

ABSTRACT

Title of dissertation: THE EMPOWERMENT PARADOX: HOPE AND
HELPLESSNESS IN A TANZANIAN COMMUNITY-
BASED CULTURAL TOURISM INITIATIVE

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Community-based tourism (CBT) has been conceived by its supporters as a pro-poor community development and empowerment strategy. One such initiative is the Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise, which was established by a Dutch NGO to promote socio-economic development in a Maasai community in northern Tanzania. The enterprise has created opportunities for local participants to build economic and social capital, especially women who do not have many options to earn or control income outside of tourism. However, the promises of tourism are limited by the “tourism gatekeepers” who control access to tourists and the opportunities that they represent. This research explores the paradox of empowerment by investigating the ways that tourism engagement encourages both independence and dependence in Longido, and how conflicting ideas concerning definitions of CBT and its goals affect the residents whose livelihoods have come to depend on tourism.

Ethnographic research was conducted in Longido over a period of nine months, and involved participant observation, semi-structured interviews with key informants and Longido residents, a tourist questionnaire, and comparative site visits to other cultural tourism enterprises in Tanzania. This research found that the potential that the Longido enterprise has for transforming relationships of power, particularly between women and men, is limited by the very nature of the community-based tourism (CBT) model employed to achieve this goal. CBT enterprises such as the one in Longido cannot achieve transformative change that leads to the self-determination of its participants when the tourism industry necessitates continued dependence on foreign markets and intermediaries and local people lack market access and knowledge. Attempting to accomplish both development and business goals when they are in direct conflict with one another has led to a failure to fully achieve either. This dissertation concludes that if the Longido enterprise has transformative development as its goal, the CBT model might be the wrong tool. Most significantly, the approach taken in developing and conducting tourism in Longido must consider the diverse priorities and motivations of participants, as well as the touristic relationships of power which limit the agency of local participants in achieving the realization of their own goals in tourism engagement.

THE EMPOWERMENT PARADOX:
HOPE AND HELPLESSNESS IN A TANZANIAN COMMUNITY-BASED
CULTURAL TOURISM INITIATIVE

by

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DEDICATION

For DanK

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CBO	Community-Based Organization
CTE	Cultural Tourism Enterprise
CTP	Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme
MNRT	Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism
MWEDO	Maasai Women Development Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PINGOs	Pastoralists Indigenous Non-Governmental Organizations Forum
PWC	Pastoral Women's Council
SNV	Netherlands Development Organization
TACTO	Tanzania Association of Cultural Tourism Organizers
TANAPA	Tanzania National Parks Authority
TATO	Tanzania Association of Tour Operators
TTB	Tanzania Tourist Board
TZS	Tanzanian Shillings
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
URT	United Republic of Tanzania
VDF	Village Development Fund
WMA	Wildlife Management Area

INTRODUCTION

A TOUR OF LONGIDO¹

You are a cultural tourist in Tanzania. You have already completed a wildlife safari, where you were ferried from your hotel to each national park in an air-conditioned Land Cruiser. You caught glimpses of local Tanzanians from your windows as the car zipped past, but you remained largely in your safari bubble, insulated from what you would consider “Real Tanzania.” Now you want to “Visit the People,” just as the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP) brochure states in bright lettering alongside pictures of colorfully-dressed locals happily interacting with tourists (Figure 1). You open your CTP guide, which provides details on each of the CTP’s individual enterprises, and your eyes land on the Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise. The Longido enterprise promises “an insight into the traditions of Maasai culture,” which is especially intriguing because the Maasai people – featured on countless postcards and tourism brochures – appear to be icons of traditional African culture (Tanzania Tourist Board 2012).

¹ This chapter is a fictionalized account drawn from actual experiences recorded in field notes during participant observation in Longido. This tour is representative of a typical tour offered by the Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise, and the concerns voiced by the fictional tourist in this chapter are drawn from the concerns expressed to me by tourists during participant observation and in tourist questionnaire responses. This chapter is meant as a descriptive introduction to the research site, and will set the stage for the rest of what you are about to read.

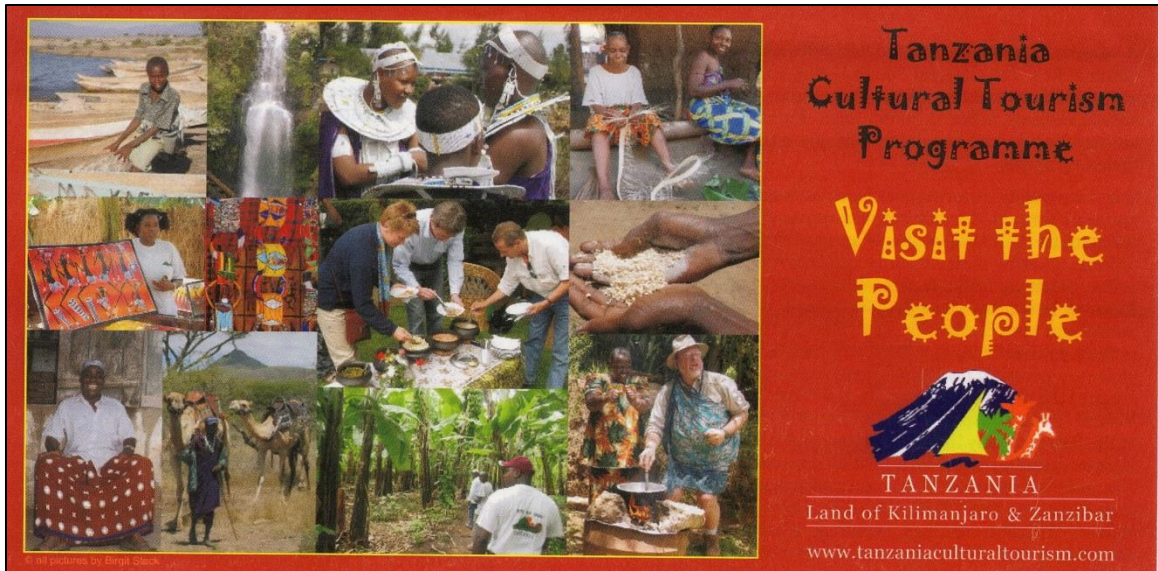


Figure 1: Cultural Tourism Programme brochure. © 2012 Tanzania Tourist Board

Longido village is conveniently located only an hour's drive north of Arusha town, which is the main tourism hub and access point to the national parks of northern Tanzania. You decide to forego the comforts of the Land Cruiser and immerse yourself in local culture by traveling by *dala-dala*, the shared taxi vans packed to the seams with people, cargo, and even live chickens that are the ubiquitous form of local transport in Tanzania. You pay TZS 6,000 (about four US dollars) and climb into the van, which is already packed with four or five people per three-seat bench. You tuck your knees up to your chest to make room for the bags wedged at your feet and breathe in the heavy air saturated with body odor, charcoal smoke, and the smells of livestock. You are finally beginning to experience "Real Tanzania."

After traveling for an hour on the tarmac road bordered by dry, open plains punctuated by occasional herds of cattle, you arrive at what appears to be a small roadside town at the base of a lush green mountain, which you learn is named Mount Longido. The *dala-dala* drops you off at the Longido police check-point, and you are

directed to walk up a dirt road to the Cultural Tourism Office. You notice with some disappointment that the rows of buildings you see are modern, painted brightly, and constructed of concrete, instead of the Maasai mud and thatch structures pictured in your guidebook. In addition to the police station, you pass a pharmacy, a small shop selling snacks and other dry goods behind a counter, a stationary store advertising printing and copying services, and a cell phone kiosk. You notice women hanging laundry and selling vegetables outside small, concrete homes with wooden doors and metal roofs. You pass a group of uniformed school children singing out a chorus of “good morning” and you nod hello to a man in a business suit chatting on a cell phone. As you continue down the road, which is bordered by power-lines, you wonder how to reconcile these images with your notions of how a traditional Maasai village should appear.

You arrive at the Cultural Tourism Office, which also serves as the village’s post office, and you are welcomed enthusiastically by Alliy, the Longido Cultural Tourism Coordinator. Alliy cups a handful of peanuts into his mouth and washes it down with an orange soda, joking that he is on a special diet. He offers you some of the peanuts as you make arrangements for your tour of Longido. Behind the office is the Cultural Tourism Guesthouse, a clean but bare-bones facility with a shower and outhouse-style toilet block out back. It is there that you meet your guide, Daudi,² a friendly middle-aged man dressed in shorts and a T-shirt and wearing a nice, but non-functioning watch held together with a strip of duct tape. Daudi proudly describes himself as a “modern Maasai,” because he is educated, lives in town, and works a cash-earning job instead of tending herds of cattle like most Maasai men.

² Name has been changed to maintain anonymity.



Figure 2: Longido Town, as seen from the highway, with Mount Longido in the background, 2013. Author's own photograph.



Figure 3: The Longido Cultural Tourism Office and sign (and Longido Post Office), 2013. Author's own photograph.

You and Daudi walk down a dirt road traveling away from the police station, and you quickly realize that you have left “downtown” Longido as the concrete buildings have disappeared and the road is now a footpath. Daudi explains that you are walking to Ol Tepesi, a sub-village of Longido named for the numerous acacia trees. You stop at one thorny acacia and Daudi explains how the Maasai use the thorns as sewing needles and to pierce their ears. You stop at another tree, and Daudi cuts off a twig with his knife and chews on the end. He hands you a twig, which he describes as a “Maasai toothbrush,” and he encourages you to try it. You walk further down the path chewing your toothbrushes until you hear cow bells and bleating goats approaching. Two young boys, perhaps eight or nine years old and dressed in dusty, over-sized t-shirts worn as tunics, are driving a small herd of cows and goats, gently whipping them forward with thin switches. They pause to stare at you and shyly giggle before continuing onward. You then pass a group of three Maasai women dressed in geometrically-patterned red, blue, and purple cloths draped and knotted in a toga fashion, and wearing clusters of white beaded earrings hanging heavily from large holes in their ears. They nod their shaved heads at you and engage Daudi in a quick and lively banter before grasping your hand in greeting and continuing on their way.

After a few more stops to learn the cultural and medicinal uses of various other plants and trees, you leave the low brush and dry acacia trees and ascend into lush forest at the base of the mountain. The climb becomes steeper as you follow a small stream over boulders and past an enormous strangler fig tree housing a family of Vervet monkeys. You eventually stop in a small clearing, still only in the mountain’s foothills, and Daudi leads you through a wooden gate into a cliff-side cave overlooking Longido

Village. This is Orpul Cave, also known as the Warrior Cave. Daudi explains that young cattle herders camp here, but that it also serves as a place where boys are taken to learn about their responsibilities as adult Maasai men. Inside the cave there are shallow impressions lined with leaves, which serve as beds, a fire ring, and a wooden structure used for hanging and drying meat. There are also names and dates painted on the walls, as well as a painting of a shield and a belt. You learn that the different paint colors of the shield represent important elements of Maasai life and cosmology. The red represents blood, the white is milk, the blue is sky, and the black is for their god, Eng'ai. Daudi explains that the paint is made from natural sources. Each hue is made from a base of animal fat and mixed with ash to make black, crushed stone to make white, and ochre to make red. The recipe for blue is suspiciously absent from his spiel, and when you ask about it, he shrugs sheepishly and admits that they buy commercial paint or mix fat with store-bought laundry powder.

After leaving Orpul Cave, Daudi tells you that he will take you to the waterfall. Upon arriving, you see that the waterfall consists of thin tendrils of water seeping down a large blank rock face into a shallow pool covered in tiny blue butterflies. There is a young Maasai man – Daudi calls him a “Warrior” – washing out a cloth in the pool, and he barely glances at your approach before continuing his task. Daudi tells you that the waterfall and the stream are almost non-existent because it is currently the dry season. Once the rains start around March, the stream becomes a river. The mountain is the primary source of water in what is an otherwise extremely dry environment. His voice is solemn as he tells you about the massive cattle deaths and the suffering of people during the 2009 drought. Without cattle, he explains, the Maasai have nothing.



Figure 4: Maasai women dressed for a ceremony, 2013. Author's own photograph.



Figure 5: Orpul Cave, 2012. Author's own photograph.

You descend the mountain and walk back through the acacia trees of Ol Tepesi. Daudi says that you will now visit a Maasai family compound, called a boma. As you continue down the path, the sounds of bleating goats and squealing children grow louder until a circular enclosure framed by a fence of interwoven thorny branches comes into view. Children run out of the gate but stop just before reaching you to stare and giggle. Daudi encourages you to take pictures, but you are hesitant. Isn't it intrusive? Will they expect cash in return? He assures you that everyone in Longido knows that tourism revenue is used for village development. He tells you that the tourism fees have been used to build schools and water reservoirs in Longido and that the people are grateful and happy to welcome tourists. So you take your camera out and show it to the children, miming that you would like to take their picture. Some squeal and hide their faces, but most of them grin up at the camera and push to be in the front. After snapping a few photos, you lower your camera and they run over to you and shove each other out of the way in order to see their images on the LCD screen. It is clear that they are familiar with digital cameras.

Inside the boma you see that the external gate is lined from the inside with smaller enclosures, each containing a round mud house with a thatch roof. The center of the boma is open and the ground is covered in animal excrement. Daudi comments that a lot of "shit" (his word) means that a family is wealthy because it signifies a large herd of cattle. He explains that this boma is home to three brothers, their wives, and their children. The Maasai practice polygamy, so each brother has more than one wife. Daudi tells you that when a man marries, his wife comes to his family's boma and builds her own house out of mud and cow dung and thatch. The husband takes turns sleeping at

each wife's house, but he does not have one of his own. You notice that the boma is currently populated by women, children, and one old man, but you don't see any other men. Daudi explains that the men are out conducting cattle business and the young men are traveling with the herds. The Maasai are semi-nomadic, maintaining a boma year-round, while the young men – the Warriors – travel with the cattle herds to different grazing areas throughout the dry season.

The women are sitting in the shade under a tree, some with children in their laps, others working with strings of beads and wire. You gesture with your camera and they shrug, so you take a picture. The old man, however, scowls and shakes his head, so you quickly tuck your camera away. The children have become bolder and some are now tugging on the zipper of your bag before Daudi shoos them away. He then talks briefly with the women, and one of the women rises to lead you and Daudi to her house. You have to duck to enter, and your eyes take a minute or two to adjust to the darkness inside. The air is smoky but cooler than outside. A metal pot rests on coals in a central fire pit and there are three raised platform beds covered in leather hides in cubbies along the walls. You sit on the edge of one bed with Daudi, while the woman sits on another and pours a sweet milk and spiced tea mixture called chai from the pot into metal mugs for you and Daudi. The chai attracts flies, and soon the air is humming with them. Daudi tells you how Maasai men and women pass through several “age-grades” throughout their life. Boys and girls are both circumcised before they are considered adults. The Warriors belong to the male age-grade between boyhood and the age at which they marry and start families. The Warriors have a fierce reputation, and their image – plaited hair, piles of

beaded jewelry, red toga, and spear in hand – is the one most associated with the Maasai in tourist guidebooks and postcards.



Figure 6: Maasai *enkaji* (house), 2012. Author's own photograph.

You leave the house and emerge back into the bright sunlight. Daudi tells you there will now be a dance and to have your camera ready. Suddenly a line of men enter the boma's gate and gather in a semi-circle in front of you. A small group of girls decked out in large, flat, beaded disc necklaces enter behind them. The men start chanting rhythmically with one soloist undulating over the humming and grunting chants. The men rock back and forth with the rhythm and the girls dip and shrug their shoulders to move the disc necklaces in time with the song. When the soloist breaks, the girls join in a call and response with the men before the men begin chanting again. One man moves to the

center of the semi-circle and leaps upward, keeping his body rigid and jumping three times before slamming his feet down on the final landing. More men take turns jumping, sometimes two at a time, as the others continue the song and use their wooden staffs to point out how high the jumper reached. Eventually, the song ends and the dancing and jumping ceases. The performers smile and shake your hand as they leave the boma, and Daudi leads you out of the gate after them to a waiting group of women selling jewelry.

The women sit on the ground with their wares spread out on sacks and blankets before them. They have lined up to create a corridor for you to walk through, and you edge forward, crouching here and there when something catches your eye. Most of the women seem to be selling the same things, mostly beaded earrings, bracelets, and necklaces. Some of them also sell spears, knives, beaded calabashes, and carved wooden animals and Maasai figurines. When you crouch down to look at something, a woman grabs your hand and clasps a bracelet to your wrist. You smile but decline it, taking it off. She grasps your hand again and you begin to feel uncomfortable with her forcefulness. You quickly move to the next woman, who does the same, this time placing a necklace around your neck. As you move through the corridor of women, they reach out to you, some calling out “hello” or “come.” You stop at one blanket and see a necklace that you like, and ask the price. The woman does not speak any English and nudges her neighbor, who holds up ten fingers for TZS 10,000. Daudi comes over to help negotiate and you manage to get the price down to TZS 7,000. You exchange the money for the necklace and she smiles broadly and shakes your hand. You feel satisfied that you got a good deal, and then you realize that your savings only equaled about two US dollars, and you wonder if you just cheated a poor woman out of a meal for her children.



Figure 7: Dance performance for tourists in boma, 2012. Author's own photograph.



Figure 8: Women selling jewelry to tourists, 2012. Author's own photograph.

Your exchange with this woman leaves you feeling conflicted. As you walk away from the market with the pleas of the jewelry sellers still ringing in your ears, you begin to question the sort of impact that you have as a cultural tourist on this community. Is this exploitative? Is it dehumanizing? Are you participating in a “human zoo” by photographing Maasai children? Is tourism helping this community achieve economic development, or is it degrading the dignity of its people? What do the residents of Longido even think of the tourists that roll up in Land Cruisers, dressed in khaki and slung with heavy, expensive cameras and safari gear? How do tourists impact the lives of those they have come to see?

* * *

This chapter represents the experiences and perspectives of a particular type of cultural tourist, one seeking an intimate cross-cultural experience yet also concerned with the consequences of such an encounter. Although this type of tourist was certainly present in Longido, the enterprise hosts a wide variety of visitors, who represent diverse motivations, interests, and concerns. I chose to construct the tourist in this chapter in this particular way because they represent my own motivations and fears as a cultural tourist. My concern about the local impacts of cultural tourism is also what first motivated me to conduct the research presented in this dissertation. I began my fieldwork examining relationships of power in “host-guest” (resident-tourist) interactions, but I soon learned that a far more complex power dynamic was at play, one involving a much larger network of actors than the host-guest binary suggests. Tourism intermediaries such as local guides, tour operators, and government bodies play a significant role in influencing experiences of tourism for all actors. Yet, neither tourists nor intermediaries hold all of

the power in touristic interactions because power is not a commodity that can be possessed. Power is relational and dynamic; an idea created and reinforced through ongoing discourse and practice (Foucault 1982). Therefore, this dissertation is not concerned with the impacts of tourists per se, but rather with how Longido residents understand and operate within relationships of power at the local and global levels in their engagements with tourism.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORIZING POWER IN COMMUNITY-BASED TOURISM

“So you can see, even those who do not have work, then they have opportunity... So you can see how the [cultural tourism] program is... It’s a hope to the people in that area.”

- Cultural Tourism Enterprise Coordinator³

“Cultural tourism is just a shadow to act like people are benefiting from tourism. So you take many things, and you give them just cultural tourism.”

- Pastoralist Rights Advocate⁴

These two quotes represent two opposing views of cultural tourism in Tanzania. The first quote expresses the belief that tourism offers hope and opportunity for the disadvantaged, and the second quote expresses doubt that cultural tourism offers little more than table scraps from an exploitative industry. This dissertation research seeks to understand this paradox, namely how cultural tourism can be associated with both hope and helplessness, with both empowerment and dependency, by exploring experiences and perceptions of cultural tourism from the perspective of those meant to benefit from it.

³ Alliy Mwako, interviewed by author, November 14, 2012.

⁴ Interview with advocate at PINGOs Forum, July 19, 2013.

Community-based tourism (CBT) has been conceived by its supporters as a pro-poor community development and empowerment strategy. One such initiative is the Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise in Tanzania, which aims to create pathways to economic independence and security, specifically for women who do not have many opportunities to earn or control income outside of tourism. However, the promises of tourism are limited by the “tourism gatekeepers” who control access to tourists and the opportunities that they represent. This research explores the paradox of empowerment by investigating the ways that community-based cultural tourism encourages both independence and dependence, and how conflicting ideas concerning definitions of CBT and its goals affect the residents whose livelihoods have come to depend on tourism.

This research found that the potential that the Longido enterprise has for transforming relationships of power, particularly between women and men, is limited by the very nature of the community-based tourism (CBT) model employed to achieve this goal. CBT enterprises such as the one in Longido cannot achieve transformative change that leads to the self-determination of its participants when the tourism industry necessitates continued dependence on foreign markets and local people lack market access and knowledge. Attempting to accomplish both development and business goals when they are in direct conflict with one another has led to a failure to fully achieve either transformative change or significant or reliable economic impact in Longido. This dissertation concludes that if the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme has transformative development as its goal, the CBT model might be the wrong tool. Most significantly, the approach taken in developing and conducting tourism in Longido must consider the diverse priorities and motivations of participants, as well as the touristic

relationships of power which limit the agency of local participants in achieving the realization of their own goals in tourism engagement.

This research seeks to advance knowledge within the disciplines of anthropology and tourism studies in four important ways. First, this research will contribute to a growing body of anthropological studies that aims to correct a bias within the general tourism literature by going beyond the host-guest binary and considering the full network of actors within a touristic system. Second, it will add to ethnographic knowledge of tourism in Africa, a region that is currently underrepresented in the literature despite the significance of tourism to many of the continent's developing economies (UNWTO 2014b). Third, while most of the research that has been conducted on tourism in Africa focuses on wildlife tourism and its relationship to conservation efforts, this research considers the unique place that cultural tourism has within the wildlife-tourism dominated industry in East Africa. Fourth, this research approaches issues of tourism and development from the perspective of the "target" community, by exploring resident experiences, perceptions, and motivations, with the assumption that residents are active rather than passive participants in shaping touristic processes. Anthropology has moved quickly from relative obscurity within tourism studies toward becoming a major contributor to the building of a more carefully nuanced and contextualized understanding of the global phenomenon of tourism and the relationships between its various actors (Chambers 2010). It is my expectation that this research will make a significant contribution to that growing knowledge base.

The Anthropology of Tourism

This research draws from and seeks to build upon literature within the anthropology of tourism. The anthropology of tourism is a relatively new domain within anthropology, and the birth of the field is often traced to Valene Smith's *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (1989), first published in 1977. As a global phenomenon creating economic, political, and socio-cultural links between people of many different backgrounds, tourism is an ideal topic for anthropological inquiry (Chambers 2010). Traditionally, the central question within the anthropology of tourism has been whether tourism has a positive or negative effect on a destination community or on particular members of that community (Bruner 2005b; Kaul 2010; Smith and Robinson 2006). However, approaching a host community's experiences of tourism as a cost-benefit analysis is simplistic and reinforces the incorrect notions that members of host communities are passive actors and that heritage is an objective entity to be preserved or lost. In recent decades, the discipline has moved beyond these reductionist assessments of tourism's cultural consequences and has begun to engage in reflexive investigations into the ways we conceptualize touristic relations and processes by problematizing the qualitative concepts used to frame previous assessments (e.g., authenticity, heritage) (Wood 1993). Instead of asking if tourism threatens culture, the question has become how tourism *is* culture (Rothman 2003). This research seeks to build upon this theoretical approach by problematizing the prevailing assumptions concerning power in touristic relationships.

Cultural Tourism and the “Host-Guest” Relationship

Anthropologists have been especially active in research on cultural tourism, a subset of the larger tourism industry focused on selling and consuming the distinctive culture of a “host” community. I use the term “host” to specify those persons who are directly associated with tourism activities in their localities, usually but not necessarily with the expectation of remuneration (Smith 1989). Often the destination culture on display is tied to an ethnicity (e.g., the Maasai). Transforming an ethnicity into a marketable brand within the tourism industry involves cultural commodification, which is the process of applying economic value to practices or goods that were once considered to be primarily of intrinsic cultural value (MacCannell 1973). Many past studies discussing processes of cultural commodification have been concerned with the impacts of tourism on the survival of “authentic” practices and identities (Cohen 1988; Greenwood 1989; MacCannell 1976). However, an ethnic identity – the ways in which it is constructed, understood, and used – is a process in flux, not a state of being (Nagel 1994). Therefore, there is no “pure” or “authentic” identity, just different constructions that have been created and embodied over time for different purposes.

Scholars have also been concerned with the ways in which the desires and expectations of tourists affect destination communities (Stronza 2001). This is illustrated in the pervasiveness of studies discussing the host-guest relationship in terms of the effects of the “tourist gaze” – the way in which tourists gazing upon hosts orders and regulates touristic interactions (Urry 1990). Cheong and Miller (2000) critique the exclusivity of this view by applying a Foucauldian perspective of power to the host-guest relationship. According to Foucault (1982), power is dynamic. It is more than a commodity possessed, it is an idea produced and exercised through discourse and

practice. Therefore “there is power everywhere in tourism,” and the motivations and actions of hosts are as important as those of the tourists (Cheong and Miller 2000:372). In fact, tourists are often the actors with the least amount of agency in a touristic system, because “by definition, they are found on unfamiliar political and cultural turf, and... they are stripped of many of their cultural and familial ties and protective institutions” (Cheong and Miller 2000:380).

In recognition that hosts are not passive actors in the touristic relationship, a greater number of studies are providing ethnographic examples of how hosts contribute to tourism experiences by consciously deliberating their roles and actively negotiating their interactions with visitors (Adams 2006; Boissevain 1996; Kolas 2008; Tucker 2003). However, the tourist bias holds strong in the general tourism literature,⁵ and as a result, the preponderance of tourism research, policy, and practice continues to focus on tourists rather than on residents (Cheong and Miller 2000).

Tourism Intermediaries

Although this dissertation is focused on the motivations of residents of destination communities, it also assumes that resident agency is limited. As with all power dialectics, there is tension between the individual will and the outside forces that operate to limit the actor’s influence on outcomes (Bourdieu 1977). It is important to note that tourism relationships between hosts and their visitors are most often mediated in significant ways by others outside of this dyad. Tourism systems extend beyond the locality of a destination and the interactions of hosts and guests. There is an extensive network of

⁵ For example, within major tourism journals such as the *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Research*, *Tourism Management*, and the *Journal of Travel Research* (Cheong and Miller 2000).

actors involved, influencing and controlling the movements and actions of both hosts and guests, and shaping the development of the tourism industry (Werner 2003). According to Chambers (2010), “these individuals and agencies play important roles in determining where tourists go as well as what they see and do when they arrive at their destination” (32). This is especially relevant to the situation in Longido, where tourists are brought to the locality by outside tour operators, and where guides serve as mediators between residents and tourists, who usually do not speak the local languages. Therefore, the role of tourism mediators must be considered when exploring issues of power in tourism.

