

**APPRAISING THE IMPACTS OF COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM IN TANZANIA:  
A COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVE**

**BY**

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**Department of Phys. Ed. & Rec Studies  
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**of**

**Master of Arts**

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## ABSTRACT

Longido is a Maasai community situated in Northern Tanzania, 15 kilometres from the Tanzanian-Kenyan border. In 1996 SNV - the Netherlands Development Organisation began examining ways in which tourists could experience facets of Tanzanian culture while benefiting local communities at the same time. Longido was selected as one of the pilot communities where tourists could get a glimpse into the culture and daily life of the Maasai. Shortly after, the Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP) was officially launched and Longido has since remained one of the programme's most visited and popular tourism communities. Since 1996, more than 1,800 tourists have visited the Longido community. The strategies implemented by the Cultural Tourism Programme which includes the establishment of a village development project in each community have gathered much support and would indicate great success. However, there has been little attempt to investigate the impacts of CTP's community approach from the perspective of local people living in the tourism communities. In light of this, the purpose of this study to examine community attitudes towards the benefits and problems surrounding tourism subsidised development projects.

An exploratory, case study investigation was undertaken whereby mixed methods of data collection were utilised. The study involved both secondary analysis of existing data which was used to supplement the primary source of data, interviews with local residents and tourism authorities. Interviews were conducted to identify diverse community attitudes towards tourism and tourism subsidised development projects. The sample was drawn from referrals by village leaders and tour guides. There was an effort to have representation among four modified resident categories as defined by Krippendorf (1987) along with political figures and non-residents of

Longido who were influential in shaping the tourism sector in Longido. Included in the sample were tourism co-ordinators, tour guides, owners and workers of accommodation and food businesses, handicraft artisans, missionaries, development workers as well as people who had little or no involvement with tourism in Longido. Moreover, there was an effort to include marginalised segments of the population, namely women, illiterate people and the elderly to provide a broad range of community perspectives towards tourism. Interview data helped to reveal diverse attitudes of local residents in Longido towards tourism.

Key findings pertaining to the perceived benefits and problems of community tourism in Longido related to tourist interaction, impact of tourism on local economy, tourism induced behavioural changes among local people and tourists, distribution of tourism revenues, and issues relating to structural and organisational characteristics of the Cultural Tourism Programme. Findings pertaining to the community subsidised development project included community attitudes towards a cattle dip; a medicated bath used to eradicate tick borne disease from cattle. As well, attitudes towards new development priorities in the community were identified, such priorities included water projects, education, medical care, and small business initiatives.

The study's findings illustrate how an indigenous community in the developing world is influenced by tourism in a relatively short time period. Issues identified in this study provide a good case for the decisions and implications that communities in the developing world will encounter in trying to gain greater control over the direction of tourism development in their communities.

**“If we do not change direction we may end up where we are heading” - Lao Tzu**

i have had to change directions a million times getting to this point. Now that i'm here, it is all fine because i can look back at all the obstacles and frustration and forget it all. Many changes more lie ahead and getting to this point was an arduous task to say the least. There are so many people to thank in this once never-ending thesis quest but a few deserve some extra credit.

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Ahsante sana, ashe-na-lin

vibhor

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION	PAGE
I.	Introduction ..... 1
	Research Objectives ..... 6
II.	Literature Review ..... 7
	Community Based Tourism ..... 7
	Host Communities ..... 9
	Tourism Impacts on Host Communities ..... 10
	Social and Cultural Impacts: Focus on the Developing World ..... 11
	Community Attitudes Towards Tourism ..... 18
	Conceptual Framework ..... 26
	Statement of Research Question ..... 30
III.	Methods ..... 32
	Study Setting ..... 33
	Background on the Maasai ..... 35
	Research Design ..... 38
	Data Sources and Collection Methods ..... 40
	Analysis of Data Sources ..... 46
	Establishing Entry, Reflection of Self ..... 47
	Description of Participants ..... 51
	Ethical Considerations ..... 57
	Reporting: Description of NUD*IST Software ..... 57
	Pilot Study ..... 60
IV.	Results ..... 63
	Secondary Cultural Tourism Programme Background Information ..... 64
	Analysis of Tourist Feedback ..... 67
	Interview Analysis ..... 70
	Characteristics of Participants ..... 70
	Analysis of Community Attitudes Towards Tourism ..... 74
	Analysis of Perceived Benefits ..... 75
	Commonly Shared Perceived Benefits ..... 76
	Resident Specific Perceived Benefits ..... 86
	Analysis of Perceived Problems ..... 93
	Commonly Perceived Problems ..... 94

	Problems Perceived Among Specific Resident Types . .	108
	Review of Perceived Tourism Impacts in Longido .....	127
	Analysis of Tourism Subsidised Development Projects .....	131
	Water Projects .....	140
	Educational Priorities .....	141
	Health Care Initiatives .....	143
	Small Business Ventures .....	144
	Unspecified Responses .....	147
	Review of Perceived Tourism Impacts in Longido .....	148
V.	Implications .....	150
	Current Happenings and Future Outlook .....	155
VI.	References .....	162
VII.	Appendices .....	169
	Glossary of Key Terms .....	169
	Maps .....	170
	Adapted Interview Guide .....	173
	Background of World Vision .....	174
	Synopsis of Longido Cattle Dip .....	176
	Photo-documentation of Longido Cattle Dip .....	178

## TABLE OF FIGURES AND TABLES

### FIGURES

	PAGE
2.0 Host Attitudinal and Behavioural Responses to Tourism .....	15
4.0 Origin of Tourist Arrivals to Longido .....	66

### TABLES

2.1 Economic Impacts as Perceived by Host Residents .....	20
2.2 Environmental Impacts as Perceived by Host Residents .....	21
2.3 Sociocultural Impacts as Perceived by Host Residents .....	22
2.4 Krippendorff's Four Resident Types .....	27
3.0 Modified Resident Types Found in Longido .....	54
3.1 Defined Nodes for Longido Interview Data with NUD*IST .....	59
4.0 Number of Tourist Arrivals to Longido .....	64
4.1 Tourist Receipts for Last Two Quarters of 2000 in Longido .....	65
4.2 Major Attractions Identified by Tourists .....	69
4.3 Complaints Cited by Tourists .....	70
4.4 Characteristics of Sample .....	71
4.5 Benefits Derived from Tourists Themselves .....	78
4.6 Perceived Benefits Relating to Overall Development of the Community .....	79
4.7 Perceived Benefits Resulting from Development Projects .....	80
4.8 Benefits Perceived Among Specific Resident Types .....	88
4.9 Commonly Perceived Problems Associated with Tourism .....	97

4.10	Perceived Problems Specific to Employment of Tourism Beneficiaries .....	109
4.11	Perceived Problems with Behaviour and Attitude of Local People .....	110
4.12	Perceived Structural and Organisational Problems .....	111
4.13	Perceived Problems Associated with Misunderstandings Between Hosts and Tourists	112
4.14	Development Priorities Identified Within the Community of Longido .....	138

## TABLE OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX	PAGE
A Glossary of Key Terms .....	169
B Map of Africa .....	170
C Map of Tanzania .....	171
D Map of Longido Area .....	172
E Adapted Interview Guide .....	173
F Background on World Vision .....	174
G World Vision: Longido Development Programme .....	175
H Synopsis of Cattle Dip between 1995 and 1998 .....	176
I Photo-documentation of Longido Cattle Dip .....	178

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The world is shrinking. An increase in leisure time, improved infrastructure, rapid advances in technology and the increased economic accessibility of purchasing long distance transport have accelerated tourist activity on a global scale (Eadington & Smith, 1992). Tourism is no longer a pursuit restricted to the economic elite (Smith, 1990). Indigenous cultures and remote places that were once isolated are now influenced by foreign cultures and people through tourism (Hinch & Butler, 1996).

The rapid growth in tourism worldwide has allowed tourism to become an activity of global significance (Robinson, 1999). Historically, the majority of tourist destinations were primarily situated in industrialised regions but this trend is shifting. Many third world countries or less industrialised nations now incorporate tourism in their development strategies (Lea, 1988). In relation to more industrialised regions, the third world possesses physical and cultural features which make tourism a viable means of income to supplement more traditional means such as agriculture (Lea, 1988).

Initially, tourism in the less developed world largely mirrored Western tourism models in that it was limited to few areas where large-scale infrastructure was developed (Jenkins, 1982). More recently, tourism has taken on new forms which focus on less conventional physical and cultural features (Hinch & Butler, 1996; Nash & Butler, 1990; Pearce, 1989; Smith & Eadington, 1992). This type of tourism usually includes a number of diverse activities which incorporate cultural and environmental features, and ecotourism and cultural tourism are but two names given to such

popular emerging tourism forms. Moreover, cohesive areas marked by shared social patterns and smaller geographical areas (Stoddard, 1983), (from hereafter described as communities) are often the settings for such tourism (Murphy, 1985). Community scaled tourism models are often considered a necessary prerequisite towards maintaining long-term sustainability on economic, environmental and sociocultural dimensions (Scheyvens, 1999).

Arguably, community based tourism keeps the best interests of the community in mind. However, tourism of any kind will impact communities and affect the attitudes and perceptions of individual community members towards tourism fostering general lifestyle changes. Brunt and Courtney (1999) note that the literature predominately evaluates the sociocultural effects of tourism on communities at a general level, while Mathieson and Wall (1982) stress that research on the social impacts of tourism should be directed more at determining the perspectives of host residents towards the presence of tourists. At the same time, the international body on tourism, the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) has recognised the need to “support greater involvement of communities in the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation process of tourism policies, programs and projects” (WTO as cited in Pearce & Moscardo, 1999, p.31). This recognition acknowledges the need for self-determinism (Hinch & Butler, 1996; Walle, 1998) which is characterised as the process by which host communities become aware of and understand the implications of the strategies and decisions regarding the planning and development of tourism on the community.

The presumption that all community based tourism schemes reflect the desires of the community as a whole would be misleading. Even small scale tourism can be controlled by external interests (de Kadt, 1979). There is much evidence to indicate that unequal forces of power often dictate decision making, planning and the collection of tourism revenues

(Mansperger, 1995). Mowforth and Munt (1998) note that within tourism communities in developing countries certain sectors of the population are often marginalised from tourism planning and development decisions. Alienated populations often include women, the economically disadvantaged, illiterate populations and people who are not actively employed by the tourism sector (Krippendorf, 1987).

Tourism of any kind has an enormous influence on local populations in less developed areas (Murphy, 1985) and, within tourism communities, local people can view tourism in both a positive and negative light (Krippendorf, 1987; Pizam, 1978). In less developed regions, tourism often produces many difficult to change or irreversible social and cultural impacts (Murphy, 1985; Ritchie, 1993). It is argued that the degree to which communities are aware of these impacts (self-determinism) reflects the achievement of a greater goal of justice and equity which has global and local implications. Achieving self-determinism must be a process that is implemented during the early stages of tourism development. While many developing regions have been involved in tourism for some time, numerous communities are still in the early stages of tourism development while other regions have yet to attract their first tourists.

It is for undeveloped and newly developing tourism communities that self-determinism becomes an attainable objective. If the residents of such tourism communities are to hold a more equitable share of the benefits and costs of tourism, a greater effort to determine the preferences and priorities of the community at large is necessary. This cannot be done without determining how community members, including the marginalised populations in the community, are influenced by tourism. To date, there are few studies which develop such accounts of the perceived impacts of tourism from the perspectives of the residents in the less industrialised world themselves (Pearce & Moscardo, 1999).

Tanzania provides an excellent opportunity to study the impacts of recently developed community based tourism activities in a less industrialised region. Since independence in 1961, the annual number of tourist arrivals in Tanzania has multiplied by over 50 times. Major tourist attractions, which include world famous wildlife parks such as the Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater, coastal beaches and Mount Kilimanjaro, helped draw a total of 627,325 tourists to Tanzania in 1999 (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2000). It is no surprise that tourism remains one of Tanzania's fastest growing and most important sectors. In 1999, tourism was Tanzania's largest foreign exchange earner accounting for more than USD \$570 million in foreign currency earned (Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, 2000).

Nevertheless, Tanzania remains one of the world's least developed areas with low literacy rates, high population growth rates, a high incidence of infant mortality, and low life expectancies (United Nations Development Programme, 1999). The Tanzanian tourism industry historically centred around wildlife safaris and mountain treks in Tanzania's national parks (Finlay & Crowther, 1997). Wildlife safaris and mountain trek tourism remains a highly structured affair in Tanzania and relies upon relatively large-scale infrastructure investment in the form of accommodations, communication and transportation networks (Jenkins, 1982). While these attractions remain a central pull in Tanzania's tourism sector, new tourism forms have evolved. The Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB), the nations governing body on tourism development, has a policy which focusses on increasing the number of tourist arrivals while increasing per capita tourist expenditures through product development, and diversification. This includes encouraging the cultural tourism or community based tourism sector (TTB, 1996). Traditional African cultures including the Maasai, Barbaig, Hasabe, and Swahili Coast are the basis of some emerging tourism attractions in Tanzania.

In Tanzania, community tourism has been organised under an umbrella programme called the Cultural Tourism Programme. Tourism activities in the Cultural Tourism Programme communities can be described as small-scale, community focussed tourism schemes that share many characteristics of ecotourism and cultural tourism (Kobb & Mmari, 1998). Unlike the large scale tourism schemes which revolve around wildlife safaris and mountain trekking, small-scale, community based tourism does not have a long history in Tanzania. Its roots can be traced to the inception of the Cultural Tourism Programme which began pilot activities in 1995 (Cultural Tourism Programme, 1998); therefore, implementing a tourism strategy that minimises the potential for undesired, irreversible effects remains a noteworthy and viable goal. Before this goal can be accomplished, however, it is imperative that tourism impacts, as perceived by individuals in newly developed tourism communities, are identified. Presently, there is a gap in the literature regarding the impacts of community tourism in the developing world, particularly in the East African region. Nevertheless, the perceived success of the Cultural Tourism Programme by several entrepreneurs, village elders, and council members in Tanzania has already led other communities to examine the possibility of starting new community based tourism initiatives (Kobb & Mmari, 1998). It would be myopic to start new community based tourism initiatives without first gaining better insight into the benefits and costs of tourism as perceived by communities as a whole. Considering the above, the purpose of this study is to examine resident perceptions towards tourism in a small-scaled, tourism community in Tanzania. The objectives of this study focus on an examination of attitudes towards the benefits and problems surrounding tourism.

## Research Objectives

The first research objective is to determine the impacts of community based tourism as perceived by the community members in Longido, a Maasai community situated in Northern Tanzania near the Kenyan border (Appendix B, C, D). This involves identifying the benefits and problems associated with community based tourism from the perspectives of people living in tourism communities. A second objective is to identify community members' attitudes and opinions regarding a tourism subsidised development project.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review covers two major areas pertaining to tourism: community based tourism, and tourism impacts on host communities. First, a primarily definitional review of key concepts will help to identify the broad characteristics which are evident in small-scale tourism forms in less industrialised areas such as Tanzania. This will illustrate some of the diverse activities and people who help to shape community based tourism, providing a basis for the discussion of tourism impacts. Next, the impacts of tourism on host communities and resident attitudes towards tourism are introduced. This section includes a discussion of relevant frameworks and theories that have been used to assess tourism impacts. At the same time, a review of numerous examples of community attitudes will be identified with a particular emphasis on the developing world. This review will provide the basis for the study's research questions and methodologies.

#### Community Based Tourism

Pearce and Moscardo (1999) comment that, at its most basic level, the term 'community' has often been used as a synonym for place. In this fashion, region and destination can also be used as synonyms for community because they describe the basic component of location. In the context of a geographical area, a tourism community can be characterised as a region possessing either physical, cultural or social features that have an appeal to travellers and, at the same time, possess distinctive qualities insofar as there is sufficient political integrity to warrant effective communication and decision making in regards to tourism development (Blank, 1989; Murphy,

1985). In this respect, a community can be regarded as the smallest geographical and cultural unit which combines physical attributes with socially constructed components enabling a community to organise and develop tourism initiatives on its own. However, tourism development that incorporates multiple perspectives within the community requires co-operation. In view of this, Stoddard (1993) argues that the concept of cohesion is fundamental to tourism communities.

Stressing the notion of cohesion or shared goals, Joppe (1996) recognises community as a concept based on common interests, heritage and cultural values for which a shared geographical location is unnecessary. Correspondingly, Joppe (1996) distinguishes between community and municipality which may be falsely understood as a community. Joppe (1996) notes that municipalities often have strong political rivalries and can contain multiple communities which transcend boundaries.

For most tourism purposes, the concept of community often hinges upon a common location; however, this shared area should not be confounded as a sense of sameness. A community is a dynamic setting in which people often hold diverse and conflicting perspectives (Ritchie, 1993). Within communities there are also varying degrees of power (Scheyvens, 1999; Smith, 1996).

For the purposes of this study it is practical to define community in a way that incorporates both the geographical, and interactive, dynamic aspects of community. A community can be considered as a geographical locale characterised by social interaction, cohesion, and patterns of continuity through time in which individuals share common values and beliefs or culture (Stoddard, 1993) but at the same time recognising that individual community members will hold varying degrees of power (Scheyvens, 1999) while having diverse and often conflicting perspectives (Ritchie, 1993).

## Host Communities

Communities host a number of different activities, however most often a community's major tourist attractions include landscape, cultural heritage, and community facilities (Murphy, 1985). In the tourism industry, it is the tourists and not the activities who define the parameters of cultural tourism (Hughes, 1995). While some tourists may visit communities for cultural rather than ecological reasons, others visit the same community primarily for ecological reasons (Altman & Finlayson, 1993). It becomes imperative that communities evaluate who they are attracting and determine who they would like to attract so niche markets can be developed accordingly (Taylor, 1993).

Murphy (1985) defines a 'community tourism product' as an amalgam of a destination's resources and facilities which the community, as a whole, wishes to present to the tourism market. Typically, mass tourism has been a market driven enterprise and as such, tourists have dictated the direction of tourism development while local people have been forced to adapt to tourist demands (Krippendorf, 1987). Community based tourism addresses this problem by seeking to fulfill economic, environmental and social goals while emphasising that members in local communities retain a high degree of control over the activities taking place (Mansperger, 1995; Scheyvens, 1999; Simmons, 1994).

In most host communities there has not been a community wide consensus in regards to the development of tourism (Madriral, 1995). The research literature widely recognises the need for an approach which involves host communities and more closely reflects the needs and concerns of individuals (Joppe, 1996; Lovel & Feuerstein, 1992; Murphy, 1985; Ritchie, 1993; Scheveyns 1999; Simmons, 1994; Taylor, 1995). Developing such an approach requires that the views of individuals in the community be heard and brought together so that tourism planning is reflective

of a community vision (Ritchie, 1993; Taylor 1995; Woodley, 1993). This is particularly relevant in less industrialised regions where tourism decision making is often based solely on economic criteria and controlled by elite members of society (Lea, 1988; Mowforth & Munt, 1998).

### Tourism Impacts on Host Communities

In the past thirty years, there have been a substantial number of studies regarding tourism community relationships ( Altman & Finlayson, 1993; Bachleitner & Zins, 1999; Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999; Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Davis, Allen & Cosenza, 1988; Hitchcock, 1997; Huit, 1979; Mansperger, 1995; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Pearce & Moscardo, 1999; Pizam, 1978; Seiler-Baldinger, 1988). Initial studies were largely restricted to economic analysis in order to justify the allocation of resources for tourism. A majority of these studies were mainly concerned with the economic benefits that tourism provides and correspondingly tourism was viewed in a positive light (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Pizam, 1978).

Recent studies have begun to examine the environmental and socio-cultural impacts of tourism. These studies have illustrated how communities hold both positive and negative opinions regarding tourism, with the majority of literature casting a more negative light (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). While environmentally focussed tourism/ ecotourism, stresses the need to integrate environmental and economic objectives (Boo, 1990), Brunt and Courtney (1999) point out that the social and cultural impacts of tourism need to be considered throughout the tourism planning process and within the context of environmental and economic analysis. Future tourism development which seeks to achieve long-term sustainability will need to emphasise the importance of considering economic, environmental and socio-cultural impacts (Wight, 1993).

With the onset and increased pace of globalisation coupled with a drop in world commodity prices, tourism often has been the only alternative income earning opportunity for many third world countries (Lea, 1988). Tourism in the developing world, however, has occurred predominately in the context of well funded large scale development plans associated with international bodies such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the United Nations (Mowforth & Munt, 1998). This kind of tourism has often focussed on meeting economic rather than environmental and sociocultural objectives (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Economic measures such as a rise in gross domestic product (GDP) and increased currency flows provide impressive economic support for tourism but these measures have no bearing on improving the quality of life for most people living in the developing world unless they are accompanied by improvements in other aspects of life. Improvements to the quality of life which cannot be easily quantified are namely social and cultural aspects of people's lives (Lovel & Fuerstein, 1992; Weaver, 1998). Murphy (1985) notes that short term changes in the quality of life are reflective of social impacts while cultural impacts engender long term changes in the community. To date, the tourism industry has examined sociocultural aspects with an overwhelming priority on the tourist rather than the host in an effort to attract more tourist revenues (Krippendorf, 1987; Murphy, 1985). However, determining the intangible costs and benefits of tourism may better be accomplished by investigating the sociocultural impacts of tourism on local populations (Marsh, 1975).

#### Social and Cultural Impacts of Tourism: Focus on the Developing World

The literature pertaining to the sociocultural impacts of tourism includes numerous case studies conducted in developing countries which most often illustrate the negative consequences

of tourism (Pearce & Moscardo, 1999). These studies have used a variety of frameworks to determine the relative degree of tourism's impacts. Among the frameworks used, two have emerged as the basis for assessing social impacts: Doxey's (1975) "Index of Tourist Irritation" and Bjorklund and Philbrick's (1972) "Host attitudinal/ behavioural responses to tourist activity" (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Murphy, 1985).

### Doxey's irritation index

Doxey's (1975) "Irridex" stage model suggests that, as tourism develops over time in an area, communities suffer from a variety of negative impacts in moving from a stage of "euphoria" to "antagonism". Community irritation is expressed through social relations between the locals and visitors. During the initial stages of tourism development, communities are in a state of "euphoria" which is marked by an overall enthusiastic attitude towards tourist development and foreign presence. However, as tourist arrival increases, the community begins to take tourism for granted and eventually a threshold is reached where locals become increasingly irritated and potentially hostile towards tourists. Doxey's model is applied to tourism communities by predicting that tourism communities as a whole will be enthusiastic and will be "problem free" during the initial years but over time, the community will experience a systematic increase in problems from tourists and tourism leading the community to develop more strongly opposed attitudes towards tourism (Doxey, 1975).

Although the original application of Doxey's model was applied to mass tourism in an industrialised nation context, the framework is relevant for tourism relationships in third world communities (Lea, 1988; Mowforth & Munt, 1998). Mowforth and Munt (1998) describe how Doxey's (1975) model can illustrate power and social relationships between first world tourists

and third world villagers which suggests a continued form of imperialism. For instance, there are obvious cultural, economic and social differences between tourists from Western countries and individuals in the developing world. The irritation index infers that a rise in tourism will exacerbate these differences putting further strain on local communities (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Important drawbacks of the irritation index includes the assumption that the negative consequences of tourism development are predictable and irreversible and that community attitudes will be expressed in a homogenous fashion (Murphy, 1985). Inhabitants of developing regions are intelligent, adaptive, and creative much like humans elsewhere, therefore to assume that they are monolithic would be naive.

It is certain that within a community, a range of attitudes towards tourism will exist (Mason & Cheyne, 1999). To explore these differences, Fredline and Faulkner (2000) utilised cluster analyses which identified five distinct groups within a community based on resident reaction to an Indy car event in Queensland, Australia. Similarly, Davis, Allen, and Cosenza (1988) also identified five clusters of Floridian attitudes towards tourism. While these cluster analyses have highlighted different cluster characteristics, both studies strongly support the notion that rather than being homogenous, communities are comprised of individuals who have diverse opinions and attitudes towards tourism.

#### Bjorklund and Philbrick Model

Community segmentation can be accommodated by a model devised by Bjorklund and Philbrick (1975) which allows for intra-community differences in attitudes towards tourism (Mathieson & Wall 1982; Murphy 1985). Bjorklund and Philbrick's (1975) framework recognises that peoples' attitudes in communities are not homogenous but will be comprised of certain

individuals who view tourism very positively while simultaneously in the same community other individuals will view tourism in a very negative way. Accounting for a variety of attitudes towards tourism, the Bjorklund-Philbrick (1975) framework examines different individual attitudes whereas Doxey's (1975) model reduces intra-community attitudes and looks at overall attitudes of an entire community or resort.

The Bjorklund and Philbrick model (1975) is based on the notion that community members will have either positive or negative, and active or passive stances regarding tourism (Butler 1974; Murphy 1985; Mathieson and Wall 1982). Utilising Bjorklund and Philbrick's (1972) model, Butler (1974) illustrated how communities contain an amalgamation of reactions to tourism. Butler's (1974) application of the Bjorklund/ Philbrick model is illustrated in Figure 2.0 which depicts that all four situations (active-positive, active-negative, passive-positive, passive-negative) simultaneously occur in a particular place. At the same time, individuals can change the position they occupy at any given time (Butler, 1974). A sudden change in attitudes towards tourism can result from a change in the benefits that one receives or it can also result from a heightened understanding, appreciation or depreciation of tourism.

FIGURE 2.0 Host Attitudinal and Behavioural Responses to Tourism

		Attitude/ Behaviour	
		Active	Passive
Attitude/ Behaviour	Positive	<b>Favourable Situation:</b> Aggressive promotion and support of tourist activity	<b>Favourable Situation:</b> Slight acceptance and support for tourist activity
	Negative	<b>Unfavourable Situation:</b> Aggressive opposition to tourist activity	<b>Unfavourable Situation:</b> Passive acceptance but opposition to tourist activity

(Source: Butler, 1974)

Both the Doxey (1975) and Bjorklund, Philbrick (1975) frameworks have been used to help illustrate various sociocultural relationships which have resulted from tourism development (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). These frameworks contrast opposing views contained within the literature (homogenous and non-homogenous community attitudes). The above frameworks have helped explain a number of theories pertaining to socio-cultural change and host attitudes towards tourism (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Due to the interaction between the distinctly different cultures between tourists and hosts particularly in the developing world, tourism communities are continuously forced to adapt and balance their own culture with that of their guests. The acculturation theory and demonstration effect are but two sociocultural theories found in the tourism literature which help explain this phenomenon in the less industrialised world.

The mere observation of tourists can cause changes in behaviour, attitudes and values in host communities (de Kadt, 1979). These changes arise from the exposure to lifestyles which were previously absent from the host community. This process is referred to as the demonstration effect (de Kadt, 1979; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Murphy, 1985). Haralambopoulos and Pizam

(1996) suggest that the demonstration effect “is in most cases seen as the principal causative factor of change in community values” (p. 597). In general, there are large differences in wealth and free time between tourists and hosts, and this gap can lead to a heightened resentment of tourists, particularly in developing areas (Murphy, 1985). Two extremely diverse situations can arise from the demonstration effect: (a) the first situation leads to an increased dependency on the tourism industry which reinforces social disparities resulting from a deteriorating social system; (b) at the other extreme, the demonstration effect can lead to improvements in the quality of life which result from a heightened awareness of socio-economic improvements (Murphy 1985).

Dearden and Harron (1994) illustrate the demonstration effect through an example of retail stores in a Northern Thailand trekking village. Dearden and Harron (1994) suggest that the increased demand for imported items such as beer, chocolate and bottled water by foreign trekkers can alter local tastes and as well lead to the development of a retail store which will likely incorporate additional items upon which locals become dependent. The demonstration effect illustrates how cultural change can occur without any direct contact with tourists. In many indigenous or third world tourism communities, it is young males who are most susceptible to cultural change due to their greater contact with tourists (Mathieson & Wall 1982; Murphy, 1985; Nettekoven 1979). Tourists have fewer opportunities to interact with women because women often retain more traditional roles within the society, whereas, young males are most likely be employed by the tourism sector and interact with tourists (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999). While young males serve as key agents for cultural change, other individuals are also affected with the presence of two distinct cultures.

Cultural change which is brought about by the clash of two distinct cultures often results in the stronger culture dominating and altering the weaker culture. The comparative strengths of

each culture are reflective of relative population sizes, socio-economic conditions, and type of contact that occurs. The ensuing process of cultural “domination” over the weaker group is characterised as acculturation (Murphy, 1985).

According to de Kadt (1976), tourist and host cultures come into contact in the following ways: (a) direct contact through the purchase of goods and services, (b) tourists and residents in the mere presence of each other such as at an attraction, and (c) finally when tourists and hosts interact with each other to exchange information or ideas.

Hosts and tourists contact can act as a catalyst for cultural change but cultural change also results from natural processes which will occur in the absence of tourists. Change in this way can occur from ecological changes in the habitat and the resulting cultural changes that follow, and also by evolutionary changes to the needs of a society (Mathieson & Wall, 1982).

Acculturation can be regarded as an adaptive strategy whereby the host culture changes to more closely resemble the tourist culture. While this result in change may be a desired outcome by some community members, it is often perceived negatively (Murphy, 1985; Nunez, 1987). In describing the process of acculturation on the indigenous population in Tanzania, Shivji (1973) refers to the “Coca-Cola” development of society; this entails the rapid loss in social cultural values by the inundation of mass consumerism (in this case coca-cola). Nevertheless, cultural change need not be viewed negatively. Through the interaction of two cultures, acculturation can foster a greater understanding between tourists and hosts and lead to such favourable outcomes such as bilingualism in the host population (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999; Nunez, 1987).

The processes of acculturation and demonstration are more significant in developing countries than industrialised countries because the cultural differences are more extreme (Murphy, 1985). In less industrialised areas, it is more likely that hosts will adopt lifestyle choices and

cultures from tourists than vice versa (Nunez, 1987). Changes can be a result of either high or low contact with tourists which make these processes powerful forces in developing regions.

### Community Attitudes Towards Tourism

The above processes are only two theories which help to explain how communities experience sociocultural impacts from tourism. The literature contains an extensive number of case studies which have illustrated diverse impacts from tourism. This includes resident attitudes and perceptions towards tourism based on their experience of tourism. These studies have identified diverse community attitudes which have been revealed in a number of different tourism communities throughout the world. Drawing examples from these cases, Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 attempt to summarise some of the ways the lives of residents of host destinations are influenced by tourism. A greater emphasis is placed on impacts in the third world. These perceived benefits and costs were generated from resident attitudes in number of different tourism destinations. Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 separate impacts on the basis of economic, environmental and socio-cultural dimensions. Each of these dimensions is then divided on the basis of the broad impact highlighted in the study. Subsequently a list of different examples is provided for each broad impact given. For example, in listing socio-cultural impacts perceived by host residents in Table 2.3, decreased safety/ increased crime is cited as a perceived cost. Here, decreased safety/ increased crime is defined as a broad socio-cultural impact which has been manifested in different ways including increased vandalism, increased sexual harassment, greater drug and alcohol abuse and an increase in drunk-driving. Although Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 distinguish between impacts on economic, environmental and socio-cultural dimensions, these categories are not exclusive as tourism impacts are complex and interrelated.

