to the nature and importance of the visitor that we now turn.

The cultural tourist

It is difficult to generalise a model of the characteristics of a cultural tourist as a distinct tourist typology because little is known in a systematic manner (Prentice, 1993). There is a shortage of published studies, but worthy of mention are the collections published by the American Visitor Studies Association (VSA) and sources such as the British Tourist Authority (BTA/ETB), trade journals and government publications. The Centre for Audience Research (C.A.R) is a new academic initiative and a useful starting point for information, research and published studies.

Whether or not a distinct cultural tourist typology exists, it essential to understand something of what prompts a visitor to select a cultural tourism attraction. There is a wealth of literature in this area but some of the more pertinent issues are discussed here.

Ryan (1991) puts forward a number of hypotheses, one of which is the ‘spill over’ concept. He suggests that people’s leisure activities are an extension or a reflection of the kind of activities they are involved in at work; those involved in challenging and stimulating employment will therefore seek out similarly challenging tourism experiences. Ryan’s compensatory hypothesis asserts that the visitor is seeking to escape from the everyday, to find a contrast between the everyday experience and what he might perceive as extraordinary, and that this is the key motivating factor. MacCannell (1973, 1976) and Turner and Turner (1978) also emphasise the tourist’s need to escape to other time zones, places and experiences as a result of alienation from everyday experiences. MacCannell also asserts that the tourist’s desire for authentic experience is the modern embodiment of the religious pilgrim (MacCannell 1973, 1976, 1992).

Goulding (2000) in an empirical study of visits to contemporary heritage attractions identifies three groups of visitors; existential, aesthetic and social visitors. Existential visitors are so labelled as to reflect a degree of alienation from the present, the young because of a lack of anything to look forward to in the future and the older respondents because of a loss of role. In both cases they were looking to the past for meaning and temporary control. The aesthetic visitors looked for imaginative escapism and appeared to idealise the arts, architecture and craftsmanship of past eras. The social visitors, described as mainstream, demonstrated social belonging and security that negated any need for escape in to the past.

The practical implications of these perspectives are evident. By seeking to understand the motivations and behaviours of specific visitor segments, cultural tourism products may be targeted accurately at receptive individuals and groups, thereby optimising the marketing effort as well as the effective allocation of resources. In this way appropriate visitor experiences can be crafted to meet the needs of both today’s and tomorrow’s visitors.

Although it would be useful to use comparative research data, reporting of such information tends to be patchy, often highly confidential and recorded in secrecy. We can generalise and there are statistics that indicate that tourists today have more disposable income, are environmentally aware, are more educated, concerned with ‘green’ issues and conservation, and are more active, with an increase in younger retired visitors. Nonetheless it is necessary
to emphasize the importance of gathering evidence to build your own visitor profile to enable you to assess your own goals, strengths and weaknesses and develop initiatives accordingly.

The role of visitor studies

Understanding the visitor experience of place is fundamentally important, and this has been variously conceptualised over a number of years (Schofield, 1996; Bicknell and Famelo, 1993; Gunn, 1988; Jefferson and Lickorish, 1988; Medlik and Middleton, 1973). The overriding message is that the visitor’s experience of place is not necessarily product oriented, but a complex interaction of motivations, perceptions, beliefs and evaluation. This further highlights the need to adopt a visitor centred approach to cultural tourism development, focusing on the needs, wants and expectations of visitors rather than a more traditional product based approach focusing on the collection, site or building.

In the UK in recent years, we have seen a proliferation of Visitor Services Managers in many leading attractions, not only reflecting the importance of this emerging discipline but also the changes in focus of visitor research and increasing competition from other attractions. The main purpose of research now is one of recording motivation, perception and attitude, rather than just visitor numbers and general satisfaction (Bicknell and Famelo, 1993; Hooper-Greenhill, 1995). Visitor numbers as a measure of success are a useful indicator but can mask, for example, the extent of non-visiting by underrepresented groups. Research with under-represented groups can result in a greater awareness of an attraction and an increase in visiting. It is clear that a visitor oriented approach is crucial to successful attractions especially museums (Beelho and Prentice, 1995).

The need for visitor research at the attraction site

It is vital that each cultural heritage site or attraction develop a relationship with its visitors in order to encourage repeat visits, membership schemes, and direct targeting with details of special events. Research data enables attractions to amend services if necessary, but also to add on facilities and experiences which visitor would like to see and to develop the attraction over the long term in line with visitor requirements and expectations.

Developing a visitor study is not a simple task and the staff needs training in the professional methods and techniques for collecting visitor data, analysing the results and presenting a quality report. Conducting visitor surveys might require both quantitative and qualitative data and it is important that planning is developed with an understanding of the needs of the research. Training is crucial before embarking on a time-consuming and costly survey.

The need to apply the results of visitor research

Knowing the type of visitors, and gathering evidence to build up a profile should only be considered as a first step in the management process. It is also vital to apply your research results (Jelen and Hayward, 1996). Oftentimes the findings of research data will challenge long-held perceptions. The challenge is to get your management and decision makers to take your research findings seriously (Jelen and Hayward, 1996). The process should be multi-faceted and should also target the decision-makers, the fund-holders, the marketing and visitor services manager, shop and restaurant managers. Set out goals for audience development, lead discussion sessions, present findings, encourage participation and feedback (Jelen and Hayward, 1996).
A professionally prepared report is crucial if your research is to be taken seriously. Keep jargon to a minimum and add a one-page executive summary. Present an overview of the findings and leave data charts and tables at the end of the report. In this way it is clear that the research has been carried out and there is meaning and value to the data presented.

**The need for non-visitor research**

The paper has discussed how studies of visitors provide valuable information for establishing and developing cultural tourism but they only tell part of the story. Should current success and future developments be led by the opinions and experiences of only those who do visit? What about those who choose not to visit? Their contribution may be as or even more valuable.

Research into non-visiting or latent visiting behaviour has sought to identify reasons for non-visiting, which range from lack of time and money to issues of access, domestic responsibility and competition from other leisure pursuits (Cragg, Ross and Dawson et al, 1993). Gutman (1982) proposes a similar framework but links the individual's propensity to visit with aspects of cognitive structure such as a desire to be seen as a responsible parent by taking a child to visit a museum. Focus groups of arts non-participants have identified similar reasons and constraints. The Arts Council of Great Britain has classified these as practical, educational and emotional constraints.

Hood (1983) concluded that the individual's 'leisure agenda' is key to understanding visiting and non-visiting behaviour. In her study of American non-visitor motivations in respect of museums she found that the non-visitors leisure agendas included being with people (social interaction), actively participating and feeling comfortable in their surroundings – none of these experiences were considered as being offered by museums. In contrast museum visitors saw museums as capable of satisfying their leisure agendas, which included opportunities to learn, the challenges of new experiences and doing something worthwhile in their leisure time. Occasional visitors tended to be closer to non-visitors in terms of their leisure agendas, often because they had not been socialised into museum visiting as children.

Davies and Prentice (1995) propose a columnar model of non-visiting behaviour based on hierarchies of motivations and constraints and designed to provide a framework for the understanding and investigation of non-visitors to heritage attractions. Categories of occasional and non-visitors (visiting behaviour) are further categorised according to their motivation to visit and the extent to which they have succeeded in overcoming constraints to visiting. The resultant framework facilitates an understanding of the complex interactions that occur between the motivations and constraints that govern the decision to visit, and enables the planner to produce effective methods of segmenting the non-visitor base for future market development.

In the case of non-visiting there are a number of caveats worth exploring. First, it should be recognised that visiting a cultural tourism attraction or site may be perceived as sending out a social signal, a sign of status and that the reasons given for not visiting may be geared more towards how they might be interpreted than towards providing a truthful response. For example a visitor who claims not to have the time to visit an art gallery may actually not have any interest in art but does not wish to be perceived as such. It has been shown that a person’s childhood experience of museums may well have a direct effect on their adult...
involvement (Yoesting and Burkhead, 1973). The problem may be magnified when research is conducted in a group setting such as a focus group where the individual is likely to respond in a manner that the group will find acceptable (indexicality). Secondly, the reason given for non-visiting may conceal the real reasons for not visiting; for example lack of time may really be an excuse. Moreover even a respondent who claims to visit may in fact only visit the gift shop or coffee bar and never enter the museum itself; recent studies have found the number of people in this category to be as high as one third (Kelly, 1993).

But should we restrict visitor analysis to visitors and non-visiters? Can the demand for cultural tourism be reduced to a basic dichotomy or is this too simplistic a notion? Some commentators reject the idea that only two audience segments exist and propose that demand is made up of frequent visitors, occasional visitors and non-visiters (Hood, 1983, Schafer, 1996). Others break down non-visiters further into those who never visit and never contemplate visiting; those who have visited once but subsequently have never visited heritage attractions and those who infrequently visit (Davies and Prentice, 1995). The implication here is that there may be key non-visitor segments exhibiting very similar motivations to the current visitor base - for example those who have visited once but who have never subsequently visited - and it may require very little effort or resources to convert these into visitors. Conversely there may be some non-visitor group that will never merit attention. It may be useful to conceptualise the range of visitor and non-visiters in terms of a visiting continuum at one end, non-visiters who would never consider visiting through to frequent visitors at the other extreme. Priority can then be assigned to the various groups in terms of their likelihood of conversion into visitors and eventual visitor advocates.

The study of latent visiting is inherently more difficult than the study of visitors. Detractors have pointed to problems of accessibility to non-visiting groups, and this is a key issue in designing a research study in this area. Prior studies have utilised interviews with individuals who turn away from the gates of an attraction, others have used focus groups of non-visiters; the latter are potentially fraught with problems of indexicality and veracity as outlined earlier. In the concluding section of this paper we outline an empirical research design that may overcome some of these objections.