At the local level, tour guides and local elites serve as the principal intermediaries between tourists and residents. Tourists interact primarily with tour guides, who serve as professional hosts at a destination. Tourists are escorted through communities by guides, who manage their movements and control resident access to them. Foreign tourists rely on tour guides for both language translation and interpretation of local cultural practices. The ways in which local guides have represented destination communities have even played an important role in shaping and affirming Western perceptions of these localities and their residents (Bruner 2005a; Salazar 2006, 2007, 2013). The local elite are also instrumental in determining how tourism is developed in a community, as well as who benefits. They are in control of local resources before tourism development is even initiated; therefore, it is the local elite who “determines the plot, designs the stage setting, and even fixes the price of admission for the drama of profit, prestige, and power” in destination communities (Smith 1997:207-208).

Tour operators are the most visible tourism intermediaries at both the local and global levels because they are strategically positioned between tourism suppliers and

consumers. Community-based tourism initiatives aim to facilitate economic development through localized engagement in tourism, but many of these initiatives are located in rural areas where the residents do not have direct access to the market (Forstner 2004). Therefore, the flow of tourists into destination communities is often controlled by the tour operators who serve as conduits between tourism markets and destinations by both promoting specific attractions to their clients and physically transporting tourists to a destination. Small-scale enterprises like the one in Longido are “the ‘weakest link’ within the distribution channel” because they lack the resources and capacity to reach international tourists (Bastakis et al. 2004:152). They depend on tour operators for access to the market, and as a result, have minimal leverage in negotiations with tour operators who end up dictating the terms of the relationship. For example, Zorn and Farthing (2007) have documented the ways in which tour operators in Peru have restricted local involvement in tourism to a few families by maintaining control over boat transportation to the island communities on Lake Titicaca. In the event that a particular destination becomes environmentally degraded, or if consumer tastes change, tour operators have the option of taking their business elsewhere, but the destination community does not have this same flexibility in choosing how to access the market. “Thus, the fortune of individual destinations can depend heavily on decisions and actions of a select few tour-operating companies in key origin countries” (Ioannides 1998:140).

Local and national government bodies also mediate tourism through the creation and enforcement of policy. In Tanzania, tourism development has been driven by wildlife conservation interests and the regulation of tourism activities centers on protecting wildlife and controlling wildlife revenue. According to Snyder and Sulle (2011), new

policy meant to devolve central government regulation of wildlife has actually negatively impacted local tourism earnings. Rather than lessen the bureaucratic mechanisms that have kept members of destination communities from full involvement in tourism, the new policies require operators to negotiate contracts and make payments to additional regional government bodies, and as a result, both revenue and control over tourism activities is diminished at the village level.

NGOs also serve as tourism mediators by initiating tourism development projects with specific goals in mind, and by introducing host communities to the tourism industry (Stevens 2010). This is the case with the Longido enterprise, which was initiated by an international NGO for the purpose of facilitating local economic development. However, despite commendable intentions, NGO mediation in tourism development has the potential to undermine local initiatives by replacing local agendas with their own. According to Chernela (2005), “even in attempting to empower local communities, NGOs may benefit one subgroup and exclude others, thereby creating dissent rather than collaboration and reducing rather than expanding participation” (622). The role of NGOs as intermediaries becomes more significant as alternative forms of tourism meant to stimulate local development grows in popularity among an ever more educated and conscientious consumer market. The growth of the alternative tourism industry has also precipitated a burgeoning body of research on the subject. However, the role of researchers in creating knowledge about the phenomenon, and the influence of this knowledge on tourism development, management, and policy is often overlooked (Chambers 1997; Ren et al. 2010). A comprehensive analysis of touristic relationships

must consider the full network of actors, and the ways in which hosts, guests, and the extensive range of intermediaries all contribute to shaping experiences of tourism.

Gender in Tourism

Tourism is a gendered activity. Women and men experience and view tourism differently, and gender relations both shape and are shaped by tourism in significant ways. A gendered approach to tourism research is especially important in considerations of power in tourism. According to Kinnaird and Hall (1996), “unless we understand the gendered complexities of tourism, and the power relations they involve, then we fail to recognize the reinforcement and construction of new power relations that are emerging out of tourism processes” (100). Swain (1995) defines gender as “a system of culturally constructed identities, expressed in ideologies of masculinity and femininity, interacting with socially structured relationships in divisions of labor and leisure, sexuality, and power between women and men” (258-259). Tourism scholars use a gendered framework to explore “the ways in which: (1) tourism-related activity expresses gender relations, and (2) gender relations inform and articulate different forms of tourism activity” (Kinnaird and Hall 1996: 95). Swain (1995) articulates these two foci as conceptualizing gender as either an independent variable influencing tourism activity, or a dependent variable, in which gender relations and structures are influenced by tourism. However, most recent studies, including this dissertation, understand gender to be both an influencing force shaping tourism as well as a social construct that can be altered by touristic processes (Tucker and Boonabaana 2012).

Many studies on gender and tourism focus on how existing social structures, particularly gendered divisions of labor, can affect how women engage in tourism. Historically, femininity was associated with the domestic sphere, so the host was conceived as a feminine role. Conversely, the tourist role was associated with the masculine ideals of “conquer and control,” and early Western tourism and travel to non-Western locales was driven by the desire to collect and possess the exotic (Chambers 2010: 61). However, the tourist role is no longer the exclusive domain of men. Women in the developed world now make up a significant percentage of the tourist market. However, this is not the case in much of the developing world, where women are still largely restricted to the role of host (Apostolopoulos and Sönmez 2001). Often, the level and mode of women’s tourism involvement within host communities is affected by their association with the domestic sphere and by gendered divisions of labor. According to Kinnaird and Hall (1996), “access to tourism-related employment is overtly gender-based” (97). In some cases, the gendered division of labor offers women unique opportunities for engagement in tourism because their specialized skills and knowledge become valuable assets in the tourism industry (e.g., food preparation, provision of accommodation, production of handicrafts). However, multiple studies have shown that this work is often associated with low pay and low status, while managerial roles are occupied primarily by men, thereby reinforcing existing gender inequalities (Scheyvens 2007). Massyn’s (2008) research on safari lodge tourism in the Okavango Delta in Botswana found that gender plays a significant role in structuring patterns of employment and earnings that disadvantage female employees, who account for more than half of the workforce, but receive less than half of the locally earned wages.

Alternative tourism development schemes such as ecotourism or community-based tourism often target women as the intended beneficiaries. Tourism is conceived of as an empowerment strategy, whereby unequitable gender relations are transformed through newly introduced economic opportunities for women. In areas where women are economically and politically marginalized, involvement in tourism can offer pathways to empowerment that would not be available otherwise (Scheyvens 2002). Involvement in tourism can also build cultural capital for women that can lead to opportunities that extend beyond the tourism sector, such as language skills and cross-cultural experience (Chambers 2010). However, Scheyvens (2007) warns that despite the rhetoric of empowerment, alternative tourism “is not a gender neutral activity which automatically benefits women,” and tourism developers need to address broader gender concerns in the community when establishing initiatives meant to benefit women (208). One of these concerns is the ability of men to appropriate control of tourism development projects. For example, community participation usually follows existing local models, which can exclude women, and men may still control women’s income at the household level. Involvement in tourism can also lead to more dependency on men, because women generally take low status service positions under the employ of men who usually occupy the managerial positions (Apostolopoulos and Sönmez 2001).

Feminist theory is often used to critique the invisibility or subjugation of women in touristic systems. Bolles (2009) conceptualizes gender as a “socially structured relationship of unequal power” (16) in her investigation of the gendered distribution of the costs of tourism and globalization. Although she emphasizes the exploitative nature of the tourism industry, she also recognizes the active role of women within it. Her

research on female tourism workers in Jamaica focuses on how women define their own social and cultural positions within a touristic system. According to Bolles (1997), “the everyday, taken-for-granted expressions of women hosts and tourist workers produces knowledge about the world around them, and are valid in their own right” (82). Therefore a consideration of how women produce and validate knowledge about tourism is necessary for a holistic understanding of the phenomenon. Tucker and Boonabaana (2012) take a post-structuralist feminist approach in their research on the relationships between tourism, gender, and poverty reduction. They focus on the ways that women and men actively negotiate their positions within gender discourses in relation to changes in touristic settings. Their research on female tourism workers in Turkey and Uganda demonstrates how gendered relations of power are not static, but dynamic, and responsive to the ways in which women resist or affirm existing norms and roles. Therefore, “it is necessary to view the relationship between gender, tourism development and poverty reduction as a discursive and ongoing process” (Tucker and Boonabaana 2012:453).

Community-Based Tourism

Community-based tourism (CBT) is usually defined as destination-focused, small-scale tourism in which members of the destination community have primary control over the management and profits of the tourism business (Zapata et al. 2011). A CBT development model has two major aims: participation of the community in decision-making and local involvement in the management and benefits of tourism (Timothy and Tosun 2003). Most CBT projects involve partnerships between destination communities and international non-governmental organizations (NGO). The role of the

NGO is usually assumed to be that of a consultant and facilitator providing local people with tourism-related information, skills training, networking opportunities, and start-up capital (Goodwin and Santilli 2009). The ultimate goal of NGO-assisted CBT projects is community ownership of the tourism business, therefore, most projects are initiated with the assumption that NGO involvement will be phased out once the business becomes locally self-sustaining (Zapata et al. 2011).

Although the principles of local “participation” and “inclusion” are inherent in the concept of community-based tourism, the operationalization of these principles become complicated once applied to actual projects. However noble the intentions of those involved, projects are implemented within existing and deeply entrenched power relations, and consequently, community-based tourism has the potential to exacerbate and perpetuate inequalities rather than minimize them and foster benefit sharing (Cater 2006). These power disparities occur between the international and local partners as well as among the local actors themselves. These internal and external power disparities have direct effects on the formation of project goals and in establishing responsibilities. The concepts central to the goals of CBT development are in fact socially constructed, and each stakeholder group, including the NGO, has a different definition based upon the group’s own interests. Which definition is used in the establishment of project goals and in the strategies employed to achieve said goals depends largely upon which voice is the most powerful, unless project developers actively seek out marginalized voices (Stevens 2010).

Bjork (2007) ascribes much of the difficulty in implementing successful projects to the ambiguity of the concepts involved. Most definitions of CBT include abstract

principles forming a conception that is “theoretically sound but hard to implement” (Bjork 2007:24). Although the concepts central to CBT are abstract, culturally constructed, and ideologically informed, they have become reified in development discourse. Butcher (2007) states that those using these concepts “are usually asserting a distinctive position rather than a universally agreed viewpoint” (2007:2). As Mowforth and Munt (2003) assert, these concepts are “not definable except in terms of the context, control and position of those who are defining it” (98). Since there are no universal definitions of CBT concepts such as “community” and “participation,” someone must decide the appropriate definition to be used in a particular development project, and whoever makes that decision has the power to determine which interests are best represented in project goals.

The operational definition of “community” used in a CBT project determines who will participate and who is meant to benefit. Blackstock (2005) states that much of the CBT literature takes “an atheoretical and apolitical approach” when discussing the concept of community. The “community” is often homogenized in CBT literature as well as in practice, both in order to define a development “target” and to market a specific tourism product or brand (i.e., “local culture”). This can conflict with the conceptual goals of community-based development, which recognize the heterogeneity of communities and aim to challenge existing power disparities by strengthening the political voice of marginalized groups within the “community.” Yet the typical definition of “community” used in CBT practice cannot recognize the existence of internal conflict. In fact, it depends on the absence of conflict in order to construct culture as a neat and attractive product for consumption by tourists. According to Blackstock, “this

presentation of community is an *ideal* masquerading as social *fact*” (Blackstock 2005:42). Not only are communities heterogeneous in their cultural, economic, and political make-up, members also hold diverse motivations for engaging in tourism, and community participants may be acting out of self-interest rather than community good (Blackstock 2005).

“Participation” of identified community members is an assumed goal of CBT projects. Without community involvement, empirical studies have demonstrated that many top down tourism development projects have been “inefficient, inequitable, not cost-beneficial, and short-lived” (Stonich 2005:84). However, the question remains how local populations should be involved, and if involvement means control (Mowforth and Munt 2003:96). Using terminology coined by Pretty, community participation ranges from “manipulative participation,” in which local involvement is largely a pretense, to “self-mobilization,” in which community members take initiative independent of outside influence and elect how to incorporate NGO assistance (cited in Mowforth and Munt 2003:215). In most cases, however, control lies with donors and it is their interests that shape project agendas since local communities usually must rely on outside funding which is solicited by an NGO. As Butcher points out, when “communities are invited to participate, it is usually only in the implementation of ecotourism projects, rather than in shaping the development agenda behind them, and hence real choices may be narrowly defined” (2007:62).

Cultural Tourism in Tanzania

Tourism and Conservation in East Africa

Conservation and tourism development in East Africa are inextricably linked because the tourism industry depends upon the continued survival of wildlife, which is the primary attraction for international visitors. African conservation theory and practice has been defined by what Dan Brockington (2002) calls “fortress conservation,” an approach that assumes human populations within delicate ecosystems are inevitably destructive and that natural resources can only be protected by limiting or denying human access to them. Fortress conservation projects in East Africa have received international support and funding, and these newly rejuvenated “wilderness areas” have become prime attractions for safari tourists wishing to glimpse these last vestiges of “Eden” (Brockington 2002). Today, over 25% of Tanzania is under some form of protected area status, and the country boasts sixteen national parks and seven World Heritage sites. However, many of the assumptions of fortress conservation are problematic, and its influence on policy has had devastating effects on local human populations.

The history of conservation policy in East Africa bears the mark of its colonial legacy. Conservation efforts begun during the colonial era by the German and British governments took a paternalistic approach, assuming that Africans were “ignorant of the natural treasures they have at hand” (Broch-Due 2000:15), and likely to destroy such natural assets unless Western powers intervened. Colonial governments conceived African landscapes as “wilderness” areas, devoid of human contamination and untouched by modernity. Fears that the human residents of these areas would over-exploit this

“Eden” led to environmental policies that followed the fortress conservation model. The establishment of protected areas, such as national parks, conservation areas, and hunting blocks demarcated land that was considered of great ecological value and only allowed uses of the land that conformed to European environmental values (Neumann 2002). However, the Western idea of wilderness conflicted with African reality. These landscapes were not untouched remnants of an ideal and static ecological past; they were the ever-evolving habitats of human populations that depended on the utilization of these resources for survival (Shetler 2007). The British colonial government decided that the best way to deal with the paradox of humans in a pristine wilderness was to simply remove the humans (Igoe 2004).

Even after independence, Western conservation paradigms, specifically fortress conservation, still inform and justify environmental policies and practice (Brockington 2002). Colonial assumptions about the people and environments of Africa did more than impact colonial subjects in particular times and places; they shaped enduring relations of power at the regional, national, and global levels. Today, post-colonial governments in Africa continue in the mode of fortress conservation in order to attract foreign investment and tourism revenue. According to Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2005), safari tourists are on a “quest for the unspoiled, vanishing primitive” (37). This quest relates to what Chambers (2010) calls the “nostalgic” form of nature tourism, in which appreciation for the natural world is based on the perception that humankind has become estranged from nature. In the minds of Western tourists, Africa represents a pristine “Eden,” untouched by the ravages of modernity. However, this idea requires landscapes that fit Western conceptions of “unspoiled” and “pristine” nature, which essentially is

understood as being untouched by humans. Therefore, the promise of tourism revenue provides strong incentive for the continuation of the fortress conservation model in Africa (Honey 2008).

Tanzania is a premier destination for African safari tourism, attracting over one million international tourists in 2012, and earning \$1.7 billion in international tourist receipts (UNWTO 2014b). Yet despite a booming tourism economy, much of the country's citizens remain impoverished, with 28.2 percent of the population living below the national poverty line, which is about \$.50 per day per person (National Bureau of Statistics 2012, World Bank 2014). Foreign investors dominate the primarily wildlife-based safari industry and very few residents are involved in or benefit from tourism in their communities (Igoe and Croucher 2007; Nelson 2008; Sachedina 2008). Until recently, contracts between tourism companies and the villages on whose lands they operate directed some revenue to the villages through annual and bed night fees, but even this small amount is now being siphoned off through policies creating more central regulation of tourism payments (United Republic of Tanzania 2007). Much of the local-level benefits are captured by an elite few, and government corruption and lack of transparency are significant problems (Sachedina 2008; Trench et al. 2009).

The image of the "exotic" Maasai has attracted travelers to Tanzania since the 1880's (Bernsten 1980), yet the Maasai have had a tempestuous relationship with tourism, both historically and currently. Wildlife and tourism policies have historically promoted conservation interests over the interests of local populations (Igoe 2004; Igoe and Croucher 2007), and as a result, the Maasai have been forcibly removed from their lands (Bellini 2008; Honey 2008), their livelihoods have been restricted (Rogers et al.

1999; Johnsen 2000), and they are now in competition with tourists and wildlife for access to needed resources (Homewood, Kristjanson, et al. 2009). The image of the Maasai as an icon of “traditional” African culture is commonly used to sell Tanzania to tourists, but in many cases this status has only caused more problems (Akama 2002). Attempts to “protect” the Maasai from modernization have led policy-makers to ignore Maasai communities in national development initiatives (Hodgson 2001), and they have been banned from practicing cultivation in order to keep them “authentically” pastoralist in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (Bellini 2008).

Alternative Conservation and Tourism Development Paradigms

Alternative conservation paradigms have become popular in the last two decades after years of empirically grounded criticism of the top-down approach of fortress conservation. Participatory approaches to both development and conservation, such as Local Resource Management or Community-Based Conservation, attempt to decentralize conservation and development processes and place the decision-making power in the hands of the local people (van den Breemer and Venema 1995). There is also interest within the NGO, government, and private sectors in using cultural tourism as a tool to reduce poverty and encourage local-level conservation activities (Kokel 2007; Minwary 2009; Nelson 2004). A 2003 multi-site study on the current role of tourism in poverty alleviation in Tanzania conducted by the Tanzanian NGO Research on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA) recommended focusing on cultural tourism development, which was determined to be the best tourism activity for reducing poverty because it “does not require specialised skills and the incomes accrues [sic] directly to the performer”

(Luvanga and Shitundu 2003:48). The Tanzania Cultural Tourism Program (CTP), which is the focus of this dissertation, was born out of the idea that local populations can and should benefit from tourism in their communities. However, the CTP is unique in relation to most of the alternative tourism approaches discussed in the literature on Africa, because the CTP focuses on cultural tourism as a tool for economic development, rather than nature tourism as an incentive for community-level conservation efforts.

Despite the popularity of the alternative paradigms within the international conservation and development industry, they have been criticized by scholars for following the same top-down approach as the old models. Potts (2004) calls the alternative approaches “theoretically positive and the principles behind them well-meaning,” but claims that “the gap between theory and practice is sometimes so large that the principles behind these approaches become virtually invisible” (13-14). As a result, attempts to be inclusive can fail and may even create or reinforce inequalities (Broch-Due 2000, Goldman 2003). Much of the discussion on alternative paradigms in Tanzania in recent years has focused on the newly formed Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs), which are designed to embody the community-based conservation ideal. However, studies have shown that community-based conservation initiatives in Tanzania such as the WMAs are failing to meet both conservation and development goals by actually further concentrating power and benefits in the hands of the elite and continuing to marginalize local populations from resources and political representation (Igoe and Croucher 2007, Minwary 2009, Sachedina 2008, Shivji 2002). The assumptions inherent in Western conservation models – specifically the assumed dichotomies of man and

nature and scientific knowledge and local ecological knowledge – still holds sway over policy and practice in Tanzania, even when labeled “community-based” (Goldman 2006).

Maasai Perspectives on Conservation and Tourism

Despite the criticism discussed here, there are examples of conservation, development, and tourism initiatives that could be considered successful, particularly those that benefit groups such as the Maasai that have a history of being politically marginalized by those industries (Thompson et al. 2009). Gardner’s (2007) in-depth study of relationships with land, citizenship, and conservation in Loliondo and Monduli Districts in Tanzania presents a case in which involvement in ecotourism has enabled one Maasai community to renegotiate relationships of power with the state. He explores how landscapes are constructed and reconstructed over time to further specific interests, including those of neoliberal policies as well as those of Maasai rights activists. He concludes that the Maasai of Loliondo embraced ecotourism and renegotiated their relationship with the landscape to fit conservation ideals in order to politically align themselves with powerful ecotourism investors and transnational organizations. By forming these partnerships, they were able to renegotiate their relationships of power with the state in concerns related to land rights claims.

Despite these and other examples of conservation and development efforts that have brought benefit to the Maasai, the reality is that most initiatives fail to meet their goals of conservation or poverty reduction. In a multi-site study of Maasai livelihood strategies and the role of wildlife in development, Homewood, Trench, et al. (2009) conclude that community-based models “are not working either as incentives to

conservation or as green development contributing to poverty alleviation” (395). Instead, these initiatives usually serve to exacerbate economic, political, and social inequalities at the local and national levels for Maasai communities. There is even evidence that households earning the most from conservation-related sources are also most likely to engage in unsustainable large-scale farming (Homewood, Kristjanson, et al. 2009).

Homewood, Trench, et al. (2009) also attribute project failures to a lack of understanding of local perspectives and priorities. Policy-makers, practitioners, and researchers approaching initiatives with a specifically defined conservation agenda miss the wider context and complexity of Maasai livelihoods. The reality is that despite the anti-pastoralism approach that most conservation strategies have taken in East Africa, livestock are not going anywhere. Homewood, Trench, et al.’s study (2009) reveals that “livestock remain clearly central to Maasai livelihoods as the biggest single contributor across all wealth and income categories” (378). Maasai households have increasingly incorporated additional sources of income, including cultivation, wage labor, entrepreneurship, and conservation and tourism activities. However, this has not diminished the economic, social, and cultural importance of livestock. In fact, the primary motivation for engaging in these other economic activities is to enable the Maasai to retain their herds. Livestock also continue to play key roles for providing pathways out of poverty (Homewood, Trench, et al. 2009).

Studies have shown that pastoralism can also be a sustainable activity, which contradicts the assumptions of mainstream conservation knowledge. McCabe (2003) directly addresses the assumptions of fortress conservation in his ethno-historic study of the sustainability of Maasai pastoralism in Ngorongoro Conservation Area in Tanzania.

Protectionist environmental policies in Tanzania have assumed Maasai agro-pastoralist practices are unsustainable because of human and herd population growth. McCabe demonstrates that while human populations have grown over time, herd population has fluctuated around a mean, because herds are kept in check by a nonequilibrium ecosystem that causes periodic population crashes, usually due to disease. As a result of these crashes, “each generation becomes progressively poorer unless other sources of food or income are adopted into the livelihood strategy” (105). The Maasai have adopted cultivation to keep from starving, but their primary concern is the maintenance of their pastoralist livelihoods and identity. McCabe concludes that this mixed economy is sustainable because the nonequilibrium ecosystem keeps the cattle population in check while the cultural desire to keep pastoralism as the key subsistence strategy keeps most Maasai from adopting large-scale farming.

Fratkin and Mearns (2003) also discuss how the very concept of sustainability means different things to different populations depending on their interests. They contrast the definition used by environmentalists with the one used by Maasai activists. Environmentalists following the fortress conservation model view sustainability as the protection of natural resources against further degradation. They focus on the effects of human population growth and increased consumption as the cause of environmental degradation, and propose strategies that they believe will reduce human population pressure on biodiversity. On the other hand, Maasai activists view sustainability as “the ability of a people to preserve and defend its way of life” (113). They focus on maintaining and defending a people’s right to access and utilize natural resources and argue for the ecological rationality of pastoralism as a livelihood strategy. Most national

governments continue to impede livestock mobility by alienating pastoralists from land resources and favoring agriculture, private ranching, and conservation and tourism activities, but Fraktin and Mearns (2003) suggest that approaches to conservation and development should focus instead on developing policy that supports adaptive common property systems and livestock mobility. Homewood, Trench, et al. (2009) suggest that policies be changed to encourage and support livestock production that is both ecologically and economically sustainable by providing access to key resources, veterinary provisions, and infrastructures that support livelihood diversification.

Pastoralism is more than just an income strategy, easily substituted with other “more sustainable” alternatives. It is an important, deeply cultural, and complex livelihood strategy central to Maasai social, economic, and political systems. It is not, as some conceive it to be, “some romanticized throwback to an earlier age,” but it is “a robust and vital component of twenty-first century livelihoods in Maasai rangelands” (Homewood, Trench, et al. 2009:401). Conservation and development in Tanzania has historically served to “[order and rationalize] Maasai lives and livelihoods to conform to colonial, and then national, agendas” (Hodgson 2001:275). Questions of appropriate or successful conservation and development are usually framed in simple terms of economic returns or ecological impacts. However, the issues affecting conservation and development processes are complex and have more to do with historical and cultural relations of power (Hodgson 2001). Therefore, successful conservation and development has more to do with the self-determination of the Maasai, enabling the Maasai to engage in conservation and development on their own terms, and allowing for the incorporation of Maasai perspectives and priorities.

The Maasai, Gender, and Tourism

Hodgson's (2001) ethno-historical study of gender relations among the Maasai of Tanzania demonstrates how historical interactions with the colonial and post-colonial state in Tanzania have led to the development of the current relations between Maasai men and women, in which women are commonly seen as the property of men. Previous scholars have assumed that patriarchy is an inherent element of the pastoralist ideology (Hodgson 1999), but Hodgson challenges this assumption by tracing the historical development of current gender relations. She concludes that Maasai patriarchy is rooted in the formation of the British colonial state, which necessitated the gendered division of the domestic and public/political spheres and monetized the pastoralist economy (i.e., cattle became commodities). The British government also focused on men in development interventions and political interactions. These processes established and legitimized male authority, which transformed gender relations and created the patriarchal system seen today (Hodgson 2001). As a result of this reframing and legitimizing of Maasai gender relations, women and their children are now largely dependent on men. Women's rights to family-owned assets such as cattle and land are limited and linked through their relationships with husbands and sons, and women have very few opportunities to earn cash. In some families, women have become the de facto heads of households after their husbands leave home to seek work in the mining, security, or manual labor sectors. However, this increased responsibility has not translated into increased rights or decision-making power for those women (Hodgson 2011:73).

Tourism opportunities also favor men within Maasai communities as a result of the gendered division of labor and unequal levels of education. National school

enrollment rates in Tanzania are equal between the sexes at the primary school level, but at the secondary school and university levels, the female enrollment rates drop dramatically, to 32.1 percent and 33.9 percent respectively (National Bureau of Statistics 2013b). Female to male enrollment rates in pastoralist areas are even more disproportionate because of “the value of [female] household labor, parental fears over early pregnancy, the persistence of arranged marriage and bridewealth, and parental doubts of the value and ‘return on investment’ of female education” in pastoralist societies (Hodgson 2011:187). Female barriers to education are compounded by the lack of national investment in educational infrastructure and resources in pastoralist areas, and as a result, Maasai women are less likely to gain the skills needed for participation in tourism, specifically English and even Kiswahili language skills (Hodgson 2011).

