

**TOURISM IN A RURAL UGANDAN VILLAGE:
IMPACTS, LOCAL MEANING AND IMPLICATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT**

By

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TOURISM IN A RURAL UGANDAN VILLAGE:
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Uganda is an equatorial nation in East Africa. Over 80 percent of Ugandans are peasants. To develop rural areas, Uganda is heavily promoting tourism. The potential impact of tourism on peasants has not been studied. Uganda's tourism centers on national parks. National parks are a major source of strife for peasants, mainly because parks' wildlife destroys peasants' crops. Therefore, national parks may play a role in the dynamics between tourism and Uganda's peasants. Considering this, Bigodi village next to Kibale National Park was selected as the site for this research. Bigodi has been involved with tourism since 1992. The purpose of this study was to discover the impact of tourism in Bigodi through analyzing local voices. The basic question was, what does tourism mean to the residents of Bigodi?

Qualitative research methods were used. The researcher spent ten months in Uganda from 2002 until 2003. Six months were spent in Bigodi. Data were collected through formal interviews (50 residents of Bigodi and 15 national tourism officials),

informal conversation and observation. All data were analyzed within a grounded theory framework using the method of constant comparison. Analysis elicited a local meaning for tourism firmly grounded in the words of Bigodi's residents.

Residents identified several benefits of tourism: money, improved agricultural markets, communal benefits and the idea that tourism's benefits can arrive by "chance." The major cost residents identified was crop raiding. A nearly homogenous meaning for tourism arose from the data: the conservation of nature in order to attract foreigners who provide the money and ideas necessary for development. This meaning indicates dependency. Dependency is the antithesis of self reliance and sustainable development. The findings of this study suggest this dependency is not a direct result of tourism but instead of a perceived external locus of control. In other words, residents believe they have little control over what happens in their lives. This perception is rooted in historical, political and economic forces and creates a social psychological environment in which tourism encourages dependency. Thus, in the future, locus of control should be considered an important variable for successful tourism-based development.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Without the community, tourism will never succeed. Whether it is a national park, a game reserve or any other attraction, unless you have the community's blessing tourism will never succeed . . . A community needs to maintain the resource besides being kind to the tourist. You'll find community members make the best guides; they are the ones who really know the area and the local attractions. They need to be a part of the tourism enterprise to make it better. Usually the paths the tourists use are the ones the community used first. (Director, Uganda Community Tourism Association, personal communication, January 23, 2002)

Uganda is an equatorial nation in East Africa (Figure 1-1). It is roughly the size of Oregon in the United States but with seven times as many people (US Census Bureau, 2004; Central Intelligence Agency, 2004). Uganda's 25 million people are largely rural, small scale agriculturalists. Uganda's president, Yoweri Museveni, refers to the ubiquitous small scale farming found throughout the countryside as "disguised unemployment" (President Museveni, December 7, 2002). While Uganda's small scale farmers, or peasants, produce plenty of food to meet their basic needs, there is little surplus for trade. The rural economy is primarily subsistence. Small profits may be made from cattle or coffee but there is little industry to speak of outside Uganda's major cities.

As a result, most Ugandans are very poor. Uganda's gross national income per capita is only 231 US dollars (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004). In addition to modernizing agriculture, the economic development of Uganda depends on creating opportunities off the farm. In recognition of this, tourism is being aggressively promoted as a development strategy. This strategy involves the highest levels of Uganda's

government and has recently come to fruition under the Ministry for Tourism, Trade and Industry. In 2004, the ministry completed Uganda's first national tourism policy which states as the general objective the alleviation of poverty nationwide (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, 2004). In this respect, the Ugandan central government's embrace of tourism as a tool for development is similar to other Sub-Saharan African nations (Brown, 1998; Weaver, 1998).



Figure 1-1: Map of Uganda (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004)

Tourism in Uganda today is more aptly viewed as a rebirth rather than a birth. Prior to independence, Uganda was a major African tourism destination and earned the title "The Pearl of Africa" from Winston Churchill (Ouma, 1970). Of course, in the days before jet airliners, tourism was on a much smaller scale. Nevertheless, Uganda received around 50,000 tourists per year in the early 1960s (Assistant Commissioner, Ministry of Tourism, personal communication, November 27, 2002). Tourists came to see Queen Elizabeth National Park and Murchison Falls National Park, both created in 1952

(MacKenzie, 1988). By the time of Uganda's independence from Great Britain in 1962, tourism was a major sector of the economy and by the end of the decade it was the third leading earner of foreign exchange (Assistant Commissioner, Ministry of Tourism, personal communication, November 27, 2002).

Unfortunately, the joy of independence in Uganda was short-lived. In 1972, the infamous dictator Idi Amin came to power and instituted a regime of terror which plunged the country into despair. Extreme hardship characterized life in Uganda during Amin's reign and for years after his overthrow in 1979. Among Amin's many regrettable actions was the expulsion of all foreigners from the country. Amin severed diplomatic ties with the West and formed allegiances with notorious strongmen like Libya's Muammar al-Qadhafi. These actions, coupled with the rampant and wanton killing of his own people, put an abrupt and complete end to Uganda's prosperous tourism industry.

It was not until 1986, when current president Yoweri Museveni came to power that Uganda began to emerge from the shadow of misrule and terror. By 1990, President Museveni had restored peace, disciplined the military and breathed life into the shattered economy. At this time, Uganda's tourism industry began to slowly rebuild itself from the rubble of nearly 20 years of neglect. Unfortunately, there are no reliable tourism statistics for this period in Uganda's history prior to 1999 (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, 2004). However, an Assistant Commissioner of the Ministry of Tourism noted there was no significant tourism taking place at the time Museveni seized power in 1986 (Personal communication, November 27, 2002). By 1999, when tourism statistics were first collected, arrivals to Uganda numbered 187,000 (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2004). By 2001, arrivals equaled 205,000. This was enough to make tourism

Uganda's leading earner of foreign exchange (President, Uganda Tourism Association, personal communication, December 4, 2002). This is an astounding reversal of fortune and has come to symbolize Uganda's re-entry into the global community. As the President of the Uganda Tourism Association explained:

Tourism for Uganda is a gateway to the rest of the world. Uganda is very often misunderstood. Sadly the perception of Uganda around the globe is often very negative. Uganda is still associated with the ills and errors of the Idi Amin regime. The more tourists that we bring in here and show them that it is a beautiful country, full of hospitable people and beautiful natural attractions, the more we will change the perception around the globe about what Uganda is. It is what it used to be, and at the same time new and modern. (Personal communication, December 4, 2002)

Growth in the tourism sector is expected to continue its dramatic rise. As the National Tourism Policy states, tourist arrivals are forecast to reach 500,000 by 2010 (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, 2004). The prospect of a tourism-generated boon has not escaped Uganda's president. President Museveni has been directly involved in tourism since restoring peace in the country. As an Assistant Commissioner for Tourism Development in Uganda's Ministry of Tourism Trade and Industry stated:

By rehabilitating things like airports and parks, President Museveni has focused on tourism, he always talks about tourism in speeches and he promotes the country when abroad. He tries to lure investors here, he wants them to enjoy the country first and then invest here, so he is focused on the tourism industry. (Personal communication, January 3, 2002)

In November 2003, President Museveni visited the United States specifically to promote tourism in Uganda. At the center of his visit was the premier of a Discovery Channel film titled *Uganda: The Presidential Tour*. The film is hosted by President Museveni and showcases Uganda's natural tourist attractions. The film premiered for a national television audience December 3, 2003 on Discovery's Travel Channel.

As many people are now likely to discover, Uganda is full of natural tourist attractions. This becomes apparent before ever touching down at the international airport in Entebbe. Flying into Uganda from Europe, the deep green of the country is a welcomed sight after hours of flying over the empty brown of the Sahara desert. Just from the plane's window, it is clear Uganda is full of life. The country's relatively small size is deceptive. For within its borders is an amazing amount of diversity, giving the impression the country is much larger than it is. Crossing Uganda, the seamless transition of the landscape from mountain to wetland to grassland to forest is remarkable. It is as if a perfect quilt was sewn from hundreds of unique patches. As the Senior Wildlife Officer in Uganda's Ministry of Tourism told me, "We are very rich, and the country is very unique, you might think it is more than one country when you travel from one part to another" (Personal communication, January 10, 2002).

Uganda's national parks reflect this rich variety (Figure 1-2). In the far east of Uganda sits Mount Elgon, an extinct volcano. This towering landmark constitutes the border with neighboring Kenya. It is protected within a national park popular with mountain climbers. Just outside the park, some of the world's finest coffee is grown. Southwest of Mount Elgon and near the town of Jinja are the headwaters of the Nile River. The Nile cuts the country in two as it flows towards Sudan, Egypt, and ultimately the Mediterranean Sea. White water rafting on Uganda's Nile is among the best in the world. As the river picks up speed, it pours over the spectacular Murchison Falls, protected in a national park of the same name. The Nile originates in Lake Victoria, Africa's largest lake. Uganda's largest city, Kampala, also has its origins on the shore of Lake Victoria. Kampala is home to over one million people.

Moving west from Kampala, the land steadily rises from Lake Victoria's basin. Papyrus swamps turn to grasslands and it is here, in the heart of cattle country, that Lake Mburo National Park is located. Lake Mburo provides habitat for a diversity of grazing

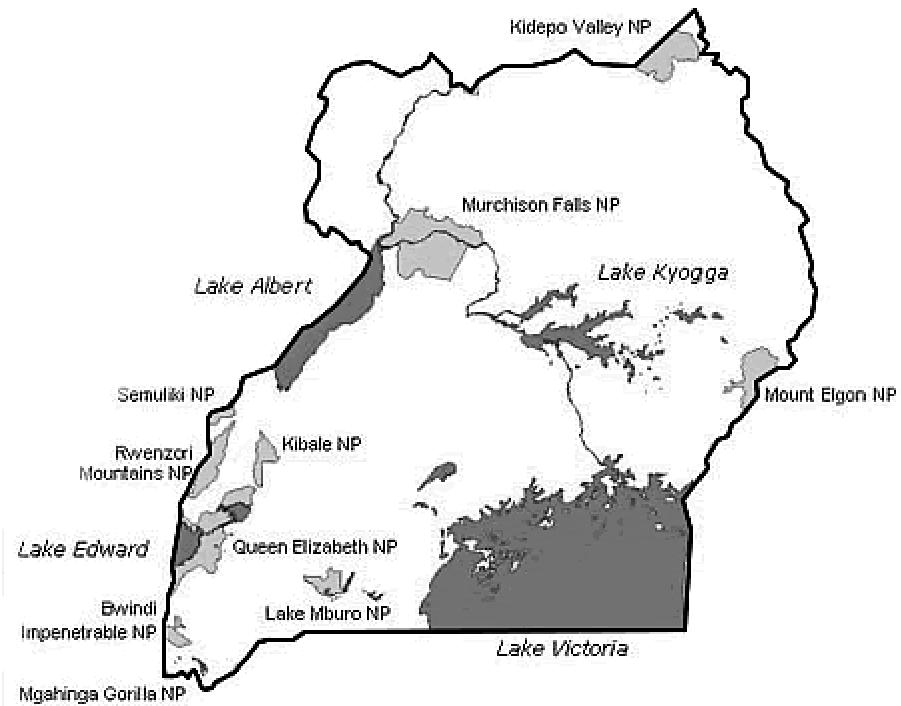


Figure 1-2: Map of Uganda's national parks (UWA, 2004)

animals like zebra, gazelle and buffalo. West of Lake Mburo, grasses give way to forest as the land rises up the escarpment of the Rift Valley. Crossing the escarpment, it is a rapid descent to the valley floor below, Uganda's lowest point in elevation. The Rift Valley's dry, hot grasslands contain Uganda's largest populations of lions and elephants. It is very popular with tourists and home to Queen Elizabeth National Park. It is also the location of a growing cotton industry.

In the far southwest of Uganda is Bwindi Impenetrable Forest National Park. Half of the world's population of endangered mountain gorillas lives in this tangled jungle. North of Bwindi and along the border with the Democratic Republic of the Congo is

Rwenzori Mountain National Park. The highest peaks in the park rise more than 5,000 meters above sea level and remain capped with snow throughout the year despite their equatorial latitude. Copper and cobalt are abundant in the Rwenzori Mountains. Just east of the Rwenzori Mountains is Kibale National Park, a forest with Africa's greatest diversity of primates. This area of Uganda is also a center for timber and tea production. This is just a sampling of the landscapes, natural resources, and protected areas found within Uganda. It is upon these features that tourism depends for its success.

With over 100 people per square kilometer, Ugandans are very much a part of this landscape as well, and they too depend on it for their success. Approximately 90 percent of Ugandans are directly dependant on natural resources for a living (Uganda Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment, 2002). Collecting water, firewood, building materials, medicines and other daily necessities from the natural environment is a regular part of life for most Ugandans. Even in the capital city, Kampala, most people cook on either firewood or charcoal. Clearly, there is substantial human pressure on the land. With an average fertility rate of over six children per female, this pressure will not be arrested any time soon. Uganda's population is expected to double by 2025 (Uganda Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment, 2002). Where natural resources are protected as parks or other tourist attractions, human pressure on the land is greatest of all. Protecting resources as national parks removes them from local production. In all of Uganda's protected areas, conflict between local people and managers challenges their conservation (Mugisha, 2002).

Considering these demographics, it is a credit to Uganda that in 2002, the country celebrated fifty years of national parks. The celebrations were hosted by the Uganda

Wildlife Authority (UWA), the government organization tasked with managing the country's national parks and wildlife reserves. Concluding the week-long celebration, President Museveni gave the keynote address. I was lucky enough to be in the audience and with pen and paper, recorded as much of the speech as possible. The speech trumpeted the amazing success Uganda's national parks have experienced under President Museveni. In the decade and a half of insecurity prior to Museveni, Uganda's wildlife was hunted mercilessly. Some species, like the rhino, were completely extirpated. However, under Museveni, national parks were protected with a new vigor and wildlife populations have begun to rebound. While this has restored Uganda's natural heritage and invigorated the tourism industry, it has also intensified the conflict between conservation and rural people. President Museveni addressed this conflict in his speech:

There is a conflict between Uganda's expanding human population and conservation. This conflict is within the context of backwardness. Uganda is backwards due to primitive agricultural technologies and methods. The pioneers of conservation did not foresee this conflict but The Movement Government [Museveni's political organization] sees this conflict. Uganda must modernize and increase agricultural production. Until this happens, there will always be a conflict between backwardness and conservation. Uganda is all a conservation area – but a conservation area for backwardness. Modern countries are urban and industrialized. Uganda has what is called an agricultural or rural economy – this is really disguised unemployment. There can be no conservation in this kind of backward setting. Nonetheless, we have a duty to maintain and conserve protected areas. I read recently on a trip to Europe that Spain receives some 23 billion US dollars from tourism; I think Uganda receives around 163 million. Tourism therefore has a great potential to generate Uganda money, and protected areas are Uganda's most popular tourist attractions. Therefore, we have a duty to conserve them and we will work to resolve this conflict between backwardness and conservation. (President Museveni, December 7, 2002)

President Museveni's speech is significant to this study for several reasons. It emphasizes the ongoing conflict between rural people and national parks. This is a

conflict which often has terrible consequences. In April 2003, I was listening to a discussion on a Ugandan radio station in which the number of hunters killed in 2002 by rangers in Queen Elizabeth National Park was being debated. A representative of the people living around the park claimed it was 108 while a park official claimed it was “only” 76. Either way, it is a huge number. Imagine if rangers at Yellowstone National Park killed 76 of their neighbors. There would be a civil uprising in Wyoming. Despite this conflict, the speech made it clear that Uganda has a duty to protect these embattled resources. The reason cited was tourism. According to Museveni, tourism has the potential to bring millions if not billions of dollars into the country. Thus, tourism in Uganda may be not only an agent for development, but also an agent for conservation. This explains UWA’s motto for the celebration, which was “50 Years of National Parks: conservation for sustainable development.” Museveni’s speech was clear; for him tourism means money and it justifies conservation of the national parks.

However, a necessary question to ask is, what does tourism mean for the peasants living adjacent to Uganda’s national parks? For tourism to be sustainable there, its impact on peasants needs to be considered (Honey, 1999; Scheyvens, 1999; Sharpley, 2000; Sindiga, 1999; Sofield, 2003). This particular study will utilize the peasant voice in order to better understand tourism’s impacts. To date, Uganda’s peasants have not been given a significant voice in natural resource management or tourism development adjacent to national parks (Lepp, 2002a). The result is poor relationships with managers characterized by misunderstandings and conflict (Mugisha, 2002). Tourism research which emphasizes peasant understandings can play a significant role in creating a sustainable tourism industry beneficial to both parks and people (Akama, 1996 & 1999;

Honey, 1999; Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Murphee, 2001; Scheyvens, 1999; Sharpley, 2000; Sindiga, 1999; Sofield, 2003).

Admittedly, most peasants in Uganda do not have any understanding of tourism. Their subsistence lifestyle simply does not allow travel for pleasure. Likewise, it is only recently that tourism has had a presence in the country. Therefore, most people have not been exposed to tourism even as hosts. Considering President Museveni's efforts to promote Uganda as a tourist destination, and the Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry's new emphasis on community based tourism (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, 2004), this is most likely going to change. If tourism grows as expected, how will it be interpreted by Uganda's majority peasant population? Will it be a blessing or a curse? Fortunately, there are a few communities in Uganda which might offer preliminary answers to these questions. Bigodi is one such community. Bigodi is located in western Uganda on the edge of Kibale National Park and has been involved with tourism since 1992 (Figure 1-3). This actually places Bigodi's residents at the forefront of tourism's renaissance in the country. As a result, it is one of just a few communities in the country with a significant history of tourism involvement. Therefore, Bigodi offers a unique opportunity to study the dynamics between peasants and tourism in Uganda.

The purpose of this study was to assess tourism in Bigodi using the insights and experiences of the people involved. The basic question was, what does tourism mean to the people of Bigodi? Previous research shows that local meanings for tourism can vary dramatically due to a combination of social, cultural, historic and political factors (Cheung, 1999; Hepburn, 2002; Horn & Simmons, 2002; Oakes, 1999). It is hoped that

this research will inform future tourism development in Uganda, as well as academic understanding, by eliciting new and heretofore unrecognized meanings for a social process that is not yet fully understood. The importance of addressing tourism's meaning in Uganda is underscored by Scott (1998), who stated the greatest hindrance to any effective development intervention by the state is a misunderstood society. As the Ugandan government strives to create development opportunities for its rural population, understanding rural meanings for tourism is an important step.



Figure 1-3: Bigodi's location in relation to Kibale National Park

To this end, data were collected through formal qualitative interviews and casual conversations with the people of Bigodi. Data were analyzed within a grounded theory framework using the method of constant comparison. The knowledge gained will serve many purposes. First, there is a gap in the tourism literature in which the voice of rural Africans has been omitted. In this regard, this study is the first to evaluate tourism in the

words of rural Ugandans. Second, an understanding of tourism's relationship with rural development in Uganda is necessary to guide this fledgling industry towards such a lofty goal. Third, this research will be of great value to Kibale National Park, which has prioritized research focused on tourism, conservation and development as they occur at the community level (Uganda Wildlife Authority, 1996:161). Finally, insights gained might inform the tourism development process as it begins to occur at the community level throughout Uganda.

Research Questions

Tourism's meaning in Bigodi, this study's central theme, was initially framed by several related research questions. Additional questions, apt to elucidate tourism's meaning in Bigodi, arose through the constant comparison of the data. The evolving nature of research questions and data collection are discussed in more detail in the methods section of this study. The initial research questions were:

1. What was life like in Bigodi before tourism?
2. How did tourism originate in Bigodi?
3. What is life like in Bigodi today with tourism?
4. What does tourism mean to the people of Bigodi?
5. What variables mediate tourism's meaning(s) in Bigodi?
 - Is meaning mediated by age or gender?
 - Is meaning mediated by individuals' relationships to tourism (they may earn money from tourism or have regular interaction with tourists, etc.)?
 - Is meaning mediated by individuals' life experiences (have they traveled, do they live deep in the village or in the trading center, is their farm next to the park or far from the park)?

Delimitations and Limitations

This study is delimited to the community of Bigodi in western Uganda. Therefore, the explanatory power of any theory developed by this research is limited to Bigodi and not directly generalizable to the broader population of Ugandans. However, any theory developed will provide a basis for improving upon the understanding of tourism as it occurs in rural Uganda, focus attention on the importance of local meaning in general, and have practical implications for Kibale National Park.

A limitation to this study is the growing effects of terrorism on tourism worldwide. While the attacks of September 11th brought this to the world's attention, people in Uganda became aware in March of 1998 when terrorists killed eight tourists in the country. While the flow of tourists has clearly been affected, it is not clear how these events might impact meaning from the perspective approached in this study. A second limitation is that the researcher, being a male, had difficulty arranging interviews with some rural women. In Uganda's most conservative rural households, women have limited freedoms concerning their interactions with men.

In the next chapter, a review of the relevant literature will be presented. This will begin with a discussion of tourism development and its potential impact on host communities. Economic impacts including dependency, socio-cultural impacts and socio-environmental impacts will all be considered. Community development, a desired result of tourism in Uganda (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, 2004), will be discussed in relation to self reliance. Finally, tourism's varied meanings will be discussed.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Uganda, with its recent embrace of tourism, is not alone among developing nations. Since the early 1970s, an increasing number of developing nations have incorporated tourism into their economic plans (Broham, 1996). It was in the 1970s that international tourism became a global phenomenon. Improvements in international transportation like the jumbo jet, which entered service in 1970, improvements in communication networks and a growing affluence among Western nations made the world both accessible and affordable. As MacCannell (1976) stated, these factors redefined the leisure class to mean “tourist.” MacCannell’s tourists were deprived of authentic experiences by the rigors of modern life and as a result sought authenticity from travel. Since the 1970’s, a growing list of nations have sought to provide western travelers with that authenticity. Turkey, Mexico and Kenya were among the first to venerate less than modern aspects of their national identity and equate them with economic growth through mass tourism (Honey, 1999; Mathieson & Wall, 1982); in the 1980s, Costa Rica and Thailand incorporated tourism into their larger economic plans for similar reasons (Bishop & Robinson, 1998; Honey, 1999); in the 1990’s, post apartheid South Africa and post cold war China used tourism to improve their international image as well as state coffers (Honey, 1999; Oakes, 1999); and in the new millennium, this interest continues as this study reveals about Uganda.

Perhaps this continued interest in tourism is misguided considering the major events of this young but already seasoned century. The terrorist attacks on the World

Trade Center, the Bali nightclub bombing, the war in Iraq and SARS are just a few examples of recent events with tremendous potential to negatively affect international tourism. The negative relationship among terrorism, war and disease, and international tourism is well established (Sonmez, 1998; Carter, 1998). Nevertheless, statistics from the World Tourism Organization (2004) suggest that tourism is weathering the storm. Overall, international tourism arrivals increased one percent from 2000 to 2003. During this same time period, some regions of the world have had dramatic increases. Sub-Saharan Africa had the largest increase (13.7 %) when measured as percent change between 2003 and 2000 arrivals. Other regions showing strong growth are South Asia (12.2 %), Central America (11.8 %) and Eastern Europe (9.6 %). Interestingly, it is these regions that are most interested in tourism as a major contributor to economic development. Unfortunately, the benefits of economic development as a result of tourism rarely come without costs. In fact, a long line of research has identified many costs and benefits associated with tourism. These impacts extend beyond economics to influence society, culture and human relations with the environment. The following is a review of tourism's impacts across the globe with a special emphasis on Africa.

Tourism Development and Residents' Attitudes

With many nations in the developing world having less than 30 years of experience with international mass tourism, it is a new phenomenon for countless people. Uganda, for example, only began to market itself as a destination in the last decade. Butler (1980) suggested that destinations develop through a series of stages. The first is the exploration stage when small numbers of tourists initially visit an area. During the exploration stage there is little impact on the economic, environmental or social landscape of the destination. The second stage is known as involvement and is characterized by the

participation of local people in the provision of services. By the third stage, labeled development, tourism is an established industry and some of the simple local enterprises will have begun to disappear in lieu of more elaborate ones. By the consolidation stage, local enterprise is replaced by established franchises and chains. At this point, the destination will be well defined and possibly regarded as “old hat.” The final stage is stagnation during which environmental and social capacities are exceeded and tourism declines. At this point, it is unlikely the destination can be rejuvenated without completely re-branding itself as a different type of attraction.

To use Uganda as an example, the involvement stage would best describe the present state of tourism development. Local people are beginning to get involved and the government is promoting tourism in rural areas. However, both Akama (1999) and Harrison (1995) noted that the evolution of tourism in African destinations often diverges from Butler’s model. This is a result of real or imagined political insecurity that can redirect tourism flows and send African destinations into decline at any point in their evolution. An example of this is Zimbabwe in Southern Africa. Five years ago Zimbabwe was successfully moving towards the development stage of Butler’s model but recent and continued political upheaval has sent tourism into a meteoric fall. Similarly, Douglas (1997) found tourism development in the South Pacific has diverged from Butler’s (1980) model. By comparing three different destinations in Melanesia, Douglas discovered varying trajectories of tourism development. For example, Papua New Guinea has been stuck in Butler’s involvement stage for over 100 years with no sign of advancing. Meanwhile, tourism in Vanuatu changed from exploration to decline, bypassing all intermediate stages. Douglas concluded Butler’s model is a useful tool with

which to begin an analysis of a destination's history; however political, historical, social, economic and geographic factors are constantly influencing tourism at any destination and can alter tourism development in ways not described by Butler.

As tourism development progresses, so does the type of tourist arriving at the destination. Plog (1974) proposed that tourists can be identified along a psychological continuum, similar to what might be considered introverted and extroverted. Tourists on the introverted end of the continuum are known as psychocentrics; they are characterized by a preference for familiar settings in their travel. Opposite psychocentrics are the allocentrics, characterized by a preference for more novelty. The majority of tourists, Plog suggested, are to be found somewhere in the middle of the two extremes. This idea of a continuum brings to mind the work of Cohen (1972) and his four international tourist roles: the organized mass tourist, the independent mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter. In relation to Plog, the organized mass tourist would be on the psychocentric end of the continuum while the drifter would be on the allocentric end. In general, organized mass tourists prefer familiarity and preplanned, packaged tours while drifters shun the beaten path and prefer the lifestyle and ways of the host culture. Explorers and independent mass tourists are in between these extremes. Both Plog's and Cohen's tourist typologies can be logically linked to Butler's (1980) destination lifecycle model. As Plog hypothesized, allocentrics (or Cohen's explorers and drifters) would accompany the early stages of a destination's evolution while the later stages would be accompanied by psychocentrics (or Cohen's independent and organized mass tourists).

A logical link can be drawn between tourist type and residents' attitude. Valene Smith (1989b) created a simple model explaining this connection. The model hinges on a

typology identifying seven types of tourists based on their ability to adapt to local norms. Explorer tourists quest for new knowledge and experience and adapt fully to local norms. Elite tourists have typically “been everywhere” and are willing to pay handsomely for unique experiences. They adapt fully to local norms and are willing to sacrifice comfort for a short time in order to add to their tourism resume. Off beat tourists adapt to local norms as well and simply want an unusual experience. The unusual tourist adapts somewhat, typically traveling as part of an organized tour but ventures off the beaten path for just a day or afternoon. The remaining three types are incipient mass, mass and charter. They seek, expect and demand Western amenities respectively with no adaptation to local norms. Smith suggests that residents’ perception of tourism progresses from good to bad as the tourists lose their ability to adapt to local norms. In terms of Cohen’s (1972) typology, drifters and explorers could be expected to adapt well to local norms and create a favorable perception of tourism among residents. The opposite could be expected from independent and organized mass tourists.

Smith’s model suggests that while tourism development is small scale and local, residents’ perceptions are favorable; however as tourism develops and accommodation evolves to suit western tastes, then local perception becomes increasingly worse. This is reminiscent also of Butler’s (1980) destination life cycle model. Considering Butler, perception worsens as a destination evolves towards stagnation. Doxey (1976) proposed that residents’ attitudes change over time in a predictable manner similar to Butler’s destination life cycle. In Doxey’s model, initial tourism development is accompanied by euphoria among residents. This is followed by apathy as tourism grows. When tourism nears saturation and new facilities need to be developed, residents will experience

irritation. With time, irritation gives way to antagonism as tourism is seen as an agent of negative change such as higher taxes, immorality, and environmental degradation. In the final stage, residents will realize and have to cope with the fact that in the scramble to develop tourism they destroyed the attributes which originally attracted the tourists.

While such models are helpful for establishing links between tourism development and residents' attitudes, Horn and Simmons (2002) stress the processes which shape residents' attitudes are much more complex than what simple linear relationships might reveal. In a study of two New Zealand towns, they found that attitudes towards tourism differed as a result of the relative economic importance of tourism, the visibility of tourists, the capacity of local governance, the sense of local control over tourism, and the pace of tourism growth and various social and historical influences. These factors are interpreted by residents to construct a unique meaning for the tourism phenomenon. Meaning varies by community. For one of the towns in the study, tourism meant stability and self reliance; for the other, tourism meant rapid change and economic restructuring. Ultimately, it was these varying meanings which governed residents' attitudes towards tourism.

Economic Impacts and Dependency

As Horn and Simmons (2002) noted, the economic importance of tourism plays a role in determining residents' attitudes. As economic benefits increase, residents' attitudes become more favorable. Lindberg and Johnson (1997) found that even the perception of economic impacts is very influential in determining favorable attitudes towards tourism and outweighs most perceived disruptions. This reflects the simple, but often overlooked, fact that as far as destinations are concerned, tourism is primarily an

economic activity. In the developing world, most communities react positively to the stimulus it brings to the economy.

In general, tourism is favored by developing economies because it is a so called invisible export (Broham, 1996). This means it brings foreign exchange into the country without shipping any resource or product abroad. Many developing countries are focused on accessing global markets through the exportation of raw materials. This leaves the exporter at a disadvantage as they normally do not export enough to influence global prices. They are at the mercy of the market. However, host nations have a much greater degree of control in establishing prices for tourist goods and services (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Especially if they are able to effectively market their country's uniqueness. Besides generating foreign exchange, tourism creates jobs both within the industry and in support industries like agriculture, construction and utilities. Thus, depending on the capacity of support industries, tourism receipts can be multiplied throughout an economy several times. The extent to which a country can supply the needs of the tourism industry through domestic sources is a good indication of its ability to benefit economically from tourism (Mathieson & Wall).

When the needs of the tourism industry are not adequately supplied by domestic sources then goods or services must be imported. Importing goods and services for tourism sends tourism's foreign exchange abroad again. This is known as leakage. Several studies have estimated the leakage of tourism revenue from developing countries easily exceeds 50 percent (Broham, 1996; Brown, 1998). Tourists from the first world typically have standards for comfort far above the experience of most in the developing world. As Smith (1989b) suggested, many tourists require, if not demand, luxurious,

western amenities. Tourism investments which provide these amenities are typically capital intensive structures that developing nations can least afford to build and manage. As a result, multinational corporations like Sheraton and Hyatt are often courted. While often necessary to establish a high standard of tourism infrastructure, such foreign investment is major cause of leakage (Britton, 1996; Honey, 1999). For example, during the construction of Tanzania's tourism infrastructure in the 1970s, 40 percent of the government's tourism budget went toward importation of materials and expertise unavailable in Tanzania (Honey, 1999). In the case of Fiji, Britton (1996) found 53 percent of hotel food purchases, 68 percent of standard hotel construction and 95 percent of tourist shop wares were imported.

On the African continent, the West's insistence on neo-liberal trade policies, such as widespread structural readjustment programs, has been blamed for this problem of leakage (Nyang'oro & Shaw, 1998). In Africa, open borders for trade and tourism has stimulated the penetration of multinational corporations who easily out-compete local efforts to participate in the tourism industry. For example, in Africa, 72 percent of hotel investment is linked to multinational corporations. By comparison, only 2 percent of hotel investment in Western Europe is linked to multinational corporations (Honey, 1999). Due to realities such as this, it has been conservatively estimated that as much as 55 percent of the money tourists spend in Africa leaks out of the continent (Honey, 1999). To the contrary, Konadu-Agyemang (2001) credits Ghana's structural readjustment programs with sparking rural development through tourism. Direct foreign investment in Ghana has increased with structural readjustment and has brought improvements in transportation, communications and lodging. This is the infrastructure

tourism needs to prosper. As a result, wealth and opportunity are being redistributed to formerly remote regions thanks to tourism.

Yet in Africa, the controversy over structural readjustment and ensuing investment by multinational corporations continues. Proponents of grassroots economic development note that the relationship between African nations and multinational corporations begins at the top of the development hierarchy. Organizations like the World Bank and the World Tourism Organization actively promote multimillion-dollar development schemes on a scale to which few Africans can contribute. The World Bank's methods in Africa are to first develop high end tourism enclaves with the underlying assumption that equitable development will follow (Burns, 1999). An economic analysis by Loon and Polakow (2001) found that in South Africa, high end enclaves are not financially sustainable without the support of low interest loans or other incentives external to the market. Burns argues that market driven standards for success like net profit are not used in evaluating such projects. Instead, the success of these huge development projects is often measured by the gross value of the receipts taken. It is assumed that economic multiplier effects will spread the gross receipts throughout the population and create development. However, this is a naïve notion considering the phenomenon of capital leakage that is associated with tourism investment in Africa (Brown, 1998; Honey, 1999). Thus, society wide benefits are merely a hoped for byproduct of large-scale investments focused on advancing the First World's tourism industry.

This phenomenon of tourism revenues leaking from developing regions of the world like Africa and accumulating in the West bespeaks of dependency. Dependency is

a political theory of underdevelopment popularized by Andre Gunder Frank (1967) in *Capitalism and Underdevelopment*. Frank described the global economic system as having a developed "metropolitan center" and an underdeveloped "periphery." Raw materials are exported from the periphery to the center where they become manufactured goods and in turn are exported back to the periphery. Dependency theory states that trade of this nature adversely affects the periphery. The periphery is dependent on the center to purchase its raw materials and to supply manufactured goods. Economic history shows the value of raw materials from the periphery has steadily fallen in relation to the value of manufactured goods from the center. This results in the steady flow of capital from the periphery to the center, also known as leakage. According to dependency theory, this capital leakage creates economic growth in the center and thwarts it in the periphery.

Dependency theory has been used to describe the relationship between the Western, tourism generating center and destinations in the developing world. Britton (1996) has been the leading proponent of this view although many others have recognized its descriptive power (Broham, 1996; Brown, 1998; Crick, 1996; Khan, 1997). To summarize briefly, tourist destinations in the developing world are located in Frank's periphery. They are dependent on markets, capital and infrastructure located in the center, or in the tourist generating West. Airlines, hotel chains, and travel agents are logically based in the center because the principal tourist markets exist there. Being the largest tourism investors, airlines, hotels and travel agents undertake the most advertising and are the most influential in directing tourism movements around the globe. The type of tourist they move are reminiscent of Cohen's (1972) independent and organized mass tourists – exactly those tourists requiring the most Western amenities. Typically, these

amenities can not be financed or maintained without foreign assistance (Britton, 1996).

Hence, tourists leave the center, travel to the periphery and consume cheap resources (like raw materials and labor) from within resorts financed by the center. Therefore, the bulk of the money tourists spend in the periphery's resorts leaks back to the center.

Several authors have commented that dependency can be avoided by developing a small scale tourism industry free of the mega resorts and luxury enclaves indicative of dependency (Broham, 1996; Brown, 1998; Honey, 1999; Khan, 1997). Such tourism development relies on small scale local investment, often in the form of co-operatives. Loon and Polakow (2001) found that small scale investment in South Africa's tourism is actually the most financially viable. Small scale, community based tourism investment has been used with some success in other parts of Africa. In Buhoma, Uganda a community cooperative competes successfully with Abercrombie and Kent, a UK based tour operator, in supplying visitors to a nearby national park with food and lodging (Lepp, 2002b). In Zimbabwe, the now famous CAMPFIRE program that devolves the management of land to the community level, has had success experimenting with small scale, community operated tourism (Muzvidziwa, 1999). Ashley's (1998) research of tourism in Namibia showed that partnerships between external investors and community co-operatives have proven profitable for all parties involved and keep a larger portion of tourism revenue in local hands. Studies such as these indicate that well organized African communities can compete in the competitive tourism industry.

Obviously, small scale investment cannot produce the level of luxury that mass tourists demand. Therefore, such tourism development should target tourists akin to Cohen's (1972) drifter and explorer. Such tourists adapt well to, or even search for, local

food, culture and accommodation. The money they spend typically remains in local hands. Research by Hampton (1998) and Scheyvens (2002) validates this point. Both researchers found that backpackers, typically explorers or drifters by nature, make significant contributions to local economies without triggering significant leakage. The money that backpackers spend goes directly to local people who themselves are supported by a network of local producers ranging from farmers to laborers to artisans. Therefore, small scale, local investment in tourism has the potential to take control away from the center and leave a higher percentage of capital in the periphery.

Socio-Cultural Impacts

While small scale tourism development may arrest economic dependency, it may be vulnerable to something more menacing identified by Erisman (1983) as cultural dependency. Erisman developed the theory of cultural dependency to explain the adoption of Western norms and values among residents at tourist destinations in the West Indies. Erisman's work is based on Frank's (1967) original dependency theory but adds a cultural twist. The logic is simple. Tourism between the center and the periphery creates a subservient periphery. Erisman argues subservience has a cultural dimension. It manifests itself when residents in the periphery perceive their own culture as inferior to that of the center. In such a case, it is the tourists' norms and values which define society.

Discussion of tourism's social and cultural impacts on host communities was legitimized in America with the publication of *Hosts and Guests* in 1977 (Smith, 1989a). Running throughout the book is the theme that tourism has consequences for the host society, sometimes good and sometimes bad. Reviewing just a few case studies from the book will make this point. Smith's (1989c) study of Eskimo tourism in Alaska found that

by the time tourists had discovered Northern Alaska, Eskimo culture had all but vanished. US federal works programs had funded the construction of hospitals, schools and other infrastructure creating a cash economy which valued modernity and ridiculed the past. The introduction of tourism, however, placed a new value on Eskimo culture and provided a niche for “marginalized men” who were outside the cash economy. These marginalized men sold Eskimo culture to tourists and in effect revitalized it. Similarly, McKean (1989) suggests that tourism in Bali is conserving traditional culture while simultaneously contributing to its inevitable change. By commoditizing folk dances and crafts, tourism has provided an incentive for their conservation and appreciation. Meanwhile, Bali culture is becoming increasing modern, partly as a result of new ideas and technologies introduced by tourism.

Relating a completely different experience, Urbanowicz (1989) reported tourism’s effect on the small island state of Tonga. Tonga receives thousands of tourists at a time from cruise ships. Tourists briefly tour the island and then return to the ship. When disembarking for just a short visit, tourists expect to see Tongan culture prominently on display as if the island were an anthropical zoo. As a result, Tongans present an easily manageable but fake culture for the tourists, leaving their real culture off display. While tourism’s commoditization of culture in Tonga resulted in a fake or watered down version being sold, in the Basque country of Spain it defiled a centuries old festival and alienated residents from participating in it (Greenwood, 1989). In Fuentearabia, Spain, the Alarde festival commemorates the union of the town to resist French invasion in the year 1638. In 1969, the municipal government declared the ceremony open to tourists. Slowly, local participation dropped as tourism grew. It became an obligation to the

tourists and the spirit and meaning of the ceremony was lost. In summary, Nunez (1989) notes a particular irony evident in *Hosts and Guests*. The irony is that for many developing countries perpetuating their cultural identity in an increasingly homogenized world often requires the assistance of tourists – a powerful source of cultural change.

Since *Hosts and Guests*, much has been written about tourism's social and cultural impacts. Brunt and Courtney (1999) offered an excellent review of this literature. They found the literature identified the key social impacts of tourism development to be: the concentration of power among elites; the loss of local decision making power; erosion of gender segregation and increased opportunities for women; and a shift in demographics favoring young transients looking for work; dependency; and over-crowding. They found the literature identified the key social impacts of tourist-host interaction to be: changes in perceived safety and security; a worsening attitude towards tourists; the imitation of perceived tourist lifestyles; introduction of new languages; erosion of local language; conflict; preservation of historic sites; avoidance of tourist areas, resentment due to economic inequality; and resentment over inflated prices. Lastly, they found the literature identified the key cultural impacts of tourism to be: commoditization of culture; revitalization of culture; acculturation; destruction of culture; and temporary change in host behavior. These impacts are quite varied and reported from studies all over the world. Nevertheless, they found evidence of most of them in their study of a sea-side resort town in the UK. This opens the way for some broader generalizations about tourism's social and cultural impacts.