**Proposed model for visitor and non-visitor research**

In this paper we have outlined a conceptual framework designed to inform the development of cultural tourism strategies by emphasising the need for visitor research. We have sought to demonstrate that the contribution of non-visitor research needs to be acknowledged alongside research into current visitors, as this represents an untapped source of future visitors. This discussion can be summarised in the form of an indicative model as follows:
The model illustrates that both visitor and non-visitor research data should be included as twin inputs to the planning process. Analysis and conclusions of the research findings should be disseminated to key decision-makers in an organisation; at which point amendments and revisions to the planning process may be necessary. Once the findings are disseminated and agreed they become a vital input to the formulation of future development strategy; this strategy is then itself evaluated and the results fed back into a new cycle of decision-making activity.

However, we recognise that the main limitation of the model lies in the fact that it has not been empirically validated, and we address this issue in our concluding section. Other limitations and restrictions manifest in the representation of the planning process as a series of sequential stages when in fact some of the stages may occur contemporaneously. The model may also oversimplify what is essentially a fairly complex process involving many other considerations such as the existence of influential stakeholder groups. Strategic planning
itself may be viewed as something of a futile exercise given the volatile and competitive nature of the cultural tourism marketplace.

Our assertion is however that in order to compete successfully in the cultural tourism sector, organisations need to underpin the development of sustainable cultural attractions by sound visitor research. By combining the attitudes, perceptions and motivations of those who visit with those who do not, planners are able to gain a more complete perspective on the extent to which visitor expectations are being met and can more readily provide evidence on barriers to visiting.

Conclusions

In this paper we have explored the context of contemporary cultural tourism, with its central themes of modern creativity on the one hand and heritage on the other. We have highlighted the economic and social potential for cultural tourism and have noted the financial value of the cultural tourism industries as key foreign exchange earners. We have demonstrated the emergence of cultural tourism as a key component of a wider tourism industry, and an even wider leisure and entertainment industry. In light of this highly competitive marketplace and the ubiquity of tourism products, we endorse the need for cultural tourism attractions to equip themselves with workable and sustainable strategies for the future. We argue that the marketing of cultural tourism necessitates a paradigm shift, away from a product focus in favour of a visitor focus based on the conceptualisation of cultural tourism consumption as an experiential process. This will enable cultural tourism attractions to meet the rising demands and expectations of an increasingly discerning range of visitors and to this end; we believe the study of visitor and non-visitor behaviour to be the nexus for developing cultural tourism strategies.

We have attempted to ground this conceptual framework by presenting an indicative model that proposes a systematic and structured approach to strategy development based on the dual inputs of visitor and non-visitor research. Moreover the non-visitor research element within the model can be seen to comprise a number of potential layers or segments of non-visitors, some of which may in reality be very close to our current visitor profile.

The model has applications at both macro and micro level. At micro level it can be used as a framework for developing strategies for an actual or potential site or attraction. At macro level it has a role to play in the development of a broad strategy for the sector as a whole, and in informing and shaping policy for the future. At both levels it provides an informed base for decision making, enabling planners to develop and extend their visitor base by providing a satisfactory visitor experience for discrete segments of clearly identified visitors.

The preceding discussion is based on the assumption that the model has empirical validity, which has not yet been proven. In order to establish potential validity, we propose a methodological framework comprising longitudinal studies of particular cultural tourism developments. Ideally the research would be undertaken before, during and after the opening of a tourism site or attraction, and used to assess how data gained from visiting and non-visiting groups is utilised, disseminated and, crucially, acted upon, and whether this changes over time. Access to latent visiting groups is potentially problematic, but exit questionnaires held at airports, stations and hotels is one possibility. The study would also require detailed qualitative work in the form of ethnographic research to unearth the social, economic and cultural contexts of the visiting decision.
We believe that an empirical study would anchor our proposed framework more effectively, but there are still other issues for future research to address. Firstly, there is little known about latent visiting behaviour in general and still less about how it relates to the cultural tourism sector in particular. Second, there is an obvious need for research studies in visitor and non-visitor behaviour to adopt methods of enquiry, which address exactly what constitutes a visit to an attraction as well as the authenticity and integrity of respondents’ answers. Third, there is a need to explore in detail how patterns of visitor choice change over time as a result of changes in the tourism leisure and entertainment marketplace. Future research, which addresses these matters, would provide us with a more rounded picture of visitor and non-visitor behaviour, informing policy makers and planners at all levels (Vis a Vis 2001). Equally the same insights would put policy making on a more robust footing and facilitate an integrated approach to the development of future cultural tourism strategy.

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Cultural tourism in Africa: strategies for the new millennium

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Section 5: sustainable tourism
Cultural tourism: strategy towards sustainable rural development for western Kenya

Dr Bob Wishitemi
Dr Naomi Shitemi
Moi University
Kenya

Introduction

Tourism in Kenya is dominated by the safari experience, coastal beaches and the luxury lodges. It would appear to be a rich man's paradise with wildlife tourism as the big draw. Cultural tourism is mostly limited to organised drumming shows at tourist lodges, mahogany and ebony elephant carvings sold by the roadside, and visit to fake African villages to photograph the local people.

The imbalance between wildlife and cultural tourism has profound economic, social and environmental impacts (Francis 2000). Tourism is one of the biggest industries in Kenya but there is only a limited ability for local people to benefit financially from wildlife tourism, as local people rarely own the lodges. Wildlife tourism is essentially a wilderness experience where local people are not welcome (parks are based on the USA model where local people are excluded). The limited financial benefits for local people tend to come from employment as camp staff and are often not sufficient for local communities to derive enough value from parks and are to have an incentive to conserve them. Cultural tourism is inherently based around local people and could provide significant financial and other benefits to them hence helping to promote sustainable rural development. It can also contribute to the conservation of cultural and biological diversity by providing additional value to the cultures in reference and their environmental surroundings.

Wildlife viewing is focused around the charismatic mega fauna identified as the big 5 by colonial big game hunters and tour operators and indeed the parks were largely created to preserve these magnificent creatures. Yet tour operators that focus mostly on wildlife tourism promote African heritage overseas with little or no mention of cultural heritage (Francis 2000).

This paper examines the culture based tourism development in Western Kenya. It begins with a review of the current status of the industry, followed by an overview of the cultural attributes that are important to tourism development and an assessment of future development plans. It calls for a coordinated, sustained and organized approach to cultural tourism in order to realize its social and economic potential.

Western Province is the home of the Abaluhya, which is the second most populated ethnic group in Kenya. The province has scores of both culture and nature based tourism attributes. The provinces culture based tourism activities are classified for the purposes of this paper into three components: cultural rites/sports, indigenous technologies and cultural landscapes. It however should be appreciated that there is no rigid boundary or exclusion of one from the other in actual exhibition. They compliment one another hence manifesting a rich attractive heritage.
Cultural Landscapes: the weeping stone of Kakamega (Ikhonga Murwi). Ikhonga Murwi is a peculiar stone, which has a characteristic feature that appears like it, is constantly shedding tears, a perennial flow of water observed from its top around the neck. It lies at the dispersal centre of the most densely populated clan of the Isukha, a Luhya subgroup in Kakamega called Abamilonje. This was often the battlefield of the Abaluhya and the Nandi. The stone, which stands over thirty metres tall and fifteen metres wide at the base, is a sight to behold. It is located at Ilesi, Mushikulu Village in Shidodo sub-location, on the outskirts of Kakamega town along the Kakamega/Kisumu road and not far from the notable home of birds and snakes, Kakamega forest.

The burst of gigantic granite marvel of nature which has a seemingly human structure is popularly known as the weeping stone amongst tourist circles and Ikhonga Murwi, (literally, one which has sculptured a head), to both the local community and others. It is a major tourist attraction in Western Kenya. Scores of tourists from within and without Kenya frequent the site to view this natural sculpture.

Looking at the rock from a distance, it appears like a human being standing upright. It appears to have a human-like head hence the luhya name Ikhonga Murwi as shown above. It appears to have a neck and shoulders as those of a human being but without hands. Its limbless trunk is strong and uniformly shaped from the shoulders to the ground. However, from the neck, it appears like a human being bending forward and constantly shedding tears. Other equally huge and spectacle rocks abound in the area but non-of them has the unique feature of shedding tears.

People call it the weeping stone because of the spring which flows from it's top all year round. The water, which runs from the neck to the ground, leaves a water trail in form of a black mark, which looks like a necktie. Because this has happened over the years, the mark is permanent. A variety of birds live in the crevasse around the rock's neck. When water flows from the rock, it washes down their waste and other particles leaving the black mark.

The location of the weeping stone makes a potential site for a tourist resort because of its beautiful scenery with fields good enough for a golf course and within the proximity of two major towns in western Kenya, Kakamega and Kisumu, not to mention its proximity to a permanent road.

In 1930, when the East Africa Gold Mine Company came to the area, they wanted to put up a tourist/recreational establishment but were unfortunately denied permission by the colonial government (Shikami 2000). This was meant to protect the natural environment.

There is a lot of myth and folk narrative embodied in the people's non-material culture, which surrounds the uniqueness and mystery of the weeping rock. It has also been said to have mysterious powers if certain spiritual characteristics and rites are observed or flouted. Narrative also goes that the stone often feels sad and lonely hence the perennial weeping. Such tales have been told since time immemorial and passed on from generation to generation.

The geographer, geologist or geomorphologist can foster his/her profession through research by gathering quite some relevant data from the area. The social scientist, the anthropologist...
to mention but a few can also foster their professions. These exercises can be coupled with cultural tourism.