**TABLE 2.1**

**Economic Impacts as Perceived by Host Residents**

<b>Perceived Economic Impact</b>	<b>Examples of How Impacts are Exhibited</b>	<b>Region Studied</b>	<b>Reference</b>
<u>Perceived Benefits</u>			
Increased employment	-Tourism creates new jobs in destination -Able to make more money from tourists	-Pythagorion, Greece - Sousse, Tunisia -Florida -Maasai group in Kenya  -Dawlish, England	-Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996) -Huit (1979) -Davis et al. (1988) -Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994) -Brunt & Courtney (1999)
More opportunities for income or money in the local economy	-New job prospects for marginalised populations (ie. women and children, ethnic minorities) -Increased income from tourism	-Pythagorion, Greece -Cape Cod, U.S.A.	-Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996) - Pizam (1978)
Development of infrastructure	-Tourism revenues lead to improvements in roads, airports, electricity -Tourism develops new facilities, ie. shops, restaurants	-Cape Cod, U.S.A.	- Pizam (1978)
<u>Perceived Costs</u>			
Greater economic dependency on tourism	-Loss of traditional jobs to the tourism sector	-Pythagorion, Greece	-Haralambopoulos & Pizam (1996)
Economic stratification of society	-Elite receive the bulk of tourist revenues "rich get richer while poor get poorer"	-Fuenterrabia, Spain	-Greenwood (1989)
Rise in prices	-Tourism causes locals to pay higher prices for goods and services	-Southern Tunisia	-Bleasdale & Tapsell (1999)

**TABLE 2.2**

**Environmental Impacts as Perceived by Host Residents**

<b>Perceived Environmental Impact</b>	<b>Examples of How Impacts are Exhibited</b>	<b>Region Studied</b>	<b>Reference</b>
<u>Perceived Benefits</u>			
Improvement in landscape	-Physical appearance of destination is improved -Tourism encourages destination to beautify area -Tourism revenues invested into improving physical environment -Maintenance of historical and symbolic buildings such as churches and mosques	-10 New Zealand towns  -Southern Tunisia	-Lawson et al. (1998)  -Bleasdale & Tapsell (1999)
<u>Perceived Costs</u>			
Physical deterioration of landscape	-Increased loitering by tourists -Areas become more crowded -Tourism leads to the demolition of certain buildings and areas	York, England  -Southern Tunisia  -Cape Cod, U.S.A. -Dawlish, England	-Snaith & Haley (1999) -Bleasdale & Tapsell (1999) -Pizam (1978) -Brunt & Courtney (1999)
Increased Noise Pollution	-Increased noise from aircrafts	-10 New Zealand towns -Cape Cod, U.S.A	-Lawson et al.(1998)  -Pizam (1978)
Loss of Resources	-Tourists use excessive natural resources such as water, fuel wood, food	-Annapurna, Nepal  -Southern Tunisia  -Tunisia	-Pobocik & Butalla (1998) -Bleasdale & Tapsell (1999) -Huit (1979)
Increased congestion	-Areas become more crowded -More automobile traffic	-Styria, Austria  -Cape Cod, U.S.A. -Florida -Dawlish, England	-Bachleitner & Zins (1999) -Pizam (1978) -Davis et al. (1988) -Brunt & Courtney (1999)
Onset of health problems or potential health problems	-Tourism leads to a rise in infectious disease such as tuberculosis, HIV -Tourism brings prostitution which can lead to AIDS	-Southern Tunisia	-Bleasdale & Tapsell (1999)

**TABLE 2.3**

**Sociocultural Impacts as Perceived by Host Residents**

Perceived Sociocultural Impact	Examples of How Impacts are Exhibited	Region Studied	Reference
<u>Perceived Benefits</u>			
Revitalisation of Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Renewed interest in traditional arts and crafts, rituals, ceremonies; ie. sculptures, carvings, dances,</li> <li>-Renewed interest in indigenous languages</li> <li>-Creation of schools for arts and crafts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Bali, Indonesia</li> <li>-Upper Amazon, Brazil</li> <li>-East, Central and West Africa</li> <li>-Tjapukai Aboriginal community, Australia</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-McKean (1989)</li> <li>-Seiler-Baldinger (1988)</li> <li>-Schadler (1979)</li> <li>-Zeppel (1998)</li> </ul>
Greater awareness of foreign cultures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Learning of foreign tourist languages such as English, German, French</li> <li>-Learn about the outside world</li> <li>-Facilitates adjusting to modern world</li> <li>-More socialisation with tourists</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Southern Tunisia</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Bleasdale &amp; Tapsell (1999)</li> </ul>
Heightened self image or identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Promote local destination globally</li> <li>-Tourism instills a sense of identity and pride</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Southern Tunisia</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Bleasdale &amp; Tapsell (1999)</li> </ul>
<u>Perceived Costs</u>			
Alteration of culture "staged authenticity"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Rise in fake or counterfeit arts, crafts, contrived ceremonies, "airport art"</li> <li>-Overcommercialisation leads to a loss in meaning to local population (coca-colonisation)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Fuenterrabia, Spain</li> <li>-Maori in New Zealand</li> <li>-Southern Tunisia</li> <li>-Tanzania</li> <li>-Sri Lanka</li> <li>-Ivory Coast, Mali, Cameroon</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Greenwood (1989)</li> <li>-Barnett (1997)</li> <li>-Bleasdale &amp; Tapsell (1999)</li> <li>-Shiviji (1973)</li> <li>-Simpson (1993)</li> <li>-Schadler (1979)</li> </ul>
Decreased safety/ increased crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Increased crime and violence</li> <li>-Increased vandalism</li> <li>-Increased sexual harassment</li> <li>-Greater drug and alcohol abuse</li> <li>-Increase in drunk-driving, poor driving habits</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Pythagorian, Greece</li> <li>-10 New Zealand towns</li> <li>-Pohangina Valley, New Zealand</li> <li>-Maasai in Kenya and Tanzania</li> <li>-Florida</li> <li>-Dawlish, England</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Haralambopoulos &amp; Pizam (1996)</li> <li>-Lawson et al. (1998)</li> <li>-Mason &amp; Cheyne (2000)</li> <li>-Bachman (1988)</li> <li>-Davis et al. (1988)</li> <li>-Brunt &amp; Courtney (1999)</li> </ul>
Deviant behaviour by locals and residents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Rise in begging</li> <li>-Rise in gambling</li> <li>-Tourists don't obey local customs and norms; ie.wearing shorts</li> <li>-Locals perceive tourist behaviour to be offensive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Kalahari Bushmen, Botswana; Namibia</li> <li>-York, England</li> <li>-Hill tribes in Northern Thailand</li> <li>-Maasai in East Africa</li> <li>-Florida</li> <li>-Southern Tunisia</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Hitchcock (1999)</li> <li>-Snaith &amp; Haley (1999)</li> <li>-Dearden &amp; Harron (1994)</li> <li>-Bachman (1988)</li> <li>-Davis et al. (1988)</li> <li>-Bleasdale &amp; Tapsell (1999)</li> </ul>
Disruption in family life	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Tourist presence can disrupt family cohesiveness</li> <li>-Family members would rather meet tourists than spend time with family</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Pohangina Valley, New Zealand</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Mason &amp; Cheyne (2000)</li> </ul>

## Economic Impacts of Tourism

Economic impacts take on many different forms. As illustrated in Table 2.1, some economic impacts are easily quantifiable, observable, or measurable such as increased employment opportunities, earning potential (Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994; Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Davis et al., 1988; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Huit, 1979), development of infrastructure (Pizam, 1978), or a rise in prices for goods and services resulting from tourism (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999). However, other economic impacts which result from tourism may be less salient such as the economic stratification of host communities (Greenwood, 1989) and changes in economic dependency due to tourism (Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996).

People living in host communities often exhibit attitudes towards the economic dimensions of tourism which will be viewed in either a positive and negative light depending on which community member is questioned. For example, in Haralambopoulos and Pizam's (1996) study of resident attitudes in Pythagorion, Greece, some residents perceived tourism to provide more income and jobs while other residents perceived a greater economic dependency on tourism to take away jobs. Similarly, Pizam's (1978) study of residents in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, revealed that individuals who derive income from tourism are more likely to highlight favourable attitudes regarding the economic impacts of tourism while community members who are not economically dependent on tourism are less likely to exhibit favourable attitudes towards tourism's economic impact on the community. This finding corresponds with the Bjorklund-Philbrick (1975) framework which acknowledges favourable and unfavourable attitudes existing within a tourism community. These intra-community differences reinforce the notion that attitudes towards tourism within communities will not be homogenous (Davis et al., 1988; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Mason & Cheyne, 1999).

The economic impacts of tourism cannot easily be separated from environmental and sociocultural dimensions (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999). Increased opportunities to earn money from arts and crafts may be viewed positively by certain segments of the population, namely those selling and producing souvenirs, while others outside this population may perceive mass souvenir production to encourage artificial, or contrived packaging of culture which leads to deterioration of cultural and social values (Simpson, 1993). Similarly, the improving or worsening of infrastructure resulting from tourism are often perceived as economic impacts which affect trade and communication (Pizam, 1978). However, they can simultaneously be viewed as environmental impacts which alter the physical appearance of a destination (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999; Lawson et al., 1998; Pizam, 1978; Snaith & Haley, 1999).

#### Environmental Impacts of Tourism

Changes in the physical appearance of the landscape that can be observed are one of the primary means by which host residents perceive tourism to impact their environment. Observable physical or environmental changes can occur in a number of ways, including increased loitering by tourists (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Pizam, 1978; Snaith & Haley, 1999); areas becoming more crowded from a rise in the number of tourists and more automobile traffic (Bachleitner & Zins, 1999; Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Davis et al., 1988; Pizam, 1978; Snaith & Haley, 1999); the physical improvement or deterioration of buildings and natural areas (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999; Lawson et al., 1998; Pizam, 1978; Snaith & Haley, 1999), and a perceived decrease in the availability of natural resources such as water, fuel, and food by the local population (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999; Huit, 1979; Pobocik & Butalla, 1998). However, different communities have often identified less visible environmental impacts such as increased noise (Lawson et al., 1998; Pizam,

1978), and changes in health problems, infectious disease or hygiene issues (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999). It is often these impacts, which are more difficult to observe, that cannot exclusively be interpreted as economic, environmental or sociocultural impacts.

### Sociocultural Impacts of Tourism

Bleasdale and Tapsell (1999) noted that the sociocultural impacts of tourism are most difficult to measure and separate because the boundary between sociocultural impacts largely overlaps with economic and environmental aspects. Several identified community attitudes regarding the sociocultural impacts of tourism revolve around overall cultural change within the community. Tourism affects the host culture in a number of ways such as revitalisation or alteration of the traditional culture through people's rediscovered interest in arts, crafts, language, dances, and/or ceremonies (Greenwood, 1989; Hitchcock, 1999; McKean, 1989; Schadler, 1979; Seiler-Baldinger, 1988; Shivji, 1974; Simpson 1993; Zeppel, 1998); a change in awareness of foreign cultures and languages (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999; Hitchcock, 1999); and a heightened sense of pride or identity within a community (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999). However, sociocultural impacts can also have less homogenous effects at a community level which are evidenced through the following outcomes: changes in family life and cohesiveness (Mason & Cheyne, 2000); increase begging by certain members of the community (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999), perception of tourist behaviour to be offensive (Bachman, 1988; Dearden & Harron, 1994; Hitchcock, 1999; Mansperger, 1995), changes in sexual attitudes (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999), perception of reduced safety or increased crime (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Haralmbopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Lawson et al., 1998; Mason & Cheyne, 2000), and a rise in gambling and prostitution (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999).

The sociocultural impacts of tourism evidence the wide variation of attitudes within communities on whether tourism is perceived more positively or negatively. Table 2.3 lists some ways in which community members can perceive the sociocultural impacts of tourism. The table also illustrates how community members either in the same tourism community or different tourism communities can perceive the same tourism impact to be either positive or negative. For example, Bleasdale and Tapsell's (1999) study in Southern Tunisia identified how interactions with tourists could enable local people to learn more about the outside world, adopt foreign cultures and enable local people to make transitions from their own culture to a modern more connected world while, studies such as Bachman's study of a Maasai community in Kenya (1988) and Dearden and Harron's (1994) study in Northern Thailand documented how locals viewed tourist behaviour and foreign cultures to be offensive in such forms as inappropriate dress and behaviour. In a similar fashion, Bleasdale and Tapsell's (1999) study in Southern Tunisia documented how young males would often brag about having overseas girlfriends and fiancées while older Tunisians in the same community suggested that lax morals of Western women were polluting young Tunisian men. This illustrates how the positive and negative cultural impacts from tourism are subject to personal interpretation with both inter-community and intra-community differences and again relates back to Bjorklund and Philbrick's (1975) framework. To gain a more accurate assessment of how the community as a whole is impacted by tourism, it becomes important to understand multiple perspectives, including attitudes, from people who have varying levels of involvement and contact with tourism.

## Conceptual Framework

A review of the literature pertaining to tourism impacts in host communities strongly suggests that rather than being homogenous, a wide range of attitudes towards tourism within a community exists (Davis et al., 1988; Fredline & Faulkner, 2000; Krippendorf, 1987; Mason and Cheyne, 1999; Pizam 1978). Moreover, Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 illustrated how, in any given community, various tourism phenomena can be interpreted both positively and negatively by different interest groups in a community. In order to gain a community perspective, it is imperative that stated attitudes accurately reflect the different perspectives of individual community members. In particular it is important to include populations which have been typically ignored from most tourism planning decisions if a truly community wide perspective is sought (Mathieson & Wall, 1982).

According to Krippendorf (1987) tourism communities are comprised of political figures and four distinct resident segments. The four resident types are outlined in Table 2.4. The first group consists of those in direct and continuous contact with tourists. This group is dependent upon tourism for their livelihood and will thus have a positive attitude towards welcoming tourists. The second type of resident involves local business owners who have indirect contact with tourists. For this group, tourism is a purely commercial matter, and is therefore looked at positively insofar that it generates money. The third resident group is comprised of individuals who have direct and regular contact with tourists but derive only part of their income from tourism. This group includes taxi drivers and restaurant workers. These individuals will see the advantages of tourism but are more likely to be critical of its negative consequences in comparison to the first two resident types. The fourth category of locals are people who do not have contact with tourists but see them in the background. This segment will represent a wide variety of

attitudes ranging from tourism support, to indifference to rejection, however, indifference and rejection are more likely. Finally, a special fifth group identified by Krippendorf consists of political figures. People in this group have a goal of raising the quality of life of the people at large, and thus generally support tourism for its mere economic contribution alone (Krippendorf, 1987).

TABLE 2.4

Krippendorf's Four Resident Types

	<i>Economic Dependency on Tourism</i>	<i>Level of Contact with Tourists</i>	<i>Resident Occupations</i>
<i>Resident Type 1</i>	income is wholly derived from tourism	direct and continuous contact with tourists	tour guides, tour coordinators
<i>Resident Type 2</i>	income is commercially derived and dependent on tourism	no direct contact, indirect contact through employed personnel	business owners, guest house and lodge owners
<i>Resident Type 3</i>	income partially derived from tourism	direct and frequent contact with tourists	taxi drivers, restaurant workers
<i>Resident Type 4</i>	income is unrelated to tourism	no contact, see tourist in background	occupations unrelated to tourism, homemakers, unemployed people
<i>Political Figures</i>	income is unrelated to tourism but have a vested interest in money making activities which benefit communities as a whole	little or no contact with tourism, see tourists in the background	politicians

(Source: Krippendorf, 1987)

There is support for Krippendorf's (1987) categorisation of residents within tourism communities. In most communities, there is often an unequal distribution of power (Scheyvens, 1999) where the direction of tourism development is decided by local 'power-brokers' who can make or break changes (Smith 1996). The literature supports the view that people who are more

directly involved and economically dependent on tourism will likely exhibit more favourable attitudes towards tourism (Davis et al., 1988; Pizam, 1978).

Pizam's (1978) study of resident attitudes in Cape Cod, Massachusetts determined that residents' dependency on tourism for income and occupation is the best predictor of attitudes towards tourism. Similarly, Davis, et al's (1988) study of Floridian attitudes towards tourism revealed five distinct resident clusters (Haters, Lovers, Cautious Romantics, In Betweeners and Love 'Em for a Reason) with people in the Lovers and Love 'Em for a Reason segments more likely to have an economic dependency on tourism. Davis et al. (1988) identified unique attitudes which corresponded to respective cluster segments; for example residents directly involved in tourism often complained of the unemployment and economic instability due to the seasonality of tourism.

While there is support for Krippendorff's (1987) economic dependency theory from the literature, there is also some opposition to it, in particular to the relationship between residents' economic dependency on tourism and their negative attitudes towards tourists. Both extreme negative and positive attitudes have been evidenced among the elite who generally benefit economically from tourism (Huit, 1979). Pizam's (1978) study in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, showed that all types of residents revealed similar negative attitudes in spite of a correlation between economic dependency on tourism and positive attitudes towards tourism. Nonetheless, this study showed how negative attitudes can have differing intensities according to economic dependency.

To date there have not been studies that have utilised Krippendorff's (1987) framework in the third world and there is a gap in the literature examining the relationship between resident attitudes towards tourism and economic dependency on it in the third world. Pizam (1978) used

questionnaires with scaled measures to determine resident attitudes towards tourism in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, while Brunt and Courtney (1999) used a qualitative case study to reveal community attitudes towards tourism in Dawlish, England but both studies were conducted in industrialised regions. The notable differences between lifestyles in industrialised areas such as North America and Western Europe and non-industrialised regions such as East Africa will likely precipitate differences in experiences and attitudes about tourism. In general, residents in Western countries have more opportunities and alternatives to earn an income. As well, social assistance programs such as unemployment insurance and welfare are often available to ensure a subsistence income in many industrialised countries. Most developing countries have predominately agrarian based economies and local people living in rural developing areas usually do not have very many alternatives to earn an income for survival (Thirwall, 1994). For people living in the third world, economic dependency on any activity such as tourism is more likely to have a greater impact on their livelihood.

Murphy (1985) suggests that the amalgam of community attitudes towards tourism shape how communities share the benefits and costs associated with tourism. Host attitudes are influenced by three determinants: (a) type of contact which exists between tourists and hosts; (b) relative importance of tourism to individual and community prosperity; and (c) tolerance threshold in resident receptiveness (Murphy, 1985, p.120). These factors will undoubtedly be influenced by the manner in which individuals are exposed to tourism among other variables. By gaining community representation based on Krippendorff's (1987) four resident types, people who have direct, indirect and no economic dependency on tourism are included. This framework can help determine if local communities have control over tourism activities. Such control is recognised when disadvantaged and marginalised people in the community are seen to benefit and display

positive attitudes towards tourism. Krippendorff's fourth resident category, those who do not have any contact with tourists nor derive any income from tourism are most likely to exhibit the widest variety of attitudes ranging from active support to outright rejection. The inclusion of perspectives from Krippendorff's (1987) fourth category of residents who are often left outside the domain of tourism employment and planning is therefore paramount. Community attitudes towards tourism which include representation from all four of Krippendorff's (1987) resident categories can be seen as one way to gain a perspective regarding the impacts of tourism which reflect the tourism community as a whole.

#### Statement of Research Question

Taking into account the breadth of information uncovered from the literature review, it becomes apparent that there remains little research in regards to community attitudes towards the impacts of small scaled, community tourism in the developing world, particularly in the East African region. In this study, local people will be interviewed to reveal the perceived costs and benefits of tourism to gain a community perspective on tourism. This study focusses on the following research questions:

Q1. How do communities perceive they are impacted from community based tourism in Tanzania?

Q2. What are the community attitudes towards a tourism subsidised community development project?

A review of the literature has provided a classification system regarding impacts (Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3) that will guide the research methodology. Krippendorff's (1987) framework can help determine if local communities have control over tourism activities and a study of one of the

Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme's (CTP) tourism communities provides an excellent opportunity to examine how a community is impacted from tourism and diverse community attitudes towards a tourism subsidised development project.

Since 1997 several tourism communities have been organised under a structured tourism development project in Tanzania, the Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP). The Cultural Tourism Programme is a joint initiative started in 1997 by the Netherlands Development Organisation (SNV) and the Tanzania Tourists Bureau (TTB). Common to tours established by CTP is the concept of a village development fee which is used for specific development objectives determined by local community members. The community emphasis of involving local people from the start in all aspects of tourism planning and development best characterises the programme's approach (Kobb & Mmari, 1998).

Longido a Maasai community situated in Northern Tanzania provides an excellent opportunity to address the research questions. Longido is a relatively new tourism community which possesses unique cultural attributes. These aspects coupled with its considerable distance from urban centres make it an optimal choice for evaluating tourism's impact.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODS

When choosing a method for tourism research involving native peoples, Berno (1996) stresses the danger of using methodologies and theories from an external culture. The importance of utilising a culturally appropriate research method which integrates the research purposes with the culture in which the research is taking place cannot be overstated (Berno, 1996). There are some important cultural considerations which need to be taken into account for this study. The Maasai who constitute a majority of the population in the Longido community possess some unique characteristics which differentiate them from Westernised societies as well other indigenous African societies. These factors were influential in arriving at an appropriate research design.

This chapter begins with a description of the study setting and background on the Maasai of East Africa. This provides a context for the chosen research design, an exploratory case study. Following a discussion of the case study design, the multiple data sources and methods of collection incorporated in this study are discussed in detail. A section on the analysis of data sources is described followed by the researcher's commentary on establishing entry and self reflection. Next, a description of the study participants and ethical considerations for this study are provided. The reader is then given a description of the reporting and analysing techniques using the NUD\*IST software. Finally, this chapter concludes with a pilot study conducted in Arusha, which sets the stage for the results section.

## Study Setting

In Longido, tourism has largely followed traditional Maasai patterns with men directing tourism development and retaining control over it (Kobb & Mmari, 1998). Tanzania is characterised as a region with an oral communication based culture rather than a written based culture as literacy rates are very low in comparison to Western standards (Stanfield, 1994; Thirlwall, 1994). The average national adult literacy rate in Tanzania was 71.6% in 1997 and was considerably lower for women (62.0%). However, these statistics are considerably inflated when looking at a community such as Longido because the large majority of both men and women living in rural Tanzania do not receive any formal education and are therefore most often illiterate (United Nations Development Programme, 1999).

In Tanzania, Kiswahili is the medium of instruction in the formal education system. A strong grasp of Kiswahili is therefore a pre-requisite to reading and writing Maa language as Maasai children are first taught to read Kiswahili and sometimes English before learning to read or write Maa language. Thus, the simple fact that relatively few Maasai peoples in Longido have any working knowledge of Kiswahili implies that study methods utilising oral traditions would be most appropriate.

“Lo-ongido” as pronounced in Maa language, derives its name from the surrounding mountains which translates into “the stones that sharpen”. A rural community situated in Northern Tanzania, approximately 85 km from Arusha and 19 km from the Tanzanian-Kenyan border just off the Arusha - Nairobi road, Longido encompasses a diverse landscape of vast plains, dense forests and the surrounding Longido Mountain (Appendices B, C, D). Longido itself covers an area of more than 400 km<sup>2</sup>. The community is subdivided into nine *kitangojis* (Appendix D) which accounted for a total population of 4,991 in the year 2000. The tourism

sector in Longido is restricted to two *kitangojis*, Oletepesi B and Shuleni, with a total population base of 1,527 people. The majority of inhabitants in Longido (all 9 *kitangojis*) identify themselves as Maasai whose mother tongue is Maa language, while approximately 800 residents are Kiswahili speakers (population statistics obtained at Longido district council office).

In 1996, SNV - the Netherlands Development Organisation began examining ways in which tourists could experience facets of Tanzanian culture while benefiting local communities at the same time. Longido was selected as one of the pilot communities where tourists could get a glimpse into the culture and daily life of the Maasai. Guided tours were initiated and since inception, a village development fee was collected from each tourist visit. This fee was earmarked towards a community specific development initiative. In consultation with village elders, politicians and tourism advisors, village development fees were used for the construction of a cattle dip. A cattle dip is a medicated bath that allows livestock to be eradicated of tick-borne disease which is particularly devastating in the Longido region.

Longido is one of the few communities in East Africa that has developed an organised tour which allows visitors to experience the Maasai culture and enter a Maasai *boma*. A *boma* is a grouping of low level mud houses surrounded by a thorn fence which usually belongs to an extended family but a *boma* also refers to a single mud house (see Appendix A). Although there are a number of other tourist activities in Longido the primary attraction remains visiting a Maasai *boma* and receiving guided tours to cultural, historical and modern points of interest in the surrounding area. Other popular activities include guided mountain treks, walking safaris, and bird watching. For tourists wishing overnight treks, wildlife in the Longido area can also be spotted including rare birds, kudus, giraffes, zebras, ostrich, and gazelles.

## Background on the Maasai

The first origins of pastoralism in present day Tanzania can be dated to 1000 BC when Cushites from Ethiopia began to migrate southward towards the Rift Valley in southern Kenya and Northern Tanzania. Simultaneously, Nilotic-speakers from present day Sudan were establishing livelihoods marked by a combination of cattle herding, agriculture and hunting. Over the course of the next 2000 years, the Cushites and Nilotes were joined by Bantu-speaking farmers. It is from the assimilation of these peoples that considerably specialised cultures and economies, almost exclusively pastoral, evolved (Spear, 1993). The roots of present day Maasai in East Africa are drawn from these cultures through livelihoods focussing on the husbanding of cattle, sheep and goats (Galaty, 1991; Murdock, 1959; Schneider, 1981; Shorter, 1974).

Anthropologists classify the Maasai as “Cushitized Nilotes” characterised culturally and linguistically from ancestors originating in present day Sudan (Galaty, 1991; Murdock, 1959; Schneider, 1981; Shorter, 1974). Although some Maa speaking populations such as the Arusha (often referred as the agricultural Maasai) have a common language with the Maasai and share cultural similarities, the Maasai unlike other Maa speaking peoples and other pastoral cultures in present day Africa are almost exclusively pastoral. This contrasts with other pastoralists who often combine cattle herding with hunting and agriculture (Shorter, 1974). In this manner, livestock rather than being solely for subsistence were used as a medium of value similar to gold in other societies.

The Maasai culture is strongly defined by practises traced to the Cushites and Nilotes. These characteristics help define their social organisation. Maasai society is primarily patriarchal in which decision making power is retained by older males. In this manner polygamy prevails, and populations are divided into organised age systems. Maasai age systems are defined through both

age grades and age-sets. Age-grades refer to the continual changing (usually increasing) status that individuals are assigned over the course of their lives while age-sets are comprised of a group of individuals within a range of ages who are grouped together on the basis of initiation. Historical Cushitic practises of circumcision mark entry into the different age-sets. These organised age-sets give rise to one of the most distinctive features of the Maasai social organisation.

Maasai men in East Africa have three basic divisions of boy, *murrans* (all italicised words explained in the glossary, Appendix A) or warrior and elder. Meanwhile, Maasai women do not belong to age-sets but are defined in terms of their relations with men. For example, initiated Maasai girls who are not yet married referred to as *siankiki* are supposed to remain out of sight and avoid any kind of contact with Maasai warriors. Maasai women have changing roles in society in relation to their father, brothers and husband or successive husbands and children. Thus, they can be classified into two broad groupings consisting of unmarried girls and another grouping which includes both wives and widows. Although women are not identified by age sets, the father's age-set helps identify women as being Maasai from an early age (Spencer, 1993, p. 152).

For Maasai men, age-sets are comprised of individuals spanning fifteen years. Within each age-set, there are two interval periods of approximately four to six years, within which boys are circumcised. A group of boys who are initiated together as *murrans* form a closely knit age-set and serve an important social and political function. The status of warriors or *murrans* (*morans*) is viewed as a means by older men to prolong the adolescence of younger boys in a polygamous society. In this fashion the delay of marriage is seen as a necessary buffer for the disparity in age between husband and wives. In addition to this, particularly during historical times, the young men acted as a military force living together and having a collective morality and allegiance to

other clan members. At the time of marriage a substantial bride-price in the form of livestock is paid to the bride's father further establishing social ties through the exchange of cattle.

In a typical Maasai dwelling, the basic social unit is the household of an elderly father, his wives, his married sons and their families (Shorter, 1974). Each Maasai compound is referred to as a *boma* or *manyatta* and within each boma compound each wife is given her own hut or individual boma (single low hut). Cattle ownership is ascribed to the elderly father and cattle herding is carried out by boys or young men under the direction of the married men in spite of the fact that murrans may live on their own together with other murrans from their own age-set.

Although Maasai traditions have remained strong, in more recent times, there is evidence suggesting that it will be increasingly difficult for the Maasai to maintain strictly pastoral lifestyles. In the past century, colonisation and the independence of several African nations in the 1960s saw attempts by rulers to lure pastoralists into agriculture (Shorter, 1974). In addition, the formation of national parks and protected land reserves in Kenya and Tanzania have displaced many indigenous peoples from their land making it extremely difficult for purely pastoral lifestyles to survive. This phenomenon has already affected the Maasai in the vast area now demarcated as the Ngorongoro Conservation area in Tanzania (Homewood & Rodgers, 1990). Due to such rapid changes in recent times, the Maasai in East Africa have had to make drastic lifestyle changes. Maasai are no longer able to retain nomadic lifestyles and have been forced to occupy increasingly smaller areas of land. As such, the whole fabric of Maasai society is being threatened and agriculture is being more heavily relied upon. As a greater proportion of Maasai people receive formal education and gain exposure to urban centres, an increasing strain will be placed on fulfilling traditional roles. Inevitably, Maasai warriors will lead such changes disrupting the balance of traditional Maasai relationships (Shorter, 1974). This phenomenon of Maasai culture

closely resembles findings from the literature which predict that young males will be most susceptible to cultural change arising from increased interaction with tourists and foreign cultures (Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Murphy, 1985; Nettekoven, 1979).

### Research Design

The unique characteristics of the study's setting and culture, highlighted some key implications for the design of the study. Longido, clearly had a strong oral based culture which limited the possibility of employing structured questionnaires or scaled measures. In a study of an indigenous, tourism community in the Cook Islands, Berno (1996) illustrated the significance of using an appropriate design for an oral based culture such as one encountered in Longido:

In the Cook Islands, when subjects were asked to indicate how similar or different they were in comparison to the tourists on their island on such features as dress, language, relationships and activities, many were unable to do so, stating that they "did not know" the tourists...however, in unstructured interviews, many respondents spoke of the ways in which the customs of the tourists differed from those of the Cook Islanders, often giving examples (Berno, 1996, p. 386-387).

Berno's (1996) comments demonstrated how low literacy rates and lack of familiarity with structured questionnaires and interviews can limit the ability of subjects to accurately answer posed questions. I had to face similar issues in answering the study's research questions which were:

- Q1. How do communities perceive they are impacted by community based tourism in Tanzania?
- Q2. What are the community attitudes towards a tourism subsidised community development project?

Taking into consideration the culture of the setting, a qualitative paradigm was selected. A

qualitative approach was used due to the low levels of literacy and unfamiliarity with structured questionnaires, conditions that were evident in the community of Longido. It was felt that the use of interviews would enable participants to be comfortable with, clearly understand and freely express their opinions without nuances being lost in simplified oral yes/no questionnaires. Written tools such as questionnaires and surveys were considered but due to the low levels of literacy in Longido it was not deemed to be a suitable technique because data collection would be dependent upon a translator who would most likely be unfamiliar with such techniques him/herself.

In determining an appropriate method, an exploratory case study was deemed most suitable to uncover community attitudes towards tourism and a tourism subsidised development project. An exploratory case study method was employed because the study was the first of its kind, it involved a single researcher and their was an objective of providing a detailed description and emerging themes from the perspective of local culture and local people (Creswell, 1998). Case studies also are bound by time and place and make use of multiple data sources. In this study, the community of Longido between the period between September 20, 2000 and January 31, 2001 was the bounded system and a variety of techniques and data sources were utilised. The systematic analysis of multiple data sources and multiple techniques builds a comprehensive case (Yin, 1989).

While the case study method had its obvious advantages it was not without shortcomings. Because a single researcher (me) was the primary instrument of data collection and analysis, it was limited by the instincts and the abilities of the researcher to gather and analyse data (Merriam, 1988). Guba and Lincoln (1981) point out that such case studies are largely dependent upon the interpretations of the investigator which may reflect her/his bias (this concern is discussed in the section titled establishing entry and reflection of self).