Because of these gendered barriers to tourism involvement, Maasai men have more employment options and tend to occupy higher paid and higher status positions, while women’s participation is usually limited to handicraft and food production (Coast 2002). Customary inheritance laws also exclude many Maasai women from owning land title deeds and other assets, which could serve as collateral for tourism-related business start-up loans (Christian et al. 2013). Most Maasai women involved in the tourism industry make and sell jewelry to tourists, and the trade has been utilized in several women’s development projects in Tanzania. Hodgson (2001) reports that one such project established by an English volunteer in Monduli District was initially very popular among the participants because sewing beads was considered an enjoyable, social activity that did not interfere with other household responsibilities, and allowed income to accrue directly to the women without the men’s interference. The endeavor was successful for a

time, but soon supply exceeded demand and a breakdown in trust between the project leaders and participants signaled the end of the project. There are examples of more successful and sustainable jewelry-making projects, including one founded by MWEDO in Longido, but many of them are still dependent on middlemen – who capture a majority of the profit – to connect them to the market (Coast 2002).

Although tourism does afford Maasai women opportunities to earn and control their own cash income, their agency is still limited by unequal and gendered power structures. Scheyvens (2000) describes how a tourism development project meant to empower Maasai women first required the permission and acceptance of the men in the community. According to Scheyvens (2000),

[Project] staff eventually convinced the men that they should allow women to be actively involved in tourism, largely for the pragmatic reasons that firstly, they would otherwise have difficulty gaining funding from development agencies, and secondly, culturally-responsible tourists, whom they wished to attract, would not be interested in a society which oppressed women. [Scheyvens 2000:237-238]

Women's vulnerability within Maasai gendered relationships of power has also been exploited through sex tourism and the eroticization of indigenous female bodies in tourism imagery (Akama 2002; Snyder and Sulle 2011).

Although Maasai women have certainly been disenfranchised and exploited through tourism processes, they have also been able to take advantage of the international attention paid to tourism and conservation areas in Tanzania to assert their agency and take control of gendered political discourses, specifically those relating to land rights. Men have almost exclusive control of land in Maasai society, which includes grazing areas that are communally managed through common property systems as well as the family farm plots used for small-scale subsistence cultivation. Despite holding

specialized knowledge of environmental resources and food production, women are commonly excluded from decisions regarding land use and natural resource management, and must gain access to these resources through their relationships to men (Hodgson 2001). However, Maasai women have been able to renegotiate their position in gendered power relations by taking a visible leadership role in several high profile land rights disputes in tourism areas. The Pastoralist Women's Council (PWC), a human rights and social justice advocacy organization focused on pastoralist women's issues, has been an active voice in drumming up international media attention in a dispute between a safari company and local communities in Loliondo District. The case has not been resolved, but the attention that it has received has enabled the PWC to highlight the issue of pastoralist women's rights to land and environmental resources (PWC 2012).

Encouraging Empowerment or Deepening Dependency?

Community-based tourism (CBT) has been conceived by its proponents as a pro-poor community development and empowerment strategy. Cole (2006) defines the concept of empowerment thusly:

Empowerment is the capacity of individuals or groups to determine their own affairs. It is a process to help people to exert control over factors that affect their lives. It represents the top end of the participation ladder where members of a community are active agents of change and they have the ability to find solutions to their problems, make decisions, implement actions and evaluate their solutions. [Cole 2006:97]

Scheyvens (2002) identifies four dimensions of empowerment: economic, social, psychological, and political. According to Scheyvens, a successful community-based tourism project must encompass all four. It should generate income and employment for

local people; strengthen community cohesion by providing funds for social development; foster community optimism, confidence, and self-worth; and give local people a stronger political voice and more control over resources. Community-based tourism proponents claim that tourism can offer pathways to greater self-determination for populations that have been marginalized from mainstream political and economic processes.

Despite the rhetoric of empowerment, many critics suggest that tourism in the Developing World leads to dependency and exploitation rather than self-determination. Dependency theorists view tourism as a neo-colonial process, in which tourism serves to reestablish relationships of domination and subjugation between the old colonial powers, now the tourist-generating countries, and their previous colonies, now the tourist-receiving countries (Mowforth and Munt 2003). Destination communities and even entire national economies in the Developing World are dependent on foreign exchange from international tourism, and as stated earlier, many of the tourism intermediaries who control access to this revenue stream are located in the Developed World. Scholars who claim that tourism results in exploitation have no trouble finding examples of the ways in which destination communities suffer in adapting to meet the demands and expectations of a foreign market. In reference to tourism in Tanzania, Maluga (1973) states that “since the success of tourism depends primarily on our being accepted in the metropolitan countries, it is one of those appendage industries which give rise to a neo-colonialist relationship and cause underdevelopment” (44).

However, dependency theory has been criticized as being simplistic and overly deterministic, “with core-periphery relations seen as determining structures which invariably entail the periphery’s exploitation and under-development by the external

core” (Chaperon and Bramwell 2013:134). Many of the critiques of tourism as an inherently imperialist activity also focus on mass tourism, and do not account for the unique circumstances of alternative forms of tourism, such as community-based tourism, which actively work to counteract exploitation and are initiated with local development as the goal instead of commercial profit. Yet, even these well-intended enterprises can encourage dependency rather than empowerment. When developing community tourism enterprises, NGOs that are reluctant to engage with profit-motivated commercial businesses often find that the enterprises are economically unsustainable and therefore remain donor-dependent. Goodwin and Santilli (2009) conducted a comparative study of 28 CBT initiatives in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Of the 28 initiatives, 77 percent remained donor-dependent. In conducting research on one such project in Zambia, Dixey (2008) found that the lack of a market-oriented approach “resulted in wasted technical, financial and community resources, disappointed expectations and disillusioned local people” (336).

Going back to the quotes at the beginning of this chapter, one can see how each speaker could find support for their argument in the literature on tourism and power presented here. However, this dissertation will not attempt to prove or disprove either opinion. Rather, I will attempt to explore the paradox of dependency and empowerment expressed in these two views by examining how the ways in which CBT is defined and operationalized affect power relations at the local and global levels. The findings of this dissertation research indicate that CBT is associated with both independence and dependence because the CBT model is suffering from a “crisis of identity.” CBT is both a development and business activity, and development and business ideologies and goals

can come into conflict once operationalized. Many of the problems associated with CBT can be traced to how goals are defined, which strategies are employed in achieving these goals, and most importantly, who is defining the goals in the first place.

As stated earlier, CBT involves diverse actors, each holding various personal motivations and goals. Goodwin and Santilli (2009) conducted a study in which they investigated how CBT experts (i.e., academics and development professionals) and CBT practitioners (i.e., local tourism managers) defined success in CBT projects. Their research found that “there is a major gap between the academic definition of the concept and the way it is used by practitioners” (5). In defining CBT success, experts emphasized the building of social capital and empowerment and practitioners emphasized livelihood impacts, specifically raised standards of living. Manyara and Jones (2007) also examined local definitions of success in Kenyan CBT enterprises, and found that there was not complete consensus even within the designated “communities.” Most respondents used quantitative indicators (e.g., occupancy rates, revenue, visitor numbers) and connected revenue with other benefits (e.g., more access to health and educational resources, building community infrastructure). Both studies also found that unclear goals lead to unclear expectations for community-NGO partnerships.

The previous section on CBT mentioned how many of the concepts associated with CBT are ambiguous. However, the most significant problem with the CBT model is the inherently paradoxical nature of the CBT concept itself. The CBT concept focuses on meeting the development needs of the community, but the strategy employed is by necessity focused on meeting the needs of the tourism business. Therefore, the primary goal in CBT *practice* becomes the maximization of economic returns, which is assumed

will lead to the achievement of the initial socio-economic development goals. However, guaranteeing the economic success of a tourism business is not the same as guaranteeing the achievement of locally-defined development goals (Zapata et al. 2011). CBT projects are usually developed in two phases, each with distinct and sometimes conflicting objectives. Phase one is focused on identifying the development needs of the community and most CBT developers employ participatory approaches to development in this phase. However, once the project enters the implementation phase, the focus is on the creation and management of an economically successful tourism business. This phase is focused on developing the business, which can be antithetical to the original development and empowerment intentions and often involves less participatory action. Once the project is underway, there is often little to no evaluation of whether the initial development goals are even being met. In other words, the development strategy employed (tourism) does not necessarily satisfy the initial development goals.

There can actually be direct conflict between meeting tourism business goals and community development goals, especially if the initial objective is transformative development (Blackstock 2005). According to Connell (1997), transformative development “places subjugation alongside poverty as social evils to be decisively overcome, not simply alleviated,” and the primary goal is “to re-configure society to the benefit of the majority of its members, while empowering them to develop themselves as they see fit” (248). Transformative development goes beyond providing opportunities for local participation in development processes, it “explicitly seeks to dismantle structural barriers to participation” (Blackstock 2005:40). When participation follows established channels of power, the marginalized remain marginalized. Transformative development

seeks to create “structural change in gender and class relations, as well as economic growth” (Connell 1997:253).

Blackstock (2005) claims that CBT – by its very nature as a tourism activity – cannot be transformative development. In order to succeed as a business within the global tourism industry, economically successful CBT initiatives must adopt a neo-liberal agenda and “ignore the external constraints to local control” (40). The objective becomes the survival of the business in a very competitive, capitalist market. According to Blackstock, structural change is simply not possible within a tourism context, where negative local attitudes are treated as an impediment to the success of tourism. Harrison and Schipani (2007) claim that CBT is not a bottom-up approach to development because it often involves top-down persuasion labeled as “consciousness-raising” in order to ensure community support of the business (224). Community members are not really empowered because they cannot reject tourism as a development option, and once a CBT project is initiated, the survival of the tourism business becomes paramount.

Rather than transform power relations, tourism instead reinforces power imbalances at the local and global levels because control of tourism resources remains in the hands of local elites and the Western-dominated international tourism industry. Those who remain marginalized from these resources remain dependent on external donors. According to Manyara and Jones (2007), dependency is an indicator of poverty, and therefore, CBT fails as a poverty alleviation strategy because it encourages dependency on donors. Introducing CBT into a political and economic system that already marginalizes certain groups from decision-making processes does not automatically subvert or dismantle these hegemonic systems of power. The very nature of CBT makes

transformative development difficult, if not impossible. As a small-scale business focused on attracting a niche market, few community members are able to be directly involved, and those that are need specialized skills and resources. Therefore, those already marginalized from educational, political, and economic resources are also least likely to become involved in CBT, even though these groups are usually the primary targets of CBT (Goodwin and Santilli 2009).

According to Connell (1997), structural change is not simply a goal of transformative development; it is part of the process. It requires taking “a radically new approach to development, whose intent is to unpack the very notion of what 'development' is and to re-insert women, together with other exploited and oppressed social groups, into the process as 'agents' of transformative change, rather than as 'beneficiaries' of it” (253). This approach to development challenges assumptions about the agency of the targets of development, who are often conceptualized as powerless and passive in mainstream development discourse. This is evident in the way the term “empowerment” is often used in this discourse, in which it is assumed that power needs to be *given* to “target” populations through outside intervention. However, a Foucauldian understanding of power allows for the agency of all actors, who have the option of either supporting or rejecting institutionalized hierarchies of power and knowledge. In this approach, power is relational and dynamic, and is continuously produced, reproduced, and challenged through action and discourse (Foucault 1982). Power, in this sense, can be defined as the ability to influence, but not necessarily determine, outcomes.

Scholars have employed a Foucauldian approach in explorations of how power has been constructed and challenged in different social contexts (Abélès 2008). In the

context of indigenous relations with the state, June Nash (2001) has demonstrated how Mayan Zapatista activists, particularly women, engage in grass-roots, civil society activism that challenges and reformulates gender relations and development processes in Mexico. Lynn Stephen (1997) found that female activists in Latin America articulated and addressed their own development needs by connecting issues of survival, such as food security and health, to women's subordination to men and the need to dismantle gendered hegemony. Within tourism studies, a Foucauldian approach to power has been employed by scholars challenging assumptions about relationships of power within touristic systems. For example, Tucker (2003) describes how residents of a Turkish tourist town use the ambiguity of social roles in a space free of traditional power mechanisms as an opportunity to negotiate relations of equality and respect with tourists.

A Foucauldian approach to power acknowledges the agency of actors, assuming that they take action with intent and purpose, and is used by scholars to investigate the tension between agency and the structural constraints to agency (Ortner 2006). Within the context of CBT, even if the initial goal is transformative development, in which local actors are agents of their own development – defining and realizing their own goals through the transformation of existing power relations – the structural constraints of the global tourism industry create a severe, and some have claimed insurmountable obstacle to achieving desired outcomes (Blackstock 2005). This dissertation explores this tension between individual agency and the structural constraints of the Tanzanian tourism industry, and critically examines how the ways in which CBT project goals are defined, understood, and operationalized in Longido have created an empowerment paradox, in

which the potential that CBT has for transforming relationships of power, particularly between women and men, are limited by the very nature of the CBT model.

Dissertation Structure

This dissertation is the culmination of eight years of graduate study, which includes nine months of dissertation field research and one year of analysis and writing. The introductory chapter set the stage for the rest of the dissertation by describing the subject of this research, the Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise, through the eyes of a tourist visiting the community. The rest of this dissertation will focus on the perceptions and experiences of the residents who serve as hosts. My goal in this research has been to understand the motivations of local residents who engage in tourism. I am particularly interested in understanding how relationships of power affect the residents whose livelihoods have come to depend on tourism.

This chapter (Chapter One) has provided historical and theoretical context for the main arguments of this dissertation. Chapter Two will provide context for both the research site and the way in which field research was conducted. First, I will introduce the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme, including the history of its development, its primary objectives, a description of its attractions and market, and the current structure. The second section of Chapter Two will focus on the Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise (CTE). I will describe the geography, economy, and demographics of Longido Village, before providing information on the CTE's history and current structure as well as the residents involved directly and indirectly in tourism in Longido. The final section

of Chapter Two will present my research methodology, including my previous experience at the research site, a reflexive discussion of my role, a description of my data collection methods during the three phases of research, information on how I conducted data analysis, and finally, a discussion of the study's limitations.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five focus on building my theoretical argument through the presentation of ethnographic evidence. Chapter Three presents "The Promises of Cultural Tourism" by demonstrating how tourism has come to be associated with development through the introduction of community-based tourism ideology into Longido by project developers. This association has been reinforced through local experiences of tourism's benefits, the establishment of the Village Development Fund, and through the rhetoric of development and community-wide benefit that permeates local tourism discourse. Although tourism is often associated with unwanted culture change, interviews revealed that Longido residents viewed tourism as an agent of cultural maintenance, by reinforcing pride in one's identity as Maasai and ensuring interest in the continuation of specific cultural practices, as well as by providing an economic diversification strategy that enables residents to resist or adapt to unwanted changes without diminishing one's ability to care for and maintain one's herds. Perhaps the greatest potential that tourism holds for the people of Longido is the potential for increasing the economic independence of women. Tourism involvement affords women, who do not typically own any economic assets, the opportunity to earn cash income that they control. Women have different priorities and responsibilities than men, so women earning income means greater family food security and more spending on the education of children. More economic independence also means that women have more control

over the decisions that affect them and their children. Women engaged in tourism activity in Longido have been able to support themselves after becoming widowed or after leaving abusive husbands, and more girls are now receiving an education.

Chapter Four presents “The Perils of Cultural Tourism” as identified by Longido residents. The chapter starts out by discussing how the values and ideals informing community-based tourism models do not always reflect the lived experiences of residents, often due to the fact that local and international partners have different understandings of the meanings and the goals of “development.” NGOs may define development in economic terms, but Maasai activists define development in political terms, specifically as working toward self-determination. Simply injecting cash into a cash poor economy can cause as much harm as good. Although the Longido CTE has created opportunities for economic independence, there have also been negative impacts on the community, such as increased corruption and the growing mistrust of leaders. Many residents claimed that they did not trust government officials with the tourism revenue, and many of the women selling jewelry complained that the guides were blocking or outright stealing business from them. Additionally, due to a recent drop in tourist arrivals, residents who had come to depend on tourism income have been experiencing increased economic insecurity. The Longido CTE, as well as many of the other CTP enterprises, is failing to make enough money to have a significant impact because the structure and approach of the CTP is not business-oriented and because the enterprises do not have direct access to the market or any negotiating leverage with tour companies.

Chapter Five considers “The Empowerment Paradox” of tourism in Longido, in order to understand how tourism can be associated with both development and dependency. First, I problematize the idea that tourists are the locus of power in touristic relationships by providing evidence that residents of Longido conceptualize tourists as economic assets rather than as independent actors. I discuss how allowing or not allowing tourist photography is seen as a business decision rather than an act of exploitation on the part of the tourists. Residents were much more concerned about the actions of tourism intermediaries, who control the movements of and access to tourists. Local intermediaries are the guides and the CTE Coordinator, who mediate resident tourism engagement through the control of tourist movements, communication, and revenue. Intermediaries at the national and international levels are tour companies, who control the flow of tourists into the community, and government bodies that create and enforce legislation that impacts tourism businesses. The final section of the chapter deals directly with the empowerment paradox. Although tourism affords residents significant opportunities for self-determination through economic independence, these opportunities are controlled by others. Residents expressed feelings of powerlessness when discussing their ability to influence the industry that they have come to depend upon for their livelihoods. Although the Longido CTE attempted to create economic opportunities for impoverished members of the population, it did not address or challenge the power disparities that were responsible for their marginalization in the first place. As a result, the intended beneficiaries of tourism in Longido have become dependent on an industry over which they have little control.

The Conclusion of this dissertation is titled “Resolving the Empowerment Paradox.” This research found that any potential that engagement in tourism has for creating transformative change in Longido is limited by the very nature of the CBT model employed and the structures of power in which it is embedded at the local and global levels. This chapter identifies several ways that the development and business objectives of the Longido CTE, and the CTP in general, come into conflict. CTP development has been supply rather than demand driven, development activities have occurred in a context unfamiliar to local participants, and there is direct conflict between the neo-liberal and populist ideologies informing the agendas of the tourism and development aspects of community-based tourism. Attempting to accomplish both development and business goals when they are in direct conflict with one another has led to a failure to fully achieve either transformative change or significant or reliable economic impact. The chapter concludes by stating that CBT may be the wrong tool to achieve transformative development. Most significantly, the approach taken in developing and conducting tourism in Longido must consider the diverse priorities and motivations of participants, as well as the touristic relationships of power which limit the agency of local participants in achieving the realization of their own goals in tourism engagement.

CHAPTER TWO

PROJECT BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

The Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme

History of the Programme

The Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme (CTP), established in 1995 by the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV), and currently administered by the Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB), was the first large-scale tourism project in Tanzania focused entirely on local cultural attractions and designed to foster localized socio-economic development. In March of 1994, SNV was approached by a group of young Maasai men who were interested in developing tourism in their community (SNV 1999). According to the current CTP Coordinator, Elirehema Maturo, these men were looking for a way to “commercialize their culture,”⁶ after earning some cash by performing dances informally for tourists along the road to the national parks (Massawe 2013). SNV had been working on various economic development initiatives in the area, but had not been involved in anything relating to tourism. Initially reluctant to begin a project outside

⁶ Elirehema Maturo, interviewed by author, December 16, 2012.

of their expertise,⁷ SNV eventually agreed to allocate funds for a tourism development initiative in 1995 after reportedly receiving repeated requests from Maasai community members. They subcontracted the initial project to a small Dutch sustainable tourism advocacy NGO, called the Retour Foundation, who hired Marcel Leijzer as a project consultant. Leijzer helped establish links with Dutch tour operators, and arranged the first tourist visits to the communities in 1995 (Hummel and van der Duim 2012). These initial forays into creating and marketing cultural tourism destinations in northern Tanzania attracted fifty tourists the first year (SNV 1999).

After this initial success, SNV approached the Tanzanian government with the idea of developing a national cultural tourism program. Leijzer was appointed as Tourism Officer at SNV-Tanzania in order to develop a five-year cultural tourism project, which would become the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme (Butcher 2007). The CTP was developed in partnership with SNV and the TTB, which is the tourism promotion and development arm of the Tanzania Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT). The CTP officially began hosting tourists in 1996, and SNV was actively involved until 2001, after which complete control was handed over to the TTB.

SNV started the project by developing three pilot enterprises in the northern Tanzania villages of Longido, Mto wa Mbu, and Ng'iresi. All three were accessible to established tourism destinations, and featured Maasai cultural attractions. Although the idea of cultural tourism was initially proposed by local residents, the concept was still strange and unknown to most community members. Tom Ole Sikar was the SNV Project

⁷ Although the Tanzania project was the first time SNV became involved in tourism development, they began similar projects at the same time in Albania, Botswana, and Nepal, and soon became a world industry leader in NGO-sponsored tourism development (Hummel and van der Duim 2012).

Manager during the development of the CTP.⁸ In an interview with the author, he described how difficult it was to convince the communities that cultural tourism was viable. At first residents were incredulous, saying, “What can tourists come and see here? There is nothing.” SNV also had difficulty convincing tour operators to take clients to the new enterprises. Some tour operators were skeptical, “very few were really positive,” because they were unsure of how to work with local communities after only dealing with the national park authorities. “So the idea was quite new.” A lot of the initial work involved building an understanding of community-based cultural tourism with the communities and the tour operators. It was not enough to simply have an attractive destination. “They must have something to show the tourists, eh? And that’s one, but also for themselves, they must accept tourism... The benefits must be very clear.”⁹

The goal was to establish cultural tourism enterprises that were locally managed, focused on local culture, and provided community-wide benefit. According to Ole Sikar, the community was involved from the beginning “because they were the target, they were the beneficiaries of the program.”¹⁰ SNV used a “process-oriented approach” in order to involve local people in the planning and development phases. They organized brainstorming workshops, in which the local people identified potential tourism attractions and recommended community members as potential service providers. “Yes, it takes longer doing it like this, but the programme becomes a part of the people themselves and they will support it.” (SNV 1999:9). They also worked with Tanzanian training institutions, such as the Professional Tour Guide School (PROTS) in Arusha to

⁸ Currently, he serves as Agriculture Advisor at SNV-Tanzania.

⁹ Tom Ole Sikar, interviewed by author, May 7, 2013.

¹⁰ Ole Sikar, interview.

provide guide training and capacity-building. In project development, SNV tried to make sure that the negative impacts to the community were minimized. Begging was a concern, not just begging initiated by community members, but also begging promoted by tourists giving out candy and presents to children. “Those kinds of things we were thinking are not good.”¹¹ They also recognized that the enterprises must succeed as businesses in order to have any lasting impact. This included establishing strong links to the private sector, promoting and marketing the program, and making sure the enterprises were able to provide services that meet the quality expectations of the clients (SNV 1999, van der Duim et al. 2006).

After the pilot cultural tourism enterprises (CTEs)¹² were established, SNV hired additional consultants and began developing new CTEs in 1997. In choosing locations, access to existing tourism markets was important, especially since Tanzania’s basic infrastructure was underdeveloped by Western standards when the CTP started in 1995. Other than the highways connecting the safari tourism hub of Arusha Town with the national parks, most of the roads were unpaved and many were impassible during the rainy season. According to Leigzer, “there is a formula for what is considered an acceptable amount of time spent travelling in order to reach an attraction,” and tourists will not visit a destination considered inconvenient (SNV 1999:8). Therefore, SNV focused on developing sites that were close to existing attractions.

Another important factor in choosing sites was the existence of natural and cultural assets that would be attractive to tourists. According to Ole Sikar, they considered the “uniqueness of the place.” For example, enterprises were established in

¹¹ Ole Sikar, interview.

¹² Originally called Cultural Tourism Modules by SNV

Maasai and Barabaig communities because the dress and culture of both groups are markedly different from the majority of Tanzanians. Another thing considered was the natural setting, so that cultural attractions could be packaged in with other activities such as trekking and wildlife viewing. Other sites were chosen for their historical attractions, such as the coastal ruins at Pangani. Sometimes tour companies would propose sites based on their own experiences or based on the expressed interests of their clients.¹³

SNV identified and appointed a local coordinator at each enterprise, who became responsible for managing all aspects of the tourism business at their site. The types of people chosen and the way they were chosen depended on the local context. At some sites, SNV depended on local government leaders to identify people, and in other communities, such as Mto wa Mbu, they depended on local NGO workers who knew the community well. Some coordinators were simply individuals that were well-known and respected within their communities. This was the case in Lushoto, where the coordinator was simply an elder in the community who was considered the most knowledgeable. When possible, SNV tried to involve women. According to Ole Sikar, “the models which were owned by women are still the best,” such as the Mulala and Tengeru enterprises. They always receive great responses from the tourists. “Because we made it very deliberate, that women must be involved,” not just as employees but as owners. After training, the coordinators took over the running of the enterprises.¹⁴

Although the CTP was the first large-scale cultural tourism project undertaken in Tanzania, there were tour operators engaged in various forms of cultural tourism before the inception of the Programme. Dorobo Safaris was started in 1983 by American ex-pat

¹³ Ole Sikar, interview.

¹⁴ Ole Sikar, interview.

brothers Daudi, Thad, and Mike Peterson. According to Daudi, Dorobo has always offered a “wilderness wildlife experience, but with culture as part of the mix.”¹⁵ Joas Kahembe is a Tanzanian entrepreneur recognized in guidebooks as the first community-based cultural tourism operator in Tanzania. He first proposed the idea of community-based cultural tourism at a 1992 Tanzania Association of Tour Operators (TATO) meeting. Like Ole Sikar, he was first met with apathy from the operators, who considered the concept “too radical.” However, he persevered and eventually convinced the Finnish wife of an old school-mate, who was just starting her own tour company, to bring a group of 14 students to his fledgling enterprise in Babati in 1992. It took another year before more tourists arrived, but word of mouth spread and the enterprise slowly attracted more tourists. After writing about 3,000 letters to various guidebooks and tourism promoters, Mr. Kahembe earned a mention in the 1994 edition of Bradt’s Backpacker’s Africa. After that, he saw a dramatic increase in visitors, and by the time SNV started the CTP, his enterprise was considered a success and was used as a model for the development of the new CTP enterprises.¹⁶

There were several problems that the CTP had to contend with in the beginning. According to the current Longido CTE Coordinator, Alliy Mwako, a lot of the issues had to do with the lack of tourism experience among those involved.¹⁷ Coordinators and guides were not prepared for all of the expectations of the tourists, and there were cultural misunderstandings (SNV 1999). Tanzanians are known for their *hamna shida* (no problem) attitude, which can be misinterpreted as apathy by tourists who are

¹⁵ Daudi Peterson, interviewed by author, June 27, 2013.

¹⁶ Joas Kahembe, interviewed by author, July 26, 2013.

¹⁷ Alliy Mwako, interviewed by author, June 5, 2013.

experiencing a problem. Alliy states that another issue had to do with conflicting concepts of timeliness. Everything happens *pole pole* (slowly) in Tanzania, which clashed with tourist expectations about punctuality. This was compounded by initial confusion between “Swahili time” and “English time,” which use different clock figurations.¹⁸ Booking was also difficult in the days before email. Mr. Kahembe remembers that mail took 14 days to travel between Tanzania and the U.S. where most of his clients came from. Clients who wanted to ask questions before booking had to spend weeks, and sometimes months in slow communication before even arriving. The CTP had similar communication problems before email, but they had support from the TTB and could do bookings through that office, which was better equipped for overseas communication.¹⁹

Despite these initial problems, the Programme was considered a success. The CTP earned a “TO DO!” Award from the German responsible tourism organization Studienkreis für Tourismus und Entwicklung (Institute for Tourism and Development) in March 2000 (Caalders and Cottrell 2001), and was recognized as an example of sustainable tourism development good practice during the United Nation’s International Year of Ecotourism in 2002 (UNWTO 2001). After attracting about 500-600 tourists in 1996,²⁰ visitor numbers increased from 2,600 to 7,000 between 1998 and 2001, which is an average annual growth rate of 56.41 percent for those years (Salazar 2013). By the time SNV’s project ended in 2001, there were 17 established CTEs,²¹ and at the time of

¹⁸ Alliy Mwako, interview.