Accordingly, many of the impacts identified by Brunt and Courtney (1999) have been noted in Africa. Mansberger (1995) revealed that tourism in Kenya has encouraged

undesirable behavior among residents such as begging and prostitution. Importantly, he notes this behavior is reduced in communities with strong native institutions. Ebron's (1997) research in The Gambia found tourism attracted an abundance of young local men who challenged elder authority and traditional values by selling themselves to female tourists. Aziz (1995) found that many of tourism's excesses offended the religious sensibilities of conservative African Muslims. Likewise, Sindiga (1996) observed Muslims along the Kenyan coast resented the western values inherent in tourism such as scantily clad women, alcohol consumption and public displays of affection. As a result, most chose not to get involved in the industry. Gossling's (2002) research reveals that in Zanzibar, local emulation of tourists' consumptive lifestyle has lead to the wasteful use of natural resources and the disintegration of kinship ties. Jamison's (1999) research in Kenya found tourism development stimulated ethnic conflict as people vied for particular identities favored by tourism. Finally, Teye, Sonmez and Sirakaya (2002) found that packaged tours in Ghana seldom met local expectations, were of foreign origin, excluded important local decision makers and sometimes led to undesirable social behavior.

A socio-cultural impact of tourism not identified by Brunt and Courtney (1999) but which has a long history in Africa is the "othering" of African people. That is to say, tourism's construction of African people as a spectacle different and all together removed from modern society. For example, Akama (1996; 1999), Mansberger (1995) and Lepp (2002a) all suggest that tourism in Africa has contributed to the construction of Africa as a wild and primitive land, epitomized as the "dark continent." Eastman (1995) noted tourism in Kenya creates the image abroad that the entire country is populated by Swahili speaking Masai herdsman. In reality, Masai are just one ethnic group of many in Kenya

and Swahili is not their native language. Mary Louise Pratt (1992) in her book, *Imperial Eyes*, explores the origins of Africa's construction as wild and primitive through an analysis of early European travel writings. In her analysis, Pratt coined the term "contact zone." In a limited sense, the "contact zone" refers to the space in which the encounter between western travelers and native people occurs. In a broader sense, it encompasses the space of all interactions between people historically, culturally, and geographically separated. It is in the "contact zone" that the western traveler and the natives of distant lands first interacted, often with an imbalance in power relations. As a result of this power imbalance, the "contact zone" allowed the traveler to construct and classify the image of the native or the "other." As the literature shows, this construction and classification of Africans as something "other" continues to this day (Keim, 2002; Lutz & Collins, 1993).

Such social and cultural impacts are likely to cause reaction among the residents of a destination. Reaction can be considered an adjustment to tourism's impacts. Dogan (1989) identified five forms of adjustment: resistance, retreatism, boundary maintenance, revitalization and adoption. Resistance reflects extreme dissatisfaction with tourism and residents act against it. Some acts of terrorism committed against tourists in Egypt have been committed for this reason (Aziz, 1995). Retreatism occurs when changes wrought by tourism are not approved by residents and they retreat in on themselves. They engage in their own traditions and reinforce pre-tourism values. This is occurring along the Swahili coast of Kenya where a devout Muslim population has retreated from tourism (Sindiga, 1996). Retreatism and resistance occur when only negative impacts are perceived.

When positive and negative impacts are perceived, residents may try to minimize negative impacts with boundary maintenance. As such, a boundary is created between the tourist culture and the local culture. Any bits of local culture presented to tourists are contrived for the tourism side of the boundary, thus minimizing impact on true local culture. An example of this can be found among the Samburu of Kenya. Kasfir (1999) suggests the Samburu's spear has come to symbolize an original manhood no longer found in the "civilized" West. Despite the adoration of tourists, the Samburu continue to place the original meaning and cultural significance on their spears. But in recognizing the market for their spears among tourists, the Samburu produced a smaller version to sell. This had the effect of reducing the meaning of the tourist's spear without compromising the meaning of the Samburu's spear. It has also supplemented the Samburu's income. Revitalization occurs when traditional local culture itself becomes the main attraction, as in McKean's above (1989) description of tourism in Bali. Dogan suggests this strengthens traditional culture and is associated with an increasing acceptance of tourism. Finally, adoption occurs when some members of the local population adopt the culture of the tourists, typically defined as western culture. While Erisman (1983) might see this as cultural dependency and an evil, Dogan reports examples from Cyprus showing it is possible to adopt western lifestyles without losing cultural identity.

An essential part of Dogan's (1989) analysis is that all of these forms of adjustment can eventually occur simultaneously in a single community. As tourism develops in a community, various responses emerge, some in conjunction with tourism and some in opposition. Thus, in the case of small, isolated or rural communities with no prior

tourism experience, Dogan predicts the initial response to tourism's impact will be homogenous. However, as time passes and residents develop their own understandings of tourism, responses will increasingly vary. Thus, continued tourism development can create heterogeneity in small, rural communities. This is in contrast to models of tourism development that assume a unified reaction like Doxey's (1977) and Butler's (1980).

Several studies indicate that tourism's negative impacts are tolerated in the presence of economic benefits. King, Pizam and Milman (1992) found residents of Nadi, Fiji generally support tourism and favor its expansion despite identifying several negative impacts in their community. These results were duplicated by Haralambopoulos and Pizam (1994) on the Greek island of Samos. In both cases, the communities under investigation depended on tourism to keep their economies afloat. Lindberg and Johnson (1997) developed a model to test the relative strength of factors which affect resident attitudes about tourism. Their model found that residents' interest in economic gain was a much stronger predictor of attitude than residents' perception of community disruption. That is to say, residents with a high interest in economic gain are more likely to favor tourism, despite any perceived community disruption, than residents with little interest in economic gain. Research by Smith and Krannich (1998) further supports these conclusions. They found communities desirous of economic development had better attitudes about tourism than communities already satiated economically. Based on their findings, Smith and Krannich developed a typology identifying host communities as either tourism saturated, tourism realized or tourism hungry. Thus, tourism hungry communities better maintain positive attitudes in the presence of negative impact as long as economic benefits are forthcoming.

Socio-Environmental Impacts

Much of tourism's impact in the developing world has resulted from conflict over natural resources. The origins of this conflict date to the colonial period. As described by MacKenzie (1998), during most of India's and Africa's colonial period, safari hunting by privileged whites was pursued vigorously and with no regards for sustainability. These early safaris, coupled with the advance of colonial settlers, took a tremendous toll on wildlife. For example, President Roosevelt alone shot over 3000 specimens of wildlife in Kenya in 1909 (Roosevelt, 1910). Ironically, colonial authorities blamed indigenous people for the decline in wildlife. Consequently, indigenous people were forced out of ecologically rich land in order to create game parks for the use of white hunters. These game parks eventually became the national parks and wildlife reserves of today (MacKenzie, 1998).

In many places across the developing world, the wounds inflicted during the creation of the early game parks still fester today and the conflict continues. The modern conflict is characterized by two diverging value systems. The dominant value system is epitomized by Western style conservation (Del Gizzo, 1998; Lepp, 2002a). In the West, it is a common belief that protecting the world's remaining natural areas is a moral duty (Alcorn, 1993; Neumann, 1998). On the contrary, across the developing world it is a common belief that everyone has a moral right to subsistence. In other words, everyone should have access to the basic requirements of a healthy life – nutritious food, drinking water, adequate shelter, etcetera. Yet, as resources are removed from local use by parks, and crops are destroyed by protected wild animals, the moral right to subsistence is violated (Guha, 1997; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Neumann, 1998). The result is that

people living near national parks in the developing world still have very negative views about them.

In support of this, research by De Boer and Baquete (1998) found that crop raiding by wild animals was the only variable influencing attitudes about Maputo Elephant Reserve in Mozambique. Predictably, crop raiding was significant and attitudes were poor. Interestingly, an electric fence proposed by the reserve as a solution was protested by locals who interpreted it as a barrier to keep people out rather than to keep animals in the reserve. Rao et al (2002) identified crop raiding and livestock predation as a major cause of conflict surrounding Nanda Devi Biosphere Reserve in India. The projected economic consequences for the villages studied were severe, amounting to approximately 45,000 US dollars per year. Typically in the developing world, parks do not have such money available with which to compensate residents. In lieu of money, compensation is occasionally offered in terms of limited access to the park's resources. For example, in a Nepalese park, residents are permitted to harvest seasonal grasses as compensation for crop damage. However, the value of the grasses is estimated to be only 10 percent of the damage incurred by crop raiding wildlife (Studsrod & Wegge, 1995). Overall, the lack of equitable compensation aggravates the conflict between parks and people and creates the perception that park authorities are callous to local needs.

Conflict also stems from disregard for local connections to the land. Ite (1996) found that the creation of Nigeria's Cross River National Park severed residents' historic ties with the land. This fostered negative attitudes among locals despite a high level of local awareness regarding natural resource conservation issues. Similar results have been found for parks in Ecuador (Fiallo & Jacobson, 1995), China (Jim & Xu, 2002), and

Cameroon (Weladji et al 2003). Neumann (1998) found the creation of Mount Meru National Park in Tanzania separated people from both economically and culturally significant resources. In response, local people used social networks inaccessible to park staff to access resources and befuddle consequent investigations by park authorities.

Just as social networks can aid local resistance to park authority, they have the potential to be powerful agents of natural resource conservation. Unfortunately, empowering local people to participate in resource management can be threatening to weaker states typical of the developing world (Neumann, 1997). Neumann suggests that protected areas like national parks actually serve as an extension of state authority into formerly inaccessible areas. This is typified by the military approach traditionally taken to park management in developing countries. This creates extreme asymmetry in power relations between people and parks. The obvious consequence is the perception that park authorities not only control the wildlife but local people as well (Neumann 1997, 1998). Research shows severely asymmetrical power relations lead to distrust of park authorities and their objectives (Gillingham & Lee, 1999; Ite, 1996; Picard, 2003). In summary, the creation of national parks for conservation and tourism has jeopardized local livelihoods through crop raiding and livestock predation, by separating local people from valuable resources, and by extending state authority at the expense of local empowerment.

To remedy such negative impacts, progressive park management strategies are being promoted which encourage greater local participation. It is now becoming widely accepted that park management include local people rather than exclude them (Brandon & Wells, 1992; Gurung, 1992; Jeanrenaud, 1999). Inclusion refers to decision making and receipt of benefits. Benefits derive mainly from resource utilization, tourism revenue

and donor support. One of the first examples of this philosophy is Nepal's Annapurna Conservation Area. Annapurna was founded in 1986 on the premise that including local people in resource management would lead to resource conservation and economic development (Nepal, 2002). Since its creation, local people living in the conservation area have taken responsibility for the management of community forests and pastures. In addition, they have received training in tourism and hospitality management. Before the current political crisis in Nepal, Annapurna received over 50,000 tourists per year and locals learned to reap the benefits of tourism. With the help of tourism revenue, and admittedly donor funding, residents of Annapurna have directed the construction of schools, hospitals, sanitation and hydroelectric projects. Thus, the inclusion of local people has lead to widespread appreciation of Annapurna and its conservation objectives (Mehta & Heinen, 2001).

Despite the successes of protected areas like Annapurna, including local people in park management still has its hurdles. A major obstacle is an attitude among some park managers that local people are not qualified to participate in resource management decisions. The value managers place upon their technical training discounts local knowledge (Gillingham & Lee, 1999; Jim & Xu, 2002; Weladji et al., 2003).

Community based conservation is an idea often purveyed by parks to overcome this perceived deficit in local understanding. Community based conservation is simply teaching environmental ethics and sustainable conservation practices at the community level (Hulme & Murphee, 2001). It is intended to promote a bottoms-up approach to conservation as opposed to a top-down approach originating within a park. The irony is that most community conservation programs are initiated by government agencies with

Western donor support (Honey, 1999). This makes the idea essentially a centrally directed top-down approach. In Uganda, the success of community based conservation has recently been tested. Focusing on communities neighboring national parks, Mugisha (2002) compared seven communities that had participated in community based conservation programs with nine communities that had not. Despite over ten years of community based conservation, his results showed no difference in the communities' attitudes towards the national parks. Attitudes towards parks and conservation were negative and indicated communities were interested in utilitarian uses of natural resources as opposed to their exclusive conservation. Other studies from Africa indicate utilitarian values for natural resources are regarded more highly than the western conservation values promoted by parks (Bauer, 2003; Gillingham & Lee, 1999; Hill, 1998; Songorwa, 1999). This is more proof of the ideological divide separating western conservationists and local people (Neumann, 1998).

Ecotourism is one possibility for bridging this ideological divide. Properly defined, ecotourism is low-impact travel to protected natural areas that educates the traveler and local people, funds conservation efforts, economically benefits and empowers local people and fosters respect for cultural differences (Honey, 1999). In places like Uganda where community based conservation has failed to improve local attitudes about national parks, ecotourism may succeed by generating immediate utilitarian value from the protected resources. In fact, in Uganda's Bwindi Impenetrable Forest National Park, local involvement in the park's ecotourism is beginning to shift attitudes about the park from negative to positive (Lepp, 2002b). Similar studies from around the world confirm

ecotourism's ability to involve local people and improve their attitudes about protected areas (Mehta & Heinen, 2001; Picard, 2003; Sekhar, 2003; Walpole & Goodwin, 2001).

Whether this translates into local conservation practices that are more in line with the park's objectives is another question. Research by Stem et al., (2003) has found that Costa Rican communities participating in ecotourism have largely abandoned environmentally destructive practices. However, participation in ecotourism has not necessarily led to a conservation ethic. Respondents indicated that when fully employed by ecotourism they no longer had time to hunt or harvest timber. This partly explains the change in behavior. Surprisingly, respondents employed in ecotourism were more likely than those not employed to indicate that hunting and timber harvesting are justified when alternative means of income generation are not available. Based on this finding, the authors caution that creating economic dependence on natural resources may be at the expense of non-use conservation values.

In a separate study from Ecuador, Wunder (1999) found that villages neighboring a national wildlife reserve and involved in community based ecotourism had increased environmental awareness compared to villages not involved in community based ecotourism. This resulted in greater protection of their local environment. While hunting and logging were not abandoned, these activities shifted to distant locations and efforts were made to protect endangered species. Wunder concluded that participation in ecotourism influences natural resource use in conjunction with a variety of other factors including population pressures, community organization, and historical and cultural influences.

In summary, tourism to protected natural areas in the developing world has changed the way in which local people interact with their environment. Historically, the change was drastic and eliminated local interaction with the protected resource entirely (MacKenzie, 1998). This created a conflict between local people and natural resource managers still evident today (Guha, 1997; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Neumann, 1998). New management strategies are encouraging local involvement with natural resource management (Brandon & Wells, 1992; Gurung, 1992; Jeanrenaud, 1999). There is growing evidence that including local people in natural resource management creates favorable local attitudes towards protected areas (Mehta and Heinen, 2001; Nepal, 2002). However, local opinion is often dependent on the immediate receipt of utilitarian benefits (Bauer, 2003; Gillingham & Lee, 1999; Hill, 1998; Songorwa, 1999). Environmental education alone may not succeed (Mugisha, 2002). Tourism, largely in the form of ecotourism, has found success in delivering the benefits of natural resource conservation to local people (Honey, 1999; Lepp, 2002b). This has reduced environmentally destructive behavior in communities engaged in ecotourism (Stem et al., 2003; Wunder, 1999). However, ecotourism's ability to create a conservation ethic among local people that is in line with the park's conservation ethic is not so clear. Such changes take time and most likely are dependent on releasing local people from their daily dependence on natural resources to meet their basic needs.

Self Reliance and Community Development

Satisfying basic needs frees the energy necessary to focus on greater tasks. On a psychological level, Maslow (1943) described this process with his famous hierarchy of needs. According to the hierarchy, lower level needs must be met before higher order needs can be addressed. Specifically, physiological and safety needs must be met first,

followed by the need to belong. Once belonging is met the need for self esteem can be addressed. Finally, after all of these needs are met, the need for self actualization can be addressed. Self actualization is the need to reach one's full potential. It is about following one's intrinsic motivations towards a better future. On a social level, such as a community, a related process can occur commonly referred to as development. Isbister (1998) defines community development as a series of steps leading from the fulfillment of basic needs (such as decent shelter and clothing, sufficient and nutritious food, medical care and education) to self reliance. Conceptualizing community development as the process towards self-reliance is essential if the process is to be made sustainable, or have the capacity for continuance (Sharpley, 2000). This is in contrast to conceptualizing community development strictly in terms of economic growth which is dependent on many factors external to a community (Mowforth & Munt, 1998).

Another word commonly used for self-reliance is empowerment. Sofield (2003) defines empowerment as the process by which individuals or communities gain mastery over their lives. Both Scheyvens (1999) and Sofield (2003) argue that for tourism to create sustainable development communities must be empowered. Sofield describes empowerment in the context of tourism development as:

a consultative process often characterized by the input of outside expertise; the opportunity to learn and choose; the ability to make decisions; the capacity to implement/apply those decisions; acceptance of responsibility for those decisions and actions and their consequences; and outcomes directly benefiting the community and its members, not diverted or channeled into other communities and/or their members. (p. 112)

The crux of Sofield's description is the ability to make decisions and the capacity to implement them. Once a community is empowered in this way it will be able to adapt to tourism development and maintain a sustainable relationship with tourism. Sofield

provides case studies from Mana Island, Fiji showing empowerment leads to adaptation and ultimately avoidance of unsustainable tourism development trajectories such as that described by Doxey (1976).

Thus, without empowerment or self reliance at the community level, sustainable development cannot be achieved from tourism. How then is a functional empowerment achieved? Sofield (2003) maintains that traditional forms of community empowerment, such as covert resistance or revolt against tourism, are not functional in the context of sustainable development. Therefore, empowerment necessitates traditional communities re-orient themselves with the wider society. In this process, traditional means of empowerment must be transformed into legal empowerment recognized by the state. However, the state's role goes beyond recognition, the state must support the empowered community for it to succeed. In a similar vein, Scheyvens (1999) argued that signs of empowerment can be identified at four levels in the community: economic, social, psychological and political. Signs of economic empowerment are lasting economic gains within a community such as houses made of more permanent materials and the equitable distribution of income; social signs are greater community cohesion and the ability to work together towards common goals; psychological signs are greater self esteem as the community gains recognition and increasing self confidence; political signs are the representation of community interests among decision making bodies and responsive channels through which concerns can be raised.

Combining the insights of Isbister (1998), Sofield (2003) and Scheyvens (1999) with Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs, it may be possible to conceptualize a hierarchy of needs for community development. At the base of the hierarchy are basic needs such

as described by Isbister. These would be decent shelter and clothing, sufficient and nutritious food, medical care and education. Scheyvens also described meeting such needs as early signs of economic empowerment. Upon meeting these needs, a community would address Maslow's belonging needs. Belonging relates to Scheyvens identification of social cohesion as an important element of empowerment. Likewise, Sofield identified a community's need to orient itself with broader society. After belonging needs, a community would address Maslow's esteem needs. These are the same as the psychological elements (esteem, recognition, confidence) that Scheyvens deemed necessary for empowerment. Likewise, Sofield identified a community's need for recognition by the state as an essential step towards empowerment. Upon satisfying these needs, a community addresses the need for self actualization as described by Maslow. Self actualization at the community level would entail collective decision making and implementation with the goal of maximizing a community's full potential. Sofield described this as establishing mastery over their lives or empowerment.

A fundamental tenet of empowerment is that it must counter dependency (Sofield, 2003). Dependency can be thought of in the classic economic and political sense (Frank, 1967) or in the cultural sense (Erisman, 1983). In other words, an empowered community is self-reliant. Rotter (1966) identified a psychological characteristic closely related to self reliance known as locus of control. Rotter developed a scale to measure locus of control that showed people have either an internal locus of control or an external locus of control. An internal locus of control means a person largely believes what happens to them is a result of their own actions. Conversely, people with an external locus of control believe what happens to them is largely independent of their own actions.

Collins (1974) found four unique subscales within Rotter's original scale. These show an individual may have an external locus of control for any of four reasons: a belief the world is difficult, the world is unjust, the world is governed by luck or the world is governed by politically unresponsive powerful others.

Several studies have shown that it is not only individuals who vary by locus of control but also cultures and communities. Zoe (1981) found Whites, Africans and Indians in South Africa had significant differences in locus of control with Whites showing the most internality. This makes perfect sense considering the conditions of apartheid South Africa. Smith et al. (1995) tested the locus of control scale in 43 countries and found some significant inter-country differences. They suggest national culture may influence locus of control. Khanna and Khanna (1979) compared Indians in India with Indians living in America and found Indians in America had greater internality. The authors suggested developing cultures may have greater externality than developed cultures. Some explanation for these differences is offered by Crandall and Lehman (1977) who found that stressful life events, such as the insecurity often associated with the developing world, leads to a greater perceived external locus of control.

Montero and Sloan (1988) related Rotter's (1966) scale back to economic and cultural dependency and community development. They suggest that dependent communities may be characterized by an external locus of control. They describe dependency as something woven into the cultural fabric of a community. In such a culture, "events are perceived as a result of luck, chance, fate or the actions of powerful others" (p. 601). Thus, externality may encourage dependency and clearly discourages

self-reliance and empowerment. It follows from this discussion that external individuals would have difficulty advancing through Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs towards self-actualization. Likewise, external communities would have difficulty advancing through the above outlined hierarchy of needs for community development. Research by Barling and Fincham (1979) confirms this. They found that Maslow's self actualization is positively related to Rotter's internal locus of control. Likewise, what the authors called "fatalism" or a belief in no control over personal destiny was negatively related to self actualization. Instead, externality was related to a focus on basic needs and deriving satisfaction from extrinsic sources. To the contrary, satisfaction for internals was derived from intrinsic sources. Thus, it can be concluded that an external locus of control is related to dependency and thwarts self reliance. Development, or the movement towards self reliance, depends in part on an internal locus of control.

Local Meanings for Tourism

As Horn and Simmons (2002) noted, communities have varied meanings for tourism. Meaning can reflect empowerment. As Sofield (2003) explained, empowered communities adapt to tourism. Empowered communities can also alter tourism to meet their unique needs, or reflect their unique visions. In this way, tourism's meaning can vary according to the community defining it. Understanding local meaning can provide unique insights into the dynamic relationship between a community and tourism including economic and social impacts (Horn & Simmons, 2002). Yet, the meaning that host communities in the developing world might assign to tourism is often superceded by western understandings of tourism (Hepburn, 2002; Simpson, 1993). Ultimately, ignoring variations in tourism's meaning is a factor limiting a greater understanding of tourism as a global phenomenon.

The search for meaning in tourism has provided some of the most influential ideas in the discipline. Boorstin's *The Image*, MacCannell's *The Tourist* and Urry's *The Tourist Gaze* are the most notable examples. Each of these works addresses the meaning of tourism from the perspective of the Western tourist, but what about the meaning of tourism for the non-Western host? Tourism is of course a global industry, and one in which the flow of tourists is increasingly moving from technologically advanced Western nations to the less technologically developed nations of the so called Third World. This is part of the larger trend of globalization (Friedman, 1999; Lepp, 2002a). Answering this question, forces the recognition of basic differences between the Western tourist and the Third World host. To name just one, the Third World host is very limited in their ability to move around the world, and therefore is largely confined to their role as host. The role of visitor is not within their means. For this reason, and many others, tourism may have very different meanings for non-Western people around the world. As Hepburn (2002) recently explained:

Understanding tourism in Nepal (and by implication other foreign destinations) requires, on the one hand, acknowledging that when Western researchers recognize a constellation of activities, people, and structures, and call it "tourism," they are recognizing a form of life particular to their own historical-cultural context. On the other hand, researchers must also recognize that these activities, people, and structures called "tourism" are understood by Nepalese (or locals elsewhere) by quite different but equally compelling local meanings. (p. 612)

Cheung (1999) illustrates the variety of meanings tourism can assume at a single site. Cheung found that four parties are contesting the meaning of tourism at the Ping Shan Heritage Trail, which connects several ancient structures of cultural significance in China. Firstly, the Chinese government has its own agenda for conserving "traditional" Chinese heritage; secondly, the tourism industry seeks to attract international tourists by

constructing the site as a combination of the exotic East and the thoroughly modern; thirdly, are the domestic tourists who stream to the site from nearby Hong Kong in a search for their own culture and identity; and lastly, are the local villagers surrounding the site who see tourism as a threat to the sacred balance of architecture and landscape at Ping Shan. Thus, four distinct parties are interacting at the site and each one attaches a unique meaning to the tourism that occurs there.

Other authors have shown that local people, through traditional cultural practices, negotiate tourism's meanings. Kasfir (1999), as previously noted, recorded how the Samburu of Kenya produce a shorter spear than what they themselves would use and sell this item to tourists. The shorter tourist spear symbolizes the Samburu's superiority over their visitors. Simpson (1993), studying mask makers in Sri Lanka, noted how tourism stimulated the creation of new meaning for traditional practices. By selling masks to tourists, a mask maker in Sri Lanka was able to elevate his social status from craftsman to entrepreneur. In Guatemala, weavers have incorporated traditional fabrics and colors with new styles of design to attract tourists to their products. In a significant number of interviews about the subject, the weavers continually referred to these new designs as "90s tradition" (Moreno & Littrell, 2001). This shows how tourism's meaning can be intertwined with tradition to produce something new. Although these studies deal more with tourism's impact on traditional cultural expressions, they suggest that unique meanings can be found with local interpretation.

Hepburn (2002), working under this assumption, sought to understand the meaning of tourists within the unique social and cultural context of rural Nepal. She found that Nepalese people use their own traditional notion of "caste" in order to understand

tourists. To her surprise, all whites in Nepal were locally considered tourists in that they all share some similar intrinsic essence. This was true even of the white doctor who had been practicing medicine in Nepal for years. Some whites found this to be very disconcerting, especially those who did not want to be associated with tourists, such as Peace Corps Volunteers and missionaries. By Nepalese logic, people do not become tourists by traveling but travel because they are tourists. Such meaning would be difficult to understand outside of the Nepalese caste system and highlights the importance of understanding local culture in order to further our own understanding of tourism as it occurs around the globe.

In the best example of this, Oakes (1999) details how tourism development in a remote Chinese village is inseparable from local understanding. In Oakes' study, tourism "is subsumed within a cultural framework that claims it as an indigenous, rather than external, product" (p. 123). In the village studied, local people discussed tourism using the metaphor of food, something with high cultural significance in rural China. Contrary to western notions of tourism consuming a site, tourism was discussed by these villagers as food prepared by their ancestors for village consumption, not tourist consumption. In other words, tourism development began when the ancestors' constructed the sites tourists now wish to see. Tourism is like eating the food prepared by village ancestors. Thus, tourism development is perceived as a localized historical phenomenon. It is not the result of external forces.

Efforts by tourism researchers to understand local meaning are scarce. One reason for this is that such studies tend to utilize qualitative methods and require long periods of field work. In Uganda, no such study has been done. However, Hill (1998) conducted an

illuminating study of the meaning of conservation around Budongo Forest Reserve, Uganda. As one might expect, the local meaning of conservation there is quite different from Western notions of the ideal. Conservation around Budongo is a way the government can profit from wildlife. The local benefit of conservation is that it should protect people and their crops from dangerous wildlife. Thus, protection is part of the local understanding of conservation but people and their crops deserve as much protection as the wildlife. Accordingly, parks are places where wildlife is conserved by the government and kept separate from people. This relates neatly with an understanding of wildlife common across East Africa. According to Burnet and Kang'ethe (1994), among the Bantu people of East Africa wildlife is considered unnatural and in league with a variety of other unnatural or even supernatural beings. To the contrary, human society is as God intended and therefore natural. Therefore, it is best to separate wildlife from human society and avoid conflict with the unnatural.

As the literature reviewed here shows, tourism can have a variety of impacts. Many of tourism's impacts are beneficial to host communities and many are not. Ultimately, however, that determination rests with local people. The reviewed literature further shows that tourism's local meaning can vary by social and cultural context. Therefore, an analysis of tourism's meaning in societies different than our own has the potential to reveal aspects of tourism previously not considered. Despite this potential to broaden horizons, local meaning for tourism has received little attention in the research. Broadening the frontiers of inquiry to include local meaning is of greater importance now than ever before as there is hardly a corner of the world where tourism does not reach. Nowhere is this more plainly evident than in the small village of Bigodi, Uganda. In the

next chapter, the methods used to elicit tourism's local meaning in Bigodi, Uganda will be explained.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODS

I think these tourism development activities can be fairly evaluated if you broaden the scope a little bit, away from just how many tourists are coming in and how much money they spend in communities, towards analyzing individual lives and what has happened to them and in what way. (Uganda Country Director, United Nations Development Program's Small Grants Program, personal communication, March 12, 2003)

The purpose of this study was to evaluate tourism in Bigodi, a small rural village in western Uganda. The evaluation was conducted in co-operation with the people of Bigodi and utilized their words and thoughts on the subject of community based tourism. To that end, the primary source of data collection was formal qualitative interviews supplemented with informal conversation and participant observation. Data was analyzed within a grounded theory framework using the method of constant comparison. Insights into the data were cross checked regularly with informants from Bigodi to assure accuracy and reliability. These methods were intended to elicit the meaning of tourism as understood by the people of Bigodi. Understanding tourism from the local perspective will serve as an evaluation of tourism in Bigodi. Insights into local meaning will help evaluate tourism's appropriateness for other rural communities in Uganda that are similar to Bigodi, as well as tourism's appropriateness as a tool for conservation and development. The village of Bigodi was chosen for this study because it has maintained a viable, community based tourist attraction known as the Bigodi Wetland Sanctuary since 1992. The following is a discussion of the rationale guiding this research and an accompanying description of the methods utilized to collect and analyze the data.

Rationale

In 1999, Coalter provocatively proclaimed that the field of leisure studies was in a state of crisis. He argued that the limitations of current research methods to further an understanding of the social meaning of leisure was the crux of the problem. Coalter identified reliance on the classical methods of empirical science as the stumbling block along the path to understanding within the United States. By this, he meant the fragmentation, quantification and categorization of data, a process he critiqued as too often refining what is already known rather than creating knowledge along new frontiers. In order to resolve the crisis of meaning, Coalter suggested a shift away from empirical research methods while renewing the focus on the broader cultural context of leisure meaning through qualitative methods. In support of this reasoning, Kelly (1999) recognized that the meaning of leisure cannot be divorced from its cultural context. Coalter's argument suggests that meaning might not be found in objectively procured quantitative data, but rather from the information gathered from the subjective minds of the individuals that comprise a culture of interest. As Samdahl (1999) explains, social reality is subjectively defined based on varying cultural contexts. Thus, it is the cultural context that gives meaning to the social process under investigation.

The social process under investigation in this study is tourism, specifically as it occurs in the small, rural Ugandan community of Bigodi. The study of tourism as a social process, like the study of leisure, also depends upon furthering the understanding of meaning. Qualitative methods can contribute to this quest. Consider the impact that such early studies as Boorstin's *The Image* and MacCannell's *The Tourist* had on the discipline. Reflecting upon this, Cohen (1988) argued that the most lasting and significant contributions to the study of tourism have been made by researchers who have

employed qualitative methods. After experiencing moderate popularity in the late 1970s, the use of qualitative research methods declined throughout the 1980s only to rise again in the 1990s (Riley & Love, 2000). This renewed interest in qualitative methods has coincided with a burgeoning interest in tourism's impacts on host communities and host perceptions of the developments tourism may cause (Walle, 1997). Simpson's (1993) work from the early 1990s typified this approach and stated:

Tourism impacts on indigenous populations at many levels. Some of these can be researched and documented in purely quantitative terms. Others, such as the changes in the conceptualization and meaning of cultures and objects, can only be understood by an awareness of the fine grain of local experience. (p. 164)

It is this “fine grain of local experience” that this study seeks to uncover regarding tourism and its meaning in Bigodi, Uganda. The primary means of discovery was active interviewing, informal conversation and grounded theory methods.

Active interviewing takes advantage of the interviewee’s life experience in regards to an area of interest to the researcher. The method actually empowers the interviewee by recognizing him or her as the authority on the matter (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). As such, the interviewee is an active participant in the construction of meaning. In fact, the process has been likened more to a conversation than an interview (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). This is in contrast to the common perspective of the interviewee as a passive well of information from which answers to questions are drawn. Instead, the interviewer delineates the topic of conversation but at the same time remains flexible in order to entertain emergent ideas (Charmaz, 2002).

This sort of flexibility and awareness is also at the heart of the grounded theory method. Essentially, grounded theory is an inductive method for collecting and analyzing data in order to build theoretical frameworks from the data. Researchers continually and

systematically analyze data throughout the data collection process. In this way, data analysis focuses further data collection. Continued data collection and analysis refines the developing grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The basic strategies of grounded theory are: the simultaneous collection and analysis of data; multi-step data coding, comparative methods, memo writing to conceptualize the analysis; theoretical sampling and the integration of theory and data (Charmaz, 2000). Grounded theory is particularly well suited for eliciting new meaning. In grounded theory analysis, data are not squeezed into preconceived concepts. Instead new concepts are developed from the data. Grounded theorists regularly examine the data for unexpected or reoccurring themes that might provoke new questions or demand clarification in future interviews (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). They then return to the field to pursue these new ideas and incorporate them into the larger analysis. The process is much like the unfolding of a mystery, with the final revelation being the meaning of some social process. In the case of this study, it is the meaning of tourism in Bigodi, Uganda.

Setting

A complete and colorful description of Bigodi can be found at the beginning of the next chapter, but for now some basic background information will be helpful. Bigodi is located in the forested highlands of the Albertine Rift, the western portion of Africa's Rift Valley, which cuts through the eastern Democratic Republic of the Congo, western Uganda, Rwanda and western Tanzania. The forests of the Albertine Rift are known for their tremendous biodiversity and have been popularized by the mountain gorillas and chimpanzees that make them their home. Two hundred and ninety-six square miles of this forest in western Uganda is protected as Kibale National Park (NP). Kibale NP is famous for its great diversity of primates including our closest living relative on the

family tree, the chimpanzee. The community of Bigodi borders the southeast edge of Kibale NP (Figure 3-1). The Albertine Rift is also one of the most densely human populated areas in all of Africa, as the fertile soils and abundant rainfall provide dependable livelihoods for the subsistence farmers who dominate the landscape. With such human pressure on the land, it is no wonder conflict often exists between the parks and people there. Kibale NP is no exception. In a recent survey, the people bordering Kibale NP listed problems with animals from the park and poor relationships with park staff as urgent threats to their livelihood (Mugisha, 2002).

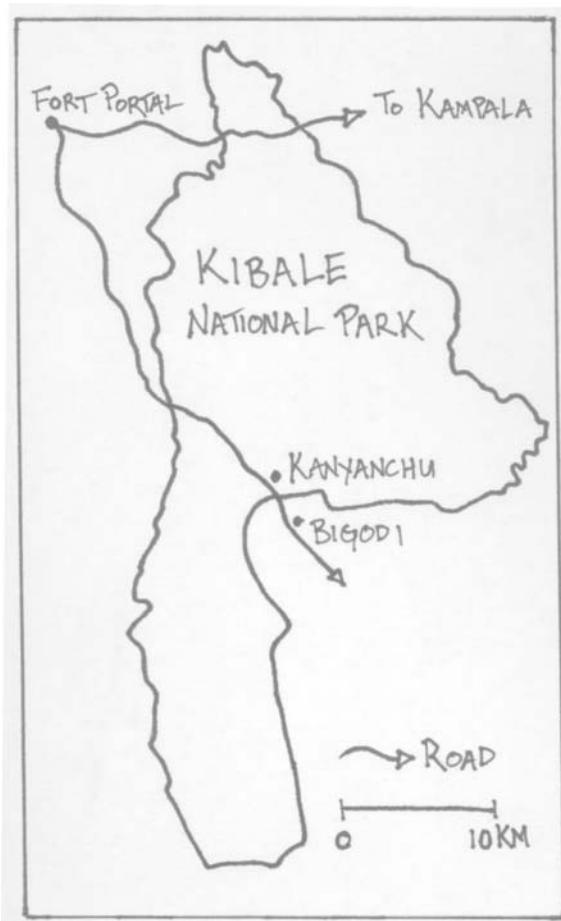


Figure 3-1: Bigodi in relation to Kibale National Park.

What makes Bigodi unique among the communities of the Albertine Rift is that the residents of Bigodi have set aside a small wetland forest to be preserved as a tourist

attraction. The wetland is approximately three square kilometers. It extends from the park boundary through the community of Bigodi. The area used for tourism is approximately half of a square kilometer and is known as the Bigodi Wetland Sanctuary. It is managed by a community-based organization called the Kibale Association for Rural and Environmental Development (KAFRED). KAFRED was founded in 1992. Since that time, the sanctuary has attracted a steady flow of visitors who come to see the birds and primates protected there as well as to explore the community. Visitors are guided through the sanctuary by a well trained member of the local community. “Swamp walks” as they are called are given throughout the day and presently attract around 75 tourists each month.

The sanctuary’s success has benefited from its close proximity to Kibale NP, which is the major destination of tourists in the area. Kibale NP’s tourist site is just a few kilometers from Bigodi. Kibale as a destination, like Bigodi, should be considered off the beaten path. A tourist must travel over 40 kilometers of rough dirt road to reach Kibale’s tourist site, known as Kanyanchu. Kanyanchu offers simple, backpacker type lodging only. In fact, there are no luxury accommodations anywhere within the park. For this reason, overnight visitors are typical of Cohen’s (1972) explorers. A survey of visitors to Kibale NP by Obua (1996) found 96 percent spent less than 20 USD per day on lodging while traveling in Uganda. Most visitors surveyed were college educated adults between the ages of 25 and 44. Only 15 percent were students. Nearly all were visiting Kibale for the first time. The main reason these visitors came to Kibale was to see wildlife, however 50 percent mentioned culture and people as a secondary motive. This suggests a large percentage of visitors to Kibale are interested in visiting areas

outside the park. For such people, Bigodi is becoming a popular option. Visitation trends for Kibale NP and KAFRED are presented in Figure 3-2. It should be noted that in January 2002, Kibale NP opened a second visitor center along the Kampala/Fort Portal main road. This increased park visitation over previous levels. However, overall visitation trends remained similar. Statistics for Bigodi, dating before March 2001, were not available.