Another weakness in the study's chosen methods was the limited potential for the case to be generalisable beyond the case in question, Longido (Yin 1989; Lincoln and Guba 1981; Merriam 1988). In spite of these concerns, the study's methods were still deemed appropriate given the nature of the study. Stake (1993) provides support of a single case serving as sufficient grounds to establish limits to grand generalisation for other studies that may be scientific in nature. Case studies involve analytical generalisation where the investigator seeks to generalise a set of results to some broader theory (Yin 1989). In this manner, the study was viewed as a means to identify new concepts and insight into community based tourism in a development setting which could be potentially applied to future studies.

#### Data Sources and Collection Methods

The perspective of the local culture can be easily lost in cases such as this study where a foreign researcher is immersed in a distinctly different culture (Golde, 1986; Warren, 1988; Wax, 1979). One means of reducing this effect is to collect data from a variety of sources. Multiple data sources also have the advantage of triangulation increasing the veracity of the findings (Patton, 1990). In order to answer the research questions there were multiple sources of data which I was able to draw from. This consisted of interviews with community members and other data sources including field notes, observations, tourist questionnaires and documents kept by the Cultural Tourism Programme in Arusha.

#### Interviews

Interviews constituted the main source of data in the study. A variety of interview techniques were use with 37 participants who were included in the study. A primary consideration

of conducting interviews with the study's participants required building trust and rapport. In a case study this is often accomplished through the use of an insider (Creswell, 1998). In the study, a liaison/ interpreter was employed to conduct the interviews. There were two different liaisons used during the study, a male and a female liaison (more details regarding the liaisons is discussed under the establishing entry and reflection of self section). During the study different interview participants were identified by either the liaison/ interpreter or tourism coordinator in Longido. Many of the initial meetings with interview participants, questions pertaining to tourism were not discussed. Instead the interview participant was introduced to me and there was in informal conversation which ensued. Conversations were brief and via the interpreter participants would often pose questions to me regarding my experiences in Canada and personal interests which were answered. Participants were informed of the purpose of my visit to Longido during initial meetings but it was often on a subsequent meeting with the participant that an interview was conducted.

During the study, uni-lingual participants conversant in only Maa language or Kiswahili, bilingual participants fluent in Maa language and Kiswahili or Kiswahili and English and trilingual participants conversant in Maa language, Kiswahili and English were interviewed. When there was an opportunity to conduct an interview in English, I conducted the interview in English with the participant directly but remained with the interpreter with the exception of interviews with External Figures who were not living in Longido.

For participants who were fluent in Kiswahili, I interviewed the participants in Kiswahili myself while using the interpreter to translate between Kiswahili and English. However, there was one exception as I was aware that one of the guides was not on good terms with the liaison/ interpreter, therefore, I interviewed him alone. In other cases, the interpreter/ liaison was often

engaging in a conversation as well. In interviewing participants who were conversant in only Maa language, all questions were posed in Kiswahili to the interpreter who in turn translated the questions into Maa language and then either translated responses back into English or Kiswahili to me. An interview guide was developed with questions adapted from Brunt and Courtney's (1999) study of sociocultural impacts of tourism in Dawlish, England and Bleasdale and Tapsell's (1999) study of social and cultural impacts of tourism in Tunisia and a pilot study conducted in Arusha, Tanzania. Questions from these studies were purposefully selected to answer the research questions and to determine if key impacts broadly categorised into economic, environmental and sociocultural dimensions as identified from an extensive review of relevant literature in Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.3 would be repeated in the study of Longido. The adapted interview guide is provided in Appendix E. If the liaison/ interpreter felt it was appropriate to tape record the interview, permission was requested. In a few cases for example with village politicians, the liaisons recommended that interviews not be recorded. If both the interpreter/ liaison felt that it was appropriate to take written notes I did so otherwise I would prepare interview summaries after the interview was concluded. During most interviews, the liaison directed the flow conversation if it was in Maa language.

For interviews conducted in Maa language the interpreter was fully relied upon. I would ask the interpreter/ liaison to ask certain questions from the prepared guide as I was given translations of the conversation that was taken place. In doing so the direction that the topic of conversation was taking was taken into account. During interviews, questions were not usually posed in a direct manner, instead questions were posed as the conversation presented an opportunity to ask pertinent questions such as those contained in the interview guide.

I was able to conduct interviews in Kiswahili without the need for an interpreter but the

liaison/ interpreter was still involved with conversations involving the participant, myself and the liaison. During these interviews I had a more active role in shaping the conversation's direction but I would often consult the liaison/ interpreter in English to clarify if the topic of conversation would be appropriate. Participants were interviewed as many as six times at which time themes from previous interviews were reviewed. Repeated visits with participants were necessary in building trust and rapport. During initial visits I was perceived as a tourist therefore, few if any problems would be identified, it took three or four interviews before problems were often identified.

Interviews took anywhere from fifteen minutes to one hour. Often, participants would offer tea to the interpreter and I and in these circumstances tea was usually accepted. Requests for a follow up interview were made with each participant at the time of the first meeting. There was unanimous consent for a follow up interviews in all cases where requests were made. However, in certain cases, for example interviews with village politicians, no request was made for a subsequent interview since the employed community liaisons strongly suggested that subsequent interviews be avoided. This understanding was further echoed by initial reluctance for the study among some village politicians. During the course of the study, most participants were interviewed on at least two or more occasions with several participants having been interviewed as many as six times. At the time of the follow up interviews, transcripts from the previous interview were reviewed and verified while new information was also requested. This technique of triangulation is often referred to as member checking (Patton, 1990). Interview data was also compared with the other sources of data such as field notes and observations to further enrich the study's findings.

## Observations and Field Notes

During each visit to Longido, I took field notes on events and happenings in the community. I would write descriptions about such things as informal conversation topics with community members who I didn't interview as well I noted tourists whom I encountered and observations on interactions between tourists and local people if I observed tourists. For example I once observed a Canadian tourist give a 10,000 shilling tip to one of the tour guides which further reinforced the idea that guides were key benefactors from tourism in the area. I also took notes following each interview. At that time I would write descriptions including physical observations regarding age, mood and physical surroundings of the participant. These notes also enriched my understanding of themes which emerged from the different interviews. An example of this was my observation of the drought that was taking place in Longido. This clearly coincided with comments by several participants on the need for new water projects in the community. Field notes and observations provided a better context to the interviews but it was also compared with archival records from the Cultural Tourism Programme in Arusha.

## Archival records

There were several documents and records that provided general background on tourism in Longido. Financial records and receipt books for cost expenditures and tourist visits highlighted the number of tourist visits, origin of tourists and overall some insight into the economic contribution of tourism. I was also able to access memos, minutes of meetings attended by the Cultural Tourism Programme, questionnaires completed by tourists, and letters of correspondence between CTP and various stakeholders involved with tourism in Longido such as politicians, consultants and tourism coordinators. These documents allowed me to trace developments in the

Longido community such as delays in building the cattle dip and helped fill me in on key events that occurred in Longido since the inception of tourism. In addition to all these documents, existing information from tourists which is described below was also incorporated in the study.

### Questionnaires and Tourist Feedback

The SNV - Cultural Tourism Programme had collected questionnaires completed by six tourists during 2000 as part of their quality control measures. These questionnaires were examined as were emails from tourists who either sent complaints or compliments to the Cultural Tourism Programme office in Arusha. In addition to this, a general comments book which was kept with the tourism coordinator in Longido which contained descriptive passages from over 160 tourists between October 1996 and December 2000. All of these data sources were also examined. Although examining tourist attitudes was not a focus of the study, it was deemed to provide valuable information essential to the study as multiple sources of information helps build a more thorough case strengthening the study's results (Yin, 1989).

## Analysis of Data Sources

In the study both interviews with participants and the other data sources were examined. In analysing the different sources of data, interview themes were compared with other sources of data to triangulate the interview findings. Field notes, observations, and archival records were analysed independently on their own. However, because there were a vast number of entries in the visitors book, a separate analysis for this was performed. Comments were chosen by systematically selecting every fourth passage insofar that the passage was satisfactorily legible, and in a language that I could understand (English, French or Kiswahili). The selected number of entries allowed for representation among travellers of different nationalities as well visits occurring randomly throughout different times of the year. If a certain entry in the comments book was not legible, the subsequent passage was included for analysis. In total, comments from 41 tourists were examined and coded to identify emergent themes.

Interview transcripts were produced from the interviews recorded on cassette tape. Maa language and Kiswahili transcripts were transcribed into Kiswahili text by the researcher using the aid of a hired translator, while English interviews were transcribed into English. A hired translator was employed to minimise potential misinterpretation and cultural misunderstanding of the interview text. It also served as a form of investigator triangulation which is often recommended to improve “objectivity” in qualitative case studies by limiting the bias of a single researcher which in this study was me (Patton, 1990).

### Establishing Entry and Reflection of Self

The entire field portion of the study took place in an uncontrolled environment in the community of Longido between the period of September 20, 2000 and January 31, 2001. This allowed me to gradually build rapport and trust within the community. The difficulties in gaining an entry point into a particular setting have been noted by many field researchers. In certain settings, permission is often required from people with authority. This ranges from doing research in formal settings such as businesses as well as less formal settings such as the rural community of Longido (Shaffir, Dietz & Stebbins, 1994). In the study setting, both the consent of authority figures and acceptance by individual participants was necessary. The initial point of entry was made via the SNV - Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP), a non-governmental organisation based in Arusha, Tanzania.

My previous involvement as a volunteer with CTP provided me the initial opportunity to return in the capacity of a researcher to Longido. Prior to beginning my research, I gained experience with the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme as a volunteer in the capacity of promotional assistant between August 1998 and June 1999. During this time I had the opportunity to visit different CTP tourism communities where I collected information from tour guides, tourists and local business owners for the purpose of preparing marketing materials for foreign tourist markets and making suggestions to the CTP staff in Arusha. Longido was one community that I had an opportunity to visit several times. I was introduced to the tour guides, the tourism coordinator and a few community members whom I knew by name even after returning to Longido fifteen months later.

In spite of my past experiences in Tanzania and Longido I recognised the enormous power and privilege that I had would be something that I couldn't change. As a Canadian researcher,

Longido was still a foreign environment to me. Undoubtedly there would have to be continuous negotiations in my quest to uncover tourism findings, conscious that this would be from the perspective of an outsider. Undertaking the intense field work necessary, required that I first acknowledge and negotiate the meaning of various factors many of which were unchangeable. Being a Canadian born, university educated, male in my mid-twenties of South Asian descent coupled with prior experience with the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme brought with it tremendous power and privilege. Thus, these factors, brought questions of how my own gender, race, age, and ethnicity would have certain influence on how I would be perceived. I recognised that the mere fact that I was able to travel by plane from Canada to Tanzania alone was more than enough to sway the balance of power in my favour. Regardless of what occurred, I would always have the option to and ultimately would leave the community of Longido while local residents would most likely continue to reside in the vicinity for the remainder of their lives. The wealth and disbursement of money which I possessed was an obvious influential factor in how I was likely perceived and any attempt to alter my physical appearance could not alter that. Keeping this in mind I attempted as best possible to get an insiders perspective regarding tourism impacts in Longido.

During my initial visit to Longido, I was accompanied by a senior staff member from the CTP. This staff member was a Maasai man who had blood relations living in the community of Longido, a connection which provided an initial entry point for the study. Together, we met with key political and tourism figures in Longido to convey the objectives and details of the research study. My past cooperation and contributions towards promoting tourism to the Longido community was immediately recognised by both the Longido village council, and direct tourism beneficiaries of tourism, namely the tourism coordinator, and members of the women's group and

tour guides. The study was therefore, easily endorsed by high ranking political figures and village leaders from the outset. Approval of village leaders was an essential pre-requisite to gain initial entry into the community of Longido but to gain full acceptance on a grass-roots level and be able to enter different *bomas* another approach was necessary.

Taking into account key issues such as gender, age and perceived ethnicity and race, the issue of how I would be perceived by community members was taken into account. While there are studies which document how the researcher's gender can influence the research outcome (Golde, 1986; Warren, 1988; Wax 1979), there is also support for researchers who are able to transcend gender, age, and cultural differences (Van Maanen, 1991). Nevertheless, gender and age were deemed to be important factors worthy of special attention in this study. Maasai societies are characterised by distinct groupings structured by gender and age (Spencer, 1993). At its basic level, a simple model of the Maasai age system suggests that power is retained by older men so that the marriages of younger men, the *murran* (warriors) can be delayed, thus creating maximum opportunities for polygyny (Spencer, 1993). In Longido, gender was an important factor in determining who could conduct various business activities. For example, an area designated for food and drink consumption at the weekly market was off-limits to Maasai women, as well women were not involved with the trade of cattle. The role of gender in providing access to events in Longido was apparent, thus, the gender and age of both myself and the interpreter were likely to have some influence on the receptiveness of given participants.

In Longido, distinct age and gender sets were evident. Men were identified in four general categories: children (herd boys), bachelor *murran*, married *murran* adults, and *wazee* or elders. At the same time females were seen to be subdivided into three broad categories: children, young mothers and elders. Considering the issue of gender, it was felt that the presence of a

female liaison would be more appropriate for interviews with female participants while a male liaison would likely be more appropriate and necessary to gain entry when interviewing elder men and political figures.

Support for this was also given by a foreign woman, Emily who had been working in Longido for an extended period of time. Emily had built close relationships with many of the local people in Longido including prospective participants for the study. She commented “here, women usually open up to other women only, they don’t even open up to my husband who has lived in Longido since 1995.”

Both liaisons were well received members of the Longido. Also, both were adults who had children, rendering certain status within traditional Maasai culture. With the aid of an interpreter/ liaison, interviews were conducted in peoples’ *bomas* or neutral sites such as eating and drinking establishments, on the street, or in an open spaces such as under a tree. Each time a person’s home was visited, an offering of tea and sugar was given to them. This gift was determined to be a culturally appropriate form of compensation for the person’s time by both the Longido tourism coordinator and staff members from the Cultural Tourism Programme. In other circumstances, sodas were offered to various participants and in some cases purchases such as food, handicrafts, and beverages were made from people who sold such items. This was deemed to be an appropriate form of compensation and it also helped to create goodwill and build rapport with the various participants. Furthermore, efforts were also made to distinguish myself from a typical tourist. As such, I refrained from carrying a camera, and I informally conversed with numerous residents many of whom did not participate in the study. Over the course of the study, many residents in the community began to greet me by name. I regularly conversed with numerous residents in Kiswahili and learned some basic Maa language greetings and phrases to

have limited interactions with others. The research approach closely fit ethnographic procedures employed in Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1994) study of Maasai in Kenya. In this study the researchers' interaction with the community was also an essential step in developing rapport, conducting interviews and integrating into the study environment.

### Description of Study Participants

The study included semi-structured interviews with 35 participants based on an adapted interview guide from the pilot study (Appendix E). Each of the participants was given a pseudonym to protect confidentiality and to facilitate reporting of the results. There was an effort to include representation in the sample of individuals falling within Krippendorf's (1987) four resident types as defined by their connection with the tourism industry. However, while the four resident types were found to exist in the pilot study conducted in Arusha, it was discovered that there were not any residents in the community of Longido as defined by two resident categories, Type 1 and Type 2 Residents: people whose income is wholly derived from tourism either through direct or indirect contact with tourists. In Longido, it was discovered that most residents engage in multiple income generating activities and numerous residents in Longido were found to have partial involvement with tourism. For example, it was determined that there were numerous women who had sold beaded souvenirs to tourists at least once, as well there were many residents who acknowledged that they had received payment from tourists for having their photographs taken or selling a small personal item such as a walking stick or visiting their boma on at least one occasion.

Another factor which did not allow residents' to be clearly categorised into Krippendorf's

four resident types was the issue of economic dependency. Although the community of Longido uses a cash money system, the wealth of Maasai people is measured by the size of cattle and goat herds. This contradicted tourism dependency models such as Krippendorf's (1987) in which there is a presumption that a cash economy is being examined. In Longido, it was difficult to classify residents as being dependent upon tourism since it was possible to accrue wealth and obtain essential items such as food, shelter, and/or clothing without the transfer or accumulation of cash. The vast majority of residents in Longido were found to engage in some form of agricultural/cattle tending activities and a substantial number of inhabitants had a subsistence lifestyle based solely on agriculture and livestock herding. Therefore, it was evidenced that there was widespread dependency on cattle and tourism derived cash income was often supplementary to their subsistence lifestyles from the land. In many cases, cash was used by individuals who were engaged in small scale business activity at the central market in Longido or by individuals who were travelling to urban areas (both in Kenya and Tanzania) from Longido. All residents who were involved in tourism also engaged in other activities for their livelihood. The resident types as defined by Krippendorf were not found to exist in Longido, therefore a need to adapt new resident categories was apparent.

Examination of the different players in the tourism sector in Longido allowed residents to be classified into four distinct resident categories based on the level and frequency of economic benefits derived from tourism, level of contact with tourists and the importance of tourism in their overall livelihood. These categories formed the basis of modified resident types according to Krippendorf's (1987) framework. Additional resident categories also became evident in the study. This included a fifth category of residents described by Krippendorf (1987) as political figures. As well, a sixth category of residents comprised of people who will be referred to as "External

Figures” were included in the study. External figures were not discussed by Krippendorf, but it was determined in Longido that external figures who had an outside interest in tourism development but not considered residents of Longido had an influential role. Given that both the fifth and sixth resident types had either past or present influence on tourism development and decision making these categories were added to the study. Table 3.0 outlines Krippendorf’s four modified resident types along with political figures and external figures as they were present in the community of Longido.

TABLE 3.0

Modified Resident Types found in Longido

	<i>Level of Economic Benefits Derived</i>	<i>Frequency of Derived Benefits</i>	<i>Level of Contact with Tourists</i>	<i>Resident Occupations</i>
<i>Resident Type 1</i>	derive a high level of financial benefits from tourism, tourism is the main source of cash income	receive tourism income directly with a high frequency (at least 2 to 3 times per week)	direct and frequent contact with tourists	tour guides, tour coordinators
<i>Resident Type 2</i>	income is partially derived from tourism	receive tourism income directly with medium frequency (approx 1 per week)	direct contact with tourists but not as frequent as resident type one	handicraft salespeople, women who cook for tourists
<i>Resident Type 3</i>	income partially derived from tourism	receive tourism income directly but on an infrequent basis (less than 1 or 2 times per month)	direct but infrequent contact with tourists	restaurant and store workers and owners, residents visited by tourists in their bomas
<i>Resident Type 4</i>	income is not derived from tourism; not currently engaged in the tourism sector	do not directly receive tourism income or income received on a very infrequent basis	see tourist in background	occupations unrelated to tourism, homemakers, unemployed people
<i>Resident Type 5 Political Figures</i>	income is not derived from tourism but involved in decision making process	do not personally receive tourism income but manage village revenues from tourism	see tourists in background but occasionally speak with them	district council, village chairman, village elders
<i>Participant Type 6 External Figures</i>	employed in another capacity which income is not derived from tourism but involved in decision making process	have an interest in tourism but on a decision making, development level, have influence on tourism planning and development	very rarely see tourists in the area	development workers, missionaries

Source: Adapted from Krippendorf (1987).

Participants were selected on the basis of referral from the interpreters and tourism coordinator in Longido. The number of participants were selected on the basis of including as many potential representatives from the different resident categories as time and resources would allow and continuing to include new participants until interview responses were found to be mostly repetitive. In this manner all existing community members classified as Type 1 Residents were included in this study since there were only eight residents in Longido which were defined as such. As well, all Political Figures and External Figures who consented to participate in this study were included given the small number of residents falling into these categories. Residents falling in the Type 2, Type 3 and Type 4 categories were purposefully selected to gain a diverse age, gender, and linguistic representation. In the study interviews with tourism co-ordinators, tour guides, accommodation and food business owners and workers, handicraft artisans, village politicians as well as representation from people who had little or no involvement with tourism in Longido were included. Moreover, there was an effort to include marginalised segments of the population (in the context of tourism), namely women, illiterate people and the elderly to more accurately provide a broad range of community perspectives towards tourism. Although, elderly males command great respect in Maasai societies the inability of elderly Maasai to communicate in Kiswahili or English put them in a disadvantaged situation from interacting with non-Maasai, Swahili speaking tourism-authorities in the Longido area. Moreover, the difficulty for elderly persons to carry out physically taxing responsibilities such as leading mountain treks further alienated them from the tourism sector in Longido and was identified as an obstacle by some elderly participants. The group of participants which resulted enabled diverse attitudes towards tourism to be revealed. In total interviews were conducted with 37 different individuals. Thirty-three were with individual participants while two sets of interviews were conducted with two

participants present at the same time since two different sets of women preferred to talk with me together.

### Ethical Considerations

An oral explanation of the study by the interpreter was given in all cases and oral consent was requested before commencing interviews. If it was determined it to be appropriate by both the liaison/ interpreter and myself, permission was requested to record the interview on hand-held cassette recorder. If permission to record the interview was not requested, notes were taken either during or immediately after the interview. Further details regarding interview procedures were described earlier under the section labelled data sources and collection methods.

### Reporting: Description of NUD\*IST, Software Analysis Tool for Qualitative Data

Both interview data and comments from the visitors book were analysed with the assistance of the software tool NUD\*IST (non-numerical, unstructured data, indexing, searching, and theory building). Rather than a summarising tool, NUD\*IST is an exploring tool which can code, re-code, sort and resort data which may no longer "fit" in previous categories. It gives the researcher more control over knowing where all the data is so that it is not lost. The NUD\*IST software is primarily used with written text but it can be also be linked with pictures, diagrams if text headers are assigned to non-text data. Using NUD\*IST, each individual interview transcript or data record is saved as an ascii text file. The text files are then imported into NUD\*IST and each individual line of ascii text is designated as one text unit. The researcher then codes the different text units in each individual transcript. As the researcher codes the data new categories can be defined as seen fit. In this fashion, key data is highlighted and assigned to a new or already defined category, or subcategory. The different text-units can be assigned to multiple categories and can overlap with each other. Once all the data has been coded, the software's tools can be employed to easily modify, combine or add new categories. In doing so, linkages between the

data sets are readily examined (Gahan & Hannibal, 1999). Because the study involved a qualitative case-study design, it was strongly felt that NUD\*IST would be a very effective tool in identifying and linking themes together. In this study NUD\*IST was used only with text.

Given the nature of the study and the extensive data in the form of transcribed text, the use of NUD\*IST enabled data to be sorted and categorised into themes similar to those identified in the literature review. This format helped ensure that all data about a particular theme was in one place and could be viewed at once. A major strength realised from the software was its ability to locate key words link ideas together. With the assistance of NUD\*IST, it was easy to identify emergent patterns and linkages between concepts such as Krippendorf's (1987) economic dependency theory. This gave me the initial opportunity to develop clear tables around economic, environmental and sociocultural dimensions themes and link themes with other characteristics such as resident type and gender. By employing this software, a wide range of answers for the research questions were located and key ideas which were expressed within the contained responses became more salient. Thus, the use of NUD\*IST made the extensive amount of qualitative data from the study more manageable and allowed themes to be identified more easily.

Although the study findings could be realised without the use of NUD\*IST the application of NUD\*IST was seen in a manner in which a spread-sheet program allows one to sort and group numerical data more efficiently. Qualitative data was categorised into broad themes which emerged in the study. In this study, interview transcripts were coded into broad categories known as nodes using NUD\*IST. Node categories reflected emergent themes which were defined by the researcher and for each node multiple sub-nodes could also be defined. As an interview transcript was analysed, nodes were re-defined and data re-grouped as new patterns developed. This ability of NUD\*IST made it very easy to see emergent themes and allowed themes to be linked with

concepts such as Resident Type and gender. NUD\*IST helped facilitate this process which allowed results (themes) to be imbedded or grounded in the study's data (interview text). In this manner, interviews were transcribed and categorised into emergent themes in a way that most closely reflected the language used by the participants rather than manipulate or alter the study's findings. Because the study involved multiple languages (English, Kiswahili and Maa language), words for which a translation could not be easily found were kept in their original language. Language was only one consideration in the study's setting, there were other unique characteristics which were also influential factors. Table 3.1 outlines the emergent themes or nodes which were categorised using the NUD\*IST software.

TABLE 3.1

Defined nodes for Longido interview data

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- (1) perceived benefits provided by tourism
  - (2) identified problems in the community (not necessarily tourism specific)
  - (3) perceptions of picture taking in Longido
  - (4) what tourism money is used for
  - (5) personal desire from tourism in Longido
  - (6) demographic profile, resident type, age, gender, marital status
  - (7) barriers to doing tourism work
  - (8) recollection of first contact with a tourist
  - (9) perception of tourist
  - (10) understanding of boma fee
  - (11) perception of the cattle dip
  - (12) comments on different development initiatives in Longido
  - (13) perceived change in Longido since start of tourism
  - (14) perceived tourism related problems
  - (15) perception of vibhor
  - (16) perception regarding number of visitors to Longido
-

### Pilot Study

A review of the literature regarding tourism impacts on host communities provided the basis for a preliminary interview guide. These questions were largely generated from Brunt and Courtney's (1999) study of host perceptions towards the impacts of tourism in Dawlish, England and Bleasdale and Tapsell's (1999) study of tourism impacts in Southern Tunisia. The questions were then translated into Kiswahili. A list of the preliminary interview questions with the Kiswahili translation are listed in Appendix E.

The questions were tested in a pilot study which occurred in Arusha, Tanzania between September 20, 2000 and October 10, 2001. The pilot study was conducted by the researcher and interviews were conducted in either English or Kiswahili (depending on participant's preference) without the aid of interpreter. The pilot study included six subjects to represent the different resident types as defined by Krippendorf (1987). Four subjects elected to respond in Kiswahili while two subjects participated in English. In the pilot study, a greater effort was made to focus on Krippendorf's fourth resident class since these types of residents were more likely to share linguistic and educational backgrounds with participants in Longido. On the other hand, participants of Arusha belonging to Krippendorf's first two categories were very likely to have had a great deal of exposure to foreign cultures, and may have preferred interviews in English which would not have allowed me to evaluate the effectiveness of the translated interview guide in Kiswahili.

The pilot study gave me the opportunity to improve my ability to lead interviews in Kiswahili and modify the interview guide for the study setting. During the pilot study, input was requested from the participants to arrive at an effective interview guide in Kiswahili since various questions translated from English did not prove to be effective. Although the pilot study did not

include any interviews with Maasai participants, consultation with development workers, Maasai elders and tourism officials from the Cultural Tourism Programme served to culturally tune the interview guide for use in the community of Longido. From the pilot study, it was determined that certain questions had to be simplified and broken down into a series of two or three questions because they were not clearly understood. For example, questions regarding perceived benefits of tourism were often posed into two parts. Two questions were asked in multiple parts: Do you feel that tourism benefits you? (Yes or No?) How does it benefit you? These questions were posed instead of a single question: How does tourism benefit you? From the pilot study, a theme was identified regarding the interpretation of how tourists were perceived. It was determined that there was wide range of interpretation on what constituted a tourist. Two participants in Krippendorff's (1987) fourth resident class did not distinguish between an "mtalii" (tourist) and a "mzungu" (Caucasian or European person). This finding was taken into consideration and played a pivotal role in the study. From then on, new questions relating to how tourists were perceived developed along with modification of the initial interview guide.

In summary, the case study approach resulted in a study that employed a variety of data collection techniques (Creswell, 1998; Yin, 1989). These techniques included the use of insiders (liaison/ interpreters), adaptive interview styles using a semi-structured interview guide, and the comparison of multiple sources of data. The different data sources included interviews, observations and field notes by the researcher, archival records (minutes of meetings, memos, letters of correspondence between different tourism stakeholders and CTP), and existing questionnaires and comments completed by past tourists who visited Longido. The resulting approach, a qualitative one, was culturally tuned to provide a rich description of the impact of tourism from the perspective of community members in Longido. Although the study's design

limits the ability to generalise the results to a wider base, a case study of a CTP community provides a framework that can be applied to exploratory studies in indigenous tourism settings.

## CHAPTER 4

### RESULTS

The chapter is organised around the study's two research questions. To enrich the context in answering these questions, some supplemental information for the tourism programme in Longido is given. This brief section highlights general statistics such as number of tourist visits and revenues received from tourism. After providing some supplemental information analysis of perceived benefits and perceived problems within the community of Longido is described in detailed.

An examination of tourist feedback from multiple existing data sources provides some insight into the motivation for visiting Longido. This section allows the reader to have a better understanding of the scope of tourism, the change over the past five years and seasonal characteristics regarding Longido's tourism sector. With this background, connections to the two research questions are enriched allowing for an in depth analysis of the impacts of tourism on community residents. This background is then followed by a description of key characteristics of the modified resident types and study participants which provide an introduction to the analysis of perceived benefits and problems in the community of Longido.

Commonly shared benefits among the different resident types are discussed first followed by benefits identified by certain resident types only. Commonly shared problems by the 4 resident types are then discussed, which is followed by an analysis of problems cited among certain resident types. Next, to examine the study's second question, resident attitudes towards the community subsidised development project (cattle dip) are examined. This section covers community attitudes towards the current development project as well as examining attitudes towards new

tourism subsidised development initiatives in Longido. Finally, linkages between study's two research questions are discussed. It is this final section which gives some insight into future problems and opportunities associated with tourism in Longido and Tanzania.

### Secondary Cultural Tourism Programme Background Information

Since, the inception of Cultural Tourism Programme pilot activities, Longido has remained one of CTP's most highly visited and popular tourism communities. Since 1996, tourist arrivals to Longido have steadily grown. By the end of 2000 Longido had received more than 1,800 tourists with annual tourist arrivals exceeding 600 tourists and growing (statistics on tourist visits were obtained from CTP records in Arusha). Table 4.0 outlines the growth in tourist visits to Longido since the introduction of tourism in 1996.