¹⁹ Joas Kahembe, interview.

²⁰ Elirehema Maturo, interview.

²¹ This is the number reported in SNV documentation, but Mr. Ole Sikar claimed that there were 18 CTEs in an interview with the author.

the CTP's 15 year anniversary celebration, there were 28 CTEs located throughout Tanzania (Steck 2001). By 2012, the CTP included 42 enterprises, received 70,000 annual visitors, and directly employed 1,500 people (Massawe 2013).

The Village Development Fund

From the CTP's inception, SNV intended it to be a model of sustainable, pro-poor tourism. SNV's goals for their worldwide tourism program (not just Tanzania) include "socio-economic development and economic empowerment; local participation; social and political empowerment; economic sustainability; ecological sustainability; socio-cultural consciousness; and improving gender equality" (Caalders and Cottrell 2001:4). Central to these aims is the idea that tourism can be used as a tool of pro-poor development and empowerment. Community members are encouraged to "take control of their own development" by earning revenue through tourism and reinvesting it back into their community (Butcher 2007:47). With this goal in mind, SNV introduced the concept of the Village Development Fund (VDF) within the structure of the CTP. Each enterprise has its own VDF, which is used for village development projects. "In this way, tourism would benefit the whole community" (SNV 1999:19).

Each CTE is locally managed and has its own budgetary and fee structure, but they all include the VDF, which allocates a portion of tourist fees for village development purposes. However, the specific amounts and the ways that each CTE's fund is administered differ from one enterprise to another. The Longido CTE collects the fees and turns the full amount of the VDF over to the Village Council, who then decide how to utilize the fund. However, after experiencing issues with government corruption, the

Babati CTE decided to administer the VDF itself, consulting with the Village Council, but maintaining control over the planning and implementation of the development projects.

The VDF serves another purpose in addition to achieving community development goals. When the concept of the VDF was first proposed, Leigzer and the SNV team “hoped that it would also have a positive effect as far as the local attitudes towards tourism were concerned” (SNV 1999:19). In theory, the VDF allows residents to see and share in the tangible benefits of tourism, even if they are not earning direct income. VDFs have been used for farming and irrigation projects, constructing water resources, repairing village roads, soil conservation projects, and buying energy saving stoves and livestock medicines. A majority of the VDF projects focus on building educational resources, from constructing classrooms to buying books and other supplies (Wight 2006). The individual VDF budgets vary across the CTEs, but the Mto wa Mbu CTE reported that 13% of their revenue for 2001-2005 was dedicated to the VDF (SNV 2007), and my data revealed that about 10% of the Longido CTE tourist fees went to the VDF.²²

CTP Attractions and Market

The CTP now serves as an umbrella support organization for the country’s growing number of CTEs. The actual number of current CTEs is unclear. The CTP website lists 51 enterprises (Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme 2014), and may have the most current information, but the most recent official CTP Guidebook, printed by the

²² The published 2013 Price List states that the inclusive fee is \$30 per person, and I learned that about \$3 per person was dedicated to the VDF through my interviews with the Longido CTE Coordinator.

TTB, lists 41 enterprises (Tanzania Tourist Board 2012), and a 2013 report by the Tanzania Association of Cultural Tourism Organizers (TACTO) claims that there are 42 CTEs registered with the TTB (Massawe 2013). The exact number may be difficult to ascertain because the CTP is continually expanding by accepting new CTEs that seek representation and by actively surveying new areas for tourism development. The established CTEs are run fairly autonomously, but receive support through trainings, central office bookings, and marketing and promotion from the central CTP Office and the TTB. The management organization of each CTE varies. Some have established community-based organizations, NGOs, or trusts that run the enterprise on behalf of the community, and others are run by local companies or private entrepreneurs (Tanzania Tourist Board 2010). Although CTP visitor numbers are growing, attracting about 70,000 in 2011 according to the CTP Office, they are only attracting 4.4 percent of all international tourist arrivals in Tanzania (Massawe 2012).

The individual CTEs offer a variety of attractions and activities, ranging from mountain trekking, coffee and banana plantation tours, school and orphanage visits, homemade beer brewing, bow and arrow hunting with the Hadzabe, dances with the Maasai, camel rides, hippo watching from canoes, and tours of ancient gravesites and ruins. Most of the destinations combine cultural and outdoor activities, such as village tours and bush hiking, and offer overnight options, such as camping or homestays (Tanzania Tourist Board 2012). The CTEs advertise half, full, or multiple day options, but most tourists opt for single day visits. Enterprises are spread throughout the country, with a majority clustered in the north in order to take advantage of the existing safari tourism circuit and Kilimanjaro International Airport.



Figure 9: Map of Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme enterprises.
© 2014 Tanzania Tourist Board.

There is no CTP-wide data on the cultural tourism market specifically, but according to the findings of a 2008 international tourist exit survey conducted by the MNRT, the top three tourist generating countries were Italy (primarily for travel to Zanzibar), the UK, and the US. The survey also revealed that a majority of tourists stay in

Tanzania for 10 days, and over half (54 percent) are in the 25-44-year-old age range (MNRT 2010). Although it can be assumed that most CTE visitors come from the pool of Tanzanian international tourists included in this survey, it should be noted that cultural tourists are their own niche market and their demographics are not necessarily the same as this broader market. However, anecdotal, visitor record, and survey data²³ from four northern CTEs (Longido, Mto wa Mbu, Babati, and Lake Eyasi) agree with the national visitor demographics. Most CTE tourists were reported to be from the UK, US, and Western Europe, and the average age-range tended to be middle-aged (40-60 years old), although the Babati CTE attracts a large number of college-aged visitors due to its popularity among student volunteers and backpackers.

The CTEs attract three types of visitors: independent tourists (also known as backpackers), package tourists (arriving through tour companies), and ex-patriots (foreigners living in Tanzania long-term). Each type differs in their average demographics. For example, independent tourists tend to be younger, travel in smaller groups (1-4 people), and spend less money per day; package tourists tend to be older, travel in larger groups (5-10 people), and spend the most money per day; and ex-patriots represent a wide variety of demographics, from young, long-term volunteers to families with children (SNV 1999). There is no quantitative data on CTP-wide tourist types, but the research conducted for this dissertation found that location and proximity to established tour routes seemed to influence the type of tourist visiting a particular CTE. For example, Longido and Mto wa Mbu attract a majority of package tourists because both are located along established package tour routes. However, Babati is less

²³ I administered a Tourist Questionnaire, which collected Longido visitor data from November 2012 to July 2013, and I conducted site visits to the other three CTEs July 2013.

accessible, located over two hours from Arusha, and requiring some travel on a non-tarmac road. Therefore, they attract more independent tourists. Babati is also a popular backpacker destination because its coordinator focused on attracting that market when he first began promoting his enterprise. Lake Eyasi CTE is also difficult to visit, but this actually contributes to less independent tourists, who would need to spend hours traveling rough, unpaved roads, most likely using unreliable and indirect public transit options. My visit to the Lake Eyasi CTE required a full day of cramped and bumpy travel, and involved switching vehicles twice and suffering two breakdowns that left us temporarily stranded. For this reason, most visits are arranged through tour companies offering travel in off road vehicles with air conditioning, and arriving directly from lodges in or near Ngorongoro Crater, which significantly shortens the length of the journey.

Current CTP Structure

The Cultural Tourism Programme is currently administered by the CTP Office in Arusha, which is a unit under the TTB's Department of Research and Product Development. The CTP Office is run by the CTP Coordinator, Elirehema Maturo and his assistant. The Office is primarily responsible for identifying and developing new CTEs and "fine tuning" existing enterprises. The CTP also hires local consultants on a contract basis to run a number of training programs focused on capacity-building in the areas of business management and quality assurance. The Office regularly surveys locations undeveloped or underdeveloped in tourism, to seek out potential attractions and establish new enterprises.

Development of new CTEs follows the same process as the original SNV project, by working with the community to identify local attractions and potential participants, and conducting trainings and providing capital for basic start-up costs. Sometimes the CTP is approached directly by local entrepreneurs who want to develop their own cultural tourism business. According to Mr. Maturo, “They see an opportunity, while living in their village. They see the potential of developing a cultural tourism enterprise.” For these community-initiated enterprises, the CTP helps in capacity building and facilitating, “but we always tell them that you cannot do this without involving the entire community.” Mr. Maturo estimates that about 22 of the existing CTEs were community-initiated. The CTP is currently working on developing cultural tourism in the Lake Zone and Western Districts, where there is very little established tourism but many financially struggling communities.²⁴

The Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB), which administers the CTP, is a parastatal government organization under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT). The Board is responsible for the promotion and development of all aspects of the tourism industry in Tanzania. The Board’s headquarters are in Dar es Salaam, and it operates branch offices in Arusha in the north, Mwanza in the Lake Victoria region, and Iringa in the southern highlands. The Arusha Office promotes the CTP by providing tourists with in-office bookings and information on the various CTEs (brochure displays and consultations with staff), printing promotional materials (the CTP Guidebook and brochures for new CTEs), and international and domestic marketing. The TTB Arusha Branch Manager, Willy Lyimo described the TTB’s stance on cultural tourism thusly,

²⁴ Elirehema Maturo, interview.

“For us, it complements our core product. Because our core product, I think you know, is wildlife. So after tourists visit the national parks they have two, three extra days, they just pop in what they can do.” He was enthusiastic about the CTP’s people-oriented approach, stating, “The good thing about cultural tourism is that it comes from the people.”²⁵

The CTEs are also represented by the Tanzania Association of Cultural Tourism Organizers (TACTO), which is an independent, legally-constituted association, established in 2000, and headquartered in Arusha. TACTO presents itself as “The Voice of Cultural Tourism Industry in Tanzania,” and according to its Business Plan,

The association fosters working relationships with any or all organizations or group of persons dealing in cultural tourism or similar activities in Tanzania or elsewhere to empower the productive poor to transform the lives of their families through the development of sustainable micro-enterprises in the way of cultural tourism products for sale to tourists. [Massawe 2012:5]

TACTO acts as an umbrella organization for established CTEs. Its membership pays an annual fee, and it is governed by an Executive Committee comprised of elected members. TACTO has a permanent office run by the TACTO Secretariate, which is headed by the Executive Manager, Freddy Massawe. TACTO currently has 35 members.

According to the current TACTO Secretary, Alliy Mwako, TACTO’s primary purpose is to provide a forum for the enterprises to work together as a group to identify and meet the challenges to their industry.²⁶ These challenges include lack of market access (especially at the international level), un-regulated government fees for tourists (e.g., “gate fees” charged to tourist vehicles for entrance into a District), absence of a proper legal framework to guide cultural tourism, lack of negotiating power with tour

²⁵ Willy Lyimo, interviewed by author, December 3, 2012.

²⁶ Alliy Mwako, interviewed by author, November 4, 2012.

companies, and lack of capital for promotion, marketing, and CTE office maintenance.²⁷

TACTO is currently focusing on lobbying and advocating for more government recognition and support for cultural tourism in Tanzania (Massawe 2013).

The Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise

Longido Village

The municipality of Longido Village is a ward within Longido District, which is in Arusha Region. One of Tanzania's 30 administrative regions, Arusha Region borders Kenya in northern Tanzania, and contains the Region capital of Arusha Town, which is the central hub for safari tourism in Tanzania, as well as several popular tourism sites, including Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Lake Manyara National Park, Arusha National Park, Lake Natron, and Mount Meru. Longido District is located in the northeast sector of Arusha Region, and has a majority Maasai population. Longido District's population of 123,153 is thinly spread out over a primarily rural area at eight people per square kilometer, far below the national average population density of 51 people per square kilometer (National Bureau of Statistics 2013a; Trench et al. 2009). The primary economic activity is livestock production, with over 90 percent of the population engaged in pastoralism and 82 percent of the land used for grazing. In addition to pastoralism, most District residents also practice small-scale subsistence cultivation (United Republic of Tanzania Prime Minister's Office 2014). The land is low-lying and arid, with an average annual rainfall of only 300-600 millimeters (Trench et al. 2009).

²⁷ Freddy Massawe, interviewed by author, December 3, 2012; Alliy Mwako, interviewed by author, November 4, 2012; Joas Kahembe, interviewed by author, July 26, 2013.

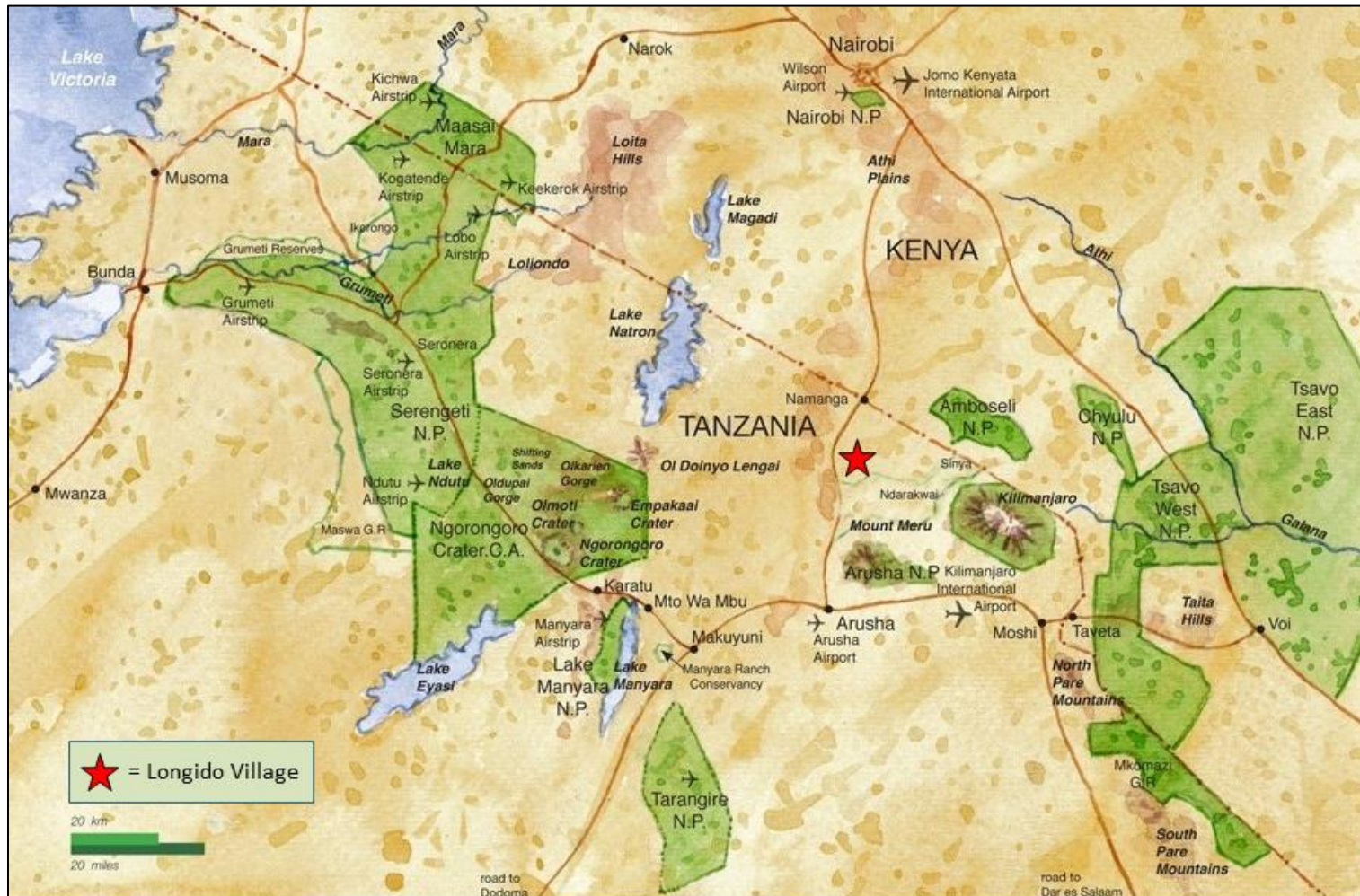


Figure 10: Map of Longido Village in northern Tanzania.
 © 2012 Mark Nolting, Africa Adventure Company/Global Travel Publishers



Figure 11: Longido environment, Mount Longido in background, 2012.
Author's own photograph.

Compared to neighboring Maasai areas in Tanzania and Kenya that are more resource-rich, Longido District's residents experience more economic insecurity. Livestock are vulnerable to disease and environmental variables, and entire herds, which compose the majority of Maasai wealth and asset-holdings, can be decimated in one season by drought or blight. That is why small scale cultivation and other opportunities for economic diversification are necessary for survival (Trench et al. 2009). However, a study found that although 67 percent of Longido District residents practice cultivation, up to 37 percent fail to harvest any viable crop.²⁸ As a result, households are less able to build or maintain wealth, and are less prepared to respond to ecological threats (Homewood, Trench, et al. 2009). The devastating 2009-2010 drought in northern Tanzania resulted in an average loss of 87 percent of cattle holdings for families in

²⁸ Although, households in the cooler upland areas of Longido were able to harvest more, with only 22 percent failing to harvest crops (Homewood, Trench, et al. 2009).

Longido District, and the area is still recovering from this loss (Goldman and Riosmena 2013). Longido District residents also accrue less cash wealth than neighboring Maasai areas. A five year study of Maasai households in Tanzania and Kenya found that Longido District households earn an average of \$733 per year, compared with an average of \$2,259 per year for the other four research sites (Homewood, Trench, et al. 2009).

The capital of Longido District is Longido Village, with a population of 2,285 residents (National Bureau of Statistics 2013a). The village is bisected north to south by Highway A-104, which is part of the famous Cape Town to Cairo Road. Colloquially, this highway is often referred to as the Namanga highway, named for the Kenyan border town to the north. Longido Village gets its name from Mount Longido, whose lush, green peaks rise dramatically 2,650 meters above the surrounding low-lying, dry landscape. Longido Village is comprised of three sub-villages: Ol Tepesi, Ranch, and Longido (referred to here as Longido Town, in order to differentiate it from the entirety of Longido Village).²⁹ Each sub-village is governed by its own Chairperson and Council. The District Council offices, as well as a majority of the area's commercial businesses and service providers are concentrated in Longido Town, which has a significantly higher population density than the rest of Longido Village. Longido Town is populated by a mix of Maasai, Waarusha, and other ethnic groups who engage in a variety of economic activities, not just pastoralism. This differs from the other two sub-villages, which are majority Maasai and pastoralist. Longido Town also serves as a waypoint for travelers along the Namanga highway, lying 80 kilometers north of Arusha, and 25 kilometers south of the Kenya border crossing in Namanga.

²⁹ For the purposes of this dissertation, "Longido" with no other qualifier will always refer to the municipality of Longido Village. Longido District and Longido Town will always retain the qualifiers of "District" or "Town."



Figure 12: A restaurant in Longido Town, 2013. Author's own photograph.



Figure 13: A boma in Ol Tepesi, 2013. Author's own photograph.

Longido District attracts a number of NGOs and CBOs, several of which are headquartered or have offices in Longido Village. LOOCIP (Longido Community Integrated Program) is a CBO founded by a local Maasai man educated in the U.S. and U.K. named Dr. Steven Kiruswa. LOOCIP is the most visible organization in Longido Village, operating a campus of several offices and meetings spaces, a library, a store, and housing for visitors and staff. The LOOCIP meeting hall is often rented out for community activities, including wedding receptions. LOOCIP focuses on a wide range of sustainable development activities, including human and gender rights advocacy, education, health, and natural resource management (LOOCIP 2014). The library on LOOCIP's campus is operated by Project TEMBO (Tanzania Education and Micro-Business Opportunity), a Canadian NGO that focuses on providing educational opportunities for girls in Longido District. Project TEMBO also operates the TEMBO Guesthouse in Longido Town, which serves as a center for program activities and offices, and as a revenue earning establishment for project funding (Project TEMBO 2014). Sauti Moja is another Canadian NGO focused on education, health, and gender advocacy with an office in Longido Village. Although they do not operate a permanent office there, World Vision is also very active and visible in the village. Longido Town is home to several churches representing various faiths, as well as a Mosque. The Baptist Mission operates an extensive campus, with offices, housing, a church, a primary school, and a pastor training school. The Baptist Mission also occasionally hosts short-term and long-term missionaries from North America and Europe.

Longido Social, Political, and Economic Organization

Although other ethnic groups reside in Longido Village, this dissertation is primarily concerned with the Maasai population because they are the ethnic majority,³⁰ they are the most intimately involved in tourism, and their culture is the featured attraction of the CTE. Maasai society is organized into different levels of socio-spatial units, as well as by age-grades and age-sets. The smallest socio-spatial unit is the household, consisting of a man, his wives, and their unmarried children. Households can also include other dependents, such as widowed relatives. The household is the locus of livestock ownership and the primary family decision-making unit. The second level is the boma, consisting of several households all living together in one compound. Bomas work cooperatively to care for livestock and children. The next level is a confederation of neighboring bomas who jointly control and manage communal grazing areas and water resources. The entirety of Maasai society is organized into 12 oloshon, the largest separate political and geographical units. Each oloshon operates fairly autonomously from the whole of Maasai society. Longido Maasai are part of the Kisongo oloshon, which is the largest oloshon, encompassing 5,726 square kilometers in Tanzania. The largest socio-spatial unit, encompassing all groups identified as “Maasai” in both Tanzania and Kenya, is an ideological unit, based on shared language, history, and culture (Grandin 1991).

Maasai men are politically and socially organized into generational cohorts or age-sets, and women are associated with their husband’s age-set. Age-set cohorts are

³⁰ Tanzania does not collect data on ethnic identity on the national census, so exact numbers are not available, but most informants recognized Longido as primarily Maasai, and participant observation supported this assumption.

formed about every 15 years, and they go through several life-stages, or age-grades together. There are three primary age-grades for men: boys, warriors (known as *ilmurran*), and elders, and each is associated with separate responsibilities and behavioral norms. Boys pass into warriorhood when they are circumcised, and become responsible for caring for their families' herds and for the protection of their society. Elders are able to marry and start families of their own, and can take on political and leadership roles (Grandin 1991). Before colonization, most Maasai political decisions were made by age-set leaders and councils of elders, as well as through consultations with *iloibonik*, who are the ritual and spiritual leaders in Maasai society. These people still hold influence in customary political decisions, but all Tanzanian citizens, including the Maasai, are now governed by elected officials at the village, district, region, and national levels.

Although Maasai cultural identity is directly related to pastoralism, their actual economic strategies include significant diversification. Trench et al. (2009) conducted a study of Maasai livelihood strategies in Longido District from 2002 to 2005. The study authors divided livelihood strategies into seven clusters, including different categories of pastoralists, agropastoralists, and wage earners. Agropastoralism, in which households engage in pastoralist as well as agricultural activities, is not common in Longido Village because the land is not well suited for agriculture, although most Longido residents do engage in small scale subsistence cultivation. Longido Village Maasai residents engage in what the study authors categorized as undiversified pastoralism (deriving on average 95 percent of income from pastoralism), diversified pastoralism (deriving over 75 percent of income from pastoralism), and wage earning (wage labor, remittances, and income generated from other non-farm or non-livestock businesses). The authors also identified a

cluster as “poor,” in which the household depends on food aid for survival. Poor households tended to reside closer to towns and urban centers in order to better access aid and other poverty-related services, which is something I observed in Longido Town. Trench et al.’s study found that economic activity is in part determined by environment, proximity to various markets, household education levels, household size and structure (male or female-headed), and the social status of the household head.

The study also found that there exist significant disparities in wealth in Maasai communities, with seven percent of study households owning 50 percent of all livestock, and 85 percent of households owning fewer than eight livestock units each. Within the undiversified pastoralist cluster, the mean annual income per household was \$1,413, but ranged from \$16 to \$5,146, significantly skewing the mean. And the annual income per household of the diversified pastoralist cluster had an equally extreme spectrum, ranging from \$6 to \$2,275. There was less wealth disparity within the wage earner and poor clusters, but members of these clusters also earned significantly less than members of the pastoralist clusters.³¹ The study found that there were several factors influencing wealth, including leadership status, education level, proximity to town centers, and household size. However, cattle ownership was discovered to be the most significant wealth indicator. According to Trench et al. (2009), “how well a household is doing is associated with what it is doing” (232), and households that earned a majority of their income through pastoralist activities were the wealthiest. Livestock are inherited, so one’s economic status is usually also inherited. Sometimes, however, wealth is gained through means other than inheritance. Well-educated Maasai have more options to find

³¹ The mean annual income per household for wage earners and the poor was \$291 and \$22, respectively.

employment and earn income, which can be used to purchase livestock. My Maasai research assistant used his wages from past research-related employment to buy his own non-inherited herd of cattle. Social status not associated with cash wealth can also lead to wealth gain through gifts and lucrative marriages. I was told about a man who killed a lion that had attacked him in Longido. He suffered significant scarring, but his bravery earned him respect and fame, and he is now wealthier and has more wives than most men his age. On average, non-Maasai Longido residents tended to be wealthier than Maasai residents, with many of them moving into Longido Town from other parts of Tanzania to operate businesses or take a position with the District government.

Most of the Maasai directly involved in tourism in Longido would not be considered wealthy. Several studies have demonstrated a correlation between tourism involvement and low economic status, and wage labor in general among the Maasai is associated with the inability to earn enough income through pastoralist activities alone (Hodgson 2011; Homewood, Trench, et al. 2009). Almost all of the CTE guides would be categorized as wage earners, in which tourism work is their primary source of income, and most do not own livestock. There are several exceptions, and one guide could even be described as wealthy, however, all of the livestock-owning guides are male, only work seasonally, and use tourism to supplement their income earned through pastoralism. There are also a few young, male, and well-educated guides who have found other part-time work in the tourism industry or with NGOs or WMAs, and have become wealthy relative to the other guides through this additional work. Although most CTE guides are not wealthy, they are more comfortable than the average Maasai Longido resident. Those with children are able to pay for their education, and they experience greater food

security than many other households. The residents of the bomas visited by tourists are also economically diverse, but none would be considered poor. One of the bomas has more residents (46 adults) and livestock than the two nearest bomas combined, while another boma consists of a single family of nine adults who own less than ten head of cattle. The women who sell jewelry to tourists tend to be less wealthy than the CTE guides, but also represent economically diverse households, although some of these women would fall into the “poor” cluster as defined by Trench et al. (2009).