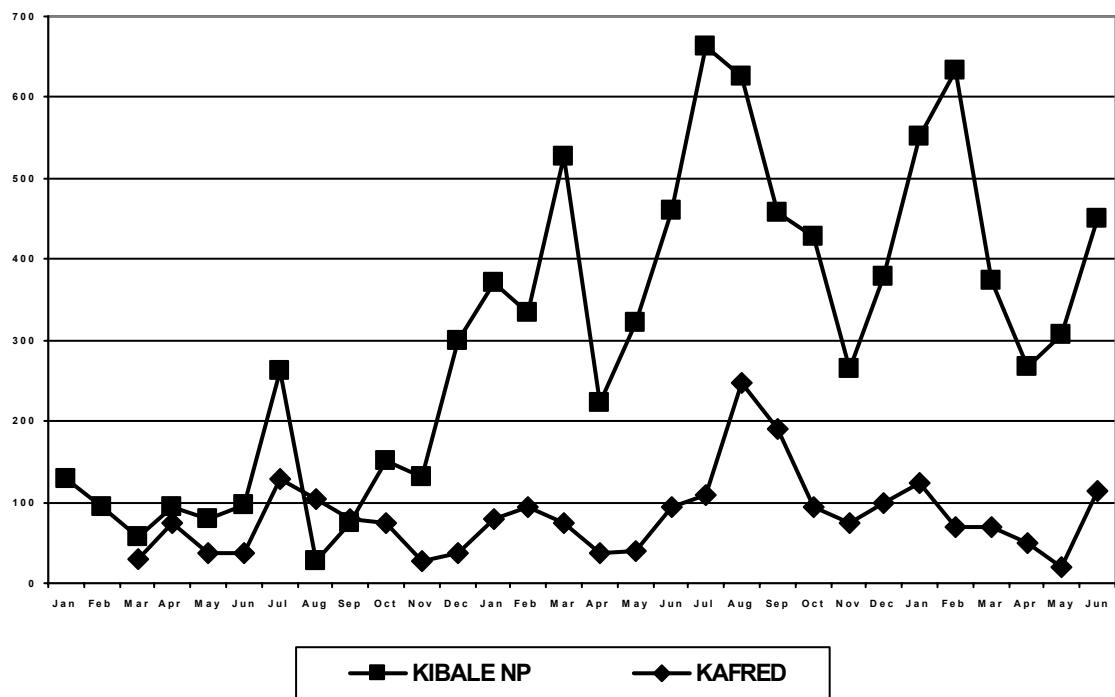


Figure 3-2: Monthly visitation for Kibale NP and KAFRED for 2001 - 2003

To understand Bigodi's demographics, it is helpful to begin at the district level. Districts in Uganda are roughly equivalent to states in the US as far as their function is concerned. However, concerning their size, Uganda's districts are the equivalent of counties in the US. Bigodi is located within Kamwenge district. According to the 2002 Ugandan Census, the average population density of Kamwenge district is 133 people per square kilometer (Wendo, 2003). This is a bit more than Uganda's national average of 126 people per square kilometer. For comparison, the average population density of

Wyoming, home of Yellowstone NP, is only 2 people per square kilometer; the average population density of Colorado, home of Rocky Mountain NP, is only 16 people per square kilometer; and the average population density of California, home of Yosemite NP, is 84 people per square kilometer (Encarta Encyclopedia, 2002). Human pressure on the land around Kibale NP is tremendous.

The population of Bigodi itself is a bit more difficult to determine without the power of a census bureau. However, help was provided from Bigodi's Local Councilor I, the highest elected official at the village level. According to his tax roll and voter registry, there are 205 men in Bigodi and 143 women. He suggested the disparity between men and women was due to an influx of young men looking for employment due to tourism. As this study confirmed, in rural Uganda, men are free to move throughout wide areas in search of work but many women are restricted to areas near the home. Also, tourism has created many opportunities in Bigodi, especially for casual labor. There may be one other contributing factor. I have noted many times over my years in rural Uganda that women are often under represented and nearly invisible. They do not usually appear on village tax rolls, they do not often have marriage or birth certificates and until recently, have not been encouraged to participate in public forums. For these reasons, I believe the population of women may be higher, possibly 180. This would place the adult population for the village of Bigodi somewhere between 345 and 385 people. Using a very conservative estimate of only 4 children per woman would suggest a total population of slightly more than 1,000 people.

The village is built around a small trading center. The trading center is comprised of 130 households and supports 210 adults. This means roughly 50 to 60 percent of

Bigodi's residents live in the trading center. All of the residents outside the trading center are subsistence farmers. In addition, nearly all of the residents within the trading center own and farm land in the surrounding countryside as well. While no further demographic statistics were collected for Bigodi, the village is in line with the nation's averages. In Uganda, 35 percent of the population lives below the national poverty level, life expectancy at birth is 42 years, 43 percent of adult females are illiterate, 22 percent of adult males are illiterate, female fertility is over 6 children per woman and over 90 percent of the population is directly dependent on natural resources for their survival (Uganda Ministry of Water, Lands and Environment, 2002; World Bank, 2003).

Data Collection and Analysis

Sampling

Theoretical sampling was used for this study. Theoretical sampling is a strategy where the researcher locates respondents who epitomize some specified criteria of interest (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Warren, 2002). Data collection continues until the criterion of interest has been saturated with information. Therefore, residents of Bigodi were interviewed regarding tourism in their community until no new information was produced. Sampling proceeded, in part, in a snowball fashion, whereby recently interviewed respondents used their own social networks to help the researcher locate others who satisfy the criteria of interest (Warren, 2002). More importantly, I identified respondents as I became familiar with Bigodi and was able to identify a variety of people with varying relationships to tourism. Targeted groups included: people directly involved with tourism, people with no direct involvement with tourism, people living in the trading center, people living in the countryside, people with land adjacent to Bigodi's nature

sanctuary, and people with land adjacent to Kibale NP. The sample was also stratified according to age and gender.

I first visited Bigodi as a tourist in 1996. At that time, I was living in Uganda as a US Peace Corps Volunteer. I later returned to Bigodi during a pre-dissertation visit in the summer of 2001. During the 2001 visit, several informants were located who helped me enter the community. I returned to Uganda in October 2002 and remained until July 2003 to conduct this research. From October until December 2002, 15 high ranking tourism officials were interviewed in Uganda's capital city. Participants were selected based on their insider relationship with Uganda's tourism industry and accessibility. Among the officials interviewed were members of The Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry; the Uganda Wildlife Authority; the Uganda Tourism Board; the Uganda Tourism Association; the Uganda Community Tourism Association; and Uganda's Parliament. The information from these interviews contributed to my understanding of tourism in Uganda and helped form the context surrounding tourism in Bigodi.

Interviews in Bigodi did not begin until residents were informed about the research and some friendships had been made. My knowledge of the local language and culture, acquired as a Peace Corps Volunteer, tremendously helped my acceptance into the community. My intentions were announced during a community meeting February 26, 2003, at which time people had the opportunity to ask questions and provide input. Interviews were conducted from March 2003 until July 2003. The criterion used for selecting initial participants was simply that the respondent had lived in Bigodi since before tourism was developed there. Ten initial interviews were completed and analyzed

before further data were collected. Themes and ideas emerging from early interviews guided the sampling process and directed conversation.

In total, 49 people from Bigodi were asked to be interviewed and 48 accepted. The refusal came from a woman who wanted to be paid for her participation. In addition, two other Ugandans living near Bigodi with considerable insight into the history and social dynamics of the area were also interviewed. A women's rights activist and grass roots organizer was interviewed to gain insight into the struggles of rural women. Also, the pre-independence administrator of the western region of Uganda was interviewed to gain insight into the historical relationship between rural people and "bazungu" or whites.

Of the 48 residents of Bigodi interviewed, 29 were men and 19 women. This coincides with the Local Councilor's gender demographics which show women only make up 40 to 45 percent of Bigodi's population. Twenty-five people interviewed stayed primarily in the trading center. This also coincides with broader figures which indicate 50 to 60 percent of Bigodi's population lives in the trading center. Of the 23 people interviewed who live in the countryside, 5 live on farms bordering KAFRED's Wetland Sanctuary, and 5 live on farms bordering Kibale NP. Like many cultures, it is considered faux pas to ask a woman her age in Uganda. Further complicating the issue is that precisely measuring age by years and days has not been commonly practiced in rural Uganda until recently. For that reason, life stage was substituted for age. From the sample, 8 respondents were young adults, meaning they had recently finished school (graduated or dropped out), were young and single. Nineteen were adults, meaning they were married and had young children in the house. Fourteen were older adults, meaning their children were beginning to leave the home. Men at this stage may have several

wives and may still be producing young children with their most recent wife. Finally, 7 were considered “Wazee,” which is a respected term given older people. Wazee had no children of their own in the house although they may be looking after some grandchildren. This life class stratification is representative of rural Uganda. With an average life expectancy of only 44 years (Central Intelligence Agency, 2004), Uganda’s population is weighted towards youth, young adults and adults. Of the 48 people interviewed, 29 had a P7 education or less (approximately 6th grade or less), 12 had completed O-level (junior high school), 5 had completed A-level (high school), and 2 had a two year certificate beyond A-level. For the purpose of anonymity, all respondents from Bigodi have been given aliases. Table 1-1 is a presentation of alias, gender, life stage and occupation for Bigodi respondents.

Interviewing

The qualitative interview’s strength is flexibility and conversational style, yet a list of predetermined questions can be used to guide the conversation through the area of interest (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). However, in contrast to a standardized questionnaire, such a guide is not a directive. Holstein and Gubrium state, as a rule of thumb, that it is best to allow the interviewee’s responses to determine which questions are appropriate for the conversation. My in depth knowledge of local culture and customs made this a particularly effective method. At the beginning, general questions about Bigodi’s history, life before tourism, the origins of Bigodi’s Wetland Sanctuary, the origins of tourism, the pros and cons of tourism, life in Bigodi today and aspirations for the future guided the interviews. As trends began to emerge from the constant comparison of data, major themes were targeted in consequent interviews while minor themes were given less attention. In the early stages of research, common words such as

Table 3-1: Bigodi respondents' alias, gender, life stage and occupation

ALIAS	SEX	LIFE STAGE	LIVELIHOOD
Kanyunyuzi	Female	Young adult	KAFRED Accountant
Katete	Male	Young adult	Odd jobs
Kembabazi	Female	Young adult	Teacher Secondary School
Komuhendo	Female	Young adult	KNP Guide, former KAFRED guide
Nakalema	Female	Young adult	Lives with parents
Ngobi	Male	Young adult	Farmer
Sentongo	Male	Young adult	KAFRED guide
Wampande	Male	Young adult	Odd jobs
Asaba	Male	Adult	Merchant in trading center
Bagonza	Male	Adult	Teacher Primary School, former KAFRED guide
Batenga	Female	Adult	Farmer
Bogere	Male	Adult	Farmer next to KAFRED
Busingye	Male	Adult	KNP guide, former KAFRED guide
Kakye	Male	Adult	Teacher, Secondary School
Kalevu	Male	Adult	Merchant in trading center
Kamuhanda	Male	Adult	Farmer next to KAFRED
Kato	Male	Adult	Farmer next to KNP
Kemigisha	Female	Adult	Farmer, women's group
Kihuguru	Male	Adult	Brick maker
Kizza	Female	Adult	Farmer next to KNP
Kokugonza	Female	Adult	Teacher Primary School, Women's group
Magambo	Male	Adult	KNP Ranger, former KAFRED guide
Munene	Male	Adult	Farmer next to KAFRED
Nantongo	Female	Adult	Farmer, Women's group
Salongo	Male	Adult	Farmer
Tugonza	Male	Adult	Tailor, farmer next to KNP
Tumwine	Male	Adult	KAFRED founding member
Akello	Female	Older adult	Farmer, Women's Group & Peanut Butter Project
Barungi	Male	Older adult	Farmer
Kabatotro	Female	Older adult	Farmer
Kamuli	Female	Older adult	Farmer
Katiti	Female	Older adult	Farmer, Peanut Butter Project
Katono	Female	Older adult	Merchant in trading center
Kebirungi	Female	Older adult	Farmer, Women's group
Mbabazi	Female	Older adult	Farmer next to KNP
Mugaga	Male	Older adult	Farmer
Taligamba	Male	Older adult	Blacksmith
Tamale	Male	Older adult	Farmer
Twinomugisha	Male	Older adult	KAFRED founding member
Wakabale	Male	Older adult	Farmer next to KNP
Waswa	Male	Older adult	Farmer next to KAFRED
Mzee Isabirye	Male	Wazee	Farmer
Mzee Katungi	Female	Wazee	Farmer
Mzee Namata	Female	Wazee	Farmer
Mzee Nyakato	Female	Wazee	Farmer
Mzee Rwabogo	Male	Wazee	Farmer
Mzee Wandela	Male	Wazee	Farmer next to KAFRED
Mzee Waiswa	Male	Wazee	Farmer

development and conservation were deliberately avoided in order to observe if they emerged naturally from the data without prompting.

All interviews began with the interviewee agreeing to an informed consent document approved by the University of Florida's Institutional Review Board. All interviews except two were tape recorded and transcribed. In the case of the non-recorded interviews, I was permitted to take notes during the conversation. When possible, interviews were conducted in English. When not possible, interviews were conducted in Rukiga or Rutoro, the two languages common to Bigodi. This was accomplished through a translator trained in qualitative interviewing techniques. Translations of all non-English interviews were reviewed by a third party fluent in the language to check for accuracy. As would be expected, only 21 of the Bigodi interviews were conducted in English, 27 were conducted in either Rutoro or Rukiga. Interviews lasted from one to two hours. While I am not conversationally fluent in the local language, I have had several years of exposure to it and was competent enough to follow along and take notes. Note taking was also an integral part of the interviews, as body language, facial expressions and other non-verbal communicative cues are considered data.

Participant Observation and informal conversation

Atkinson and Coffey (2002) argue that various forms of social research methods imply distinct transactions with the world and that each transaction generates its own, unique understanding. Observations, informal conversations and interviews generate data with properties unique and of themselves. Bearing this in mind, the purpose of observation and informal conversation for this study were twofold. First, these methods of data collection helped me familiarize myself with the terrain to be covered in the

interviews. They allowed me to more completely absorb the richness of social life in Bigodi and inform consequent interviews. Second, observation and informal discussions were recorded as they occurred and were analyzed as separate sources of data. As I moved through the village, participating in different events, I recorded what was seen and said in a small notebook. At the end of each day, these notes were elaborated upon in a daily journal. Informal conversation was a particularly valuable means of communicating with women. In some cases, women proved difficult to interview formally. However, I was able to meet and discuss issues with a diversity of women at informal meeting places, which I attended regularly, such as markets and Sunday worship services. These multiple sources of data allowed me to approach the meaning of tourism simultaneously through several methods.

Analysis

Grounded theory necessitates that data are analyzed continuously throughout the research process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This process involves several steps: open coding, focused coding, categorizing and finally theory building (Charmaz, 2002). Codes signal what is happening in the data by reducing recorded events to single words or phrases without losing the essence of the event. Codes allow the researcher to compare data throughout an interview as well as from one respondent to the next. Coding is informed by a particular discipline's theoretical perspectives and the researcher's own interests, in this case, conceptualizing local meanings of tourism in Bigodi. Open coding assigns each line of the data, from interviews or field notes, a word or phrase. Open coding, then, is the first step in discovering participants' views of the world. In the study at hand, open coding began immediately after transcribing the first interviews. It was

used to generate early interpretations of tourism's meaning, which were checked and revised through additional interviews.

After analyzing the ten initial interviews, I employed focused coding to develop a deeper understanding of the data. This drove the remaining sampling process. As Charmaz (2002) states, theoretical sampling works best after allowing relevant trends to emerge from the data. In the current study, the open codes were carefully studied and those that were frequently appearing were selected to sort larger amounts of data. This is focused coding. Focused codes arrange data more precisely than open codes and cut across multiple interviews (Charmaz, 2002). Focused codes begin to represent recurrent themes within the data and emerge from the constant comparison of different interviews. As recurrent codes are recognized throughout the data, the analyst is forced to make the theoretical sense of each comparison. In the current study, memos were used for this purpose and allowed me to begin analyzing data early in the research. Memos are freely written elaborations on the processes described in focused codes. Memos unite focused codes into more concise categories of data (Charmaz, 2002). This is categorizing the data. As the current study continued, new respondents were sought who could add new information to the categories emerging from the data. The sampling and analysis continued until the categories were saturated and no new information emerged. Finally, theory is developed as the analyst seeks to understand each final category and the relationships which exist between them (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Research of this nature requires an intense intimacy with the data. Interviews are continually revisited in the process of constant comparison while coding evolves from open to focused and finally categories for the data are developed. This process is

inherently labor intensive and a well organized system of data management is essential. To this end, NUD*IST version 6 qualitative data analysis software was used. This software was developed to relate to the logic of grounded theory construction. The chief contribution of this and similar software is the automated retrieval of text categorized by some analytic concept (Seale, 2002). It tends to encourage a more rigorous analysis of the data although it cannot enforce rigor upon the researcher. This results from the software's ability to sweep vast quantities of data for related text and thus force a careful reading upon the researcher. While the researcher can achieve this level of rigor without software, fatigue may limit the researcher's ability to match the software's standards. Thus, software can simplify data management for the researcher; however, it does nothing that the researcher cannot do alone.

Reliability and Validity

Reliability in qualitative research has received little attention in the development of methods, in fact, to raise issues about the reliability of another's research has been considered taboo – as if it is an accusation of incompetence (Kirk & Miller, 1986). Typically, qualitative interviews are assumed reliable when the same individual collects and analyzes the data, as is the case with this research. In the study at hand, I conducted all English interviews while accompanied by a single, well trained assistant. The assistant acted as my translator for all interviews in which the respondent did not speak English. In such instances, I used my developing language skills to follow along and take notes.

Validity in qualitative interviews is achieved through the relaxed conversational approach to gathering information. In contrast to strict survey interviews in which interaction is sometimes restricted, qualitative interviewing allows ample opportunity for

both parties to clarify what is being said. People in rural Uganda place a high cultural value on open conversation where everyone has a chance to speak and ask questions. Scripted survey interviews which do not allow the respondent to participate can not only be offensive but can raise suspicion. For example, after my first community meeting in Bigodi, where I announced my research intentions to the community, the following conversation occurred:

Bigodi resident: "Do you have a questionnaire for your research"
Me: "No, I just want to talk with you freely."
Bigodi resident: "That is good."
Me: "Why do you say that?"
Bigodi resident: "Because questionnaires are suspicious, you can't be sure what a person is really doing." (Personal communication, February 26, 2003)

Later, I found out through my interviews that the World Conservation Union (IUCN) and possibly another organization had conducted brief surveys of some kind in Bigodi. Evidently, at least one person was not happy with their rigid format. It is now commonly believed that less rigid interviews are more valid (Platt, 2002). In addition, many respondents in Bigodi told me that they enjoyed the interviews. Interviews normally occurred in the respondents' homes and were often accompanied by food and drinks. In fact, conversation is a major leisure activity in rural Uganda and the chance to freely speak with someone new was welcomed.

Validity is also increased by the long term nature of this study (10 months), my experience working in rural Uganda (over 3 years), my familiarity with the culture and language and my willingness to venture deep into the village where researchers seldom, if ever go. The following two excerpts from my daily journal are a perfect example of the validity of these research methods:

I visited farms deep in the village today along the park boundary. I sat and drank obushera with the families and was welcomed into their homes, every home I visited said they had never received a muzungu [white person] before. They were all surprised that I visited. The Secretary LC1 guided me along the paths and through the plantations from shamba [farm] to shamba and as we walked deeper and deeper he said "You are very good. You will get the correct information. Other researchers have come here but they come in their big vehicles to speak with the local chairman only, they sit and listen to him not knowing he can say anything, then they get back into their vehicle and go, that's the end. But you are good because you reach deep, that's why people are telling you they have never seen a muzungu here." (Personal journal, April 17, 2003)

Tonight, two men commended me on my research. They are always amazed at my constant interactions with local people, my willingness to try and pick up the local language and my willingness to travel deep into the villages. They said, "in fact your report will be very close to the truth, you are getting real stories." (Personal journal, May 12, 2003)

Such unsolicited comments on the research were encouraging and justify the methods used. For qualitative work, long-term, personal interaction is the best validity check there is. As Kirk and Miller (1986) explain, the idiosyncrasies of people and cultures can never be understood with perfect certainty; but an insightful fieldworker, developing good rapport over a long period of time, is the surest check of validity. This proved to be the case in this study. With the passage of time, I came to know and understand the people of Bigodi. Likewise, they got to know me and friendships developed. That is why I am now able to tell their story. In the next chapter, the story of tourism in Bigodi as well as its impacts and local meaning will be presented. The story was revealed by the analysis of data using the methods described.

CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS

As I discovered during the course of this research, local meaning is indecipherable without first understanding the context in which it was formed. The forces which act on local meaning are diverse and varied. In the most general sense, these forces have long been noted as the levers and pulleys which move societies in one direction or another – history, politics, economics, and culture. Unfortunately, it is these fundamental components of social trajectory that are most easily ignored when undertaking social research. They work behind the scenes and can not always be recognized without effort. This is particularly true of remote, less developed research sites like Bigodi. In such places, developing an understanding of the varied forces shaping local meanings entails long stretches of field work under difficult or at least unfamiliar conditions.

Thus, time is central to understanding, and time is something of which people seem to have less and less. This is evident in the myriad of techniques researchers often use for understanding particular study sites such as Participatory Rural Appraisals (PRA), Rapid Rural Appraisals (RRA), Rapid Assessment Procedures (RAP), Rapid Assessment Techniques (RAT) and Rapid Ethnographic Assessments (REA) (Mowforth & Munt, 1998). The gist of these methodologies is that outside experts arrive at a site to conduct a two or three week workshop with local people, the aim being to jointly produce understandings and solutions targeting a particular problem. Such methodologies do not allow the researcher to appreciate the variety of forces that have brought the particular community to that point in time. Instead, rapid methods capture only that single point in

time. As a result, there is a risk of that single point being interpreted outside of the context from which it takes its meaning. The depth and breadth of local meaning can be easily lost. As Mowforth and Munt (1998) argue, “this form of [local] participation drives participants to seeing and representing their world within the context of the PRA ‘expert’s’ vision (p. 213).

To the contrary, the objective of this research is to allow participants to represent tourism within the context of their own circumstances. Understanding tourism in this way mandates an understanding of the broader historical, economic, political and cultural forces which have been acting on Bigodi since the village was created. Accordingly, this analysis attempts to uncover the larger picture of tourism and development in Bigodi. It begins with a recent history of Bigodi, as told by Bigodi’s residents. The history of tourism in Bigodi is also central to the analysis, as it is central to Bigodi’s history. From the establishment of tourism, the analysis considers tourism’s impacts across society and finally, tourism’s local meaning. Throughout the analysis, historical, political, and economic forces will be uncovered which influence tourism’s meaning as well as tourism’s potential to create development. Table 5-1, in the discussion section, summarizes the context uncovered in this analysis. Before proceeding, however, a brief introduction to Bigodi and how I arrived there is necessary.

An Introduction to Bigodi

Bigodi is a strategically located village where everything is. Tourism takes place, farming takes place and even some other entertainments. I can not say it is poor, no. Because in the past, people stayed in grass thatched houses, but as of now such houses are remaining just for playing children. (Wampande, personal communication, March 7, 2003)

When I reached the small village of Bigodi (Figure 4-1) for the first time in 1996, my reaction was probably the same as many tourists. I remember thinking something

like “where am I?” After squeezing myself out of the taxi, where I had been packed like market bound produce for the previous six hours, I certainly did not think I was somewhere that was “strategically located,” as the quote above suggests. Bigodi was not especially striking either. It wasn’t obvious why I had come so far to visit this village. There were no signs directing tourists to “eat here” or “sleep here,” in fact, there wasn’t even a sign reading “welcome to Bigodi.” If it wasn’t for the help of the friendly people in town who quickly recognized me as a tourist and directed me where to go, I might have just kept on traveling. I did know Bigodi was just next to Kibale National Park and that excited me. I was ready to go bird watching, see monkeys and trek chimpanzees. As for the village itself, it seemed I had already passed through hundreds of similar villages during the long journey from Kampala, Uganda’s capital city.

For budget tourists like me, getting to Bigodi requires small bits of endurance and stamina but mostly patience. But this is what is required to get anywhere in Uganda. It takes time to get used to buses, taxis and roads of the country. For anyone taller than five and a half feet, the buses and taxis are void of leg room. They also make frequent stops to load and unload people and sometimes fruits and vegetables or other trade goods. The roads, which at times are marvelous, are at other times mere patches of ancient tarmac stringing together miles upon miles of potholes. The journey to Bigodi begins on such a road leaving Kampala, a fast paced and crowded capital city of over a million people. From there, the road leads 300 kilometers west to the relatively sleepy town of Fort Portal. Fort Portal lies in the shadow of the Rwenzori Mountains, the ice capped, equatorial mountain chain which separates Uganda from the Democratic Republic of the Congo. In Fort Portal there are several luxuries for a road weary traveler, including an

internet café and two hotels with satellite television. It is a great resting spot before moving on to Bigodi. Bigodi is forty kilometers southeast of Fort Portal along a winding, bumpy dirt road. Using public transportation, the journey from Fort Portal to Bigodi is one and a half hours.

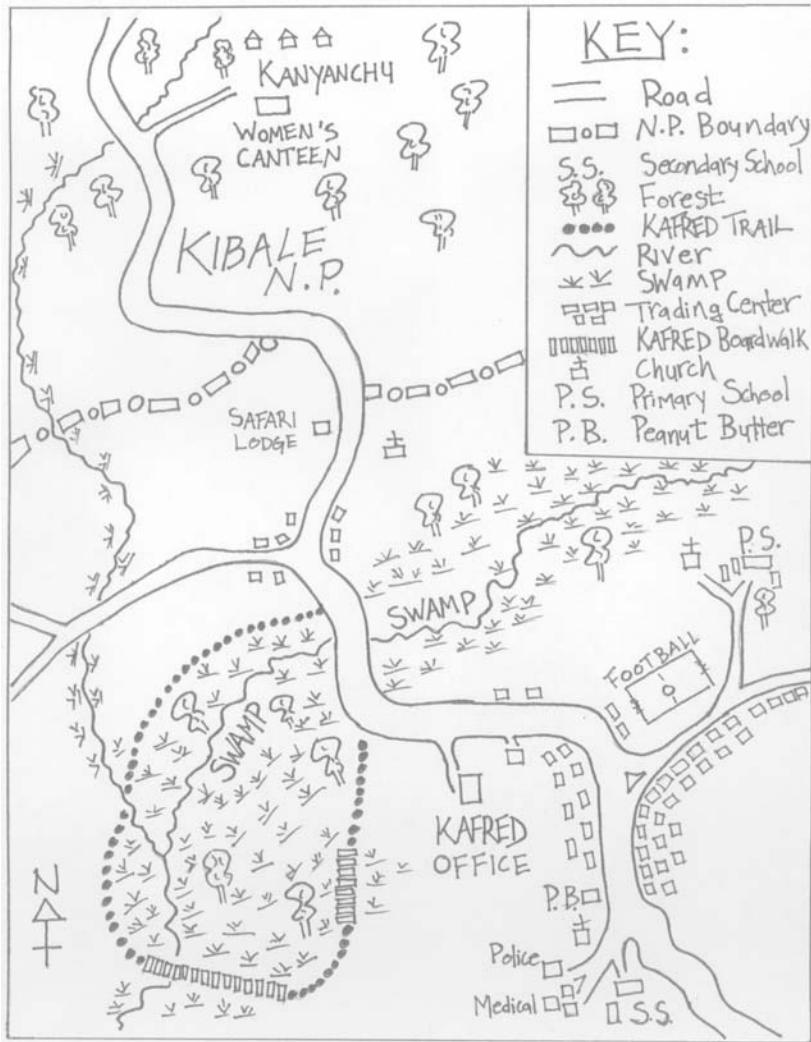


Figure 4-1: A Map of Bigodi drawn by a boy from the village.

The road passes through several trading centers similar in size to Bigodi. All of these places share several common features. The trading centers always line both sides of the main the road. For this reason, they are typically very dusty in the dry seasons and very muddy in the rainy seasons. The buildings are a mixture of mud or earthen brick

construction. Nowadays, the vast majority are topped with iron sheet roofing. The businesses of the trading centers are varied but the vast majority of shop owners are merchants with a similar array of products. Most shops are filled with the basic staples of village life: salt, soap, wheat flour, maize flour, millet flour, dry beans, sugar, tea leaves, cooking oil, coca-cola and other sodas, and of course beer. In front of these shops, the owners sometimes have a table with fresh produce from their gardens. Tomatoes, onions, cabbage, potatoes and bananas are always available. A few shops are a bit more specialized and may have farming implements like hoes or machetes for digging and clearing brush, or new and used clothing. Most trading centers, especially those serving 300 or more people, typically have a butcher shop and a barber shop as well.

Beyond the trading centers, the road to Bigodi passes through the beautiful countryside of western Uganda. This is a land of hills which roll out of the mountains. As the road winds up and down, it passes through expansive tea estates. The flat, low tops of the plucked tea bushes allow a person to enjoy the contours of the land and see the mountains beyond. There are endless plantations of bananas, fields of maize and potatoes and lots of green pasture. Looking at the two room mud houses which dot the landscape it is common to see children playing in the front yards, and always there are coffee berries laid out to dry in the sun. The volcanic history of the region has left many crater lakes along the road, some of which have become popular tourist attractions. Finally, the road passes through Kibale National Park (Figure 4-2). Kibale National Park is 766 square kilometers of mostly forest. Struhsaker (1997) describes the forest as transitional between lowland rainforest and montane forest. But to the unscientifically trained tourist, the forest is best described as an amazing collection of sights, sounds and

smells that permeate even the road passing through it. This is so much so that one gets the feeling the forest actually enters the vehicle before you are able to drive completely through it. Actually, there is always the chance that it will. It is common to see hundreds of baboons along the roadside in the park. In fact, the park boasts the highest primate density of any site in the world and thirteen different species of primates make it their home including our closest relative on the evolutionary tree, the chimpanzee. Just before the road leaves the park it passes Kanyanchu Tourist Camp. Kanyanchu is the park's main tourist destination and offers meals, accommodation and of course guided walks including the chance to trek chimpanzees.



Figure 4-2: The road through Kibale NP and some common wayfarers.

After leaving Kanyanchu and the park, it is just a few short kilometers to Bigodi, a seemingly average little village on the edge of a spectacular park. At least that was my first impression. Its initial charm was that there was not much there. After having passed through the park, I imagined Bigodi as a remote outpost on the edge of a wilderness. At introduction, the residents of Bigodi appeared to fit this scenario as well. I judged most to be common peasant farmers - economically poor but hard working, well fed and

strong. Many adults wore simple shoes cut from old tires and fastened onto their feet with rubber straps. The clothing was not from a Ugandan fashion or culture; it was simply used American clothing. The same used American clothing that I had seen in every Ugandan village. As usual, it was worn very thin after being exposed to the rigors of a lifestyle for which it was not designed. No, in 1996, Bigodi did not strike me as unique. But clearly, someone new to an area can not speak with much authority about a place.

With time, I learned that those initial impressions of Bigodi are in strong contradiction to the local perception. As the quote at the beginning of the chapter reveals, Bigodi is not in the middle of nowhere but to the contrary is “strategically located.” It is not simple or remote but actually “a place where everything is.” Accordingly, not everyone there would be so quick to say it is poor. Many believe it is a place of opportunity. Today, in 2003, after years of work in Uganda, I am able to see the fault in the early judgments I passed. Bigodi, like so many other places in Uganda, has its own unique story to tell. Since the time of Bigodi’s humble beginnings until now, it has been constantly changing. Bigodi’s story then is one of change and it is best told with the help of the people that live there.

The Recent History of Bigodi

By the early 1950s, Bigodi was a patchwork of bushes, forest and elephant grass with only a few permanent farms. The land belonged to the King of Toro and was on the far reaches of the Kingdom. While Uganda, at that time, was a British Protectorate, traditional Kings still ruled in many parts of the country with the support of the British government. Being far from the center of the kingdom, the land around Bigodi was sparsely populated. The Batoro, the ethnic group ruled by the King of Toro, who lived

there were mostly hunters or pit sawyers in the forest. In remembering those early days, a farmer in Bigodi recounted how Batoro

used to hunt the wild animals with spears and would eat them, or sometimes they used to dig deep holes to trap the animals. They used to look for trees with fruits and would eat the fruits ... Those days the forests as we know them today did not exist, every where there was bush and people would move freely in it and hunt.
 (Barungi, personal communication, April 5, 2003)

Although the population was low, people were still affecting change. Aside from the few homesteads, there were hunting camps and lumber camps which shifted from place to place leaving their print on the landscape.

The absence of widespread farming in Bigodi was like a welcome sign for the Bakiga, an ethnic group from southwest Uganda who pride themselves on intensive agriculture, large families and the acquisition of land. As a group of Bakiga men told me one Saturday afternoon in Bigodi, "Bakiga culture is to work hard, very hard, it is to be tough, to have many children, around twenty for a man, and to expand to new areas and get new land." (Informal conversation, April 4, 2003) These values of the Bakiga have caused an outflow of migrants from southwest Uganda into other parts of the country for at least 50 years. In the 1950s, the area that is now Bigodi became an attractive destination for many migrating Bakiga. For them, the absence of farming meant the land was under utilized, perhaps even unoccupied, and they took pride in putting it into production. As a Bakiga woman told me:

When we came we found only wild animals and there were no houses with iron sheets. The people here were not digging [farming], so when we came we started digging and we started doing some businesses and also building houses with iron sheets. (Mbabazi, personal communication, June 2, 2003).

For the arriving Bakiga, the wilderness of Bigodi was only a minor deterrent. Only a few people remembered it as a problem. For most, the wilderness was the attraction

because it meant abundant land and the challenge of making it productive. This was a welcomed relief from their crowded ancestral home. The following conversation with an old Bakiga reveals how many remember the migration:

When did you come to Bigodi?

I have spent 53 years in Bigodi, I came from Kabale [southwest Uganda] in 1950.

Why did you come here and what did you like about the place?

I came because of land, when you look for food to eat and you can't find it then you go in search of land.

Can you tell me what the area was like in those days?

It used to be a forest with wild animals and very few people.

Was farming more difficult then?

Farming was easier because the place was still wild, the whole sub-county had only 37 people, so land was plenty. (Mzee Wandela, personal communication, March 30, 2003)

Certainly the tasks of settling a new area such as clearing brush and establishing crops were difficult. But for Bakiga, the pain of these toils was lost in the joy of discovering a place so abundant with resources. Munene, a hard working farmer who came to Bigodi from southwest Uganda remembers "farming was easy because there were few people and so much land that the people here couldn't utilize it all; it was easy to find land then (Munene, personal communication, April 26, 2003).

Land was plenty so the Bakiga were not chased away by the Batoro, however, they were not entirely welcome either. Until sometime in the early 1960s, Bigodi was an officially segregated area by decree of the King of Toro. Bakiga were not allowed to live on the north side of the main road which runs from Fort Portal to Bigodi. It was the King though, who later eased any brewing ethnic tension, by inviting a Bakiga family north of

the road. The husband and wife of that family are today remembered as great teachers and with this gesture, the King is remembered as an advocate not only of unity but also of education. (Kakye, personal communication, March 25, 2003). Of the people I spoke with, none remembered ethnic tension as the defining condition of the time. Instead, many remembered how the two groups' different lifestyles often benefited each other. A Mukiga farmer told me how in those days he had no worry of animals raiding his crops: "the hunting was a lot, the Batoro used to hunt, that helped to reduce the wild animals like the buffalo, elephant, hippo, and antelope." (Mzee Wandela, personal communication, March 30, 2003) Another farmer remembered, "there were very many wild animals which used to be killed and we would eat meat, buffalos and antelopes mostly (Nantongo, personal communication, April 23, 2003). In those days, the Bakiga could farm without harassment from wild animals. When animals raided crops they were killed and eaten. There was plenty of meat to eat and for the Batoro there was greater access to markets and produce thanks to the growing Bakiga population.

Besides the Bakiga immigration in the 1950s, the people of Bigodi had little contact with outsiders, particularly those from the western world. This is despite the fact that Uganda was a British Protectorate until gaining independence in 1962. This distinction between protectorate and colony is an important one. A Ugandan friend of mine who lives near Bigodi was the Commissioner for the Western District of Uganda prior to independence. He said before independence, the average Ugandan living in the western part of the country had little or no contact with the British. The British were just in Uganda for business interests, not to rule or settle. They ruled indirectly through local chiefs, which they influenced with power and money. There were no British settlers as in

neighboring Kenya. The British nearest to Bigodi stayed in a small enclave in Fort Portal. From there they might occasionally travel back and forth between town and their tea estates. For a villager to see one would be a very rare event (Mzee Sempala, personal communication, April 27, 2003). On those rare occasions when there was a meeting, it was a cause for alarm in the village. I asked another friend what would happen on such an occasion, and she replied:

By the time we were young, in the 1960s we used to run, I am telling you the truth. You would see the Bazungu [white people] stopping in their vehicle and what you could do is just run. Because we were not used to them! We had some wrong mentality. They used to tell us that when you see the Bazungu they are going to cut off your ears, they will kidnap you because they are constructing such and such a bridge or dam and they are going to sacrifice you so the project succeeds. They will cut off your head, we believed that if bazungu are constructing something, they must slaughter these certain things. (Kabatotro, personal communication, March 2, 2003)

With little contact with outsiders, Bigodi changed due to internal agents. Through the 1950s and 1960s Bigodi slowly changed from a mainly hunting society to a mixed hunting and agrarian society. There was little contact with the western world. Perhaps that is why no one mentioned independence from Britain when I asked people about Bigodi's history. Evidently, the colonial era passed without having a memorable impact on life in Bigodi. Accordingly, the first years of independence were not much different from the years just prior to independence. Bigodi's economy was largely subsistence. With the arrival of so many new farmers, it is logical to assume a lag in development occurred. It took years before the best farmers could clear land, establish crops and save enough of their small profits to invest in other businesses. Small businesses like shops with basic foodstuffs are the backbone of village trading centers. By the early 1970s,

there were only one or two small shops in Bigodi trading center. As a self described “indigenous member of this community” told me,

During the early 1970s, I found Bigodi still behind in development … there was not a clinic or a hospital or a dispensary, we had to go to Fort Portal for [medical] treatment … income was very low among the community, there was only coffee, that was our main income. As a result, there were few institutions like schools … infrastructure was still very far behind, access roads were not there. We passed through bushes. We had only the main road from Fort Portal, infrastructure was not good. (Kamuhanda, personal communication, March 27, 2003)

Even basic household items, like salt, were not easily obtainable and acquiring such things was often remembered as a struggle. “Those days we were suffering, like getting salt was difficult. We used to walk to Katwe to get salt and we would bring it back on our heads.” (Barungi, personal communication, April 5, 2003) Katwe is a place of dry crater lakes with abundant salt deposits. Large, flat slabs of the mineral are dug from the earth there, and it was in this form that the salt would be carried back to Bigodi, a long day’s walk away.

While in retrospect, Bigodi’s early infrastructure no longer seems like much, it should not be forgotten that even the first simple shops were big changes at the time. Little by little, people were making progress towards a better life and were eager to work hard to get there. Mr. Mugaga, a long time resident of Bigodi, prides himself on the contribution his hard work made to the area’s early development. He arrived in Bigodi in the year of Uganda’s Independence and remembered this about those times:

I came here 1962. In those days Bigodi was very backward, there were only 7 houses. The kingdom was still ruling. Then, in 1966 after banning the kingdom, came the Obote government. By then I was still a boy. I used to play music to get money and also do small jobs as a porter. Then I went to work six and half miles from here. I stayed there for a year and half and came back. With the money I earned, I bought land in Bigodi at 3 shillings and 50 cents. I built a grass thatched house and was staying there with my siblings and paying their school fees at 15 cents. Then I left them here and went to do business at the Kilembe

mines. Before I went to Kilembe, I bought a bicycle for 1 shilling and 25 cents, I still have it. I went to Kilembe in 1968. I used to buy chicken, millet flour, eggs, jackfruits, oranges, cooked coffee, and lemons from here, and then take them to Kilembe and sell them. With that money, I bought this plot here in the Bigodi trading center. By December 1970, I built and occupied this shop. I started a business selling food stuff like chapatti, groundnuts, soy beans, passion fruit and bananas. I sold these things until 1979.

Who was buying the food?

The people who were cutting trees in the forest. It was legal to cut timber in those days. They paid money to the forest department for permits.

Was there good business in those days?

Yes, then I used to even sell waragi [locally distilled alcohol], I had banana plantations of the variety used to make waragi. I also grew a lot of coffee. I had children and a wife which I got in 1967. My children grew in the 1970s and that forced me to leave the bar in 1979. I saw that as I was getting old, the running of the bar was making me crazy and I never used to drink alcohol anyway. I had already got a lot of profit from it, I had bought a lot of land and my children were in school. ... Then I started a restaurant business but continued digging [farming] because my children were in still school, I paid for so many children's school fees, even my brothers' children. ... I used to run the restaurant myself, I would wake up at 5am and dig, and by 9am I would be back to run the hotel. My wife and I would prepare the food at night. I had so many cooking stones so that I could prepare everything to be ready on time, then wash the dishes myself, no one could know I was the owner of the place. I could touch on everything to see the work was going on successfully. I had such a great speed and I taught my family to work very hard. (Personal communication, April 8, 2003)

Many individuals worked hard to gain prosperity and in the process slowly changed the face of Bigodi. Where before there had been only bushes and scattered houses, a humble trading center with a restaurant and one or two shops emerged. But the change was not driven completely by individuals; collective efforts played a role as well. Particularly in the development of feeder roads, these connected the main road from Fort Portal to the farms within the interior. A lack of roads was a defining characteristic of underdevelopment in early Bigodi. In light of this, people took it upon themselves to make the necessary improvements. Taligamba, a blacksmith who works fixing bicycles

and farming implements, remembers the development of feeder roads as an important early change.