**TABLE 4.0**

Tourist Arrivals to Longido

	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Number of Tourists	78	224	466	479	613	1,860

Given the small size of the Longido community, tourism has had a tremendous impact upon the community. During the study it was discovered that many of the records pertaining to tourist receipts and arrival information were incomplete or missing. This suggests that the number of tourists who visited Longido may be higher than actually accounted for. However, detailed records for tourist arrival information and revenues for the year ending December 31, 2000 was available. These records were examined for the last two quarters of 2000. From careful

examination of the last two quarters, it was determined that more than \$6,000 U.S. was brought into the Longido community through tourism in a six month period. This was quite significant given the population size of the Longido community. Tourist revenues from the fixed tourists prices were received in seven major areas: village development fund for community development projects, guiding fees, coordination fees, food revenues, accommodation receipts, receipts for boma visits, and finally other miscellaneous receipts including payments for entertainment (dancing and music), arranging transportation, and receipts for custom designed activities. The breakdown of tourist receipts are provided below in Table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1

Tourism Receipts from July 1, 2000 to December 31, 2000

	Tanzanian Shillings	U.S.\$
Village Development Fund (VDF)	2,728,500	\$3,411
Guide	938,000	1,173
Coordination	455,000	569
Food	1,499,400	1,874
Camping	727,000	909
Guest House	438,500	548
Boma	279,900	350
Other	529,000	661
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>TSH 7,595,300</b>	<b>\$6,084</b>

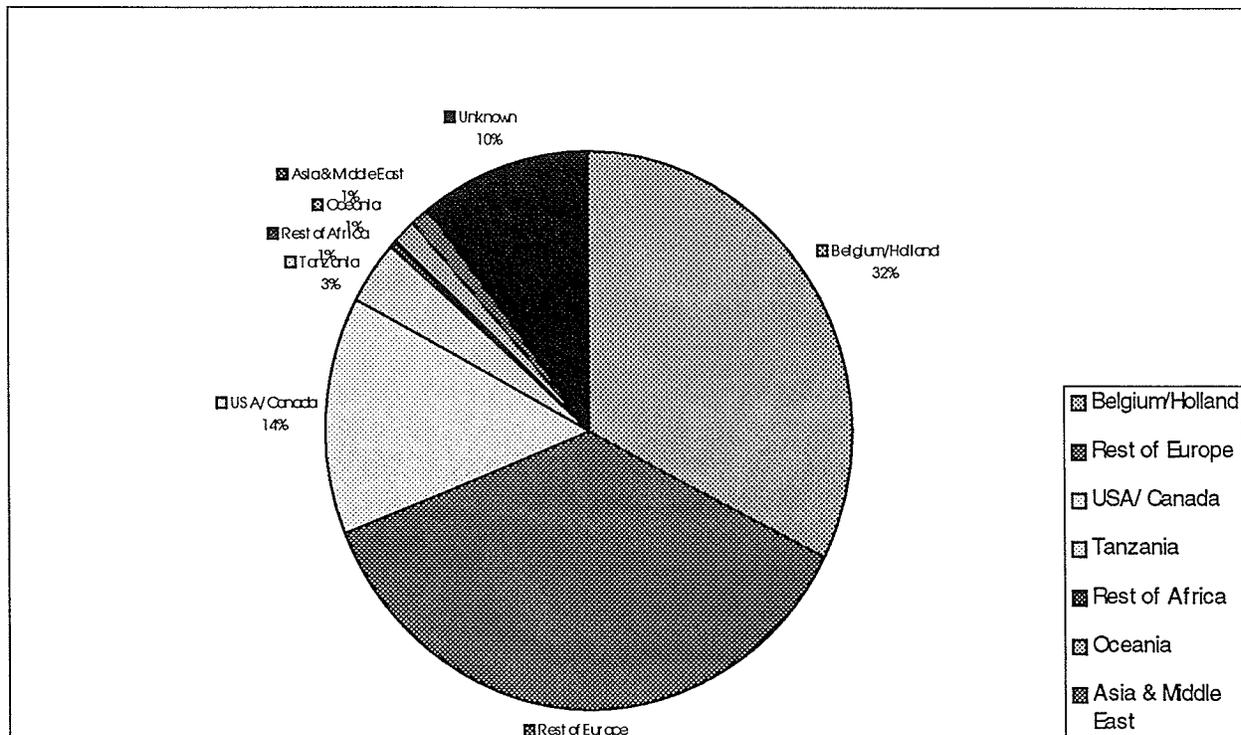
(Exchange based on U.S.\$1=800 Tanzanian Shillings, exchange rate at time of study, figures obtained from Longido Cultural Tourism Coordinator's records and CTP records in Arusha)

A careful examination of the records kept by the Longido tourism coordinator for 2000 showed that 613 tourists visited the area, with the busiest tourist period being the months of July, August and September when 47% of the annual tourists visited the area. Group sizes ranged during 2000 from single tourists to groups of twenty, however, the average group size for Longido was 4.4 with 2 individuals constituting the median and modal group size. By examining

records for 2000, it was determined that over half of all tourists had arrived via a tour company.

More than 60% of tourists originated from Europe with Belgian and Dutch visitors accounting for more than one-third of all known guests (tourist nationality is illustrated in Figure 4.0). Another significant market was the American market which was comprised largely of university exchange students. This is due to two American university exchange programs (School for International Training and Friends World College) in East Africa which have included visits to Longido in their planned activities over the past few years. The above trends corresponded with the SNV - Cultural Tourism Programme marketing strategy which had an emphasis on attracting tour operators. In particular there was strong word of mouth within the Dutch and Belgian tourism market as staff members from the Arusha office had close ties with the Dutch and Belgian travel market.

FIGURE 4.0 Origin of tourist arrivals to Longido in 2000



## Analysis of Tourist Feedback

This section provides a brief analysis of information given by a small sample of tourists. While this data cannot be considered to be representative of the views of all tourists visiting the region the results provide a better understanding of the study setting and context of host perceptions relating to tourism. The examination of tourist data was conducted primarily to give background to the study and strengthen findings pertaining to community attitudes.

Questionnaires were completed by six tourists during 2000; tourists reported experiencing traditional Maasai culture, visiting developing projects and trekking as common reasons for visiting Longido. This was compared with an analysis of the 41 comments between 1996 and 2000 from the visitors book that was kept in Longido. From this analysis, tourists identified wildlife, mountain treks and pleasant walks in the area to be the major natural attractions.

From the visitors book tourists identified cultural features to be the major highlights. This included visits to traditional and colonial points of interest, learning about the landscape and Maasai lifestyle, meeting and talking with local people, visiting a Maasai boma, and enjoying traditional cuisine. Other dominant themes which arose were enjoyment gained from visiting the development projects, appreciation for interpretations and explanations given by guides and the hospitality and friendliness with which tourists were received by local people. Numerous tourists provided positive comments supporting their overall experience without any information on their personal experiences. Analysis of the 41 accounts only documented one account of a negative experience; however, this was personal in nature as one tourist acknowledged his dissatisfaction with the long walk to the bomas.

Overall, the comments provided much praise and thanks for the Longido tourism experience. An explanation for this is that tourists who take the time to write in a comments book

are more likely to have had a positive experience. Since the comments book is kept in the office of the tourism coordinator, tourists are less likely to write criticisms or complaints given the tourism coordinator is often present or in the nearby vicinity of tourists signing the comments book.

To gain some insight into some of the complaints and criticisms for the tourism programme in Longido letters and emails sent to the SNV - Cultural Tourism Programme in Arusha were examined. In these documents, only a few problems were highlighted which included tour pricing and language ability of the guides. Table 4.2 outlines some of the attractions identified by tourists while Table 4.3 illustrates the complaints that were cited.

**TABLE 4.2**

**Major Attractions Identified by Tourists**

Perceived Attraction	How Attraction is Perceived	Comments Written
Natural Setting/ Landscape	Mountain  Wildlife  Pleasant walks/ hikes  Learning about medicinal uses of plants	"It was a wonderful walking tour around Longido Mountain."  "Tough walk up the Longido Mountains but very nice!"  "I thoroughly enjoyed it, scenery is beautiful, birds and animals plenty."  "I really enjoyed the walk through the scrub to the boma."  "It was a nice walk through a fascinating area..it was a very tough walk but very nice experience."  "On the way (the guide) explained about the birds, natural medicine, and other animals living in the bush. We saw several birds we hadn't seen before."
Cultural Aspects	Historical Sites  Seeing the Maasai Life  Enjoying Cuisine	"We stayed in a very spectacular place. It was the former German camp. We appreciate. Thanks."  "It was nice to see the Maasai in their natural ways. We really enjoyed this trip into another culture, another mentality, another age."  "It is a very different culture than our own and it was a pleasure to experience it. The delicious food we have received was a welcome surprise, many thanks again!"
Meeting and interacting with people	Visiting people in the bomas  Making friendships  Hospitality/ friendly atmosphere  Talking with local people  Interacting with tour guides, receiving explanations	It was very nice and interesting staying overnight and visit the boma. We talked to the women, gave them poloroid photos, took our own photos."  "I will never forget the 2 days of walking and meeting people. The 2 days were the highlight of my stay in Tanzania and I was treated like a guest rather than a tourist. Thank you for that outstanding experience."  "We really enjoyed this walk visiting the boma was a wonderful experience, people were friendly, food was excellent."  "Everyone we met was extremely friendly. A real insight into traditional African/ Tanzanian life. Thank you!"  "The guides and porter were helpful and friendly, and although communication was not always easy, our Swahili has definitely improved!"  "I am very pleased to have met the Maasai people. The guide was superb. The guide showed us a lot of birds and now we also know that we can make soup from almost all trees in this area."
Development Projects/ Providing aid through tourism	Self-fulfilment through proving aid through tourism	"I hope that your project will be known in foreign countries so that Maasai will be helped in their wishes to ameliorate."  "We came from Barcelona and we want to give you many thanks for giving us the opportunity to collaborate in your project."

Table 4.3

Complaints Cited by Tourists

Perceived Problem	How Complaint is Interpreted	Comments Written
Tour Pricing, problems with payment	Pricing is not clear Tours too expensive People ask for more money People ask for money indirectly	“The prices seem to differ a lot. Longido was almost too high especially compared to the other tours. We would have considered it twice if we had known up front.” “The Maasai village asked for an additional sh 1000 (4000 instead of 3000) when we were there. We arrived in the afternoon so we paid the guide fee twice (once for the afternoon and once for the next morning)” “She wanted us to pay her the SH 10.000 (four persons) directly. We refused and paid to the coordinator.”
Guides inadequately trained	Guides do not speak English	“The guide did not speak English well.”
Misleading information	Perceive meals cooked by women’s group when not the case always	“We wanted to have dinner with the women group but got the impression that it was just one woman that made dinner.”

Table 4.2 and 4.3 document some key attractions and offerings of the Longido tourism programme. With this background it becomes easier to gain an understanding of how local community members perceived tourism which will now be described.

Interview Results

Characteristics of Participants

Purposefully selecting participants based on the modified Resident Types found in Longido (described in the Methods section, Table 3.0) gave rise to some unique characteristics. Interviews

were conducted with 37 participants. Thirty-three were individual interviews while two were group interviews with two participants present at the same time. Characteristics of the participants are highlighted below in Table 4.4.

TABLE 4.4  
Characteristics of Participants

	<i>Number of Participants</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Resident Occupations</i>
<i>Resident Type 1</i>	8	6	2	tour guides, tour coordinators
<i>Resident Type 2</i>	5	1	4	handicraft salespeople, women who cook for tourists
<i>Resident Type 3</i>	4	1	3	restaurant and store workers and owners, residents visited by tourists in their bomas
<i>Resident Type 4</i>	12	7	5	occupations unrelated to tourism, homemakers, unemployed people
<i>Political Figures</i>	3	3	0	district council, village chairman, village elders
<i>External Figures</i>	3	2	1	development workers, missionaries
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>15</b>	

There were some unique characteristics which emerged among the different resident types. Some key factors which distinguished Type 1 residents were age, linguistic ability, education and gender. Type 1 residents who derived a high level of income from tourism and earned tourism income at least 2 to 3 times per week were predominately between the ages of 25 and 45 and were multi-lingual members of society who had received some formal education. Information regarding age and education were either obtained from the liaison/ interpreter or was based on observations and approximated according to their age set in Maasai tradition (*murrān*, elder). Seven of the

eight members identified themselves as being Maasai while one identified himself as being Swahili. All but one of the Type 1 group had completed primary school (6 years of formal education) and all of these participants were conversant in Kiswahili. Language ability was a clearly a salient characteristic among Type 1 Residents. While there were few non-foreign residents who spoke English in Longido (seven encountered during the entire study which included one foreign missionary) five Type 1 participants were proficient in English. Seven of the Type 1 Residents interviewed spoke two or more languages: four participants were trilingual, fluent in English, Maa language and Kiswahili; three were bilingual in Kiswahili and Maa language; and one participant was bilingual in English and Kiswahili. Based on an examination of the key characteristics of Type 1 Residents, it appeared that language and education were influential factors in gaining employment in the tourism sector in Longido.

Type 2 Residents who received tourism income regularly with a medium frequency (approximately once per week) were primarily female residents between the ages of 20 and 35 years who generally were family members (ie. spouse, brother, sister, parent, child) of a Type 1 Resident. Of the five Type 2 Residents who were interviewed, four had an immediate family member classified as a Type 1 Resident. These people had either spouses, parents or siblings working in the tourism sector and were first introduced to tourism by them. There was a mix in the educational background of Type 2 Residents. Two members (one male and one female) had received some formal education and were conversant in Kiswahili and Maa language while the remaining members were uni-lingual female residents who only spoke Maa language. All Type 2 Residents in the study were married with children and tourism related work seemed to compliment household activities such as meal preparation, subsistence agriculture and child rearing.

Type 3 Residents who received tourism income directly but on an infrequent basis (less

than once or twice per month) included two distinct groupings. Participants falling under the Type 3 category were middle aged to elderly persons (25 to 60 years) but the group differed in that there were uni-lingual Maasai speakers and more urbanised Swahili speaking residents. All residents who were visited by tourists in their boma were uni-lingual Maa speaking persons who had received no formal education. These participants followed a more traditional lifestyle which was primarily pastoral (livestock herding) and to a lesser extent agricultural. The other sub-grouping included business workers and owners who identified themselves as non-Maasai, Swahili people. All Type 3 business owners and workers interviewed in this study had in fact moved to Longido from another region primarily for business purposes while the traditional Maa speaking people belonging to this segment grew up in the Longido area.

Type 4 residents who did not have any direct contact nor receive money from tourism had the greatest diversity in terms of gender and age but shared common educational, cultural and occupational characteristics. Type 4 Residents included 5 female and 7 male participants. This grouping included young *murrans* warriors and unmarried women in their late teens and early twenties to elderly residents in their eighties. All eight Type 4 Residents identified themselves as Maasai and were predominately engaged in traditional activities. The primary source of livelihood for all male participants involved herding and agriculture with one resident also supplementing his income with construction work. All female participants worked in the home where they were predominately involved in homemaking activities. None of the Type 4 Residents had another family member who was working in the tourism sector. In addition, seven of the eight participants had no formal education and only one participant was conversant in Kiswahili. Based on this information it would appear that language ability, education and relations to other persons employed in the tourism sector may have deterred Type 4 Residents from gaining tourism

employment.

The fifth resident category referred to as political figures was comprised of village leaders and politicians. This group included people responsible for decision making on a community scale and all participants in this group were male members of Longido although there was one female member who was not interviewed. Residents in this category were involved in collecting tourism generated revenues for the village and had a responsibility for ensuring the overall well-being of the Longido community.

The sixth and final category of residents in this study included external decision makers, this category is referred to as external figures. This included people who were not regarded as local residents in Longido but included both foreign people living in Longido (missionaries) as well foreign and Tanzanian citizens living outside of Longido but active in the Longido area (Cultural Tourism Programme staff, development workers). This set of participants also included past workers and consultants who were no longer involved with tourism in Longido yet had been instrumental in developing tourism there.

#### Analysis of Community Attitudes Towards Tourism

Given the extensive qualitative data on community attitudes towards tourism in Longido, a review of the literature as outlined in Tables 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 provided an initial framework for an analysis of perceived tourism impacts. With the assistance of NUD\*IST, field notes and interview text were analysed to identify perceived impacts and patterns which emerged in relation to Krippendorff's (1987) modified resident types.

Initially, an attempt was made to categorise perceived impacts in Longido according to economic, environmental and sociocultural dimensions as identified in the literature. There were a number of impacts which could have been classified as such but there were significant impacts which were highly interrelated and could not be separated on the basis of economic, environmental and sociocultural dimensions. The impact of the cattle dip was one example of this. It clearly had an economic, environmental and sociocultural impact as it improved the value of cattle and thus wealth, improved the well being of cattle (environmental) and had implications for maintaining pastoral lifestyles (sociocultural). Due to this, the categorisation of tourism impact analysis proved to be more effective by categorising results broadly into perceived benefits and perceived problems following emergent patterns with the modified Resident Types. Many of the perceived impacts in the study were community and culturally specific to Maasai lifestyles, therefore, categorising impacts according to economic, environmental and sociocultural dimensions might also weaken the context in which the responses were identified. It was felt that perceived impacts would be better categorised in unique dimensions which emerged. This enabled impacts to be identified from the perspective of the community members rather than that of the researcher. In view of this, community attitudes towards tourism were classified into perceived benefits and perceived problems on the basis of impacts that were commonly perceived among the four different resident types, and also according to impacts which were identified by certain resident types only.

#### Perceived Benefits of Tourism in Longido

Perceived benefits included both commonly perceived benefits among the different resident types as well as benefits which were perceived by certain resident types only. The

dimensions which emerged for commonly perceived benefits included personal benefits derived directly from tourists; employment, income and development of the community from tourism; and benefits derived from development projects (the cattle dip). Meanwhile, resident specific benefits were not categorised into the dimensions as there were few which were left in their unique categories.

#### Perceived Benefits Shared Among Different Community Members

Examining perceived impacts in relationship to Krippendorf's (1987) framework (see Table 2.4 for a description of the framework) would suggest that people who realise more economic benefits from tourism are more likely to perceive greater benefits and perceive fewer problems from tourism. However, this was clearly not the case in Longido. Among the four different resident types based on dependency on tourism, the results showed that there were a broad range of perceived benefits common to the first four resident categories while the last two resident types (Type 5 and Type 6) exhibited different characteristics. Type 1, 2, 3 and 4 Residents all illustrated a great range of perceived benefits associated with tourism. Perceived benefits which were shared among the different resident types included benefits from the gifts received by tourists and interaction with tourists; overall development of the village and employment created through tourism; the selling of handicrafts; and benefits derived from the cattle dip. These common benefits did not appear to be resident type, gender or age-specific as they were identified among all or most resident types and at the same time were represented by both genders and different age sets. In this study, gender and age did not appear to be significant factors in relation to the perceived benefits of tourism. Also, when excluding the last two resident

types (political figures and external figures), economic dependency/ connectivity to tourism in relation to the 4 resident types were not evidenced to be significant in the range of perceived benefits that were revealed. Type 1, Type 2, Type 3 and Type 4 Residents all identified a similar range of benefits.

Tables 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 list some of the commonly shared benefits shared among the different resident types in Longido. These tables are categorised according to benefits attributed to tourists (Table 4.5), benefits relating to the overall development of the community (Table 4.6) and benefits pertaining to tourism subsidised development projects (Table 4.7).

**TABLE 4.5**

**Personal Benefits Derived Directly From Tourists**

Identified Impact	Number of Participants who identified Impact		Reference
<p><u>Tourists Bring Gifts</u></p> <p>Bring medicine</p> <p>Give food</p> <p>Give money</p> <p>Give educational/ writing supplies (books, pens)</p>	<p><u>Type</u></p> <p>Type 1</p> <p>Type 3</p> <p><u>Type 4</u></p> <p>TOTAL</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male</p> <p>Female</p>	<p>4</p> <p>1</p> <p><u>3</u></p> <p>8</p> <p>5</p> <p>3</p>	<p><i>"It has helped me with so many things...there are groups of tourists who have given me a lot of clothes and money." - Type 1 Resident</i></p> <p><i>"A group of tourists came to the hospital...they brought medicine for the eyes and back." Type 1 Resident</i></p> <p><i>"Most of the tourists who come to the school, some of them have an interest to visit the school..(sometimes they bring) small presents like books and pens." Type 1 Resident</i></p> <p><i>"There was a tourist who came...and gave me a lot of things for the baby. They gave medicine." Type 3 resident</i></p> <p><i>"When the cattle were dying the tourists brought us food from their country" Type 4 resident</i></p>
<p><u>Benefit through interaction with tourists</u></p> <p>Learn new stories/ exchange ideas</p> <p>Learn about foreign cultures</p> <p>Make new friendships</p>	<p><u>Type</u></p> <p>Type 1</p> <p>Type 2</p> <p>Type 3</p> <p><u>Type 4</u></p> <p>TOTAL</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male</p> <p>Female</p>	<p>3</p> <p>2</p> <p>1</p> <p><u>2</u></p> <p>8</p> <p>4</p> <p>4</p>	<p><i>"I can trade stories with people from other countries. The people from outside countries can tell me about that country and I can listen to that story" Type 1 Resident</i></p> <p><i>"I think one way they (the Maasai people) have also learned from the tourists because they are staying with them." Type 2 Resident</i></p> <p><i>"Now we feel a part of them when we participate with them because the tourist people that come to the boma have a relationship with us." Type 3 Resident</i></p> <p><i>"I think tourism is a good thing. You can learn from tourists also sometimes to make improvements in your own life because you have learned from tourists." Type 4 Resident</i></p>

**TABLE 4.6**

Perceived Benefits Relating to Overall Development of the Community

Identified Impact	Number of Participants who identified Impact		Reference
<p><u>Positive Impact on Village Economy</u></p> <p>Tourism Increases Income for the village</p> <p>Development of the village through tourism</p> <p>Selling more small things non-specific to tourism: ie. tea leaves, sugar, beans</p>	<p><u>Type</u></p> <p>Type 1 Type 2 Type 3 Type 4 Type 5 <u>Type 6</u> TOTAL</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male Female</p>	<p>4 2 1 2 2 <u>2</u> 13</p> <p>11 2</p>	<p><i>"I know our government gets taxes from tourism, so when the tourism is going to be a lot at Longido, we get a lot of money and we are going to gain a lot of projects at Longido"</i> Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>"We got a cattle dip to wash cows and also some income which is in the village which helps in the development of the village."</i> Type 2 Resident</p> <p><i>When you come to Longido you pay money and that money is used for some beautiful work like the cattle dip."</i> Type 3 Resident</p> <p><i>"Tourism has brought quite a number of benefits to the community because when tourists visit here they bring opportunities of income to the local people"</i> Type 4 Resident</p> <p><i>"It (tourism) can be a realistic gain and can get village development through tourism."</i> External Figure</p>
<p><u>Employment created from tourism</u></p> <p>Allows people to sell handicrafts/ beaded souvenirs</p> <p>Benefits those who work as guides</p> <p>Benefits people who cook for tourists</p>	<p><u>Type</u></p> <p>Type 1 Type 2 Type 3 Type 4 <u>Type 5</u> TOTAL</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male Female</p>	<p>7 4 3 6 <u>2</u> 23</p> <p>11 12</p>	<p><i>"There is a lot you can see. Even some of our guides have got new houses. That means that there is a good show of income not only to my side."</i> Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>"The life of my family is not bad because I am working as a guide and I get income from guiding which meets the needs of my family."</i> Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>"It has been five years that tourists have helped me because my husband is a guide."</i> Type 2 Resident</p> <p><i>"I think the guides are getting a lot of money."</i> Type 3 Resident</p> <p><i>"I like (tourists) because they are helping people like the guides and buying beads."</i> Type 4 resident</p>

TABLE 4.7

Perceived Benefits resulting from Tourism Initiated Development Projects

Identified Impact	Number of Participants who identified Impact		Reference
<u>Cattle Dip</u>  Tourism perceived as beneficial due to the cattle dip	<u>Type</u>		<i>"Tourism has brought benefits like the cattle dip where we dip our cattle here in Longido."</i> Type 1 Resident
	Type 1	8	
	Type 2	4	
	Type 3	4	<i>"Really, it has brought a lot of benefits in this place of herdsmen, right now we have got a cattle dip to wash cows."</i> Type 2 Resident
	Type 4	10	
	Type 5	2	
	<u>Type 6</u>	<u>2</u>	
	TOTAL	30	<i>"When you come to Longido you pay money and that money is used for some beautiful work like the cattle dip."</i> Type 3 Resident
		<u>Gender</u>	
	Male	19	<i>"Two things we have seen the tourists have brought for us is the cattle dip and the other is World Visions. I have seen that the cattle dip is a good thing."</i> Type 4 Resident
	Female	11	
			<i>"People are very happy with the cattle dip."</i> External Figure

The commonly perceived benefits highlighted in Tables 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 clearly demonstrate that a broad range of positive impacts also cited within the literature, were apparent in this study. These benefits noted in the literature as sociocultural and economic were characterised in this study under three general categories: personal benefits directly derived from tourists which included gifts received from tourists and non-tangible benefits derived through interacting with tourists; overall development of the community from tourism which benefits the village economy and creates employment; and benefits derived from development projects, namely the cattle dip.

Personal benefits derived directly from tourists.

Perceived benefits pertaining to tourists involved benefits from tourist gifts or donations and perceived benefits through interaction with tourists (Table 4.6). A number of residents identified the benefit that tourists had provided in the past through gift giving such as pens and books to the school, medicine to either the hospital or individual people, along with clothes, money, and food which were received. This finding was enriched with other data sources. It was discovered after speaking with a representative from a large Dutch tour operator who had been visiting Longido for five years, that groups of 10 to 20 tourists were regularly visiting the area at least 5 to 6 times per year. Moreover, these groups were regularly making donations of medicine, books, educational materials, and clothes to either the school or health clinic during visits to Longido. Similarly, the tourism coordinator had revealed that other tour operators visiting Longido along with guests of missionaries living in Longido had also been known to provide the Longido community with gifts and donations during guided tours of the area. While these benefits pertained to gifts of monetary value other benefits to which a monetary value could not be easily ascribed were also derived.

There was unanimous praise for perceived benefits of interacting with tourists. Many residents regarded tourists as being friends rather than mere business clients. They often recalled the names and nationalities of past tourists. When talking with Kimaro, a school teacher, he told me that: "Oh! You are from Canada. I have a friend in Canada named Jim, he brought some books for the school one time." One participant spoke of a special relationship or bond that she developed with tourists who visited her boma: "Now we feel a part of them when we participate with them because the tourist people that come to the boma have a relationship with us." For

other participants, interacting with tourists was also clearly a pleasurable experience. During the study, for instance, I encountered an elderly lady and after greeting her utilising a few basic phrases in Maa language, she immediately had a big smile on her face and was quick to say that “I love tourists very much, they are so nice! All tourists are very nice!” Another participant Aika who was part owner and worker at an eating and drinking establishment in Longido informed me that tourists would occasionally visit her place for a drink. She then commented about interactions between Maasai people and tourists which she had observed over the years in Longido: “The people of Longido are very happy when they see tourists, then the tourists see the people are very happy and then they are happy too.”

In Longido, I was approached by local people on countless occasions. I was frequently approached by local people who wanted to engage in conversation and learn more about me and my culture. As well I often observed tourists who were approached by curious residents. I noted that local people in Longido showed a genuine interest in learning about tourists. Several participants viewed tourist interactions as an opportunity to learn about foreign cultures, and practise English. One participant Ifura revealed that:

“I can trade stories with people from other countries. The people who come from outside countries can tell me about that country and I like to listen to that story...there are some groups coming from Holland and there are some groups who come from America so I can get some stories from these countries and then I get some friends.”

Similarly, other participants discussed the educational merits that tourists provided. Loti, a murrin in his early twenties had a keen interest in making friendships with tourists: “I think tourism is a good thing. You can learn from tourists also sometimes to make improvements in your own life because you have learned from tourists.”

Perceived benefits relating to overall development of the community.

In the community of Longido, there was widespread support of tourism for its contribution to employment and village development (Table 4.6). Among the different resident types, there was a high awareness of income and employment created, particularly to jobs pertaining to handicraft sales, tour guiding and meal preparation for tourists. The study illustrated this awareness through different community members who identified benefits from tourism employment and income that was generated regardless of whether the participant her/himself or another immediate family members received any employment or income from tourism. This revelation was particularly evident in the form of souvenir sales.

During interviews with local people, the benefits which people derived from selling beaded souvenirs to tourists was reiterated by residents regardless of their connection to this activity. Kimaro, a guide recounted a story of how a large group of tourists from a Baptist Church bought over 500,000 TSH worth of souvenirs and how souvenir sales could benefit virtually anyone in Longido:

“Well recently like yesterday, there were some visitors from the Baptist church, there were more than 30 visitors. I heard that they purchased three-quarters of the items (souvenirs) from the people of Longido. So the women were saying that they already got something like 500,000 shillings. Men...and...about 26 men sold their swords. So it gave them a little profit....Maybe elderly people could sell their walking sticks if they wanted but I did not see anybody selling them.”

During interviews with local people, I asked them to recall what benefits they perceived tourism to provide to Longido to which souvenir sales was a common response. Agnes and Anna were two women who had been selling souvenirs to tourists for almost 5 years. They were quick

to point out benefits which they received from selling beaded souvenirs. Although Agnes and Anna were only two women who benefited from selling souvenirs, there was unanimous support from other community members regarding tourism's positive economic impact on souvenirs. It was often cited as a major source of income along with guiding. Hidea, a grandmother who did not have any contact with tourists revealed that: "I like (tourists) because they are helping people like the guides and buying beaded souvenirs."

Similarly, within Longido, either the guides themselves or other community members identified how the guides benefited greatly from tourism. All the guides provided effusive praise for the impact of tourism in Longido. Saidi a well known member of the Longido community indicated that tourism had allowed guides to significantly improve their livelihoods: "There is a lot you can see. Even some of our guides have got new houses." Benefits to guides was perceived so strongly that a few residents even approached me to find out if they could gain employment as a tour guide in Longido. One participant, Loti twice asked me how he could gain employment as a tour guide and even wrote two letters to be given to the Cultural Tourism Programme requesting employment!

The last employment sector which was identified as one that benefited from tourism involved people in either meal preparation or food sales to tourists. In Longido, a local women's group comprised of seven women called the FARAJA women's group had formed to cater meals to tourists. In general the FARAJA women's group would prepare meals when groups of ten or larger would arrive in Longido. However, for smaller groups the job of cooking was often given to the wives of certain tour guides or food and drinks were served at one of the small restaurants in Longido. The contribution of tourism to those involved with food preparation was identified as

a benefit by both residents involved with food sales as well by a community member who did not gain any employment from this sector. A more detailed analysis of the beneficiaries involved in meal preparation was carried out because only one resident who did not have any personal or immediate familial connection with meal preparation identified this benefit. By considering gender, age, ethnicity and occupation characteristics of participants it became evident that gender and ethnic identity were significant characteristics. The data showed that all residents who were involved in meal preparation were female and a disproportionate number identified themselves as Swahili rather than Maasai. Within the FARAJA women's group, there were five members who identified as Swahili while two identified themselves as Maasai. Meanwhile, three of the other four principal figures involved with selling food to tourists at small restaurants were Swahili speaking individuals as well. This characteristic was acknowledged during the study. Kimaro a local guide in the area explained that it was Swahili women who benefited from food sales while Maasai women who benefited in other ways: "For everybody it is okay because the Maasai mothers benefit from money here and there. And for the Swahili women, they benefit from selling soda, beer and water and food in the stores." While specific professions within the tourism sector such as tour guiding, handicraft salespeople and meal preparers were widely cited as beneficiaries of tourism, the positive effect of tourism on improving the community through tourism generated development initiatives were also noted.

#### Perceived benefits resulting from tourism initiated development projects.

Residents related tourism to providing community income in such forms as taxes from the village development fund and revenues received from washing fees for using the cattle dip, a

tourism initiated project in Longido. In a small community like Longido, local people were easily able to see the changes that tourism had brought and even residents not involved in the tourism sector cited tourism to be a favourable activity on the economy.

During the study it became clear that the cattle dip was one of the primary explanations for tourism's perceived high value. The cattle dip had a direct impact on the economy in numerous ways and was thus highly valued by all resident types. Careful examination of peoples' attitudes towards the cattle dip showed that there was no significant variation among the different resident types. The cattle dip appeared to be one area which united different community members in their appreciation for tourism. A more detailed analysis of the cattle dip will follow in an analysis of tourism subsidised development projects in Longido. In the following sections, the focus will be shifted to other benefits that were perceived within the Longido community that were not commonly shared among the different resident types.

#### Benefits Perceived Among Specific Resident Types Only

The commonly perceived tourism impacts described above illustrate some of the benefits that were found within the literature. While the majority of benefits that were perceived in Longido were common to the different resident types, there were perceived benefits which were not widely exhibited but identified by certain resident types only, in particular Type 2, Type 3 and Type 4 Residents identified benefits that were not identified by other groups. These impacts are shown in Table 4.8. The literature review described how tourism can positively influence behavioural and attitude changes of hosts due to tourist exposure. While this perception was not widespread in the case study of Longido, it was identified by two Type 4 Residents. In addition to

this, two new findings which were not described in the literature review were raised by Type 4 Residents. The first pertained to perceived benefits based on misunderstandings.

Misunderstandings refer to perceived benefits that were falsely associated with tourism instead of their actual origin. In this manner, benefits derived from the missionaries and development organisations were attributed to tourists. The second finding related to perceived benefits derived by other family members who were involved in the tourism sector, this was identified among Type 2 and Type 3 Residents.