Historically, many tales have been told about the rock. It is claimed that there were many inter-ethnic and communal wars in the pre-colonial era. The Nandi, who as said earlier, were foes to the Isukha who lived within the area of the Weeping stone, used to attempt to break down the neck of the rock. They used to tie ropes around the neck of the rock and pull it in the hope of breaking it in order to shift the border because it was a major demarcation feature; hence the permanence of the border between them and their foes. Thus the Luhya maintained their territorial border (Shikami 2000). No doubt there must be counteracting folk narratives among the Nandi surrounding this feature that scorn the Isukha!

It is claimed that the rock was used for human settlement by the earlier generations. There are three dark caves around the rock, which were probably inhabited by humans. The role of the caves as independent tourist attractions is not to be taken for granted. The historical and folk narratives surrounding habitation around the feature constitute of non-material culture significant and complimentary to its geographical significance.

In his book, The Origin of the Isukha and Idakho Clans, Mwayuli (1990) claims that the first clan to settle in the area was the Abashikulu of the Isukha sub-tribe. The second clan was the Abamwilonje, the largest in Isukha. It was while the Abashikulu were moving away that they noticed smoke around the rock and said *mundu wundi yakhilonjela hichina yaho* meaning somebody had created himself at that rock. From this the Abomwilonje got their name derived from the word *mwilonje*, meaning to create one self.

There are plateau-like flat surfaces called *bwali*, meaning ‘altar’ hence the spiritual role of the caves, where they were used as a shrine for both prayer and shelter. Of late, only members of the Legio-Maria sect, one of the African independent churches, occasionally use it for overnight meditative prayers.

Residents in the area claim that the rock and its surroundings have been used as movie-sites on at least one occasion. Various documentaries have been made about the site with various cultural and environmental biases. The residents are willing to be involved in the establishment of a tourist resort/museum in this area in order to benefit from tourism.

**Indigenous technologies**

**Pottery**

At Ilesi trading Centre, the home of the Weeping Stone described above, three kilometres from Kakamega town, are observed varieties of beautiful ceramic items lined up along the roadside of Kakamega/Kisumu highway. The clay-modelled articles include cooking pots, flower vases, sugar dishes, ashtrays, water jugs and other ornamental earthenware sculptures. They come in different shades, sizes and types. The potters are very creative and they emerge with a variety of artwork. Traditional kilns are in use hence their environment friendly vocations.

They are modelled from black plastic clay, *Lutoyiliitsunyaungu*, which is obtained from Ivukatse, Musenjero and Mwitavakho villages in Mukhonje sub-location. The clay is obtained from special places and sold to the potters at a fee per wheelbarrow. It is mixed at even ratio with
yellow sand then kneaded and wedged thoroughly to remove bubbles, *tsimbundu*, and other impurities in order to curb the cracking of the ceramic items during firing. Grog, *vikonjio*, from crushed pot breakage is added to the clay to season it and to improve its texture and plasticity.

The items are arranged well covered with dry reeds, *Lunyalala* and firewood then lit until they change colour from black to grey. The potters make their items durable by using pit and open air firing methods, which are not viable in large-scale production. After two days, the articles are fished out of the glowing fire when still hot with the help of a metal rod and either painted with red ochre, *Shilongo* or black pigment, *Musenzeli* all of which are locally produced. After cooling, they are ready for sale.

Self help groups have emerged. They constitute of those culturally endowed with the art and others who learn it as a means of income-generation. For example, the thirty members *Machina Pottery Group* is a group, which specializes in pottery and modelling. Unfortunately, they lack adequate funds to purchase a modern kiln and also lack adequate marketing machinery.

Though potters are capable of producing 5000 or more articles per month which they sale at varying prices depending on the type and size, they have not been able to get a ready market. They also lack modern modelling equipment and transportation facilities that can help them increase their productions and economic empowerment. Major tourist hotels along the Kenyan coast, several kilometres away, have benefited from these items. They form part of the decorative adornments in these hotels giving them an Africana look and site. The potters however are often disadvantaged in the exchange.

*Basketry*

In the same area, is also found the art and trade of basketry. *Vilivi*, cane chairs, cane doors *Lwichi*, mats, *Majiambi*, of various sizes and types are woven from raffia obtained from the swamps. From along the Kakamega forest stretch, raffia and capping plant materials are harvested for basketry. Such material alongside timber, clay and other natural vegetation was significant in the preparation of most of the equipment used in homes. Currently however even the potters and basketry weavers are also using these materials to weave modern items for both primary use and decoration.

From the forests are also found natural very nutritious foods and fruits. These include *Mmbalakaya*, the fig *Mukhuyu*, and *Manuna*. Most of the trees have consumable fruits and seeds that can be eaten fresh or when boiled.

From within the same area therefore are many tourist attractions that not only mesmerize the eye, as with the wildlife, but are associated with its cultural heritage, crafts and tradition.

*Cultural rites and sports*

*Traditional circumcision*

The most interesting cultural practice is perhaps the traditional male initiation rite, circumcision, which is carried out in Vihiga District every August of the year. A group of the Luhyas who still hold onto this rite in the traditional manner are the Tiriki.
During the unique rite, on the eve of the initiation, the boys to be initiated spend the night out within a chilly forest area. Such an area is sacred for the function for this ceremony. This is similar to the sacredness of the Kaya shrines of the MijiKenda people found along the Kenyan East Coast several kilometres away. In this forest area, the initiates undergo a rite known as Khun’gusa Itunyi.

On the following day, the naked young boys leave the forest area and move to another forest area known as Kabutonyi, to prepare for the circumcision exercise. On the way, the initiates don red ochre or white clay all over their bodies, under the command of their stewards, Vatili and sing and dance.

As soon as they are circumcised, the initiates who are mostly aged between seven and twenty years, proceed to a recuperating den within the same forest known as Murumbi where they stay for three weeks. While there, they undergo moral, cultural and traditional initiation in an exercise intended to make them qualify into manhood. They take an oath of secrecy never to divulge or to discuss what they learn with an outsider or a non-initiate. Formerly, initiates used to be in this segregation for three months.

During the stay, having passed from childhood to adulthood, the initiates are given lessons by their stewards on how they should take charge of their homes and defend the clan. They are given instruction on sexual norms. The male person in them is highlighted and morals sharpened.

Neither women nor girls are allowed to meet with the initiates. Any females who defy the restriction order face a curse and the risk of indanity. Many other taboos and traditions surround this exercise. However sisters of the initiates deliver food at the entrance to the Forest. There is a bell at the entrance, which is ringed by the sisters to alert the stewards to come and pick up the food. The delivery is made at specific times of the day. The initiates are fed extra-ordinarily well but also hardened in the ways of what it means to be a man.

On the day of passing out, Khwalukha, a grand party, Shisiaho is thrown at the respective homes of the initiates where their relatives and friends are invited for a big feast. Cattle and other domesticated animals are slaughtered and new clothes purchased for the new initiates. They are hence barred from entering into the bedrooms and kitchens of their parents.

As a tourist attraction, some aspects of this initiation ceremony may well be of interest. For example before confinement, there is a lot of activity, which requires the initiate to let all the relations know of his impending initiation. It is an event that has both cultural and traditional significance to its people.

_Bull fighting_

The region under study has a rich well-established bull-fighting tradition, similar to the ones found in Brazil and Spain. It is held in the small hours of Saturday as recreation after work.

The sport, which attracts huge crowds in the area, involves the fighting of two large bulls on open fields. Currently this is often carried out in school playgrounds. Before the bulls take the stage a participation fee is paid by the audience to the bull owners and moments after the
battle, half of the cash is distributed to the ardent sport's fans and cheer group who escort the bull back home.

Four days preceding the bull-fighting fete, the bull's horns are sharpened with a file and it is fed on brave giving herbs, *Musievi* mixed with Hippos' faeces. On the eve of the bout, Bull Fighting fans spend the night in the home of the bull owner. They take part in traditional dances particularly the isukuti, a vigorous dancing to rhythmic drums, (Fig. 4) and sing songs of praise accompanied by the horn *Lwika* as they drink traditional beer known as *Busaa* and *Chang'aa*. Early in the morning, the fans chant songs in praise of the bull and dancing to the *Isukuti* lyrics, head to the battled field before sunrise.

The bulls have nicknames such as *Nateminyna, Mandela, Lumbwa, Amin, Laabu, Ndolia, Nyanza, Harambee, Shichonjonjio, Menjo, Rono Maridadi, Nandii* and *Shangwe*. These animals are named according to the local heroes and/or historic events. Each bull is therefore cheered by its name and the heroic characteristics associated with it.

Apart from bulls locking horns for entertainment purposes, they are also used in funerals during burial services of warriors and senior male members of society. This rite is known as *Shilembe* and it is practised immediately after the burial of the hero. On such occasions, no fee is required before the bulls lock horns save for a token contribution remitted as alms or *Sadaka* to the deceased's family. The cash is paid at the entrance to the homestead moments before the burial ceremony.

The bulls, wrapped with "lesos" traditional wrap-rounds and escorted by *Isukuti* dancing troupe, storm the home of the dead as they sing *'Ing'ombel Ing'ombe mama Ing'ombe*', a praise song for the bull hence departed hero and also a mourning lamentation. The bulls moo and stampede as mourners cheer and dance enthusiastically.