When I arrived in Bigodi I found when there were no roads, now there are roads.

Who do you credit for bringing the roads?

Since we harvested a lot of food, the villagers themselves organized and started putting in the feeder roads. We were helped by the chiefs back then. We made these small roads so we could take our produce out to the main road where vehicles could transport it to a market. (Personal communication, May 28, 2003)

These individual and collective efforts to develop Bigodi continued unabated until the late 1970s when the tyrannical rule of Uganda's President Idi Amin brought the entire country to its knees. Idi Amin ruled Uganda from 1971 until 1979. He claimed the presidency after a military coup in which he overthrew Milton Obote. Among his first acts of notoriety was to banish all foreigners from the country in 1972 and to hand their property and businesses over to Ugandans. While this created a short term windfall for many, its long term effect was to eventually drive the economy to ruin. As many Ugandans have told me, by the end of his rule, there was not even a piece of soap to be had in the entire country. An unforgettable and unimaginable story about the hardship of these times was told by a friend of mine. He remembered in 1978 how lucky and thankful he felt to have found a job. He got work making earthen bricks. Making earthen bricks was very hard work. Sand, clay and soil had to be mixed by hand in the correct proportions. Water had to be carried by hand from a well in order to make the mixture soft. When the mixture was soft enough, it was packed by hand into brick size molds, hundreds and hundreds were made each day. When the mixture dried, the bricks were removed, stacked into huge piles and fired to make them hard. Finally, the baked bricks were loaded by hand into a lorry to be sold. This was his job for six days a week

from sun up until sundown. For all of this, his pay for a week's labor was a single, empty paper sack. It was a large sack, capable of holding forty kilos of maize flour, but empty. After being paid the empty sack, my friend would cut it into small squares, about the size of book pages, and sell them to school children for writing paper. In this way, he was able to survive and he was thankful.

Besides ruining the economy, Amin also killed his own people. During his reign, almost half of a million Ugandans were murdered by his army. Although the army was not posted in Bigodi, their presence was often felt and the memory of those cruel soldiers lingers as the following conversation shows:

What do you remember most about Bigodi's early days?

Then the only problems came during the regime of Amin, they were beating people. We didn't have salt or soap. They were just cutting people, the soldiers really made us suffer.

So Amin's soldiers were around?

The soldiers were not here, they stayed in Fort Portal but sometimes they came to the villages to steal, rob and torture people. (Mzee Nyakato, personal communication, April 17, 2003)

The hard working Mr. Mugaga remembered those days like this:

My business wasn't very good because we were full of fear for our lives, those army men could just come and grab our things and not pay you for anything. They would take tobacco and alcohol for free. An army man could ask you for one packet of cigarettes but there would come six more and you have to give each a packet of cigarettes and a match box. If you talk anything against them they just leave you there beaten . . . People became frustrated and some even committed suicide. (Personal communication, April 8, 2003)

Several people, who mentioned enduring these days, recalled that the soldiers would often haul people off into the surrounding forest to be murdered. "At any one time, you could find a hundred dead bodies in the forest" a friend recalled (Informal

conversation, March 17, 2003). Just a decade earlier, many people of Bigodi felt at ease in the forest and moved through it freely, but by the end of Amin's reign the forest had become a frightening place. Except for the most adept woodsmen, the forest was forsaken. Even passing through it on the road to Fort Portal was a risk not worth taking. In fact, on a much larger scale, movement during Amin's reign became nearly impossible. People were restricted to their villages. New faces were regarded with deep suspicion and mistrust. "In those days it would take weeks to travel to Kampala, today it is just five or six hours. The roads were bad and you could be thrown in jail for nothing, you had to bribe every local official along the way, it was terrible" (Kakye, personal communication, March 25, 2003). During Amin's reign, not only was travel in and out of Uganda stopped, but also travel within Uganda was stopped.

Amin was eventually overthrown in 1979, but his removal from power brought no respite from government committed atrocities. Amin was both preceded and followed in power by Milton Obote. During Obote's second regime, unlike his first, he relied on brutal military force to maintain a submissive population. Older people in Bigodi remembered how Obote's soldiers would raid the town and countryside kidnapping young men to use as soldiers. Many resident's lost relatives during these times and even the memories are difficult to make sense of, as Mr. Mugaga reveals:

In Obote's second regime, his men would come and take people away in these 99 jeeps by force [ironically, 99 was supposed to be a police number people could call for help]. You would be made to fight not even knowing the tactics. So many people died, I lost 8 relatives. These people had been rich and hard working. These people had worked for their living. I was not happy with that government. (Personal communication, April 8, 2003)

For an interminable stretch of nearly two decades, Ugandans were largely frozen with fear. During this time all strangers and new faces were regarded with extreme suspicion.

They could be government spies, secret police or rebels. It was best for everyone to stay in the relative safety of their home village and wait for better days.

It was not until 1986, when better days arrived. In that year, the current president Yoweri Museveni came to power after militarily ousting the former government. Among his first successes as president was to substantially curtail the widespread human rights abuses of the army and police. He also adopted western backed economic reforms which have produced regular annual growth in an economy left for dead. Today, President Museveni is enthusiastically supported by the vast majority of rural Ugandans living in the western part of the country. In large part, he is loved because he freed people from fear. I asked a brick maker living just outside Bigodi what changes he has seen since the early 1980s. He replied, “There has been a great change, presently everyone is free to move or do what they want because of this security issued by Museveni” (Kihuguru, personal communication, May 10, 2003). With the freedom from fear came the freedom to move, something that had been lost. Reflecting on Museveni, a woman who regularly does business in Fort portal stated, “now under Museveni people have started moving” (Kabatotro, personal communication, March 2, 2003).

With the increase in movement came a mostly regular and generally reliable transportation service connecting Bigodi to Fort Portal. Not known for convenience, the early taxis were appreciated for connecting Bigodi with those areas beyond the forest.

Well what I recall is that around 1987 there used to be only three vehicles, pickups, which would operate on this road to Fort Portal. They would leave here by 4:30am and if you missed transport at that time you could not reach Fort Portal. You were out of luck. So the place was remote. (Busingye, personal communication, May 27, 2003)

The arrival of reliable transportation is one of the most common memories of Museveni's first decade in power. Roads were improved and taxi services increased. This was not the result of any particular government initiative; rather it was due largely to newfound freedom. Freedom allowed for an increase in trade between villages and towns and the slow accumulation of wealth. In short, opportunity; and one woman I spoke with remembers it as exactly that:

I stayed in Bigodi up until 1991. From 1991 up to 1997 I was outside of Bigodi married, but I failed to get an understanding with the man I was staying with, so I came back here to my mother's home. But when I came back to this end, I found Bigodi was different as how I left it. At that time I left we had few motorcars and we had no minibus, when I came back I found a minibus. I found more cars. Before we were suffering, we would get up very early to get the car and if you fail to get up early on that day you wouldn't get to town, but now we are free and going at anytime. I was happy to see Bigodi got that opportunity. (Kemigisha, personal communication, April 7, 2003)

Such improvements were inspiring and rural farmers began thriving again as moral was boosted and the economy opened up. Under Amin, Uganda's largest cash crop, coffee, was tightly controlled by government cooperatives. Farmers were forced to sell at below cost prices to unscrupulous government buyers. Occasionally, growers risked their lives trying to smuggle coffee out of the country, carrying it on their heads all the way to the Congo for higher prices. With Museveni's open markets, coffee was once again a profitable cash crop providing income to rural areas. During the late 1980s and early 1990s, nearly every serious farmer in Bigodi was a producer. The better farmers expected two harvests a year of around 800 kilograms each. Coffee is sold dried and in the husk; depending on prices a harvest could earn a farmer from 150 to 300 US dollars. By this time in Bigodi, coffee was the cash crop and main source of income. The agriculturally minded Bakiga prospered because of the coffee trade and soon where

outnumbering the Batoro nearly two to one. Their success at farming was a matter of pride. As a Bakiga farmer once told me,

There are good things in Bigodi, if they weren't here we wouldn't be here. First, in Bigodi we have cultivators. We till the land and we get crops for food. We grow coffee and get money from it, that's an important thing. (Waswa, personal communication, March 6, 2003)

Under Museveni, revitalization and optimism were not limited to Bigodi. Across the country people were benefiting from an increase in freedom and stability. Internationally, people began taking notice. By 1990, the tourism industry in Uganda was slowly coming back to life. After nearly twenty years of abandonment, breathing life into Uganda's once vibrant tourism industry was a monumental challenge. The Assistant Commissioner in Uganda's Ministry of Tourism explained the situation to me as follows:

Since the early 1990s, quite some focus and attention has been given to the revival of tourism, and I am talking about reviving tourism to the pre 1972 levels where statistics indicate Uganda was receiving about 800,000 tourists a year. That was a situation where all the infrastructure was in place, we had good roads, good communication systems, we had security, we had good hospital facilities and power. And in terms attractions, especially with the protected areas, you had good stocks of wildlife, good safaris, good game viewing, wildlife had not been depleted. Now, in terms of human resource development, when Amin banned tourism in 1972 it meant that capacity building in that sector scaled down because tourism was no longer an economic activity. Training in tourism management came to a halt. So we are really talking about a lost generation, from 1972 until 1986. There were no serious tourism initiatives for a long time. We had to start over from the beginning. Sure basic infrastructure survived but what remained could only provide a very low quality of service, I mean, you can imagine, our international hotels were cooking on charcoal and serving salted meat because there was no refrigeration. For the industry to survive that period was a real challenge. (Personal communication, November 27, 2002)

For his part, President Museveni was quite active in rebuilding the tourism industry. Among his contributions was the creation of five new national parks, all with tremendous tourism value. One of the parks was Kibale. Situated on the edge of Bigodi, Kibale NP introduced a challenging new dynamic into an already changing area. In

1991, the first steps were taken to create Kibale NP from the forest neighboring Bigodi and by 1992 it was officially a national park. Prior to 1991, the forest was protected by the forestry department, but there was little in the way of law enforcement which stopped local people from using its resources. It was remembered “there was no one there to enforce ownership and restrict locals from going into the forest” (Mzee Nyakato, personal communication, April 17, 2003). It is not that there were no forestry officials working on the ground. They were there, only they were few and much more open to the persuasive offers locals made in order to use the forest. There were also game rangers stationed in the forest whose purpose was guarding farmers’ crops from wild animals. A farmer next to the park remembered the services of these rangers quite well and explained, “the forest used to be under the forest department and was not a park, and wild animals which used to attack us would be chased by game rangers, but since it became a park we must chase them ourselves” (Wakabale, personal communication, April 27, 2003).

In a complete reversal of roles, the new rangers of Kibale NP did not chase animals but protected them. Such actions made little sense to a community built on hunting, pit sawing and a type of agriculture vulnerable to hungry wildlife. In addition, the park rangers’ presence was much greater than their predecessors from the forest department. The new park rangers assumed a police-like presence to accompany their law enforcement mission. This still does not sit well with residents accustomed to using the forest. As a guide at Kibale NP told me, “local people are not happy, because they used to get meat and firewood from the park but now if rangers find them there they are arrested” (Magambo, personal communication, March 5, 2003).

The impression at the time of Kibale's creation was that the government was suddenly and permanently in Bigodi. Based off past experiences, the idea of having the government as a new neighbor was not so appealing. Years of political instability, beginning with Amin, had left a stain. Despite widespread allegiance and support for Museveni, trust in "the government" was still difficult to muster. This is still true today. A warden at Kibale NP told me of the difficulty he has convincing locals that crop raiding baboons are officially recognized as vermin and steps can be taken to kill them. As the warden told me, "people are still afraid to kill them because they feel the park staff is just trying to trick them or set a trap for them so that they can be arrested" (Informal conversation, May 31, 2003). Initial impressions about the park were mostly negative, in some cases, initial impressions have been hard to shake. Originally, the park's purpose was mysterious and its existence inconvenient if not intimidating. Regardless of personal opinion, few people had any idea that the park would have such an impact on ordinary life in the years to come.

Today, 1991 is remembered as the landmark year for change in Bigodi's history. This is surprising considering the change which had already taken place in Bigodi during the forty years before Kibale NP's creation. At the time of its creation, people wondered how they would ever benefit from it. It was the same forest people had grown up with, only now access and use was much more restricted. But to everyone's amazement, this park, this old forest everyone took for granted, brought the unexpected. Shortly after its creation, the park began attracting bazungu (white people) - a mysterious breed of human seldom seen in Bigodi. These first bazungu were mostly researchers and volunteers. In 1991, volunteers came from England to build the Kanyanchu tourist center. A Peace

Corps Volunteer came from the US to work with the community, and countless researchers came and went conducting censuses and inventories throughout the new park. Regardless of their purpose, they are now all loosely categorized by the people of Bigodi as tourists. Despite all achievements prior to 1991, the hardships endured and the progress made, it is the beginning of tourism, or the coming of bazungu, which people in Bigodi credit for instigating change as the following commendation indicates:

Before 1991 we had only two permanent houses, but then tourism started coming to Bigodi. It started from Kanyanchu in the park, and visitors would just come and buy things here, and we benefited from the efforts of the Peace Corps Volunteer who was stationed here. He made some groups of local people and gave them ideas. He made the owner of this Mukusu hotel set up the hotel and visitors started coming there and now sleeping in Bigodi. So people started getting money here, you know, direct cash! And of course some people got employed in the park and now local people here started getting what we call indirect income and all of a sudden people started developing, developing! Now, since 1991 when there were 2 permanent houses, I would say half of all the houses are brick and permanent in Bigodi - brick, with iron sheets and cement!

And what would you credit those changes to?

Tourism in this area, because when tourism came here people's eyes became open. (Busingye, personal communication, May 27, 2003)

As this passage suggests, the creation of tourism is widely perceived as the most significant event in the history of Bigodi. So much so that it forms a dividing line between the past and the present, or the time when people's eyes were shut and the time when people's eyes were open. Similarly, an elderly lady used tourism as a dividing line in her account of the past, telling me that the days before tourism "were dark days, people could only think of what to eat next and we would get diseases and just use our local cures, we didn't have good medicine then" (Informal conversation, April 8, 2003).

Despite current local perceptions to the contrary, a dividing line does not exist. The past and the present are fluid. Historical, political, economic and cultural forces readily flow

between them. Considering this, the creation of tourism in Bigodi was part of a larger ongoing process of change, a process which influences the way residents of Bigodi construct and interpret the world around them. Considering this, it is to the creation of tourism in Bigodi which this search for meaning now turns.

The Creation of Tourism

At first people thought it was just a dream, we couldn't believe tourists would come from America and Asia just to see what was in the swamp. (Twinomugisha, personal communication, March 22, 2003)

There is a swamp which slowly spills out of Kibale NP and into the heart of Bigodi. It is a meandering swath of green in contrast to the turned soil of Bigodi's cultivated landscape. Water moves through the swamp, but not at a pace easily perceivable from the edge. What is noticed from the edge is the hum of insects, the songs of birds and a growing wetness around one's feet if not wearing boots. The water's progress is slowed by thick mats of contiguous vegetation and it seeps into the ground surrounding the swamp. Grasses and sedges mark the banks and soon give way to thick green papyrus rising two or three meters above the water. Small islands of palms look down upon the papyrus throughout the swamp; and at places, pockets of trees have managed to rise up against the soggy conditions. Surrounded by farmland on either side, the swamp is something like a highway leading the animals from the park to the fruits of the farmer's hard labor. Monkeys, baboons, antelope, hippopotamus and elephant have all been known to travel its length in search of delicacies like bananas, maize, peanuts and sweet potatoes. For this reason, the swamp had always been an inconvenience for the farmers of Bigodi. Sure it had some uses, medicinal herbs grew there as well as a variety of materials used for weaving baskets and roofing houses; and it was a dependable supply of water during drought. Nevertheless, no one seemed to mind as farmers slowly

encroached upon its boundaries, draining the swamp and converting it to agriculture. It was a very un-extraordinary feature of the landscape.

Un-extraordinary indeed, until 1991 when the extraordinary happened. Late that year, shortly after the national park was created, a United States Peace Corps Volunteer (PCV) came to live among the people of Bigodi. He was assigned to extend the benefits of the park to the people of Bigodi. Simultaneously, a group of volunteers from England known as Frontiers came to Kanyanchu Tourist Site in the park to lay the groundwork for a campground there. Suddenly bazungu where everywhere, one was actually living in Bigodi and others came on a weekly basis from the park to buy supplies. As they came and went between the park and Bigodi they crossed the swamp. And for them, the swamp became an engrossing attraction. They could spend hours there along its edges bird watching and searching for monkeys. Of course, many local people found this habit of the bazungu mystifying. As a person from a nearby village exclaimed to me while pondering tourism in Bigodi, “I just don’t know what you people see there? You just look at the leaves like I see them here in front of me!” As she said this, she gestured to the planted hedge in front of her home (Rovina, personal communication, February 25, 2003). By all accounts today, this was the beginning of tourism in Bigodi, although it was not recognized as such at the time.

Until recently, tourism as a concept or leisure activity was non-existent in the Batoro and Bakiga cultures. While people throughout western Uganda have a diversity of pastimes, tourism is definitely not one of them. There is not even a word in any of the western languages, Batoro and Bakiga included, which comes close to describing tourism. During the time of this study, a humorous article appeared in the Ugandan daily

newspaper illustrating how in this age of universal travel, such a shortfall in vocabulary can lead to strange consequences. The article, headlined “DAD BLASTS GIRL OVER MAKERERE UNIVERSITY COURSE,” is reprinted below:

Annette Kyomuhangi of Burunga, Mbarara recently amused people when she failed to explain to her father the course she intends to pursue at Makerere University. Mr. Birakwate, her father, asked her to tell him what she was going to study so that he could budget accordingly. Kyomuhangi, who was very excited, told him she was going to study tourism. But Birakwate wanted her to translate ‘tourism’ into Runyankole. Kyomuhangi made a direct translation, ‘Mzee tuwarizimu nebyokutambatambura,’ which directly meant, it is just about moving around. At this, Mr. Birakwate became vexed and said, ‘No, no! I can’t waste my money to pay for you to go for prostitution. Are you mad?’ (New Vision, April 19, 2003:21)

In the article, the aspiring student at Uganda’s finest university tried to translate the word “tourism” into a language very similar to what is spoken in Bigodi. While her attempt had the best intentions, her effort ended in failure.

In 1991, similar struggles over the concept of tourism were just beginning in Bigodi. Because the idea of tourism was non-existent within Bakiga and Batoro culture, people naturally came to other conclusions about the bazungu’s purpose. It was not long before the newcomers in Bigodi began to arouse suspicion among local people. I asked everyone I interviewed, “what did you think these bazungu where doing when they first arrived?” The most common conclusion was that the bazungu had come to steal their land. This was fueled in large part by the bazungu’s interest in the swamp and forest. An older gentleman from the trading center who eventually became good friends with the PCV remembered this about those first impressions:

People here thought Museveni [the president of Uganda] had sold the forest, that’s what they had to think. People even thought they had been sold, the country had been sold, the place and the people, I have evidence on that, I saw and heard it. (Mugaga, personal communication, April 8, 2003)

A grandmother who observed the strange happenings from a stately distance remembered:

We thought that the bazungu had made a trick to build themselves a big building there by the swamp and that people near the swamp had sold their land because they were fearing the bazungu. So we thought they would build and take the land. (Mzee Nyakato, personal communication, April 17, 2003)

A merchant in the trading center told me:

Well, we had a conviction that the bazungu were to take our land, and likewise when this tourism project began they said, aha you look now, they are going to take your land and your minerals. They are already ruling you indirectly. (Asaba, personal communication, March 5, 2003)

A young man doing odd jobs around town and with no land of his own recalled:

In fact, when the bazungu were starting projects, people thought these bazungu would encroach on their land and then people thought bazungu wanted to exploit their minerals, they thought these bazungu were not good. (Wampande, personal communication, March 7, 2003)

Indeed the bazungu's presence and behavior alarmed many people. Some were downright frightened, "most at first were fearing the bazungu so they didn't want to come near to whites" (Akello, personal communication, May 4, 2003). An elderly lady told me she was frightened because of all the fancy gadgets bazungu carried like fanny packs, "Leatherman" pocket tools, binoculars and cameras. Their use, as was the bazungu's purpose, was a left to the imagination:

When the bazungu came in here we were first terrified of them ... Because of the machines they were carrying [cameras and binoculars I gathered by her gestures]. We were afraid they were going to arrest people and extract blood from them. (Mzee Nyakato, personal communication, April 17, 2003)

Others explained this fear of bazungu and their cameras in a way which struck more of a common chord. A young man told me:

People think only that bazungu want to take a photo of them and take it outside Uganda and laugh at them. Only that. They even fear photos. (Ngobi, personal communication, February 27, 2003)

While a lack of knowledge about the bazungu's purpose generated suspicion and fear, it never created animosity. The result was mostly confusion. Different worlds were colliding and the experience was new for everyone involved. These sentiments were summarized exactly by one of the leading women in Bigodi. She recalled,

At the time the volunteers arrived, most locals did not know how to approach them, and even the volunteers did not know how to approach the locals, so you find everybody was alone because they did not know how to handle each other. (Akello, personal communication, May 4, 2003)

From this inauspicious beginning, came one of Uganda's most successful community based tourism projects. It is known as KAFRED, the Kabale Association For Rural and Economic Development. It is the brainchild of that first PCV. He recognized the swamp as an attraction that could bring tourists out of the park and into the community of Bigodi. His hope was that tourism would spawn economic development while conserving the swamp at the same time. The trick would only be to convince local people that such a project would be beneficial, and that the swamp was worth conserving. As the PCV began spreading his idea of tourism and conservation throughout Bigodi, converts were few, opposition was plenty and confusion reigned.

Well [the PCV] at first really got stiff resistance especially from those people bordering the swamp. For instance, people had a negative attitude whereby they felt the land was going to be denied from the owners because in our customary system of land ownership, someone would take a big chunk of land up to the swamp, so the moment that kind of business [tourism] is introduced people believed a small piece of land was going to be deducted from each person's big chunk. Another thing is that people thought they were not going to benefit from the swamp because they thought it was a bazungu business and just for a few individuals. Then another challenge was that people never used to know what tourism was, they only thought of tourism as national parks. So they thought the moment they bring the issue of tourism into the swamp then it would extend the

national park into the community, and they already knew the dangers of national parks like the crop raiding animals. So this community, being basically agriculturally oriented, thought their crops would be really raided and they would starve. So somehow [the PCV] met a lot of resistance, although he eventually succeeded. (Kalevu, personal communication, April 7, 2003)

As I asked people in Bigodi how the PCV eventually succeeded, it was remembered that he targeted the “elites” with his new ideas. The “elites,” it was explained, are those members of the community with the most education. In the case of Bigodi, that meant people who had at least completed O-level (approximately a ninth grade US education). Such people have an excellent command of English and almost always wind up as decision makers in rural communities, many times holding more than one position of power. As a Ugandan friend told me, “here in the village there are just a few literate people and they take all the decision making posts” (Muwanga, personal communication, February 7, 2003). These were the people the PCV set out to convince. Continuing the conversation quoted in the preceding paragraph, I asked the speaker how the PCV eventually succeeded. I was told:

Well I have a feeling that Mark was so much a wise person that he used elders and a few elites in the community to sensitize others about the proper use of the swamp, about how the benefits would accrue to society instead of a single group or bazungu. (Kalevu, personal communication, April 7, 2003)

A ranger from Kibale National Park also remembered how tourism grabbed a toehold in Bigodi. He told me this:

Actually, what started it was the efforts of the PCV, he just came along and said if you people develop this wetland you can actually benefit in the future. But of course people thought NO, these are just bazungus who are coming to buy the swamp so we are not even going to join. They just want to take the swamp. But of course a group of elites joined and paid some membership fees, there were actually about 6 at the beginning.

Now what made them elites, I asked?

Education. They were somehow educated. So they sat and paid membership fees, bought some books, hired an office and started working. Then some other members started joining, at first you had to pay 11000 shillings but later on when members became many they raised it to 21000 shillings. Actually that is what I paid when I joined. Now it is open to everybody from Kibale county, we even said tourists can join and be non voting members. That's how tourism started in Bigodi. (Busingye, personal communication, May 27, 2003)

Beginning with the elites, the PCV established a core group of six men from Bigodi. The persuasiveness of his argument hinged on the swamp's potential as an income earning tourist attraction if it could be protected. In something reminiscent of the classic baseball movie "Field of Dreams," the PCV argued if you conserve it, they will come. Conservation of natural resources like the swamp, for reasons other than money, would not make much sense in Bigodi. This was explained to me by a man who wrestles against this belief on a daily basis, the Executive Director of the Uganda Wildlife Authority (UWA). He explained in Uganda, there is no conservation ethic among rural people as we understand it here in the West, in other words, conservation for ecological, aesthetic or even moral reasons. He compared conservation in the West and Uganda like this:

The attitudes of people towards nature in developed countries are very positive, meaning they see nature as something to conserve not to destroy, because they value nature. But in underdeveloped countries, we take nature for granted because it is abundant, it is not in scarcity ... In Uganda we still think conservation is when you can get tourists from outside to come and visit your place, and tourist means bazungu, but it is not an innate ethic or way of looking at life or the use of natural resources where people can say this is a nice forest and we need to conserve it with or without tourists ... and this is a big problem because people in the rural areas don't understand that natural resources are in a crisis because they see them abundantly, swamps, trees, everything. (Personal communication, March 13, 2003)

In Bigodi, peasant farmers survive by clearing land and establishing crops. They survive from harvest to harvest. They necessarily take a utilitarian view of natural

resource conservation. For a subsistence farmer, there is never enough profit to plan beyond the short term, beyond the immediacy of the present. To illustrate, I one day asked a farmer in Bigodi “what are your plans?” The question was casual and meant to be part of our exchange of greetings. His answer echoed the hardships of the field:

You can’t plan for the future when there is no regular money, only these people employed on a permanent basis can plan for the future. For the rest of us, we do not know if we will continue to get money to use on our plans. (Asaba, personal communication, May 10, 2003)

Therefore, in places like Bigodi, conservation must provide immediate utility to be valued. An original member of KAFRED explained this fact as follows:

People in Bigodi think that unless something is producing tangible benefits then it is useless. It is difficult to tell them it is valuable, just looking at animals doesn’t make sense, it isn’t of value, but if there is some money coming out then they can say yes there is a value. (Tumwine, personal communication, January 13, 2003)

So while the ideas of tourism and conservation were both new and strange, the idea of creating money was as old as the swamp itself. With the promise of money on the horizon, the KAFRED project was born and protection for the swamp began. It was a shaky beginning to say the least, as one founding member later recalled, “We didn’t know how tourism worked, so we just tried to see the outcome, people never believed” (Twinomugisha, personal communication, March 22, 2003).

Trusting that the PCV was correct, the project got underway. KAFRED members volunteered their time surveying and clearing a trail around the swamp, formulating an initial charter for their organization and looking for support among the community. A one time membership fee of 11,000 Ugandan Shillings (about 10 USD at that time) was declared and that money was used for buying gum boots and machetes to clear the first trails. Initially, clearing trail drew heated criticism from the farmers bordering the

swamp. The trail demarcated a boundary where none had existed before. A founding member remembers this as “war.” “When we established trails people thought we were to take land from them so that was war again, so we had to call these people neighboring the swamp and we had to explain to them why we have established some trails along the swamp” (Twinomugisha, personal communication, March 22, 2003). Another remembered being told “if you come to my land to put a boundary I will kill you” (Magambo, personal communication, March 5, 2003). With patience, continued education and formal negotiation cooler heads prevailed. A compromise was struck whereby every farmer bordering the project area was given free membership, and thus decision making power, in KAFRED. There is no way of knowing what would have become of KAFRED had the original members and neighboring farmers remained antagonistic. However, giving the farmers an equal voice in the project certainly gave KAFRED the legitimacy it needed to establish itself as a community project.

With trail construction safely underway, the next step was to train guides. Guides needed to be able to identify plants and animals along the trail as well as have a friendly, welcoming demeanor with tourists. Kibale NP cooperated with the guide training. The park had a professional staff and an increasing number of bazungu volunteers and researchers who were happy to participate. “Bazungu sensitization” as it might be called, was as important for the young guides as was memorizing the Latin names of common birds and plants. The final step was to attract tourists. In this, KAFRED had a tremendous advantage due to its close proximity to the national park and like magic, by the end of 1992 small numbers of tourists where exploring Bigodi’s swamp. Tourists found the swamp had an appeal all its own. Walking around the swamp was not only a

nature experience but a village experience. On one side of the trail were birds and monkeys darting in and out of the swamp's green cover; and on the other side were farmers digging in their fields, coffee and banana plantations, cassava and sugarcane, mud houses with grass thatching, cooking fires and clay pots. In sum, tourists enjoyed a behind the scenes look at village life, something most nature based attractions could not offer. Instead of competing with the national park, Bigodi's swamp walk complimented it perfectly.

Community sentiment towards the project changed from suspicion into amazement and disbelief. People never could have guessed bazungu would pay money to tour their area. The idea seemed foolhardy to the point of humor, "imagine someone traveling from America to this area by himself, ha, it becomes something very funny!" (Bagonza, personal communication, June 3, 2003). I often asked residents of Bigodi, "Did you believe that tourists would ever come and pay money to walk around your swamp?" The common reply was simply, "We did not know it, that's the truth" (Barungi, personal communication, April 5, 2003). With KAFRED's membership increasing and their initial success as leverage, the PCV wrote a proposal requesting funding to improve the project. A founding member of KAFRED remembered the proposal was approved by a foreign donor to the tune of 8,400 USD (Twinomugisha, personal communication, March 22, 2003). It is hard to imagine the excitement people must have felt. This was an astronomical sum for Bigodi. Immediately, the money was used to construct a visitor center and a boardwalk through the heart of the swamp (Figure 4-3 & 4-4). The brick visitor center with its shiny iron sheet roofing could have been the crown jewel justifying the entire project. Such a building was a spectacle in Bigodi.



Figure 4-3: The KAFRED headquarters in Bigodi.

However, KAFRED would not rest on their newfound laurels. Before basking too much in their own success, they directed their thoughts to the community.

We sat down as an organization and tried to think about what we could do to please the locals so we built a secondary school nearby, now children can attend school near here and after school they are able to help their parents guard their crops. (Twinomugisha, personal communication, March 22, 2003)

School construction was completed in 1993, not even two years after the arrival of the PCV. The original building was one room, but it has since been expanded several times. Today it is a fully operational O-level school, registered and licensed with the state (Figure 4-5). “KAFRED paid for construction of the school and the teachers, of course the parents contribute some school fees but it is less expensive than other schools and parents are informed that the money comes from the swamp” (Tumwine, personal communication, January 13, 2003). Thinking about the school today, an admiring resident of Bigodi explained that:

the objective of the school is like a demonstration. People could not believe that a swamp and those places could contribute to development. Now for KAFRED to show that we are benefiting quite a lot from the swamp, one of the things was to put up a school because that is something permanent and always a kid will look at

that and know this thing has come from the swamp. So I should not tamper with the swamp, if I tamper with the swamp I should not have anymore schools developing. Such permanent things had to be put into place so that you can say that is a benefit from the swamp. (Katete, personal communication, March 8, 2003)



Figure 4-4: KAFRED's boardwalk through the Bigodi swamp.

To this day, the value of the secondary school to the community can not be understated. Every person I interviewed mentioned the school as a benefit of tourism. By building it, KAFRED and the PCV earned the respect of nearly the entire community. Meanwhile, the words tourism and conservation began tentatively entering the local lexicon as the community jointly came to terms with the new phenomena. Meaning was slowly being created as the mystery of tourism unfolded.



Figure 4-5: The Bigodi Senior Secondary School – compliments of KAFRED.

From Hunters to Hosts: Bigodi Changes with Tourism

Tourism is like trapping, you have to set your trap and always be checking because you never know when something might enter your trap. (Kamuhangyre, informal conversation, March 31, 2003)

With the forest managed by the park, and the swamp managed by KAFRED, the old ways of life in Bigodi were being changed by something new. That new thing was tourism. From the beginning, tourism created money and jobs, two things in scarcity across Bigodi's largely subsistence economy. The change was welcomed and signaled a new era in town.

By the time I was young, people were not all that involved in tourism, they were not seeing the use of tourism. Like forests, they were misusing forests, even the swamp itself. They could go cut all the papyrus plants. But now they have known the use of the swamp, it means money, visitors and employment opportunities. Some people were lacking jobs but they now have jobs at KAFRED, receptionists, guides, some even work at the national park. Most of the people in the villages here were used to hunting animals but since tourism came hunting is no longer there. (Komuhendo, personal communication, March 26, 2003)

As people began to understand the benefits, they were more willing to work with the PCV who brought tourism to town. Together, they changed Bigodi from an agricultural

and hunting community to one which also embraced tourism. The major developments along this route occurred in the early 1990s. All of them were under the tutelage of the PCV. "This Peace Corps Volunteer, he just gave people knowledge" a founding member of the Bigodi Women's Group recalled.

The Bigodi Women's Group was founded in 1991. It began as a much needed effort to extend tourism's benefits to women. In Bigodi, most women have long been underprivileged compared to men. This imbalance begins with domestic relationships and it extends to the community. Men and women's relationships in the home are defined by a dowry which the man must pay for the woman upon marriage. The effect of the dowry on marital relations was explained to me like this:

Here men do not respect their wives because of dowry... Because the man paid a lot of money to the girl's parents and he wants the money back, so the woman has to dig all day, fetch water, and clean the house, working from morning until evening while the man is in town drinking booze. So whatever the woman makes, maybe from harvested maize she planted, the man sells it, gets the money and then buys a second wife. And the woman can not complain, if she complains she is beaten. It is no good if you make your woman work hard and then after her harvest you get another woman. But if you would not pay dowry you would not make your woman dig like a horse. (Magambo, personal communication, March 5, 2003)

As a result of this system, some women are bound to the home. They dig the plantations and raise children. Getting to town is not so easy and women can easily be left out of developments taking place there.

It was in this environment of gender inequality that the PCV set to work forming a women's group. He knew the women were expert basket weavers and he saw an opportunity for them selling small decorative baskets. There was mild opposition from the beginning and some men would not allow their wives to join. For others, the idea was just plain confusing. It was wondered why anyone would buy such a small basket

that could not hold substantial contents. But as the KAFRED project mysteriously proved, there was money to make in tourism and the PCV understood how to get it. This alone attracted women to the group. A founding member of the group told me the story of how it all began.

So, for us, we organized ourselves and started a group with just 7 women. We started with [the PCV]. We were a small number, but he would encourage us saying “please you make handcrafts.” When he was researching he found it was our culture to make these baskets. Making baskets is cultural. That is to say we did not start making baskets with the group, no, it is cultural. So, he said since you know how to make baskets begin making baskets, and after making your baskets we will sell them to tourists. So we started and we took our baskets to Mukusu hotel and the tourists would buy them... So we started selling our handcrafts slowly and other women came. They would see us getting money from tourists and they had no chance to sell to them so those who wanted to sell handcrafts would come and join. We got a good number of members, at first we reached 12 and we stayed there for about six months. That is when we started advertising the group. The 12 would start advertising and walking side by side teaching about the group, saying “please you people come we are making money through selling handcrafts.” Soon women started even bringing the seeds of tomatoes, onions, carrots. So we started planting. After harvesting we would take them to the hotels for tourists. So we started like that, soon people realized these women are getting money. Then our group grew to about 25 women... That is when [the PCV] recommended we shift our handcrafts into the park, Kanyanchu, because now many tourists were coming there to see chimpanzees. The park did not have a good canteen, it was just timbers [Figure 4-6]. It was a simple shelter where we were selling. Then we also started selling sodas and water for tourists coming back from the forest, even beer but not much else... Those Frontiers who were there are the ones who gave us that place. At first they sold the things themselves but when [the PCV] organized with them they accepted to give us the job of selling. So those people counted their stock and gave it to us! (excited) They gave us a stock of 50,000 USh [Ugandan Shillings], chocolates, biscuits, sodas, and beers! So that was our beginning. When they gave us that small stock we came back to the women and tried to add on, every member contributed 2,000 USh and it added to 50,000 USh and with that we bought more stock and added our handcrafts. Every handcraft sold, the group received ten percent. The woman who made the basket kept the balance. If we sold a basket of 1,000 USh the group removes 100 USh. So we continued like that.
(Kokugonza, personal communication, May 5, 2003)



Figure 4-6: The Bigodi Women's Groups' original canteen at Kibale NP. It has since been abandoned in favor of a newer structure.

From the story, it is clear that money was an influential force attracting women to the group. However, the PCV also exerted a magnetism of his own. He was part of the group from the beginning, and after KAFRED, he had a reputation like King Midas. His ideas were very attractive, as one member of the group recalled:

We met every Saturday and [the PCV] would come and start talking with us. And then one by one, women would come to see what he was saying because he was giving the knowledge about what to do. They copied the knowledge and then started doing something also. (Akello, personal communication, May 4, 2003)

By 1993, the women's group had done a lot. They had advanced from selling baskets at a small, locally owned hotel in Bigodi to running a snack concession at Kibale NP. They also had added two more outlets for their baskets, the KAFRED office and Kibale NP. Not to be outdone by their male counterparts at KAFRED, they decided to put their profits back into the community as well. By the mid 1990s they had built a one room nursery school. The school provided day care services and pre-school education. Its role in the community was increasingly important as women slowly began finding part time work outside the home because of tourism.

The PCV was involved with another successful women's project in Bigodi, this one started by chance. As the story was told, one day the PCV came upon a woman, Akello, in the village grinding roasted peanuts on a stone. She used the paste to make soup but the PCV instantly recognized it as the fixings for a fine sandwich – peanut butter. The PCV was excited and said, "You know how to make peanut butter! Great, bazungu love to eat peanut butter" (Akello, personal communication, May 4, 2003). At that time there were still many Frontiers volunteering at Kanyanchu nearby, and the PCV said, "make a big bowl of that peanut butter and I'll sell it for you to the Frontiers" (Akello, personal communication, May 4, 2003). Akello asked if the Frontiers knew how to cook it and he said, they don't cook it, they eat it like that on bread. Akello was skeptical but noted, "[the PCV] would get very annoyed if he told you to do something and you didn't do it" (Akello, personal communication, May 4, 2003). So Akello made a big batch and sure enough the PCV sold it and she got money. After the PCV convinced her of a market, he convinced her to expand production. He then traveled to Kampala and bought her some containers for the peanut butter. She increased her production, packaged the peanut butter, and sold it to the bazungu. Stooping over a grinding stone and making peanut butter to feed thirty bazungu was no easy task. The flat grinding stone rested on the ground and she had to kneel over it, using the weight of her upper body to grind the butter. Soon Akello could not keep up with demand so she and the PCV formed a women's group to make peanut butter. The group consisted of seven members. "The bazungu buy the peanut butter and we as women benefit and can look after our children, we even can look after our husbands" one of the members told me (Katiti, personal communication, April 6, 2003).

As work continued with peanut butter, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) agreed to assist the national park in their community development efforts. UNDP solicited proposals for development projects from all of the communities surrounding the park. Seventy-five proposals were submitted. Akello and the PCV submitted a proposal for the peanut butter project and it was one of only ten selected. With the money they received, they constructed a new brick building with iron sheet roofing in Bigodi trading center. It was really a marvel. Thanks to tourism, the humble Bigodi trading center was becoming a full fledged town. Mud buildings were being torn down and replaced by permanent brick structures. In addition to their new building, Akello and the PCV used their grant money to also buy a hand powered grinder. There would be no more sore knees and aching backs for the women. As more and more tourists came to the area, production increased. “Local people don’t buy it so much, it is mostly the bazungu who buy it” a member of the project told me about the peanut butter (Katiti, personal communication, April 6, 2003). For this reason, they expanded their market to several shops in Fort Portal, Uganda’s western tourist hub, creating a steady demand for their peanut butter.