TABLE 4.8

Benefits Perceived Among Specific Resident Types

Identified Impact	Number of Participants who identified Impact		Examples
<p><u>Misunderstood perceptions</u></p> <p>Tourism is associated with missionary/ church activities and is perceived as beneficial due to church initiatives, ie. building of churches</p> <p>Tourism perceived to be responsible for construction of schools</p> <p>Tourists give money that has paid for medical operations</p>	<p><u>Type</u></p> <p><u>Type 4</u></p> <p>TOTAL</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male</p> <p>Female</p>	<p><u>4</u></p> <p>4</p> <p>0</p> <p>4</p>	<p><i>"There is one thing I can remember that the tourists have done for us is the day the first person who came in the Baptist Church. That is the first good thing that was done for us because they gave us a lot of food."</i> - Type 4 Resident</p> <p><i>"The two most important things tourism has done for is making a cattle dip and that the things the church has done for us."</i> - Type 4 Resident</p> <p><i>"It (tourism) helps because that money is used for making schools and the cattle dip."</i> - Type 4 Resident</p> <p><i>"There was one person, his leg was broken and that money was used to take him to the hospital and get a leg for 350,000 TSH"</i> - Type 4 Resident</p>
<p><u>Indirect Family benefit</u></p> <p>Perceive tourism to benefit because an immediate or extended family member is engaged in tourism and equates this to personal benefits</p>	<p><u>Type</u></p> <p>Type 2</p> <p><u>Type 3</u></p> <p>TOTAL</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male</p> <p>Female</p>	<p>1</p> <p><u>2</u></p> <p>3</p> <p>1</p> <p>2</p>	<p><i>"It helps because my husband is a guide. It has been 5 years that tourists have helped me because my husband is a guide."</i> - Type 2 Resident</p> <p><i>"I can sometimes get money from my son. You know Saroni, he is a guide here."</i> - Type 3 Resident</p>
<p><u>Acculturation (Positive behavioural change)</u></p> <p>Tourist presence leads to better sanitation/ hygiene practises</p> <p>Develop better lifestyles/ progress because of seeing tourists</p>	<p><u>Type</u></p> <p><u>Type 4</u></p> <p>TOTAL</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male</p> <p>Female</p>	<p><u>2</u></p> <p>2</p> <p>2</p> <p>0</p>	<p><i>"I think tourism has brought a lot of changes within the environment because there are some things which we never knew that they could be of any value or be attractions to the tourists but now we know they are attractions to the tourists. I think tourism is a good thing. You can learn from tourists also sometimes to make some improvements in your own way of life because you have learned from tourists."</i> - Type 4 Resident</p> <p><i>"People like to have tourist habits. Cleanliness is a great benefit provided from people adopting tourist habits. Maasai people often don't change their clothes but when they see tourists they put on different clothes, clean clothes and this is better sanitation. Also, many traditional customs are not good and have been changed. If you look at educated versus non-educated Maasai, you can see who has changed their customs and traditions and who is better off. People appreciate the educated Maasai and therefore appreciated changes in traditions."</i> Type 4 Resident</p>

While resident typologies did not prove to be an important factor in determining perceived benefits from tourism, there were some unique characteristics which emerged. Type 3 and 4 residents did provide some unique responses in regards to their perceived benefits which distinguished them from other resident types.

#### Misunderstood perceptions.

Type 3 and Type 4 included residents who were more marginalised from the tourism sector than the first two resident categories. The majority of those who were interviewed realised few personal economic benefits from tourism although they still perceived tourism as an activity that was economically beneficial. The identified benefits which distinguished type 3 and type 4 residents from the other resident categories were based upon the misconception that benefits derived from missionary and development workers were actually tourism derived benefits. In the community of Longido both Baptist missionaries and the religious aid organisation, World Vision were involved in various development projects such as building of wells, schools and churches. World Vision is an international Christian development organisation, which works towards providing children and their families with sustainable futures. World Vision projects in Longido fall under the Longido Area Development Programme which receives funding from Canada. The World Vision Longido Area Development Programme extends to regions inhabited by Maasai beyond the actual Longido community as defined in this study. For the purpose of this study, Longido is defined by the nine kitangojis (Appendix D) but the Longido Area Development Programme includes this region and reaches a much larger population. In Longido, the World Vision projects have focussed on agriculture, primary education and health care (Appendix F, G).

Tuji, an elderly Maasai woman was one person who perceived World Vision to be synonymous with tourism: "Two things we have seen that the tourists have brought us is the cattle dip and the other is World Vision." Similarly, other residents perceived tourists in the same fashion as a Baptist missionary who had provided assistance to women in the area. Although World Vision activities were not part of the tourism project in Longido, there was some understandable rationale for this belief. Some residents' inability to differentiate between tourism initiatives and church initiatives can be illustrated by the fact there were some past missionaries who had purchased beaded souvenirs as well a few visiting missionaries and church guests had sometimes paid to take part in guided tours of the Longido community. However, a much stronger explanation clearly emerged during the study.

In the study 14 participants categorised as Type 2 and Type 3 residents were interviewed. In total only 3 participants from the third and fourth resident types distinguished between a tourist and any Caucasian or white person (*mzungu* and *mtalii*). The remainder perceived all Caucasian/white people to be one and the same. In the Longido community, a tourist was often described as any white person regardless of their purpose for being in Longido. Most Type 3 and 4 Residents provided similar responses to Josephine, an elderly Maasai woman. When I asked Josephine to describe the difference between foreign people who were coming for touristic purposes versus foreign people coming for other reasons, she replied: "They don't have a difference, all of them are the same because all of them are white so we say they are all tourists." Given that skin colour was a prime determinant of identifying tourists among type 3 and 4 residents it is logical that they also grouped benefits derived from missionaries and foreign funded religious aid organisations (World Vision) to be analogous with tourism.

### Positive Behavioural Changes.

Although Type 4 Residents were the sole resident type that identified falsely understood benefits from tourism, they also revealed some benefits regarding positive change in attitudes and behaviour within the community which was discussed in the literature. This phenomenon known as acculturation was documented in the literature (Bleasdale and Tapsell, 1999; McKean, 1989; Seiler-Baldinger, 1988; Schadler, 1979, Zeppel, 1998). In Longido, Loti, a young single *murr*an warrior and Urasa, a middle aged Swahili gentleman living in Longido similarly discussed the more difficult to measure, intangible benefits of tourism. Loti talked about how he learned about his own land and discovered the enhanced value of his culture through tourist visits:

“I think tourism has brought a lot of changes within the environment because there are some things which we never knew that they could be of any value or be attractions to the tourists but now we know they are attractions to the tourists. I think tourism is a good thing. You can learn from tourists also sometimes to make some improvements in your own way of life because you have learned from tourists.”

Meanwhile, Urasa talked about how tourism enabled people to adopt positive changes. He perceived various foreign lifestyle practises as being more developed and viewed it to be a great benefit when people observed these differences and adopted them. In particular, Urasa who was a doctor in Longido was critical of poor hygiene and sanitation practises in Longido which he felt needed to evolve:

“People like to have tourist habits. Cleanliness is a great benefit provided from people adopting tourist habits. Maasai people often don't change their clothes but when they see tourists they put on different clothes, clean clothes and this is better sanitation. Also, many traditional customs are not good and have been changed. If you look at educated versus non-educated Maasai, you can see who has changed their customs and traditions and who is better off. People appreciate the educated Maasai and therefore appreciated changes in traditions.”

The above benefits relate to perceived positive behavioural changes within the community which

are linked to tourism. Although these benefits were identified by only two Type 4 Residents it is likely that it is not exclusive to this resident class. Closer examination of this benefit showed that residents who identified positive behavioural change had completed several years of formal education and had exposure to urban centres in Tanzania. They were bilingual in Kiswahili and Maa language and Urasa had a very strong academic background as he was a doctor who also was fluent in English.

#### Indirect Family Benefits.

The final category of perceived benefits which were identified only by certain segments of the population were attributed to people who saw an indirect benefit due to a family member who was employed in the tourism sector (Table 4.7). This entailed that an immediate or extended family member who either lived in the same or separate boma was employed in the tourism sector and was a principal tourism beneficiary (Type 1 Resident). In relation to the different resident types, this benefit was identified exclusively by residents who derived partial benefit from tourism: Type 2 and Type 3 Residents. Agnes who was married to one of the guides in Longido was one person who perceived a great benefit due to her husband's occupation. In a similar fashion, other residents in Longido derived benefits from both immediate and extended family members who were employed in the tourism sector. The uncle of one of the guides described how he would sometimes receive money from his nephew and considered this money to come from tourism. Meanwhile, Pamba the mother of one of the guides derived benefit from her son's occupation although she was no longer living in the same boma. These findings reinforced how there were often multiple people within a single household engaged in the tourism sector to some extent in

Longido. The value for tourism viewed through another family member's occupation may explain why this perception was exclusively identified by Type 2 and Type 3 Residents. People whose main source of income was derived from tourism may have influenced other family members to become initially involved with tourism. These people were already aware of the relative contributions that tourism provided in comparison with other income generation activities available in Longido from firsthand experience and would likely encourage other family members to engage in tourism activity to increase the total family income

Reviewing the perceived benefits found in Longido highlights how benefits were seen by the different resident types. Most of the commonly perceived benefits which were shared by the different Resident Types were cited in the literature (Tables 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7) but the findings showed that key benefits which were less commonly held among the different resident types, were new findings not contained in the literature (Table 4.8). There were also new and recurring findings with respect to perceived problems in Longido, these problems were also analysed in relation to Krippendorff's (1987) modified resident types.

#### Perceived Problems of Tourism

Perceived problems in Longido included those which were shared among the different resident types as well as problems which were perceived by certain resident types only. Problems, much like benefits, were similarly categorised in unique dimensions which emerged in this study. The dimensions which emerged for commonly perceived problems included problems relating to inappropriate dress by tourists and perceived problems with the distribution of tourism derived

money which are outlined in Table 4.9. Meanwhile, problems that were perceived by certain resident types included perceived problems specific to employment and income of tourism beneficiaries outlined in Table 4.10; perceived problems with behaviour and attitude of local people outlined in Table 4.11; perceived problems pertaining to the tourism structure and organisation which are illustrated in Table 4.12 and finally perceived problems associated with misunderstandings between hosts and tourists described in Table 4.13.

#### Commonly Perceived Problems In Longido

During the initial stages of the study few problems were identified by community members. At first a few residents revealed a very limited number of problems but as the study progressed and I developed trust and rapport with several community members, problems were also cited by a number of residents representing the different resident types. During interviews, participants were asked to list any problems they perceived to have been brought by tourism in Longido. Excluding Type 6 participants (non-residents) only two participants (both type 1 residents) identified inappropriate attire by tourists to be the only problem and still stated that this was a minor problem. The remaining participants strongly replied that there were no problems.

As I built rapport with participants during the course of the study, people began to perceive me in a different way. Initially, many different residents perceived me as a tourist. A tour guide, Kimaro, even told me I was a tourist at first but later changed his response. In November I asked him "Do you still think I am a tourist?" He responded "No" He then said "I have learned what you are doing, you are a student. You are from the office (SNV- Cultural

Tourism Programme).” In the early stages of the study, I felt that the participants were afraid to provide any negative opinions for fear that tourists would be offended and tourist visits would decrease. Because tourism was unanimously valued, I felt they did not want to shed any negative light on tourism to Longido. However, as people started seeing me regularly they discovered I was not a tourist or at least not a typical one. People started to believe that I was there to help them bring more tourists and correct any problems. Josephine, a participant whom I met on 5 separate occasions illustrated this. During my first visit with Josephine, I asked her to inform me about any problems to which she responded: “I do not have any questions or problems because you are a guest. I have no questions or problems because you are a visitor to us but if I tell you a problem there are a lot of problems in Maasai’s.” However after speaking with Josephine on multiple occasions her responses changed and she began to identify some problems. After my third encounter with Josephine she commented that I must really want to help the people of Longido because I kept coming back and was asking a lot of questions. At that point she commented “if you really want to help, two things are very important: preparing a market for Maasai women without any department and anyone to interrupt them, and a water project”. From then on, she also talked more about the problems with tourism in Longido.

Although building rapport with various participants enabled me to uncover some perceived problems, several participants still did not acknowledge any problems with tourism when asked to identify any perceived problems on a general level (“Can you describe any problems with tourism in Longido?). They did start to identify problems, however, when asked about specific incidents; ie. tourist attire, distribution of tourism revenues.

From the study two core areas of perceived problems emerged that were commonly shared

among the six different resident groupings. These problems were associated with tourists who dressed inappropriately (ie. wearing shorts) and the distribution of money from either the village development fund or boma fee. These perceived problems are documented in Table 4.9.

TABLE 4.9

Commonly Perceived Problems Associated with Tourism

Identified Impact	Number of Participants who identified Impact		Examples
<u>Inappropriate Dress Code by Tourists</u>  Not appropriate for tourists to wear shorts  Perceive problems with tourists who are scantily dressed  See local people mimicking tourist wardrobe	<u>Type</u>		"Sometimes the people, I mean the tourists came at Longido they are wearing a short pants and they wearing the short t-shirts, and I mean the rings in their ears. And our young people are acting like those people and they cut their hair down their side and over the head." Type 1 Resident  "I think long clothes are better. Maasai people do not like those kinds of clothes." Type 3 Resident  "It is not good when women wear shorts but for men it is not bad" Type 4 Resident  "It is a BIG problem that tourists are dressed scantily. Tourists are not respecting the culture." External Figure
	Type 1	3	
	Type 2	1	
	Type 3	2	
	Type 4	3	
	Type 5	1	
TOTAL	11		
<u>Problems with Distribution of Money</u>  Fees and tourist receipts not going where they are supposed to go  People are not told what is being done with village money which is for entire village  People not paying appropriate prices and fees  People keeping money for themselves	<u>Type</u>		"We don't like that guy because he was fighting against us... and kept the money for his own. We told him he had to pay VDF but he tried to escape, he finally agreed to pay half the amount. The village did not get any benefits from groups coming here that were under his control." Type 1 Resident  "The money is paid at the office and the leaders are not bringing us information which money is from tourism." "I think some office people keep some money for themselves." Type 3 Resident  "You don't see any time that money (village fees). Maybe men know about that money." Type 4 Resident  "There isn't a strict mechanism of taking care of money, many loose ends, it depends on faith and goodwill of person receiving money. If person (tourist) does not report to tourist centre and leaves money with one person, that person has the option of reporting it or not...Anybody can take money because there are so many loose ends." External Figure
	Type 1	3	
	Type 3	3	
	Type 4	2	
	Type 6	3	
	TOTAL	11	
<u>Gender</u>			
Male	5		
Female	6		

### Inappropriate dress by tourists.

A great number of participants among all resident types identified that there was a problem with tourists who did not dress appropriately (Table 4.9). During initial interviews, some participants did not feel comfortable in responding to this question but indicated that this was a potential problem despite their responses. Ifura was one such participant. It took extensive discussions with her on more than six or seven occasions until she finally acknowledged that it was a big problem when tourists wore short clothing. On one of my initial discussions with Ifura I asked her how she felt when tourists wore short clothes. She said it was not a problem but as I built rapport and trust her answers became more revealing. By the end of the study she told me one day: "It is a big problem when tourists wear shorts. Us Maasai don't like those clothes. All the women do not like it. It is okay if a man wears up to here (points to the knees) but it is not good for women." During the study, it became clear that the wearing of shorts was perceived as a significant problem throughout Longido. While this view was identified among all the different resident types, it proved to be related to gender and age. Mostly female participants viewed tourist attire as a problem and it was perceived as a greater problem among older women. Only two male participants in contrast to a majority of female participants cited inappropriate tourist attire as a problem in Longido. The greatest frequency and strongest opposition to tourists wearing shorts was found among older female residents. Hidea was an elderly Maasai woman: "If shorts are up to the knee it is not bad but if it is like what you are wearing (pants) it is good. But if it is very short it is bad. In Maasai, wearing those shorts is not good manners. If you can see here (points to thighs) for girls it is not good at all." Examination of attitudes towards tourist wardrobes suggests that the younger male generation in Longido is most accepting of foreign and

tourist cultures as suggested in Bleasdale and Tapsell's (1999) study in Tunisia. In that study it was found that younger men were most likely to embrace tourist behaviours and lifestyles. During my stay in Longido, I often observed men in the community who were wearing shorts. Saidi, was one person whom I observed wearing shorts on a few occasions. In the future it is likely that more local people will adopt shorts into their wardrobes. Hanna a school teacher in Longido commented that: "Some of them come with very short dresses or very short trousers. Of course our children learn from them." Thus, it became apparent that women were particularly critical of tourist attire while men were impervious and often supportive of it.

#### Perceived problems with the distribution of money.

More so than peoples' attitudes towards tourist attire, discussing the distribution of money in Longido was a very delicate issue. Unlike attitudes towards tourist appearance, perceived problems regarding the distribution of tourism money took on different concerns among the different resident types. In addition, there were clear gender differences which emerged from the analysis. In general, discussing the distribution of money with the political figures would have been an extremely sensitive and potentially dangerous issue and was not raised in discussions with them.

People perceived problems with the collection and distribution of two types of money, the village development fee, and the boma fee. In general, Type 1 and Type 2 Residents, those who were in greatest contact with tourists, perceived problems regarding the collection and accounting of tourism revenues, Type 3 and Type 4 Residents viewed distribution and lack of awareness of tourism revenues to be the major problems while external figures viewed corruption and lax

control mechanisms for community revenues to be problematic. Village politicians were not asked to comment on matters pertaining to the distribution or collection of money. Two village politicians made it a point in saying that they would only talk broadly about tourism as an initial condition in speaking with me.

Perceived problems with the distribution of money: village development fund (VDF).

The village development fund (VDF) was a 5,000 TSH fee generated from each tourist visit and was earmarked for community development projects. It was collected by the tourism coordinator in Longido and then deposited into a bank account which was managed by village politicians. Since 1996 the VDF was collected for the construction of the cattle dip. The dip was fully complete and operational in early December 2000 but at that time new uses for the VDF had not yet been finalised. There was 4,149,500 TSH in the VDF bank account at year end 2000.

Within the community there was widespread awareness that tourists were contributing a village fee used to construct the cattle dip. Out of 37 people whom were interviewed, only three participants were unaware that tourists were contributing a fee used to construct the cattle dip. All type 1 residents who were interviewed were even aware of the amount that each tourist was charged and were also familiar with the number of tourists who were visiting Longido annually. Meanwhile, residents who were not involved in the tourism sector, namely Type 3 and Type 4 residents were not very familiar with how much money was being collected or how this money was being used apart from the knowledge that a cattle dip had been built from tourist money. In analysing the responses from the different individuals, Type 1 residents showed a concern that the community was not receiving the village development fee from either tourists or village leaders

while type 3 and type 4 residents viewed themselves as being alienated from the ways that village leaders were exercising community incomes earned from tourism

Saidi and Hanna, Type 1 Residents were two members of the community who were involved in with tourism since its beginning. They both informed me that in the past it was necessary to force certain tourists to pay VDF. They argued that any tourists who came to Longido had to pay the 5,000 VDF even if they chose to walk around without a guide. They felt that it was necessary to send any tourists back who refused to pay. Hanna described this as follows:

“We have some little problems. We had some tourists who came and they were not ready to pay for the village development fee or for the coordination or for the guides. So sometimes we have to, the coordinator has to be very tough so that they pay for the village development...if they are ready to pay then they go for a tour, if they are not ready then they have to go back so we have some problems.”

In addition to tourists who did not submit VDF fees, Saidi felt certain authority figures who were responsible for collecting money had not done so in a proper manner. Saidi revealed that one community member who formerly collected the VDF was keeping the money for himself. Generally, Type 1 and Type 2 residents perceived VDF as something that was important despite the fact they did not receive that money directly. Near the completion of the study 6 or 7 residents categorised as Type 1 and Type 2 residents began preparing a large sign board beside the cattle dip to inform local people and tourists that the cattle dip had been constructed from tourist money. This was done on individual initiative after suggestion by CTP staff in Arusha.

While the Type 1 and Type 2 residents were familiar with the specifics of the VDF, at the time of the study, the community at large had no idea which new community development projects would be initiated and had not been consulted for future matters regarding VDF. Sajjad a young

father in Longido wanted more information on what was being done with village tourism revenues. He told me: "The money is paid at the village office and the leaders are not bringing us information which money is from tourism." Similarly, Palango was unaware and felt excluded from the process in which VDF expenditure decisions were being made. He proposed a meeting where everyone could sit down together to discuss future tourism developments. At the time of the study it still had not been decided what new community development projects would be initiated from village development fees but village leaders were in the process of making decisions for new tourism subsidised development initiatives.

Perceived problems with the distribution of money: boma fees.

The boma fee was a 3,000 to 5,000 TSH payment (dependent upon group size) made by each tour group which visited one of the bomas in Longido. A boma fee was not collected from tourists who did not include a boma visit in their itinerary. This concept was first instituted in February 2000. Prior to that time, each boma that was visited by tourists would receive approximately 3,000 TSH worth of tea and sugar. The original tourism coordinator in Longido had initially decided that tea and sugar would be a more appropriate form of compensation. It was deemed that tea and sugar would not discriminate against women who usually prepared meals and tea in a Maasai society such as Longido. However, after the death of the previous tourism coordinator in January 2000 village leaders in Longido initiated a change and the system was modified, from that point onwards, bomas were given 3,000 TSH cash.

Initially, it was believed by both the tourism coordinator, and staff members of the SNV - Cultural Tourism Programme that people living in the boma were receiving this money.

Moreover, tourists who visited the bomas also perceived this money to benefit the bomas. The price list indicated that the boma gift of 3,000 TSH was for people living in the boma and often guides would give the money in the presence of the tourists. This gesture would appease tourists who believed they were giving money to inhabitants of the boma visited.

During the study I discovered that one of the village leaders was collecting the boma money after it was given to the individual bomas (all boma visits occurred in only one sub-village OI Tepesi and a leader of this sub-village collected the boma fee after it was implemented). OI Tepesi encompassed an area which included 25 bomas of which 9 were visited by tourists on a rotational basis. Each time a boma was visited, a *kitangoji* leader would have the money re-collected from the individual bomas. The *kitangoji* leader then managed this money for the benefit of all people living in the OI Tepesi *kitangoji* regardless of whether their boma was visited. At the end of 2000, a total of 296,900 TSH was collected from boma fees.

When I first spoke with Kilanya, the person responsible for collecting the boma fee he said the money was being collected so that it could be used collectively for all the residents of OI Tepesi versus the few people living in bomas that received tourists. He said in the past, people did not like that some bomas received tea and sugar while others received nothing. Moreover, replacing tea and sugar with money allowed the money to be applied to areas where it was most needed. During my discussion with Kilanya I was informed that the boma fee was being collected and maintained as an emergency fund which would be made available to any resident in OI Tepesi who was in need. The boma fee was to assist people during unforeseen events such as medical emergencies, severe drought, and family deaths. Finally, Kilanya reassured me that all residents in OI Tepesi were fully aware of the purpose of this money and knew that this money was available if

an emergency arose. This revelation had a definite impact on the study environment. After speaking with Kilanya I brought up discussions regarding the boma fee distribution with subsequent participants. It was during these conversations that several community members living in Ol Tepesi who were not visited by tourists first learned of this phenomenon despite Kilanya's reassurance that they were already aware of the situation. Upon learning this information a few participants became quite angry with the village leaders and one participant Aisha ran off and told me that she was going to confront the village leaders that day! Because my revelation had the potential to change my role, I tried to retain an impartial stance and suggested that they should ask their leaders for further information before jumping to any conclusions. Nevertheless discussions of the boma fee often appeared to affect the host's perception of me. Due to my revelations, local people viewed me as someone who could be trusted with their complaints. While it created strong rapport with numerous participants it might have created negative feelings among the village politicians. Consequently, near the completion of my field research period in December 2000, I was given hints by various village politicians to conclude my study as soon as possible. In a study of a Maasai tourism community in Kenya, researchers were similarly requested to suddenly terminate their study after building rapport with villagers by village authorities (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994). Although the issue of money was not discussed in the Kenyan study, the finding suggests that Maasai leaders may perceive outside researchers as threats if they build strong rapport with the local people in the community.

In the Londigo study, Type 1 and Type 2 residents did not perceive the boma money as something that benefited them personally. Their view was that the money was being given for compensation to residents who were visited in their bomas. Saidi one of the guides in Longido

said he “preferred if the money went directly to the boma” but did not involve himself in the distribution of boma money. At the same time, other guides such as Kimaro believed that the people in the boma were actually getting that money. He even told me that he would give the money to the people himself, thus he was not aware that the money was being taken back by other village leaders.

The greatest opposition to the boma fee was found among Type 3 and Type 4 female women residents living in Ol Tepesi. While some male participants did not perceive the boma fee to benefit them, there were men who agreed with the system. All women viewed the payment change from tea and sugar to money as something that worsened the situation for themselves though men often approved of the change or had an ambivalent stance. Palango an elderly male living in Ol Tepesi confirmed his approval for the boma fee collection method: “Money is better because it is for all people but sugar and tea is for one person who drinks it in the boma. Money is for everyone”, whereas Sajjad, a middle aged man, was indifferent between compensation in the form of tea and sugar or money.

In contrast, the response from women evidenced unanimous disapproval of the boma fee system. Type 3 and Type 4 women residents living in Ol Tepesi felt that money discriminated against women in favour of men. Josephine requested a change back to sugar and tea while Hidea and Tuji reinforced this view. Women often perceived that the money was being kept by the village leaders for their own use. Ndinini was one such participant: “That money (boma fee) which is taken to the office does not help everyone. I don’t know where that money goes....That money 3,000 TSH for the boma was not used for anybody it was put in the office...I think the office keeps some money for themselves.”

In general many residents were most concerned with how money that immediately affected them was distributed. Type 3 and Type 4 residents were particularly suspicious of higher ranking members of society who acted without consulting or informing other members of society. While the manner in which residents perceived the distribution of these revenues to be a problem varied in part by resident type and gender, it was a problem that was prevalent among all resident types. Given the importance and impact of this finding, an analysis of archival records, namely receipt books and bookkeeping records, was conducted to triangulate and determine the relative degree of potential problems with tourism money in Longido.

The first thing that became apparent was the unavailability of key figures and records. Most receipt books which detailed each individual tourist visit prior to January 2000 were misplaced and most records in the official record book prior to April, 2000 were not consistently entered in the same way.

In an effort to verify some figures, it was determined that a receipt book containing all village development fund receipts between the period of July 13, 1999 and August, 1999 was available. No other receipt books prior to this period were found. Examining receipts from this short period, provided the amount of VDF received from tourists. These receipts were compared with the bookkeeping records which also outlined the amount of VDF that was collected from tourists. After examination of discrepancies between the record books and the receipt books during this short period, it was determined that 466,000 TSH was unaccounted for within the 5 week period! Moreover, the official record books underestimated the amount received by 466,000 TSH indicating that this sum of money was not likely deposited into the village account. The large sum of money which was unaccounted for in a very short period further reinforces and

strengthens the finding that there was a problem with the distribution of money in Longido prior to January 2000. Due to the significance of the amount further verification was done through analysis of the tourist comment book.

The only complete log pertaining to the Longido Tourism Programmes since the inception of tourism was the tourist comments book which was kept in Longido. Tourists completed entries on a voluntary basis and provided their comments in writing. While the comments book did not provide any figures on the number of tourists visited or the money given, the number of different entries provided at least a minimum number of tourists that visited Longido on the dates entered. Given that the village development fee was fixed at 5,000 TSH, an effort to compare the number of entries between various periods of time was made to further verify the assumption that informal and possibly unacceptable administration procedures were being used to manage tourism revenues within the Longido community. For example, there were tourist entries given on numerous dates whereby no tourism receipts were indicated. This further reinforces that there was very lax record keeping in Longido. It also suggests that there is a strong possibility that there was a definite lack of administrative efforts by one or more community members responsible for overseeing tourism revenues generated for the village of Longido between 1995 and January 2000. Moreover, the number of actual tourists who visited Longido was likely higher than any figures provided by SNV or the Cultural Tourism Programme which would indicate that an accurate range of unaccounted money would be very difficult to determine.

### Problems Perceived Among Specific Resident Types

Krippendorff's (1987) framework would suggest that Type 2, 3 and 4 residents would have a greater number of perceived problems associated with tourism than Type 1 Residents. However, that was clearly not the case in this study. Overall, all resident types had an extremely favourable view towards tourism but the study showed no clear distinction to support any kind of relationship between economic dependency on tourism and a decrease in the perceived problems associated with tourism. On the contrary, Type 1 Residents who gained the most from tourism on an economic level, and external figures who were non-residents of Longido but significant players in tourism development revealed the greatest depth and range of perceived problems associated with tourism in Longido. The problems were mostly identified by residents who had some involvement in the tourism sector (all residents excluding Type 4 Residents). These perceived problems are categorised into four broad categories and illustrated in Tables 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.12 and 4.13: perceived problems specific to employment of tourism beneficiaries (Table 4.10), Perceived Problems with Behaviour and attitude of Local People (Table 4.11), perceived structural and organisational problems (Table 4.12) and Perceived Problems Associated with Misunderstandings between Hosts and Tourists (Table 4.13).