If a bull happens to die while locking horns at the battlefield, the carcass is ferried to the nearest market where it is sold to unsuspecting customers. When a fighter bull is too old to fight, it is slaughtered in the home. Since it is a sacred animal, the owner must temporarily vacate his home to avoid being haunted by the bull's spirit. He cannot eat its meat. His wife takes charge of the carcass disposal while he is away. It could be sold or distributed to people freely. A chicken is either slaughtered or meat bought from butchery for the male owner of the deceased bull.

The fact that the bull does not wholly belong to its owner is noted when it is sold due to advanced age. Half of the cash from the sale of the animal is freely distributed to the public. The animal belongs to the society and the owner is merely a keeper although he takes credit when it wins fights.

Just as with the traditional technology, there is an interactive human face to both the bull fighting as recreation and the bull stampede following the death of a hero. Tourists may well enjoy the spectacle not only as passive observers but they too can participate and take delight in the activities if they so wished. Bull fighting is a traditional cultural activity that is just as important as the folk narratives and other complimentary activities such as feasting that add a valuable dimension to African cultural tourism.
New strategy

Western Kenya tourism-promoting organisations need a new vision for the 21st Century in order to address the development needs of the local people, to avoid increasing damage to favourite destinations, to achieve maximum potential in tourism and to reduce conflict between local people and parks.

Western Kenya needs to offer diversity in tourism through a blend of wildlife and cultural tourism. A broader range of products that include appropriate material and non-material cultural tourism can increase overall tourist numbers and revenue. It can disperse tourist impacts more broadly hence minimise overcrowding and damage often experienced when attractions are limited in type and place. It will further facilitate the redistribution of wealth in order to benefit the local people and stem the erosion of traditional skills through the homogenisation of culture by adding further social and commercial value to local culture.

The new vision should necessitate a fundamental review of the range of cultural heritages that may have tourist value, an analysis of the markets for cultural tourism, and partnerships between local people, the tourism industry, government and non-governmental organisations.

In order to help conserve African heritage and also boost tourism, plans are underway to set up a museum on self-help, *harambee* basis at Mukango trading centre, approximately 5 kilometres from the Kakamega forest.

Once established, the museum will house cultural artefacts of the Abisukha group of the Abaluhya community. These will include traditional hoes, spears arrowheads, machetes, swords, cutlery and knives made by blacksmiths.

Other artefacts will be ceramics, cloths woven from tree barks, and herbal medicines. Foods such as maize meal, *Ugali* prepared from sorghum and millet flour *Vushuma vvishimwa*, mashed beans, *Shitieni* and mashed sweet potatoes mixed with beans *Mushenye* will be continually prepared and sampled by the tourists. Other traditional dishes will also be prepared. Cultural and other traditional practices will be enacted especially when off-season. In peak season, tourists can experience live performances. The role and participation of the locals in the programming of the tourist excursions is therefore to be considered hence the appropriate timing for the live performances.

The importance of the cultural dimension to visitors into this area should therefore not be taken lightly. There are opportunities to develop cultural tourism activities in the area and the local community participation is critical.

The Park management and local leadership should look at ways in which they can assist the development of community based cultural tourism initiatives in the study area by providing marketing and capacity building. As indicated earlier, there are plans to create a cultural Museum (heritage) centre to develop and promote local crafts and the sale of traditional wares. This will improve the livelihood opportunities of the local communities.

Cultural tourism, rural communities and sustainable development

Cultural Tourism can be amongst a number of development processes designed to create conditions of sustainable economic growth and social progress for the whole community with
its active participation. Local determination of the issues, control over change and an emphasis on self-sufficiency can be as important as the outcome (Wismen in Jope 1996). Cultural tourism presents advantages for rural sustainable development. It can create jobs and local economic linkages. It is formed around a suitable, consumptive and sustainable use of natural resources.

Related issues, which raise concern, include water availability, land and labour between tourism and Agriculture (Ashley, 1998). The major difference between tourism and other forms of sustainable development is that the tourist consumes the product in the community and residents are often expected to be part of the tourism experience. This can impact on local cultures, cause increased conflict within communities hence the creation of a different type of destination stereotype within communities that may be as damaging as the mass tourism/local community model (Taylor, GR 1995).

Cultural tourism will benefit the rural communities in three ways: through providing revenue, creating public support by raising the conservation consciousness of the visitors, and by contributing to local economic development. A people's way of life will be appreciated, promoted and preserved alongside all the modernisation and new lifestyles. Arguably, the most important audiences for the conservation message are domestic, national and local, visitors in position of influence. They are most likely to positively impact on the conservation of the particular sites (Goodwin 2000).

Tourism revenue should be earned from accommodation and camping fees, tour guide services and cycle hire. Tourism should be considered both for conservation of the cultural landscape, dances, sites and as a means of enabling local communities to benefit from it's economic advantage in relation to their proximity to the cultural attributes.

As a major tourist attraction in the area under study, the cultural heritage sites should be appreciated for their potential to contribute to tourism development and the well being of local communities. The cultural heritage sites considered here are all predominately national attractions but as McNeely (1993) of the IUCN has argued, there are close links between biological diversity and cultural diversity hence the witnessed diversity in long established human activity embraced in cultural identity, spirituality, orality and subsistence practices. All these have contributed to the maintenance of biological diversity (McNeely 1993).

Cultural and biological diversities are often inextricably linked hence the need for defining, at policy level, the context in which the protected area i.e. Kakamega Forest is managed. The tourism product 'consumed' by the tourist and the opportunities for the local community to benefit from the tourists attracted to the area by the National Parks need also to be clearly spelt out (KIFCON 1994).

**Marketing**

Thought needs to be given to the marketing of cultural products. Many souvenirs have become fairly standardised, wildlife related products having been carved from vulnerable hard woods. The latest product/fashion trends in the developed world however are towards individuality and craftsmanship, for modern and retro, for recycled materials and objects, hence a combination of science and nature.
In addition, popular forms of anthropology, non-material culture and archaeology based upon a genuine exchange of knowledge, respect and wisdom could be developed for cultural tourism. Music, dance and art festivals could be created or developed from existing celebrations.

Cultural trails could be developed to link some of these cultural experiences together. These may be combined with a safari excursion or an experience to some of the spiritual, social or traditional retreats/spas. Local African cultures and communities would be central to all these experiences.

The markets for these cultural products need to be carefully examined. How can the vast numbers of tourists travelling the world over for cultural experiences be convinced to visit Western Kenya? What are the opportunities to access the Western Kenya and other's quest for the knowledge of a people's history, or for those in the diaspora yet with Western Kenya's ancestry to discover more about their past? How can they and others get a feel for the African roots? How many visitors who come primarily for the wildlife would be interested in cultural tourism?

Clearly, the issue of visitor's concern about their security and comfort in Africa and any other destination is an important factor. This can be handled at policy level and by the contribution of all the stakeholders. Culture based tourism products, which benefit the local communities, attract significant numbers of visitors and foreign currency and which are well managed can be powerful incentives for improving security.

**Policy considerations**

Following the exposition and illustration above, the following areas for policy consideration are important in the developing and promotion of cultural Tourism in Western Kenya.

- Develop and promote local community's involvement and control over cultural tourism.
- Forge private/public sector partnerships for cultural tourism development.
- Raise gender awareness in order to enhance and appreciate women participation in the cultural tourism sector.
- Promote regional cultural tourism co-operation and integration with Nature based tourism.
- Develop equity in the sharing of cultural tourism benefits.
- Lay framework of appropriate legal framework for cultural tourism.
- Build destination-image through a marketing, networking and promotional strategy.
- Expand cultural tourism entrepreneurial initiatives/investment opportunities.

The above policy considerations relate to strategic development scenarios in order to overcome the areas of concern through formulating a tourism policy (Dieke 2000).

**Conclusion**

Probably, when visitors to Africa struggle to define the magic that is Africa they are in fact referring to the magic and diversity of its people and cultures. This magic may well provide inspiration to visitors as a contrast to experiences in the developed world. Tourists to new cultural sites and experiences will provide economic and social benefits to Africa and its people (such as those in local western Kenya communities detailed in this paper) not to mention a development of pride in local cultural awareness and identity. It is a vast untapped
market that with a little help, organisation and patience amongst stakeholders will come to fruition and provide a renaissance of Western Kenyan culture for 21st Century tourism.

References


Cultural tourism development for sustainable development in Uganda

Jockey Nyakaana
Makerere University
Uganda

Introduction

Globally, cultural tourism is now becoming a big business and a major success story at the time of declining industrial activity and rising unemployment. Cultural tourism provides an alternative form of tourism attraction, creating jobs and giving wealth for local economies. It has expanded leisure time and provided the increasing number of tourists with diverse places to visit. In the developed countries, tourists may travel to specific sites to see famous museums like the Prado in Madrid or the Louvre in Paris or to hear the Vienna Symphony orchestra. In the developing countries it could include handicrafts and cultural performances (Gee, 1999).

People, as day and weekend visitors or as tourists, need a range of places where they can go to relax, but also to be informed, educated and entertained. Cultural tourism attempts to provide all these values. According to MacCannell (1976) the role of culture in tourism development stems from the fact that, "Tourism is not just an aggregate of merely commercial activities, it is also an ideological framing of history, nature and tradition; a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs."

Cultural tourism, which places emphasis on cultural attractions in Uganda, is a new commodity that is gaining momentum especially with the decentralization and privatisation processes and restoration of kingdoms. The kingdoms are renovating the dilapidated facilities and maintaining them. Both activities require considerable amount of money. Cultural tourism is being developed as a source of the required funds.

As cultural tourism and eco-tourism are usually closely related and elements of each are often found in tours and destinations that appeal to the market, opening cultural sites for tourism will enhance conservation for sustainable development. Cultural sites provide a wide range of attractions, a focus of community identity, a valuable resource for informal and formal education and can provide a basis for economic regeneration for some areas.