Longido CTE History

The Longido CTE was one of the three CTP pilot enterprises established in 1996. Longido already had a history of attracting foreign visitors, specifically missionaries, mountain climbers trekking Mount Longido, and British and Australian tourists visiting the WWI battle graves located there. The graves were moved to a central WWI memorial site in Dar es Salaam in the early 1990s, and the Longido gravesite marker was stolen soon after that. By the time the CTP began, the graves were no longer drawing tourists to the area, although the site remains an important tourist attraction in the minds of Longido residents today. Longido used to be home to larger populations of wildlife, which would attract tourists, but increased poaching and competition with livestock for grazing and water resources have pushed much of the wildlife to less populated areas in the District. However, Mount Longido and the surrounding area is still home to monkeys, antelope, buffalo, and the occasional lion, and the area is well known among bird enthusiasts.

The primary tourist draw is now the local Maasai community. The Longido CTE Coordinator Alliy Mwako believes Longido was chosen as a pilot CTP enterprise because

it is a “focal site for the Maasai.” In other areas, Maasai have intermarried with other tribes, but Longido has “the real Maasai,” which Alliy identifies as “the natural Maasai people who are still... depending on their livestock keeping and remaining with their traditional colors.” Alliy elaborates on what he means by “traditional colors,” by stating, “Their way of clothing is still there. Their way of living, their houses, the places where they are doing their traditional things. So all of their colors are still there. And that is why they selected Longido.”³² Alliy is not Maasai, but identifies as “Swahili,” from the coastal port town of Tanga. He was a trader who visited Longido often for business, and eventually settled there, becoming the CTE Coordinator as well as Longido postmaster. Although he spends a majority of his time conducting Longido CTE business and serving as TACTO Secretary, Alliy’s family earns most of their income from his continued involvement in importing and exporting goods and his wife’s hardware business.

Alliy was elected as CTE Coordinator in 1998 after Mr. Mollel, the original Coordinator appointed by SNV, passed away. Mr. Mollel was a respected Maasai elder who had studied abroad and spoke very good English, so he was an obvious choice to serve as the Longido Coordinator. He had also become bed-ridden due to health problems, so he was happy to have the work and the opportunity to entertain visitors. Everything was run out of his house at the beginning, and women would set up shop outside his door to sell jewelry to the tourists (SNV 1999). Alliy began working as an assistant coordinator in 1997 as Mr. Mollel’s health began to deteriorate, and eventually took over the position a year later when Mr. Mollel died. The position has a five year term, but Alliy has always run unopposed, and continues to be elected. Alliy was

³² Alliy Mwako, interviewed by author, November 14, 2012.

responsible for expanding the Longido CTE by establishing the office in Longido Town, hiring and training more guides and other service providers, and starting the Longido CTE Guesthouse. According to Alliy, Mr. Mollel had run the CTE in a “family manner,” only working with two guides and running the operation from his home. Alliy sought to “open” the business up to the entire community, offering more people more ways to become involved and benefit.³³

Two of the biggest challenges in the beginning of the Longido CTE were the lack of business and English language training and the logistical difficulties of booking and marketing. SNV and the TTB did all of the booking and set up connections with interested tour agencies and operators in the early years, but communication was still slow and unreliable. Today, travel between Longido and Arusha takes one hour, but before the highway was fully paved in 2011, the trip could take as long as three to four hours. SNV would have to send written messages from Arusha via dala-dala drivers along this unpaved road in order to tell the Longido Coordinator when tourists were coming so that they could prepare for their arrival.³⁴ Cell phones have simplified this issue considerably.

Lack of formal education was also a challenge. Many of the guides and other service providers spoke very little English when they were first hired. They were chosen for their personality or knowledge of the area (SNV 1999). SNV provided general training in guiding, business management, and English language in the beginning, and later, when Alliy expanded the CTE and hired new guides, a UK volunteer organization called Mondo Challenge (now renamed Mondo Foundation) provided more English

³³ Alliy Mwako, interview.

³⁴ Tom Ole Sikar, interviewed by author, May 7, 2013.

language education. Five out of the eight guides interviewed for this dissertation reported that they learned English from a Mondo volunteer.

Current Longido CTE Structure

The Longido CTE features cultural activities and treks up Mount Longido. According to Alliy, the cultural activities are the most popular because not everyone has the physical stamina to summit the mountain. When I climbed the mountain in 2010, we completed the entire climb in one day, but it was exhausting. Many groups, particularly large student groups, climb the mountain in 2-3 days, camping overnight in tents. Tourists trekking the mountain almost always combine the climb with cultural activities. Most of the cultural activities available were described in the introductory chapter of this dissertation. The most popular activity is a boma visit, where tourists learn about Maasai social organization and daily life and have the opportunity to see the inside of a house, called an *enkaji* in Maa, the Maasai language. Tourists usually spend their time at the boma taking pictures, playing with the children, and listening to the guide's explanations. Occasionally, tourists will ask to join in domestic activities, such as milking cows or gathering firewood, but that is usually done at the client's insistence. An organized dance might also be arranged ahead of time, or a lesson in spear throwing. Boma visits are almost always followed by a visit to the Women's Market, where tourists can buy jewelry or other souvenirs. Walks to Orpul Cave, with explanations of medicinal plants and trees along the way, are usually included in full day tours.

If the visit is timed well, tourists also have the opportunity to visit the cattle market held every Wednesday and Saturday to the north of Longido Town, off of the

highway. The market draws Maasai from Longido Village and neighboring areas. The primary purpose is the buying and selling of cattle and other livestock, but there is also a large general market, where people can buy clothing, cookware, paraffin candles, beads, and other goods. Tourists visiting the market have the opportunity to explore, buy souvenirs, and eat barbequed goat, but they are often discouraged from taking pictures because the crowds are diverse and opinions of tourist photography among the general Maasai population tend to be negative.

In addition to the cattle market, well-timed visits might also result in the opportunity to attend a local ceremony. When I visited Longido with a student group in 2001, we were invited to a ceremony celebrating the passing of an age-set of Warriors, called *ilmurran* (singular *olmurrani*), to the next life-stage, in which they can marry and begin families. We were invited to spend the whole day dancing and singing and eating goat. Similar celebrations happen for births, marriages, and other life-stage initiation ceremonies. Alliy insists that these festivities are never staged for tourists. “It is better to do the things naturally.” He says that tourists are welcomed because they bring gifts, which is customary for all guests, and because their presence gives the host status as someone able to attract *Wazungu* (European or White foreigners) to their event.³⁵

Unless they are climbing the mountain, most tourists only stay one day, and occasionally one night. Overnight visitors have the option of staying in a boma, camping, or staying at a guesthouse in Longido Town. There are several guesthouses that cater to Tanzanians, and the number has increased since Longido became the District capital in 2007, but most tourists stay in either the very basic CTE Guesthouse run by Alliy, or the

³⁵ Alliy Mwako, interview.

TEMBO Guesthouse, which has flush toilets and hot showers. Sauti Moja operates a tented camp, but they use it primarily for their own guests. Kimokouwa is the village north of Longido that borders the north face of Mount Longido. They host tourists climbing the mountain and operate their own campsite. The Longido CTE uses two campsites, one on the mountain and a campsite run by the sub-village of Ol Tepesi. Both of these campsites require groups to bring their own gear and supplies with them.

The Longido CTE is run by the Coordinator, Alliy. He answers to the Longido Village Council, which is made up of elected representatives from the community, and is headed by the Village Chairperson. The CTE has 23 permanent employees, in addition to several temporary or seasonal employees. In addition to Alliy, there are 18 guides, three cooks, and one “office boy” who helps in general office and guesthouse duties. Porters are also hired for the overnight mountain treks to carry gear and stand guard against potential wildlife threats, specifically buffalo. Other people who receive direct income from tourists, but are not CTE employees, are the women that sell jewelry, the people that perform dances or give spear throwing lessons, and the women that receive money when tourists enter their enkaji. Other than Alliy, almost all Longido residents directly involved in tourism are Maasai. Indirect income is earned by other Longido residents providing accommodation, food and drink, and transportation to and from Arusha or Kenya. However, other than Tembo Guesthouse, these service providers are not dependent on income through tourism, and the majority of their clientele are other Tanzanians.

All three sub-villages are involved in cultural tourism, but Longido Town and Ol Tepesi see the most tourists. All of the guides are local, almost all are Maasai, and there are three female guides. Alliy tries to rotate the guides to give everyone an equal chance

of making money, and he usually tries to use guides from the sub-village that the tourists are visiting that day. Alliy was not sure exactly how many bomas are involved in tourism, but he believes that there are ten in Ol Tepesi, five in Longido, and two each in Ranch and the neighboring village of Orbomba. He also thinks that there are five in Kimokouwa, which are visited by tourists climbing the mountain from the north face. Even though there are many bomas that reportedly receive tourists, I only noticed five that were visited with regularity, two in Longido Town, and three in Ol Tepesi. When I asked Alliy if some bomas saw more tourists than others, he admitted that even though he likes to rotate, the needs of the tourists always come first, and certain bomas are much more convenient to visit than others. The five that I visited with tourists were all convenient to Longido Town or to Orpul Cave.

Overall, most Longido Village residents are not involved in tourism. Of the 2,285 residents of Longido, the CTE employs 23 people, 115 adults live at the five bomas visited by tourists, and a majority of the women who sell jewelry reside at the bomas visited by tourists.³⁶ So only about six percent of residents are involved in tourism, and only one percent are employed through the CTE. However, tourism is a very visible industry in Longido, not only because Wazungu visitors stand out among locals, but because of the association that tourism has with village development and its significance to the residents who are involved, which will be discussed further in Chapter Three.

Most tourists visit in the high season, which is June through September. The Longido CTE hosted a total of 846 tourists in 2012, with more than half (497) arriving during the third quarter of July-September. The majority of the tourists come through tour

³⁶ I was not able to determine an exact number of women because they are not an organized group, but I would estimate that about 50 women sell jewelry on a regular basis.

companies, although Longido is convenient for independent tourists arriving from Kenya or Arusha. A few companies bring large groups or multiple groups throughout the year, and the CTE has come to depend on their regular business. Two organizations from the UK, Outlook Expeditions and World Challenge, bring large groups of students who stay longer than most groups and volunteer in the community. Alliy would like to attract more student groups because the CTE earns more from the large groups staying several days than they do from their typical day visitors, and the student groups usually engage in some visible development activity. There are also two tour companies that operate independently of the CTE in Longido, but they only work with specific bomas. The local NGOs and CBOs occasionally bring guests, and they usually only go through the CTE office for mountain trekking. These independent companies and organizations are a matter of contention for Alliy, who believes that all cultural activities should go through his office so that the entire village can benefit.

The tourists or tour companies pay flat rates to the CTE Office, and then payments are distributed to the service providers and the government entities. Often, tourists or companies will haggle with Alliy to try to get a better deal. The CTE Office is paid last, so when clients negotiate a lower price, the Office may receive less or at times no payment at all. Guides often receive tips on top of payments from the Office, and most guides reported that tips can account for 50 percent or more of their earnings. The prices listed on Table 1 reflect the flat rate prices quoted to clients. The flat rates do not include additional services such as meals, performances, or the hiring of additional personnel such as porters. Table 2 lists the amounts that are paid to service providers and the government. Cultural activities and mountain climbing are each charged by the day.

Table 1: Longido CTE Price List

LONGIDO CULTURAL TOURISM PROGRAMME

Mob: 0787/0715/0767 855185
E-mail: touryman1@yahoo.com



P. O. Box 1
LONGIDO
ARUSHA

PRICE LIST EFFECTIVE UP TO DECEMBER, 2013

LONGIDO CULTURAL VISIT

1pax	2pax	3pax	4pax	5pax	6pax	7pax	8pax	9 pax	10 pax	11 pax	12 pax
\$ 30	\$50	\$70	\$ 90	\$ 130	\$ 150	\$ 170	\$ 210	\$ 230	\$ 280	\$300	\$350

A.1 FROM 5PAX VISITORS WILL BE ACCOMPANIED BY 2 GUIDES.
INCLUSIVE OF GUIDE FEES, VILLAGE DEV. FEES, AND ADMINISTRATION FEES + BOMA CONTACT PERSON FEES

A.2 TREKKING TO THE WILDLIFE AREAS A PERSON WILL PAY ADDITIONAL OF 10 USD FOR FOREST AND WILDLIFE PROTECTION FUND.
ENVIRONMENT FEE 15

CAMPING \$10, VEHICLE = \$5, TRUCKS= \$10, A PERSON \$10 PER DAY. PAYMENT DONE AT CITES IN ARUSHA OR LONGIDO CTP

A. LONGIDO MOUNTAIN 2690 MTRS ALTITUDE TREKKING TO THE SUMMIT OR CLIMBING TO THE VIEW POINT (7 HOURS – 8HOURS TO THE TOP)

1pax	2pax	3pax	4pax	5pax	6pax	7pax	8pax	9 pax	10 pax	11 pax	12 pax
\$60	\$100	\$110	\$130	\$160	\$190	\$240	\$260	\$310	\$380	\$420	\$460

DISTRICT COUNCIL FEE IS \$10 PER PERSON PER DAY.

B. LAIBON OR MEDICINE MAN/TRADITIONAL MIDWIFE (4) PAX 10,000/= GROUP WILL PAY 20,000/= (5PAX)

C. AT THE END OF THE TOUR VISITORS WILL VISIT OUR WOMEN MARKET WHERE THEY CAN BUY GIFT FROM OUR MAMA HAND WORKS, MADE BY BEADS, LEATHER, FEATHERS, THORNS, ETC.

Table 2: Longido CTE Fee Structure

Activity	Receives Payment	Amount
All Cultural Activities	Guide	\$18.35/group
	Longido CTE (always aid last)	\$6.12/person
	Village Development Fund	\$2.45/person (large group) \$3.06/person (small group)
Boma Visit	Owner of enkaji	\$1.83/group
Orpul Cave Visit	Men camping at Orpul	\$3.06/person
Performance	The Mzee at the boma hosting the performance	Big group: \$1.22/person Small group: \$6.12/group
	Performance organizer	\$12.23-\$18.35/group
	Performers (split between them)	\$60-\$120/group
Climb Mount Longido (day hike)	Kimokouwa Village Council (VDF)	\$3.06/person
	Longido Village Council (VDF)	\$2.45/person
	Longido District	\$9.80/person
	Warrior (acts as guard and guide assistant)	\$12.23/group
Climb Mount Longido (overnight)	Guide	\$12.23/group (in addition to the daily guide rate)
	Porter	\$9.17/ trip with luggage (additional \$6.12 to stay overnight)

The VDF is collected by the CTE Office and paid to the Village Council. The CTE Office reports a lump sum for their VDF earnings to TACTO and the TTB, but actual payments are made to the individual Sub-Village Councils separately. If tourists went to a boma in Ol Tepesi, the Ol Tepesi government will receive the VDF fees paid that day. It was unclear how the VDF fees are used in the other sub-villages, but the Longido Town VDF does not go directly to development projects as was originally reported to me. It is absorbed into the Village budget, which is used for development and all other Village budgetary needs, such as government salaries. There is a public meeting held every three months in Longido Town, where the Village budget is discussed along with any other village news. The VDF is reported along with the rest of the budget. These regular meetings are fairly new and began in 2011 after there were concerns about where

the money was going. Alliy said that the budget is usually read aloud to the attendees, but he thinks that the report should be written out and disseminated before the meeting so that people have a better understanding of it. He said that 70-80 people usually show up for the meetings and that it used to be mandatory. A fine for not closing your shop during the meeting is threatened but not enforced. I asked if the Maasai from the outlying bomas attend, but he said that it is mostly central town residents. Part of the reason for this might be that the meetings are only held in Swahili, and not in Maa.

Research Methodology

Previous Experience at Research Site

My personal history at Longido began in 2001 when I visited as part of a student group studying abroad in Tanzania. We spent three months there, half of the time at a campus outside of Iringa, in the southern highlands, and the other half traveling to different parts of the country. We visited Longido because our professor knew the missionary family that lived at the Longido Baptist Mission at the time. In Longido, we visited bomas, learned Maasai dances, feasted on goat, and engaged in small group discussions about Maasai life and culture with local men and women facilitated by a translator. The highlight of my entire study abroad experience was being invited to attend a ceremony and getting lost in the dense crowd of dancers for hours. My camera was packed away and there was no one to explain what was happening or what to expect. I was simply another person absorbed into the revelry.

My time in Tanzania, and specifically in Longido, had a profound effect on my approach to understanding people. I had done cultural immersion travel, but I had been told who I would meet and what to expect ahead of time, and that information had framed my understanding of each experience. However, I went to the ceremony in Longido without any information. In order to understand what was happening, I engaged. I let myself be taken by the hand and led into the crowd. I created my frame of understanding in the moment based on the cues I was getting from the people around me. That experience introduced me to an ethnographic perspective and shaped my career path, eventually leading me back to Tanzania to conduct this research.

I became interested in community-based tourism (CBT) development in graduate school and I worked on planning and implementing a CBT project in Vietnam for my Master's Degree research with the US-based NGO Counterpart International. When planning my dissertation research project, I remembered my experiences as a cultural tourist in Tanzania and began exploring options there. I wanted to find out if there were community-based tourism development projects in Tanzania involving the Maasai, and I wanted to know how the Maasai felt about these ventures. I returned to Tanzania in 2010 on a summer research fellowship and conducted preliminary research into possible dissertation topics. I visited the Longido CTE and met Alliy, who was enthusiastic about the prospect of my research. No one had conducted an evaluation of the CTP from the community's perspective, and Alliy and others that I spoke with were interested in how the target community of the Programme actually felt about its impacts. After securing funding from the National Science Foundation and the University of Maryland's Anthropology Department, I returned to Tanzania for the third time in 2012.

Researcher Role

I conducted ethnographic research in Tanzania over a period of nine months, November 2012 to July 2013. Except for Christmas holiday travel and the last two weeks of July, I lived in Longido Town at TEMBO Guesthouse. The guesthouse, which opened in 2009, has hosted tourists, researchers, volunteers, students, NGO workers, and visiting foreign and Tanzanian workers.³⁷ TEMBO also runs several programs that bring short-term volunteers from Canada to Longido for educational camps and projects. The other Longido NGOs and CBOs, as well as the Baptist Mission also regularly host foreign visitors, some of whom are long-term volunteers or consultants. Sauti Moja had an American Program Manager who lived in Longido, from 2011 until Spring 2013. We were the only two Wazungu who lived in Longido full-time while I was there.

Residents of Longido are used to seeing Wazungu, but the most common type they see is tourists. Upon arrival in Longido, I had some difficulty differentiating myself from tourists, especially since I spent a lot of time at the CTE Office and accompanied tourists on their tours of the village. Speaking Kiswahili helped, but that usually placed me in the other familiar Wazungu category of volunteer. And if I was a volunteer spending all of my time with the Longido CTE, it was assumed that I worked for them. This led to several problems. Although Maasai have the reputation for being forthright, I was concerned that residents would not feel comfortable speaking openly and honestly about their feelings concerning tourism in their community. I tried to ameliorate this by continually asserting my role as an independent researcher and by conducting all interviews without the assistance or presence of any CTE employees. Based on my

³⁷ World Vision consultants and contract employees from South Africa, Thailand, and Tanzania working for a mineral exploration company stayed there for several weeks while I was a resident.

interview data, it does not seem that respondents were holding back much. The wife of one of the guides even suggested that the CTE hire new guides because the current ones were corrupt.

However, I still had problems with residents making assumptions about me based on their experiences with tourists and volunteers. Many of the Tanzanians that I met, in Longido and elsewhere, associate Wazungu with potential sponsors. The wealth disparities between the average Tanzanian and the average European or North American visiting or living in Tanzania are substantial. Many Western visitors to Longido have come there specifically to volunteer on development projects or sponsor a student. Even the Longido CTE makes it clear to community members that the tourists are there to help them through VDF payments if nothing else. As a result, I was often asked to sponsor someone's child or to buy jewelry from every woman that I met. I did make a point to get to know the women who sold jewelry and to buy something small from a new woman every time I visited the Women's Market with tourists, but I did not buy any jewelry or take any pictures when I was conducting interviews.³⁸ I also never gave anything to the children who would occasionally follow me around the village, but I would try to spend money at local businesses. I would eat in local restaurants, have clothes mended at a local tailor, buy toothpaste and phone credit at a local *duka* (shop), and make photocopies at the local print shop. I am not sure if my conscientious spending habits had any effect on how I was received by the community, but I believe that frequenting local businesses did

³⁸ I occasionally bought jewelry from women I interviewed after the interview was over as compensation for the interview. I also took pictures on the last day of interviews at each boma after all interviews were done. I usually gave my camera to an interviewee to use, or I asked them what pictures they would like me to take for them. Later, I printed out these photos and gave them to the families as keepsakes. These families are featured in the vacation photos of countless tourists, but do not have any family photos of their own. Families, specifically the men, also requested photos of their herds, and one man excitedly pointed out each individual cow to me by name.

help build rapport and condition residents to my presence as something more than a tourist, even if I was obviously not a local.

Research Plan

The overall goal of this research was to understand how residents of Longido who are involved in tourism perceive tourism in their community, and how tourism processes and relationships of power interact. In the chapters following this one, when I refer to “Longido residents” I am referring to those residents directly or indirectly involved in tourism, and not the population of Longido in general. I chose to focus on them because they are the intended beneficiaries of the CTP. However, I conducted participant observation and several interviews with residents not involved in tourism in order to place the experiences and perspectives of my primary research population in a larger context. I initially focused on relations between tourists and residents in Longido, but as research continued, it became apparent that residents were far more concerned with who and what controls access to the tourists. In response to this revelation, I adjusted my original research questions to reflect what was significant to the residents of Longido. My new research questions were:

1. What are the various ways that residents engage in tourism in Longido?
2. How do residents perceive tourism and its impacts (economic, political, and social)?
3. Why do residents engage in tourism? What are their motivations? And how do their motivations relate to their actual experiences?

4. How do the original objectives of the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme relate to the actual experiences of the residents?
5. How do experiences of and perspectives on tourism differ among different subpopulations within the community (e.g., gender, age, wealth, level of involvement in tourism), in recognition that the community is heterogeneous and stratified. And how do Longido experiences of tourism compare with resident experiences of tourism at other CTP sites in Tanzania?

Research was organized into three phases, but because I had to adapt my plans to the realities of fieldwork, some tasks extended beyond the time frame of their associated phase. The general timeline and associated tasks were:

- Phase I: Exploratory Research (November 5-April 7)
 - Participant observation in Longido
 - Key informant interviews
 - Mapping
- Phase II: Resident Interviews (April 8-July 18)
 - Boma census and participant selection
 - Semi-structured interviews with residents
 - Continued participant observation in Longido
- Phase III: Comparative Research (July 19-26)
 - Tourist questionnaires (conducted throughout all three phases)
 - CTE site visits and key informant interviews

Phase I: Exploratory Research

The objectives of this phase of research were (1) to build rapport with residents of Longido; (2) to gain a general understanding of the research site; (3) to gain a general understanding of the broader, national context of the research site; (4) to identify the primary subpopulations that would need to be represented in the resident interview sample; and (5) to refine the methods that would be used in the next phases of research. This phase involved participant observation, key informant interviews, and mapping.

I began participant observation immediately upon arrival in Longido on November 3, and it continued until I left the village on July 18. I attempted to both observe and participate in as many aspects of daily life in Longido as possible, as well as all tourism-related activities. I lived in Longido Town and frequented the dukas to buy drinking water, phone credit, and other necessities; I bought fruit and vegetables from the market; I ate in restaurants and food stands; and I would take regular walks to explore the village. Eventually I got to know the layout of the village and many of the people that I saw on a regular basis. I spent less time in the bomas outside of Longido Town, but I interacted with many of the Maasai from the bomas while they were in town, where they would come to sell goods, fetch water, and socialize. I became a regular at certain shops and restaurants, and my Kiswahili improved through many of these interactions. At times culture shock, homesickness, or computer-related work kept me sequestered in my room, but I tried to leave at least once a day, even if it was just to get lunch. I spent most weekends in Arusha in order to access the internet and reconnect with family over Skype, but I made sure that the weekends I spent in Longido were out in the village, conducting some form of participant observation, in order to determine if weekday and weekend life

differed. (I found that it did; Saturdays were spent at the cattle market and Sundays were spent at church.)

I focused most of my participant observation on tourism-related activities. I spent time with the guides as they prepared the guesthouse and dining *banda* (simple, thatched-roofed structure) for tourists, or when they were just hanging out on their days off, which were most days during the slow season. I also spent time in the CTE Office with Alliy, chatting with him as he conducted business. I joined 13 tour groups during their tours of the bomas and Orpul Cave, although I did not climb the mountain (other than my 2010 excursion). During the tours I focused on interactions between the residents and the tourists, as well as interactions between the residents and the guides. I recorded guide tour scripts to take note of the ways guides were presenting Maasai culture to tourists. After each day of participant observation, I typed up detailed field notes. I also recorded field notes after attending special events, such as a friend's send-off³⁹ and wedding, a circumcision ceremony, and the travel and tourism fair that I attended in Arusha one weekend.

Exploratory research also involved key informant interviews with people holding special knowledge of the Longido CTE, the CTP, and the tourism industry in Tanzania. Table 1 in Appendix A lists the 11 key informants and their areas of expertise, which does not include the interviews conducted with key informants at other CTE sites in Phase III. Key informant interviews were conducted in order to garner background information about the CTP, its history and development as well as its current structure, and the various opinions of the CTP held by those working on tourism or pastoralist

³⁹ A send-off is a Maasai wedding event that happens before the actual wedding and combines traditional Maasai and Christian religious elements.

issues. I conducted several interviews with the Longido CTE Coordinator because he held the most knowledge of the Longido CTE's history and current structure, which is not well documented anywhere else. I attempted to interview the senior-most person available at each of the organizations and agencies related to the CTP, such as the TTB, TATO, and TACTO. Alliy made most of these introductions for me.

I also interviewed people that I had established contact with in 2010, and who were not directly involved in the CTP, but who represented other perspectives on cultural tourism in Tanzania. Damian Bell of the Honeyguide Foundation has been working on building socially and environmentally responsible relationships between tour companies and communities in Tanzania, and approaches issues of tourism from a business and conservationist perspective. The men that I spoke with at PINGOs Forum, which advocates for pastoralist rights, hold vastly different opinions on tourism than my other interviewees. Their work centers on land rights advocacy, and their experience trying to stop Maasai community evictions from wildlife hunting and tourism areas has led them to hold strongly negative opinions of all tourism development in Tanzania. Their perspectives contributed a valuable counter-view to my other interviewees, who all work to promote tourism. Key informant interviews were spread out over the timelines of Phases I and II of research to accommodate the availability of participants.

Exploratory research also involved mapping Longido. Over the course of two days, I toured Longido Town with one of the CTE guides. I asked him to point out all of the major sites, for tourists and for locals. We visited schools, the medical center, NGO offices, government buildings, water resource points, and popular shops and businesses. The guide introduced me to as many people as possible, and I took GPS-tagged photos of

each landmark. Because of the law against taking pictures of police or military structures, I had to take a picture of the ground in front of the police station, which amused the officers on duty who joked about Wazungu taking pictures of strange things. This stage of mapping focused on Longido Town, but I also mapped the tour routes to the bomas in Longido Town and Ol Tepesi, as well as to Orpul Cave. I conducted mapping for two reasons. First was to familiarize myself with the area and its culturally significant landmarks. Second was to create a visual representation of tourist movements and tourism and non-tourism areas in Longido so that I could spatially analyze tourism relationships and impacts. I am still working on the production of the map, but hope to include it in future publications.