The organization of people into co-operative groups is just another feature of the early 1990s credited to the PCV. “We were sensitized that if we make a group we will benefit more than if everybody worked as an individual” a farmer in Bigodi told me as an explanation for the success Bigodi has experienced with tourism (Tamale, personal communication, April 16, 2003). As proof, the farmer reliably cited KAFRED, the Bigodi Women’s Group and the Peanut Butter Project. However, several private businesses got their start during this period as well. In the late 1980s, a family named

Mukusu bought a hilltop farm just outside of the main trading center. While the wife stayed on the farm digging, the man worked in town as a merchant. Slowly, with profits from his business, he began constructing a brick house on the farm. It may have been the first brick home in Bigodi and it assumed the classic “mansion on the hill” status. Among its admirers was the PCV, and soon after his arrival he made arrangements to stay there, offering a monthly rent. Once again demonstrating his “Midas Touch,” the PCV turned the home into a bustling and profitable tourist lodge. Named after its owner, it was called Mukusu Hotel. It was the first such hotel in the area. A close relative of the now deceased Mr. Mukusu told me how it all began,

Business started when [the PCV] came here. When he came to Bigodi he started sleeping here at our house, he rented a room here. So when tourism started in town, he gave us the advice to finish constructing this house, and then we finished constructing and the first visitors to Kibale National Park would come have lunch or supper here. So that brought us some development . . . then the money those visitors brought, we used that to construct more rooms behind the house.

(Kamuli, personal communication, June 28, 2003)

With the PCV’s help, this first hotel nearly became a franchise. Using profits from that business, the owner built a second hotel in Bigodi trading center. The hotel in the trading center was also of permanent construction, meaning brick and iron sheets. Yet it catered to a different, but growing market. As one local described it, after clarifying he meant no racial slur, it was a “house of commons”, not a “house of lords” like the one on the hill. The hotel in the trading center was catering to the growing number of Ugandan taxi drivers and tour operators who were including Bigodi on their routes. Although the brick construction and iron sheets of each belied any difference, the function of each establishment was clear. One served steamed plantains and beans, the other such oddities as a steak and egg sandwich, spaghetti bolognaise, pancakes, French toast and other

western dishes the PCV taught the owners to cook. One hotel catered to Ugandans and one catered to tourists. Both were clear signs that tourism was changing the face of business in Bigodi.

Today there is another locally owned tourist hotel just outside Bigodi, next to the park. It is called Safari Lodge (Figure 4-7). Its origins are much more humble than Mukusu Hotel, although it too owes its beginnings to the PCV. When the owner explained to me how his business started, he talked first of learning about tourism and how to cook western food from the PCV. He saw the success Mukusu Hotel was having and believed he could do the same. He did not have any capital at the beginning to spend on bricks and iron sheets, so he built a simple mud structure for rooms and cleared a field for tents. At the beginning, he was confident in his cooking but a bit concerned about whether his mud accommodations would attract tourists. As a ploy to fill the rooms, he offered free lodging if people ate his food. He was sure his cooking would keep people for a second night. This was an acceptable arrangement he remembered until some people started taking advantage of the deal asking, “how about if we cook our own food, stay for free but buy your drinks?” So he switched to a strategy of charging for lodging and meals but offering free laundry. This worked until overlanders, those hordes of tourists who travel across the continent together, caught wind of the deal. Overland groups would arrive and he would suddenly have 30 to 40 visitors plus a pile of dirty laundry reaching to the sky. On such occasions, he was at a loss as to how to clean so many clothes. He had to resort to hiring young boys from the village whose washing techniques often contributed to the grime instead of washing it away. After suffering one too many abuses for turning all the whites into pinks, he gave up on the free laundry. In

fact, he quit gimmicks altogether and staked his reputation on top notch food and service, charging for both rooms and meals (Lubega, personal communication, February 25, 2003).



Figure 4-7: Backpacker heaven – an inexpensive room at the Safari Lodge

The understandings gained through trial and error are an important part of Safari Lodge's lasting success. With anyone less experienced, the business might easily collapse as it appears some of the mud buildings are already doing. In fact, that is why I initially stuck my head inside the gate, I thought the place was abandoned and I was only trying to confirm my suspicions. That is when a bearded old man sprang out of the shadows, encouraging me to wash the dust off my feet, have a seat in the shade, and make myself comfortable. A bit surprised to find so much activity behind the neglected gate, I relaxed when he produced a bunch of fresh bananas, a juicy pineapple and a hot cup of tea. I wound up staying until morning, enjoying a fantastic dinner and a hearty breakfast. Although the bed was short and the mattress thin, I thought the place was great. Dinner was several courses and topped off with a fresh baked, steaming hot pineapple pie. The pie was baked in a most unconventional oven. It was actually a metal

suitcase, filled with sand to radiate heat evenly, and set over a fire on four stones. The pie was placed inside the suitcase and the lid shut until ready. The contraption accounted for good dinner conversation and humor. Another guest asked Charles, how did you bake this? Charles answered, “I have a suitcase.” To which the guest replied, “Well I have a backpack, can I bake one too.” It is the food, friendly banter and never ending hospitality that make Safari Hotel such a success. On my very first meeting with the owner he told me, “a peace corps volunteer taught me all these things and now I wish I could thank him” (Lubega, personal communication, February 25, 2003).

According to people’s memory, it was sometime in 1994 that the PCV left Bigodi. He left it a much different place than found it. Through a swamp where only water and wildlife had been known to pass, by 1994 there was a steady flow of tourists and money. In the same time period, a humble trading center with only two “permanent buildings” had begun adding many more. After his departure, tourism continued to increase but the disappointment of a now trusted friend leaving for good may have cast a slight pallor over Bigodi. New tourism initiatives would now be fewer and farther between.

After [the PCV] went people became reluctant and were not as active as when [the PCV] was here. Before, they used to meet with [the PCV] and he would teach them and people would share ideas, [the PCV] would advise people about how to solve their problems. (Tamale, personal communication, April 16, 2003)

After hearing such a comment, I asked “After [the PCV] left there was no one around who could organize people?” “There was nobody who could do it” came the reply.

In the mid 1990s, the World Conservation Union (IUCN) started a massive project with Kibale National Park. According to locals, IUCN’s efforts included improving the Kanyanchu Tourist Site and environmental education programs in Bigodi. The former

may have been more successful than the later. Akello, of the Peanut Butter Project, remembered this about IUCN's efforts:

They just drove back and forth through Bigodi every day at high speeds, just wasting fuel. They had to travel all the way from Fort Portal because they couldn't stay within our place. We always wondered what they did and then one day they stopped and told us how to plant trees. Ha, we just laughed because we already knew how to plant. That is our main work and in fact there were many trees here before they ever came. They really wasted a lot of money just to tell us that. (Akello, personal communication, April 16, 2003)

After the long and intimate relationship people had formed with the PCV, such brief encounters with other development workers may have seemed useless. Regardless of what some individuals thought of IUCN's methods, the members of the women's group were direct beneficiaries of the work IUCN did at Kanyanchu. Sometime after the departure of Bigodi's PCV, IUCN built the women a new canteen from which to sell their snacks (Figure 4 – 8). Previously they had been in a small shack constructed of rough hewn timbers. Customers got as many splinters per order as they did fried potatoes. The new canteen was spacious, with open air seating and a brick and concrete foundation. It was a tremendous boost to the group and allowed them to establish themselves firmly as part of the park's service infrastructure. As the park developed and added their own simple lodging, the responsibilities of the group grew as well. Within a decade, they advanced from selling crafts only to operating a full fledged restaurant. The group is even included in the original park brochure. A member of the group told me how this all happened:

When the park came that's when these projects like IUCN entered. IUCN's project was to support tourism and local communities. It was to teach people how to work with tourists, and to how keep the environment like not to kill animals and to leave hunting, and to stop removing timber from the forest. That project of IUCN used to even fund the park. It built the canteen for the women's group, because we were in a very ramshackle thing from which we would sell sodas and

beers. It was just something very funny. So we shifted from there to the new canteen. When we reached there we started preparing snacks like eggs, chips, small things like that. We stayed like that until we got a kitchen. We had no kitchen at first, we just put there a small charcoal stove. We just made snacks not meals, so we stayed like that for a long time until the park had to organize and build a kitchen which they have made now. So that kitchen, they made it and completed it last year. Then they said now you should make a restaurant and serve food for tourists, the park had also built bandas [small cabins] and tourists stayed there without going outside the park. So they asked us to start cooking meals and that's where we are now. (Kokugonza, personal communication, May 5, 2003)



Figure 4-8: The Bigodi Women's Group's new canteen at Kibale NP.

As the women's group continued their success throughout the decade, so did KAFRED. Both managed to survive the tourist drought brought about by the Bwindi massacre in 1998. Early in that year, eight tourists were killed in southwestern Uganda by extremists from Rwanda. The result was two years of nearly empty hotel rooms and parks across Uganda. By 2000, tourism in Uganda was on the rise again and by 2002 it had become the country's leading earner of foreign exchange. Fortunes in Bigodi waxed and waned with those of the nation. Tourist numbers at KAFRED plummeted to near zero by mid 1998, but by 2000 had climbed to around sixty tourists a month. By 2003,

the average was seventy-five tourists a month (Figure 4-9). Seventy-five tourists a month equates to a 1.5 million USh gross profit for KAFRED, or roughly 750 USD. This is enough to pay its staff of four guides a monthly salary, plus make important contributions to the secondary school.



Figure 4-9: Tourists gazing upon the avian bounty of Bigodi's swamp

Today, KAFRED and the women's group receive acclaim from across Uganda. They are hallmarks of community based tourism in the country. Yet equally important to Bigodi's tourism industry are the ordinary citizens, the peasant farmers and the petty merchants. They are the people who at first struggled with the concepts of tourism and feared their land would be taken by the coming bazungu. By 2003, these same people have embraced tourism completely. All totaled, 48 people in Bigodi have full time jobs because of tourism. That is approximately 10 percent of the adult population. Others are finding informal work within the tourism industry like washing clothes, slashing trails, maintaining campsites, fetching water and collecting firewood. Many more are planting new food crops specifically for the tourist market. Merchants are stocking their small shops with extra commodities like toilet paper, cookies and bottled water. Notably, the

way people describe life in Bigodi today is much different than way they describe life before tourism. Recall the elderly lady who referred to those pre-tourism times as “dark days.” Likewise, the way people describe tourism today is much different than their first impressions. Perceptions, attitudes and meaning change under the various pressures brought with time. Now in the land formerly hunted by the Batoro, traps are no longer meant snare game but are now set for any tourist who might take the bait.

Residents’ Attitudes about Tourism

When tourism started it assisted us very much because our children became employed and started working and they gained a chance of getting some money to assist their families and increase on their standards of living. When tourism started is when others took to working with a good spirit and improving themselves. Tourism has helped very many of us. (Mugaga, personal communication, April 8, 2003)

Negative Attitudes

Despite my awareness of the positive change tourism had wrought on Bigodi, when I arrived there to begin my research, I was sure I would find some discord among residents’ attitudes towards tourism. The literature suggests too many possibilities for negative impacts for there to be no breeding of discontent (Brunt & Courtney, 1999; Dogan, 1989; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Smith, 1989a). In my interviews, I always asked people how they felt about tourism. I asked how tourism has impacted their life personally and how tourism has impacted their community. To my surprise, there were few negative words spoken against tourism. Peoples’ attitudes were very positive and responses to my questions a near perfect harmony of praise. Searching, I probed throughout my interviews, asking questions targeting tourism’s negative side. Typically, an exchange would begin like this:

Is there anything you have experienced with tourism that is bad or that you would like to caution others about?

We are saying what bad thing have tourists brought? They don't steal, they don't abuse people, when they come they are happy with us locals, we get along.
(Katiti, personal communication, April 6, 2003)

or,

Have you seen any bad things that have happened because of tourism?

No, there has never been a bad thing. Like I mentioned earlier, when tourism came that's when we learned how to develop ourselves. (Kebirungi, personal communication, May 3, 2003)

Indeed, the vast majority of people had very positive attitudes about tourism and wished there could be more of it. There were two negative impacts however, that stand out from the interviews. The first was of minor consequence to those impacted; the second was of tremendous consequence to those impacted. The minor negative impact was increased prices in the trading center. I say this was minor because it was only mentioned in a few interviews. In each case, the complaint was registered by someone known to be profiting substantially from tourism such as permanent employees of Kibale National Park or the owner of Safari Tourist Hotel who told me with chagrin, "locals charge me more because they think I am paid in dollars" (Lubega, informal conversation, March 28, 2003). This was never mentioned in any of my discussions with subsistence farmers or even casual laborers who occasionally find work in tourism. It is likely that in a small community such as Bigodi where everyone knows everyone, merchants try and squeeze extra shillings from those known to have them.

The other negative impact was crop raiding by wild animals and is much more serious. Crop raiding threatens the immediate livelihood of every farmer bordering Kibale National Park and to a lesser extent those bordering the KAFRED swamp. The

following excerpt from a conversation with a farmer next to the park reveals the severity of the problem:

How much of your crops are destroyed every month?

So much!

How much in terms of money?

We can plant three acres of maize and loose it all if not careful, one elephant can destroy a whole acre.

How do you survive?

For sure we have nothing to do to solve that problem, after the animals eat your food you have to leave the farm and work for others just for food. (Kato, personal communication, April 27, 2003)

I interviewed ten people living next to the park or the swamp, each mentioned crop raiding as a terrible problem. However, the problem was not associated as much with tourism as it was with Kibale National Park and KAFRED. In fact, tourism mitigated some of the hostility generated by crop raiding. As the main tourist attraction in Bigodi and a community based project, KAFRED benefits much more from tourism than does the park. Part of the hostility which exists towards the park results from the perception that local people have tried their best to understand and meet park needs; to the contrary, park officials have not tried to address the single most important issue to locals – crop raiding. In other words, the national park is not believed to be reciprocating the goodwill of the farmers by allowing crop raiding to continue. These points are clear in the following interview with a farmer bordering the KAFRED swamp. Although my initial question to him was not about crop raiding, it quickly became the focus of conversation.

You said that at the beginning when people were organizing KAFRED that many people were concerned their land would be taken, how did KAFRED convince these people there would be no problem, how did they stop the conflict?

They used to call us in their meetings . . . they would invite us and we would come and spend two or three days being taught what tourism is and how to conserve the environment around. They told us mainly that the national park wants to live with the community and they want people to be free to get raw materials from the wetlands or the forest, but what they disliked was massive harvesting, they wanted us to harvest slowly so that these plants can get a chance to develop again without getting destroyed completely. But we also would express our problems to them, like we have problems with animals coming to raid our crops but with that problem they didn't give us a solution, up to now we are still suffering with that.

What kind of animals?

Baboons, monkeys, elephants, antelopes, pigs, buffalos, all those come to destroy our crops and then they go back.

What do you do when an animal comes?

I remember when they were teaching us. They said when your crops get destroyed by animals from the national park you report to park officials so they can compensate you, but people tried it many times and they never helped us at all. They never gave compensation. So it is upon every individual to guard his or her garden. That is the only solution. The park is not helping so much.

How would you handle the problem if you were a park warden?

Maybe if the park could give us rangers to stay around and scare those animals. We also know the importance of tourism; we don't want those animals to be killed. We want them to stay around in the forest but without destroying our crops. The rangers could stay here and when they spot those animals they scare them away. We have been proposing that one all along but the park officials don't mind about it and I don't know why.

I also think about that problem.

Economically it is serious.

It is such a big park it would take a lot of people to guard.

Yes each parish could have at least five guards, they come armed.

How many times in a year is your farm attacked?

It is daily!! For us it is daily! When you plant your crops then you have to stay there and guard. (Kamuhanda, personal communication, March 27, 2003)

The above conversation is interesting because while the farmer borders KAFRED's swamp, he targets the national park with his criticism. Typically, the park is given responsibility for crop raiding animals. Partly because wildlife is commonly believed to belong to the government; and partly because the most notorious crop raiders, baboons and elephants, live in the park and just travel through the swamp to reach crops. Also, because KAFRED has brought tourism's benefits directly to Bigodi, it is immune from the harshest criticisms.

Thus, crop raiding is more likely to be fostering discontent for Kibale NP, and to a lesser degree KAFRED, than tourists. As a farmer next to KNP told me:

Tourists are easy to get along with, but the problem may be our people here. Sometimes they may not behave appropriately, but tourists don't have any problem. The tourists do not go to see my garden when it is raided by animals, but in fact it is not their concern, it should be the concern of the people here.
(Tugonza, personal communication, April 9, 2003)

While I never encountered hostility towards tourists, there is a real hostility that exists towards Kibale NP officials. The hostility is limited to those vulnerable to crop raiding. I asked a widow farming on the edge of the park if she has tried to speak to the wardens about the crop raiding problem; she replied, "We talked with them but they never do anything, they just leave us the way we are. They take us to be like the animals also"
(Mbabazi, personal communication, June 2, 2003).

Despite this hostility, tourism's benefits can be a mitigating factor. This was best expressed by the same widow above. Her husband has passed away and she manages a farm and several young children by herself. She bemoans her children's lot which has placed them next to the park. Her children can only attend school on a rotational basis. Some attend while others stay behind to help guard the crops. Each week every child of

hers must miss some classes to keep the garden safe. All of this is because the park is protected for tourists. Considering this, I asked her to weigh the costs and benefits of tourism and she replied:

The benefits are greater because building a school is so good. It helps a very big area, it is a small portion of those in that area that suffer from animals. Those can be helped later as the area improves from education or they can find a way of solving the problem. Now our children can get an education and the area can develop, so you cannot say that tourism is bad because of a few people who are suffering from the wild animals. (Mbabazi, personal communication, June 2, 2003)

Positive Attitudes

It is difficult to adequately describe the despair that farmers bordering the park feel when the only fruits of their labor are taken by wild animals. Imagine the feeling of not being able to consistently provide for your children because their food is regularly stolen. Yet despite this, the widow above was glad for the tourism taking place in Bigodi. Even if the park, the swamp and some crop raiding animals must be protected to do so. This is an amazing testament to the power KAFRED's school and other communal benefits have for creating positive attitudes about tourism. Every person I interviewed in Bigodi, with the exception of a few farmers bordering the park, mentioned at least one form of communal benefit as a result of tourism. Even if there were no personal benefits, community benefits were identified. I asked a farmer living on the edge of the swamp if he benefited in any way from tourism, his reply was: "Not quite, personally I have not. But communally I have benefited. I am part of the community so the development going around I am part of it" (Kamuhanda, personal communication, March 27, 2003).

The most commonly mentioned communal benefit was KAFRED's secondary school. A teacher at the primary school who is proud to have a place to send his graduates told me:

The people from this area are really benefiting, we are the ones getting education from this school. Maybe a certain group is benefiting more than the rest but I think everybody in this area is benefiting . . . Once KAFRED started a secondary school that was when we realized now the money is ours. (Bagonza, personal communication, June 3, 2003)

A merchant in the trading center whose children are not yet old enough to attend the secondary school said:

Now with this KAFRED, when tourists come for their visit they pay money and this money goes to help local people, like the school. We have a secondary school now . . . now we have started realizing the benefits of tourism. (Asaba, personal communication, March 5, 2003)

A young lady who recently completed an O-level education herself said:

The good changes here are these tourists who come from America. When they came they found we had no classes, we were studying under the trees. So they put there a school, they could even give us books and sponsor some children to go to school. (Nakalema, personal communication, June 3, 2003)

Even the few people I met who were clearly disgruntled with KAFRED were thankful for the secondary school. As one tired, old farmer who has lost many a crop to the swamp creatures told me:

I am happy KAFRED built a secondary school and also the path that we use to cross the swamp. I am happy for that. But the most important thing is that when our crops are raided they don't give us money. (Mzee Wandela, personal communication, March 30, 2003)

Old and young, men and women all mentioned the school as a benefit. A recent graduate of KAFRED's secondary school told me, "When KAFRED earned some money they found a way of utilizing that money in a positive way that could benefit the community and they had to construct a secondary school" (Wampande, personal communication, March 7, 2003). The boy's grandmother later told me that KAFRED's building the school was the best thing that has ever happened in Bigodi, and she has lived there for thirty-two years.

In addition to the communal benefits of tourism, several other major benefits were frequently and enthusiastically discussed by Bigodi's residents, including: income or money; markets for local goods; and an interesting belief that tourism provides everyone with a "chance." All of these benefits are related in that they have increased residents' opportunities for financially improving themselves. The obvious beneficiaries are the merchants in the trading center who sell mineral water, coca-cola, and sometimes fresh bananas to tourists, as the following excerpt shows:

I like Bigodi for one thing; it is all about tourism and tourism's benefits which affect how people get their income. Compared to other places it is better. Like I prefer it to where I come from eight kilometers away. I had to prefer Bigodi because at least here there is reliable income from these tourists who have to come here and buy things like mineral water, things of refreshment. Then at least they spend some money in some hotels where we also sell our local things like pineapple and chicken. We also tap a little of what the hotels earn from tourism. That is why I like Bigodi, it generates much income compared to other places. (Asaba, personal communication, March 5, 2003)

However, it is not just the merchants who are earning money through tourism. Backwards linkages have put money into the hands of farmers, craftsmen, artists, laborers, the local tailor who occasionally repairs tents and torn safari gear - nearly everybody. The founder of the peanut butter project described things in similar terms:

Everybody is benefiting from tourism. If you have something to sell you get money. Before people were suffering, there was no way to get money; but since tourism came to this place now everybody at least knows what to do. There are different activities, people are getting money in every corner. People have put up new houses, more shops, tourism has brought big development, and everybody knows what to do. (Akello, personal communication, May 4, 2003)

Just as money creates positive attitudes about tourism in Bigodi, the same relationship holds for tourists. All bazungu, or tourists, have become stereotyped as having lots of money. While my observations indicate many tourists, especially backpackers, resent this stereotyping; in comparison to the resident's of Bigodi it is very

true. All bazungu are equally associated with money, “when people hear Bazungu they know that’s money” (Male youth 2003). The good thing is that this has not spawned resentment or jealousy against tourists. To the contrary, tourists’ affluence may be one of their most affable traits. A friend in Bigodi told me of a funny incident which makes this point exactly. He told me:

I made friends with a muzungu and at the end of the day I brought him home and offered him a chicken as a gift. You know in Uganda, when someone visits your home they can’t leave without taking something. The muzungu insisted, no I can’t take this! Of course I insisted too, until finally the muzungu said I don’t have any money to pay you for this. Now, that’s when I realized that bazungu don’t understand that there are any free things! That’s why they are so good! They think you have to pay for everything! In Africa, people share things, when you come into their home you must take something, it makes us Africans happy, but bazungu want to pay for everything. (Emmanuel, informal conversation, March 25, 2003)

Actually, others in Bigodi who have casually observed tourists’ habits have come to similar conclusions. A ranger at Kibale NP made the shrewd observation that “tourists *have* to buy handcrafts, they *want* to spend their money, they *need* to buy things” (italics added) (Magambo, personal communication, March 5, 2003). The chairman of KAFRED observed “tourists boost business because they consume a lot” (Twinomugisha, personal communication, March 22, 2003). While tourists are sometimes considered a blight due to their over consumption of resources, in Bigodi tourists are more like manna from heaven than locust. The reason is that money is a highly cherished benefit of tourism in Bigodi.

Another often mentioned benefit, which directly translates into money, is that tourism has increased markets for local agricultural produce. Because most residents of Bigodi are farmers, this benefit was mentioned by nearly everyone. A farmer deep in the village told me, “I get a better market for my produce and that has really made me happy.

If KAFRED or the women's canteen in Kanyanchu wasn't there, I wouldn't have the money I have now" (Munene, personal communication, April 26, 2003). Another farmer said, "tourism is good, I already told you its value and we get it in almost every household, because whoever has tomatoes can sell them, whoever has eggs and cabbage can sell them" (Tamale, personal communication, April 16, 2003).

This works in two ways. Most obviously, tourists need to eat and have increased the demand for food. Secondly and more importantly, some residents of Bigodi are now fully employed in tourism and no longer have time to farm for themselves; therefore they must buy food from others. An elderly man, still managing to farm, told me "when those people working get money from tourists so do we because they buy food from us" (Mzee Isabirye, personal communication, May 9, 2003). While no one referred to this as the multiplier effect, most people I spoke with were well aware of this economic principle. One particular conversation I had, with a mother of four whose husband had left her, stands out as exemplifying all of these points. Our conversation follows, it began when I asked her if she worked for the Bigodi Women's Group Canteen in Kanyanchu:

I don't but when I get Irish potatoes or green peppers I take them to Kanyanchu and they pay me at a good price, better than what I would get in Bigodi, so it can help us. Because before tourism came to this place we had only one job of digging [farming], even we had no market for produce! We would dig and we would bring our food home and we would eat! (laughs)

Before tourism what kind of food would you grow?

Before we would grow maize, potatoes, cassava, beans, sorghum, millet every type of food we had.

Now do you grow some new foods?

With tourism right now we plant fruits and green vegetables. These tourists they want cabbage and some trees for shelter, we got knowledge from tourism.

Do you enjoy these green vegetables?

Yes we have now learned to eat them. We are now expanding the garden. Some vegetables we take to Kanyanchu for those tourists, others we take to Bigodi. People buy and enjoy! Other vegetables we give to our friends and they are happy now! Because we can teach them how good those things are. For them they have never seen them, we tell them these help with this and this, they taste nice, some are also taking seeds, people are now happy.

So most food grown is for tourists?

We have those who are working at Kanyanchu, they also buy our food. Because now they have money, they get salary and they come and buy what they want. But before, there was no job where they could get money. (Kemigisha, personal communication, April 7, 2003)

An interesting side effect of improved agricultural markets in Bigodi may be an improved diet for local people. The above conversation indicates that new foods are now being grown in Bigodi as a result of tourism. People indicated to me that ten years ago, one could never find tomatoes, carrots, cabbage or cauliflower in Bigodi. Today these items are grown, eaten and enjoyed by residents. Thus, the market for such produce is expanding and gaining the stability of a local demand. I asked a teacher at Bigodi Primary School about this and he replied:

Yes! People have even started eating new crops because of tourism. At first people used to not eat tomatoes from this area. Only after initiating this tourism project did people start growing tomatoes and onions and those things to sell to tourists. Then, in the end, they even started eating these things themselves. So even if tourism ended right now today they would have to continue with these crops. That is a great achievement. People are now used to eating these crops and can't do without them. (Bagonza, personal communication, June 3, 2003)

For all of these reasons, improved markets for agriculture may be the greatest benefit of tourism in Bigodi. In a land of peasant farmers, it is a truly egalitarian reward. Everyone can participate and it captures significant tourism revenue and keeps it in local hands. In Bigodi, the vast majority of what tourists consume is produced locally. This is

partly because the majority of the tourist infrastructure is in local hands, from KAFRED to the small hotels to the Women's Canteen in Kanyanchu. Therefore, local producers have easy access to the tourist market. More importantly, however, is the fact that local farmers have adapted their farming to tourism's needs by planting new crops. At the same time, local diets have been diversified and improved. Overall, the integration of tourism and agriculture has generated widespread positive attitudes about tourism in this community of farmers.

While it is the will of the farmers that allowed them to benefit from better agricultural markets, there is also a sense in Bigodi that many of tourism's benefits arrive by chance. Chance is a word used quite often in Bigodi. It came up frequently in both English and non-English interviews. The correct interpretation of its common usage is something that happens unexpectedly, through luck or good fortune. Tourism is something like a lottery in this respect, although there is no telling what the good prize will be. I was told a story by a friend in Bigodi which illustrates this clearly. He told me:

One time a boy leading a goat happened to pass by three bazungus drinking at a hotel in Bigodi and one muzungu asked the boy, how many people does it take to finish that goat? The boy said eight. The muzungu asked how many are in your home and the boy said 4. The muzungu said there are three of us so you bring one more, that equals eight. Here is 30,000 [USh] for that goat. Take it home, prepare it and we'll come for dinner. You can collect us here. Before the boy ran off the muzungu gave the boy a little more money to buy drinks. At six the boy returned, gathered the bazungu and they went home and feasted! They ate the whole goat plus the mother had prepared some other food. The bazungu asked if they could take photos and they were allowed so they photographed the whole evening and when they left they were so satisfied they gave the family another 10000 [USh]. So, as you see, tourism gives everyone a chance! (Emmanuel, personal communication, March 25, 2003)

On another occasion, I was speaking with a newly hired female guide at Kibale NP. I described a hypothetical scenario where she was a tourism development worker. In

such a scenario, I asked her what she might tell other communities about tourism. I wanted her to explain how she might better help people understand what tourism is. In truth, this lady was raised in Bigodi and her father was a founding member of KAFRED. I imagined she might have some real insights; and being a tourist guide herself, I expected she would share some practical information. However, her immediate response was this:

I would tell them that there are chances of getting friends from tourism who in the future can help you or help your children. Like for us here, we were advised to put up a secondary school. Before we used to move long distances for secondary school, now children no longer suffer. That is an advantage, so I would tell them you never know you could also get that chance. (Komuhendo, personal communication, March 26, 2003)

Other people in Bigodi have had dreams fulfilled because of tourism that they never imagined were possible. For example, because of connections formed through tourism, four residents of Bigodi have traveled to the United States. This incredible opportunity was thanks to the Uganda Community Tourism Association and the North Carolina Zoo in Raleigh. One of the ladies who made the journey had this to say about it:

I felt there was no hope that I would ever reach the US but because of tourism, at least, I managed to reach there. So it is very interesting that I got such a chance, and that chance came because of tourism. It is through tourism that many people in Uganda have gotten those chances. (Akello, personal communication, May 4, 2003)

From her perspective, and the perspective of others in town, her trip to the US was a result of good fortune as much as anything else.

Many people I spoke with held out hope that similar good fortune would befall them thanks to tourism. I was often struck by the faith residents' held for chance eventually shining upon them. The following conversation was with a guide at

KAFRED. He has a treasured, full time job in tourism, yet when I asked him what it is about his job that really makes him happy he replied:

It is taking visitors around. It is an advantage because from there I can get more friendships from outside Uganda. Let's say I take a tourist around, that tourist will probably leave me with her address, then she will keep communicating with me. So that probably helps my future. She can give me money to go visit her outside Uganda. It is difficult for me alone to get enough money to visit outside places.

Have you ever received addresses from visitors?

For me I just received one.

Have you ever written that person a letter?

No, I have not yet written, but I am planning to write. (Sentongo, personal communication, May 29, 2003)

Thus, despite the guide's steady job, the real pleasure in his work comes from the hope that something bigger will come, the hope that good fortune will also shine on him. It is interesting to note that the guide's fantasy friend was referred to with a feminine pronoun. Who knows, maybe tourism will even provide him with a wife. Anything seems possible! For now, the residents of Bigodi are still marveling at the possibilities of tourism. Furthermore, as long as people believe they all have a chance, positive attitudes will remain widespread.

The way people refer to chance as a benefit of tourism, indicates that tourism is still somewhat of mystery. Just like people were amazed ten years ago when the first tourists came to visit the lowly swamp, they are still amazed today as new developments occur. Who could have imagined that tourism would take four residents of Bigodi to America? No one! That is why people still get wide-eyed and excited when talking of tourism, there is always the chance it will cause something amazing will happen.

Like everywhere else on earth, in Uganda, money, wealth and good fortune are the objects of much desire. Although these things are wanted desperately, Ugandans often describe themselves by the absence of such items. It is not uncommon to hear someone say “ah, no money” as a negative reply to the question “how are you?” There was even a very popular song in Uganda at the time of this research called “no money.” Considering this, the money and opportunity that tourism injects into Bigodi’s small subsistence economy is welcomed by everyone. It almost goes without saying that these positive impacts create positive attitudes about tourism. Thanks to tourism people now have a secondary school, money has been injected into the economy, there are improved markets for local produce and an optimistic view that more could fortune might chance upon them. It is also clear that, as far as the majority of people are concerned, the benefits of tourism outweigh the costs. Even some of the farmers plagued by crop raiding acknowledged that tourism was a good thing. These benefits have changed people’s attitudes toward tourism from suspicion to desire. Likewise, these benefits have changed the face of Bigodi. Throughout the countryside, grass thatched roofs have been replaced with iron sheets and in the trading center mud walls are being torn down for bricks. These positive changes, as well as the PCV credited with bringing them, have helped to characterize tourism in the local conscious.

Tourism’s Meaning in Bigodi

Before this tourism industry we had a lot of temporary houses, just mud and thatch but as we started getting money from these tourists there have been a lot of homes built of iron sheets and permanent materials and that is a great change. If you could see [that PCV] and ask him how many permanent houses there were when he arrived he would say none, but now there are many. That is a great change.
(Twinomugisha, personal communication, March 22, 2003)

For as long as anyone can remember, the typical family house in Bigodi has been of simple mud construction. The technique for building one is relatively simple. Often, boys have built their first by the time they are teenagers. The ones built by the boys are for play, but it gives them a chance to hone their technique before the requirements of adulthood insist on perfection. Having gained the experience of building a mud house during my Peace Corps days, I can explain the technique. A rectangular or circular perimeter is staked out for the house. It is usually about the size of the forgotten one car garage here in the US. Around this perimeter, poles of about eight feet in height are planted into the ground at three foot intervals. Next, strong, bamboo-like reeds are fastened to both the outside and inside of the poles. The reeds are wrapped horizontally around the house in parallel lines. There is approximately twelve vertical inches between each line of reed wrapping house. The house is now framed. From here, a roof is nailed or lashed into place and thatched with dry grass. At this point, the house is almost complete. The final step is to pack the frame of the house with a special mixture of mud. Often, the mixture contains clay or soil from termite mounds. The mud is packed tightly around the poles and supported by the reeds wrapping the house. Upon drying, it wraps the house snuggly in one hard, continuous slab of earth. In the case of perfectionists, a floor is made using the same mud. Judging from the two years I spent in such a house, it is a comfortable accommodation - cool during the day, warm during the night and dry during the rainy season.

In weighing the pros and cons of such a residence, the pros have long prevailed. That explains their wide use and continued acceptance. Yet despite the permanence of these homes in Bigodi over the last fifty years, they are now commonly referred to by

residents as “non-permanent” homes. As one might guess, they are gradually being replaced by “permanent” homes. While non-permanent homes are built entirely of locally available materials as described above, permanent homes are built of bricks and imported iron sheet roofing. Permanent homes cost money. So called permanent homes are now sprouting up in Bigodi like cabbages and tomatoes (Figure 4-10). As a result, residents proudly characterize Bigodi as a place of change, and the one change mentioned more than any other is the growth of permanent homes. I often asked people what Bigodi was like when they were young, or when they first arrived in the area. The following are some typical responses. A young mother of four, who just moved from the countryside to the trading center told me, “Before the place was not like it is now, now there are many permanent homes, the place is really looking good and that is why I like living here. (Batenga, personal communication, June 21, 2003). An older lady who has been selling fried cassava and other local snack food in the trading center since before the days of tourism explained:

When I came here it wasn’t as lively as it now, there was money but not as much as today and there was no construction of permanent homes like we have today. We didn’t have as much knowledge of what to do then as we do now. (Katono, personal communication, May 30, 2003)

A teacher at the primary school who came with his family to Bigodi at a very young age noted:

By the time we migrated here there were no permanent buildings, now there are so many. And people used to grow maize and beans only, nothing else, now these days people grow tomatoes, oranges, fruits to sell to the tourists, so that is a great change. (Bagonza, personal communication, June 3, 2003)



Figure 4-10: Brick buildings under construction in Bigodi's trading center.

Other common responses mentioned wealth or standard of living as an indicator of change. A farmer, who is working hard to earn enough money to buy a small plot in the trading center, told me: "There has been a great change, those days we were very poor. It was not like today" (Bogere, personal communication, April 6, 2003). "Those days," of course, refers to the days before tourism. Likewise, a mother of eight told me, "In the past years we were really backward but now the standard of living has improved, we have come up" (Katiti, personal communication, April 6, 2003).

Many others mentioned the school as a sign of change. A well educated merchant in town told me,

In the past, when we were still young, we only thought that after finishing primary school you must move 100km away to go get a secondary school in a big town. There was no idea for a school here . . . so I feel the way I used to see Bigodi in the past is not the way I see it now, it has really changed drastically for the better. (Kalevu, personal communication, April 7, 2003)

A new mother, holding her 9 month old child in her arms, identified the change too:

We have seen very great change. By the time of the development of the swamp we began to get money and that's when we built a secondary school. At first we had no secondary school and children had to go very far for secondary school and

a parent would struggle very much and had to have a lot of money to educate their children. Now we have a school and that's development. (Kokugonza, personal communication, May 5, 2003)

As the last quote shows, the change in Bigodi is equated with development.

Development is a term bandied about across Uganda by politicians from the grassroots up the President. Judging by the frequency it appears in political debate and popular media, there are few who have not heard of it, whether they speak English or not. It is a word, like tourism, that has entered the lexicon since Museveni came to power. It has been absorbed from the voluminous dialogue of the Western aid agencies working in Uganda like USAID, UNDP, CARE International and many more. Regardless of what development might mean in such circles, the word has been appropriated by the residents of Bigodi to describe their hopes for a better future. In Bigodi, development is locally understood in terms of basic and immediate improvements in their standards of living, most commonly brick houses, better education and greater access to wealth.

One of the merchants I interviewed in town has acquired all of these things since his childhood. He surpassed his parents' in education, earning an A-level diploma. He has a new brick house in the trading center, and one of only two cars in Bigodi. While the car must be at least thirty years old, it is well maintained and dependable. It also provides additional income as a special hire taxi, taking tourists back to Fort Portal when they miss public means. I asked him what development is and he described it as follows:

Well development is a process where you move from one step of a remote kind of system to a more modernized state, therefore I would include such things as shifting from bicycles to motorcycles and cars. Also in the past people never used to stay in good houses but these days people are building permanent houses. Other issues are that people never looked at education as a main factor of development but now when people think in terms of getting rich, they think of going to school first. (Kalevu, personal communication, April 7, 2003)

A teacher at the secondary attributed development to the various projects such as KAFRED and the Women's Group which tourism helped maintain. He described development in terms of good housing and better education:

The income which is accrued from these projects helps bring about development in our area, for example: when a person is employed with kafred or the secondary school such a person is the one with a chance to build a good house or to buy land or maybe a motorcycle or to send his children to school. (Kakye, personal communication, April 17, 2003)

A farmer on the edge of the swamp used the same terms in his description of development:

We have used our income to do some development. From grass thatched houses we are now thatching with iron sheets so that is development. Trading centers are coming up, we have many around. People are increasing their income. That is allowing people to take kids to school and people can afford medicine. (Kamuhanda, personal communication, March 27, 2003)

Likewise, a young lady, not yet married and still helping her parents on the farm characterized development as both improved housing and nutrition:

People are now developing. They used to have slummed houses but now they are permanent, they also used to not have cows, now they have cows, that's a big change. In the past days there were no cows, you could find maybe two people with cows and others were not having them, now there is milk. (Nakalema, personal communication, June 3, 2003)

Change, better described as development, is now a feature of life in Bigodi. According to the many conversations I had on the subject, it is also a recent feature. Discussions of development always juxtapose the past against the present, where development is something that only characterizes the present. What has triggered this development? Everyone attributes the development to the creation of tourism. So much so that tourism and development are inextricably linked in the minds of Bigodi's residents. The linkage is clear in the following quote: "Before tourism I was seeing poor

housing, semi-permanent, but since those guys got jobs in the park and the swamp they have put up permanent houses as you see now" (Komuhendo, personal communication, March 26, 2003). Similarly, a ranger from Kibale told me, "As you look around Bigodi you see many permanent houses, more than 30, this is because of tourism" (Magambo, personal communication, March 5, 2003). In fact, when the Peace Corps Volunteer began this project back in 1991, development as a result of tourism was an intended goal. As the project envisioned, the main agent of tourism has been KAFRED, an acronym for Kibale Association for Rural Development. Thus, tourism and development have been paired since the beginning. I asked one of KAFRED's first guides if the development in Bigodi has been accidental or if it was planned by KAFRED. He replied,

That was planned from the beginning. Like starting a secondary school, they had to plan. They had to plan and say let us not eat the money from tourists, maybe we can use it to construct a school so that our children from this area can benefit by getting education from nearby. That was planned. (Bagonza, personal communication, June 3, 2003)

In Bigodi, tourism and development entered the local lexicon at the same time and with the same project. In fact, one has never existed without the other, "Before tourism was in place there was no development" a young lady told me (Nakalema, personal communication, June 3, 2003). An older lady, farming in the countryside echoed these sentiments. She told me, "As I see it, it is tourism that made Bigodi develop, before tourism Bigodi didn't have anything" (Kebirungi, personal communication, May 3, 2003). Considering this, it is logical that an important element of tourism's meaning in Bigodi is development. Several more farmers told me this exactly. A young and very poor farmer living next to the swamp in a grass thatched mud house said, "Tourism is the beginning of development" (Bogere, personal communication, April 6, 2003). Likewise,

an older and more successful farmer next to the swamp said, "Now people around know what tourism means because they have realized some development from tourism. This KAFRED has been doing development around, they started the secondary school and that is an achievement of tourism" (Kamuhandha, personal communication, March 27, 2003).