Uganda has thirty-six tribes, which is a strong base for cultural tourism. Cultural diversity forms part of the tourism industry's primary assets and arguably, is what many tourists travel to find, so it should be fostered and protected. Cultural tourism will strengthen Uganda's culture by providing employment at local level and act as an incentive for the young to stay, rather than emigrate in search of work. With this diversity, tour operators can develop different packages for special interest groups of cultural tourism. Cultural tourism takes many forms. These include handicrafts, language, traditions, gastronomy, art and music, paintings and sculpture, the history of the region including visual reminders, the type of work engaged in by residents, technology, architecture, religion, educational systems, dress and leisure activities. Tour operators like Royal Travel and Heritage Bureau Limited are already involved in promoting cultural tourism by including visits to cultural sites in their packages and activity.
Modern tourists seldom see a living culture, but usually specimens collected embalmed and staged for tourists. Uganda has the potential of developing most of these cultural attractions based on her diverse; historical and cultural sites, arts and handicrafts, traditional economic activities, museums and art galleries and cultural festivals.

**Cultural and historical attractions in Uganda**

Cultural sites like historical sites are built to serve the cultural purposes of the host society. Cultural sites can provide useful ‘back-up’ facilities for other forms of tourism, for example, cultural tourism providing excursion possibilities to visitors who are in transit to other tourist areas. The cultural sites could also provide recreation to city residents (Kosters, 1981).

Most cultural attractions are constructed and were not necessarily built for tourism. In the 18th and 19th Centuries cultural attractions would have included Egyptian pyramids, cathedrals, mosques, temples and historical monuments. Today, they vary from farm cottages to old canals and waterways, wine making to palaces, museums and art galleries to living lifestyles. Some of these attractions like museums and art galleries are fully open to tourists while others like palaces are partially open. Cultural attractions represent irreplaceable resources for the tourism industry, so their conservation is vital, for the success of sustainable tourism development (Miller, 1985). Tourism as a socio-cultural event for the traveller and the host enables the traveller not only to see different parts of the world but also observe “foreign” culture.

In Uganda, cultural tourism could easily be developed both in the rural and urban areas. For the urban population, rural areas can be more than simply a convenient location in which to participate in cultural activities. Rural areas not only have location and societal attractions but also have a green and pleasant landscape where people can escape from the present into a nostalgic past. The countryside has an almost mythical status as a simpler, better place than the city, where life is shorter, more natural and more meaningful (Richard and Shanplay, 1997).

Uganda has diverse cultural and historical attractions. Notable among them are Namugongo shrines and Kabaka’s Lake, Omugabe’s Lake, Bigo bya Mugenyi and Ngero Rock Paintings.

Namugongo shrine is a historical symbol of holiness. This is where twenty-two young Christians converts were executed (burnt) on the orders of Kabaka Mwanga II. Artist impressions depicting the different scenes of the execution grace the whole place and highlight the importance of the event. Inside the shrine bones for one of the martyrs Kaloli Muwanga are kept in a glass casket.

The execution of the young Christians depicts the brutality of traditional leaders to their disobedient servants and citizenry. The young Christian converts displayed high level of disobedience to the Kabaka (King) but loyalty to their faith. They preferred death to disowning Christianity. The 3rd of June (Martyr’s day) is a public holiday in the country. Pilgrims come from East Africa, Africa, Europe and USA for this big event. This day could be included when packaging tourist itinerary for the month of June.

The Kabaka’s Lake is an important landmark in Buganda’s history. It is located about 500 metres away from the Kabaka’s Lubiri palace. The size is not clearly defined or is the depth. The lake was excavated on the orders of Kabaka Mwanga II in 1885. He wanted to connect it
to Lake Victoria over 20 km away. The connecting canal would act as an escape route in case of trouble and during peaceful times it would be used for canoe competitions that is an important cultural activity among the Baganda. The lakeshores would be planted with beautiful flower gardens where the Kabaka would relax and be entertained with his guests, officials and family. This would attract domestic and foreign tourism.

The lake was completed in 1888 but the connecting canal was never completed as Muslim deserters drove the Kabaka from his capital. Unfortunately, Mwanga’s successors did not pursue the project. Today, the lake has various beautiful birds living in the papyrus vegetation and trees on the island. Buganda clans meet to “clean” it annually. Various cultural rituals and merry making characterize the converging, this cultural feature needs to be used for cultural tourism as gardens can be established on the shores. The lake can be used for sport fishing; canoe competitions and other water sports, like scuba diving and swimming. A hotel of international standards could be constructed here. The Omugabe’s (King’s) Lake is equally not put to tourism use, despite having a tourist hotel ‘Lake View Regency Hotel’ on its shores. The two lakes are cultural historical assets, which can be developed for cultural tourism.

In Buganda, the ‘Kabaka’s Trial’ which is a unique journey into the secret history of the kingdom has been developed. This tourism attraction was launched on 23rd November 2001. It enables a tourist to learn about the hidden and forgotten history of Buganda, as well as to experience an authentic, traditional culture with dance, music, craft making, spiritual healing and story telling. The Trial, which is close to Kampala links a series of cultural sites namely:

- Naggalabi Budo - coronation site and heart of the kingdom
- Katereke - Prison - where the earth speaks of betrayal and murder
- King Wamala’s tombs - a place of ritual and ceremony
- Nnamasole Kanyonge tombs - linking mother and son forever
- Ssezibwa Fall - beauty and healing in harmony
- Namasole Baagalayaze - tombs and cultural centre, place of hope, celebration and learning.

Each of these sites can be visited on its own, or as part of the whole Trial and the plan is to develop a national cultural Trial, which will link all the cultural sites in Uganda. If the plan succeeds, not only will it provide a unique tourist attraction but also resurrect Uganda’s culture for development.

Kasubi tombs located about 3 km from Kampala are the burial grounds for Buganda Kings. This site was the palace for Kabaka Mutesa I. Mutesa’s courthouse known as ‘Muzibu-azaala-Mpanga’, became a burial ground (Mausoleum) after Kabaka Mutesa I died in 1884.

Today, four Kings namely: Mutesa I (1856 – 1884), Mwanga II (1884 – 1897), Daudi Chwa II (1897 – 1939), Mutesa II (1939 – 1966). Kasubi also serves as a cemetery for other members of the royal family of Buganda who are buried away from the main structure where the Kings are buried.

The thirty-one predecessors of the four Kings are buried elsewhere, at individual sites within the Kingdom. Traditionally, each King was buried in a separate tomb. A royal shrine was then established to house his jaw-bone, which was separated from his body and believed to contain his spirit (Kigongo-Mugerwa, 1991). However, Mutesa I banned the practice. The bodies of the last four Kings of Buganda were buried intact without removing the jawbone.
Twenty-six of these shrines are in Busiro County West of Kampala. These shrines can be developed for cultural tourism since they are still well maintained.

Kasubi tombs housed in a conical house built in 1882 depict a peak of traditional architectural development in the region. The structural rings, which comprise the roof of the house, give the impression of entering a gigantic half-cut orange. The fifty-two rings, which represent the 52 clans of Buganda, are made from palm tree leaves, which was abundant as natural vegetation in Buganda. The enormous size of the great hut makes the rings a fantastic sight. The vertical poles, as they are seen against the rings confirm the great height of the hut. This structure believed to be smaller than the original one is the largest grass thatched hut in the country if not the world.

Other Kingdoms, for example, Ankole, Toro, Bunyoro, Busoga, Alur also have burial grounds for their Kings and follow different traditions. This rich culture can be developed into cultural tourism products.

**Museums and art galleries**

Museums are buildings purposely set for the preservation and display of a society’s cultural history. These would include arts, handicrafts, technology, history, musical instruments and other ethnographic elements of the host society. Specialized museums would house flora and fauna.

The Uganda Museum was established in 1908 for archaeology science, industry and museum educational service purposes (Uganda, 1997). Today, these activities have been diversified to include ethnography, traditional music and dance, geology and natural history. The museum displays the pre-colonial history of Uganda with stimulating displays of the Nakayima tree, Ntusi and Bigo bya Mugenyi, which are important cultural sites in Uganda. With most cultural history of Uganda, housed in one building the museum is an important attraction for the development of cultural tourism. It would enable the domestic tourists to learn about the cultural history of their country and international tourists learn about Uganda. However, developing regional museums is also necessary.

Art galleries are limited to showing art presentations of both local and foreign artists. The art formats range from paints to iron works. The prominent art galleries in Uganda include: Nommo gallery, Gallery Cafe and Nyanzi studios. There is need to set up more art galleries up country so as to adequately tap the local talent. The art galleries can also act as educational centres.

**Arts and handicrafts**

The arts and handicrafts are made from different local materials like banana fibres, raffia, sisal, papyrus, backcloth, bamboo, palm tree leaves and climbers. They are used in making mats, bags, buckets, paintings, wood-works, bead works, bracelets and necklaces, they are sold in kiosks, urban centres and by the roadside leading to tourism sites. In the hotels there are craft shops, which specialise in the sale of these arts and handicraft. In Kampala the main centre is the Cultural Village behind the National Theatre. Here, there are shop-lets in the various arts and handicrafts from all corners of the country. On Wednesdays and Saturdays tourists are privileged to see some of the demonstrations of making these arts and handicrafts.
There is need to re-locate the arts and handicrafts to the rural areas where they are made so that the communities there can participate directly in tourism development. Homesteads could be transformed into tourism sites, so that tourists’ services are provided at grass root level. Let the tourist get a full package comprising of rural resources, historical and natural attractions, interesting geographical formations, landscapes and then see the making of the cultural arts and handicrafts and thereafter purchase. The transfer of arts and handicrafts to the rural areas will help to bridge the gap between the urban and rural population by attracting the urban population, to visit the rural areas where they will spend on food, accommodation and this will contribute to the economic development of the rural areas.