Phase II: Longido Resident Interviews

Phase II research involved conducting semi-structured interviews with Longido residents. The interviews focused on answering the central research questions of this project, which were: (1) what are the various ways that residents engage in tourism in Longido; (2) how do residents perceive tourism and its impacts; (3) why do residents engage in tourism, and how do their motivations relate to their actual experiences; (4) how do the original objectives of the CTP relate to the actual experiences of the residents; and (5) how do experiences of and perspectives on tourism differ among different subpopulations within the community.

Many of the interviewees spoke Maa and only limited Kiswahili, and my own Kiswahili skills were limited, so I hired a research assistant to serve as a translator and provide native speaker insight, as well as to assist in explaining interview procedures and

in obtaining consent. I posted an advertisement in an online Arusha job postings site, and spread the word among my NGO and academic contacts in the Arusha area. I interviewed about 10 applicants before choosing Musa, who was recommended to me by two separate people. Musa is a Maasai man from Monduli Juu in his mid-20's with limited formal education, but excellent English skills. He is a native Maa and Kiswahili speaker, and has experience serving as a translator and research assistant on similar research projects conducted by PhD students and development NGOs, and he has tourism experience as an occasional guide with the Monduli CTE. I wrestled with whether or not I should hire a research assistant from within the community or outside, and I was even warned by one of the Longido guides, who was jealous of not being chosen as my assistant, that an outsider would not be accepted by my interview participants. However, I did not find this to be the case. Musa was an excellent translator, but he proved most valuable as a cultural broker. He effortlessly put participants at ease during interviews, and intuitively guided me through the implicit and nuanced cues and rules of behavior of social interactions. He became very popular among my participants and was even "adopted" by several families.

I employed quota sampling for the resident interviews to represent the between group variance of the different subpopulations identified in Phase I research and to make comparisons between them (Bernard 2006). Guest et al. (2006) have found that thematic saturation, in which no new themes or information is observed in the data, can be reached with a smaller number of interviews than previously thought (twelve was sufficient for the relatively homogenous population in their study). I found that a sample of 48 was sufficient for my population, in which there are subpopulations with varying experiences with tourism to account for, but is still relatively homogenous in regard to cultural traits

and values. The subpopulations identified during Phase I research were (1) CTE guides; (2) other CTE employees (the Coordinator and cooks); (3) residents of bomas visited by tourists; (4) handicraft sellers not living at bomas visited by tourists; (5) Longido business owners indirectly benefitting from tourism; and (6) residents of Longido Town who live or work in areas frequented by tourists but who do not receive any direct benefit from tourism. I determined the number of interview participants in each subpopulation based on the relative size and heterogeneity of each subpopulation. I also attempted to represent variance within subpopulations by accounting for the variables of age and gender, specifically within the group of boma residents, which was my largest sample population. My sample populations are represented in Table 2 of Appendix A.

My sampling method for all subpopulations except the boma residents involved purposive and snowball sampling. I interviewed all of the guides that work throughout the year, but not the guides that only work during the high season. The other CTE employees interviewed were the Coordinator and two of the three full-time cooks. One of the guides interviewed also serves as the performances coordinator for dances and spear throwing lessons. The three business owners represented the primary accommodation and food and drink suppliers informally partnered with the Longido CTE, and the residents not involved in tourism were chosen because of their proximity to the primary routes of tourists in Longido Town. I built the handicraft seller sample through the contacts I had established through multiple visits to the Women's Market. I accounted for age as a variable, but not gender because all but two handicraft sellers were female.

The sample of boma residents involved building more specific quotas to represent that population. After discovering in Phase I research that a majority of Longido tourists

were taken to one of five centrally located bomas, I decided to build my sample of boma residents from those five, because the other bomas were visited infrequently enough that tourism is not a major aspect of their lives. Two bomas were in Longido Town, on the outskirts of the developed downtown area, and three were in Ol Tepesi, on the way to Orpul Cave. Before beginning interviews, I visited each boma with Musa to explain my intentions, and to conduct a census of household members and create kinship charts mapping out relationships. Based on the census, I created a representative sample accounting for sex and age variables and boma population size. When I chose specific participants I also used the kinship charts created during the census to make sure that my sample did not unequally represent one family. The kinship charts with the participants highlighted are included in Appendix B.



Figure 14: The author and research assistant (both center and seated) with interviewees at an Ol Tepesi boma, 2013. Author's own photograph.

I developed a consent form in English, Kiswahili, and Maa. Participants that were not literate were read the consent form by Musa and signed by stamping their thumb print. Interviewees received a gift for their participation, which was usually tea and sugar. Separate interview guides were developed for each subpopulation, although general questions about experiences of and perspectives on tourism were the same for the sake of comparison. Interviews were conducted over a period of 12 weeks. The English version of the consent form is included in Appendix C, and interview guides are included in Appendix D.

Phase III: Comparative Research

Phase III research involved collecting data that I could compare with the data collected in Phase II. This research focused on the experiences and perspectives of tourists visiting Longido and of those involved in other CTP enterprises. The goal was to build a broader understanding of tourism in Tanzania and to situate the experiences of Longido residents within this larger context by comparing data from the primary study subjects (Longido residents) with data from other actors within the tourism landscape (tourists and residents of other CTE sites). Data was collected through a tourist questionnaire administered to tourists visiting the Longido CTE, participant observation at three other CTEs, and interviews with key informants at the other CTEs.

I began administering the tourist questionnaire immediately after arriving in Longido in November, and it was given to all consenting Longido tourists through the end of July. Most tourists agreed to take the questionnaire, and a total of 42 questionnaires were completed. The questionnaire was administered in two sections, one

upon the tourist's arrival in Longido, and one just prior to departure. Questions in the first section focused on collecting demographic and market data as well as pre-tour opinions and expectations concerning the Maasai. Questions in the second section focused on what was learned on the tour and opinions of the CTE. I collected this data to compare with residents' assumptions about tourist motivations and to determine if CTP objectives were being met, specifically the intention that tourists learn and understand local culture. The tourist questionnaire is included in Appendix D.

I visited three other CTEs in July, staying two days at each. The CTEs can be located on the CTP enterprise map that is included earlier in this chapter (Figure 9). I participated in half or full day cultural tours and interviewed a CTE employee at each site. I chose the CTEs based on convenience of travel (all were located in northern Tanzania) and on characteristics that allowed for a particular type of comparison with the Longido CTE. My sister, who was visiting me at the time, accompanied me on these site visits. The first CTE that we visited was the Mto wa Mbu CTE, located outside the main gate of Lake Manyara National Park and a major hub of tourist accommodations and roadside curio shops. I chose to visit Mto wa Mbu because it is the most successful enterprise in the CTP, and it also features Maasai cultural attractions. I took a village tour, visited an art co-op supported by the CTE, and interviewed one of the head guides.

Next, we traveled to the Lake Eyasi CTE, which involved an arduous journey by dala-dala and a shared taxi pick-up truck to the village of Mang'ola Barazani at the tip of Lake Eyasi, right outside of Ngorongoro Conservation Area. I decided to visit Lake Eyasi because it features the Hadzabe, a hunter-gather group that is almost as popular in the imaginations of tourists as the Maasai. Lake Eyasi also attracts a different market than

Longido, made up almost exclusively of organized tour groups with a specific interest in Tanzanian culture. Longido tourists do not have to spend a full day before moving on to wildlife or the beach, but Lake Eyasi tourists have to be more committed because of its remoteness. We took a full day tour, which started with a pre-dawn departure to go bow and arrow hunting with the Hadzabe,⁴⁰ then a motorcycle tour around the Lake, and finished with a big, family style dinner of local cuisine and plenty of beer at the end of the day. I also conducted an informal interview with the Lake Eyasi CTE Coordinator.

We completed the site visits at the Babati CTE, which is 160 kilometers south of Arusha, past Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks. The road is mostly paved and accessible by bus or dala-dala. I had visited Babati in 2010 and considered it as a potential research site before choosing Longido. I decided to visit Babati on this trip because it was an established cultural tourism destination before the CTP started and it attracts more volunteers than most other CTEs. I also wanted to interview its Coordinator, Joas Kahembe, because of his long-term experience developing and promoting cultural tourism in Tanzania and because of his current role as Chairman of TACTO. We conducted a full day tour, which involved a visit to a Gorowa story-teller, a tour of the community farm supported by the CTE, and a dugout canoe trip to view hippos in Lake Babati. I completed my data collection in Tanzania with Mr. Kahembe's interview. After taking a week to relax and spend time with friends, I returned home to the US to begin analysis and writing.

⁴⁰ We did not participate in the hunting, but merely followed and observed with our CTE guide. After the hunt, we were given the opportunity to use a log for target practice. I am not pleased to admit that no logs were harmed in this research.

Data Analysis

Interview transcripts, tourist questionnaire data, and field notes from participant observation were entered into MAXQDA for text analysis. I used Grounded Theory techniques to analyze this data. Grounded Theory is concerned with building explanatory models by examining the relationships between themes discovered in the text (Bernard and Ryan 1998). First, I read through all of the text and did preliminary coding and memoing in order to identify the core themes. Second, I developed a codebook with code definitions and parameters, and re-coded the text for these specific core themes. According to Emerson et al. (1995), coding text allows researchers to “identify, elaborate, and refine analytic insights from and for the interpretation of data” (151). The core themes and sub-themes identified were:

1. Tourism benefits (income, employment, education, VDF, women benefit)
2. Tourism costs (inequality, competition, exploitation)
3. Community-based tourism ideals (community benefit, community participation, development, cultural exchange, sustainability)
4. Mistrust (corruption, transparency, eating money)
5. Culture change
6. Economic security/insecurity
7. Market access
8. Empowerment (agency, independence)
9. Dependency (donors, powerless)

I also coded for specific actors (e.g., guides, tour operators, tourists, NGOs) and subjects (e.g., CTP history, Longido attractions, government policy). I then used the coded text segments to make comparisons between incidents in which a particular theme arose, and to look for patterns and variations on these patterns. By examining the meanings associated with the themes, and the relationships between the themes, actors, and subjects, I built a theoretical model to explain how Longido residents viewed tourism in their community and the relationships of power between the various actors. During analysis, I also examined Longido resident data in relation to tourist and other CTE site data to compare experiences and perspectives on tourism across these populations and to establish a broader context for the Longido resident data.

Limitations of Study

I am confident that this study has produced valid and reliable data, but certain study limitations may have contributed to an imperfect or incomplete understanding of this data. The greatest limitation was the language barrier. I studied Kiswahili before traveling to Tanzania, and took a three week intensive course upon arrival, and I gained enough competence to communicate on a basic level, but I did not reach complete fluency. I spoke “Swanglish,” a mixture of Kiswahili and English, in most of my daily interactions with Longido Town residents and CTE employees, many of whom speak better English than I do Kiswahili. However, I relied on my research assistant to translate during most interviews and during participant observation at the bomas, where many of the residents only spoke Maa. I attempted to compensate for anything that was lost in the translation by asking Musa to listen to recordings of each interview, and to elaborate on

any section that he felt required additional explanation or was particularly salient to the study. However, I was unable to reach the level of insight or understanding that a native or fluent language speaker would have reached.

Another limitation was the time spent at the research site. Although I had visited Longido in 2001 and 2010 for short visits, the village was still new enough to me that it took a long time to acclimate and gain all of the needed background information to begin in-depth research. I also missed three months of the year (August-October), so I was unable to experience the full cycle of tourism seasons. More time at the research site, after further language study, would serve to address both of these limitations, and I plan to explore opportunities for further research at the completion of my degree.

Finally, it is important to recognize how this study may have been affected by my own biases. In order to maintain transparency in research, MacCannell (1992) appeals for self-examination and the explicit acknowledgement of personal biases and ideological premises. I attempted to approach this research objectively, but as in all research, this is the ideal to strive toward, and not the reality. The personal relationships that I formed with study participants and my own feelings about cultural tourism most likely skewed my findings, but I attempted to acknowledge and reflexively address these biases throughout the entire research process, including in the writing of this dissertation. I will admit that I feel a certain loyalty to the Longido CTE employees who served as my hosts and became my friends. This loyalty may have tempered my own critical analysis of the CTE and its employees, but I strived to accurately represent all of views that were expressed by participants, including those that are more critical than my own. I also identify myself as a cautious proponent of community-based tourism. I believe that it

does hold development potential, particularly in affording opportunities for women, but that it also carries multiple risks, which will be discussed in further detail in this dissertation.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PROMISES OF CULTURAL TOURISM

Introduction: Tourism as an Agent of Development in Longido

It was a cool, breezy July morning and the Longido CTE Guesthouse was a frenzy of activity as Alliy and the guides prepared for the arrival of the UK students. I had heard about this group, called World Challenge, for months, and now that they were finally on their way, the sense of urgency and elation was palatable. I had been there on previous days as the guides waited for clients, leisurely sweeping up the yard and cleaning the latrines between bursts of raucous laughter that followed their relentless teasing and joking. But this day was different, and their work had an air of gravity and importance. I had thought that the student group was significant because they were spending a lot of money, but there was something more, something else that signified this group was special. It suddenly dawned on me that they represented the connection between tourism and community development that was central to the very mission of the Longido CTE. Of course everything had to be perfect for their arrival.

World Challenge is one of two large student groups that come to Longido every summer, the other being Outlook Expeditions. These groups are distinctive because of the sheer number in their group (around 20 people), the length of their stay (several nights as

opposed to the usual one night stay of most visitors), and their visible involvement in Longido community development. World Challenge and Outlook Expeditions are both representative of a fairly new type of travel company popular among Gap Year and university students, in which adventure, “off the beaten path” expeditions involve an element of volunteer tourism, or “voluntourism.” The idea is that the participants get to have a more intimate cross-cultural experience while also giving back to the community visited. Research on voluntourism (Guttentag 2009) has shown that these experiences are usually more meaningful for the volunteers than they are for the communities, and that local impacts can even be negative (e.g., volunteers taking work away from local laborers), but in Longido, these groups are very popular. Not only do they bring larger groups, stay longer, and spend more money than the typical tour group, they also embody the community development spirit of the CTP. These are the groups that Alliy mentions whenever anyone asks for evidence of the community-wide benefits of tourism in Longido.

Outlook Expeditions conduct their volunteer projects in Arusha, but they make a donation of \$10 per student toward development work in Longido, on top of the VDF fees. Alliy appreciates the donation, but claims that contributing labor on a construction project would have a greater impact because of the visibility of such work. World Challenge has been building a wall along one side of the Longido soccer field. They have paid for brick-making materials, and have worked on its construction during their last two visits. Alliy would like Outlook to contribute to the building of another section of the wall, so that he can tell villagers “this is Outlook’s wall” or “this is World Challenge’s

wall.”⁴¹ The construction of the wall is an important part of Alliy’s campaign to publically demonstrate the Longido CTE’s community development impact. Based on my interviews with residents, his efforts have been fairly effective. The exact nature of the community-wide benefits of tourism was up for debate, but it was clear that tourism is associated with development in the minds of Longido residents. Interviewees claimed that tourists were responsible for the construction of school buildings and water reservoirs as well as for sponsoring local students. Further investigation showed that many of the residents were conflating the contributions of NGOs and long-term volunteers with those of tourists, specifically with regard to student sponsorship. According to Alliy and the Longido CTE promotional materials, only the construction projects (school buildings and a water reservoir) were funded by the VDF. I would eventually learn that the VDF is actually absorbed into the Village budget and not directly related to any development efforts,⁴² but the association between community development and tourism was nevertheless central to discourse about the CTE in Longido.

Other benefits of tourism mentioned or implied by residents were the local jobs created through tourism, the educational benefits (e.g., the construction of facilities, tourism income used for children’s school fees, and English language training for guides), the ability of women to earn cash income, and the increased esteem for Maasai cultural practices. In my first meeting with Alliy, I asked what he hoped to learn from my research. He replied that he would like to know if the residents of Longido are happy

⁴¹ Alliy Mwako, interviewed by author, July 12, 2013.

⁴² Chapter Four will discuss this aspect of the VDF in more detail. This chapter is concerned more with resident perspectives on and assumptions about tourism benefits, rather than the actual uses and impacts of the VDF.

with tourism in their community, but more specifically if they are able to connect the tourism to the development projects. In my interviews with residents of the bomas that receive tourists, 91.67 percent (n=24) said that they believe that tourism benefits the village of Longido. Most replied that they or their families received direct benefit, and even those that claimed no direct benefit stated that the village in general received benefit. However, only 41.67 percent of boma residents specifically mentioned tourism-funded village development activities in their interviews.⁴³ Most had only vague notions of the uses of tourism revenue at the village level, stating they had heard that the construction of school buildings was funded by tourism revenue but they did not know for sure. Women especially were uncertain of the exact uses of the revenue because, according to one female interviewee, “women are not involved... men deal on those sides.” As opposed to the boma residents, the Longido Town residents that were interviewed – even those that did not directly benefit from tourism – had a clearer and more confident assessment of how tourism revenue was used for village development because most had attended the village meetings where the budget was reported. Despite the confusion and uncertainty concerning the VDF, it was clear in all of the interviews that generalized community-level benefit was an assumed characteristic of the Longido CTE.

Community-based cultural tourism rhetoric stresses the potential of tourism in contributing to community development efforts, and my research found that this rhetoric extends to tourism discourse at the local level as well. CTP planners built an association between tourism and development into their community outreach and education efforts

⁴³ This percentage does not include the interviewees who confused NGO and volunteer activities with tourism-funded development (i.e., stating tourists sponsored students).

from the beginning, and this association is continually reinforced in Longido through Alliy's informal public education campaign. For example, the guides are trained to remind residents of the community-level benefits in order to dissuade residents from asking for money when tourists take pictures, and to encourage a welcoming attitude. Most Longido residents, specifically boma residents, have limited experience with or knowledge of tourism outside of the Longido CTE. Tourism was originally presented to them as a development activity, existing for their benefit, rather than as a business catering to the desires of foreign clients. When asked who benefits from tourism, all Longido interviewees named local beneficiaries. Even the two boma residents who claimed that there was no community-level benefit named local guides and government officials as the beneficiaries. No one named tourists or tour companies. In the imaginations of Longido residents, tourism in Longido exists for the people of Longido. So even if the exact nature of local benefit is unclear, they are certain that they are the intended beneficiaries. This association between tourism and Maasai benefit was even extended to the Maasai as a people, despite the well-documented instances of other Maasai communities suffering as a result of tourism development (as discussed in Chapter One). Longido interviewees all stated that tourism was good for all Maasai, not just the Maasai of Longido. According to one boma resident, "the tourist will bring development, or benefit all over Maasai land, not only in Longido, because they can sponsor the kid to go to school, and that is development, not only in Longido, but everywhere." For the residents of Longido, tourism inherently holds the promise of development.

Tourism and Culture Change

Tourism as an Agent of Culture Change

A major concern for cultural tourism planners, scholars, and even the tourists themselves is the impact of cultural tourism on the survival of its very product: the culture of the destination community. The idea of the Maasai as an “authentic” and “traditional” group was reported to be the main draw for a majority of tourists to Longido. When asked why they were interested in the Maasai on the tourist questionnaire, tourist responses included: “the Maasai are a world famous group that has stuck well with traditions and culture;” “wanted to see an authentic community first hand;” “their culture remains very much alive right next to modern society;” and “very primitive, strong, and old culture.” Non-Maasai Longido residents also expressed this idea of the Maasai retaining a traditional way of life. When asked why tourists come to Longido, one non-Maasai shopkeeper replied, “Because Maasai keep their own culture.” Another non-Maasai resident claimed that other groups in Tanzania “leave their own culture; they don’t live their own culture,” but that the Maasai are “still keeping their own culture.” One of the Maasai Longido guides even made the distinction between the “really Maasai life” found in Longido and the “touristic Maasai like when you go to other places like Ngorongoro.” As one tourist stated, “If you want a true Maasai experience, this is the place to go.” Claims of Maasai cultural authenticity also came with concerns for its survival. I once asked a tourist if he would like to see anything changed, referring to his experiences with the enterprise. He took my meaning to be general change in the Maasai community, and adamantly retorted, “It should stay like it is! Modern life is

coming and it is not good for these people!” Responses to the tourist questionnaire also expressed a concern with culture change, with one tourist writing that she hopes the culture “remains authentic” as the Maasai continue their engagement with tourism.

As discussed in Chapter One, many tourism scholars have investigated touristic processes of cultural commodification, in which practices, goods, and identities that were once considered to be primarily of intrinsic cultural value are assigned economic value for the purposes of tourism (MacCannell 1973). However, when discussing the impacts of tourism on the survival of “authentic” practices and identities, it is important to remember that an identity is a cultural construction. There is no “pure” or “authentic” ethnic identity, just different constructions that have been created and embodied over time for different purposes. In the context of cultural tourism, a commodified ethnic identity is “born of a complex, open-ended dialectic” between the active will of those who embody the identity and external forces (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009:141). Attempts to define and use Maasai-hood to promote certain interests have contributed to the construction of a very politicized ethnic identity in Tanzania. Hodgson (2001) states that the colonial and then post-colonial state in Tanzania created what she terms “categories of control” in order to formulate Maasai identity in a way that fit with and facilitated state agendas (11). Central to the state conception of a Maasai identity was and continues to be the idea of the Maasai as embodying the prototypical patriarchal pastoralist. However, the Maasai were not always exclusively pastoralist, and most practice a mixed economy today; nevertheless, this definition of the Maasai persists and is used as a basis for exclusion and inclusion by both outsiders and the Maasai themselves (Bernsten 1980; Spear and Waller 1993). In addition to its uses in attracting tourists, the Maasai identity has been employed within the rhetoric of indigenous and women’s rights, conservation and economic

development agendas, and poverty alleviation discourse. Within this rhetoric are numerous contradictions. Studies have shown that at different historical moments, the Maasai have been characterized as backward, environmentally destructive, a primitive curiosity, dangerous and exotic, noble and courageous, protectors of African heritage, embodying the “Natural Man” ideal, and degrading of women (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2005; Hodgson 2001; Homewood, Kristjanson, et al. 2009; Spear and Waller 1993). Groups of Maasai have also at times taken advantage of these discourses in order to reframe their own identity and political situation, such as the Loliondo community mentioned in Chapter One that used its status as environmental stewards to politically align with powerful conservation organizations when staking claims to contested natural resources (Gardner 2007).

As I have noted, identities are dynamic constructions, so the question is not which version is correct, but why and how each version has been constructed, understood, and used. This dissertation is concerned in part with how Maasai-hood is defined and understood by various touristic actors, and how these constructions shape and are shaped by Maasai experiences of tourism in Longido. Rather than tourism forcing unwanted change upon the Maasai of Longido, my research found that residents are using engagement in tourism as a strategy to cope with other forces of change, and that cultural tourism in Longido actually allows for greater degrees of self-determination in responses to unwanted change. This chapter will also examine how tourism has been utilized by women in renegotiating their positions in gendered relationships of power, thereby actively challenging gender roles and norms within their own culture.

Agents of Change in Maasailand

In their own discussions of culture change, a majority of Maasai Longido residents claimed that tourism was not effecting any change that they could see. Residents stated that tourist visits barely affected their day to day lives, and when asked how the presence of tourists impacted Longido, a common response was “They don’t bring any effect.” In the interviews, I asked the boma residents to describe their daily activities. Responses were consistently the same, but differed between men and women. Men usually spend most of the day caring for the animals, counting and checking them over, herding them, and conducting business in town concerning the buying and selling of them. A man who has a *shamba* (small farm) will also spend time working there. Most of the men’s activities keep them away from the boma during the day so they rarely interact with tourists at home. Women spend more time at the boma, caring for children, milking cows and goats in the morning and evening, cooking tea and food, and cleaning up and making regular house repairs. They leave the boma daily to fetch firewood and water, but are usually at home when tourists visit. After receiving these responses, I asked how tourist visits affected these activities. All of the men said that they do not concern themselves with the tourist’s visits to their bomas unless they are hired to perform a dance or demonstrate spear throwing. The women, who serve as the hosts during tourist boma visits, said that they always hear about the arrival of tourists ahead of time and can easily organize their activities around the visit (e.g., fetch firewood after the tourists leave). Although tourism income has become very important to many of the women who sell jewelry, their primary responsibilities are domestic. Tourist visits have a much greater impact on the daily lives of CTE employees, specifically the permanent

guides who will schedule all other activities around tourist visits because guiding is their main economic activity. Longido residents who are not involved or indirectly involved in tourism claimed that their lives were not affected at all by the presence of tourists.

Boma residents in Ol Tepesi claimed that they receive about three to five tour groups a month during the high season, and the residents of the more accessible Longido bomas claimed to host about ten groups per month in the high season. There was less of a consensus on how many groups come during the low season, with some boma residents claiming none and others claiming one or two groups per month. In general, low season visits were considered unreliable and infrequent. Tour group sizes ranged from single tourists to large student groups (25 or more), but most averaged between four and 15 people. Tourists do not stay long at the boma, usually less than an hour, and interactions between residents and tourists were limited by language. I observed that a majority of residents would continue their activities unhindered by little more than their own curiosity about the visitors. Usually, the women would greet the tourists, then go to sit in a shady spot and watch the tourists play with the children and take pictures. Of all of the residents, the children were the ones who spent the most amount of time interacting with tourists at the boma, eagerly posing for pictures and vying for attention. Overall, interactions were so limited and infrequent that the presence of tourists and their behavior made little impact on the daily activities of all residents but the CTE employees.

Although tourism was not perceived to be an agent of culture change in Longido, residents did not deny that their way of life was changing. Culture change is inevitable in all societies because culture is not static; it is constantly responding and adapting to environmental changes and the introduction of new technologies and ideas. Previous

studies have identified several factors influencing change in Maasai livelihoods, including population growth (Fratkin and Mearns 2003), increased sedentarization (Coast 2002), climate change (Goldman and Riosmena 2013), government intervention (Hodgson 2011), economic diversification (Homewood, Kristjanson, et al. 2009), and formal education (Bonini 2006). Tourists visiting Longido were quick to point out cell phone usage among the Maasai as evidence of culture change. One of the owners of Dorobo Safaris, Daudi Peterson noted that the Maasai have always engaged in geographically wide-ranging communication networks that served to share information about herd movements and other community news. He sees cell phone usage as “an extension of that oral tradition.”



Figure 15: Woman talking on cell phone, 2012. Author's own photograph.