However, to conclude simply that tourism means development would not reveal the full complexity of tourism in Bigodi. There are still fundamental elements missing. Recall that KAFRED, as part of its strategy to bring tourism and development to Bigodi, organized local people to conserve the swamp. The original idea was that by conserving the swamp, tourists would come and development would ensue. Of course, this idea brought much skepticism at the beginning, but as time passed and people observed the results, they concluded that conservation is an integral part of tourism and development. Because no one in Bigodi had any prior knowledge of tourism, meaning is based entirely off of local experience. To this day, there are very few people in Bigodi who can discuss tourism as a general phenomenon without mentioning conservation.

During my interviews, I always asked the respondent how they might teach others in Uganda about tourism. The resulting explanations almost always included conservation. The tailor in the trading center explained, "I would tell them that a tourist would never admire a place without trees, wild animals, birds and other nature conserved things" (Tugonza, personal communication, April 9, 2003). The president of the Women's Group affirmed this notion when she explained, "I would tell them that tourism is conserving nature" (Kebirungi, personal communication, May 3, 2003). A teacher at the primary school and former KAFRED guide explained:

At the village level, I would tell people that if you can organize yourselves and make something interesting to tourists like cultural dances and conserving the

environment. Tourists can get interested in your things and pay money which will help you. Maybe if there is wasted land like swamps, I would tell them to conserve it so that tourists can come and view it. I would tell them that these swamp areas are not available in outside countries. So if you tell them like that they can pick up that advice and conserve, then once they get money that is when they can change and resort to tourism. (Bagonza, personal communication, June 3, 2003,)

An older farmer bordering the swamp has also incorporated conservation into his understanding of tourism:

The first thing I would tell them is to conserve the natural environment . . . with tourism it requires people not to destroy the environment. So I would suggest that such a community interested in tourism should mind about conserving all the natural things and natural resources. (Kamuhanda, personal communication, March 27, 2003)

Likewise, a young man doing odd jobs throughout the trading center and occasionally finding work in support of tourism such as collecting water and washing clothes told me:

I would tell them much about conservation. I would emphasize that they conserve their environment, that is to say they don't cut their trees down because when they cut down trees, there are some tourists who normally like cool places and when it is very hot like now and you have no shade, then that does not favor a tourist. So the first point is to conserve the environment. (Wampande, personal communication, March 7, 2003)

In Bigodi, the understanding of tourism is based entirely off of a single shared experience. The major characteristics of this single tourism experience include conservation and development. As a result, tourism, conservation and development now occupy a common ground in the minds of local people and have become entangled into a single meaning. Throughout my interviews, there were many instances when these ideas were used simultaneously to describe the single tourism phenomenon as introduced by the PCV and experienced by the community. A farmer who, by virtue of his location next to the swamp, is also a member of KAFRED, explained the purpose of the project is to:

Create awareness amongst the community about how to conserve the environment and also how to carry out tourism, and in general to bring about development or to make the community engaged in development activities like starting secondary schools. (Kamuhanda, personal communication, March 27, 2003)

A older man, who has recently begun trying to learn English so that he can speak with tourists, explained to me what he has learned from tourism and what he might teach others about tourism. Speaking unofficially for everyone in Bigodi, he said:

We didn't know that the swamp down there could be useful for a person. Or that the forest there could be a source of income for development. So to that effect, the coming of tourism helped us a lot and brought us development . . . I would advise others to accept tourism in their area. They should conserve nature like swamps, and after conserving their nature the tourists will come and bring development. (Waswa, personal communication, March 6, 2003)

Thus, tourism is conservation and tourism is development. Logically, conservation is also development. In support of this, Uganda's foremost conservation expert, the executive director of the Uganda Wildlife Authority, told me, "In Uganda we still think conservation is when you can get tourists from outside to come and visit your place, and tourist means bazungu" (Personal communication, March 13, 2003). The same man also authorized the slogan for the Uganda Wildlife Authority's 50th anniversary celebrations which was "Conservation for Sustainable Development." With this, the central meaning of tourism in Bigodi is nearly clear. However, there is one final ingredient which is central to tourism's meaning in Bigodi. That is the bazungu, or white people. Without the bazungu, residents of Bigodi can not conceive of tourism, conservation or development taking place.

As an illustration, I was speaking with the wife of the now deceased Mr. Mukuso. Mr. Mukuso, in cooperation with the PCV, built the first tourist hotel in Bigodi. His wife was part of those early developments and shared the work of operating the hotel. Some

years ago, her husband passed away and the hotel has since closed. However, I asked her to reflect on those early days of tourism in Bigodi and describe her family's contribution to the development which has since occurred. Her reply is indicative of the importance local people place on outside intervention for tourism and development:

I don't know what we did for development (she laughs) . . . but I think the most important thing was building this house because [the PCV] stayed here and then he was able to give everybody that advice of uniting together so that development could come about. (Kamuli, personal communication, June 28, 2003)

The failure of the Mukuso hotel is another example of the centrality of bazungu to the local meaning of tourism. Interestingly, since the owner of Mukusu hotel passed away and the business closed down, no one has made an effort to revive the hotel or fill the void created by its closure. There is certainly a proven market which can sustain the hotel or another one like it. I asked a school teacher and lifetime resident of Bigodi about this. Specifically, I wondered why local people have not increased their involvement in tourism since the PCV left 10 years ago? She explained:

Some people lack knowledge, others have money but lack knowledge. But this Peace Corps, he just gave people knowledge! He gave this man Mukusu knowledge. He was just supplying him with knowledge – do like this, do like this, ah! That's when Mukusu was developing! Making a hotel! Even the man was struggling with advertising, but you see he had support of that Peace Corps who knew people and tourists and he knew very many things. By the way, he knew how to work with communities! But then when that Peace Corps went away this man Mukusu died and nobody else could do anything again. They just lack knowledge. We just lack knowledge. (Kokugonza, personal communication, May 5, 2003)

Another lady from Bigodi who has observed all the changes taking place synthesized the ideas of tourism, conservation, development and bazungu in the following passage. I had just asked her what ideas she had which might help other communities in Uganda develop. To this she replied, "If they have some educated people

in their area who can make friendships with the bazungu they can invite the bazungu and something very good will come out.” I was not satisfied with the answer and asked what was specifically needed for develop to occur. To this she replied, “You need good water, the forest should be conserved, schools should be built and also the bazungu should come” (Katono, personal communication, May 30, 2003). Tourism, conservation, development and bazungu are inseparable and work together to describe a single phenomenon, tourism. Accordingly, when I asked a woman farmer and member of the women’s group “what tourism means,” the following explanation ensued:

I understand that tourism is the visiting of white people from their place to Uganda to see interesting things, mostly animals and some they are also interested in seeing what we are doing, when they see us weaving baskets they are interested, when they see what we have done they are happy, they buy, some they start to learn, so for me I think it is that. They taste the food we are eating this way which is not there in their place.

What are the benefits you have received from tourism?

Sometimes tourists come and visit our children in the primary school. They give them gifts. Sometimes after they meet children on the way and they see the child is bright. Then you see them coming “ay but mommy I have met a white person and he gave me two pens.” Even some can pay school fees for children, others are helping to raise the standards of our schools, they give textbooks.

If [the PCV] never came what would tourism look like in Bigodi these?

There is really no way we could have organized for it.

What do you imagine Bigodi will be like in 20 years time?

If tourism goes on, in 20 years we will be more rich than now because everyone is improving. The young ones we are now producing they grow knowing a white man and knowing English because some families are now using English. Because of tourism we have learned now how to clean our places, to get good compounds, to get latrines. Those also are important standards, so the ones we are producing will know how to get clean clothes, that is good to put on slippers when you are walking to prevent worms. So we would be better than before. Then we would also get many educated people because there are times when we get help from

you whites. So we are now trying to put much effort in what we are doing so that we can get much money and get also many things to help us.

If something happened and tourism stopped could people manage?

We would suffer a lot, because we now have people at Kibale NP who have stayed many years without digging [farming]. When tourism stops they can not manage to go dig in that sunshine. They will stay there and they will die because they wouldn't get money to eat what they are now eating. And our children won't go one studying because we would not get money to put them on a good standard. We are praying tourism should go on and on. (Kemigisha, personal communication, April 7, 2003)

As succinctly as is possible for such a complex phenomenon, tourism in Bigodi means conservation of natural resources in order to attract bazungu who are the sole providers of the money and ideas necessary for development.

This meaning is shared by the vast majority of Bigodi's residents. Those who do not share in this meaning are the ones who have been left out of the tourism process. These are the marginalized members of society. Their ranks are constituted of poor, uneducated women and also the farmers living on the edge of Kibale NP. In Uganda, there is an enormous privilege to being a man. Gender equality may never approach the state of relations between men and women found in most western countries. Certainly President Museveni has made an effort to change this and advance the status of women. He has appointed women to high profile government positions including the vice presidency. Yet the majority of life, from national politics to domestic affairs, is tremendously gendered. This is to such an extent that it is difficult to find any difference between domestic and national affairs over the issue. In fact, the domestic and the national often run together. In the April 25, 2002 edition of Uganda's state run newspaper, The New Vision, a popular politician was quoted as saying men should marry

more women and have multiple wives. He argued this would end prostitution and provide the labor force necessary for Uganda to industrialize.

Despite such widespread attitudes, and quite frankly ignorance, women in Bigodi have been able to drastically improve their condition relative to men. Women in Bigodi are among the biggest beneficiaries of tourism. In addition to the prestige of the women's group, a major contribution to gender equality is that women, like men, are now earning money. Indicative of what many women told me is the following, "There has been a change in that before tourism women had to depend on their husbands for everything, but now the women also earn money and share the responsibilities of catering for a home" (Kebirungi, personal communication, May 3, 2003).

However, there is a segment of Bigodi's female population that I was not able to interview. These women have a very low level of education, are relegated largely to the home, and have zero involvement in tourism or other community affairs. They do not share in the benefits of tourism and therefore it is likely that they do not share in the meaning of tourism shared by the majority of residents. In fact, they are likely to have no understanding of tourism at all. In a conversation I had with two females, one a teacher and the other an accountant at Bigodi's Secondary School, they explained how girls can become excluded from tourism's developments while the same is not true of boys.

For boys they have the chance, they work, they have so many chances, they can fetch water for money, cut firewood in the forest and sell it here in the trading center, and other small work to get money. Now girls are not supposed to go anywhere without permission. But boys can go; boys can even sleep out there for about three days. Parents just ask where did he go? But for a girl, they will ask about her after just two hours. Girls are suffering, so they rush from school to get married early. Now after three years of that marriage the man says he is tired of you because you are a beggar. You need shoes, you need cosmetics, this and that, it is very expensive. So the man says you are not educated, you don't have a job and there are so many girls who can manage themselves better, so you better go.

You better go back home. Eventually that man will divorce you because you will be depending on that man for everything, even salt, because you don't have anyway of getting money except depending on that man. But then, if the man is not working he can not allow you to work either, you must stay at home digging and cooking, but not working far from the home. He will worry if you go far from home you will get another husband, or you will see somebody else. So that's why men refuse to let their women go out. But here in Bigodi, women who joined that national park to get in some groups they are very little, maybe just 40, instead of 200 and something. (Kanyunyuzi and Kembabazi, personal communication, June 7, 2003)

Can these women who are not members of any of the groups benefit from selling produce, I asked?

They don't have enough land. You can find a woman from morning up to evening digging for so many children and she still can't grow enough to feed the children so how can she manage a plot of pineapples for the tourists? These women have a lot of children. One woman may be having six, and the woman is the only one to look after them. The men just come from the village here to the trading center and sit and play cards. That's all! They say the children are the woman's not theirs. You need to cook for them, wash them, and do everything for them, ah! (Kanyunyuzi and Kembabazi, personal communication, June 7, 2003)

Such is life for some of Bigodi's women. How many, I can't be sure. But I believe it is the minority. Identifying them is tricky as their husbands are protective and some are not listed on any census, tax or health records. They share several traits in common. They are poor and uneducated and married to poor, uneducated men. Unlike the uneducated men, however, they have no opportunity to move freely and take advantage of the odd jobs tourism creates – fetching water, washing clothes, collecting firewood, etcetera. Tourism is most likely a very mysterious concept for to them.

The other group which does not share tourism's meaning is the unfortunate farmers living alongside Kibale NP. The continuous struggle against wildlife from the park leaves no time for anything else, let alone tourism. I spoke about this at length with an at times exasperated woman from the edge of the park. She told me "When tourism came

they prohibited us from going to the forest to collect firewood and the wild animals increased and they come and raid our gardens. So a person next to those things of tourism can not be peaceful" (Mbabazi, personal communication, June 2, 2003). As our conversation continued, I learned how even her children are disturbed:

For us who are next to the forest we are not OK at all. Because when the children go to school you have to stay there and guard the whole day. When you are sick the children have to stay home from school and guard the whole day.

How do you imagine your children's future will be?

The problem is that one person can not do much. Because if you tell the children to go to school then the animals come and eat the crops then you won't have food to feed them. So when you are sick the children have to stay and guard the crops because if the wild animals eat the crops then you won't have food to feed your children.

In most interviews with people bordering the park, I was left with the impression that the farmers had lost hope. They were detached from the vibrant life I saw in Bigodi's trading center. Many times, they were not able to converse at all about tourism. Tourism meant nothing to them. The following is from a conversation I had with a farmer bordering the park. He had broken one of his front teeth off just above the gum about a week before I met him. He didn't have the 3,000 shillings (1.50 USD) necessary to have it extracted and as we talked the exposed nerve glaring at me from his mouth said all I needed to know about those who suffer on the edge of the park. I asked him:

How about this tourism that takes place in the park, do you know anything about it?

No.

How about the tourism in Bigodi with Magombe swamp?

That one I would not know because I have never gone to their meetings.

Have they ever invited you?

No.

Is there anyway that you have been able to benefit from tourism, maybe selling your crops to tourists?

When the baboons are raiding my crops, I have no food to sell to tourists.
(Wakabale, personal communication, April 27, 2003)

Because of crop raiding, the opportunities that tourism normally provides are not available. In another conversation along the park's border, I asked a woman

Do you know how to make baskets?

Yes.

Have you ever tried to sell them?

I only know how to make local ones, I don't know how to make decorations on them. Tourists like them well decorated.

In Bigodi women make all kinds to sell to tourists.

I know about those women.

Are there any women's groups here along the forest?

No.

Why not?

It is not easy for us to join a club and start making baskets, the problem is all the children are at school so I can't leave my gardens to be raided by baboons because I am going to a club. (Kizza, personal communication, April 27, 2003)

As I was told, those living by the park have no peace. Not having peace means guarding your crops all day long. Even with devoted guarding, enough food is destroyed that there is no surplus to sell in tourism's markets. Furthermore, time spent guarding crops means there is no time for joining developmental groups or sometimes even going to school.

These are the major developments that most people in Bigodi associate with tourism.

Next to the park they do not exist. Therefore, I found no evidence that people living on the edge of the park share tourism's meaning of conservation for development. If anything, tourism might have a negative meaning along the edge of the park.

In summary, for the majority of Bigodi's residents, tourism has come to mean the conservation of natural resources in order to attract bazungu who are the providers of the money and ideas necessary for development. A uniform meaning should not be surprising considering that all residents share a single experience with tourism which began very recently in the history of the community. Before 1991, residents of Bigodi had no knowledge of tourism at all. Tourism was an unknown without even a word in the local language to describe it. When the idea of tourism was introduced it was met with widespread skepticism. At first it appeared tourism was only for the elites, but the construction of the secondary school and the creation of agricultural markets showed tourism's benefits were for everybody. As benefits from tourism began to accrue throughout the community, local interest was aroused. Collectively, residents were forced to make sense of what was happening. Once tourism engaged the majority of people, a collective understanding began to emerge. Because there was no prior knowledge of tourism, this understanding was based entirely off of that single local experience. Therefore, bazungu, conserving swamps, a secondary school, and brick houses are all among the central ingredients to tourism's meaning in Bigodi. Poor, uneducated women as well as farmers living on the edge of Kibale NP do not share in this understanding as they have been excluded from the tourism phenomenon. The question that remains to be answered is how can these insights into Bigodi's experience

inform a greater understanding of tourism and development both in and outside of Uganda? This will be the subject of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

The big challenge for us all is to change the negative attitudes to wildlife and consider it as a God given resource that needs to be considered in our development strategies. The starting point to do this is to acknowledge local people's perceptions, their aspirations and challenges as they struggle to sustain their livelihood. (Executive Director, Uganda Wildlife Authority, December 7, 2002)

Tourism Development in a Tourism Void

Tourism development first occurred in Bigodi in 1991. Just 13 short years ago. Prior to 1991, Bigodi had zero experience with tourism. This includes tourism as a potential leisure activity for Bigodi's residents as well as tourism as it might be experienced from the perspective of hosts. There is not even a word in either of the two local languages commonly spoken in Bigodi which adequately describes tourism. In every possible sense of the term, Bigodi was a "tourism void" before 1991.

In addition to their isolation from tourism, residents of Bigodi had very limited contact with people from Europe, North America or the West in general (bazungu). Prior to independence in 1962, Uganda was a British protectorate. This means there was no British settlement occurring within Uganda. As the former Administrator of western Uganda during the pre-independence era told me, the British controlled mineral and agricultural interests through indirect rule (Personal communication, April 27, 2003). This was a uniquely British system of empowering local leaders to harness the population for British objectives. It also kept contact between Ugandans and British at a minimum. While tourism was a significant force in Uganda during this time, there were no tourist

attractions developed near Bigodi. Even after independence, contact with Westerners was rare. As several older people from Bigodi told me, on the rare occasion that they met a muzungu or white person it was ample reason for fear. Fictional stories abounded about how bazungu sacrificed Ugandans in a ritualistic manner to ensure the success of their ventures.

Just nine years after independence, Idi Amin seized power and consequently excommunicated all westerners from the country. This was followed by nearly 20 years of political instability and misrule. All of this worked to keep Bigodi's contact with bazungu at a minimum. Thus in 1991, when a muzungu from America arrived in Bigodi and began spreading the idea of tourism throughout the community, he was met with deep suspicion. The idea of tourism was not only new, but it did not make sense based on the life experiences of Bigodi's residents. Why would anyone travel thousands of miles to see this swamp which plagues the farms with its wild animals people wondered? Many ulterior motives were suggested such as a bazungu plot to steal village land and minerals. In short, the idea of tourism was mysterious and nearly incomprehensible. Initial tourism development in Bigodi led to suspicion, confusion, anxiety, rumor mongering and even threats of hostility.

The reason of course is that in 1991 the idea of tourism was completely new and novel for the people of Bigodi. In fact, it was radical. They had very little previous life experience to prepare them for it. Doxey (1976) proposed that residents' initial reaction to tourism development is accompanied by euphoria. This attitude changes in a predictable manner over time as tourism development increases. Bigodi's experience suggests that there may be a reaction preceding euphoria at destinations with no prior

knowledge or understanding of tourism. This stage is best characterized by apprehension, confusion and anxiety. It should be assumed that this stage will precede euphoria when tourism development occurs with a tourism void. Tourism voids may be found in areas experiencing long periods of political instability and war which acts to keep residents relatively isolated from the outside world. Examples include the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Afghanistan and North Korea.

Doxey's (1976) model of change over time is similar to Butler's (1980) destination life cycle model. Butler suggested that destinations develop through a series of stages. The first is the exploration stage when small numbers of tourists initially visit an area. During the exploration stage there is little impact on the economic, environmental or social landscape of the destination. Again, the experience in Bigodi suggests that in instances where a destination has had no previous exposure to tourism, there exists an important stage that precedes the initial stage as described by Butler. This preceding stage should be called the "sensitization stage." It is characterized not only by anxiety and confusion but also by a dire need to sensitize people about tourism. Experts working in Uganda on tourism development in the rural areas have already found this to be true, particularly concerning community reaction to increased natural resource protection in preparation for tourism development. As the Director of the Uganda Community Tourism Association (UCOTA) told me,

Most of communities need to be sensitized in one way or another. They think the government is coming to exploit them when they make a park or something. It is believed the government comes to exploit. There is a lot of clashing. The government is believed to be after the communities' money. (Personal communication, January 6, 2003)

The same was found to be true in Bigodi where immediate local reaction characterized tourism as an attempt to take local resources.

Tourism's Costs and Benefits in Bigodi

With time, residents of Bigodi developed an understanding of tourism. This understanding was influenced in part by the benefits tourism extended to local people. Benefits commonly mentioned in Bigodi were money, improved agricultural markets, communal benefits and the notion that tourism provides a “chance.” The economic benefits of tourism in Bigodi re-confirm tourism’s potential to generate money for the host community (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Furthermore, it helps to validate the Ugandan government’s vision of using tourism as tool to eradicate rural poverty (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, 2004).

The most important aspect of tourism’s integration with Bigodi’s economy is that it has equitably extended economic opportunity to nearly all of Bigodi’s residents. This has been accomplished largely through improved agricultural markets. In a land of peasant farmers, this is a tremendous benefit. Agricultural markets have been improved in two ways. The first is by meeting the demand of residents. Approximately one eighth of Bigodi’s residents are now fully employed in tourism and no longer have time to grow their own food. They must rely on local markets. This is a good example of the multiplier effect working in Bigodi. The multiplier effect describes how initial tourist expenditure at a destination is multiplied through the local economy (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). In Bigodi, when tourists pay KAFRED to tour the swamp, KAFRED in turn pays their guides, who in turn pay local peasants for their agricultural produce, who in turn use that money for something else. Thus the original expenditure is “multiplied” throughout

the economy. Residents were well aware of this multiplier effect although did not refer to it as such. A merchant in the trading center told me:

If I sell ten bottles of water in a day then I have some money to go across the street and buy matooke [plantains] for my family. The tourist did not buy that matooke but money from tourists did. So the matooke seller is benefiting from tourism too. (Informal conversation, February 26, 2003)

In addition, many residents have acquired a taste for the foods tourists enjoy. These include tomatoes, bell peppers, cabbage and cauliflower. These foods were not grown in Bigodi until tourism was established. Since that time, residents have learned to enjoy them, thus further increasing local support for agricultural markets.

The second way agricultural markets have been improved is of course through tourist demand. Nearly all of the tourist demand for food is met by local growers. Even demand for items produced outside Bigodi like Coca-Cola, mineral water, beer and toilet paper is met by local merchants in the trading center. For example, the Women's Canteen at Kanyanchu Tourist Site is stocked with supplies purchased from merchants in Bigodi's trading center. This is in sharp contrast to the often cited problem of tourism revenues leaking out of rural communities (Akama, 1996 & 1999; Britton, 1996; Burns, 1999; Gossling, 2002; Honey, 1999; Kahn, 1997; Teye, Sonmez and Sirakaya, 2002). Bigodi's success at capturing most tourism revenue is a result of local ownership and management of tourism services. Broham (1996) and Brown (1998) both note that foreign ownership severs many linkages with local producers. Foreign owners are more likely to embark on a tourism development with their own previously established supply channels. This cuts local suppliers from the equation. Local owners, of course, rely on local supply channels.

Another cause of leakage is when a tourism site caters towards a type of tourist with a high need for the familiar such as Cohen's (1972) Independent Mass Tourists or Organized Mass Tourists. Tourists of this type demand goods and services not often locally available at rural sites in the developing world. In a similar vein, Smith (1989b) described three types of mass tourists characterized by an expectation and demand for western amenities. Such tourists, as described by Cohen and Smith, cannot adapt to local tastes or standards. Hence, tourism sites geared to such tourists may be limited in what local foods and services can be utilized. This severs linkages with the local producers as imports are relied upon to satisfy tourists' needs. To Bigodi's advantage, they cater to a much more adaptable type of tourist, novelty seekers such as Cohen's (1972) Explorer and Drifter or Smith's (1989b) Explorer or Elite Tourist. Such tourists typically put more money in the hands of local people through their willingness and desire to experience local culture and tastes as research by Hampton (1998) and Scheyvens (2002) has also shown.

Thus, Bigodi has succeeded by keeping tourism infrastructure in local hands and attracting a type of tourist willing to adapt to local standards in order to experience unique cultures and environments. The keystone of Bigodi's tourism is KAFRED, a cooperative venture composed of local people. Brown (1998) suggests such cooperatives may be the most appropriate type of tourism venture for rural Africa. The reason is that in rural peasant villages cooperatives can often raise more investment capital than a single individual. As already discussed, local ownership keeps benefits local. However, a second reason, not mentioned by Brown but evident in Bigodi, is that cooperatives have a broader interest than a single profit seeking investor. Therefore, they have a greater

potential to serve the interests of the wider community. This is certainly the case in Bigodi where KAFRED has used tourism revenue to build a secondary school in service to the community. Similar beneficial results of a cooperative were noted in the village of Buhoma, next to Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in Uganda (Lepp, 2002b). In Bigodi, “communal benefits” such as the school were mentioned by nearly everyone as a benefit of tourism. Communal benefits, like agricultural opportunities, extend throughout the community and involve nearly everyone in tourism’s benefits. Both explain why so many people have positive attitudes about tourism in Bigodi.

The final benefit of tourism commonly mentioned in Bigodi is the idea that tourism gives everyone a chance. This means that because of tourism good fortune can fall on anyone. An example is the story of a young boy who chanced into some tourists who bought his goat for twice its value. Adding to the good fortune, the tourists paid the boy’s family to roast the goat and invited them to partake in eating it. The feast was held at the boy’s home. In addition to the money, the meat was an added bonus, especially considering that most peasants in Bigodi cannot afford to buy meat. Meat is a special meal reserved for holidays. This benefit of “chance” is not reported in any of the literature but was a consistent theme in Bigodi. The fact that tourism is still not perfectly understood contributes to residents’ perceptions of chance. If tourism were better understood, residents might recognize that this “chance” is really an opportunity for rural families to host tourists. The most adventurous tourists are seeking opportunities to visit rural homesteads and share meals with local people. Yet, this opportunity has not been recognized in Bigodi. Instead, such occurrences are described as chance or someone’s lucky day.

Throughout the course of this research, it became obvious that residents were quick to identify tourism's benefits. However, identifying tourism's costs was often difficult. Many residents said there are no costs; only good things have come from tourism. This is surprising considering the amount of literature identifying negative impacts of tourism. Negative impacts were a theme of the seminal book *Hosts and Guests* (Smith, 1989a). More recent and specific examples from the literature include: increased competition over natural resources (McKercher, 1993), alterations in local relationships with the environment (Gossling, 2002), changes in customary land utilization schemes (Mansberger, 1995), increased crime (Pizam et al., 1982), destruction of traditional culture (Greenwood, 1989), adoption of the tourists' culture (Erisman, 1993), loss of local autonomy and decision making power (Krippendorf, 1987; Lepp 2002a; Mansberger 1995; Teye, Sonmez and Sirakaya, 2002), increased sexual promiscuity (Ebron, 1997; Teye, Sonmez and Sirakaya, 2002), begging (Mansberger, 1995) and simply a broad dislike for Western values (Aziz, 1995; Sindiga, 1996).

The near unanimous praise for tourism in Bigodi indicates that residents have overcome the anxiety and confusion associated with the arrival of tourism in 1991. The unity of residents' response to tourism was predicted by Dogan (1989) who surmised a small, rural community's initial response to tourism development will be homogenous. According to Dogan, it is not until later stages of tourism development that various responses emerge. This results from social stratification as individuals form different relationships with tourism. For now, residents of Bigodi are experiencing the euphoria described by Doxey (1976) and that is associated with the initial stages of Butler's (1980) destination life cycle. The first stage of tourism development as characterized by Butler

is typified by small scale developments. Such development attracts tourists in search of novelty (Cohen, 1972; Plog, 1974) who are easily adaptable to local standards and customs (Smith, 1989b). Accordingly, such tourists have less of a negative impact on host societies (Smith, 1989b). These are the tourists currently found in Bigodi.

Another characteristic of these tourists is they spend money at local establishments and are more likely to boost the local economy than tourists demanding greater access to western amenities (Scheyvens, 2002). In Bigodi, tourism has significantly benefited the local economy. This also serves as an explanation for its widespread approval. Lindberg and Johnson (1997) found that residents' interest in economic gain was a much stronger predictor of attitude than residents' perception of community disruption. Therefore, a reciprocated interest in economic gain is likely to translate into favorable attitudes about tourism. In support of this, research by Smith and Krannich (1998) found communities interested in economic development had better attitudes about tourism than communities content with their level of development. They labeled communities interested in development as "tourism hungry." This is a description which, at the moment, fits Bigodi.

However, there are additional and complementary explanations for the lack of negative impacts identified by Bigodi's residents. Some of the negative impacts tourism is saddled with like sexual promiscuity (Ebron, 1997; Teye, Sonmez and Sirakaya, 2002) and the over consumption of alcohol (Aziz, 1995; Sindiga, 1996) are commonplace in many societies throughout the world with or without tourism. Arguably, such desires are part of the human condition. Bigodi, like most small towns ad villages, has its share of drunkards, prostitutes and others participating in activities on the moral fringes of society.

Hardly a night passed in Bigodi when I could not find a drunkard staggering home. A resident described local expertise with alcohol like this, “people really know how to drink, on weekends you just find people crawling down the road for home” (Informal conversation, April 7, 2003). In fact, the owner of Safari Lodge mentioned that tourists’ lodging should be separated from hotels frequented by locals. He did not think tourists should be exposed to the sort of behavior which sometimes takes place there such as drunkenness and flirtation. Sexual promiscuity has received a lot of attention in the Ugandan media. It has been a major contributor to the AIDS epidemic. In fact, frank public discussion on the matter in Uganda has done a lot to bring the problem under control. Nonetheless, an AIDS activist living in Bigodi eloquently stated the current nature of the problem like this, “in Bigodi, there are still many men dipping their water from the same well” (Informal conversation, March 25, 2003). Therefore, the idea that Bigodi is a morally pristine setting into which tourism dumps its vices would seem funny to most residents.

This is an important realization. It means local people already have institutions in place to deal with such behavior. For example, the Bigodi Women’s Group insists its members adhere to certain moral standards. In an interview with one of the group’s founding members, I asked how the group has been able to stay together for so long. She replied:

A group must have a constitution which controls the group, anybody who misbehaves, you have to get the constitution and show the rules, if you don’t have a constitution things will collapse in a short time because you don’t have anything which can control or at least teach someone what to do. When someone acts against the law of the group we have to read the constitution.

“What are important elements of a constitution,” I asked?

Ok you find that mostly you have to mention what type of person should be in the group. Then, what should be done if a person misbehaves? Then if somebody misbehaves, for example these prostitute women or drinking in public places, how will you control that? Which rule will you put to that person? What are their punishments? So those things can encourage a group to work together. (Akello, personal communication, May 4, 2003)

Another complementary explanation is that negative impacts are relegated to a small segment of society. The two negatives impacts mentioned were inflated prices and crop raiding from wild animals. Inflation as a result of tourism has been discussed before (Mathieson & Wall, 1982). However, in Bigodi, only those people fully employed by the tourism industry mentioned price inflation as an impact. A Guide for Kibale NP told me:

Some tourists stay in the village and pay better money than the local people. That brings problems. They help us but at the same time bring problems. Because things used to be very cheap here, but now hah, a chicken was 1500 when I came in 1991, now it is 8000! Now a local person without a job will never eat chicken, it is expensive. (Magambo, personal communication March 5, 2003)

Only two other people made similar complaints and both worked full time in tourism. This indicates that in Bigodi, price increases may be applied selectively. Nowhere in Bigodi are there fixed prices, everything is negotiable. Many merchants mentioned they start negotiations at a higher price for tourists than residents, evidently, the same occurs when bargaining with full time employees of the tourism industry. As the owner of Safari Lodge once complained, "people around here think I am paid in dollars."

The other impact, crop raiding, was much more severe for those affected. Interestingly, it is not attributed directly to tourism. When asked about tourism's negative impacts, crop raiding was typically mentioned. Yet, conversations about crop raiding quickly turned from tourism to Kibale NP. In the end, it was clear that crop raiding was not attributed to tourists and tourism as much park officials. These are the people who are believed to have the power to stop crop raiding but refrain from doing so.

Central to residents' understanding of tourism is the bazungu, and as one resident mentioned, why would a bazungu be responsible for keeping animals out of my garden? It is the park's, and to a lesser extent KAFRED's, responsibility. As such, crop raiding affects local perceptions of Kibale NP and KAFRED differently.

In agricultural subsistence economies, crop raiding next to national parks can be devastating. Typically, losses from crop raiding cannot be compensated by already under-funded parks. In such cases, it is the peasants who bear the cost (De Boer and Baquete, 1998; Rao et al., 2002; Studsrod & Wegge, 1995). In Bigodi, the situation is no different. Obviously, crop raiding fosters very negative attitudes about national parks among those affected. In Maputo Elephant Reserve in Mozambique for instance, crop raiding was the only variable influencing negative attitudes about the park (De Boer and Baquete, 1998). In Bigodi, it is also that important. It is the number one concern of those affected. No other issue is as grave a matter. Yet, people believe it is an issue with which the park is not concerned. The following conversation about crop raiding with a Bigodi farmer is typical of what was expressed. The excerpt begins with me asking a question about benefits:

As tourism has developed here, do you think it is benefiting most residents or just a few?

People benefit but we have a problem with wild animals eating peoples' crops.

What are the ways people benefit?

People who are not near the park grow their crops, they grow well, people get good yields and they sell, but people near the park don't get that chance.

Are you near the park?

We are neighbors.

And you suffer from animals?

Mostly baboons and elephants.

Are there any ideas you have that can solve that problem?

I can not know. We tell the park but they don't take action.

Did you have this problem in the early days, in the 50s and 60s?

Yes it was there but there were game rangers then who would shoot the elephants and baboons and buffalos and kill them.

These days what happens?

The park does not take any action, it is the locals who must act. The park is not concerned.

Do you have ideas for the park that would help?

Yes, we should have a chat like you and I are chatting but then they wouldn't act. They would promise to send rangers but they won't come. (Tamale, personal communication, April 16, 2003)

This belief that the park is unresponsive towards the problem of crop raiding was widespread. Even residents not affected by crop raiding mentioned the park's unresponsiveness on the matter. This leads to obvious negative attitudes about the park. These results are supported by earlier research into local attitudes about Uganda's parks which found crop raiding to be a major and unresolved problem (Mugisha, 2002).

In her study of conservation around Budongo Forest Reserve in Uganda, Hill (1998) found that respondents still believe the purpose of park rangers is to chase wildlife from people's gardens. This is a legacy of the now abolished Game Department which was set up during the colonial period to control crop raiding wildlife. This belief is common in Bigodi also, as the preceding conversation showed. On another occasion, I asked a farmer suffering on the edge of the park why he and his fellow farmers couldn't

pool their resources and hire guards. My logic was the guards could be paid from the extra money earned when more crops were harvested. His reply was "it is hard because we know the national park has guards that should already be doing that work for us" (Kato, personal communication, April 27, 3003). Thus, it appears this misunderstanding of park ranger duties is common in Uganda. Mugisha's (2002) research on Uganda's national parks and wildlife reserves came to the same conclusion. This indicates a widespread need for educating the public about the purpose and role of national parks. It also multiplies negative attitudes about parks. When crops are raided, victims think park employees are not doing their jobs, are lazy and no longer concerned with local problems.

Crop raiding has not created negative attitudes about KAFRED to the extent that it has for Kibale NP. This is partly explained by KAFRED's greater inclusion of local people in management and benefits. Several writers have commented that including local people helps resolve conflict and improve attitudes (Brandon & Wells, 1992; Gurung, 1992; Jeanrenaud, 1999). KAFRED has involved its neighbors next to the swamp in management. These are the people most affected by crop raiding. While all are still upset about crop raiding, they also see the benefits of KAFRED and understand its importance to the community. Understanding comes from being involved. A merchant in Bigodi and casual observer of the situation made this comment:

People close to the swamp look at it as better than the park. The reason I am saying that is most people up to now feel the protection of the park has not helped them so much, most people around here are peasants and the park is still looked at as a hazard because it hides those animals that raids their crops. On the other hand, the community is directly benefiting from the swamp. Because they are directly involved in management, handling income, and resources and that is why they are protecting it. (Kalevu, personal communication, April 7, 2003)

In contrast to KAFRED, locals are not involved in the management of Kibale NP. As already mentioned, peasants neighboring the park do not understand management's purpose. This leads to confusion. Of the five people I interviewed next to Kibale NP, none had anything positive to say about it. In fact, they could only discuss the park vaguely as something belonging to the government. Of the five I interviewed next to KAFRED, each had something positive to say, and only one had strong negative feelings. Furthermore, all except one believed KAFRED belonged to the community and understood its purpose.

These sentiments are summarized in the following interview with a Bigodi resident and employee of Kibale NP. The conversation began when I asked him if residents feel KAFRED is part of the community. He replied:

Yes, even they are trying to protect more.

How about the park, is it part of the community?

Not much, not as much as KAFRED. People love KAFRED more than the park because KAFRED brings good money more than the park. It is only people employed by the park have no problem. But people like these guys here I mean the locals, they are not happy, because they used to get meat and firewood from the park. Now if they find you there you are arrested . . .

Is there anyway to get people to like the park as much as they like the swamp?

I think there is. This revenue sharing the park is starting. That one could help and then secondly if they let people enter the park for free, the local people should not pay anything. Then they'll know the park belongs to us and not the government. Then the other thing, people would be very happy if the park puts some fences around so the elephants can not cross and destroy crops, then they will have to like the park. If the park could guard the crops the people would like the park. People neighboring the park loose a lot. They are not happy. Like my parents are not happy, they have problems with baboons and elephants from the park. Me I'm happy because I work for the park and get some money but my parents are not happy. (Magambo, personal communication, March 5, 2003)

As the above conversation shows, residents give more credit to KAFRED for tourism's benefits than they do to Kibale NP. Previous research has confirmed tourism's ability to create positive attitudes about national parks (Mehta & Heinen, 2001; Walpole & Goodwin, 2001; Picard, 2003; Sekhar, 2003). In this case, it is KAFRED which is benefiting from positive attitudes generated by tourism. More so than the park, KAFRED has brought bazungu and tourism receipts into the trading center. It has also developed the school, attracted donor funding and made some of the swamp's resources available on a sustainable basis.

On the other hand, Kibale NP's tourism revenue is believed to "belong to the government" as many people told me. There has been talk of Kibale NP sharing tourism revenue with Bigodi but no one has seen any. This was a topic of conversation one afternoon in Bigodi. A group of men and women were talking very critically of the park's alleged revenue sharing program. They stated it does not exist, but that KAFRED and the Women's Group were putting pressure on the park to match local efforts. They argued that is actually KAFRED and the Women's Group that share revenue with Bigodi. They believed when the park realizes KAFRED and the women are doing more for Bigodi than the park, the park will finally be forced to share their revenue also or face embarrassment (Daily journal, April 1, 2003). Thus, KAFRED is seen as a bigger provider of benefits than Kibale NP. The benefits stem from tourism. In addition to including residents in management, KAFRED's greater inclusion of residents in the receipt of benefits explains why local opinion of KAFRED remains high even in the face of crop raiding. The result of crop raiding is that public attitude about Kibale NP suffers much more than KAFRED and tourism and local involvement play the mitigating role.