Management of cultural historical sites

Efficient management will ensure that the conflicting demands of tourism development and conservation are reconciled. Cultural and historical sites need to be properly managed as to accommodate the increased tourist traffic without deterioration of the same (Gupta 1988). Since culture is an important resource in cultural tourism development, it has to be preserved, marketed, made accessible, interpreted and woven in the wider enterprises of tourism and leisure without damaging it (BTA, 1987). Long term planning for cultural tourism with a continued integrated conservation policy is essential in ensuring quality experience for all the visitors and generations to come at each cultural site, village, town, sea side resort and country side (Miller, 1985). The Manager is to ensure the best utilisation of resources, including people and money to achieve both short and long term objectives of cultural tourism. Policy Makers and Managers need to be clear about principles and objectives, know the resources and their value and understand the performance that is expected. The human resource is very important because it is the one to organise physical resources. Managers of cultural attractions must recruit and employ skilled and well-motivated staff to harmonise the needs of the resources and those of the visitor. Management should avoid a lose-scenario. Proper management of cultural attractions is important as uncontrolled tourism and unplanned development can cause irreversible physical and social damage not only to such sites but also to the communication surrounding them.

Cultural and historical sites belong to the respective communities where they are based and represent traditional values and virtues of that community. Management should ensure that culture is saved from the challenges of modern civilisation, which ‘modifies’ the indigenous cultures. Cultural sites are a range of tourist attraction and a basis for economic regeneration of an area. It is therefore important to enact protective laws and preserve these sites for future generations. All attempts should be made to sensitisie and educate the public about the importance of conserving their cultural heritage.

Cultural tourism and sustainable development

Sustainable tourism development requires all the stakeholders (government, community, private sector and tourists) each to play coordinated roles. According to WTO (1995), “sustainable tourism is that which meets the needs of the present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. Resources are managed such that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems.” Sustainable development advocates leaving behind to future generations a diversity of wealth-human and natural, which is not less than that, inherited by previous generations which according to
Kumar (1999) “is development where the present generation should make moral responsibility to treat the environment with more precaution and fairness; so that they next generation will have multiple opportunities for achieving whichever direction they choose to go.”

If the stakeholders in the tourism industry in Uganda cooperate, integrate their roles and play them effectively and successfully, the country will achieve sustainable tourism development. This will mean improvement in the quality of life of the community (social-cultural sustainability) the quality of the environment would be maintained (ecological sustainability) and the visitors would get the value of their money which would encourage them to come again along with new and more tourists. The increase in the number of tourists would mean more income for government, private sector and local community (economic sustainability). If the three forms of sustainability were achieved, then sustainable development would be achieved.

**The way forward for Uganda**

Uganda is keen on diversifying her economy. Tourism has been identified as one of the sectors that could help achieve this goal. It is therefore important for the government to spearhead the struggle of diversifying the tourism industry through cultural tourism. This can be done by co-ordinating the activities of the different bodies and institutions in-charge of planning for cultural heritage conservation and use. The institutions that need to harmonize their activities are: Department of Museums and Antiquities in the Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry; the Culture Desk in Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social welfare; the Local Governments who are supposed to look after cultural sites and the Kingdoms.

The central and local governments, the Kingdoms and local communities should identify cultural sites, traditional crafts, values, traditions, which are of specific importance and have potential in the cultural tourism activity. Then they should be marketed. There is need to conduct research so as to provide accurate literature to the visitors. Accurate information is important in the development of cultural tourism. In developing cultural attractions, the natural qualities of Uganda and its people should be recognised and upheld as a source of pride and confidence from the grass root level. This will imply responsibility and stewardship towards the environment and embrace everything environmental from fauna and flora through cultures, traditions, art forms, architecture, engineering, agriculture and industry as can be found and experienced in Uganda (Open Africa, 1997). The uniqueness of Uganda’s cultural and eco-tourism will emphasize the importance of the country to the authenticity of a tourist experience.

Most of the attractions were not initially designed for tourists and so need to be renovated to meet the visitor needs. Such developments would include building of information centres, souvenir shops, public toilets and public telephone booths. However, all these developments should be environmental friendly. Since cultural attractions that exist for many years, are fragile and vulnerable to destruction, carrying capacities should be established, visitors should be sensitised on the importance of the environment to the attraction and need to sustain the attraction. Cultural tourism will bring together people of vastly different orientations towards modern values, as cash based economy and traditional religious, practices. Attempts should be made to minimise the impacts upon the local and traditional societies through degradation as part of the ‘product’ is sold to the tourists to satisfy their perceived needs. Standardisation strips a country of its individuality and ultimately its
uniqueness as a tourist destination. Local communities should not adopt their own cultures to serve tourists’ needs, which often entails the adoption of a ‘service’ mentality. There should be greater understanding and mutual enrichment between cultures instead of misunderstandings and disappointments (Gee 1999).

Proper planning and accurate survey and evaluation should be worked out before any development is done. Factors like accessibility, amenities, carrying capacities, authenticity should be considered during the planning process. The government should liaise with other governments in the region to develop tourism circuits to cultural destinations. Tourism circuits are becoming popular with the advent of special interest groups (Cullian 1977).

The development of cultural tourism should be included in the national budget and where possible government should solicit for other sources of funds and encourage private investment. Local communities should be sensitised on the importance of cultural tourism and encouraged to participate in its development. The local communities should be trained on heritage interpretation and planning, communication skills, self-presentation, hospitality, coping strategies, history of the community, region and the country.

However, the success and sustainability of the tourism industry depends on the cooperation of the stakeholders in integrating and playing their roles. The industry should also respect the natural, social and cultural diversity of the destinations. Ensure a pace, scale and type of development which protects rather than destroys diversity of local culture and communities. Tourism should be integrated within the activities of a local community and with their full participation. Cultural tourism, which does not reduce the host culture to a commodity, should be fostered and encouraged. Promote tourism in line with local culture, welfare and development aspirations.

**Conclusion**

Cultural tourism in Uganda is a potential, which needs to be developed for the diversification of her tourism industry. The cultural attractions include archaeology, historical and cultural sites, arts and crafts, religious attractions, museums, art galleries and the people. Since cultural tourism is becoming very important world wide in terms of tourists’ numbers and income received, it is important for Uganda to participate in this lucrative sector of the tourism industry. The success of developing cultural tourism requires the concerted efforts of the stakeholders namely the government, private sector, communities, kingdoms and the tourists themselves. All of them should work together and their activities should be harmonized. However, all developments of cultural tourism should gear toward conservation, environmental, economic and cultural sustainability. Once sustainability is achieved then cultural tourism will contribute to the sustainable development of the country.

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The ‘culture’ of sustainable tourism: a quest for innovation

René van der Duim
Wageningen University
Netherlands

Introduction

Almost ten years after Rio, the concept of sustainability has become powerful. Almost all levels of government policy and almost every economic sector of society now calls for new forms of growth which incorporates aspects of environmental awareness, integration of economic and social development, and equitable economic development. In the wake of the Brundtland report *Our Common Future* and *Agenda 21*, the tourism sector has also gradually embraced the concept of sustainable development.

However, as discussed below, sustainable development is a flag of convenience under which diverse ships sail, which helps to explain its power and popularity as a term in debates about development (Adams 1992, p. 218). As in other sectors of society, the concept of sustainable development in tourism accommodates a variety of different understandings, ranging from economic through social and cultural to environmental issues. This variety not only relates to scale and scope, but also to the direction of the discourse. It is far from clear whether sustainable development offers a new paradigm or simply is a green wash over ‘business-as-usual’. According to Adams (1992, p. 207) most commentators use the term in a loose and un-theorized form. The concept of ‘sustainable development’ accommodates (development-) strategies ranging from light- to dark-green, from a romantic and nostalgic conservatism to an utopian socialism, from the ‘zero growth’ school of environmentalism to ideas about the importance of continued growth of the world economy (Schuurman 1992, p.31). The same heterogeneity in ideas and discussions applies to the discourse on sustainable development of tourism.

This paper examines the relation between ‘culture’, ‘tourism’ and ‘sustainable development’ in the context of African tourism. First the relation between sustainable tourism and ‘culture’ is discussed within five perspectives: the impacts of tourism on culture, the sustainable development of ‘cultural’ tourism, the ‘de-differentiation’ of culture, nature and economy, the ‘culture’ of tourist experiences and the ‘culture’ of the debate on sustainable development and sustainable tourism. Second sustainable development of tourism is dealt with as an innovation process in which different ‘knowledge systems’ meet. Finally, some areas for future research are presented.

Sustainable tourism and ‘culture’

Relations between sustainable tourism and ‘culture’ are many. However, in most cases, the relation between tourism and culture is dealt with in two perspectives: the impacts of tourism on culture and the sustainable development of ‘cultural’ tourism. In the first perspective tourism is primarily seen as a process, whereas in the second perspective as a product (Richards, 1996; see also Reid, elsewhere in this Volume).
The impacts of tourism on culture

Culture as a process designates the social field of the production of meaning and the realm of ideas. The discussion focuses on the way and the extent to which tourism impacts the processes through which people make sense of themselves and their lives (Richards, 1996). For a long time the (normative) discussion related to the cultural 'costs and benefits' of tourism centred on modernization and (under-) development theories, and processes of globalisation and localization. The general idea in these studies is that tourists, whether they seek authentic experiences or not, can inflict severe damage on local communities. Especially social and spatial concentration of tourism can create social and cultural distance between tourists and their hosts, which eventually could lead to the destruction of the very social structures, which attracts tourists.