When asked about how life was changing in Longido, a majority of interviewees named education as the primary agent of change. This was also supported in informal conversations, especially among the guides and other educated Maasai. Until recently, Maasai attitudes concerning formal education had been negative, ranging from viewing schooling as unnecessary and a waste of time and money, to being detrimental to the performance of herding and domestic responsibilities, or to being a tool of the colonial and post-colonial state in controlling or even destroying Maasai families (Bonini 2006). Those that did favor education tended to be wealthier, because they had the surplus income to pay for schooling and could hire others to care for herds to compensate for the loss of household labor (Trench et al. 2009). Issa⁴⁴ is an educated Maasai guide in Longido who has been to a professional tour guide training school. His English is excellent, and he speaks it with greater confidence than the guides who have not received the same level of formal education. In addition to guiding for the Longido CTE, he works part-time for a nearby WMA and he is currently developing his own safari tourism company. He regularly sends income from these activities back to his parents. However, he told me that the only reason he was sent to school as a child was because his older brother was given the more important responsibility of caring for the family's herd.

Attitudes toward education are changing as the need for economic diversification increases, and a majority of my interviewees expressed a strong desire to send their children to school, and income from tourism is often used for school fees and supplies. Education is also quickly becoming a symbol of status and pride, especially for the younger generation. School children in Longido would show off their English skills at

⁴⁴ Name has been changed to maintain anonymity.

every opportunity, following me and other Wazungu through the village shouting greetings and random phrases, and on more than one occasion, proud parents would pull their child over to me and prod them to recite their lessons. Studies have shown that education, specifically learning Kiswahili and English, is gaining value in Maasai communities throughout Tanzania and Kenya, and is now viewed as a necessary skill for securing and protecting rights to land and resources as well as for creating opportunities for wealth achievement and economic security (Bonini 2006; Homewood, Kristjanson, et al. 2009; Ngoitiko 2008). In Longido, many adult residents told me that they too wished for more education. I heard a variety of reasons, including the wish to find work in safari tourism, to learn how to better care for cattle, to gain knowledge of new technologies such as solar power and well drilling, and to learn more efficient farming methods. Many women reported that they wanted to learn English in order to better conduct business, specifically in selling jewelry to tourists. According to one woman, “When [we] get to know English, [our] lives will be easy.” Although the Maasai of Longido desire more educational opportunities, they also acknowledge that education is changing their way of life, even though most people viewed most of these changes positively. According to one 35-year-old Maasai woman, “Life will change later when the generation [changes]. They’ve been to school, so they don’t want to have [a] large number of animals... They’ll sell their cows and build new houses and own cars. So life will be changed.” When I asked what she thought of these changes, she replied, “They are good changes.”

Several of the CTE guides proudly declared that they were “Modern Maasai,” claiming a higher status as a result of their education. Daudi, the guide profiled in my introductory tour of Longido, lives in a modern-style cement house in Longido Town.

When my sister Becky met Daudi, she got into a discussion with him about why he preferred his house over traditional Maasai houses. Daudi claimed that an enkaji was inferior because “it’s dirty,” and he – rather dramatically – claimed that if he had to sleep in a traditional bed, he “would die” because of the bed bugs. Becky asked what would happen if all Maasai became modern. “Who would take care of the cows?” Daudi conceded that it would be bad if all Maasai became modern, but he continued to argue for the advantages of modernity. He stated that “education changes everything” and that because his father was educated, he did not burn circles under the eyes of Daudi and his siblings nor pierce their ears.⁴⁵ However, not all of the guides held such strong beliefs about the superiority of “Modern Maasai.” Lembui⁴⁶ was offered English training through Mondo Challenge, but refused, preferring to be left “natural.” Most of the educated guides expressed a synthesis of traditional and modern values. Abraham⁴⁷ regularly bragged that he could enjoy non-Maasai foods like fish and even snake meat because his education had opened his mind to trying new things, but he declared with equal conviction that cow blood is the most delicious food in existence.⁴⁸

In addition to education, Longido residents identified several other agents of culture change, many of which were not viewed as positively as education, as illustrated in the following quotes:

⁴⁵ The circles are burnt into the cheeks of young infants who cannot wave the flies away from their eyes. The Maasai associate flies in the eyes with diseases of the eyes. The fresh burns draw the flies to the wounds and away from the eyes.

⁴⁶ Name has been changed to maintain anonymity.

⁴⁷ Name has been changed to maintain anonymity.

⁴⁸ Blood is very important to the Maasai diet, as well as to beliefs about health, well-being, strength, and masculinity.

Religion: “Tourists are good. They don’t change the culture of Maasai. They don’t ask us to stop doing some of the stuff in culture. It’s different with other people who are non-Maasai. Other tribes, they ask us, ‘Don’t do this. It’s not good.’ They bring church, religion. They are religious. They ask you to not do some stuff of your culture, because it is against God. But tourists don’t.”

Making more money: “When the people get the money, they change their life... They are buying some goat, they are buying some cows. So I think it can change. But... it is very difficult... to change the culture. I think it can take a lot of years.”

Marrying non-Maasai: “Because now we hear now the Maasai people they marry the European people. They get married and then they don’t even want to go back to their places, even to look at the bomas, even to look at their families.”

Pressure from the government and other tribes: “People are dropping their own culture, but it’s not caused by tourism... Some people are just leaving by themselves, and some government told them, ‘This is not necessary. You don’t have to do this.’ So they have to drop down. Also the more they come closer to the town, they observe some other new things, and they heard from other tribes they have to drop some. So they come up with changes.”

Most Maasai recognized the dynamic and adaptive nature of their own culture, as well as its famous resilience in response to external forces of change. The following conversation with a 33-year old Maasai woman sums up the prevailing attitude about culture change as expressed to me by most Longido Maasai residents.

Interviewer: How would you describe the Maasai?

Translator: Maasai are just Maasai.

Interviewer: Yeah. How are they different from other tribes or other people?

Translator: Maasai are people who don’t receive changes very easily. They want to keep their own culture. That’s why we’re different with other tribes. But now slowly, the Maasai can change slowly, to go to church... and stuff like that.

Interviewer: What do you think about the changes?

Translator: Changes are good.

Interviewer: Changes are good?

Translator: Yeah.

Interviewer: Is there anything that you wouldn't want to change?

Translator: There is not a specific thing [I] would like... to be changed. But we have... to change according to environment and the situation. When the good changes come, we cope with the good changes.

Interviewer: What are the good changes?

Translator: There are small changes, which... are good. But in the previous time, the Maasai only think on cows, nothing else. If the cow dies, then you will die. But now you can trade some small things. Like you take firewood to the town, you sell them, you get some money, you buy food [for] your family. Then also you can burn some charcoal and sell the charcoal and get money and buy stuff, and bring food home. So now we're [more] aware of what is going on... compared to the previous time."

Although residents differed in their opinions concerning whether culture change was positive or negative, most conceded that it was inevitable in order to adapt to the changes happening around them. As one CTE guide said, "It's good to follow the change; otherwise you can't survive nowadays, sadly."

Tourism as an Agent of Cultural Maintenance

As discussed in Chapter One, the central concern expressed by the Maasai when addressing issues of culture change is their ability to continue their pastoral livelihoods. Homewood, Trench, et al. (2009) found that the primary reason given by the Maasai for entering into any other economic activity, including tourism, was to build economic security in support of herd retention. Cattle continue to be integral to Maasai economic, political, social, and cultural life. In my research, residents discussed culture change in terms of the introduction of new technologies, dress, ideas, and values, as well as an increased engagement in the cash economy, but no one mentioned the possibility of

losing their cattle. Several residents reported that educated Maasai may want smaller herds, or may hire others to care for their cattle, but continued ownership of cattle was assumed. One resident told me that he believes that humanity is becoming more culturally homogenous on a global level, but he also insisted that the ownership of cattle will continue to set the Maasai apart.

It's going to be the same everywhere... Yeah. Not exactly the same, but it will look similar at some point. There will be some difference, because we will always keep our animals. And you will have your own house, and you stay in a city, and we will be in the countryside always. So we will still have some difference.

As a result of environmental, population, and political pressures, Maasai no longer have the mobility and access to resources needed for the maintenance of large herds. Although the Maasai were never exclusively pastoralist, rising economic pressures have necessitated further diversification for survival. This has led to an increase in the out-migration of Maasai men in search of wage labor in towns and cities, as well as an increase in the amount of land and labor devoted to farming instead of herding (Homewood, Kristjanson, et al. 2009). My research revealed that as opposed to these other diversification strategies, engagement in Longido cultural tourism is viewed as a way to earn needed income without diminishing a family's ability to care for and maintain their herds. In this way, cultural tourism can be viewed as an agent of cultural maintenance.

Several residents also reported that tourist interest in Maasai culture encouraged them to continue certain practices. In responding to my question about whether tourism was changing Maasai culture, one resident replied, "It's not changing, it's what [the tourists] want. The culture they see is what they want. So it's not changing." Another

resident proclaimed, “If you try to look carefully, [tourists] are helping people to keep their culture.” Other residents pointed out that the tourists’ interest in Maasai beaded jewelry supports the continued demand for and production of it. One jewelry maker even claimed that tourist interest in the “old fashion” of jewelry, which involves the use of more colorful beads, has kept that tradition alive even as local tastes change. (Black and white beads are the “new fashion.”)

Tourist interest in Maasai culture has also served to reinforce Maasai cultural pride and notions of Maasai cultural superiority. One resident confident in Maasai cultural dominance even stated that Wazungu who marry Maasai will inevitably leave Wazungu life and adopt Maasai cultural practices, declaring “they become all Maasai.” When asked why they thought tourists were interested in the Maasai, many residents made comparisons between their tribe and others, stating that the Maasai are more friendly, generous, trustworthy, and unique. Engagement in tourism also served to affirm and reinforce the Maasai values of hospitality and generosity. One resident explained that the tourists prefer the Maasai to other groups because “if you go to other tribes, they chase you to go away. Then if you go to any Maasai homes, they welcome you. They give you what they have, and somewhere to sleep.” Another stated that the Maasai treat strangers like one of their own, “but if you go to another tribe where they don’t know you, they don’t give you anything.” One boma resident compared the treatment that tourists receive in Longido Town with the treatment they receive at the bomas. “If you come with two million [Tanzania shillings] to stay in Maasai boma, tomorrow you will leave with your two million. Not like [in town]. When you stay in town, when they see you have money, they will find a way to steal your money.” Residents also claimed that

Maasai culture is attractive to tourists because they are able to maintain social cohesion by living together in bomas. According to the guide Issa, the Maasai “help each other and stay together,” while other tribes “can’t afford to be in the same compound.” The assumption that Maasai culture is clearly superior was summed up perfectly in the following interview:

Interviewer: Why do you think the tourists like the Maasai dress?

Translator: Because the Maasai dress is nice.

Interviewer: Better than the Mzungu clothes?

Translator: Yeah.

Interviewer: Yeah.

Translator: Because everybody looks nice in Maasai dress.

This is not to say that the opinions and experiences of Longido residents involved in tourism are representative of all Maasai in Tanzania and Kenya. Something that sets Longido apart is the type of tourism that is practiced there (cultural), the level of local involvement and control (fairly high), and the scale of the enterprise (small). Most research conducted on the impacts of tourism on Maasai livelihoods focuses on safari tourism or cultural tourism that can be easily characterized as exploitative. A classic example of this is the research that has been done on Maasai experiences with tourism in the UNESCO World Heritage site and popular safari destination of Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) in Tanzania. Although the NCA was created as a mixed-use area in which the Maasai could continue to utilize traditional grazing lands, the regulations controlling use have become increasingly more restrictive, and as a result, the Maasai still allowed in the park do not fare much better than those who were evicted from

other protected areas (Johnsen 2000). As a result of the land use policies that are in place to protect the wildlife, many of the Maasai living in the NCA experience higher rates of food insecurity than those living elsewhere, with about 40% of the children in the NCA suffering from malnutrition (Bellini 2008). Despite the recognized necessity of small-scale farming for meeting Maasai nutritional and economic needs, the Maasai have been banned from practicing cultivation within the Crater because the NCA Authority “regards [Maasai] family farms as a blot on the landscape – an eyesore for tourists” as well as a danger to the wildlife that attract the tourists (Bellini 2008:10).

A few Maasai communities living within the NCA are able to earn some income through cultural tourism at established “Maasai Cultural Bomas.” However, most of this revenue is taken by the tour company drivers, who respond to any objections by threatening to take their clients elsewhere, thereby cutting off access to the little cash that residents are able to earn (Snyder and Sulle 2011). The pastoralist advocates that I interviewed at PINGOs likened the NCA Cultural Bomas to “humans in zoos” and “as bad as enslaving the Maasai people of Ngorongoro.” They do not believe that the residents would be engaged in tourism if they had a choice, but that desperation has driven them to it. They believe that tourism is changing Maasai culture, and definitely not in a positive way. They see tourism as dehumanizing, with residents “asking for whatever you drop,” and claim “people cannot be degraded beyond that.” They also state that the NCA Cultural Bomas “are breeding sites for HIV-AIDS.” They admonish anyone supportive of Maasai engagement in tourism to “look at the other side, what is happening, which would not have happened if they were left alone.” As stated in Chapter One, it is easy to find evidence of both the positive and negative effects of tourism on Maasai

livelihoods, but this dissertation is concerned specifically with the perspectives and reported experiences of the Maasai in Longido.

Women's Experiences of Tourism in Longido

Longido residents have utilized tourism engagement as a strategy for diversifying their economy, increasing access to education, and building cultural capital. Women in Longido have also used tourism to create pathways to economic independence that have allowed them to renegotiate their positions in gendered relationships of power. The experiences of Maasai women in Longido mirror those of the women in other Maasai communities discussed in Chapter One. Most have limited access to or control over economic resources, including land and cattle, and must rely on fathers, husbands, or sons to provide for their needs. Women are typically responsible for meeting their family's educational and nutritional needs, but are required to ask their husbands for the cash needed to pay for food and school supplies. If a woman becomes widowed, and has no adult sons to care for her or take ownership of her husband's herds, she is left with nothing. Some women earn cash by selling milk or surplus produce from their gardens, but the cows and goats as well as the family farm plot is owned by the men. As a result, women have little control over the decisions that affect their lives, as well as the lives of their children.

I knew a secondary school girl in Longido who fled home because her father, who did not live with her or her mother, had suddenly announced that he was taking her out of school to be married off so that he could collect the bride wealth. Even though the

marriage was against the wishes of the girl and her mother, her family had no other recourse than to smuggle her out of Longido to live with relatives in Arusha. Another woman that I met was widowed and she, as well as her husband's other wives all relied on the adult son of the senior wife to care for the family and take charge of the herd. However, he was struck with cerebral malaria and died suddenly the week before our interview, and now the entire family was at a loss as to what to do without a man to care for them. Women in Longido often expressed feelings of powerlessness whenever they spoke of what they wished for themselves or for their families. When I asked one woman if there was anything that she would like to see changed in Longido, she replied, "Not really, because [I am] a woman. So [I] can't make any suggestion to change anything, because always men deal with the changing of stuff like that."

Women's Involvement in Tourism

For the women involved in tourism in Longido, tourism represents the promise of independence. Income earned through tourism belongs to the women, and they are free to choose how to spend it. The women that I interviewed were adamant that they did not give their money to anyone else, not even their sons or husbands. Most residents named the income that women are able to earn through tourism as a significant benefit, not only for the individual women, but for the community. Widows and women unable to care for themselves are considered the responsibility of the community, so the financial independence of those women lifts or at least lessens that communal liability. Even at the family level, the men I spoke with were appreciative of the women's economic gains through tourism. According to one young man, "It's good women get money, so that they

can do what they want to do and stop disturbing men, like asking men to do everything for them.”

Women in Longido gain income through tourism in four ways: (1) working as a CTE guide; (2) working as a CTE cook; (3) receiving payment for tourists entering their enkaji; and (4) selling jewelry and handicrafts to tourists. The most significant individual economic gains are made by the female guides, but the largest societal impact is created through the sale of jewelry because of the number of women involved. Only three of the 18 guides are female, and only two of the three work on a regular basis, but all three are Maasai. The two regular female guides that I interviewed claimed that they did not work as often as the male guides because they were responsible for their children and therefore did not have the same flexibility with their schedules as the men. However, the income that they are able to earn through salary and tips is far more substantial and reliable than the income earned by other women in Longido through tourism and other activities such as selling milk, produce, or charcoal. The guides earn TZS 30,000 (\$18) per day per group, and an additional TZS 20,000 (\$12) for camping overnight on the mountain. Most guides reported that they earn more than that in tips, although tipping varies widely across tour groups. One female guide stated that some groups only tip TZS 20,000 (\$12), but that it is possible to make as much as \$100 from one group. Most of the guides reported that they only work 4-6 times per month, and only during the four month high season. Considering that the Tanzania Gross National Income per capita is only \$630 per year, even part-time income from guiding is incredibly significant, especially for the female guides who do not have many other options to earn cash (World Bank 2014).

There are also three women that earn income by cooking for tourists in Longido. They are hired on an as-needed basis for the groups that request a meal and for guests at the CTE Guesthouse. Tour groups of four or less are usually taken to a restaurant, but larger groups almost always request a meal provided by the CTE cooks. The women cook traditional Tanzanian food, served buffet-style, and the meal is presented as part of the cultural experience on offer through the CTE. Tourists pay \$5 per person for meals (\$3 for breakfast), not including soda or beer, and all of that money is paid directly to the women, who make a tidy profit on meals that are priced much higher than at the local restaurants. Two of the women are widows, so this income is vital for paying for their children's education.

Women also earn income when tourists visiting their boma enter their enkaji. Boma tours always include a visit to at least one enkaji, and if the group is large, they will split the group up to visit multiple inkajijik. I was told that the women try to rotate who hosts tourists, but often it simply depends on who is at home or who volunteers first. Each woman receives TZS 3,000 (about \$1.85), and occasionally the tourists will offer to pay more or offer a gift to the woman and her family. Everyone that I interviewed admitted that while appreciated, the enkaji visit payments are too small and infrequent to make much of an impact, which is probably why there is not much competition between the women serving as hosts. Although begging is discouraged, the Longido CTE does not intercede if the tourists bring gifts, but Alliy usually suggests that the gifts be donated to a school rather than a specific household. I witnessed tourists bringing gifts of pens, coloring books, t-shirts, and more often than not, packaged snacks and cookies. Several of the residents that I interviewed mentioned these gifts as a benefit of tourism; although

some expressed concern that they were encouraging children to skip school when tourists are in town.

Most of the women who earn income through tourism in Longido do so by selling jewelry to tourists. There is a structure that was built by TEMBO on land that MWEDO helped secure for the women to set up shop off of the Namanga highway. It has a roof and cement tables, so that the women can sell in the shade and off of the ground. It was built with the expectation that tourists driving between Arusha and the Kenyan border would stop to buy Maasai handicrafts, but that never happened with any regularity, so the women only occupy the space now when visitors are already in Longido. The space is not used very consistently, and many times the women simply set their market up outside of whichever boma the tourists are visiting. The structure is only used for the visitors who are in Longido for the full day tour and have more time to walk to another location. I was unable to get an exact number of women involved, but I would usually count about 20-25 women with wares spread out every time a group of tourists visited the “Women’s Market,” and they were not always the same women that I saw each time, so the actual number is probably around 50.

Almost all of the women are from the bomas in Ol Tepesi and Longido Town, and many of them work in groups, in which they pool money to buy supplies in bulk. The women can make a nice profit from the jewelry, especially when large groups of wealthier tourists visit, but the time and money that they must spend to create their products is fairly substantial. Most of the supplies such as the beads, chains, and metal embellishments can be bought at the weekly cattle market, but the wire is harder to acquire. One woman reported that she spends TZS 100,000 (about \$61) for a six month

supply of wire from Nairobi. A large *esos* (the necklace worn by the tourist in Figure 16) can take one to two weeks to complete, and cost TZS 30,000 in supplies (\$18). Women will try to sell a necklace like that for TZS 50,000 (\$31) but will accept TZS 40,000 (\$24). Smaller necklaces can earn them \$3 to \$6 profit, and earrings and bracelets earn \$2 to \$4. Although these earnings appear meager, tourists would usually buy more than one item from a woman, and during the high season, a woman can earn TZS 50,000 to TZS 100,000 in one week (\$31-61). This income is incredibly significant to the women, but it is also unreliable, with many of my interviewees claiming that luck played a large role in their earnings. However, all of the women claimed that this income made a bigger impact than any other business earnings, and for many of the women, tourism is their only source of cash income.



Figure 16: Maasai woman with a tourist wearing an *esos* (large, disc-like necklace), 2012. Author's own photograph.

Impacts of Tourism Involvement

Regardless of how much income women earn, or how they earn it, the money is important because it is their own. Cash signifies more than the goods that can be bought; it is a pathway to self-determination, a tool that provides them with more control over their lives and the lives of their children. Women earning money through tourism has resulted in greater food security at the household level as well as more children receiving an education. I asked my interviewees how they spend their tourism income, and almost all women said that they buy food or pay for educational materials and fees. According to one woman, “When the women get [cash], the first thing to do is to buy material for kids who are at school. Buy and make sure they have school shoes, school uniform, a pen, a pencil, exercise book, and buy some food for the family. If the money remains, you buy a goat.” Buying a goat, or even a cow, is a significant purchase for a woman because that animal has the potential to generate income beyond her engagement in tourism. Instead of simply paying for the financial needs of the moment with whatever cash she makes that day, a woman can gain an economic asset that will provide sustaining income. One woman that I spoke with bought a baby female goat after earning TZS 30,000 from jewelry sales. She bred her goat, and now she has three goats producing milk, all from one day of tourism income. These goats belong to her, and not her husband, and she decides what to do with them and any income that they generate.

In general, Maasai women prioritize family needs differently than men. They are responsible for feeding and caring for the children, but they usually have to ask men for the cash needed to meet these responsibilities. According to one woman,

In the previous time before tourists, women don't have any money in their pocket. So they just wait for men to buy them food, and they take long time or sometime they don't buy. They ask us to drink milk. But since the tourists came, some women started to own their own money. They sell their stuff. They put the money in their pocket and buy what they want.

As a result of women earning tourism income, families have greater food security because they have direct access to the means with which to feed their children. Women also tend to value education more than men, and consider schooling a greater economic priority. I asked one of the female guides how her family paid for educational costs before she started earning tourism income.

So before only men did that stuff. They don't send many to kids to school because they can't use, they can't afford to pay. But now, since [I] get this money, [I have] power to send the kids to school and I have confidence that I will pay when I get salary. I'll pay this stuff. Now [I] use to send a larger number of kids to school than before.

Another way tourism income is changing gender dynamics is through the education of girls. As stated earlier, female education is not usually prioritized, especially considering that many girls are married off before they can complete secondary school, but women typically see the value of female education more so than men. Many of the women that I spoke with stated that they wished for more education for themselves, specifically in English and Kiswahili, in order to better conduct their business with tourists. They viewed language instruction as practical for both girls and boys. The guides in particular expressed a strong desire to educate their daughters, including the male guides, and those with children prioritized education over any other costs. Even if women do not make enough money to send their daughters to school, women engaged in tourism are more likely to see the value in female education because of their own desires to learn English and Kiswahili, and they are more likely to seek out other options for financing their

daughter's education. Many of the women that I spoke with who were involved in tourism had daughters sponsored by TEMBO or other NGOs.

Tourism has also opened up opportunities for female business education. SNV, Mondo Challenge, and MWEDO have all worked with women in Longido at different times to teach them business and language skills. This is especially significant for older women who have not had any formal education and do not know Kiswahili. A lot of the training focused on math skills and negotiating prices because many women had little to no experience with cash until recently. These skills are also transferable in negotiating fair prices for food and other goods at the market, which has led to even greater independence for women. Tourism income has made the biggest impact on the lives of women who do not have men to care for them, such as widows or women who have left abusive husbands. These women would usually be seen as burdens on their families because they cannot contribute financially to meeting their needs or the needs of their children. Women without husbands are pitied and can usually depend on their relatives to take them in, but they lose their sense of self-respect and control. In a society where social belonging and usefulness is directly associated with self-worth, these women are refugees in their own community. I interviewed several women in this situation. They reported that tourism income has given them more than the means to provide for their children, it has given them back their sense of worth and belonging. Nosikito⁴⁹ is a 45-year-old woman who left her abusive husband and returned to her family's boma, bringing only her children and three goats. She has been able to buy more goats as well as

⁴⁹ Name has been changed to maintain anonymity.

a few cows with the money that she makes from selling jewelry to tourists. According to Nosikito,

Because of tourists, [I] managed to have everything now... [I am] able to run [my] life, support [my] family. So always in [my] mind and [my] heart tourists are like friends and family, and brothers and sisters... because everything [I have] is from tourists... [I] can be like other people. [I] can live the life other people live, because of the tourism.

The significance of tourism income for women without husbands is recognized by the whole community, even those not engaged in tourism. One woman noted, “If you don't have a husband who is taking care of you, you will be okay. You can survive with the money from tourists. You can buy two goats, and you will milk the goats, and life goes on.”

As stated in Chapter One, this dissertation approaches gender as both an influencing force shaping tourism as well as a social construct that can be altered by touristic processes. Women have been limited in the ways they are able to engage in tourism in Longido by gendered divisions of labor and limited access to education. The CTE Coordinator and most of the guides are male, and the female guides are restricted in their engagement because of their gendered domestic responsibilities. However, women selling jewelry have been the most visibly active in tourism, and as a result, have done much to produce and validate knowledge about tourism in Longido. This chapter is concerned with the promises of tourism, chief among them the promise of development. The ways in which women have engaged in tourism, particularly in how they chose to spend tourism income, has served to legitimize the association between tourism and development. Tourism discourse in Longido has focused on the empowerment of women, and the ways in which women talk about tourism and the benefits that they receive

through tourism has served to reinforce this knowledge. Women have also used engagement in tourism as a strategy to renegotiate their role within the family in a way that allows for more agency and control over the decisions that affect them and their children. Many of the women engaged in tourism are economically enabled to address the needs that they prioritize, and several have been able to completely reconstruct their position of power within the family and society from the role of dependent to the role of provider. According to one interviewee, “Even the people who are really poor in the low class, after they did this business, they started to have their own stuff. They started life like normal people.”

Case Study: A Box for Saving Money

Asha⁵⁰ is one of the two regular female Longido CTE guides. Although they never divorced, Asha left her husband a few years ago and returned to her family’s boma, where she now lives with her children. She still has a relationship with her husband, but she has much more freedom to make her own decisions. Although Asha never spoke to me about it, it was common knowledge that her husband was abusive, and I had heard several stories about the times she had to fend him off and the injuries that she had sustained. She never received formal education, but she was trained in English and guiding by Mondo Challenge. Her job as a guide has allowed her the financial freedom to live apart from her husband and to make most of the decisions concerning her children. Maasai women are circumcised when they reach puberty. Although circumcision – often

⁵⁰ Name has been changed to maintain anonymity.

referred to as “female genital mutilation” or FGM in the scholarly literature – is extremely painful, makes sex uncomfortable, and childbirth dangerous, the practice continues because uncircumcised women are usually considered unmarriageable. TEMBO and other organizations have been campaigning to end the practice in Longido through public education programs, and Asha is one of the local women who would like to see FGM discontinued. She is circumcised, but she has given her children the choice, and none of her daughters wanted the procedure. Instead, they decided to focus on their education rather than on securing a husband, and her oldest daughter is currently doing very well in secondary school. Asha’s income from guiding has enabled her to pay for her children’s education, including her daughters. Asha has also been able to build a concrete house with a tin roof in her own compound attached to her family’s boma. This house is stronger and airier than a wattle and daub enkaji, and requires less upkeep and repair. Many of the Maasai I spoke with expressed a desire to build such a house, but few have the financial means.