At this point, the discussion of tourism in Bigodi nearly conforms to the literature. New insights have been made about tourism development in tourism voids. This research suggests that in areas with no prior exposure to tourism, a stage of development should precede Butler's (1980) initial stage. This stage should be called the sensitization stage. Similarly, residents' attitudes during this stage are characterized by anxiety, confusion, suspicion and even brewing hostility. This attitude precedes Doxey's (1976) euphoria stage. Once residents of Bigodi reached Doxey's euphoria stage, the description of costs, benefits and attitudes supports much of the literature on the subject. Briefly, Bigodi shows communities hungry for economic development have positive attitudes about it (Lindberg and Johnson, 1997; Smith and Krannich, 1998). Small scale developments, cooperative arrangements, local ownership and control of decision making all help keep benefits local (Brandon & Wells, 1992; Broham, 1996; Brown, 1998; Gurung, 1992; Jeanrenaud, 1999). With such arrangements, tourism's revenues can be multiplied throughout a community many times (Broham, 1996; Brown, 1998; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Scheyvens, 2002). Crop raiding can be a terrible cost associated with nature based tourism attractions like national parks (De Boer and Baquete, 1998; Rao et al., 2002; Stuksrod & Wegge, 1995), however, tourism benefits and local involvement in decision making can serve as mitigating factors (Mehta and Heinen, 2001; Walpole & Goodwin, 2001; Picard, 2003; Sekhar, 2003). Such is the case with KAFRED. Such is not the case with Kibale NP.

This discussion will now depart from the literature's more traveled paths and dwell on the implications of tourism's meaning in Bigodi. Tourism's meaning can vary widely by context (Cheung, 1999; Hepburn, 2002; Horn & Simmons, 2002; Oakes, 1999). As

this analysis revealed, tourism in Bigodi means the conservation of natural resources in order to attract bazungu who are the sole providers of the money and ideas necessary for development. Deconstruction of this meaning will consume the remainder of this discussion. The discussion will reveal tourism's meaning in Bigodi has been, and continues to be, influenced by historical, political and economic forces. These forces create the social psychological context in which tourism must be evaluated in order to understand its contribution to sustainable development.

Deconstruction of Meaning

Conservation

In Bigodi, tourism and conservation are one. Conservation is done to attract bazungu. Bazungu are important because they bring development. This is the essence of tourism. As unique as this understanding sounds, it may not be uncommon across Uganda. As UWA's Executive Director told me, "In Uganda we still think conservation is when you can get tourists from outside to come and visit your place, and tourist means bazungu" (Personal communication, March 13, 2003). In this light, can conservation in Bigodi, or for that matter Uganda, continue without tourism, or the coming of bazungu? Recall what Uganda's President said about tourism and conservation, "Tourism has a great potential to generate Uganda money, and protected areas are Uganda's most popular tourist attractions. Therefore, we have a duty to conserve them" (December 7, 2002). As the president clearly stated, Uganda has a duty to conserve its natural resources because they generate foreign exchange through tourism. This indicates a conservation ideology based on money. The danger is that conservation for money may come at the expense of ecological, cultural or aesthetic values that are more important for conservation's sustainability. Research into local conservation practices at ecotourism

sites in Costa Rica by Stem et al., (2003) confirmed this danger. Researchers found that while ecotourism curbed environmentally destructive practices, it did not instill an environmental ethic. In fact, local people dependent on ecotourism were more likely to favor extractive forms of natural resource utilization if ecotourism revenue ended than local people not dependent on ecotourism.

Such an attitude towards natural resource conservation is also evident in Bigodi. Thanks to tourism, conservation is now an accepted part of life there. In the past, natural resources like the swamp were viewed as obstacles to development, now they are tied to development. In the past, the swamp was cleared for agriculture, grazed by cattle and the wildlife it harbored was hunted freely. Compared to the past, the change in attitude and behavior towards conservation in Bigodi is dramatic:

In the past during droughts like we are having now, the swamp would be all burnt down to ashes. But because people have seriously realized the benefits from the swamp everyone is acting as its watchdog. It is everybody's initiative to make sure the swamp is protected so that it benefits everyone. In the past it would be burnt by now. In the past, they didn't know the proper use so they would use it for grazing, once burnt, the young papyrus that grows back is eaten by goats and cattle. That is something they are not doing these days. (Kalevu, personal communication, April 7, 2003)

But what is the motivation for this conservation? Is it a newfound concern for the environment or is it based solely on money? As evident in the analysis, residents' understanding of tourism in Bigodi is based entirely off of the single shared experience of protecting the swamp as a tourist attraction. Because of this, conservation and tourism are inseparably entwined. There is a direct linkage between conservation and tourist revenue. A widowed farmer in Bigodi made this point exactly when she said:

Before we didn't feel concerned about the forest and nature but now we have learned that it is very valuable. Now in Uganda we are very wealthy because of tourists who come from abroad to tour these forests and bring us money. So we

are earning money in Uganda and we have learned that killing wild animals is bad and cutting down trees in the forest is bad. (Nantongo, personal communication, April 23, 2003)

Likewise, a male teacher at the primary school underscored this connection when he said:

Many people have changed their attitude because of tourism, now animals are earning them a living, after tourists come they have to pay money to see these animals . . . now people have the attitude that if they kill animals there will be no tourism within this area and they will no longer get money. (Bagonza, personal communication, June 3, 2003)

Interestingly, the staff of KAFRED and Kibale NP, the people one would expect to be most indoctrinated with ecologically based conservation ethics, have also formulated conservation in terms tourism. I asked a newly hired guide at Kibale NP “What are the best things about the swamp or the forest for Bigodi?” To which the guide replied, “Apart from tourists who visit the place I can’t tell really, because the tourists come and buy our commodities here.” I continued, asking “I mean, what are the benefits you get from having the swamp or forest in your community?” Again the reply was, “Well there is this Bigodi Women’s Group, they weave baskets and sell them in the canteen. When tourists come most have to buy those handcrafts . . . so that is how we are benefiting” (Komuhendo, personal communication, March 26, 2003). On another occasion, I asked a guide at KAFRED the same question. He replied, “The benefit from the swamp is just the money we get from tourists because it helps the local people” (Sentongo, personal communication, May 29, 2003). As these interviews reveal, conservation has been embraced in Bigodi because of its interconnection with tourism, bazungu and development. Residents are united in this understanding.

From the perspective of a peasant living from harvest to harvest, this is a logical allocation of resources. In a setting like Bigodi, conservation is viable as long as people

gain direct economic utility from it. As President Museveni's speech suggested, this is not unique to Bigodi but is the dominant conservation ideology in Uganda. Yet it is this ideology which may ultimately doom the nation's conservation efforts. For when conservation fails to bring economic utility, or in the case of Bigodi bazungu and development, it will be over. I discussed this with the Executive Director of the Uganda Wildlife Authority. He agreed with the assessment and blamed the problem on attaching conservation to economics. He said:

Conservation in Uganda won't be sustainable if we continue to say you have to pay for it. I think conservation must exist for the sake of it, for non-monetary values, in order for it to be sustainable. The long term solution is the education aspect and promoting the ecological relationship people have with the natural environment, but the biggest threat to that is the economic order: the capitalistic approach, the economic models which are gaining big ground where you either pay for what is important or it's finished. So the threat to conservation is the economic order of things, capitalistic tendencies ... I am saying that the concept that everything has a monetary value is wrong, because not everything is valued to money, some things don't have a monetary value but that doesn't mean they are useless, they are useful. (Personal communication, March 13, 2003).

This statement echoes the dangers Stem et al., (2003) concluded might result from attaching conservation to economics. Considering conservation in Bigodi, it is not an ideal which exists independently of tourism. As tourism's meaning revealed, conservation is part of tourism. Therefore, if tourism ends, so will conservation. I asked a merchant in Bigodi what would happen if tourism ended and was told: "If tourism ended hah! What other thing would generate us money? What I know is people would go poaching. The animals would be killed again and it would not take time to finish them" (Asaba, personal communication, March 5, 2003). On another occasion, I asked one of the members of Bigodi's women group, what would happen if people no longer received benefits from tourism. She replied "People will go back to killing animals.

Animals destroy our crops at great cost and without benefits what reason would we have to help the park protect them?" (Akello, personal communication, February 26, 2003)

Thus the future of conservation in Bigodi, and perhaps Uganda, should be a concern. It is dependent on the notoriously fickle whims of those traveling bazungu - tourists.

Bazungu Dependency

According to local meaning for tourism in Bigodi, not only is conservation dependent on Bazungu, but so is development. As my research progressed and this theme became more and more clear, I found this deeply disturbing. I began to call it "bazungu dependency." This is different than Frank's (1967) classic notion of economic dependency used to describe the leakage of capital from the rural periphery to the metropolitan center. As previously discussed, in Bigodi there is little capital leakage. Backwards linkages have been severed by local ownership and decision makers which prefer local markets and producers. Bigodi's "bazungu dependency" is also different than Erisman's (1983) cultural dependency. Erisman described a condition where a host community's cultural characteristics become increasingly dependent on Western value systems introduced by tourists. Instead, residents in Bigodi have become dependent on the intervention of Bazungu to bring positive change in their lives. This is of course clear in the meaning of tourism but also evident in residents' approach to life in general.

As a muzungu, I occasionally felt this expectation that residents had of me to bring development. This is despite the fact that everyone understood my purpose was research. As a result, I shared novel ideas with people on the rare occasion I had one. One day, women from the canteen were telling me how much coffee the tourists drink. While I knew many Americans and Europeans were serious coffee drinkers, I also knew that many tourists loathed the coffee in Uganda. Without fail, instant Nescafe brand coffee is

served. This is a poor substitute for Starbucks. The irony to tourists is that they know Uganda is one of the coffee growing capitals of the world. The state's coffee marketing board has billboards promoting delicious Ugandan coffee all over Kampala. Bigodi itself is a big producer. After hearing the women talk of coffee drinking tourists, I realized coffee growers in Bigodi should be roasting and selling their own coffee to tourists!

I started talking with coffee growers and learned raw coffee is bought in Bigodi for 350 Ugandan shillings per Kilogram (8 cents a pound). I explained by roasting it in Bigodi and selling it to tourists, the price should jump to at least 20,000 Ugandan Shillings per kilogram (5 dollars a pound). I also looked into the basics of roasting coffee and found it involves nothing more than a good hot skillet and practice. I organized a few coffee growers and explained my plan. I suggested they form a co-operative business. At that point, the farmers' excitement disappeared and one spoke up saying:

If I try to talk to other people about this plan they will just look at me and say 'ah, he is just an African.' They can't take me seriously or listen, but they will listen to you. You must do it. (Informal conversation, April 4, 2003)

Several times thereafter I mentioned the idea when introduced to a coffee farmer and each time the response was the same. If I didn't organize the project myself, the feeling was it couldn't succeed.

Even when not discussing tourism or development, the theme of bazungu dependency was ever present. Often it was lurking within the meaning of the stories I was told. For example, a loving grandmother told me a story of misfortune which had struck her grandson, Akiki. She said:

Akiki had a wooden bicycle, and some bazungu came across him and took a photo. The bazungu left but then later sent a very nicely wrapped envelope with the photo and a letter, but now I can't find it. In the letter it was written that if you have any problem you write to us and we will help you. But now I have no

way to send a letter to these bazungu so my grandson has failed. The boy was schooling until school fees ran out, eventually he failed to get more school fees so he went to Bushenyi to find work. (Mzee Namata, personal communication, June 4, 2003)

The implication of the story is that if she could have contacted those bazungu then the boy would not have failed. Surely they would have intervened and helped solve the boy's problem. Later in the same interview, hoping for sagely counsel, I asked the grandmother what advice she would like to offer the next generation. She replied, "The advice I have is that young people should go to school and learn things that are useful so they can co-operate with the bazungu" (Mzee Namata, personal communication, June 4, 2003).

It is not just that bazungu bring the ideas for development, as the Peace Corps Volunteer brought the idea for tourism. They also bring the resources and capital. This was made clear as the success of KAFRED began to attract donor attention to Bigodi. USAID, the US Embassy Self Help Fund, UNDP and IUCN have all contributed thousands of dollars to projects in Bigodi. The fact that all of this money came from bazungu instead of Ugandans has left an impression on local people. It has been suggested in the literature that an advantage of community based tourism development in Africa is that donors readily fund such ventures (Barnes, MacGregor & Weaver, 2002; Loon & Polakow, 2001). Results from Bigodi indicate that donor funding has a major disadvantage, namely it might encourage dependence on donors. One of Bigodi's seemingly self sufficient enterprises, the Peanut Butter Project, is currently searching for a donor to buy them a generator. They have already benefited from a UNDP grant which built their office. The desired generator will power their grinder and produce more peanut butter. The search has been unsuccessful to date but one of the members told me

patience with donors is a tremendous virtue. She emphasized her point with the following story:

There is a village near here where a muzungu went and stayed. He formed a development group for improving agriculture and he taught people many things. Then he left saying he was going to look for funding. Years passed and he never returned. Finally after five years he returned with a whole lorry full of supplies for his group including a tractor, but the group had given up and they all quit long before his return. They had no patience so they lost everything. He had to return with his things and the people really lost. (Akello, personal communication, May 4, 2003)

Such stories, whether fact or fiction, circulate around Bigodi and reinforce the condition of bazungu dependency. In addition, the stories match with their own experiences, which indicate that development is dependent on the actions of others. In Bigodi, residents believe they have little control over the development process.

Explaining Bazungu Dependency

The explanation of Bigodi's bazungu dependency begins with Rotter's (1966) concept of Locus of Control. Individuals, cultures, even societies have been found to vary by this concept (Khanna and Khanna, 1979; Rotter, 1966, Smith et al., 1995; Zoe, 1981). Variation ranges from internal to external. An internal locus of control signifies a belief that what happens in life is a result of one's own actions. Conversely, an external locus of control signifies a belief that what happens in life is largely independent of one's own actions (Rotter, 1966). A social psychological orientation towards an external locus of control is descriptive of Bigodi's bazungu dependency. Montero and Sloan (1988) theorized that community orientation towards an external locus of control contributes to dependency behavior. However, this has never been verified with research.

Collins (1974) found four unique subscales within Rotter's original locus of control scale: the world is governed by luck or chance, the world is difficult, the world is unjust,

and the world is governed by politically unresponsive powerful others. Belief in any one of these subscales was found to be positively correlated with an external locus of control. Recall one of the major benefits of tourism people repeatedly mentioned was the element of chance. Significantly, chance is by nature beyond an individual's control. With tourism in Bigodi, chance can favor anybody and bring an unexpected windfall. People who work in tourism are just as likely to benefit as those who do not. Recall the story of the boy who, by chance, was paid a tidy sum to roast a goat for a group of tourists at his mother's house. In addition to the money, the meat alone was worth fantasizing over. Since hunting has been stopped, many peasants in Bigodi only eat meat twice a year, at Christmas and Easter. There is no doubt the boy's family feasted that evening with a holiday spirit. Because so many believe significant tourism benefits result from chance, the entrepreneurial spirit necessary to accrue those benefits is dampened. This is an aspect of dependency behavior described by Montero and Sloan (1988) as "unwillingness to make cognitive and physical efforts to improve one's situation, and finally, a decline of that key trait for the modern entrepreneur, competitiveness" (p. 604). Thus, residents' acceptance of chance links bazungu dependency to an external locus of control as described by Collins (1974).

The belief that the world is governed by politically unresponsive powerful others is also a powerful theme in Bigodi. This is reinforced by the park's lack of a response to crop raiding. In the past, when people could hunt they had much more control over protecting their crops. With hunting banned, efforts to solve the problem have relied on the park staff and political channels. As previous discussion has revealed, the universal perception in Bigodi is that the park is unresponsive to the needs of local farmers. In

addition to park staff, politicians have been unresponsive on the issue of crop raiding as well. A man farming next to Kibale NP told me:

At the beginning this was just a forest, but now it has turned into a national park and now those neighboring the national park vote for politicians and we ask them to provide rangers nearby to guard our crops. But those politicians, when you take them your problems, they don't act. They are just there in their big offices. (Kato, personal communication, April 27, 2003)

In fact, the creation of the Kibale NP has contributed to residents' belief that their world is governed by powerful others. There is a growing perception around parks in the developing world that policy is set by foreign donors whose interests are not those of the local people (Derman, 1995). Lepp (2002a) illustrated how this has already affected UWA. It was estimated that 80 percent of the money UWA used to manage the country's national parks in 1998 was provided by foreign donors. Such money is never "free" but comes with many strings attached. For example, in 1998, the World Bank was UWA's primary source of funding. The money came with the stipulations that UWA's financial operations be managed by a private firm, that UWA recruit a new Executive Director from outside of Uganda, and that various other UWA operations such as some tourist concessions be privatized. In this manner, UWA was at least partially dependent on donors for policy.

As Derman (1995) notes, this is not lost on the peasants neighboring parks. In Bigodi, a farmer bordering Kibale NP once told me of how her children often miss school in order to stay home and guard the crops. She was worried about their education. Hoping to turn the conversation to politics, I told her if children could not go to school in America the government would surely find a solution. Her reply was startling, she said:

That is America, but for us here no one would give us an ear, and then America is the one that orders that the forest be conserved so that the tourists can come and

see it. Our government has no way of solving that problem or it would be able to solve it. The government that should be able to solve it is America's because it is the one that said let there be tourism. So how can our government manage except if America finds a way of solving the problem? (Mbabazi, personal communication, June 2, 2003)

From this view, the park is an extension of American policy, not Ugandan. Naturally, America's policy is not something a Ugandan peasant would feel control over.

It is not just farmers next to Kibale NP who find their world politically unresponsive. A recent study in Uganda by Francis and James (2003) found Local Councilors, the elected officials closest to the grass roots, are generally perceived to be unresponsive to local needs. Many informal conversations I had in Bigodi revealed that Local Councilors do not fulfill their public service obligations unless paid a small gratuity first. Interviews revealed it is not just Local Councilors who are unresponsive but also politicians vested with much more authority. I was having a conversation with a farmer about the poor roads around Bigodi. He was upset because poor roads limited his ability to access better markets for his produce. When I asked if he has voiced his opinion about the roads to his elected officials, the following conversation ensued:

The people concerned, for example our MP (Member of Parliament), are doing nothing. He was elected then just went to Kampala and sat down, he doesn't work. He has never appeared back at the grassroots and asked what people's concerns are. That is the greatest factor leading to why the roads are not worked on.

A lot of people I have talked with around here say the MPs forget about people back in the village. Is this a true statement, and if so, what can you do about it?

There is no way to solve this problem until his term in office is over. Then we elect another MP and see if he will do the same. But on the side of the president we have no problem, he is playing his role. He brings foreigners from outside and they bring about development.

So if somebody has an MP who is not working well for local people and that is hurting development, what can you do here at the grass roots to help yourself besides electing a new MP?

There is nothing we can do except just wait until his term expires. So we do what we can and what we can't we just leave it. Unless he commits a crime against the government, he can not be expelled.

OK, it's difficult when you don't have support from above. But still you have to keep struggling somehow at the grass roots.

Yes, we do what we can and what we can't we just leave it. Maybe the big people around can put pressure on MPs but not us. These MPs have an inferiority complex when they reach parliament, they don't speak, they just sit there. (Mzee Rwabogo, personal communication, June 18, 2003)

This conversation is dramatic for two reasons. It shows how political unresponsiveness results in apathy and disengagement which ultimately becomes an obstacle to self-reliance. In the place of self-determination, control is vested in others. In Bigodi, the powerful others are bazungu. This is the second point illustrated by this conversation. The speaker credits President Museveni with acting while other politicians are unresponsive. Sadly, the action the President is lauded for is bringing in foreigners to develop the country. Development comes from outside, not from within. Thus, residents' belief that the world is governed by politically unresponsive powerful others also links bazungu dependency to an external locus of control as described by Collins (1974).

Finally, there is much evidence in Bigodi to support a local belief in an unjust world. It stems, in part, from historical circumstances. Beginning in 1971 and lasting for nearly two decades, Ugandans suffered terribly through the random depravity and senseless violence at the hands of Idi Amin and subsequent dictators. Many people in Bigodi who lived through these times have a story of a raped wife or daughter, a husband

or son hauled away by soldiers, or a friend who just disappeared. Remembering those times, a farmer told me this about Amin's soldiers:

If you had a wife behind there and they see that she is beautiful they come at night and attack you, put you under the bed and sleep with your wife, if you complain they just kill you. It wouldn't even be one soldier with your wife, it could be seven, and even during the day. People became frustrated and some even committed suicide. (Mugaga, personal communication, April 8, 2003)

Another man remembered this about his friend who was a judge before Amin came to power:

After Amin came to power, the judge went home to his village in Bundibugyo when one day Amin sent soldiers to get him. They just entered his house and said Amin wants you. They then threw him in the trunk of a car and drove to Kampala over the worst roads in country. Once in Kampala, Amin himself opened the trunk and looked at the man, then said to the guards keep him for me. He was thrown in jail for three years with no word to anyone where he was. After three years Amin remembered him and called for him. He told him, of all the children from your mother's womb, you are the luckiest, go home. The man rushed home and when he arrived no one from the village could believe it was him. They had a big party and he became a priest. (Mzee Sempala, personal communication, April 27, 2003)

For many, surviving those times is attributed to sheer luck or chance. For those who did not survive, a reasonable explanation of their death defies logic. Without justice, the power of the just to explain their world falters. In Bigodi, Amin's reign and the chaos which followed encouraged a belief in an unjust world which is correlated with an external locus of control. In further support of this, Crandall and Lehman (1977) found that stressful life events lead to a greater perceived external locus of control.

Based on the evidence presented here, bazungu dependency is a determinant force in Bigodi. This bazungu dependency is not an innate characteristic of Bigodi's residents. The early immigrants to the area recalled that it was only through their hard work, strong independence and self-determination that Bigodi was created. To the contrary, it was

misguided beliefs about an innate dependency in Africans that led to the many injustices of imperialism and the “white man’s burden” (Morel, 1969). The dependency in Bigodi is rooted in recent events which have contributed to the widespread belief in an external locus of control (Rotter, 1966). An external locus of control is identifiable by residents’ belief in chance, belief that the world is governed by politically unresponsive powerful others, and a belief that the world is unjust. Foundations for these beliefs can be traced to influential events in the life of Bigodi’s residents such as the years of chaos resulting from Amin’s dictatorship and the creation of Kibale NP which eliminated local control over crop raiding and increased reliance on an unresponsive government agent. Another may be the perceived influence donors have on natural resource management in Uganda’s parks. These beliefs lead to dependency (Montero & Sloan, 1988). Thus, it is historical, political and economic forces which determined Bigodi’s external locus of control and proclivity towards dependency.

A timeline of these events can be seen in Table 5-1. Significantly, these forces were acting on Bigodi before tourism arrived. Thus, bazungu dependency is not a result of tourism alone. However, the fact that tourism was such a strange yet ultimately successful idea for Bigodi’s residents, and that they could not have arrived at the idea of tourism independently, may have made tourism more likely to encourage dependency than other development interventions based upon familiar ideas.

For example, the introduction of tourism and the introduction of Western cash crops produced quite different results. Cash crops, introduced by the British, have not contributed to dependency behavior. Spear (1997) describes how farmers on Mount Meru in Tanzania incorporated British cash crops into their agriculture without becoming

dependent on British economic, political or cultural systems. Likewise, I found nothing to indicate cash crops had fostered dependency behavior in Bigodi. Coffee has been in Bigodi since the colonial era. Stories I was told of those days indicate farmers in Bigodi were very independent and self reliant. With no help from the outside, they established an agricultural community in a wild, remote and sparsely populated area. In the late 1990s, tobacco was introduced in Bigodi. Despite having to learn new agricultural techniques specific to tobacco farming, people adopted tobacco without dependence. The difference can be explained by locus of control. People in Bigodi are agriculturalists. They understand agriculture and have a sense of control over it. The locus for control is internal. Tourism on the other hand is a completely foreign idea. It is still not perfectly understood after ten years. Accordingly, tourism reinforces an external locus of control. It is very interesting to note that the only indication of self reliance stemming from tourism is actually in agriculture as residents quickly began planting foods tourists desired.

In general, the social psychological context into which any development intervention is injected should be well understood. It is from this context that the intervention takes its meaning and success. In the case of Bigodi, tourism has come to mean development led by bazungu. This is a result of residents' perceived external locus of control. Under these conditions, tourism has failed to encourage the self reliance necessary for sustainable development.

Table 5-1: Context of tourism's meaning in Bigodi

	Independence from Britain in 1962	1972 Amin takes power in Uganda, nearly two decades of chaos and war ensue.	Kibale NP and Peace Corps (PCV) arrive.	PCV leaves Bigodi, tourism established.	Tourism continues.	
	1950 Bigodi	1970 Bigodi	1990 Bigodi	1992 Bigodi	1994 Bigodi	2003 Bigodi
Social	Batoro hunters, immigration of Bakiga, scattered farming.	Development - increased farming, trading center emerges, roads, primary school.	Little change since 1972.	Little change since 1972.	KAFRED, peanut butter project, women's group, tourist lodges, secondary school.	Little change since PCV left in 1994.
Economic	Subsistence.	Subsistence with small scale cash crops (coffee).	Little change since 1972.	Little change since 1972.	Subsistence, small cash crops, tourism (food, lodging, handicrafts, swamp tours)	Little change since PCV left in 1994.
Political	Distant colonial power. Benign local king. Kibale forest no government presence.	Post-independence government perceived as good. Government rangers help farmers.	Belief that the government and its armies are dangerous and unpredictable.	Creation of national park brings greater government presence and local uncertainty.	Locally little change, nationally growing economic and political dependency	Little change since PCV left in 1994.
Ecological	Land and animals plenty, problem animals controlled by hunting.	Land becoming scarce, problem animals controlled by government rangers.	Land scarce and animals controlled by hunting.	Problem animals no longer controlled but protected by government rangers, hunting punished.	National park protected, local swamp protected, wild animals growing problem.	Little change since PCV left in 1994.
Psychological	Internal locus of control, self reliant, hard work brings change	No change.	Self-reliance questioned, future uncertain, stoic or fatalistic attitudes, external locus of control	No change.	Reliance on PCV, introduction to foreign aid, externality reinforced, stoic attitude continues.	Little change since PCV left in 1994.
Understanding of tourism	Non-existent	Non-existent	Non-existent	Tourism a mystery and not well received, some hostility.	Tourism a mystery but accepted by elites, growing curiosity.	Broad enthusiasm, Doxey's '76 euphoria, local meaning evolves.

The Social Psychology of Development

Satisfying basic needs frees the energy necessary to focus on greater tasks. On a psychological level, Maslow (1943) described this process of personal development with his famous hierarchy of needs. Maslow's hierarchy culminates in self actualization, described as the desire to develop one's full potential. Self-actualization is driven by intrinsic motivations. Community development has also been described as a process of progressively satisfying basic needs in order to achieve higher goals. The culmination of community development is self reliance (Isbister, 1998). Self reliance is defined here as the ability to look inward for solutions. Communities like Bigodi, which look outward, are characterized by dependency. Dependency is the antithesis of self reliance.

It is proposed here that community development can also be thought of as a hierarchy of needs. Lower level needs must be satisfied before higher order needs, and ultimately self reliance, are met. Borrowing from Sofield (2003) and Scheyvens (1999) discussions of community empowerment, several characteristics of community development can be identified which are necessary for self reliance. These can be arranged in a hierarchy matching Maslow's (1943) needs (Figure 5-1). At the base of the hierarchy are basic needs. These would be decent shelter and clothing, sufficient and nutritious food, medical care and education. Upon meeting these needs, a community would address Maslow's belonging needs. To this end, Scheyvens identified social cohesion and trust as an important element of community development. In addition, Sofield stressed the importance of a community orienting itself with a broader society. After belonging needs, a community would address Maslow's esteem needs. Scheyvens recognized self esteem and self confidence as important for community development. Central to fulfilling this need in a community now oriented to the world around it, is

Sofield's assertion that a community be recognized and enabled by the state. When these needs are met, an environment will exist that fosters community self-reliance. A self reliant community depends on collective decision making and implementation. Like Maslow's self actualized individual, a self reliant community seeks to maximize its full potential. This is accomplished by looking inward for guidance as opposed to outward. In such a context, external advice and expertise are still valuable, but it is the community that decides the value based on their intrinsic motivations.

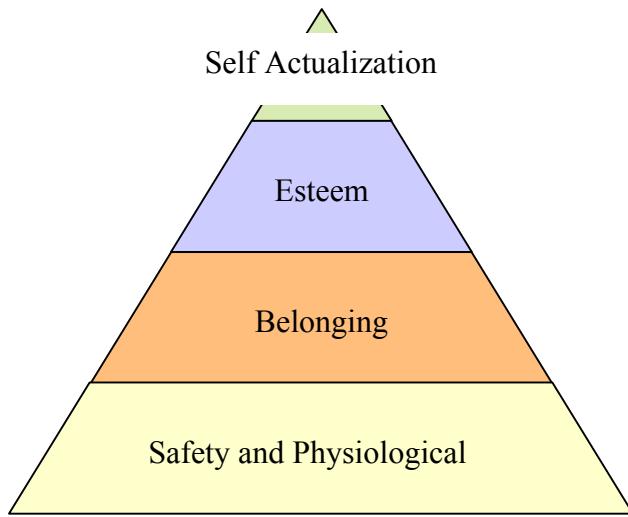


Figure 5-1: Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs

In Bigodi, basic needs are clearly being met. This is evident by the change people describe taking place in town, most notably, mud houses being replaced with brick, the construction of the secondary school by KAFRED and improvements to the local diet. Second level needs, described as belonging, are being met. This is exemplified by the many community based projects such as KAFRED, the Women's Group and the Peanut Butter Project. Third level needs are also being addressed. Considering esteem, residents of Bigodi often expressed pride in their community. An older farmer had this to say about his home of 48 years:

Bigodi is really taking the first position in the whole sub-county as far as development is concerned. Bigodi is better than other places because it gets visitors from abroad so it gets employment and even new ideas. (Mzee Rwabogo, personal communication, June 18, 2003)

More importantly at this level of needs, is that the community be recognized and enabled by the state (Sofield, 2003). Creating an enabling environment for community based tourism is a priority of the state in Uganda. This is reflected in the Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry's new tourism policy for Uganda (2004). As specific objectives, the policy lists "Distribute revenue earnings widely, with the large scale participation of communities and districts in the development," (p. 5) and "encourage the development of ecotourism, agro-tourism and community tourism products," (p. 5) where community tourism is defined as "tourism based on community development and operation of the product" (p. 24). In addition, UCOTA works on behalf of communities to increase awareness of community based tourism at the central and district levels of government. As the director of UCOTA told me, "As an association, we advocate at higher levels of government for these communities" (Personal communication, January 6, 2003). Finally, the President himself actively promotes tourism within Uganda.

According to this proposed hierarchy, it appears sufficient needs have been met to foster self-reliance in Bigodi. As this research has made abundantly clear, this is not the case. An explanation for this failure is found in the research of Barling and Fincham (1979). They discovered that individuals with an external locus of control have difficulty advancing through Maslow's (1943) hierarchy towards self-actualization. Not surprisingly, it was also found that an external locus of control was related to a focus on basic needs and deriving satisfaction from extrinsic sources. To the contrary, Barling and Fincham found an internal locus of control was related to a focus on intrinsic motivators

and self actualization. These insights can be used to provide explanatory power to the proposed hierarchy of community development needs. It can now be theorized that communities with an external locus of control will have difficulty achieving self reliance. Furthermore, an internal locus of control is necessary for a community to achieve self reliance and ultimately development. Additional support for this hypothesis comes from Montero and Sloan's (1988) assertion that an external locus of control contributes to dependency behavior in developing communities. This new theoretical model of community development is presented in Figure 5-2.

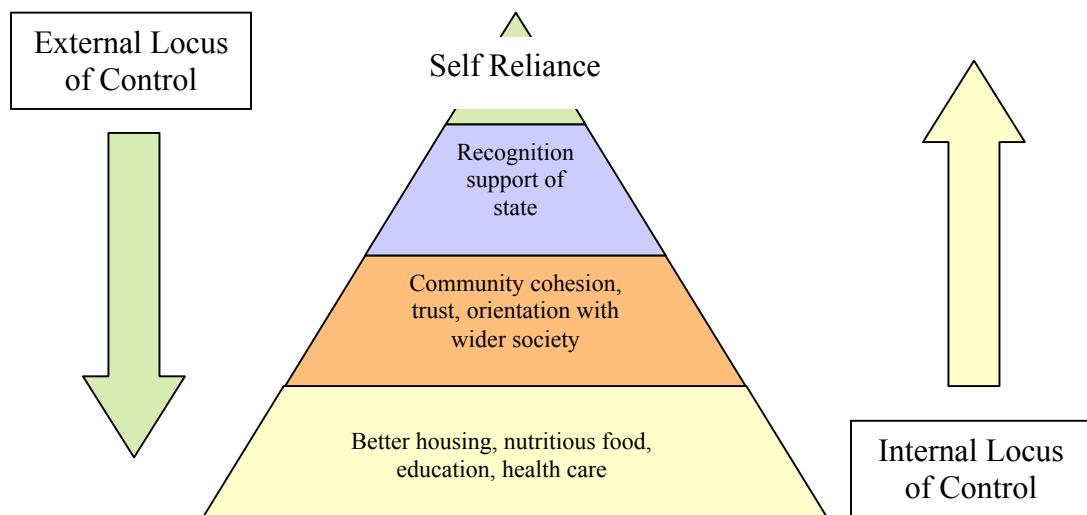


Figure 5-2: Social psychological hierarchy of community development needs.

Modeling Tourism Development in Bigodi

Using this theoretical model, it is hypothesized that tourism in Bigodi will not create self reliance unless the community internalizes locus of control. As there are two potential perceptions of locus of control, there are also two potential outcomes of tourism in Bigodi. The first outcome results from an external locus of control. In this case, tourism's potential for development will continue to be dependent on bazungu or other outsiders. If tourism development continues under the direction of outsiders, Bigodi will

follow the path described by Butler (1980). Concordantly, attitudes about tourism will follow the path described by Doxey (1976), eventually leading to frustration and irritation.

If outsiders fail to inject new ideas, tourism in Bigodi will stagnate. This may already be occurring. Since the PCV left, there have not been any new developments. Residents have not directed any changes of their own. To the contrary, a successful hotel has closed because of the owner's death. In the years since, no one has attempted to fill the void. As I was told, residents "just lack knowledge" to do this. I believe, after ten plus years experience with tourism, residents have the knowledge. Unfortunately, an overriding belief that success or failure is not dependent on local knowledge precludes action. Consequently, the lack of any new developments will potentially frustrate residents as the positive changes which now characterize Bigodi come to an end. This sentiment was expressed to me by an older man who seemed to long for the days of the PCV. He clearly attributed the positive change in Bigodi to Bazungu and he wondered aloud why such people no longer come to Bigodi to lend their expertise. His comments reveal that frustration might well loom ahead:

[Before President Museveni] there was no development and also our children who grew up then didn't know what a muzungu looked like. Also in the forest there were no animals, they had finished hunting them down, elephants were killed for their tusks and buffalos were eaten. The animals our children should have seen were not there, even the wild pig and antelope were not known by children then. Now there is a chance and it was brought about by the bazungu, they are the ones who had to protect the national park. They went into the park and were working there, they would bring wildlife videos to the schools here and show them to pupils, but these days the bazungu no longer bring the TVs to the schools so even these children today have not yet appreciated what is around them. I would like to know why the bazungu no longer come to our schools? It was an advantage for us when these bazungu came. Otherwise, our children will be thieves like in those governments that are now out of power. (Mugaga, personal communication, April 8, 2003)

With a continued orientation towards an external locus of control, Bigodi's future is not so promising. The residents will remain bound by dependency. However, as suggested by the theoretical model of community development presented in Figure 5-2, a second outcome is possible. Under the second outcome, internalizing control breaks the bonds of dependency and leads to self reliance. In such a case, tourism will continue to develop as long as it meets local needs. Collective decision making and implementation, based on intrinsic motivations, will guide the development process. Outside expertise will still be important. However, residents will collectively determine the importance of outside expertise based on its contribution to fulfilling community goals. Under such conditions, the tourism development path described by Butler (1980) can be avoided. Likewise, self reliance will focus energies on intrinsic rewards. Satisfaction will come from within and attitudes will remain positive. In this way, Doxey's (1976) path towards progressively more irritation with tourism can also be avoided.

These two alternative outcomes are presented in Figure 5-3. Figure 5-3 models tourism development in Bigodi beginning with the initial tourism intervention. The model assumes that tourism development is community based and therefore incorporates residents into the management and receipt of benefits. It further assumes that an enabling environment for tourism exists. Such is the case in Uganda today with the state's emphasis on community based tourism. Most importantly, the model shows that history, politics and economics all influence the community's perceived locus of control. Locus of control is the important social psychological factor which determines the success of the tourism development.

As the model shows, introducing tourism into a tourism void creates anxiety, confusion and possibly hostility among residents. This stage precedes the initial reaction of euphoria described by Doxey (1976). A period of sensitization is necessary for overcoming this obstacle. In a tourism void, this sensitization stage precedes Butler's (1980) initial stage of tourism development. As residents become sensitized and tourism begins to produce benefits, local involvement increases. Tourism is accepted and Doxey's (1976) euphoria describes residents' attitudes. Local involvement increases and encourages social cohesion and esteem. With the simple goal of poverty alleviation, tourism might now be judged a success. However, as Butler and Doxey suggest, the passage of time may erode the initial success tourism develop has in meeting local needs. The importance of this model presented in Figure 5-3 is that it identifies locus of control as the prime determinant for lasting success. With an internal locus of control, a community can ascend to self reliance. With an external locus of control, a community is vulnerable to dependency.

As has been suggested, a self reliant community can collectively guide the tourism development process and avoid the Butler and Doxey paths. Similarly, Sofield (2003) argued that empowered communities can avoid the Doxey and Butler paths. According to Sofield, an empowered community will have an increased capacity to mutually set and reach goals for its own ends. An empowered community will have the power to use tourism or reject tourism. This is the condition of empowerment. However, Sofield claims empowerment as a process is difficult to define because it takes many forms. For example, empowerment of an individual in a health care situation is different from empowerment of a women's rights association. To the contrary, the model presented

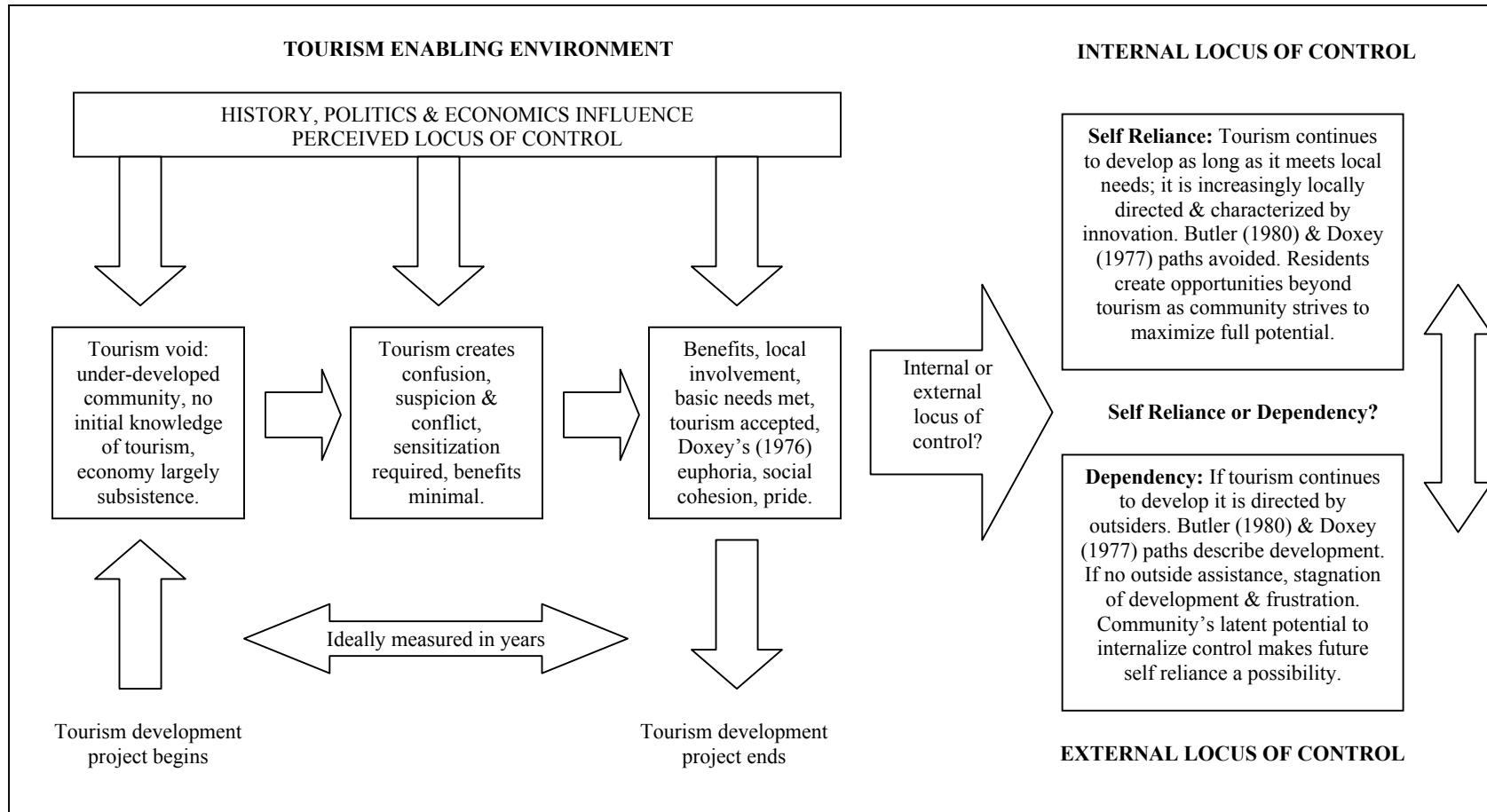


Figure 5-3: Community based tourism development model for Bigodi

here suggests that it is locus of control which is the defining characteristic of the process. An internal locus of control brings empowerment and self reliance. Equally important, this research identifies an external locus of control as a predisposing characteristic of dependency. In the literature, tourism is made culpable of dependency with no accomplice (Britton, 1996; Erisman, 1983). While this may be true of the classic economic dependency associated with large scale tourism resorts in the developing world, it is not true of the dependency found in Bigodi. In Bigodi, dependency is rooted in a host of historic, political and economic factors resulting in a perceived external locus of control.