Akama, elsewhere in this Volume, presents a typical example of this facet, as he states: “the Maasai image is constructed and reconstructed around notions of Western superiority and dominance”. He further states: “various forms of unwanted behaviour and vices of mass tourism have been noted in Masaailand. They include incidents of prostitution, alcoholism, smoking, and drug taking. The Masai youth are especially influenced by tourist behaviour and are enticed to indulge in such deviant activities”.

There are growing signs, however, that local cultures are also resilient enough to absorb and turn to creative use the changes brought about by tourism (Richards, 1996: 67). In other words, there has been a shift away from simplifications on ‘negative impacts’ in cultural studies of tourism, focusing instead on people as active and strategic users of culture, participating in contexts where no single set of cultural interpretations has an inherent claim to truth or authenticity. As Wood (1993, p. 66-68) points out, tourism has its own peculiar dynamics that makes it an interesting and challenging field of study, but its impact is always played out in an already dynamic and changing cultural context. Ongaro and Ritsma, elsewhere in this Volume, address the various strategies that are used by different groups in Masaailand to benefit from the opportunities offered by tourism as well.

As a result such a view will abandon the self-evident distinction between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ cultural effects and (normative) statements about tourism's 'good' or 'bad' impact and whether culture is being ruined or preserved. As Wood (1993: 67) claims: ‘international tourism neither ‘destroys’ culture nor does it ever simply ‘preserve’ it. It is inevitably bound up in an ongoing process of cultural invention in which ‘Westernisation’ is probably in most cases of lesser importance than other new directions of cultural change”. A perspective, in which people are seen as active and strategic users of culture, participating in contexts where no single set of cultural interpretations has an inherent claim to truth and authenticity, puts a different complexion on the question of criteria for sustainability.

Sustainability criteria, if any, therefore emerge first and foremost out of a negotiated agreement among stakeholders ('hosts' as well as 'guests') with different interests concerning the ongoing process of symbolic meaning and appropriation. As Tucker (2001: 885) states: “rather than constantly re-iterating the need for preservation and protection of tradition in some a priori form, there is a need to develop an understanding of where cultural tourism might begin to encompass and even embrace new cultural forms which often emerge through tourism itself. There is a need to recognize cultural forms which arise through and are the very product of those institutions which are generally though to be homogenizing”. Picard (1995: 60-61) gives an excellent example of this point of view on cultural tourism in Bali.
According to Picard, tourism has neither polluted Balinese culture, nor brought about its renaissance, but rendered the Balinese self-conscious of their culture. Thanks to tourism the Balinese realize they posses something valuable called ‘culture’. And as it grew valuable in Balinese eyes, their culture became distant and concrete, turning into an object detachable from themselves, which could be represented and copied, marketed and exchanged, at will.

The sustainable development of ‘cultural’ tourism

The second, and closely related, perspective focuses on the tourism consumption of products (as the result of processes of production of meaning) of individual or group activities to which certain meanings are attached. This notion of culture centres around the physical expression of those belief systems and knowledge (see also Reid, elsewhere in this Volume). Here culture, and more specifically cultural artefacts such as monuments, music and dance, architecture, drama, festivals, museums and cultural sites, are being seen as tourism products, juxtaposed to the ‘Big Five’ and other natural attractions of Africa. The sustainability debate primarily focuses on the dangers of overcrowding, loss of ‘experience value’ and commodification of culture and loss of authenticity.

Often this discussion is framed within a ‘tourism centric approach’ (Hunter, 1995) in which the sustainability of the cultural product as a tourism attraction is questioned or is part of the tourism’s ‘good’ or ‘bad’ impact agenda. Reid, elsewhere in this Volume, and Mowforth and Munt (1998) have widened the discussion suggesting that the interference and spread of capitalism have turned not only labour or goods, but also landscapes, culture or even people into commodities. In this way the discussion becomes wider and part of the process of:

The ‘de-differentiation’ of culture, nature and economy

The traditional view of cultural tourism, as equivalent to ‘high culture’ attractions such as museums and monuments, is now being challenged. First, by a new generation of ‘popular’ cultural attractions. Secondly and linked, by important social and economic changes leading to increasing de-differentiation between previously separate social and economic spheres, such as ‘culture’ and ‘nature’, ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture’, ‘culture’ and ‘economy’ and ‘culture’ and ‘tourism’. In 1990, Urry pointed to a number of developments leading to this horizontal and vertical de-differentiation: “there is a breakdown in the distinctiveness of each of these spheres of social activities, especially the cultural. Each implode into the other (84)”. ‘High’ as well as ‘low’ culture, culture and nature, culture and commerce: they have all become indissoluble intertwined and have become object of the tourist gaze. As a result tourism, as a form of cultural consumption, is increasingly decisive for the organization, design and signification of space. Almost everything and all sorts of places have become centers of spectacle and display. The coastline near Mombassa, as well as the plains of the Masai Mara or the cultural manyatta’s surrounding them, have become objects of the tourist gaze.

However, whereas imagination once was seen as a representation of reality, now reality is more and more becoming a representation of our imagination (Mommaas, 2000). As Urry (1990:85) states, signification has become increasingly visual and the referents of signification, the ‘reality’, are themselves representations. According to Wels, elsewhere in this Volume, in our European search for authenticity and the authentic experience we have replaced the stage for the African other from Europe’s World Exhibitions, journals, scientific ethnographies, National geographic, television documentaries to Africa itself. Europeans want
to see the Africans and the African landscapes in the same way as they thought of them during the colonial period.

The same applies to ‘nature’. National protected areas like Amboseli or Masaai Mara have been charged with meanings and codes and have become a spectacle and theme, to be contrasted with an approach that emphasizes its ‘use’ value (Urry, 1990). Equally, their ‘economic value’ has increased enormously. The ‘culturalisation’ and ‘commercialisation’ of these kinds of spaces have lead to new emerging sustainability issues related to power, control and signification. According to Mommaas (2000) ‘nature-nature’ became ‘culture-nature’ (see also Wilson, 1992). Just as with inner cities and coastal zones, nature has been ‘spectacle-ized’.

Nature has become an object of cultural and an ethical evaluation and has been brought into line with ideals of specific social groups, like nature conservation organizations and tourists. In this process, leisure and tourism have played an important role in the growing realization of the meaning and experience value of nature. Hence, sustainable use of nature is not only a matter of ecology and economy, but also culture. Interested people and organizations, with specific ideas and concepts of nature, decide which part of ‘nature’ should be sustained (see also Duim and Philipsen, 1995). Similarly, the value judgements on, for example, ecological impacts of tourism are just as specific to particular (cultural or political) contexts. In other words, although ecological criteria for sustainability might seem fixed or objectively determined, they are related to specific areas of reality in which interest and values are produced and established.

It is therefore essential to acknowledge, when dealing with the concept of sustainability, that our environment in general (and nature in particular) is not only charged with physical impacts of tourism and recreation, but also - and perhaps more importantly - is a register of meanings. The increasingly divergent meanings held by different interest and pressure groups, government agencies and various parts of the tourist industry, need to be acknowledged in order to understand the conflicts and tensions surrounding the issue of sustainable development of tourism (Clark et al. 1994).

As a consequence of all these issues more attention should be paid to the ‘symbolic’ dimensions of space in the debate on sustainable development. It should recognize the fact that qualities of cities, countryside’s or natural areas are more expressed in cultural-symbolic terms rather than in morphological or functional terms.

This brings us to the fourth perspective: the safeguarding of the diversity and accessibility of environmental experiences and perceptions.

The ‘culture’ of tourist experiences

Policies addressing sustainable development of tourism should emphasize the consequences of spatial transformations. Not only should ‘dominant worlds of experiences’ be facilitated. According to Lengkeek (1994) the quality of tourist experience is related to the possibility to search for ‘other’ realities. He argues that tourism should be safeguarded, to a certain degree, from continual commercialisation and government intervention. The quality of tourist experience is endangered by the rationally organized everyday world, which eventually leads to an encapsulation and exploitation of ‘contra-structure’, that is everything that falls outside the concept of everyday life and motivates tourists to travel. Lengkeek argues that tensions
between the rationally organized everyday world and the contra-structure are at the heart of the 'sustainability' issue. These tensions, particularly apparent in the socio-cultural and physic-spatial environment, could lead to the exhaustion of the sources of contra-structural space and significance, which is fundamental for the tourist experience.

**The ‘culture’ of the debate on sustainable development and sustainable tourism**

This brings us to the fifth and final perspective. If we define culture as a particular way of ‘doing’ and ‘producing meaning’, we could also talk about a specific way of doing and thinking when it comes to the sustainable development of tourism. Doing so, we could argue, as we partly did in the above, that the ‘culture’ of the debate on sustainable development and sustainable tourism has been primarily giving emphasis to:

- Economy and ecology. Sustainable tourism not only relates to the tension between ecology and economy, but also between culture and ecology and culture and economy. In practice, important cultural dimensions of ‘economy’ and ‘ecology’ have at least partly been overlooked;

- The question of how and by which process can we make ‘sustainable products’ that meet sustainability criteria. These criteria, however, will need to be the result of exchanges between (sometimes very conflicting) perspectives and interactions of the parties concerned. It is important to include many different viewpoints and parties into the discussion on sustainable development in order to create innovative ‘sustainable’ practices and products. The major players in the tourism sector, however, have been resistant to more fundamental discussions on changing perspectives;

- A ‘tourism centric approach’ (Hunter, 1995). Emphasis has been on an approach in which one tried to avoid the notion that ‘tourism is destroying tourism’. However, a more fundamental approach starts with the question how and to what extent tourism could contribute to sustainable development in general. Hunter (1995) stresses the importance of a broader (‘extra parochial’) approach, whereby the contribution of sustainable tourism is re-conceptualised primarily in terms of tourism’s contribution to sustainable development: "under all circumstances, the resultant principles of sustainable tourism development are also principles of sustainable development" (1995, p. 163. See also: Mowforth and Munt, 1998).