TABLE 4.10

Perceived Problems Specific to Employment and Income of Tourism Beneficiaries

Identified Impact	Number of Participants who identified Impact		Examples
<u>Discrimination in Hiring/ Work Distribution</u>  Distribution of tourism related work is not done on an equal basis  Nepotism	<u>Type</u>  Type 1 <u>Type 6</u> TOTAL  <u>Gender</u>  Male Female	4 $\frac{1}{5}$ 5  5 0	“(That person) was chosen because he took care of John’s cattle but he doesn’t know anything.” Type 1 Resident  “The only people who get that are those who work for the village government.” Type 1 Resident  “We work by rotations except Chiru, there is nobody to stop or confront him.” Type 1 Resident
<u>Internal threats to Tourism Benefactors</u>  People living within community start own tourism initiatives without consent of the village  Current people involved with tourism prevent others from entering sector: ie. tour guides prevent new tour guides, souvenir salespeople prevent others from joining	<u>Type</u>  Type 1 <u>Type 4</u> TOTAL  <u>Gender</u>  Male Female	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ 2  1 1	“The main problem is that he is not cooperative and wants to be a leader for everything...he wants to start things from his own ideas without consulting the village.” Type 1 Resident  “I want to sell to tourists but it is a problem because Agnes gets angry at me and yells at me to go away if I try to sell to tourists.” Type 4 Resident
<u>External Threats</u>  Flycatchers/ unauthorised guides are doing work	<u>Type</u>  Type 1 <u>Type 6</u> TOTAL  <u>Gender</u>  Male: 4 Female: 0	3 $\frac{1}{4}$ 4  4 0	“The individual people, they just bring the tourists from different points in Arusha, the flycatchers. It is a problem because they claim more than what is charged to the wagenis.” Type 1 Resident  “He, Vedasto worked because the coordinator was not in. He stole that job. He steals only. Everyone is afraid. He knows English but he is a thief and a stupid person.” Type 1 Resident  “The flycatchers also have a role...this documentation (Cultural Tourism Programme brochures) made it easier for flycatchers.” External Figure
<u>Problems specific to tour guides</u>  Insufficient Guide Training  Guides do not speak English	<u>Type</u>  Type 1 Type 3 <u>Type 6</u> TOTAL  <u>Gender</u>  Male Female	2 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ 4  3 1	“It is a problem that the guides do not speak English.” Type 3 Resident  “The problem was that the guides had to have completed secondary education up to Form 4 but the problem was that the guides could not speak English.” External Figure

**TABLE 4.11**

**Perceived Problems with Behaviour and Attitude of Local People**

Identified Impact	Number of Participants who identified Impact		Examples
Inauthenticity: people sell carvings and souvenirs not typical of culture	<u>Type</u> <u>Type 1</u> TOTAL  <u>Gender</u> Male Female	$\frac{1}{1}$   1 0	“And also you can see some of them they are coming with different kinds of handicraft things because we are expected to see that they are doing only Maasai cultural things but nowadays you can see there are carving materials, Makonde or that different part which is not Maasai.” Type 1 Resident
<u>Deviant Behaviour of Local People</u>  Begging	<u>Type</u> <u>Type 6</u> TOTAL  <u>Gender</u> Male Female	$\frac{2}{2}$   1 1	“Maasai people have been spoiled, people want money when people are even taking pictures of a tree. When they see a foreigner, they demand money for every little thing.” External Figure
Communication breakdown between local tourism authorities/ politicians	<u>Type</u> <u>Type 6</u> TOTAL  <u>Gender</u> Male: 1 Female: 0	$\frac{1}{1}$   1 0	“There was no communication...the village chariman didn’t show up any more and there was a problem with monitoring the fees...the more people who are involved, the more control but there is also a risk that someone is tempted take some money” External Figure

TABLE 4.12

Perceived Structural and Organisational Problems

Identified Impact	Number of Participants who Identified Impact		Examples
<p><u>Organisational and Logistical Problems</u></p> <p>Visitors come to the village without permission</p> <p>People come to village and refuse to pay appropriate fees</p>	<p><u>Type</u></p> <p>Type 1: 1 Type 3: 1 Type 6: 1 TOTAL: 3</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male Female</p>	<p>1 1 <u>1</u> 3</p> <p>1 2</p>	<p><i>"We have some little problems. We had some tourists who came and they were not ready to pay for the village development fee or for the coordination or for the guides. So sometimes we have to, the coordinator has to be very tough so that they pay for the village development fees and before they start the tour the coordinator has to tell them everything before they start the tour. If they are ready to pay then they go for a tour, if they are not ready then they have to go back so we have some problems."</i> Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>"Tourists do not want to pay it (VDF), tourists do not want to see development projects and that was the first problem."</i> External Figure</p>
<p>People not in bomas when visited by tourists</p>	<p><u>Type</u></p> <p><u>Type 1</u> TOTAL</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male Female</p>	<p><u>1</u> 1</p> <p>1 0</p>	<p><i>"I'd like to see that we have very attractive places for the bomas which people can find people most of the time because there is a time when you visit a boma and you find nobody."</i> Type 1 Resident</p>
<p>No central office/ facility to cater to tourists</p>	<p><u>Type 1</u> TOTAL</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male Female</p>	<p><u>2</u> 2</p> <p>1 1</p>	<p><i>"We need to have like I said a centre, where we have an office, where we have the shops...we need to have the structure somewhere official...I don't have a proper office."</i> Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>"Yes if we could get a small place which have round houses, cultural houses to be our offices to have fences it would have been good. Now we are moving from place to place."</i> Type 1 Resident</p>

TABLE 4.13

Perceived Problems Associated with Misunderstandings between Hosts and Tourists

Identified Impact	Number of Participants who identified Impact		Examples
Misunderstandings between tourists and locals	<u>Type</u>		<p><i>“Sometimes it can happen you know when the people are meeting, you see how the people live in the world so misunderstandings sometimes happen.”</i> Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>“We didn’t get very far about educating the people on cultural tourism, didn’t focus adequately on the people.”</i> External Figure</p>
	Type 1	2	
	Type 5	1	
	<u>Type 6</u>	<u>1</u>	
	TOTAL	4	
	<u>Gender</u>		
	Male	4	
	Female	0	
Tourists might displace local people by buying land and houses	<u>Type</u>		<p><i>“Tourists are so rich they can do anything. I am afraid that tourists might buy land here and make the Maasai people leave”</i> Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>“Right now other people think it is only Maasai people who do not understand the tourist, they thought we might cheat and take their land, but it is not like that, they are nice people and they respect people, maybe if that happened they request a piece of land, which will depend on us to agree or not.”</i> Type 1 Resident</p>
	<u>Type 1</u>	<u>2</u>	
	TOTAL	2	
	<u>Gender</u>		
	Male	1	
Female	1		

Problems perceived to be specific to Type 1 residents and external figures revolved around four general areas: (a) problems specific to direct beneficiaries in the tourism sector (ie. tour guides); (b) organisational and logistical problems with tourism; (c) behavioural problems and attitudinal problems with local people and; (d) problems stemming from fears and misunderstandings between host-tourist interactions.

Perceived problems specific to employment and income of tourism beneficiaries.

Perceived problems pertaining to tourism beneficiaries that arose were threefold: concerns

among type 1 residents regarding the hiring, distribution and initiation of income generating activities from tourism; problems associated with external and internal threats to current tourism beneficiaries and concerns with the training of tour guides. These perceived impacts that were not cited within the literature but strongly exhibited in this study. Much of this new information was particularly relevant to the profession of tour guides. A greater number of male participants identified these problems since the majority of tour guides in Longido were men.

In Longido, there was particular concern among Type 1 Residents that the hiring and distribution of tourism related work was not done in an equitable manner. Certain beneficiaries were dissatisfied with the manner in which seniority and preference was given to other members. Vedasto, a guide in Longido, commented that, in the past, other guides were not chosen based on merit. On numerous occasions he remarked that various tourism beneficiaries were not even the most qualified or appropriate members in the community for their particular job. During one conversation with Vedasto he commented on how one particular tour guide gained employment because of a close relationship with one of the village leaders. Similar criticism with nepotism was revealed by other participants who noted that connections with the village government played an important role in gaining tourism employment and money. In describing community members who gained the most from tourism, Kimaro, a local guide, also talked about the role of government and how one particular guide received a greater share of work than the others: "The only people who get that are those who work for the village government...We work by rotations except Chiru, there is nobody to stop or confront him."

Type 1 Residents perceived various internal and external threats to the current tourism setup in Longido. Internal threats were deemed to be members living in the community of

Longido while external threats included individuals who were often residents in other communities and who often originated from larger urban centres. Both internal and external threats were regarded as detriments to the established system of tourism in the community.

In general, internal threats came from more proficient members of the community who had either some political authority or influence, special skills or capital to begin and change tourism initiatives on their own. Perceived threats varied from person to person and were identified by Agnes a Type 1 resident and Aika, a Type 4 residents. Agnes who gained a great deal from tourism and had the most to lose perceived many threats while Aika wanted to enter the tourism sector considered Agnes and certain other Type 1 Residents to be threats because they refused to allow her to enter the sector. It was evident that such residents who were already employed in the tourism sector did not possess skills that were unique and were therefore easily replaceable. For example, certain tour guides saw any person who wanted to become a tour guide as a particular threat regardless if there was a need for additional guides or not. Similarly, Aisha the young Maasai woman who wanted to sell souvenirs talked about how a woman who was already involved with selling beads had prevented her from selling anything to tourists: "I want to sell to tourists but it is a problem because Agnes gets angry at me and yells at me to go away if I try to sell to tourists." Aisha perceived Agnes as being unfair because they were both making identical items yet one was allowed to sell to tourists and another was not.

In examining the number of tourism beneficiaries, specifically the tour guides, it was discovered that although the number of tourists had increased significantly over the years, the number of tour guides had remained constant. Since the start of tourism, guides were increasingly getting more work but there was still fear of decreased work. Kimaro, a tour guide, had fears of

decreased work despite the increased work which he had been receiving over the years. Although he was earning more money, he was quite concerned that his income might decrease with the addition of another English speaking guide who was being trained and endorsed by the tour coordinator and the Cultural Tourism Programme.

Other threats in the community arose from individuals who ignored the model on which tourism developed. In a conversation I had with the tourism coordinator in Longido, he commented on how there had been conflicts between with the planning and development of tourism which stemmed from the people who wanted to retain control of tourism for themselves. He spoke of one occurrence where an individual wanted to initiate new tourist activities without consulting other people.

While internal threats from influential members was evident, a greater perceived problem that was identified involved the emergence of *flycatchers* which was a perceived problem specific to the role of tour guides in Longido. In Tanzania, *flycatchers* or *touts* are commonly used terms to denote people who are unattached to a tour company or official program. Past and presently employed tour guides in Longido exhibited concerns and fears about flycatchers. Often flycatchers are unauthorised guides who recruit tourists and offer guided safaris and mountain treks at a discounted price by avoiding the established companies or illegally bypassing entrance fees. In a similar fashion, the flycatchers in Longido would often take advantage of the promotional materials such as the Cultural Tourism Programme brochures and offer identical tours for lower prices. Flycatchers included both internal and external members of society. External flycatchers in Longido included individuals living in urban areas such as Arusha who brought tourists from the city but also included Longido residents who had been known in the past to wait

at the side of the road for tourists arriving by bus or shared taxi. External flycatchers were identified as a problem that had occurred in the past but had been since resolved. The Longido tourism coordinator talked of one particular tour operator in Arusha who had at one time arrived in Longido with tourists and their own company guides. They initially refused to pay the established prices but after a few visits they were informed that they would not be welcome if they didn't pay the full amounts so they started paying the set prices. Similarly, flycatchers were known to overcharge tourists and keep the difference: "They just bring the tourists from different points in Arusha, the flycatchers. Its a problem because they claim more than what is supposed to be charged to the wagenis (guests)." The emergence of problems with flycatchers and touts in Longido highlights a key issue which is likely also evident in urban centres in East Africa where this scheme has been noted (Fitzpatrick, 1999). Moreover, it was this very issue which encouraged the adoption of alternative tourism models such as the Cultural Tourism Programme (Kobb and Mmari, 1998). However, the flycatching role in Longido had some unique characteristics which would distinguish it from urban tourism.

Due to the person-to-person nature of community tourism in a place like Longido, it was necessary that any potential flycatcher wishing to lead a tour have good relations with the community members at large, particularly people living in the bomas who would be visited. Considering this, flycatchers would need to limit tourist routes to visiting the bomas of family or close friends and therefore most flycatchers were in fact current or previous residents of Longido. In such manner, flycatchers were difficult to define. Certain individual flycatchers felt it was their right to bring friends to their homes and believed that tourists they had met and invited to visit Longido were friends rather than guests. Vedasto, one resident in Longido who was accused of

flycatching by bringing some Belgian tourists, defended his position:

“The Belgian people are friends of mine...I’m not allowed to tell them we have a local guide at the village so you are supposed to be with them for your boma visit. Because they said we came from Arusha with you and we know you’re our guide. Its okay I go there and guide if they are my friends. Because I was born here and it was the place I am from, all the people at Longido village, they know me. So that time those guides needed to make a complaint I talked with the leaders there and they said nothing. That’s why I had success for that day. I’m not sure but the Belgians, those people who we went together at Longido, they are happy and said I did well.”

Despite the defense of accused flycatchers, they were still ill-regarded by members who had recognised tourism jobs. While Vedasto proclaimed his innocence and right to guide tours despite his not being an authorised guide, other authorised guides angrily protested that Vedasto had stolen that job from the others. The issue of flycatching was controversial in Longido. Because it involved members in the community who had similar skill sets to the employed guides, accusations of flycatching only reinforced the perception that further discrimination was being enforced.

The correlation between skill levels and perceived fears and threats became particularly evident when it came to the role of flycatchers. Examining the cases of two individuals who had been accused of flycatching, it was discovered that they were well more educated residents who were multi-lingual persons able to speak English along with Kiswahili and Maa language. It was their ability to speak English that was most valuable and therefore easily distinguished them as competitors for jobs. While guides revealed that they were afraid that their jobs would be taken away because they did not speak English, other Type 1 residents who were proficient in English revealed that it was unfair that they were paid the same wages as people who could not speak English. Given this, many of the less qualified tour guides saw a problem with their lack of training and language ability and believed that the Cultural Tourism Programme or the district

council should invest into their training and skill development.

In general, all Type 1 Residents and External Figures saw the importance of guide training on the overall tourism programme in Longido. However, a major issue in guide training was the perception of who should be responsible. Certain residents felt that guide training should be left to the individual guides with some assistance from either the village or the Cultural Tourism Programme. The tour coordinator believed in this and had provided English/ Kiswahili dictionaries at very token costs so that the guides could afford them and learn English on their own. Meanwhile, other guides felt that they should be given intensive training which should be paid for while other more qualified guides felt that no training was needed but it would be helpful to have resources such as guide books available to them. Gamma, one prominent external figure was a strong proponent of increasing guide training and believed that it was in the best interest of the village or development organisation to invest in training from the start:

“Guides are the key. If you have a tour guide who doesn’t talk it is the same as one who talks too much. You must select good ambassadors who have skills and train them. The guides are the ones who are moving with tourists everywhere, they are the connective tissue with the homes.”

At the completion of the study, the issue of guide training was being discussed. Guides were given an initial two day course on basic tour guide schools but that training under review by the Cultural Tourism Programme office for possible revision. When considering this, issues such as improved guide training become more of a matter relating to the organisational set-up. This sheds light on the long-term feasibility of setups such as the Cultural Tourism Programme which residents also perceive to have problems.

### Perceived structural and organisational problems.

Perceived problems with logistical and organisational aspects related to the set-up and structural arrangement of tourism in Longido. Of these problems, the issue of tourists not paying the appropriate fees and entering without permission was considered a serious problem. The other problems were not regarded as serious by the participants themselves but rather the changes that they hoped to see. The most commonly held view in this matter was associated with the lack of facilities in Longido. Several Type 1 residents commented that Longido was lacking in some necessary or useful tourist facilities. The attitudes pertaining to the set-up correlated with benefits that a particular participant could draw from either new facilities or changes to the existing organisational model of tourism. For example, tour guides talked about the lack of a camp-site and women involved in selling souvenirs urged for construction of a central market to sell their wares. Both of these changes were seen as means of increasing the number of tourists and sales, tours or sales. Similarly, tourism authorities spoke of an office to receive tourists and members of a women's group requested cooking facilities for tourists. All these views reflected the development of appropriate infrastructure that could make the participants' jobs more efficient and profitable while other views more closely related to organisational procedures and policies.

Both Type 1 residents and external figures viewed tourists who arrived without paying village fees or hiring guides to be a considerable problem. It was strongly agreed that any tourist who refused to pay the appropriate development fees and tour fees should be refused entrance into the village. It was even discovered that a group of tourists who had visited Longido to see the cattle market were asked to leave the community because they refused to hire a guide and pay the village development fee. Hanna, a tourism planner in Longido talked about this:

“We have some little problems. We had some tourists who came and they were not ready to pay for the village development fee or for the coordination or for the guides. So sometimes we have to, the coordinator has to be very tough so that they pay for the village development fees and before they start the tour the coordinator has to tell them everything before they start the tour. If they are ready to pay then they go for a tour, if they are not ready then they have to go back so we have some problems.”

While Hanna believed that it was unacceptable for tourists to come without paying the proper fees, Gamma a tourism developer (external figure) viewed the same problem as one inherent in the existing organisation of the Cultural Tourism Programme. He firmly believed that this problem would continue as long as the Longido Cultural Tourism Programme was eventually going to lose the major support of SNV after the project termination in December 2001. During the course of the five year programme, the SNV staff had a pivotal role in determining the shape of tourism but as the five year term neared completion more decisions were being left to local authorities and the matter of incorporating diverse desires and opinions became an emerging issue.

Saidi a local tourism authority in Longido was aware of the various organisational and logistical problems which were perceived by residents involved in the tourism sector. When money became available for improving tourism facilities in Longido, investing in a particular area became a debatable issue. Keeping in mind all of the different needs, he envisioned a common complex for selling souvenirs, cooking and receiving tourists and was in the process of planning its construction at the completion of the study:

“So we need to have such kind of, I mean official points.. like I said a centre, where we have the office, where we have the shops, where we have the place where women can do the business so we need to have the structure somewhere official. You see like nowadays people are coming they don't know which is the direction to go. They will go to the campsite there is nobody, they will go there but there is nobody, they come to me sometimes I am not here, I have gone somewhere. I don't have a proper office...To my opinion, I think we need to have somewhere which will be special for their business not moving like we used to.”

Although Saidi envisioned a new complex which catered to everyone, it remained to be seen if

such a site could satisfy everyone involved.

Certain guides remarked that a new camp-site further away from town was needed so that walking tours could be expanded to settings with a greater concentration of wildlife. Jumma, a guide, viewed a new campsite on the peripheral areas as a means of increasing the number of tourists and therefore increasing his employment. Likewise, several women selling souvenirs felt that a market was needed so that they could sell more beaded souvenirs. While tour guides and souvenir selling women spoke of the effect a lack of facilities had on earning adequate income, tourism authorities and members of women's group responsible for meal preparation spoke of similar difficulties. Various members of the women's group felt a strong need for a proper facility to prepare meals instead of moving from place to place delivering meals to tourists. They hoped that the construction of a central kitchen would enhance their position.

Although new and improved facilities had their merit, there were non-monetary problems which were also identified in Longido. The tourism coordinator in Longido revealed that a lack of a proper boma rotation system could negatively alter tourist satisfaction if it was not improved. He spoke of establishing a better set-up to ensure that local people were at their bomas since there were previous incidents where tourists would be led to a boma in which the inhabitants had left for the day. "I'd like to see that we have very attractive places for the bomas which you can find people most of time because there is a time when you visit the boma and you find nobody." The issue of a new multi-purpose tourism facility was addressed in a meeting with representatives from tour guides, women's groups, district council and tourism authorities during a meeting facilitated by Cultural Tourism Programme staff in February 2001. While there were various conflicts between the different tourism beneficiaries in Longido, it was felt that all members could benefit

from a new tourist information centre which accommodated working spaces for the tour guides, women's group and tourism coordinator. Plans for construction were initiated with an expected completion time of late 2001. The aforementioned problems perceived by Type 1 residents and external figures were specific to direct beneficiaries in the tourism sector (ie. tour guides) and the actual organisation of tourism. While these problems were presented as being serious in nature, other noteworthy problems related to behavioural problems and attitudinal problems with local people.

#### Perceived problems with behaviour and attitude of local people.

Behaviours and attitudes were not revealed by a great number of participants, often only a single person, but nevertheless these perceived problems were significant in that they were the basis of very serious concerns. These findings came from a few key participants whom I spoke with on a great number of occasions. All of these problems were identified by participants with whom I met on more than five occasions. Two areas were identified as problems including alteration of host behaviour due to tourism and misunderstandings/ fears resulting from tourist presence.

The literature identified a number of impacts resulting in undesired behavioural changes among host populations. This included decreased safety, deviant behaviour, disruption of family life, and alteration of culture (Bachman, 1988; Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Davis et al., 1988; Dearden & Harron, 1994; Haralambopoulos & Pizam, 1996; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Shivji, 1973). After comparing these different impacts with Longido study, only deviant behaviour in the form of altered dress was identified as a widespread problem but when the perspectives of Type 1

residents and external figures were examined, new problems became evident. These problems included other deviant behaviours such as begging and alteration of culture often associated with the authenticity debate (Bachman, 1988; Bleasdale & Tapsell, 1999; Davis et al., 1988; Hitchcock, 1999; Snaith & Haley, 1999). While these problems were revealed as significant problems by a small number of participants, overall the range perceived in Longido was quite small in comparison to the extensive list of problems accounted for in the literature.

The literature contains a great deal of debate regarding the issue of authenticity. This denotes cultural aspects which are “artificially contrived” (inauthentic) by hosts yet may be perceived as “real” by tourists (MacCannel, 1999). When examining an indigenous culture such as the Maasai it is not surprising that the issue of authenticity would arise. However, because of the early stages of tourism development in Longido, many residents did not perceive or were aware of any problems with inauthentic culture. Various external figures commented on the effect of inauthentic Maasai culture but only two participants perceived artificial/inauthentic culture to be an issue in Longido. Both of these were participants who had frequent contact with urban centres such as Arusha, Dar es Salaam and Nairobi and therefore were able to easily see changes that had developed. Saidi, the tourism coordinator in Longido considered the selling of non-traditional Maasai souvenirs to destroy cultural values in Longido which could endanger the future of tourism.

“And also you can see some of them they are coming with different kinds of handicraft things because we are expected to see that they are doing only Maasai cultural things but nowadays you can see there are carving materials, Makonde or that different part which is not Maasai. I like to see that they are improved in their business...This is not in our program.”

For a participant who was an external figure, inauthenticity related more to changes in host

behaviour as a result of tourist presence. Gamma characterised the commodification of culture to be a growing concern in Longido. He perceived that the introduction of money into the equation of culture had an enormous impact and had given rise to deviant behaviours such as begging:

“In Longido, there is a cultural tourism product of the Maasai as a tribe. The way tourism is organised, they can see Maasai life, that in itself is a major attraction. A major problem was the selling of Maasai culture, and history...(Now) Maasai has been spoiled, people want money when tourists are even taking pictures of a tree. When they see a foreigner they demand money for every little thing!”

During the course of the study, I was able to observe local people who often begged for money, pens and food from tourists. Although there were various community members who were strongly opposed to begging, it became apparent that there was inadequate opposition to begging to prevent it. Although begging was occurring and had been identified as a problem it was difficult to distinguish if it had in fact increased due to tourism. This debate to whether behavioural change in regards to begging was attributable to tourism was best illustrated through the taking of photographs. During interviews with many local residents, I talked about the issue of begging and had discussions regarding picture taking and peoples' expectation of receiving money for having their pictures taken. There were varying degrees to which people expected payment for pictures. Some participants felt very strongly about receiving money, some were indifferent and others had no expectation of money at all. People such as Palango believed that it was his right to demand payment for pictures, meanwhile other participants, such as Tuji, preferred to receive money but didn't think it was a problem when no payment was given. On the other end of the spectrum Rahema an elderly woman in Longido illustrated how she was aware that tourists contributed to a village fee and therefore shouldn't pay an additional fee.

The broad range of different community perspectives in regard to picture taking illustrated

how misunderstandings between tourists and local people can develop. Although, Type 2, Type 3 and Type 4 residents identified some specific problems arising from host-tourist interaction (picture taking), overall general misunderstandings between tourists and hosts were only perceived to be a problem by Type 1 residents and external figures. The tourism coordinator saw misunderstandings as an inevitable thing given the vastly different cultures that were interacting (described earlier as acculturation). However, he perceived this problem to be something that would pass over time as tourism increased and local people learned to better accommodate tourist expectations:

“We need to see that the world is developed. So we can extend the idea through this visiting the community, different people to come to our area...sometimes it can happen you know when the people are meeting, you see how the people live in the world so misunderstandings sometimes it happens. Also, any error can occur during their visit to some places. Maybe they don't like this and it is happening, maybe they like this, and they are missing. The more they are here I think things they can be changed according to the way they can behave. If they say we will we explain and then you see, so we are supposed to do and make sure that they are getting the right things they want to...You know some of the old people even they don't know what is going on. But when the visitors are in their houses then according to the other family they can be explained so this the daily people used to see. But now we have this kind of project, our women are getting this, the family is getting this, and the community has been done this.”

During the course of the study, it became clear that Saidi considered misunderstandings between host-tourists as something that needed to be changed from the side of the host rather than vice versa. Moreover, he believed that better understanding of the tourists would occur from increased exposure to them. Nevertheless, the assumption that increased tourism would diminish misunderstandings is not necessarily valid in Longido. Ifura a tour guide had considerable exposure to tourists through her job. She had a good working knowledge of English and regularly conversed with tourists and developed some friendships. Despite this, Ifura still had a large fear that tourists might come and purchase land displacing Maasai people.

“I am afraid that tourists could buy land in Longido and would tell the Maasai to leave their land. Even foreign people from the Baptist church have bought some land and a house but it isn't bad though because they built a church and helped with water and schools. It is okay if a few tourists bought land or houses, but more than this would be a problem. If one very rich tourist comes and buys a large plot of land it would be very bad. Tourists would build many houses if they owned a lot of land. They should be given only small plots of land with few houses. I am afraid I might have to leave my land if many tourists start buying land.”

Ifura's fears stemmed from a strong belief that tourists could buy large plots of land in Longido.

However, when I examined some of the laws regarding land ownership I discovered that it was extremely difficult for non-Tanzanians to buy property anywhere in Tanzania and therefore it would be more likely that non-Maasai Tanzanians would buy land in the Longido area. In fact one participant, Palango revealed that he hoped for tourists to buy land because he was more afraid that other Tanzanians would buy land and displace him rather than foreign tourists.

The diverse range of attitudes regarding tourist presence which were described above reinforce how the many community members lacked an accurate understanding regarding tourism. Gamma a past tourism planner in Longido, saw the problem this lack of local understanding had caused. However, he thought the problem was much more serious and that a better understanding of tourist culture should have been emphasised at the inception of tourism rather than trying to change it later on. Given that it was too late to change the past, Gamma suggested that other means to educate the people for the future had to be developed and proposed better guide training as one example.

Several of the perceived problems in Longido will play a role in the future of tourism. In the past, the Cultural Tourism Programme played a critical role in mediating problems and was able to reach tourism authorities, village leaders, and villagers. As the programme nears completion and local people are left to resolve issues on their own, some of the problems

illustrated will likely increase as tourism expands. Therefore it would be advantageous to address these issues quickly to ensure a smooth transition period.

### Review of Tourism Impacts

Reviewing the extensive list of impacts perceived within the community of Longido clearly demonstrates that a wide range of impacts cited in the literature were also encountered in this study. At the same time many new findings were unveiled in Longido. Examination of the perceived impacts in Longido demonstrated how the majority of benefits were commonly perceived across all the different resident types, while a very narrow range of problems were perceived among all four resident types. Commonly shared benefits identified in Longido revolved around three areas: (a) benefits derived from tourists; (b) benefits derived from the overall development of the community and; (c) benefits seen through the village development project (the cattle dip). These areas represented a wide array of benefits including gifts brought by tourists, benefits derived through interactions with tourists, positive impacts on the village economy, creation of employment and the positive impact of the cattle dip.

Perceived benefits that were identified, yet not common to the different resident types, included positive behavioural changes, benefits derived from family members and misunderstood perceptions. Positive behavioural changes included positive impacts which were cited in the literature, these were developing better sanitation/ hygiene practises and improving lifestyles from tourist presence. Contrarily, perceived impacts relating to benefits derived from family members and benefits based on misconceptions were new findings not exhibited within the literature.

Within the community of Longido, many misconceived perceptions were identified. There

was an evident misconception that any foreign person was a tourist (*mzungu* and *mtalii* were regarded as the same) which was strongly perceived by Type 4 female residents. This false understanding led residents in Longido to associate tourism with foreign missionaries involved in church activities and foreign workers who were present with such organisations as World Vision. In this study, this misunderstanding provided tourism with a very positive image due to the grouping of benefits from foreigners who were not tourists together with tourism derived benefits. While misconceptions did not skew the community's perception of tourism in a negative way, the study's results showed how false understandings might cause negative perceptions towards tourism. Within Longido, there was some fear among one particular resident, Ifura that tourists could displace locals from their land and homes. Examination of pertinent legal issues gave this perception little validity yet Ifura's belief was reinforced through the presence of missionaries who were believed to own land and to be capable of buying more property. While foreign missionaries and development organisations were perceived very positively in Longido, had they been perceived in a negative way, a greater range of negative impacts based on misconceived ideas would have likely been evident in Longido.

The majority of perceived benefits in Longido were shared among the different resident types, however, the range of perceived problems shared among the different resident types were quite narrow while a breadth of problems were identified among select resident types. Two areas were identified as major problems among all resident types. These problems were associated with tourists wearing inappropriate clothing (ie. shorts) and problems with the distribution of money. During the study it was discovered that there were numerous perceived problems with the distribution and administration of the village development fund (VDF) and the boma fees. As

well, there was a lack of knowledge within the community to the exact nature of these fees. A secondary analysis of archival records and record books further highlighted issues of transparency, administration and reporting of tourism generated monies for the community.

Problems were identified by Type 1 and Type 2 residents. These problems closely reflected structural issues specifically pertinent to tourism related positions in Longido. Perceived problems as such included discrimination in the hiring and distribution of tourism employment; internal and external people who were viewed as threats to the livelihood of current people engaged in tourism; problems specific to the occupation of tour guides (insufficient guide training, inability to speak English); inappropriate behaviour or attitudes among tourism players in Longido (no communication, inauthentic culture); and perceived problems with infrastructure and the tourism model which prevented tourism beneficiaries from engaging in work to the highest possible level. Nevertheless, there were less widely cited perceived problems in Longido which also reflected misconceptions. This was associated with a lack of understanding of tourism within the community and unwarranted fears that tourists would displace local people from their land.

When examining the range of perceived impacts with patterns among the different resident types it was illustrated that Krippendorff's (1987) framework based on economic dependency and contact with tourism was not a very effective model for explaining peoples' attitudes towards tourism in the community of Longido. Krippendorff's hypothesis was not confirmed as emergent patterns provided much contradictory evidence in the case study of Longido. In this study economic dependency on tourism had very little influence on people's view of tourism.

In Longido, the vast majority of perceived benefits were identified by community members regardless of whether they had direct, indirect or no involvement with tourism and tourists.

Meanwhile, Type 4 residents who derived no income from tourism and had no direct contact with tourists in fact cited a greater range of benefits than Type 1, Type 2 and Type 3 Residents who all derived some economic benefit from tourism. Simultaneously, Type 1 Residents who had direct involvement and derived the greatest economic benefits from tourism cited a wider range of problems that were not evident among Type 2, Type 3 and Type 4 residents. The absence of a relationship between Krippendorf's (1987) framework and attitudes towards tourism may suggest that there was a high desire to control tourism decisions and development by relatively few power brokers in Longido, namely Type 1 Residents and, to a lesser extent Type 2 Residents. The analysis of perceived impacts demonstrated how such residents felt threatened when internal and external people tried to enter the tourism sector. Moreover, it was evidenced how these power brokers identified complaints and possible solutions to remedy situations and retain control (constructing new tourism facilities, removing flycatchers, enforcing tour prices). In turn lack control and lack of awareness of issues within the tourism sector by other community members generated an inaccurate understanding of the tourism sector. Few Type 3 and Type 4 residents had an accurate understanding of boma fees which was supposedly collected for their good and few Type 3 and Type 4 residents could differentiate between foreign tourists and foreigners who were not tourists.

While the study's findings provided some insight into the perception of tourism in a Maasai community it should be remembered that the tourism area of Longido constitutes a relatively small community. It is possible that contradictory evidence to Krippendorf's hypothesis is a result of the community size and nature of Maasai culture. However, the study would have to be, replicated in a larger community before more conclusions around the perceived impacts of tourism in a Maasai

community can be drawn. While the analysis of perceived impacts in Longido clearly demonstrated a wide range of examples from the literature, the most influential factor in peoples' attitudes towards tourism which emerged in Longido was attributed to the cattle dip which greatly distinguished it from other tourism studies. Support for the cattle dip alone greatly influenced people's perceptions towards tourism and was able to sway the community's value for tourism in a very positive direction. In considering this, it becomes necessary to examine more carefully the perception of the community towards the current and future tourism subsidised development projects in Longido.

#### Analysis of Tourism Subsidised Development Projects

The study's second research question dealt with community attitudes towards a tourism subsidised community development project. In answering this question, the first objective was to determine if community members were aware that tourism was subsidising a development project, in this case a cattle dip. Other objectives entailed determining how different community members derived benefits from the cattle dip and to identify new development projects which were perceived to be appropriate in Longido. At the same time, different perspectives were examined to see if resident type had any bearing on individual attitudes.

During the study it became clear that cattle dip was one of the primary explanations for tourism's highly perceived value. Out of 37 participants who were interviewed, 32 people were aware that the cattle dip was constructed from tourist fees. All three participants who were not initially aware that the cattle dip was subsidised from tourism revenues were identified as Type 4

Residents and, moreover, all three of the participants were elder citizens (two male and one female participant) who appeared to be in their sixties or older and were characterised as being in the elderly stage of their lives according to Maasai traditions *mzee* or *bibi*. When I asked Palango, an elderly Maasai man, if he knew that the cattle dip was built from tourist revenues he replied: "I didn't know because I am not going around and I did not ask anybody." He explained that he had seen the cattle dip but had never discussed how it was being built with anyone, largely because he had little interaction with people living outside his *boma*. Considering this, it can be suggested older residents belonging to the fourth resident category are less likely to be aware of tourism's contribution to specific development projects such as a cattle dip. Nevertheless, in the case of Longido, the 3 participants who were unaware of the contribution that tourism made to the cattle dip prior to its completion still placed a high value on the cattle dip and were cognizant of the fact that a cattle dip existed. This finding would indicate that merely seeing various tourism initiatives does not warrant that one will or will not initially value tourism's contribution without being informed of its specific causes.