In summary, deconstruction of tourism's meaning in Bigodi has led to new insights about tourism and its relationship to sustainable development. Residents of Bigodi understand tourism as conservation for the purpose of attracting bazungu on who develop depends. Yet this meaning is contradictory to sustainable development objectives which strive to instill self reliance. Tourism in Bigodi is associated with dependence. Therefore, as currently constructed, tourism in Bigodi is following an unsustainable course. However, the deconstruction of meaning has identified an underlying cause for this dependency in Bigodi. The cause is an external locus of control (Rotter, 1966) which limits residents' willingness to actively participate in their own development. It may be possible to generalize the tourism development model presented in Figure 5-3 to other communities for which an external locus of control can be identified. In Bigodi, the belief can be attributed to a combination of specific life events, such as chaos and instability, political unresponsiveness and even the creation of Kibale NP. These may be indicators of external locus of control in other communities as well. This should be of

particular concern for newly developing destinations around the world with a history of violence and political mismanagement such as Nicaragua, South Africa, Rwanda and Vietnam to name only a few.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

The aim of the national tourism policy is to ensure that tourism becomes a vehicle for poverty reduction in the future. (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, 2004, p. 5)

In 2001, for the first time in Uganda's forty-two years of independence, tourism was the nation's leading earner of foreign exchange. Experts within Uganda's tourism industry expect it to double by 2010 (President, Uganda Tourism Association, personal communication, December 4, 2002). Uganda's tourism industry is almost entirely nature based and centers on a handful of national parks and natural attractions. Protection of these parks and attractions requires continued innovation in management strategies. The challenge is to protect the natural resources while simultaneously meeting the needs of Uganda's expanding rural population. Uganda's tourism industry has accepted to help meet this challenge. The Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, together with new organizations like the Uganda Community Tourism Association (UCOTA), are joining with the Uganda Wildlife Authority to develop tourism opportunities in rural areas. The hope is that tourism's economic benefits will foster rural development and ultimately relieve the day to day pressure subsistence livelihoods place on Uganda's national parks. Yet with this new focus on tourism and rural people, there has been no in-depth analysis of rural Ugandans' relationship with tourism. Admittedly, across Uganda, there are only a few communities directly involved with the tourism. However, with Uganda's growing tourism industry focusing more on rural areas, community involvement will likely increase.

One community with considerable recent experience in tourism is Bigodi, located on the edge of Kibale National Park. Bigodi is a small community of approximately 360 adults and has been involved with tourism since 1992. Today, there are several active community based tourism projects within Bigodi. The purpose of this research was to gain an understanding of tourism in Bigodi, from its origins to its present form, based on the perceptions of Bigodi's residents. Critical to the study is the meaning the community has constructed for tourism. At its inception, tourism in Bigodi was a foreign term and meant nothing. Through evaluating their shared experience with tourism over the last ten years, residents of Bigodi have constructed a specific meaning for tourism. By eliciting and interpreting this meaning, this research is the first to understand tourism in Uganda from the perspective of a rural community. Data for this research were collected over a ten month period in Uganda. During this time, 15 high ranking tourism officials from Uganda's capital city and 50 residents of Bigodi were interviewed. In addition, casual conversation and observation of life in Bigodi provided important information. All data were analyzed with inductive methods to produce an understanding of tourism firmly grounded in the experience of Bigodi's residents.

Summary of Major Findings

This research began with five general questions. What was life like in Bigodi before tourism? How did tourism originate in Bigodi? What is life like in Bigodi today with tourism? What does tourism mean to the people of Bigodi? And, what variables mediate tourism's meaning(s) in Bigodi? Each has been answered in detail. During the course of answering these questions, a larger question emerged. Namely, what is the reason for the social psychological dependency prevalent among Bigodi's residents and

evident in the local meaning for tourism? This question too has been answered in due course. A summary of these findings follows.

Prior to 1991, Bigodi was a tourism void. That is to say, residents of the village had no experience with tourism as a leisure activity or as tourism hosts. Amplifying their lack of tourism experience, was a broader isolation from western society. From the colonial period until the early 1990s, residents of Bigodi speak of little contact with bazungu (white people). The isolation intensified during the years of the Idi Amin regime in the 1970s. During this time, all westerners were banned from Uganda. It was not until the early 1990s, after current President Yoweri Museveni had restored law and order, that westerners returned in large numbers. It was at this time that tourism development began in Bigodi.

The idea of tourism was brought to Bigodi by a US Peace Corps Volunteer (PCV) in 1991. Bigodi's location next to the newly created Kibale National Park assured a steady supply of nearby tourists. Developing an attraction which would bring these tourists into Bigodi was the PCV's objective. The attraction he proposed was the swamp passing through Bigodi village. A trail skirting the swamp would allow tourists to see the birds and monkeys within, while also getting a glimpse of surrounding life in the village. The swamp is surrounded by peasants' farms and the village trading center is half a kilometer away. Although Bigodi's residents were poor subsistence farmers, and the PCV promised tourism would bring money and opportunity, the idea of tourism was met with deep suspicion, anxiety and even hostility. The fear was that the promised tourists would steal residents' land. This perception persisted throughout the first couple years of

tourism development. It was countered with a lengthy effort to sensitize residents about tourism and accompanying benefits.

This experience suggests that in places like Bigodi, labeled here as tourism voids, a period of sensitization should occur before tourism development can proliferate. This period can be thought of as preceding Butler's (1980) destination life cycle model. Attitudes during this sensitization period are characterized by anxiety and suspicion until tourism is better understood. This too suggests a stage of attitudinal development preceding the initial stage of Doxey's (1976) irridex. Doxey suggest residents' attitudes shift predictably over time from euphoria to irritation as a destination progresses through the life cycle. In a tourism void, residents' attitudes towards tourism begin with anxiety, fear, suspicion and even hostility. Whether this remains true beyond Bigodi is an area for future research. There are many potential tourism voids in the world today. Places like Afghanistan, The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sudan, and North Korea are reminders that tourism has not yet covered the globe. In such places, the experiences of rural people do not include tourism. If tourism becomes an option in their future, the Bigodi experience suggests fear and apprehension will accompany its development and a period of sensitization will be necessary.

Sensitization in Bigodi began with a small group of educated elites. While they never completely believed tourists would travel to their village, the possibility of economic development outweighed their doubts. Their involvement was a calculated risk. They invested a comparatively small amount of financial capital (about 10 USD) and lots of hard work. They formed a cooperative, called KAFRED, to manage the project and actively continued educating and recruiting members. The group cleared a

trail, organized an office and developed simple promotional literature. Clearing a trail, however, was hotly disputed with the landowners bordering the swamp. Neighboring landowners argued the trail was a boundary and their land was already being taken. As a sign of good faith, all neighboring landowners were invited to join KAFRED without paying the usual fee. Their ideas and inputs helped guide the project. More importantly for KAFRED, their inclusion added legitimacy to a project which strived to be community based.

Within a year, tourists came. They enjoyed the swamp and spent their money in Bigodi. Merchants began to stock supplies tourists requested. The PCV formed a women's group to sell baskets to the tourists. Later the women's group took management of a small canteen in Kibale NP's nearby tourist camp. A peanut butter processing and sales project was developed and tourists were the primary market. Backpacker standard hotels were built. People found full time employment in tourism and additional odd jobs like gathering water and washing bed sheets were created. KAFRED's profits built a secondary school, the first in the area. To everyone's surprise, tourism worked just as the PCV said it would. As a result, Bigodi began to change. Mud houses were replaced with brick, grass thatching was replaced with iron sheets and students began attending KAFRED's secondary school. These changes led to the euphoria that Doxey (1976) predicted would accompany initial tourism development. This euphoria continues today, ten years later.

The euphoria in Bigodi is largely a result of tourism's contribution to the local economy. This supports research by Horn and Simmons (2002) who found the economic importance of tourism plays a role in determining residents' attitudes. As economic

benefits increase, residents' attitudes become more favorable. Likewise, results from Bigodi support the research of Smith and Krannich (1998) who found communities desirous of economic development had better attitudes about tourism than communities already satiated economically. Based on their findings, Smith and Krannich developed a typology identifying host communities as either tourism saturated, tourism realized or tourism hungry. Attitudes vary along this spectrum from negative attitudes associated with tourism satiated to positive attitudes associated with tourism hungry. Bigodi was and is characterized as tourism hungry.

There are several characteristics of tourism in Bigodi which explain its ability to concentrate economic benefits on the local community. First, it is centered on a community based cooperative, KAFRED. Brown (1998) suggests cooperatives may be the most appropriate type of tourism venture for rural Africa. Village cooperatives can raise the money required for tourism developments when single financiers are not available. More importantly, cooperatives reflect the interests of a variety of stakeholders, not a single individual. Therefore, they more equitably distribute benefits. Bigodi supports these claims.

Secondly, tourism in Bigodi is locally owned and managed. Broham (1996), Brown (1998) and Honey (1999) assert that local ownership reduces capital leakage. Capital leakage is a common characteristic of tourism in developing countries (Akama, 1996 & 1999; Britton, 1996; Burns, 1999; Gossling, 2002; Honey, 1999; Kahn, 1997; Teye, Sonmez and Sirakaya, 2002). It occurs when the money tourists spend in a community flows back out of the community to pay for imported goods and services. Local ownership reduces leakage by linking tourism to local supply channels thus

reducing the need for imports. This describes the situation in Bigodi where nearly all of the food, crafts and services tourists purchase are locally produced.

Thirdly, the tourists who visit Bigodi are easily adaptable to local conditions. They are Cohen's (1972) drifters and explorers, Smith's (1989) explorers and elites and Plog's (1974) allocentrists. Such tourists stay at the locally owned hotels, eat local food and even shop for supplies in the trading center. Therefore, the money they spend goes directly to local people. This supports research by Hampton (1998) and Scheyvens (2002) who found backpackers, who are similar to the tourists in Bigodi, make significant contributions to local economic development by choosing to stay and eat in locally owned establishments.

These characteristics of tourism have led to four major benefits identified by Bigodi's residents: money, improved agricultural markets, communal benefits like the school, and an unusual idea that tourism gives everyone a "chance." Money and improved agricultural markets are benefits stemming from local ownership. These reported benefits suggest community based tourism has a real potential to alleviate poverty in rural Uganda as Uganda's Ministry of Tourism Trade and Industry hopes (2004). Many others have shown community based tourism can make a significant economic impact in rural parts of the developing world (Broham, 1996; Brown, 1998; Honey, 1999; King, Pizam and Milman, 1992; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Mehta and Heinen, 2001; Picard, 2003; Sekhar, 2003; Scheyvens, 1999; Stem et al., 2003; Walpole & Goodwin, 2001; Wunder, 1999).

Non-economic communal benefits have also been identified as a result of tourism in Bigodi. Every resident I spoke with, except a few bordering Kibale NP, identified the

secondary school as one such benefit of tourism. Another is the boardwalk KAFRED built across the swamp. Such communal benefits create positive attitudes throughout the population. Both tourism and KAFRED are widely lauded for bringing secondary education to Bigodi. Lepp (2002b) found similar reactions to tourism's communal benefits in communities surrounding Bwindi Impenetrable Forest National Park in Uganda. Communal benefits resulting from tourism in Bwindi, such as schools and medical dispensaries, have improved residents attitudes about tourism and the park alike.

The final benefit, chance, has not been reported in the literature. However, in other communities without a well developed understanding of tourism chance may be a common perception of events. This could be an area of further research. Chance in Bigodi describes the belief that some of tourism's benefits are attributable to luck. This was appealing to residents as it meant good fortune could fall upon them at anytime. Examples of the good fortune tourism might unexpectedly bring are plane tickets to America, rich friends from outside Uganda who might pay school fees for a child, a husband or wife, or simply a sudden windfall of cash as might happen when a tourist buys your goat for twice its regular price. This perception of luck or chance is due, in part, to an incomplete knowledge of tourism. Some events perceived as the random movements of chance are actually predictable opportunities. The widespread perception of chance playing a role in tourism is also a result of an external locus of control which characterizes the social psychology of Bigodi (Rotter, 1966).

Few costs were associated with tourism in Bigodi. This is not surprising considering tourism's economic importance to the community. Lindberg and Johnson (1997) found that the perception of economic impacts is very influential in determining

favorable attitudes towards tourism and outweighs most perceived disruptions. Three residents employed full time in the tourism industry identified increased prices as a cost of tourism. Brunt and Courtney (1999) noted this is a common cost of tourism. However, in Bigodi, increased prices seem to be applied selectively. Only tourists and those working full time in the tourism industry are affected. This may be a result of the negotiation process inherent in purchasing anything in Bigodi. The bargaining which ensues empowers the sellers to selectively capture tourism revenue where they see it in the population. Meanwhile, they are able to hold prices down for the majority of their customers who are not earning regular income from tourism. Of course, this could change if tourism expands and more and more people are employed.

The other cost associated with tourism was crop raiding by wild animals. This has been identified as major cause of friction between protected areas and neighboring people (De Boer and Baquete, 1998; Neumann, 1998; Rao et al., 2002; Songorwa, 1999; Studsrod & Wegge, 1995). As the literature suggests, residents in Bigodi ultimately placed the blame on neighboring Kibale NP and not the concept of tourism. Tourism was actually a mitigating influence for the negative attitudes caused by crop raiding. Although tourism did not eliminate negative attitudes, it reduced them. Individuals who recognized protected areas as a source of tourism revenue tended to have better attitudes towards the protected area despite crop raiding. This makes tourism a powerful public relations tool when it supplies benefits to local people. The same has been observed in parks from around the world including Nepal (Mehta & Heinen, 2001), South Africa (Picard, 2003), India (Sekhar, 2003), and Indonesia (Walpole & Goodwin, 2001).

For this reason, KAFRED has not suffered as much as Kibale NP regarding negative public opinion as a result of crop raiding. Although KAFRED's swamp harbors crop eating animals just like Kibale NP, residents associate tourism's benefits with KAFRED. KAFRED has built the school, brings bazungu into the trading center and creates a market for local goods and services. To the contrary, many residents mentioned Kibale NP only benefits the few individuals who work there. Of course, this indicates residents misunderstand Kibale's contribution to the local economy. Kibale actually supplies most of the tourists who visit KAFRED. However, most residents feel Kibale belongs to the government and not the people. Thus, benefits are directed away from local people to "those big people in Kampala." This perception is due, in part, to a lack of local involvement in Kibale's affairs. Many people I spoke with in Bigodi have never even met Kibale's managers. In contrast, locals are very involved with KAFRED's affairs and KAFRED's management is well known. As Brandon & Wells (1992), Gurung (1992) and Jeanrenaud (1999) have all made clear, local participation in natural resource management reduces conflict and promotes better attitudes through understanding.

Of course, the target of this research was uncovering the meaning that residents of Bigodi attach to the tourism. As mentioned, before 1991, Bigodi was a tourism void. Therefore, residents' knowledge of tourism has been shaped by this single shared experience. Making sense of this experience has been a collective venture and has resulted in near homogenous meaning. This concurs with Dogan's (1989) predictions that in isolated rural communities, residents' initial reactions to tourism development will be nearly homogenous. With little exception, tourism in Bigodi means natural resource

conservation in order to attract bazungu who bring the money and ideas on which development depends. This unique meaning supports the rather novel idea that tourism can mean different things to different people (Cheung, 1999; Hepburn, 2002; Horn & Simmons, 2002; Oakes, 1999). To fully understand tourism and its impact on host communities, local meanings need to be explored in greater detail. In Bigodi, only two groups of people did not share in this meaning. Some farmers next to Kibale NP who have not experienced tourism's economic benefits due to extreme crop raiding; and poor uneducated women who are confined almost completely to domestic duties.

Most significantly, tourism's meaning in Bigodi reveals a dependency on bazungu. Dependency has been associated with tourism before (Britton, 1996; Erisman, 1983). However, Bigodi's dependency is different than Britton's description of tourism and classic economic dependency. In Bigodi, tourists are provided for with local goods and services. There is little leakage of capital as classic economic dependency would suggest. Bigodi's dependency is also different than that described by Erisman who found certain Caribbean cultures had become dependent on western culture for their identity. Instead, residents in Bigodi have become dependent on the intervention of Bazungu to bring positive change in their lives. With such an understanding, it must be concluded that tourism in Bigodi is actually the antithesis to sustainable development; sustainable development being defined as a progression to self reliance (Isbister, 1998).

Deconstruction of this meaning found Bigodi's dependency is rooted in historical, political and economic forces which have shaped the social psychological landscape of the village. As a result of years of chaos and political instability, politicians unresponsive to local needs, the creation of Kibale NP and similar detrimental events, there is a

perception among residents that they have little power to control their destiny. The forces which determine events in Bigodi are believed to lie beyond residents' control. This psychological condition was identified by Rotter (1966) as an external locus of control. Crandall and Lehman (1977) found that stressful life events can lead to a perceived external locus of control. Although originally used to differentiate between individuals, research has shown locus of control can vary by culture, social group and even nationality (Khanna & Khanna, 1979; Smith et al., 1995; Zoe, 1981).

An external locus of control is characterized by a strong belief in chance, luck or fate; a belief that the world is ruled by powerful and unresponsive others; and a belief that the world is unjust and difficult. The strong association residents perceive between tourism benefits and chance is of particular significance. Likewise, residents described life since Idi Amin as unpredictable, governed by powerful others and difficult. An external locus of control has been correlated with a focus on extrinsic motivations for action and a preoccupation with basic needs (Barling & Fincham, 1979). In Bigodi, there is a predilection to wait for foreigners to provide for residents' needs. Such characteristics do not lend themselves to self reliance but dependency. This dependency is linked to an external locus of control. Thus, the dependency revealed in tourism's meaning is not actually a result of tourism. Tourism may have ignited it and even fanned the flames, but the condition is rooted in the historical, political and economic forces which have shaped Bigodi.

Conclusions

In the short run, community based tourism can produce positive benefits in Uganda. Foremost among them is the alleviation of poverty. However, there may be communities in Uganda with no knowledge of tourism. This was the case in Bigodi in

1991. In such places, introducing tourism without first sensitizing people can lead to suspicion, apprehension, anxiety and even hostility. In the case of Bigodi, this reaction was eventually overcome by the widespread receipt of benefits and the inclusion of as many people as possible in the tourism development process. However, in the future, receipt of benefits should not be counted on to sway local opinion as hostility could derail the development process before benefits arrive. Sensitization and education should be central to community based tourism in Uganda.

In Bigodi, tourism's benefits have provided for basic needs. Residents have identified this as improved housing, improved education and a better diet. In addition, tourism has fostered community pride and social cohesion. Tourism in Bigodi is successful because the attractions and infrastructure are locally owned and managed. Furthermore, significant elements of Bigodi's tourism infrastructure are cooperative in nature such as KAFRED and the Women's Group. All of this has worked to keep benefits local. The money tourists pay for goods and services remains in Bigodi. There is little leakage of capital. Peasant farmers supply nearly all of the food tourists consume. Local merchants supply many of the commodities produced outside Bigodi directly to the tourists. Tourists commonly labeled as backpackers by the Ugandan tourism industry, but academically known as Cohen's (1972) explorers and drifters, are vital to Bigodi's success. Because of these various factors, tourism has diversified Bigodi's economy. There are now 48 residents fully employed because of tourism. This further boosts demand for local agricultural produce as some these people are no longer involved in subsistence agriculture.

Despite these short term gains, in Bigodi, tourism's ability to produce greater benefits over the long term is questionable. Analysis of tourism's meaning in Bigodi reveals a dependency on bazungu for development. Dependency is contrary to the fundamental goal of sustainable development, self reliance. This dependency was found to be a result of the social psychological landscape of Bigodi and not a direct result of tourism. Bigodi can be characterized as having an external locus of control (Rotter, 1966). This means residents of Bigodi believe their lives are governed by forces beyond their control. As a result, what happens in Bigodi is largely viewed as independent of residents' actions. This characteristic predisposes residents to dependency on outsiders. Because the idea of tourism originated outside Bigodi, it was especially likely to reinforce this belief. Thus, locus of control is an important variable to consider in the tourism development process.

In Bigodi, dependency is rooted in an external locus of control. Montero and Sloan (1988) theorized this relationship existed although, until now, no data had been collected to verify the theory. The converse of this theory is that an internal locus of control encourages self reliance. A community with an internal locus of control would believe what happens to them is a result of their own actions. Research by Barling and Fincham (1979) supports this theory. They found an internal locus of control to be positively related to self actualization as described by Maslow (1943). Establishing the relationship between locus of control, self reliance and dependency allows for the prediction of two possible outcomes for tourism development in Bigodi. If residents maintain an external locus of control and tourism continues, it will be directed by outsiders. This will lead to the paths described by Doxey (1976) and Butler (1980). If outsiders fail to direct

tourism, it will slowly stagnate leading to frustration at the slowed pace of change. If residents can internalize their locus of control, tourism will lead to self reliance and sustainable development. The paths described by Doxey (1976) and Butler (1980) will be avoided. Tourism development will be guided by collective decision making guided by an intrinsic need to realize the community's full potential. Similarly, Sofield (2003) showed that empowered communities can avoid the Doxey and Butler paths. However, Sofield was unable to define the process of empowerment. This research concludes that locus of control is central to the process of empowerment and self reliance.

This description of community based tourism development in Bigodi can inform the tourism development process in other communities. Based on Bigodi's experience, a generalized model can be created (Figure 6-1). In the model, locus of control is the critical variable. As described above, an internal locus of control leads to self reliance and sustainable development, an external locus of control leads to dependency and frustration. Tourism is now being widely considered as a tool for rural development across the developing world (Mowforth & Munt, 1998). In many cases, communities targeted for tourism development may have been previously subjected to long periods of war, political instability, poor governance, corruption and a host of other plagues which unfortunately have characterized large portions of the developing world. These stressful life events can lead to an external locus of control. When this is the case, it should be recognized that sustainable tourism development may take considerable effort if it is to avoid dependency.

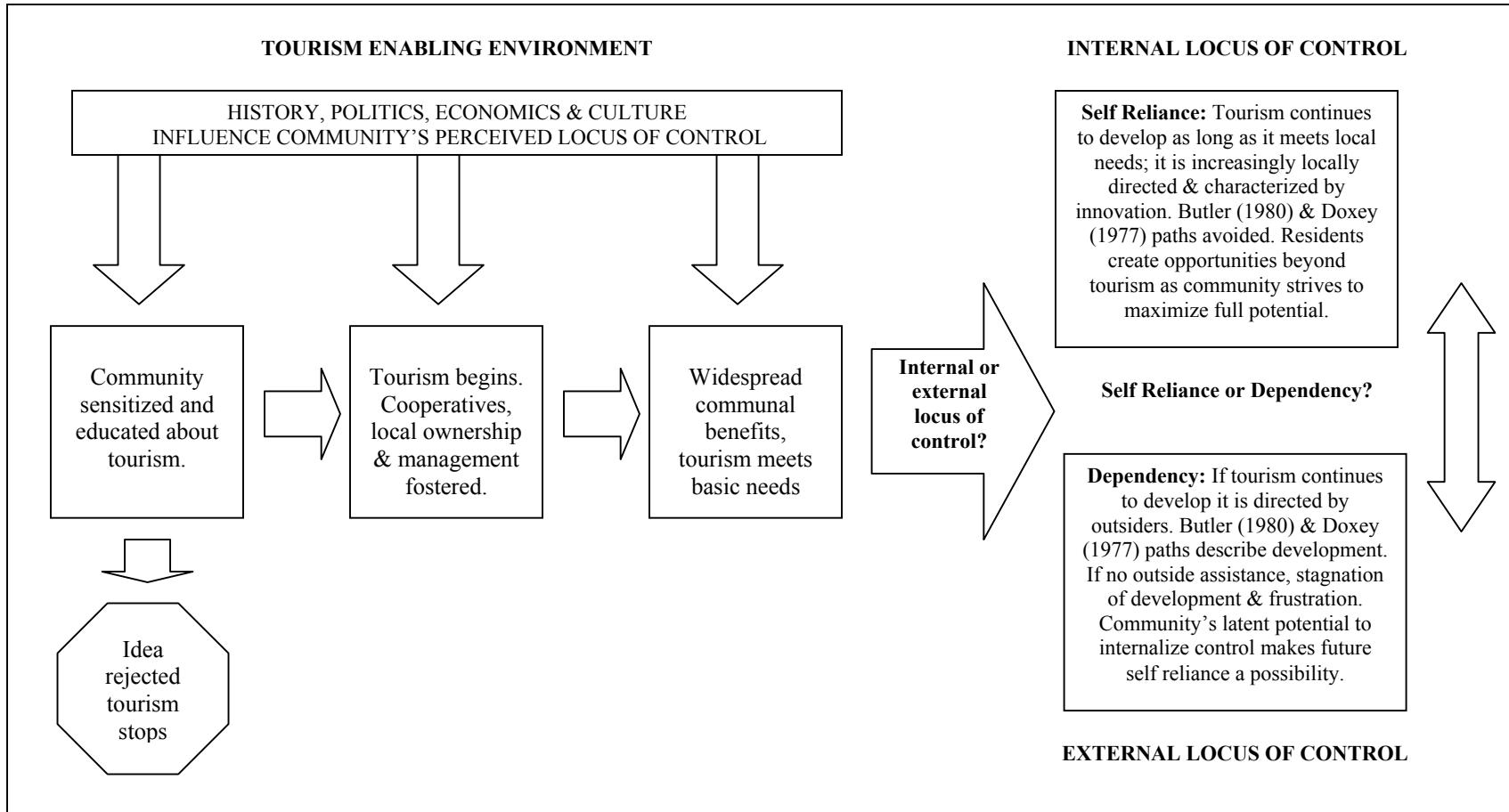


Figure 6-1: Community based tourism development model

Implications

There is a genuine value to understanding meaning at the local level. As this research shows, complex social phenomena such as tourism cannot be consistently defined across cultures. By assuming a universal Western understanding, there is a risk of misunderstanding more than half of the world's population. Not only does this challenge accepted science, but it challenges interventions based on an assumed Western understanding. In the case of Bigodi, the local meaning for tourism is contrary to its intended effect of bringing sustainable development. In Bigodi, local meaning reveals dependency.

For community based tourism to succeed at producing self reliance and thus sustainable development, locus of control should be considered an important variable. An internal locus of control is more likely to lead to self reliance than an external locus of control. An external locus of control is more likely to lead to dependency. Montero and Sloan (1988) note that much Western style development encourages the perception of externality. Development work that is characterized by repeated visits from foreigners driving exotic vehicles who stay in fancy hotels and homes beyond the village encourages the perception that change comes from outside.

To counter this, Ugandans should take full control of tourism development projects. This will eliminate the bazungu as a potential object of dependency. While Uganda's tourism industry will depend on Western tourists for the foreseeable future, there is no reason why future community based tourism development should depend on Westerners for its establishment. There are many potential tourism development workers in communities like Bigodi. Residents' experience with tourism in such places is a valuable resource. Realistically, the most knowledgeable individuals from Bigodi and villages

with similar experience can be paired with professional Ugandan tourism extension workers to promote tourism in Uganda. This would have the dual advantage of increasing self esteem among Bigodi's residents, while avoiding bazungu dependency in other communities. Makerere University, Uganda's leading academic institution, now offers a degree in tourism. If tourism extension positions can be created in selected areas then there are now many qualified Ugandans to fill them.

The Uganda Wildlife Authority's Wardens of Tourism and Wardens of Community Conservation are also well suited to perform the work of tourism extension agents. The Warden of Tourism's efforts are typically focused inward on tourism within a given park. It would be advantageous if the Warden of Tourism collaborated with the Warden of Community Conservation on community based tourism issues. This is beginning to occur at Kibale NP with the development of a long distance hiking trail that circumnavigates the forest. Hikers spend three days on the trail and each evening leave the forest to bed down in a local community. Kibale's various wardens are involved in the project, helping prepare residents for the coming of tourists.

Restoring internality means encouraging the perception that communities are in control of the events affecting their lives. Levenson (1981) cites education as a manageable ingredient in the process of restoring an internal locus of control. For communities who believe the world is governed by chance, education concerning those societal forces which operate in predictable ways would be helpful. This underscores the importance of education as a major component of any tourism development project. In Bigodi, many benefits of tourism were attributed to chance. These chance events could be turned into opportunities by a better educated community. For example, the boy was

paid to open his house and roast his goat for tourists attributed the event to chance. In reality, that event signals an opportunity for families to host tourists, either for meals or lodging. The opportunity was lost on the entire community as the event was attributed to chance rather than a predictable characteristic of some tourists.

As part of the tourism education project, communities should be encouraged to take an accounting of all aspects of their community which they believe are attractive, interesting and unique. Many of these items can be marketed to tourists as well. This exercise will serve to orient communities inward in their search for direction, not outward. Currently, residents of Bigodi can hardly imagine a tourist attraction beyond a swamp or a forest. The surprising success of the swamp as a tourist attraction has further encouraged the unpredictability of tourism. Who would have guessed a swamp could attract tourists from America, residents often asked me? In response to the swamps' success, two other communities neighboring Kibale NP are currently attempting to develop their local swamps for tourism.

As an exercise, I one day asked residents to tell me what was most interesting to them about Bigodi. An elderly man mentioned a set of footprints set in a huge stone on the hill above Bigodi. He explained the footprints were cast by the first King of Toro who was a very powerful man. The legend behind the footprints was quite fascinating. A woman who sells local alcohol mentioned the place where banana beer is made. The location includes a trough where bananas are mashed into juice and a distillery where alcohol is extracted from the fermented juice. To everyone's surprise, I suggested these would make very good tourist attractions. After some more discussion, I would describe residents' reaction as prideful. The pride resulted in discovering that what was locally

interesting also has international appeal. Furthermore, such exercises have the benefit of instilling a greater sense of control over tourism and the immediate environment.

This research has suggested that the presence of national parks may encourage externality among rural people. National parks are perceived to benefit the government only, yet they place huge costs on rural people. A member of the women's group said "many people in the village can't tell you what government is, although they say the government controls the park or the park is for the government" (Akelo, personal communication, April 1, 2003). This understanding leaves no room for local participation in park affairs. Control comes from the government. The notion of government also carries negative connotations in the village. The government is unpredictable, corrupt, non-transparent and consumed with its own interests. A merchant in town described the relationship between government and local people as follows:

The government people are ok, they are eating the government's money, they don't have worries, they are enjoying the government's cake. But here in the village we eat only what we grow, and for what we grow there is not even a market. That's why we can struggle for school fees, even just to buy salt, but the government, they don't have those worries. (Asaba, personal communication, March 21, 2003)

The common belief that national parks are for the government limits local interest in their management. The belief is that control of the parks rests with powerful others in the capital city or beyond. Residents secede control and externality is encouraged.

Education is one way to address this problem. Educating residents that national parks are for the people may engender a greater interest in their management. A national park should mean more for rural people than a chance at tourism revenue. Traditionally, the benefit parks of the developing world have extended to rural people is only that. In Bigodi, this approach has not done much to endear residents to the park. In this age of

democracy, it is time national parks extend the many benefits of outdoor recreation and leisure to neighboring communities. These benefits should no longer be reserved for the elite. Designing activities and attractions at national parks specifically for local people will encourage greater interest in their management. Parks need to investigate what constitutes meaningful leisure for local people and strive to provide it. The current approach of targeting all leisure activities to tourists severs a potential local bond. If necessary, parks can be zoned for different recreational opportunities, some zones would target tourists and some zones would target locals. While locals may not be interested in seeing the same monkeys and chimpanzees they find in their gardens, they may appreciate solitude, scientific exploration, star gazing through a telescope or perhaps the use of park infrastructure for weddings and other special gatherings. The hope is that increased local involvement in park affairs will increase participation in their management and ultimately instill a sense of local control. Without a sense of local control, national parks will remain obstacles to local development instead of avenues to local development.

Future Research

This research has identified locus of control as an important area of further study in Uganda and across the developing world. It is suggested that locus of control bears directly on sustainable development. This relationship should be verified through further testing. Using Rotter's (1966) original scale, locus of control can be tested and quantified across Uganda. An important question to ask is whether a general externality exists within the population. If an external locus of control characterizes much of Uganda, there would be important implications for development initiatives country wide. Currently, foreign aid is responsible for over half of Uganda's annual budget. Coupling

this with a national external locus of control might lead to massive psychological dependency. Montero and Sloan (1988) warn that under such conditions, the citizenry would be vulnerable to authoritarian rule by paternalistic leaders.

As I finished my research in Uganda, the hot topic of debate was whether President Museveni will step down after his current term or re-write the constitution to allow for another. As the debate raged on talk radio and the papers, a prominent state minister “asked Ugandans to tend to their gardens and leave the issue of the third term to us who wear suits” (Kisambira, 2003). Such statements may be extremely dangerous with a population oriented towards an external locus of control. Belittling statements by powerful leaders encourage the belief that citizens should have no control over the process of governance. If externality is widespread in Uganda, it could be a harbinger of greater problems to come. Politics aside, this possibility should force a fundamental rethinking of development strategies in areas known to have an external locus of control.

Another important question to consider is whether externality is greater in communities bordering national parks. This research suggests the creation Kibale NP factors into Bigodi’s externality. Research by Neumann (1997) and MacKenzie (1988) argues that the creation of national parks across Africa has disempowered local people. The disempowering effect of these parks may be quantifiable using the locus of control scales. This would create a method for testing and comparing the affect that different park management approaches have on rural people’s locus of control. Of particular interest would be testing increased local participation as a way of restoring an internal locus of control.

Finally, future research needs to consider Uganda's growing tourism industry. Tourism is now the leading earner of foreign exchange in Uganda. It has the power to bring significant development. How can tourism be introduced to areas with an external locus of control so that it fosters sustainable development instead of dependency? Or similarly, how can external rural communities have a sense of internal control restored so that tourism becomes a sustainable development option? As the quote at the beginning of this dissertation professes, rural communities have an important role to play in tourism; the question is how can their role be made sustainable? An interesting twist may occur as more and more Ugandans become tourists. This reversal of roles may provide them with new insights into tourism and allow for a greater sense of control. In Bigodi, connections made through tourism have now allowed four residents to travel to America. Most recently, three traveled to America in October 2003. Comparing their insights with residents who have not traveled might indicate that being a tourist creates a greater sense of control in regards to the tourism industry. In other words, the consequences of relating to tourism as either a host or a guest could affect one's ability to harness tourism for development purposes. This is important to consider as most Ugandan's relate to tourism primarily as hosts.

Epilogue:

As I packed my bags and said goodbye to the friends I made in Bigodi, there was one major issue left unresolved. It was an unfortunate soap opera to which I sadly do not know the ending. The women's group had become embroiled in a controversy with two wardens at Kibale National Park. Every woman in the group I spoke with told an identical story. As the women describe it, it is the biggest problem the group has ever faced. The two wardens at Kibale have been making life very difficult for the women

who run the park's tourist canteen. The impression the women have is that they are being chased away. They suspect the new wardens have financial interests in replacing their group with another concessionaire. In the process, the new wardens placed one condition after another on the women, all of which the women were able to miraculously meet by an imposed deadline. They had to buy a gas cooker, then a refrigerator, and then expand the menu and so on. With each new demand the wardens expected the women to fail. On many occasions they almost did. Buying even the simplest gas powered refrigerator, for example, was not easy. Eventually, the wardens realized the women could not be so easily chased, and they opened the concession to public bid. As expected, the bid was won by another group. What was not expected was the reaction of the women from Bigodi.

The following is a conversation between me and a member of the Women's group about this problem. She begins by telling me how it all started:

We are struggling, they are chasing us! These new people came just to chase us! When the park completed the canteen's new kitchen last June they asked us to buy all the things for the kitchen which can make a tourist satisfied. They said buy a gas cooker. We tried, we contributed, and we asked our women to please bring more money. Our money from selling sodas and snacks was not enough. The wardens told us we needed more money so would could make a standard hotel so our women contributed again. We put our money together and bought a refrigerator and saucepans, we employed a chef, we bought plates, all that is there now! The waiters, waitresses, everything! We started cooking new things. Then, that is when these new wardens said you women have failed you must go away. But we refused, we said no we struggled since this tourism started coming here. We have made all the improvements and you are chasing us away. So I had to reach Kampala. They chased us, and I went to Kampala. I said no! It can not be like this! I reached the Executive Director's office for UWA. To those directors, I said those people are chasing us from the park. They have just come and they don't even know anything about the park. They don't know the background of what Kibale is! They don't know anything. But for us, we have seen that this is the time that we have started to really benefit and get satisfied with the benefits of tourism. Before now we were just working. So that is what I said when I reached Kampala and talked with the Executive Director. And when I reached in his face

he said I know you people. I gave him our letter and he read and was just shaking his head.

Why were these new wardens giving you a hard time?

In fact they had received bribes from other people who wanted the canteen, they had given them a lot of money it was a certain company from Fort Portal.

But I heard it was another women's group?

It was a company working from Fort Portal, even we have the letters. They were the ones coming to take over.

So you must feel proud, you have regained the canteen. You women are serious.

(She laughs now) Yes we are proud and we have struggled to make the improvements they have said we would fail to make!!

Did you ever think ten years ago that you women from Bigodi could travel to Kampala and talk to the Executive Director of UWA and argue for yourself.

(She laughs again) Hah! That was not in our minds! Otherwise, those are the developments of tourism which they are bringing. (Kokugonza, personal communication, May 5, 2003)

As I left, the Executive Director had given the women their canteen back.

However, the new wardens were threatening more mischief. No doubt they have been surprised by the women's resistance and strength. Admittedly, I was surprised too. This is by far the strongest indication of self reliance I witnessed in Bigodi. It suggests that dire circumstances can cause a revolution of sorts, a refocusing on internal solutions for life's problems and an affirmation in the power individual's have over their lives.

Listening to the women speak passionately about their canteen and all the work they have done throughout the years to make it prosper, it is no wonder they would be willing to challenge the unpredictable authority of the park to keep it. This may be exactly the push the women need to re-assert control over their world. Hopefully, such self reliance will become infectious. Optimistically, these women will be the people to lead Bigodi

forward, and the community will see that the agents of their development are already in their midst.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Andrew Lepp earned a Bachelor of Science degree in mathematical economics from Wake Forest University in 1990 and a Master of Science degree in natural resource management from Oregon State University in 1993. Before attending the University of Florida, he worked for the US Forest Service, the US Park Service and served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Uganda. It was Andrew's work in Uganda which inspired his doctoral studies and this dissertation.