Mowforth and Munt (1998) and Sharpley (2000) have also pointed at the existing gap between the practice of ‘sustainable tourism’ and the objectives of sustainable development. According to Mowforth and Munt western (economic and cultural) interests prevail. “Sustainability is ideological in the sense that it is largely form the First World that the consciousness and mobilisation around global environmental issues have been generated and in the sense that sustainability serves the interest of the First World. For the most part, it is a discussion ‘framed’ in the West and imposed on the ‘Rest’, and hence the acrimonious debates between first and third World countries at the Rio Summit” (Mowforth and Munt 1998: 38-39). Therefore we have to ask ourselves "who is saying what to whom and with what intentions sustainability is used by a variety of interests in a variety of ways as a means of supporting and enhancing their basis of power. This ranges from the activities of the tourist industry to the interpretation adopted by or forced upon Third World governments or the discourse adopted by the myriad of environmental organisations. In short, sustainability and
Sustainable tourism reflects a discourse that is contested and through which power circulates (p.324).

**Sustainable tourism as an innovation process**

To overcome the current problems, new ways of thinking and doing are necessary. Sustainable development of tourism should be dealt with as an innovation process (NRLO, 1999) in which not only product- and process innovations take place, but also system innovations.

Currently, emphasis is on product- and process-innovation by individual persons, organisations and companies. Existing tourism products are made more ‘sustainable’. Cultural tourism products are protected against ‘overcrowding’, loss of authenticity or are seen only as vehicles for tourism development and hence economic development. NRLO (1999) labels this ‘functional learning’ or ‘doing things better’.

However, sustainable development of tourism in a broader (‘extra parochial’) perspective calls for ‘substantial learning’. ‘Nature’ or ‘culture’ are no longer just means of (tourism) production. Sustainable development of tourism gives priority to nature development, liveability and ‘community development’ and the like. In other words ‘doing better things’ (NRLO, 1999).

- **From:**
  - Product- and process-innovations
  - Functional learning
  - ‘Doing things better’

- **To:**
  - System-innovations
  - Substantial learning
  - ‘Doing better things’

This calls for ‘system-innovations’, which are alterations beyond the level of the individual company or organisation. These innovations are embraced by a variety of parties concerned, with a variety of expertise and skills. System innovations will drastically change the existing relations between parties and hence the ‘culture’ of sustainable development of tourism. System-innovations require ‘new markets’ or a change of the relevant work- and living ‘environment’ of parties concerned.

However, the establishment of a new market of ‘sustainable tourism’ has not been realised as yet. The same inflation as in the case of ‘eco-tourism’ is likely to happen (Jaakson, 1997). ‘Sustainable tourism’ sees the risk of becoming a marketing tool like eco-tourism. Transforming the relevant work- and living environment of the many parties concerned needs to be accomplished in order to do better things.

In other words, system innovations call for (NRLO, 1999):

- **A fundamental change of perspective**

  In the above discussion, it was stated that it is much more about ‘doing better things’ than ‘doing things better’. It requires a change in ‘culture’ of the parties involved. For example, it should alter the current situation in which African tourism is produced by colonialist for colonialists (Harrison, 2000). Reid, elsewhere in this Volume argues that
the development of cultural tourism should be based on a development model in stead of a growth model. According to Reid "cultural tourism will suffer from the same problems as mass tourism, eco-tourism or nature tourism if it is developed by the same mentality and on identical principles". However, these changes of perspective will require:

**A long space of time**
A realistic time horizon is 10 to 15 years. The implementation of system innovations will have to cope with the backdrop of many imperatives, like existing bureaucratic systems and power relations at all levels of society (see for example Dieke, 2000). As a consequence new and appropriate institutional structures and networks have to support these innovations.

The so-called Sustainable Technological Development (STD) programme in the Netherlands is an example of changing perspectives and time frames. In this programme ‘factor 20’ innovations are created, that is innovations with in the time frame of 50 years. The central question put forward in the STD process is: ‘what will sustainable tourism look like in 2050’?

**The commitment of many different parties concerned**
Not only leisure and tourism organisations should be included, but also governmental institutions, nature conservation organisations, consumer-organisations, cultural associations and local stakeholders. System-innovations presuppose the getting together of parties concerned through a creative innovation network (Engel, 1995). But it also presupposes the empowerment of those who have been left out of the planning and innovation process. Dieke (2000) advocates the empowerment of African masses “by allowing them access to entrepreneurial opportunities offered by tourism; by permitting women a role in the tourism industry; and perhaps finally giving them a sense of ownership in the sector (312)”.

An interesting example of this striving for innovation and innovate networks is the tourism programme within the framework of the Bilateral Agreement on Sustainable Development between Costa Rica and the Netherlands. In this context, universities, the tourism industry, NGO’s, and governments from both countries are jointly developing sustainable tourism projects. Within this programme also bilateral projects are executed in which innovations are tested (Caalders et al,1999; Duim et .al 2001)

**Integral renewal**
Only integral, and not partial, changes will induce system-innovations, although the latter may induce product- and process innovations at the level of an individual company or organisation.

For system-innovations to work, different ‘knowledge systems’ need to be brought together. Such knowledge systems should include ‘explicit knowledge’ and ‘implicit knowledge’. Based on the exchange of knowledge, expertise, and experiences an ‘appropriate technology’ should be developed tailored to local circumstances, which can only be developed by taking both local and ‘laboratory’ knowledge seriously (Caalders, Dietvorst and Philipsen, 2000). This will bring about knowledge that is able to solve specific problems and will change the notion of reality of all parties involved.
These system innovations can take place within a cluster of combined economic activities, like leisure and tourism, as well as in regions. Recently, in the Netherlands, so called ‘regional knowledge and innovation centres’ were proposed. Although originally only focussing on rural renewal, it is argued that sustainable development of tourism should become an integral part of the design of these knowledge centres, as rural renewal is an important basis for sustainable development of tourism (Mispelaar, 2000). In these ‘laboratories’ research and design are combined and existing networks could be linked with other parties, which is necessary for joining various sorts of knowledge and creating processes of substantial learning.

In the African context similar innovation processes could be thought of. Clustering activities of local people and organisations, NGO’s, tourist industry and state organisations and knowledge centres, like Universities, could be an important step forwards.

Conclusions and discussion

This paper has argued that the innovation process toward sustainable development of tourism has been only partial, focussing on products and processes, on the relation between economy and ecology and that development has been predominately ‘tourism centric’.

In order to meet the requirements of a system innovation it should be ‘extra parochial’ (Hunter, 1995), and above all, focus on cultural aspects. Not only by stressing ‘cultural tourism’ or the ‘effects’ of tourism on culture, but also by generating a new ‘culture’ in the debate on sustainable development of tourism will progress be made. System innovations aim to develop new perspectives and ‘doing better things’.

In the last few years some progress has been made. The discussion on tourism and sustainable development has been broadened and intensified. Some initiatives point in the direction of system innovations. For example:

Sustainable tourism is a political agenda of the Commission for Sustainable Development, the Convention on Biological Diversity, and 2002 has been designated by the UN as the international year of ‘eco-tourism’;

Little by little development organisations such as NUFFIC, SNV, Novib and Ecooperation in the Netherlands, and GTZ in Germany, have started tourism project’s aimed at creating ‘appropriate technologies’ for tourism in African countries such as Tanzania and Uganda; Organisations like WTO, WWF, IUCN and UNESCO are meeting each other to discuss sustainable tourism, although the results of these discussions are not yet trickling down to the local level. Atlas Africa also brings together people from the field of culture, tourism, nature conservation, policymaking, education and research and as a result new directions of thinking and new practices are being created.

In order to elaborate on these developments at least four fields of study are proposed.

**Linking tourism to sustainable development**

Despite the progress made, the discussion should be broadened in order to create system innovations in which outdated perspectives are fundamentally discussed and changed. Creative ‘leaps’ are necessary in order to safeguard inter- and intra generation justice in the field of sustainable development of tourism.
Networks and chains
The extent to which system innovations will be created also depends on the institutional arrangements, chains, and networks that will be created. In order to create these system innovations all parties should be linked vertically and horizontally. Vertically, by linking international discussions to local practices, and by considering tourism as a cluster of connected economic activities. Caalders et al (1999) argues for so-called bridge or gatekeepers to bridge the gap between the global and the local. Horizontally, by bringing together organisations (like tourism, nature conservation, development and governmental organisations) at a regional level in innovation networks.

‘Environmental ‘qualities’
In innovation networks, discussions should focus on the (culturally defined) environmental ‘qualities’ one would like to develop or preserve. Tourism and leisure determine the physical and symbolic transformations of space. Culture policy related questions on design and the way tourism facilities and practices fit into the natural and cultural environments are therefore becoming more important.

Planning and steering
In sum, sustainability has become one of the major puzzles for societal development in general and tourism development in particular. Whatever new meanings and ‘technologies’ will be developed, at the end of he process new products and practices have to be implemented. Therefore, the way these new ‘appropriate technologies’ will be put into practice and ‘inappropriate’ technologies precluded is one of the major challenges for future planners.

References


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