While there was already a high level of awareness in Longido about the relationship between tourism and the cattle dip, at the study's start in October 2000, when the dip finally was open to the public three months later on December 16, 2000, it became apparent that the community awareness of the contribution of tourism was further heightened.

On December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2000, my first visit to Longido after the cattle dip was operational, I observed that the community was in a very upbeat mood. Many people stopped to chat with me and a few men who were washing their cows joked with me. There were hundreds of onlookers to see the cattle dip, people were happily dropping their goats in the cattle dip and for many it was

like a game. When I walked into one of the small shops to buy some tea and sugar an elderly Swahili woman became very excited when she saw me. She shouted “wazungu wali jenga (foreigners have built it!)” She said that the cattle dip was very good, “nzuri sana”; then as I was leaving she said “tumesukuru sana, ahsante sana, ahsante (we are very thankful, thank you very much, thank you).”

At the time the cattle dip was completed, numerous residents in Longido recognised me and often greeted me by name. They had associated me with tourism largely in part to my association with the SNV - Cultural Tourism Programme and also because I was doing a tourism study which they perceived to help improve tourism in the village. The cattle dip had an impact on the economy of Longido in two direct ways and it was easy for local people to see the connections between tourism and these benefits. First, at the time of the study residents were being charged a fee of 50 TSH to wash cattle and 15 TSH to wash goats (district council had plans to increase these fees in the future). This revenue helped employ some men who were responsible for operating and maintaining the cattle dip and at the same time it brought some small profits to the village which were to be later earmarked for other initiatives. Second, although residents paid a fee to wash their cows, they perceived an increased value in their herds as the cattle dip effectively prevented tick-borne disease. Because wealth for Maasai people is often measured in terms of herd size, a healthy herd entailed greater accumulation of wealth. In an interview with Vedasto, a young murrar warrior, he helped explain the connection between the cattle dip and well being of his livestock: “[The cattle dip] it is fine because when the cattle is washing there and then ticks disappear, I think the disease which cattle get from ticks disappear. After that disease disappears, we get a lot of things from our cattle like milk, a lot of milk, and we get fresh meat also when we

slaughter the goats or cows also.” For many residents who owned cattle, like Vedasto, the merits of the cattle dip were undeniable. As well, many of the residents who were not cattle herders equally praised the cattle dip. Non-herdsmen like Elijah, a well educated Maasai who held an office job in Arusha ,and Ruth, a Swahili woman working in the Longido health clinic, saw the value of the cattle dip. Ruth remarked: “The dip is good though I am not a herdsman but, because I live among herdsman, the dip is useful.” Similarly, Elijah described how in a pastoral community such as Longido, everyone benefited from something like a cattle dip regardless of whether they used it or not since it benefited the community as a whole: “Really, it has brought a lot of benefits in this place of herdsman, right now we have got a cattle dip to wash cows.” There was unanimous praise for the cattle dip when examining the responses of all 31 residents of Longido. Not one resident identified any criticism for the cattle dip. It was only when speaking with external figures that some limited criticism was identified.

Some unfavourable comments regarding the cattle dip were given by two external figures; they were both non-residents of Longido. Gamma and Emily (external figures), commended the benefit of the cattle dip but were critical of the length of time it had taken to complete the cattle dip construction. Gamma, a contract worker previously involved in implementing tourism in Longido commented: “In 1996 we were talking about a cattle dip but it becomes operational in December 2000. What about roads, water supplies and bridges? It is not the job of cultural tourism but can it be brought about if a cattle dip took so many years?” Meanwhile, Emily, a former missionary, said: “People are very happy about the cattle dip; for a long time people thought it was a lie so it has been a long time coming.” Close examination of the Cultural Tourism Programme records at the office in Arusha documented several delays between its

proposal in November 1995 to its final completion in December 2000. Records indicated that the idea of rehabilitation was first introduced on November 2, 1995 with several delays occurring in attempts to cooperate between district council, village council, contractors and CTP over a five year span. Appendix H and I highlights these delays.

The examination of archival records evidenced the difficulties in implementing development projects in rural areas such as Longido. Although this study confirmed strong community wide support for the cattle dip, there is evidence to suggest that it was not always perceived as such by tourism planners. CTP reports based on a contractor's September 21, 1998 letter indicated that the contractor felt that the cattle dip was being carried out against the will of the community. Moreover, a prior assessment report on December 12, 1997 suggested the need for a further study to ascertain village priorities in regards to development projects and tourism direction in Longido. Despite this strong recommendation, a study was never conducted and if it was not for the fortuitous assumption that the cattle dip was inherent in the will of the community several more obstacles could have been encountered.

While there was strong support for the cattle dip, there was no common community wide understanding of future development initiatives in Longido. After the dip was fully complete and operational in December 2000, the village development fund (VDF) had accumulated to 4,149,500 TSH but there was no clear indication to what it would be used for.

While, many residents in Longido were aware that the cattle dip was funded by tourists revenues, they were not all aware of the specifics regarding the village development fund. During initial discussions with the study's participants', twenty subjects in total were aware that there was a specific village development fund which would continue to be earmarked for community

development projects. The remaining ten residents were unable to comment on this special fund although seven were aware that a cattle dip was funded from tourist fees. It was not atypical to find community members who were mindful of the cattle dip yet unaware of the VDF.

In general, the community at large had no idea which new community development projects would be initiated and had not been consulted for future matters regarding VDF. Sajjad, a young father in Longido wanted more information on what was being done with village tourism revenues. He told me: "The money is paid at the village office and the leaders are not bringing us information which money is from tourism." Similarly, Palango was unaware and felt excluded from the process in which VDF expenditure decisions were being made: "I think maybe when the tourism people come here it is better to sit together and discuss together about the tourism in this village and how to support the development of the village." In an attempt to identify if there was a community consensus on new development initiatives, I requested participants to suggest new development projects which they perceived to be the most essential.

Many new development projects were suggested by different community members. Four themes emerged as identified development priorities in Longido. These included: water projects, health care, education, and small business ventures. In addition, some participants identified the need for unclassified initiatives such as consensus decision making during conversations with them. All these areas were examined for linkages with resident type.

Table 4.14 illustrates development priorities which were identified within the community of Longido. An attempt was made to determine the importance of the various development objectives in relation to the different resident types. The need for a water project and education emerged as priorities for development in Longido. There was support for implementing water

projects and educational initiatives among the four resident types. However, water was the lone area which garnered support from all six resident types; the four resident types along with political figures and external figures agreed on the need for this. Education was highly valued while health care and small business were identified as lesser priorities. All these development objectives were identified in a broad spectrum of distinct forms which did not necessarily have community wide agreement. In general, the study showed that health care and small business were perceived as much lower development needs relative to water and education within the community of Longido.

TABLE 4.14

Development Priorities Identified Within the Community of Longido

Identified Initiative	Number of Participants who Identified Initiative		Examples
<p><u>Water Projects</u></p> <p>Water wells</p> <p>Irrigation/ water channels</p>	<p><u>Type</u></p> <p>Type 1</p> <p>Type 2</p> <p>Type 3</p> <p>Type 4</p> <p>Type 5</p> <p><u>Type 6</u></p> <p>TOTAL</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male</p> <p>Female</p>	<p>4</p> <p>1</p> <p>5</p> <p>6</p> <p>1</p> <p><u>1</u></p> <p>18</p> <p>9</p> <p>9</p>	<p><i>"Maybe another project I think it is the water project but even now it is not started. But I think it is going on a few months from now or maybe one year from now. The people need water because nowadays people follow the water from far. Other times the people walking almost 10km for water."</i> - Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>"A water dam would be a good idea, it can dam the water from the mountain"</i> - Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>"A water project is good like a cattle dip because everybody can use it...the tourists have come to help us for the water project but we are yet to get that project."</i> - Type 3 Resident</p> <p><i>"A water project would be good for distributing water to the different wards."</i> - Type 5 Resident</p>
<p><u>Education</u></p> <p>Dormitory for school</p> <p>Construction of new schools</p> <p>Money for school fees for poor families</p>	<p><u>Type</u></p> <p>Type 1</p> <p>Type 2</p> <p>Type 3</p> <p>Type 4</p> <p><u>Type 6</u></p> <p>TOTAL</p> <p><u>Gender</u></p> <p>Male</p> <p>Female</p>	<p>5</p> <p>1</p> <p>2</p> <p>1</p> <p><u>1</u></p> <p>10</p> <p>6</p> <p>4</p>	<p><i>"I would like to see that a dormitory is built at the primary school, this is what I wanted to see. (What do you think the people of Longido would like to see?) Also they will go to that because they want to see that education is taking place."</i> - Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>"A school would be good so the children can learn."</i> - Type 3 Resident</p> <p><i>"If we could get a dormitory for the borders, we have a lot of children they live, they stay at school, they have less rooms. If they can do anything for the schools it would be good."</i> - Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>Building of the school is also a good idea, and it will benefit the community in Longido"</i> - Type 1 Resident</p> <p><i>"Yes, maybe, you know in the Maasai land most of the people are poor. They don't have the financial means and many other people don't even consider education to be important so if the local government leaders can decide and see that those parents that have no means to take their children to school can take part of the money from the village development fee to educate the children it would be good."</i> - Type 1 Resident</p>

TABLE 4.14 (continued)

Development Priorities Identified Within the Community of Longido (continued)

Identified Initiative	Number of Participants who Identified Initiative		Examples
<u>Medical Care</u> Hospital construction Improving health care facilities Research and awareness over proper use of traditional Maasai medicines	Type 1 Type 3 <u>Type 4</u> TOTAL  <u>Gender</u> Male Female	1 2 <u>1</u> 4  3 1	<p><i>"You know the Maasai, they have got a lot of traditional drugs but they don't know how to make them or check for their advantages and disadvantages. A lot of the drugs are good but the problem is that people have to learn the advantage of the drugs and learn how to teach others how to use them properly..people should know how to keep them and how they can benefit everyone. Some drugs have immunity nowadays and we need to investigate new drugs. There are big problems with gout but there are traditional cures for gout. Urinary tract infection, malnutrition, malaria and TB are also major problems of sick people in Longido. The Maasai have the drugs but only need to learn more about them."</i> - Type 4 Resident</p>
<u>Small Business</u> Market for selling souvenirs Tourist accommodations Wholesale shop	<u>Type</u> Type 1 <u>Type 2</u> TOTAL  <u>Gender</u> Male Female	1 <u>2</u> 3  1 2	<p><i>"If you can help us with selling beads it would be good. It has been many days since we sold them. You can help us with a market for selling bead work."</i> - Type 2 Resident</p> <p><i>"It is good to have other projects apart from the cattle dip. If it will be possible, I personally would like a whole sale shop. I would also like to expand my drinks project...I really don't know if it will benefit the whole community. Each one of us has his own plans, some may want to keep poultry, others may want to do tailoring or cooking. I am just giving my personal views."</i> - Type 2 Resident</p> <p><i>"Another project is water and then another project I like is a campsite down there near the animals so people can see all the animals there. So many people would like to stay there. I like a campsite because it will help us. The visitors would like to see the animals in the forest but there is not any place to go there, there is not any house or anywhere else to stay."</i> - Type 1 Resident</p>
<u>Non-specific Responses</u> Ask others for input (4) Committee must decide, not for me to say	<u>Type</u> Type 1 Type 3 <u>Type 5</u> TOTAL  <u>Gender</u> Male Female	2 1 <u>2</u> 5  3 2	<p><i>"I don't know the answer to that question, maybe the other women can answer."</i> - Type 3 Resident</p> <p><i>"Members of the village will have to sit down and decide on what they want to do with the money next, cause the cattle dip is complete, Is just the matter of sitting down and design a project. There are so many projects, is just the matter of sitting down and design a project, but there many projects which can be done, but I can not say which next."</i> - Type 5 Resident</p>

## Water Projects

During the course of the study, the need for water became a recurrent theme. From the middle of September until late November, there was very little rain and Longido was suffering from drought. In Longido, there were water shortages for livestock, agricultural, drinking, as well as cooking applications. During the month of November, cattle were suffering and were no longer producing any milk. This entailed that people living in Maasai bomas could no longer prepare tea in its conventional form of tea leaves and sugar added to freshly boiled milk, a staple part of the Maasai diet in Longido. Thus, tea had to be prepared with water but since water was already in short supply tea had limited consumption. Lack of available water had a profound effect on the entire community but particularly older Maasai people who were physically unable to walk the greater distances required to reach water sources. Thus, they became fully dependent on other family members for taking care of their livestock and supplying them with drinking water. During a discussion with Palango, an elderly Maasai man in mid November, he commented that he was just sitting around waiting for rain. When I asked him a question about new development projects he responded: "I do not have anything to tell you because I am thinking about the rain. If the rain comes today I can answer your question." Palango was one of several marginalised persons living in Longido who frequently cited a desire for water projects. It was expected that new water projects would have multiple applications. Correspondingly, Naillah and Rahema noted that "water is needed for all things, for cattle, for drinking and for planting." Both water wells and water channels were perceived as ways in which water could be brought into the village but most often participants just requested and anticipated that tourism would be providing new water projects. One woman even remarked: "Tourists have come to help us for the water project but we

are yet to get that project, we are waiting for a water project.”

Overall, Type 3 and Type 4 residents provided significant support for initiating water projects, and women and elderly persons in particular voiced their opinions. Josephine, an elderly Maasai woman showed me a large yellow bucket and a smaller white bucket. She explained that she would carry 15 litres of water on her head and another 5 litres in her hand and travel as much as 10 km to transport water. She urged me to develop water wells nearby the bomas. Although there was strong support from Type 1 and Type 2 Residents for water projects, it was difficult to distinguish whether Type 1 and Type 2 Residents perceived water or education to be a greater priority. In part, this was due to the fact that 3 participants simultaneously highlighted educational and water projects as urgent matters.

### Educational Priorities

Education remained a development priority in Longido and was perceived in diverse ways. This involved the building of a new school dormitory, constructing new schools and providing assistance for school fees. While education gained support from various marginalised segments of the population, namely Type 4 Residents (the elderly and women), the greatest support for educational development objectives arose from Type 1 Residents. Type 1 Residents were unique in revealing the need for a school dormitory and assistance for school fees as a community priority. Hanna a school teacher in Longido, considered a dormitory to be a pressing matter: “If we could get a dormitory for the borders, we have a lot of children they live, they stay at school, they have less rooms. If they can do anything for the schools it would be good.” Similarly, Saidi the Longido tourism coordinator considered a new dormitory as a necessary initiative and also

viewed a dormitory as a symbolic reminder of education in the community: "I would like to see that a dormitory is built at the primary school, this is what I wanted to see. Also they will go to that because they want to see that education is taking place." Meanwhile, Kimaro, a local tour guide was unique in that he proposed that the government reduce school fees for Maasai families in a gesture to convince families to enroll their children in school and at the same time make it feasible for them to do so: "You know in the Maasai land most of the people are poor. They don't have the financial means and many other people don't even consider education to be important so if the local government leaders can decide and see that those parents that have no means to take their children to school can take part of the money from the village development fee to educate the children it would be good."

Other participants who perceived education as something requiring further development in Longido did not relate a dormitory to their objectives. For the majority of people who supported educational initiatives, construction of new schools was regarded as the major desire. Residents such as Sajjad, Raheli and Aisha identified schools as something they would like to see constructed with tourism revenues but they did not get into further detail. Similarly, other participants such as Saroni and Aika provided little detail. Aika, a restaurant owner claimed that "A new school would be good because the children can learn" while other participants simply associated a new school as being good for the community.

When examining the demographic characteristics of the participants who identified education as a feasible tourism subsidised development initiative, participants who supported education as a development priority were likely to speak Kiswahili and have children who were currently in the primary age set or younger (approximately 11 years old or younger).

Only two participants who were unilingual Maa speakers revealed education as a primary concern. Because Kiswahili is nationally adopted as the language of instruction in all schools in Tanzania it could imply that parents who are unable to speak Kiswahili may be less inclined to place a value on the formal education system. Case in point: only one of ten participants who identified this objective did not have any children at all, while 8 others had children falling in the primary school age range.

Examination of the different resident types, showed that Type 3 and Type 4 Residents characterised educational development projects to solely refer to school construction while Type 1 Residents viewed educational development projects in three ways: school construction, reduced tuition fees and a new dormitory. The relationship between demographic variables and resident type implies that a greater consensus from different community members including the unilingual, elderly people with grown up children and young adults without children would be required before implementing a particular development project that addresses the need for education in Longido.

### Health Care Initiatives

In comparison to water projects and education, there was little support for implementing medical projects by the residents of Longido. Only three residents and one external figure addressed medical care as an area which warranted a development focus. All the local residents who identified this development priority characterised medical care as meaning new hospitals in Longido but they identified hospitals in combination with either water projects or educational facilities. The following was one such response: "I may prefer building a hospital or a nursery school for our children." Thus, there was not much endorsement of development initiatives solely

directed at improving health care in the Longido area. In spite of this, Urasa, one of the local doctors was quite adamant in bringing the state of Longido health practises to my attention. Urasa strongly insisted that many health problems which were emerging due to drug immunity, among other reasons, needed to be addressed. He suggested that traditional Maasai medicine was known to prevent and cure a lot of ailments which occurred in Longido but was not properly understood by the people. Urasa described this situation:

“You know the Maasai, they have got a lot of traditional drugs but they don’t know how to make them or check for their advantages and disadvantages. A lot of the drugs are good but the problem is that people have to learn the advantage of the drugs and learn how to teach others how to use them properly..people should know how to keep them and how they can benefit everyone. Some drugs have immunity nowadays and we need to investigate new drugs. There are big problems with gout but there are traditional cures for gout. Urinary tract infection, malnutrition, malaria and TB are also major problems of sick people in Longido. The Maasai have the drugs but only need to learn more about them.”

Although there were few residents who identified strong support for medical specific development projects, because Urasa was a highly respected and prominent figure in Longido and could influence change for the community, his opinion is noteworthy. This study never tried to determine how easily community perspectives could change through raising awareness of issues by critical service providers such as doctors. It is possible that community attitudes regarding new medical development initiatives could alter greatly if it was brought to their attention.

### Small Business Initiatives

Small business initiatives were the last area which residents identified as a focus of community development projects subsidised by tourism. In relation to the other development aspects which were described, small business projects emerged as the lowest agreed development initiative across the community. There was no support for small business given by Type 3 and

Type 4 residents; similarly, village politicians and external figures did not place a high level of importance on channelling tourist revenues into small business ventures. Exclusive support for small business projects arose from a small number of participants classified as Type 1 and Type 2 residents. Moreover, the three residents that revealed a preference for using tourism revenues for small business projects envisioned distinctly different schemes which included a market for selling souvenirs, a new camp-site and a wholesale shop for selling a wide range of household supplies.

Agnes, a young Maasai woman who sold beaded souvenirs to tourists associated the opportunity of a community development project consisting of a market for selling handicrafts with a decline in sales:

“If you can help us with selling beads it would be good. It has been many days since we sold them. You can help us with a new market for selling bead work...There is a market but we do not get any visitors for buying these things...when we get the place to prepare a market and we put the souvenirs together I think it is going to benefit us...that chance to prepare a market, it is not a place for one person but a place but a whole group. We went to the government office to get a place in the market, there is a women’s group and we are 32.”

Although Agnes suggested that a new market for selling souvenirs was for the benefit of a newly formed women’s group, other group members whom were also involved in selling handicrafts such as Rahema and Ifura identified other development priorities.

In a similar fashion, Jumma also envisioned a development project related to tourism. Along with identifying a need for a water project, Jumma revealed that a campsite would help with increasing the opportunities for guided tours. There was much wildlife such as giraffe, gazelles, and ostrich in the Longido area, however, tours which focussed on wildlife viewing required day long treks to get further away from the residential settlements. In order to make walking safaris more accessible, Jumma commented that it was necessary to have a campsite near the forest:

“Another project is water and then another project I like is a campsite down there near the animals so people can see all the animals there. So many people would like to stay there. I like a campsite because it will help us. The visitors would like to see the animals in the forest but there is not any place to go there, there is not any house or anywhere else to stay.”

Both Jumma and Agnes identified tourism related development projects which they could benefit from directly. Agnes, was one of the key women who sold souvenirs while Jumma had been employed as a tour guide since the start of tourism in Longido. The last small business enterprise which was revealed in this study involved a small market shop although this was similarly identified by a women, Ruth, involved in selling food to tourists.

Ruth suggested the possibility of a market or shop that could be built with tourist revenues. Ruth was involved in preparing meals for tourists and she also sold soft-drinks to local people in Longido. She envisioned a wholesale shop where she could sell drinks and obtain other supplies for her family. However, Ruth was aware that a wholesale shop was unlikely to benefit the community as a whole and merely suggested a shop as something that she would like to see personally: “It is good to have other projects apart from the cattle dip. If it will be possible, I personally would like a whole sale shop. I would also like to expand my drinks project...I really don't know if it will benefit the whole community. Each one of us has his own plans, some may want to keep poultry, others may want to do tailoring or cooking. I am just giving my personal views.” Ruth illustrates the distinction between development initiatives that have provide more personal versus community benefit. It is this aspect which is necessary to consider when examining new projects. In considering this, village politicians in Longido had the unenviable task of pleasing everyone and did not usually identify new development priorities but rather reinforced the idea of obtaining a community consensus.

## Unspecified Responses

Non-specific responses in regards to tourism subsidised development projects involved people who did not identify a specific development initiative but rather identified the need to ask other people. This type of reaction was exhibited by four participants but was strongest among village politicians. Two participants, Hanna, a Type 1 resident and Ndinini, a Type 3 Resident suggested that it was for others to decide but both participants also identified other development initiatives while simultaneously suggesting that other people be involved in any decision making processes. Both Ndinini a young Maasai woman and Hanna illustrated this. Ndinini suggested that other women should be asked but at the same time suggested a water project: "I don't know the answer to that question, maybe the other women can answer. Maybe a water project is okay though." Meanwhile, Hanna said:

"A new project, but you have to ask the village council. You know the village development fee belongs to the village council...(But you mentioned that you would like to see a dormitory?)... If we could get a dormitory for the boarders, we have a lot of children they live, they stay at school, they have less rooms. If they can do anything for the schools it would be good."

Although Ndinini and Hanna identified their concern for involving others they also expressed personal opinions about new development projects. Contrary to this, two village politicians immediately brought up decision making procedures without specifying specific projects when asked what new tourism funded projects they would like to see since the cattle dip was complete.

Both the village chairman and a village leader indicated that a committee would need to be formed and decisions made on behalf of the village. They suggested that they were not in positions to make decisions on behalf of the village. The village chairman commented: "I cannot say which project is next, the committee has to sit and decide on which project should follow",

while another village leader gave a much more detailed explanation:

“Members of the village will have to sit down and decide on what they want to do with the money next, cause the cattle dip is complete, It’s just the matter of sitting down and design a project. There are so many projects, is just the matter of sitting down and design a project, but there many projects which can be done, but I can not say which next.”

Analysis of responses by village politicians in Longido fit well in Krippendorff’s (1987) theory on resident types. Krippendorff suggests that political figures have a goal of raising the overall quality of life of for communities as a whole. In this study, village politicians preferred new development projects based on processes which included diverse input. This stance helps ensure that Longido as whole could benefit and at the same time prevents politicians from personally accountable from potential unpopular decisions.

#### Review of Tourism Subsidised Development Projects

The analysis of community perspectives regarding the current and new tourism subsidised development projects produced some key findings. In examining peoples’ attitudes regarding the cattle dip, it was documented that the a cattle dip had an extremely positive impact on the lives of people living in Longido regardless of gender, education, age, marital status, ethnicity or social status. This study showed how implementing a tourism subsidised development project that is valued across the entire community has the ability to positively change peoples’ attitudes towards tourism in spite of lengthy delays.

In analysing community perspectives towards new tourism subsidised development initiatives, four development priorities were addressed: water, education, medical services, and small business enterprises. In addition to the four areas of development which were identified in

Longido, there were community members who believed that decisions needed to involve greater input among the community. There was particularly strong support among politicians for implementing a decision making process which could incorporate diverse perspectives but this stance may only reflect typical responses to appease myself and other community members. In this study, it was suggested that a committee be formed for resolving important decisions such as new development initiatives. More research should be conducted so that an agreeable process for making future decisions which affect the entire community in Longido can be implemented

In conclusion, when considering new tourism subsidised development priorities in Longido, water, education and medical projects should all be considered with water projects given preference. This study did not attempt to ascertain important decisions regarding water projects such as a location for new water sources, water quotas, possible fees for taking water and long term feasibility of receiving water. These factors should be addressed from the beginning given the lessons learned from the lengthy delays involving the cattle dip. Building upon the cattle dip experience it would be beneficial to place an initial emphasis on making the community as a whole aware of what is being done, informing them of the regulations and educating them on the merits of any new development initiative such as water so that it is valued by the community as a whole. At the same time it would be highly recommended that, rather than waiting for funds, funds be available from the start before a contractor is chosen and at that time an agreed upon completion time be finalised with all involved parties.

## CHAPTER 5

### IMPLICATIONS

This study examined two questions. The first question touched on how tourism was perceived among residents in the community of Longido while the second question looked at how the cattle dip was valued and the value of various new development initiatives for the future. At first glance, findings drawn from examination of these research questions might appear to have a high degree of independence, however, in Longido these two issues were interrelated. Examination of the study's questions using Krippendorff's (1987) framework illustrated how tourism had an impact in a way that is causing subdivision about who is getting control of tourism resources. This theme was best seen in examining marginalised segments of the population including women, the elderly, uni-lingual, and economically disadvantaged residents which largely comprised the bulk of Type 4 residents.

Themes such as misunderstood perceptions, behavioural changes among tourists and local people, equitable distribution of tourism revenues and resources, nepotism, and corruption indicate that while some of the impacts in Longido are still in the very early stages they are still increasing over time. During the study period itself, such impacts were noted such as those pertaining to the distribution of tourism revenues (boma fees). Doxey's (1975) "Irridex" model suggests that such impacts will further increase in the future. Power and social relationships which are exhibited between tourists from Western societies and local people in Longido were also evident among community members. In Longido, there were distinct power differentials across gender, age and resident type that were noted. Although the cattle dip was able to positively sway peoples' opinions of tourism, it may have also provided some unrealistic expectations. This study

documented how local people had some expectations of other development initiatives from tourism, however, as it becomes increasingly difficult to reach a community consensus on new development projects, there may be a steady rise in the opposition towards tourism. The implications of this phenomenon likely will mean a widening division among community members who gain economic benefits from tourism and those who do not as was illustrated in community attitudes towards tourist attire.

Within Longido all resident types revealed that inappropriate attire worn by tourists was problematic, however, this concern was greatest among older, female Type 4 Residents. While there was some opposition to tourist behaviour regarding dress code by certain Type 1 Residents, numerous male Type 1 Residents deflected this as a serious concern in Longido. This differing view illustrates how people more closely involved in the tourism sector might protect their own personal interests before adequately incorporating the views and concern of other minority members. This finding reinforces that there is likely going to be a growing division among community members in regards to tourism planning and decision making if efforts are not made to gain a common understanding and vision of tourism in Longido. In particular, issues such as tourist attire become important when looking at future development projects. If concerns such as tourist behaviour that is perceived to be culturally insensitive by community members outside of the tourism sector is not addressed by tourism authorities who are influential in shaping tourism development in Longido then in a similar fashion more important concerns may be overlooked. Such concerns may include initiating future development projects which are valued by the community as a whole community.

This study also highlighted the need for better guide training as one means of incorporating closer ties between marginalised populations and decisions makers. Guides served as the main

filter or medium between local Maasai people and the tourists and had the ability to make or break satisfaction. A limited analysis of tourist comments reinforced this as much of the positive and/ or negative impressions of tours were attributed to the tour guides. For example tourists commented on their positive experiences through praise for their guide's ability to explain and interpret the landscape and cultural attributes while at the same time criticism was also given for a guide's lack of ability to speak English and provide explanations. Because tour guides were the sole forces which were continually interacting with both power brokers and more alienated segments of the population, more attention should be paid towards the role of tour guides in educating the public and informing them of tourism development such as tourism revenues (VDF and boma fees), new tourism subsidised development projects and clarifying misunderstandings relevant to tourism. However, since the guides themselves often had misconceptions, the need for more intensive guide training and selection procedures cannot be overlooked. This consideration becomes more noteworthy as misconceptions and misunderstandings within the community play a larger obstacle in trying to create a common vision for tourism within the community. Finally in reference to tour guides, non-English speaking guides revealed that they were afraid that their jobs would be taken away because they did not speak English, while English-speaking guides revealed that it was unfair that they were paid the same wages as people who could not speak English. Given this, many of the less qualified tour guides saw a problem with their lack of training and language ability and believed that the Cultural Tourism Programme or the district council should invest into their training and skill development. This provides further support and need for the Cultural Tourism Programme and the Longido tourism coordinator to clarify their roles in regards to guide training, employment and wages.

Examination of perceived impacts demonstrated the strong effect that misconceptions

played in altering peoples' view of tourism. While misconceptions were attributed to the inability to differentiate among different types of foreigners it was also exhibited through Type 4 Resident's low understanding of the tourism sector in Longido. The study showed that marginalised segments of the population had very low awareness of how both the village development fund (VDF) and boma fee money was collected and disbursed. They had little knowledge of the amount and lacked a clear understanding about the purpose of the various fees that were supposedly for the benefit of the whole village including themselves. Meanwhile, Type 1 and Type 2 residents were for the most part, aware of the amount and purpose of VDF and boma fees. Criticism from Type 1 and Type 2 residents regarding distribution of money often pinpointed specific people and specific incidents which were viewed as obstacles to gaining greater personal economic benefits from tourism. This contrasted with Type 3 and Type 4 Residents who were more concerned about getting more information or seeing where the money was going. Similarly, Type 4 Residents were most interested in development initiatives that would bring water to the area, an essential resource lacking in Longido. Most Type 1 residents expressed interest in being involved in decision making processes to determine new development initiatives and suggested new projects in combination with or without water projects to be ideal. This characteristic was also evidenced from 1995 to 2000 during meetings regarding the cattle dip, tourism happenings and new development initiatives. These meetings were mostly dominated by village politicians but Type 1 residents were often concerned with issues involving ownership and how future payments and revenues would be administered. This opposition was a significant cause for the long delay of the cattle dip completion (Appendix G).

There was a great distinction in regards to the understanding of tourism among residents who were involved in tourism and those who looked at it from the outside. Thus, there were

different expectations to what tourism could bring to the community. Marginalised populations in Longido had considerable misconceptions about tourists and it is likely that they lacked a realistic expectation of what tourism could bring in the future. In Longido several Type 4 Residents had a strong belief that tourism revenues would be used to develop water projects in the community. However, it is possible that such initiatives are more viable through assistance from foreign missionaries and international development organisations such as World Vision. Community members closely involved in the Longido tourism sector may be anticipating missionaries and development organisations to be implementing water projects and therefore, felt that it was more appropriate for tourism revenues to be reinvested into projects that would improve and expand the tourism sector in the community. In the future greater efforts must be made to educate and inform all members of the community about tourism initiatives and CTP's position in Longido should be clarified so that well understood development priorities are balanced within a feasible context of tourism. The literature has already noted how communities can become more disenchanted with tourism over time (Doxey, 1975) therefore, it cannot be assumed that Type 4 Residents will continue to have a very positive view towards tourism.

In spite of a similarly perceived value for tourism among the different resident types, the study of Longido still suggests Krippendorff's (1987) framework may not be suitable for a third world tourism setting, particularly a community based tourism setting such as Longido. In the case of Longido, many residents derived partial income from tourism and residents who derived their income solely from tourism were not found to exist. An objective of community based tourism is often to supplement current livelihoods with tourism income rather than replace current lifestyles with tourism professions. Therefore, it is likely that the four resident types as defined by Krippendorff (1987) will not exist in other community based tourism settings in the developing

world. While it is likely that the four resident types would have existed in an urban centre characterised by mass tourism such as Arusha but this study also suggests that Krippendorf's framework would have limited application in any third world tourism setting.

Both the pilot study conducted in Arusha and the study of Longido showed how skin colour was a determining factor in how a tourists are defined. A history of foreign/ white presence through colonialism, missionary work, tourism and now researcher has largely been responsible for shaping perceptions regarding tourists. Due to this, tourist perceptions may be formed by non-touristic activities providing a skewed perception of actual impacts from tourism. A great number of developing countries share similar historical experiences of white/ foreign presence thus, it is likely that in other third world settings Krippendorf's (1987) framework would have limited application.

This study's finding in regards to how a tourist is defined has some strong implications for future tourism planners. Tourism authorities should seek to ensure that there is greater cooperation among missionaries and development organisations so that their work is not redundant and that they can collectively better achieve goals of economic development within Longido but also to see that foreigners as a whole are perceived in a positive way. This last concern becomes even more important as the Cultural Tourism Programme in Longido undergoes transformation and embarks on a transition period towards intra-community sustainability.

### Current Happenings and Future Outlook

At the time of the study, several changes were occurring within the community of Longido. Four particularly important issues were being addressed. This involved: (a) the

construction of a tourist information centre; (b) decisions regarding future tourism subsidised development projects; (c) implementation of a district wide tourism plan and; (d) the termination of the Cultural Tourism Programme and transition towards a new organisation called the Tanzania Association of Cultural Tourism Organisers (TACTO).

In December 2000, the Cultural Tourism Programme received 3 million shillings from a large development organisation to develop a tourist information office in Longido. This office was intended to facilitate growth of the Longido tourism sector. This would create jobs, facilitate economic growth, generate income and develop infrastructure. Discussions about the centre were just beginning at the study's completion in January 2001. An office was being designed which would combine an office for the tourism coordinator, a shop for handicrafts and a kitchen for women's groups to prepare food for tourists. An initial meeting attended on January 29, 2001 highlighted some new issues which will likely emerge in the future. This included debate over ownership, and maintenance of a new facility. Also, accessibility of the facility to other members in the community and the distribution of revenues and costs generated from the facility were questioned. The new tourist office will have an impact on the current manner in which handicrafts are sold in Longido. At present, tourist visits to women in their bomas provides one of the only opportunities to earn an income, the introduction of a shop in the town centre will diminish or prevent such opportunities in the future for women. Considering this it would be recommended that a well understood policy and criteria accessible to all women in Longido be present before any such shop is opened.

At the same time, over 4.2 million shillings were in the VDF bank account at year end 2000 but it still had not been decided what new community development projects would be initiated. Village leaders were in the process of making decisions for new tourism subsidised

development initiatives and there was strong support among village leaders and key tourism authorities that a dormitory for the school in Longido be constructed. However, when perceptions of different development priorities were examined in Longido, support for a dormitory or educational initiatives were clearly secondary choice to water projects. Therefore, it cannot be easily assumed that the community will continue to place a high value on new tourism subsidised development projects and continue to have a positive perception of tourism if in fact this project is carried out. It would be strongly advised that water, education and medical projects all be considered with water projects given preference. However, it should be reiterated that this study never attempted to determine important decisions regarding water projects such as a location for new water sources, water quotas, possible fees for taking water and long term feasibility of receiving water. These factors should be addressed from the beginning given the lessons learned from the lengthy delays involving the cattle dip.

A third major event which will play a pivotal role in the future of tourism development in Longido involves a tourism master plan completed by a South African tour company contracted by the Monduli District. Monduli district encompasses Longido among other communities the district council was in the initial stages of implementing recommendations outlined in the tourism report. In the tourism plan, Longido was designated as a gateway area for integrating wildlife safaris between the Serengeti in Tanzania and the Maasai Mara in Kenya. Much emphasis was placed on improving roads and infrastructure to encourage greater tourist traffic. It was also suggested that 100 to 150 jobs could be created through new tourist accommodations, small restaurants, bars, and new adventure based tourism activities. New activities were not specifically identified for the Longido area but it was suggested that controlled hunting blocks be included within the Monduli district. After speaking with a key figure from the Monduli district council, it

was discovered that a great effort was going to be made to introduce recommended changes. Therefore, the master plan will likely have a tremendous impact on tourism development in Longido. It is possible that the current form of small scaled, community based tourism could be displaced by mass tourism operations which are typical of wildlife safaris through areas such as the Ngorongoro Crater and the Serengeti.

The last development which was particularly important was the termination of the Cultural Tourism Programme. As CTP nears completion of its five year lifespan, an institutionalisation process with local Tanzanian representatives from the different tourism modules was currently taking place. A new association, the Tanzanian Association of Cultural Tourism Organisers (TACTO) was already formed to ensure that individual cultural tourism communities can continue to benefit in a decent way. TACTO aims at further building the capacity of tourism communities and to improve co-operation between them. With improved organisational relationships, TACTO seeks to continue and improve upon CTP's initiatives in developing a unique brand of cultural tourism that delivers high quality yet diverse products.

TACTO will market a diverse range of cultural tourism products which retain key CTP components such as a village development fund, gender equity and community focus. The new association will lobby on behalf of its members in all matters related to cultural tourism and together formulate strategies that will attract the support of various tourism stakeholders both internationally and in Tanzania. While commissions from the tours themselves will remain the main source of income generation for TACTO, new activities will be identified and new standards of quality will be set so that communities such as Longido will develop an emerging brand of Tanzanian cultural tourism. At the time of the study it had yet to be determined appropriate commissions which would be received by TACTO. Also, the likely indication that there was past

mismanagement of tourism revenues within the Longido community could suggest that TACTO may not be a feasible enterprise for the long-term.

The implications of this study cannot be overlooked by TACTO. The findings of this study come at a very opportune time when the community based tourism sector in Tanzania is expanding. Prior to this study, there was no research undertaken on any of the Cultural Tourism Programme communities in Tanzania. Therefore, examining some of the impacts in the community of Longido will enable organisations such as TACTO to make better efforts of reaching the community at large in early stages of tourism development. This study demonstrated how a tourism subsidised development project can heighten the community's value for tourism in a positive way. Examination of impacts from the cattle dip provide strong argument for continuing and initiating such projects in Tanzania in the future.

In relating this study to the Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDA) development priorities, the study addressed some key aspects which closely reflect the nature of community based tourism in Tanzania. This included private sector development, gender equity, the environment and basic human needs. Tourism clearly is a viable means of income generation in Tanzania and it will undeniably be looked at in the future as the Tanzanian tourism sector increases rapidly and foreign aid is cut. Tourism also appears to be a feasible activity for women which closely reflects development strategies focussing on the economic empowerment of women. The study of Longido showed some of the positive and negative impacts small scaled tourism can have on the Tanzanian economy. It gave some insight into how small scale tourism can encourage to be mindful of retaining economic, environmental and sociocultural objectives which are sustainable for the long term. However, the study also suggested some barriers that prevent women and other marginalised populations from entering the tourism industry. Such findings can

be used to highlight the importance of incorporating minority views into tourism planning and development. These findings are valuable for non-governmental organisations who wish to investigate the usefulness of tourism in achieving development objectives.

This current transition period provides an excellent opportunity for future studies in Longido and other CTP communities. SNV - the Netherlands Development Organisation has had a major role in shaping community tourism in Tanzania in both a financial and decision making capacity. As this involvement ceases it will be valuable to identify how diverse community opinions can be incorporated into future tourism planning.

Future studies should more closely examine relationships between changes in the community and resident type. As well, there is a need to distinguish between changes brought about by tourism and those which would have occurred in the absence of tourism. During the past ten years, there have been rapid changes in Tanzania due to the transformation of a nation formerly shaped by socialist policy in favour of free market principles. It would be valuable to do a comparative case study between a CTP community and a community which has not yet been exposed to tourism or foreign workers. This would provide further insight into the perception of tourists and foreigners and shed light on the relative scope of tourism induced change. There are several communities situated adjacent to current CTP communities which have little contact with tourists. Ideally, a future study in the community of Longido can be undertaken that includes representation from all nine kitangojis. The current study only examined community attitudes in the area where tourists could be seen but Longido is a vast area and only a portion of the community was accessed in this study.

In terms of other replicating the study approach in another setting, the community of Babati situated in Central Tanzania is one community that provides excellent opportunities and

would be of great interest. The Babati community shares similar geographical and cultural features with Longido. Babati is home to an indigenous pastoral group known as the Barbaig. In 2000, the community of Babati became the Cultural Tourism Programmes newest tourism community. Babati began receiving tourists as a means of income generation and similar to Longido, mountain treks, nature walks and insight into the daily life of the Barbaig are regarded as main attractions for tourists. A unique characteristic that Babati and Longido share is a historical presence of foreign funded development projects and foreign workers. During the 1970s and 1980s, a large scale wheat project funded by CIDA was initiated in the Babati area. The project had major implications on the Barbaig who were largely displaced from their land in order to carry out large-scale wheat farming (Stackhouse, 2000). After years of failure, the CIDA wheat project has been abandoned but not without having permanent impacts upon the livelihood of the Barbaig (Stackhouse, 2000). In Babati the perception of development workers by the Barbaig is likely less favourable than other regions of Tanzania. As a newly formed tourism community with an unique history, there is an opportunity to help identify the community wide value for tourism and potential tourism subsidised development initiatives.

There are numerous opportunities for case study comparison with the Longido study but it needs to be reiterated that the current study was an exploratory case study which was completed relatively early in the development of tourism. It is possible that over time a greater number of problems (Doxey, 1975) or subdivisions in views towards tourism (Bjojrklund & Philbrick, 1975) could be evidenced. A future study of the Longido community will help to ascertain the long term implications of tourism. In Longido, tourism is just one opportunity but it has become a part of more complex development issues therefore it cannot be examined in isolation without first addressing basic development priorities and future vision of the community.

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## Appendix A

### Glossary of Key Terms

*bibi* - respectful term for an elderly woman

*boma* - a number of mud houses in which a group of Maasai people (usually family defined by older father, wives and sons) are living, a boma's boundaries are recognised by a thorn fence which surrounds it. A boma pertaining to a group of mud houses usually includes an extended family and accommodates up to 40 people. However, a boma also refers to a single low level mud house

*bulozi* - A Maasai grouping system which is smaller than a kitangoji, usually refers to a group of 10 bomas

*Kiswahili* - official name given to the language of East Africa (Swahili)

*kitangoji* - a single village which when grouped together with other villages (kitangojis) comprises a larger village

*manyatta* - see boma

*mgeni* - Kiswahili for guest or visitor, in this study it refers to any person who is visiting Longido temporarily, plural wageni

*mkulima* - peasant farmer, one who engages in subsistence farming just to make ends meet for their own family

*mtalii* - Kiswahili for a tourist, plural watalii

*murran* - a particular age set in the Maasai classification system for men, murran are warriors who range in age from early teens to early thirties

*mzee* - respectful term for an elderly man

*mzungu* - Kiswahili word meaning foreigner, but also means European person or any white skinned person, plural wazungu

*siankiki* - refers to Maasai girls who have been initiated (circumcised) but not yet married, these girls usually range in age from 12 to 16 years

*ogoro* - sniffing tobacco

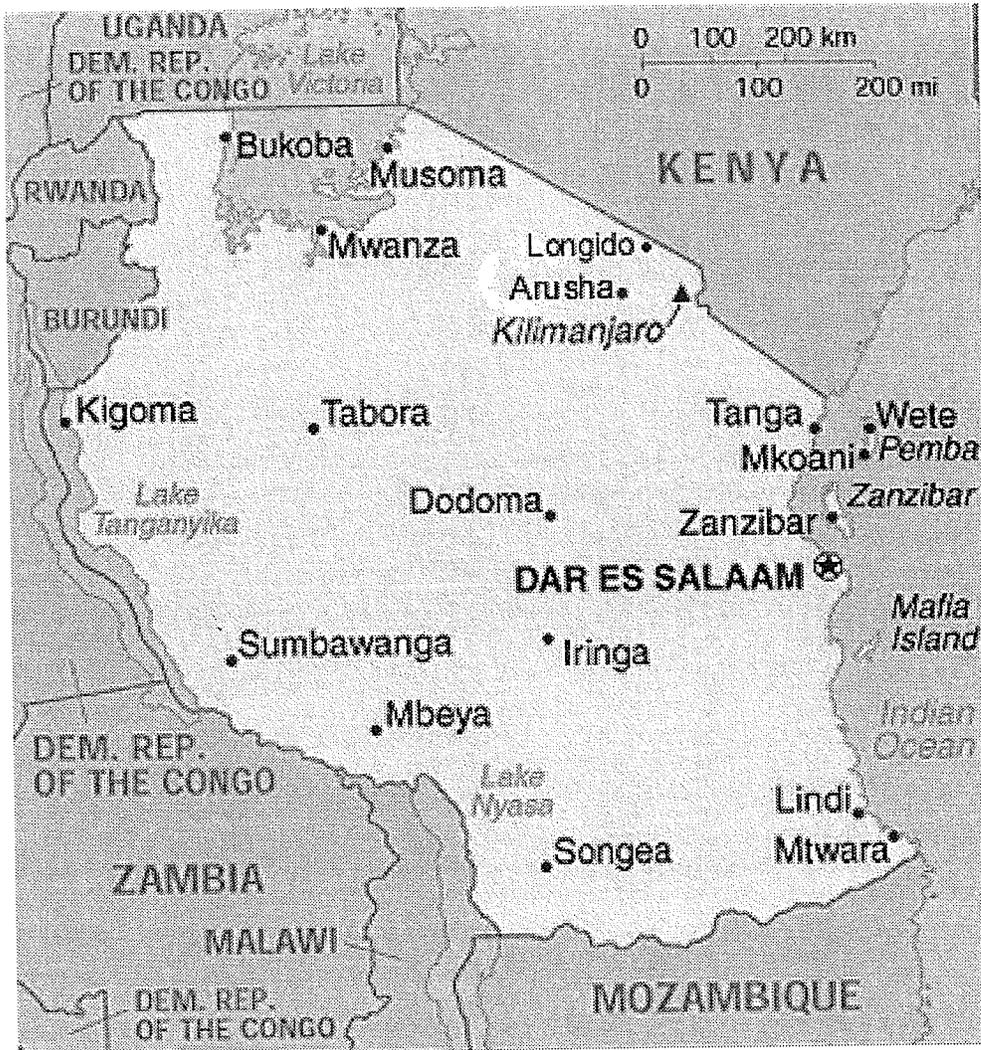
*ushanga* - beaded Maasai souvenirs

*utalii* - Kiswahili for tourism



Appendix C

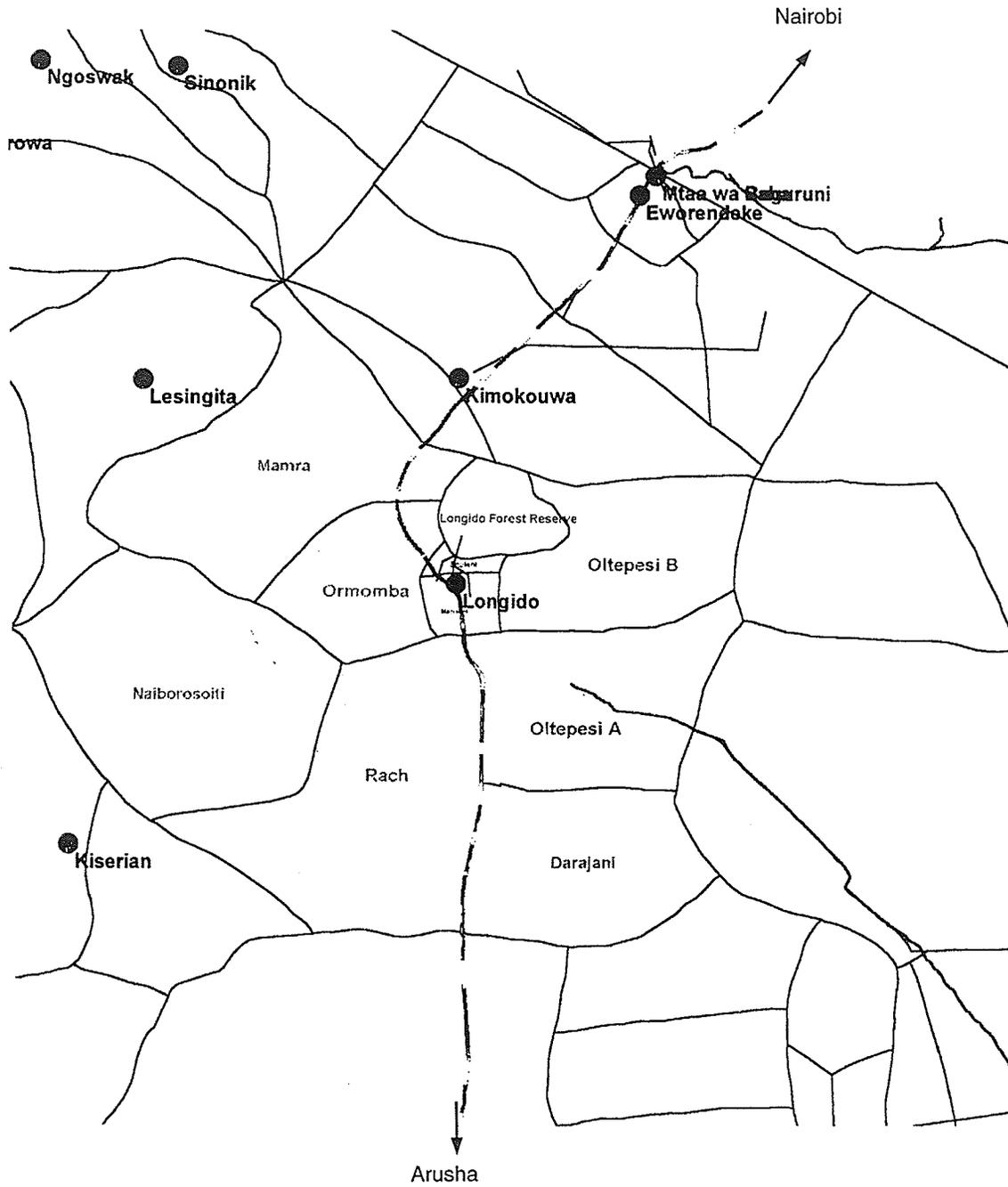
Map of Tanzania



Source: U.S. Central Intelligence Agency

Appendix D

Map of Longido Area



\*\*Tourist activity is contained within Oltepesi B and Shuleni. Tourists also visit Longido Forest Reserve but it is not designated as a kitangoji since there are no inhabitants.

## Appendix E

### Adapted Interview Guide

- E1. How has tourism affected the opportunities for the community?  
K1. Je utalii umeleta manufaa gani katika jamii?
- E2. How do you feel that tourism benefits women? Men? Elderly?  
K2. Je unadhani manufaa haya yame wanufaisha vipi hasa wanawake? Wanaume? Wazee?
- E3. In what way is your family life affected by tourism?  
K3. Je ni kwa namana gani maisha ya familia yako imeguswa na utalii
- E4. Are you aware of that the tourists who have come here have helped pay for the construction of the cattle dip?  
K4. Unafahamu watalii wanapokuja hapa, walilipa kujenga josho la ng'ombe?
- E5. How do you think the community feels about the village development project/ cattle dip?  
K5. Je unadhani jamii ina maoni gani kuhusu mfuko wa maendeleo unaotokana na utalii (VDF)/ josho la ng'ombe?
- E6. What other types of development projects do you think would be beneficial for Longido?  
K6. Unafikiri miradi mingine ni nzuri kwa Longido?
- E7. How do you think the community has changed since tourism began?  
K7. Je unadhani jamii hii imebadilika tangu utalii uliyoanza hapa?
- E8. How has tourism changed the environment of the community?  
K8. Je ni jinsi gani utalii umeleta mabadaliko katika mazingira yenu?
- E9. What do you think have been the most significant impacts of tourism here?  
K9. Unadhani nini hasa yamekuwa matokeo makubwa ya utalii hapa?
- E10. Do you think there are any problems with tourism here?  
K10. Unafikiri kuna shida na utalii hapa?
- E11. How do you feel that tourism benefits you?  
K11. Unafikiria utalii una kuna nufaisha nini?
- E12. When was the first time you saw a tourist?  
K12. Uliona mtalii mara ya kwanza lini?
- E13. How did you feel the first time you saw a tourist?  
K13. Mara ya kwanza uliona mtalii ulifikiri nini?
- E14. Do you think a tourist and a foreigner are the same or different?  
K14. Unafikiri mzungu na mtalii ni fanana au tafauti?
- E15. Can you please describe for me what you believe a tourist?  
K15. Unaweza kueleza mtalii ni nani kwa wewe?

E denotes question in English

K denotes question in Kiswahili

## Appendix F

### Background on World Vision

#### **Who is World Vision?**

World Vision is an international Christian relief and development organization working to promote the well-being of all people - especially children. World Vision seeks to serve people who are poor worldwide, regardless of race, religion, or ethnic origin.

Established in 1950 to care for orphans in Asia, World Vision has grown to embrace the larger issues of community development and advocacy for the poor in its mission to help children and their families build sustainable futures.

Working on six continents, World Vision is one of the largest Christian relief and development organizations in the world.

The heart of World Vision's work is in helping communities build stronger and healthier relationships. The absence of such relationships impoverishes communities.

World Vision focuses on children because they are the best indicator of a community's social health. When children are fed, sheltered, schooled, protected, valued, and loved a community thrives.

#### **Who is World Vision Tanzania?**

World Vision Tanzania (WVT) was officially established in 1981 making it 20 years old. It is registered as a local NGO and governed by a local Board of Trustees. As a member of the World Vision Partnership, WVT is responsible for the organization's mission and values in Tanzania. Today there are over 80 projects located in 10 regions of the country impacting almost 10% of the total population. As a child focussed agency, WVT is proud to say that it impacts the lives of over 1,000,000 children in Tanzania.

#### **What is Our Mission?**

World Vision's mission is pursued through integrated, holistic commitment to:

*Transformational development* that is sustainable and community-based, focussed especially on the needs of children.

*Emergency Relief* that assists people afflicted by conflict or disaster.

*Promotion of Justice* that seeks to change unjust structures affecting the poor among whom we work.

*Strategic Initiatives* that serve the church in the fulfilment of its mission.

*Public Awareness* that leads to informed understanding, giving, involvement and prayer.

*Witness to Jesus Christ*, by life, deed, word and sign.

Source: <http://www.habari.co.tz/wvtanzania/>

## Appendix G

### World Vision: Longido Area Development Programme

**Funding:** Canada

**Description:** Longido Area Development Programme is situated in the northern part of Tanzania bordering with Kenya, it is famous for wildlife and tourism. It is 90 km from Arusha. Longido community has a population of about 97370 people 95% of the population are Maasai who are pastoralists. Adult males are 30424, adult female 31316, boys 16861 and girls 18769.

The people of Longido are struggling hard to develop themselves to improve their quality of life.

The poverty situation, ignorance, and diseases have hindered their progress. The people were nomads but now 80% the population have settled in permanent village. It was difficult to help these people because of shifting habit. Life expectancy is below 55 years and infant mortality rate is above 120/1000. 80% of the children are born at home. Local birth attendants are mostly used to help the women. All the girls are circumcised at the age between 12 yrs to 15 yrs. The girls are married at the same age.

Major disease which is the killer is Malaria. Immunization coverage is below 50%. There are 6 dispensaries and one health center for the entire population.

Primary Education is not a priority to the people. The community value livestock as the source of their income and they depend on livestock for every thing. Children and youth have to take care of livestock every day, so schooling is not a priority. The government has built 23 primary schools which are not fully furnished and the classrooms are not enough. Boarding schools are preferred. The programme intend to help construction of more classrooms, dormitories, pit latrines and fully furnish the schools.

Water sources are few due to prolonged dry season and every after 10 years there is a one year which goes without rain. Development of more water sources and improvement of the existing ones is a priority. Famine is pronounced every year because the Maasai do not grow crops. The programme has started to train the Maasai to use ox-ploughs and use improved maize seeds.

The people are very conservative to their traditional beliefs. 55% of the population are traditionalists.

To help these people to improve their lives a community based programme approach has been designed.

A participatory development programme which covered an area of division has been started. The people are fully, involved in all the stages of programme design from base line survey to implementation. Networking with government and other NGOs is done. The government provide technical assistance and some financial support. The programme is managed by programme committee members who are elected in public meetings. Gender is also considered. The men and women are equally represented in the committee. Community contribution is 25% of the total costs.

WVT has a long experience in Tanzania. It has started more than 120 projects in the country, at present there are more than 80 programmes. WVT is one of the best NGOs in Tanzania and has the highest credibility among many NGOs. All the programmes are audited once every year and programme partnership is with the community. WVT involve the government in all programme activities to ensure the government standards and policy is adhered to.

The total cost of the programme is expected to be US\$ 2,323,644. The community is willing to contribute both cash and labour. Local resources will be used to implement the programme activities.

Community participation and networking will reduce the costs as the resources will be pulled towards development. there no competition among the stake holders but they complement each other.

Programme sustainability has been considered and the community is in the process of registering their CBO which will continue with the programme when phases out.

Source: <http://www.habari.co.tz/wvtanzania/>

## Appendix H

### Synopsis of Longido Cattle Dip Between 1995 and 1998

DATE	Description Given
Nov. 2, 1995	Meeting with village council, contractor and SNV tourism advisor from Cultural Tourism programme to discuss the idea of rehabilitating the cattle dip using money generated from tourism Plans made for an assessment study to be carried out by district council office
Dec. 8-12, 1995	Assessment study of the cattle dip is carried out by members of village and regional council.
Dec. 18, 1995	Assessment study sent to CTP advisor and village chairman
Feb. 28, 1996	A letter is sent from contractor to Monduli district council to inform them that there is no progress because nothing has been received from either CTP or village chairman
March 6, 1996	A letter is sent from regional advisory board to contractor explaining the situation regarding the project, copy of letter sent to village council Letter explains that the village leaders were not in a position to release the village resources for the benefit of the whole community.
June, 1996	Meeting between contractor and village council, terms are agreed upon and to be sent to regional council for approval.
Oct. 17, 1996	A letter is sent from the contractor to village politicians to inform them about issues agreed to on during the June, 1996 meeting. A meeting is requested for October 30, 1996 whereby village leaders and CTP tourism advisor will attend.
Oct. 30, 1996	Meeting is cancelled at last moment despite notice. Village council argues that pastoralists are reluctant to pay previously established price of 30 TSh and 15 TSh as dipping fees for cattle and goats because it is too high. A livestock keepers meeting was arranged the same day at 1:00pm in order to have the opinions of about 50 pastoralists. A village meeting was agreed and promised for the next day.
Oct. 31, 1996	Village meeting attended by 250 pastoralists and representatives from CTP. Pastoralists agree to pay the fees of 30 TSh and 15 TSh for cattle and goats. Meeting emphasises that renovation to start as soon as there is money.
Oct. 6, 1997	A letter from regional office to contractor is sent to update the progress of the agreed issues over the past year.
Oct. 27, 1997	A letter from contractor to village chairman is received to call a meeting on October 30, 1997 to discuss the implementation of the project with top officials from the village, council and CTP
Oct. 30, 1997	Meeting with village officials. Renovation of the cattle dip is discussed. The village chairman explains that after emptying the water and other waste from the dip they realised that the iron sheet of the dip tank was rusted so they asked for a technician from the regional office for more advise and assessment. CTP suggests that a tourism committee is formed and a bank account opened for the cattle dip but nothing done at that point.

Nov. 3, 1997	Technician visits cattle dip and makes a new initial assessment. Provides details of materials needed and cost to repair cattle dip.
Dec. 2, 1997	A meeting with village leaders, regional council, village council, CTP representatives and World Visions is held. World Visions suggests that a independent district engineer be included to verify the costs of renovation.
Dec.12, 1997	New assessment is done. Report based on assessment and December 2 meeting is drafted from district council. The damaged parts of the cattle dip are noted along with the necessary materials needed. It is proposed that a new Participatory Rural Appraisal study be conducted in Longido to assess the priorities of village awareness and views about the cultural tourism, other village projects and responsiveness of villagers and village council to develop activities and local capacity. Report is sent to CTP office in Arusha outlining roles. Role of CTP and village was to renovate the cattle dip while role of regional council was to undertake training of village committee, dip attendants and monitor progress.
Sept. 21, 1998	Letter from contractor indicates that is better for the project to be pulled if there is no consensus. Contractor feels that perhaps village is being forced to carry out a project which is not their priority. It is suggested that the ownership of the dip must be known and agreed upon by village council, district council and CTP. Contractor notes that has facilitated construction of a cattle dip and training in the past and can draw on this experience.
Sept. 23, 1998	CTP suggests with meeting to solve problems and make final decisions to continue or not. Agree with contractor's suggestion of facilitating construction of dip.
Sept. 28, 1999	Meeting with Longido tourism coordinator and CTP. Update given that technician who was working on cattle dip falls sick and returned home. A cattle dip in another district precinct had to be built so technician started to work there leaving Longido. Three people from Longido are to attend a one week seminar on how to manage a cattle dip.
Jan. 28, 2000	Longido tourism coordinator passes away leaves project disorganised without any leadership.
April 11, 2000	Meegting with village council, prospective coordinators, and CTP is held. A new tourism coordinator in Longido is selected from the meeting. The cattle dip is visited and is almost finalised. It is agreed that CTP will be invited when the first cows are washed. Also agreed that some sort of advertisement will be set up to ensure that villagers realise the dip is a result of collecting money from tourists.
July 20, 2000	Meeting held with village and district politicians, Longido tourism coordinator and CTP staff. Prices and materials agreed upon for final renovation and completion of the dip. Total cost budgeted at 1,922,460 TSh with a completion to be expected in September 2000.
Oct. 21, 2000	The building of the cattle dip is final but water supply is in its final stage. The purchase of medication for the dip is require as the last step to make the dip operational.
Dec. 16, 2000	The dip finally opens and 1,975 cattle and 984 goats are washed on this day.

Appendix I

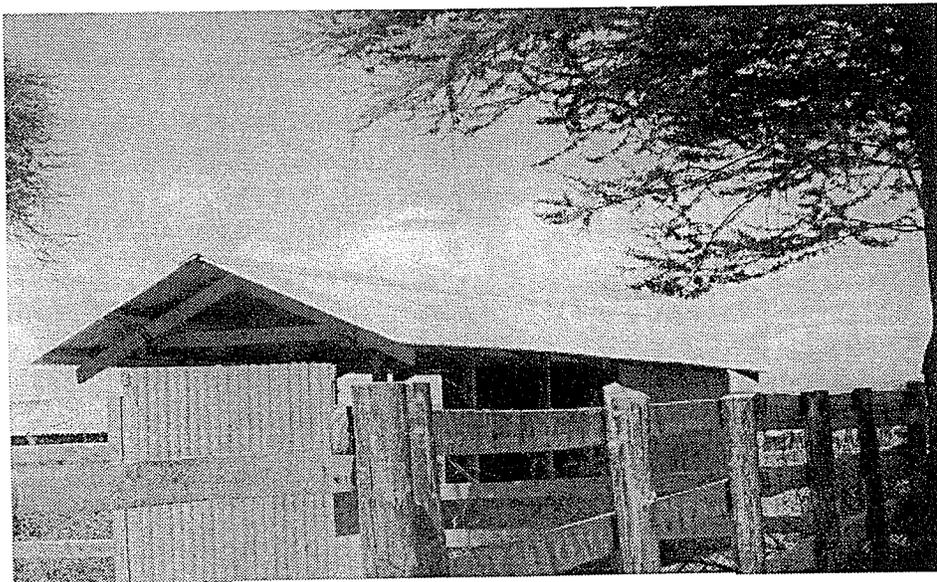
Photo-documentation of the Longido Cattle Dip



Cattle dip construction is in it's initial stages of construction - August 1999



Pit for the cattle dip is excavated during initial stages of construction—August 1999



Completed cattle dip— November 2000