Asha is well-respected among the other women and even the men of her boma. They acknowledge that her role as a guide affords them more opportunities to benefit from tourism, and they mention her when citing an example of how tourism has benefited Longido. Asha attributes all of her successes to her engagement in tourism.

Before, in the previous time, [I] was living a very, very hard life. [I] was cutting firewood and... burning charcoal [to sell] in town. Sometimes [I would] fetch water and sell the water to people in town. But later, when [I] got a chance to be a guide, [I am] guiding... and [I] get paid. [I] get a tip from tourists. All this money becomes helpful to [me]. [I] did so many things. If [I have] a goat; [I] bought it through the money. If the family [is] eating food, [it was bought with] the money from tourists.

She is also able to save money, which has increased her economic security. She usually spends her salary on immediate needs, but she puts all of her tips into a box in her house. “So any tip she get from tourists, she puts in the box, and she don’t use. She saved and then built this house, used the tips to build the house. Now some of her kids are at school. If they need anything, she can pay because of the money from tourists.” This has enabled her to engage in long-term planning, something that many Maasai, particularly women, are unable to do because of the insecurity associated with most of their economic activities.

Asha has also been able to use her engagement in tourism to renegotiate her position of power in her relationship with her husband. She proudly told me how her guiding income has earned her more respect from her husband because she is able to contribute to the welfare of the family, even claiming that requests for money from her husband can be turned into a playful game because she is no longer completely dependent on him to acquiesce.

Now [I] can be respected by [my] husband because [I have my] own money. Before, [I] used to ask like TZS 500 to buy salt from the husband. When you’re given 500, you can feel like, yeah I get money from my husband. But now, [I] can just tease him, [telling him to] buy food for the family, but [I] still have [my] pocket... full of money. So if he buys, yes it’s okay. If he didn’t buy, you can still buy food for your family. So as women, [we] get respect and [we] are educated through this money. [Our] husbands are also happy because of the situation. They are happy that they can be assisted by their wives to [take care of the] family, like buying food, paying [for] school stuff. So [we can say], “My husband, I can help you to pay school stuff this time.” And the husband would be very happy and appreciate.

In her role as a CTE guide, as well as through the visibility of her improved circumstances, Asha actively contributes to building and affirming knowledge about tourism and the association that it has with development in Longido. Echoing the

sentiment expressed by most Longido residents, Asha told me, “It is development to have tourism.”

In Longido, tourism is associated with development, not just in the ways that it creates pathways out of poverty, but in the ways that it builds social and cultural capital, particularly for women who do not have many other options. Within much of the historical rhetoric concerning Maasai development in Tanzania, women have been conceptualized as passive subordinates to men (Hodgson 2001), but within Longido tourism discourse, women are recognized as active participants, beneficiaries, and producers. They are not only the targets of tourism; they are the agents of tourism, constructing knowledge about tourism and using tourism to renegotiate their positions within gendered relationships of power.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE PERILS OF CULTURAL TOURISM

Introduction: NGO Ideals versus Local Reality

As the previous chapter illustrates, community-based cultural tourism is associated with development at both the international and local levels. The assumption that tourism generates community-level benefits is built into the community-based tourism model that has been created by the development industry. It is then reproduced at the local level through participatory planning and community outreach efforts during program development phases and reinforced through ongoing discourse and practice within the community. Although tourism planners actively work to mitigate the identified risks of introducing tourism into a community, the benefits are assumed to outweigh the costs. The SNV Project Manager for the initial development of the CTP, Tom Ole Sikar stated that the CTP planners had to consider the potential negative environmental and social impacts of the program. But even after considering the possible costs, they thought “we must try,” because of the considerable development potential.⁵¹ The previous chapter illustrated the ways in which tourism has produced clear benefits, especially for women, and demonstrated the general consensus on the value of tourism in the imaginations of

⁵¹ Tom Ole Sikar, interviewed by author, May 7, 2013.

Longido residents. This chapter will focus on how the promises of tourism and the ideals built into the CTP compare with local reality and the complexities of tourism experiences on the ground.

Scholarly literature on NGO-led tourism development has demonstrated that the values and ideals informing community-based tourism models do not always reflect the lived experiences of residents. Tourism is equated with development, but the very concept of development is understood differently by diverse groups. An NGO like SNV may define development in economic terms, but poverty is not always conceptualized as a deficiency of cash wealth. Rather, societies may regard social disharmony or the lack of familial connections as the defining characteristics of poverty. Therefore, a culturally appropriate development strategy in Tanzania might focus on building and strengthening social rather than economic systems, although the two are certainly related (Cochrane 2009). Earle and Simonelli (2005) report that members of the Zapatista movement in Mexico have defined development as moving toward self-determination and their efforts have therefore focused on building capacity for meeting their own needs without government support or intervention. Hodgson (2011) found that this connection between development and self-determination is echoed by African indigenous rights activists, including Maasai activists. According to Hodgson,

By “self-determination” they did not mean political secession, but the right to debate, decide, and control their own political representation, economic futures, social organization, and cultural practices and beliefs without outside intervention, in the face of a long history of state efforts to force them to assimilate, change, or refute their heritage. [2011:55]

Development in a Maasai context is defined as more than an increase in cash wealth; it is exercising the right to control one's livelihood, which fits the transformative development model discussed by Connell (1997) and mentioned in Chapter One.

Studies have shown that simply injecting cash into a cash poor society could actually cause more harm than good (Cochrane 2009). Development strategies that focus on income generation alone do not always take into account income distribution or the social ramifications of a sudden increase in cash wealth. The ways in which development, including community-based tourism development, is undertaken can also create or reinforce unequal power relations and lead to increased dependence rather than self-determination. International NGOs engaged in development interventions do not always recognize their role in the reification of knowledges that could serve to exacerbate rather than ameliorate existing inequalities (Stevens 2010). For example, hierarchies established between "First World" and "Third World" nations historically through colonialism and currently through neoliberal development and trade practices have conditioned many communities in developing countries to take a passive role in planning and development while depending on the NGO to actively lead (Stronza 1999).

So if Maasai self-determination is the goal of tourism engagement in Longido, has the CTP been successful in achieving this objective? Chapter Three demonstrated the ways in which residents, especially women have benefited through engagement in tourism. However, as this chapter will illustrate, there have also been negative impacts on the community, such as increased corruption and the growing mistrust of leaders. Many residents also expressed feelings of powerlessness when talking about how they wished to engage in tourism, and women especially tended to adopt a passive role in tourism

activity and discourse despite the ways in which tourism has visibly afforded them more autonomy. Understanding how tourism can be associated with both empowerment and dependency involves more than a cost-benefit analysis of the impacts. Therefore, this chapter is concerned not only with how residents identify and perceive the negative consequences of tourism, but how these experiences relate to touristic relations of power.

Economic Security/Insecurity

Musa and I sat on the ground outside the Women's Market building with two women wrapped in faded *vitenge* (colorful, printed cloths worn by women), one a grandmother, the other a great grandmother. Less than ten minutes before, the crumbling cement structure had been humming with the business of women selling jewelry to tourists, but at that moment everything was silent. According to the two women, the market sits in silence more often these days. They smiled wanly as they recalled more prosperous times. "It was a good business in the beginning, but nowadays there are no tourists here." One of the women pointed to a roofless brick building across the road. She built her house from the income that she earned in the earlier years of the CTE, but has not been able to complete the construction. "After the tourists have gone, then the house ended there. It is four years now, just like that." Her story echoes what I heard often in my interviews with residents, particularly those who had come to rely on tourism income to meet certain needs. The stream of tourists was waning, as was the income and the development that they represented. Some residents attributed the drop in tourist numbers to the greed of certain guides who were assumed to be restricting public access to the

tourists and their money, but even these guides and their families reported fewer tourists than in earlier years. Alliy claimed that the numbers were not decreasing, but that people were overreacting to a slow beginning of that year's high season. The visitor numbers in June had been much lower than previous years, but the number of confirmed groups in July and August would balance out a slow June. Yet Longido residents were insistent that the decline was not unique to that year, and that numbers had been steadily decreasing over the last four or five years. This downward trend was a major concern for the CTE employees and the women who had begun to build economic independence through engagement in tourism. At the end of my interview with the two jewelry sellers at the Women's Market, one of the women remarked with audible apprehension, "Maybe the end of tourist is here."

Economic Instability and the Lack of "Business Culture"

Despite Alliy's insistence that the CTE was not experiencing a decline in tourists, I found that his records indicated otherwise. Table 3 lists the numbers of tourist arrivals, total revenue, and the amount paid to the VDF for the Longido CTE from 2007 to 2012, as reported to TACTO and the TTB. Alliy explained that the dramatic decrease in visitors in 2010 was due to the World Cup, which was held in South Africa and presumably captured most of the international tourist arrivals to Sub-Saharan Africa that year. However, this decline was not represented in total international tourist arrivals to Tanzania, which increased by 11.1 percent from 2009 to 2010 (UNWTO 2011), nor in the arrivals to the Mto wa Mbu CTE, which increased 2.2 percent from 2009 to 2010. Longido, on the other hand, experienced a 43.7 percent decrease in tourist arrivals that

year, and the table shows an overall decline in arrivals after peaking in 2008. Despite recovering slightly in 2011, arrivals dropped below 1,000 again in 2012. Alliy attributed this most recent decline to the disappearance of Sawadee, a Netherlands-based tour company that had been consistently bringing large family tour groups to Longido until that year. Alliy never learned why the company terminated its relationship with the Longido CTE, but he assumes that they decided to work with a cultural tourism operator in Kenya where the government-imposed tourist fees are better regulated. The impact of losing this single client is clear in the 33.33 percent decrease in tourist arrivals for 2012. As stated earlier in this dissertation, community-based tourism enterprises such as the Longido CTE have little to no leverage in negotiating their relationships with tour companies, yet they are almost entirely dependent on tour companies for access to the market. The loss of a major supplier of tourists has been devastating for the Longido CTE and the residents who have come to depend on income from tourism.

Table 3: Longido CTE Tourist Arrivals and Revenue, 2001-2012

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Tourist Arrivals	1,597	1,628	1,386	780	1,269	846
Total CTE Revenue	\$23,780	\$23,298	\$30,702	\$10,484	\$22,297	\$11,916
VDF Revenue	\$6,163	\$6,562	\$9,387	\$3,707	\$4,648	\$2,197

The Longido CTE is not the only enterprise in the Tanzania CTP struggling as a business. One of the most celebrated CTEs is the Mkuru CTE, a Maasai enterprise in the Arusha Region that specializes in camel safaris. However, according to a 2010 study commissioned by the TTB, 27 of the original 40 camels have been stolen, resulting in a

significant loss in revenue (TTB 2010). The study also collected data on 12 other CTEs in the Arusha Region, including Longido. The resulting report states that a majority of the CTEs struggle to meet operating costs, and very few manage to make any profit. Those that do succeed, such as the Mto wa Mbu CTE, have entrepreneurial-minded coordinators dedicated to ethical and transparent business practices, and are well-situated to access the existing safari market. The study's authors recommend that the CTP be restructured so that each enterprise operates as a "business entity," not a "service entity," stating that the CTP suffers from "dependence syndrome" and lacks the "business culture" necessary for economic sustainability (TTB 2010:28-29).

I heard a similar recommendation in my interview with Damian Bell, who works to encourage socially and environmentally responsible partnerships between tour companies and local communities in northern Tanzania. He comes from a business background and believes in free enterprise; he has little patience for government interference in business or for tourism initiatives that suffer from what he sees as too much egalitarian idealism. He claims that the CTP is failing as a development initiative because it is failing as a business. "People forget, actually the most important thing a tourism business can do is be financially successful." According to Damian, if the enterprise is not making any money, "it's going to have very little positive impact." Like the TTB study authors, he also attributes the financial problems of the CTP to the lack of "a business vision" and an overreliance on donor support. He claims that the CTP's greatest failure is its idealism. Instead of focusing first on developing economically feasible businesses, the CTP has focused on targeting impoverished communities for tourism development without determining the location's market potential or providing

adequate training or resources for successful business development. Damian suggests that the best way to salvage the CTP is to privatize the CTEs and focus all effort on supporting and developing the enterprises with the most potential, “and what doesn’t make money, chuck it.” However, he recognizes that this radical restructuring will never happen because the CTP is “all politically tied up,” and his capitalistic approach could be considered antithetical to the egalitarian mission of the CTP.⁵²

Yet his point that the efficacy of an economic development program is dependent on its ability to generate income is accurate. It is clear that the CTP is struggling to make an impact because it is struggling to make money. Even Alliy, despite all his optimism and enthusiasm for the CTP, admitted as much to me. When I asked if he thought the CTP was a success as a development initiative, he replied, “My focus is to see it like that. But the way it is now, our goals are not yet achieved.”⁵³ As a result of the Longido CTE’s financial capriciousness, residents dependent on tourism reported experiencing high levels of economic insecurity and many expressed anxiety about the future. Even though many jewelry sellers reported that they were dependent on tourism income, they told me that they had no control over whether or not they sold anything. According to one jewelry seller, “you only sell if you’re lucky.” The decline in tourist arrivals means that this income is less reliable than ever, as evidenced by the following interview:

Interviewer: How important is income from tourism to you?

Translator: [It is] very important, and they like it. But it’s like there is a big interval from the day you get and the day you will get again.

Interviewer: So she can’t depend on it.

⁵² Damian Bell, interviewed by author, June 15, 2013.

⁵³ Alliy Mwako, interview with author, June 5, 2013.

Translator: Yeah. She can't depend on it.

As a result of the unpredictability of tourism income, many of my interviewees expressed fear and apprehension about the future, especially because no one understood why the tourists were no longer coming or what they could do about it. I ended all of my interviews by giving the interviewee the opportunity to ask me questions. Instead of questions about my life in the US or why I was conducting research, I often received pleas for help. They wanted me to bring more tourists so that they could continue making the income that they had come to depend upon.

Factors Contributing to Financial Instability

One of the primary reasons for the financial struggles of the Longido CTE, as well as the CTP as a program, is the inability to directly access the market. The CTP depends on the TTB to provide most of its marketing and promotion, but the CTP is not a priority for the TTB. Other than maintaining the CTP website and providing booking services through their offices, the TTB does not make much of an effort to promote the CTP, specifically to the international market. They have created a few opportunities for the exposure of the CTP in general tourism marketing spaces, such as in promotional magazines and at the annual Karibu Travel and Tourism Fair in Arusha. However, cultural tourism is always presented as a supplemental option within the wildlife safari industry, and its marketing is often buried under or obscured by the marketing for the National Parks. Tom Ole Sikar at SNV speculates that the TTB does not put much effort into promoting the CTP because the program does not have the same earning potential as wildlife tourism at the national level. "They do not see money from cultural tourism

going to government coffers. From Serengeti they can see money collected from the gate. But with this community-based [tourism], they find, ‘there is no money for us, there is nothing much for us in it.’” It would seem that behind the national rhetoric about poverty alleviation and celebrating Tanzanian culture lays a general apathy about whether or not the CTP actually succeeds in its mission. Conversations with CTE operators and those at TACTO revealed a sense of being left adrift by the national government, with the CTP receiving plenty of commendations and lip service but no real support. As a result, the CTP and its enterprises struggle to secure the capital, training, and connections to survive, and remain largely dependent on donors. The most successful enterprises are those that have a capacity to connect to the market without the assistance of the TTB, such as the Mto wa Mbu and Babati CTEs. The rest of the enterprises are entirely dependent on the tour companies.

Conflicting policies and unregulated tourist fees also affect the earning potential of the CTEs. The National Wildlife Conservation Act was amended in 2007 so that all tourism involving wildlife, both hunting and what is termed “non-consumptive” (i.e., wildlife viewing and photography) requires buying a permit through the national government (United Republic of Tanzania 2007). Local government bodies and the newly formed WMAs also charge “gate fees” for entrance into or through certain areas. These fees are not subject to much regulation, and can fluctuate without notice. Tour companies that collect payment from clients months in advance may find that gate fees have increased upon arrival and disagreements between tour groups and local authorities have actually resulted in the arrest of tourists. Yet even without the ambiguity and potential for conflict, these fees have priced visits to certain CTEs too high for many

tourists. For example, simply traveling to the Engaresero CTE costs tourists \$45 in fees charged at three separate village gates (Massawe 2013). Tourists who have already paid gate fees to the village they are visiting are often reluctant to pay additional VDF fees, claiming that they are “paying twice” (Wight 2006). According to Freddy Massawe at TACTO, these fees are only increasing as more and more villages and districts decide to take advantage of the opportunity for easy revenue. However, the result is not more money for local governments; it is the diminishment of tourists willing to visit.

Another factor affecting the ability of Longido residents, particularly jewelry sellers, to earn tourism income is the oversaturation of the tourism market. After a small group of MWEDO-trained women started making money selling jewelry to tourists in the early years of the enterprise, more women began showing up at the Women’s Market. The Market is not regulated, and any woman is able to sell jewelry if she so desires. Jewelry sewing is already a skill that most women possess, and neither the production nor the sale of jewelry conflicts with their other responsibilities. As a result of increased involvement, jewelry supply has exceeded demand, and the decline of tourist arrivals has only exacerbated the problem. Many women reported that they were lucky to sell anything at all, and even the tourists complained about the desperate measures women take to attract the attention of potential buyers. According to one jewelry seller, “Sometimes there are so many people selling. So you stay, you don’t go anywhere, because you have a hope that you will sell. Sometimes you be lucky... sometimes you be not lucky... and it will be a bad day to you. You didn’t go to your daily activities, and you didn’t sell.”



Figure 17: Woman sewing jewelry, 2013. Author's own photograph.

Impacts of Economic Insecurity

Longido residents who have become dependent on tourism income reported high levels of economic insecurity. Because the CTE employees and the jewelry sellers use tourism income primarily for meeting their family's nutritional and educational needs, they reported that these aspects of their livelihoods suffer the most when tourism income becomes unreliable. According to one woman, "There is a time [tourists] don't come. So we would be suffering with no food, because we will have no money." Not all interviewees experienced the same level of economic insecurity. The women who were married to wealthy or economically comfortable men reported that they may have to go without salt to flavor their food, but women who were widowed or who belonged to households of low economic status experienced graver consequences. Some reported that their children would go hungry, and even more reported that they would be unable to afford educational costs for their children. According to one interviewee, families having to take children out of school during the low tourism season is "a big problem here." Educations that are constantly interrupted mean that children fall behind and are unable to do well enough on their exams to advance to the next grade, thereby furthering the under-education of the Maasai in Longido District. Even though all of the permanent CTE employees rely on tourism as their families' primary source of income, they have not suffered as much from the decline in tourists as the jewelry sellers because there is less competition among them. However, many reported feeling apprehensive about the future of their revenue stream.

Because of this economic insecurity, many residents dependent on tourism find it difficult to plan for the future. Daudi, the guide profiled in the introductory chapter,

began using his income to build a house in Longido Town, but like the jewelry seller mentioned earlier in this chapter, he had to cease construction once he ran out of money. “I [had] to stop because we don’t have enough water. So many people, they don’t have money here. So they can build a house and stop for a while because of water and money. To buy timber, it’s so much money.” When tourism income dries up, residents may have to sell off important assets in order to meet their immediate needs. One woman I met was desperate to keep her children in school by any means. “They don’t know what to do with kids who are going to school, because normally they use this money to buy them soap, school material, give them fare, and some money to survive at school. This time they don’t know what they’re going to do. Maybe they’ll sell their goats.” The goats had been purchased with tourism income during more prosperous times, but in the end, she decided to sell them.

The insecurity is hardest on the women. Even though guiding was their primary occupation, all of the male guides supplemented their tourism income with other wage work, such as brick making, construction, operating a small duka, or working part-time for other tour companies. The female guides did not have as many options, but one of them made some income selling produce in the market. Even when the CTE experiences a lean year, the guides and other CTE employees can expect a certain amount of income from the tourists that do come. They always get paid when they work. The jewelry sellers do not have that same level of security. According to one woman, “The guides are the ones who benefit a lot from the tourist, because they get paid. It is different with us, who just wait and sell stuff.” Without tourists, the women have no way to make money. “These women who are making beads have got nowhere else to sell their beads, their

jewelries. But once the tourists start to come, they've got a customer to buy their jewelries, and they make money." Another woman expressed this issue powerfully and succinctly by stating, "The money is very important, because woman only can get money through tourist. If there is no tourist, woman has no money." The guides have more options than the jewelry sellers because they have transferrable skills gained through their work in tourism, the most useful being English fluency. The men also have more flexibility in following work opportunities that require travel or time away from home, and they can take advantage of their proximity to Arusha. The female guides and the jewelry sellers are responsible for childcare and other domestic duties, and so do not have the same options as the men.

The oversaturation of the jewelry market and the decline in tourist arrivals has led to economic insecurity and apprehension about the future, but the most striking feature of my interviews with residents was the overwhelming sense of helplessness. No one knew why the tourists were decreasing, and no one knew what to do about it. According to the jewelry seller with the incomplete house, "[I] don't know why they are not coming anymore... [I] get a little bit shocked, like what happened? Why [are] there no more tourists anymore? Almost 5 years they didn't have any tourists here." Yet as was illustrated in Chapters One and Two of this dissertation, economic insecurity is not a unique feature of tourism engagement. Maasai economies have been impacted by a variety of political, cultural, and environmental phenomena that have contributed to increased insecurity, regardless of tourism involvement. Chapter Three demonstrated the ways in which tourism has actually created opportunities for residents to gain economic independence and more control over their livelihoods, particularly in the ways that they

chose to adapt to or resist unwanted change. Nevertheless, as a result of their engagement in tourism, many Longido residents have become dependent on a revenue stream that is both enigmatic and out of their control.

“Eating the Money”

Corruption and Mistrust

In addition to economic insecurity, many residents associated tourism with deepening inequalities and increased mistrust of local authorities. Hodgson (2011) attributes the rising levels of economic insecurity in Maasailand to the rapid disappearance of traditional systems of redistribution and assistance, in which the wealthy are morally and socially tasked with helping those in need. These systems served to help families that were experiencing momentary hardships recover and regain self-sufficiency. The breakdown of these systems has led to increased economic insecurity as well as rising inequalities. Although there has always been economic stratification in Maasai society, specifically in livestock holdings, studies have shown that these disparities have grown considerably in recent years (Homewood, Kristjanson, et al. 2009; Sachedina 2008). Yet the cultural values associated with the traditional redistribution systems continue to inform Maasai understandings of wealth and responsibility.

A common complaint that I heard from boma residents was that the government or the guides were “eating the money,” which is a common Maasai euphemism for corruption or stinginess. The residents saw tourists in their community and they knew that a portion of the revenue was supposed to go toward development, but as was

mentioned earlier, how this money is used is not clear, which leads many residents to assume corruption. “Eating money” was a phrase that came up frequently in interviews, especially in Ol Tepesi. According to one woman, “There’s a problem with the leaders of the government, because the tourists pay for the village, but [the leaders] just eat the money by themselves.” I heard from several interviewees that the Ol Tepesi government had promised to use tourism revenue to finish construction of the nursery school, but the project remains incomplete.

If the local government was careful and used the money they made from tourists carefully for development, this village could be so far... [We] could be improved in so many things. But the local government seems to be corrupted. So they didn’t do anything with the money... Also they built a nursery school there, but it’s not built. They just started under the tree, and till to this moment it’s not improved. When the rain comes, the kids still get rained on in the nursery school... [I] don’t see anything really improved, done by the money from tourists. But [I] don’t blame the tourists, because tourists give a lot of money... But [the government] doesn’t use this money in a proper way.

Many of the corruption accusations centered on the local governments (i.e., the Longido and Ol Tepesi Village governments, and the Longido District government), but for those residents far removed from any involvement in village and CTE governance, everyone in an authority position was equally suspect.

The guides are the primary intermediaries between tourists and the community, and for many residents, the guides represent the face of cultural tourism in Longido. The residents that I interviewed were polarized in their opinions of the guides. Many people claimed to have no issue with the guides, and some even expressed gratitude for the guides serving as translators and mediators. Several of the residents of Asha’s⁵⁴ boma described her as their ambassador to the CTE office, and recognized that their connection

⁵⁴ Asha is the female guide profiled in Chapter Three’s Case Study.

to her gave them an advantage over other bomas involved in tourism, especially in ensuring that tourists continue to visit their boma regularly. However, those that did complain about guide behavior expressed strong views on the subject. A few protested that the guides only took tourists to their own bomas, and do not share the benefits of tourism outside of their own families. Many also believed that the guides were pocketing money that the tourists had intended to give to other residents. For instance, many of the women who sold jewelry claimed that guides would pretend to assist in price negotiations, but actually quote more to the tourists and hand over less to the women, pocketing the difference. The price to enter an enkaji is set at TZS 3,000, but because the cash is handed off through the guide, some of the residents believed that the tourists gave more and the guides kept back some for themselves. One elder suggested that the money be handed directly to the boma residents in order to negate conflict, “because some people think that the money the tourist give to the guide, the guide always takes some.”

Most people recognized that not all CTE guides are corrupt, and made a point of saying that the problems lie with one or two specific guides. I heard the same three names repeated, two of them guides, and one a local official. All three were markedly wealthier than most residents. I interviewed the wife of one of these men, and even she insisted that the guides should be changed because the current ones “seem to be not honest.” Another resident speaking about the same guide gave an example of a reoccurring situation in which the guide cheats both tourists and other residents.

For instance, if the tourists want... a goat to be slaughtered, he is the one who is given money. He don't buy a goat, he just take one, a small one, from his goats and slaughter. And say, this is the goat he bought... but also he still has the money... If the tourists give something for the village, he keep for himself.

A few residents assumed that Alliy was corrupt simply because all of the payments went through the CTE Office. According to one resident, “The problem is in the office. Anything... the tourists bring just go to belong to the office, or the people who are leading.”

Corruption and the Lack of Transparency

Except in the case of a few of the guides, these suspicions of corruption were grounded more in the lack of information than in the presence of actual evidence. This is not to say that all of their accusations were inaccurate, but when pressed to say why they believed the leaders were “eating the money,” many cited the lack of transparency as the basis for their suspicions. They were told that the tourism revenue would be used to build a school roof, and even though they continue to see tourists, they do not see a roof. They were certain that the tourists were spending money, but they could not say for sure where it was going. So the assumption was that it went into the pockets of those directly collecting from the tourists, namely the guides, the CTE Office, and the local government.

I was once interviewing a 65-year-old elder, and just as he was expressing his disappointment in his village government’s use of tourism revenue, an official rode up on his motorcycle. We put the interview on hold as they chatted. After the official left, the elder burst out laughing, saying that the official was riding a new motorcycle, and wasn’t it obvious that it was purchased with embezzled tourism revenue! I asked how he knew that the leaders were corrupt, and he said that it was because “they buy cars, they make nice houses.” Simply having more than others was enough evidence to imply corruption.

The following interview excerpt demonstrates how the lack of information can lead to mistrust: “She will never know what [the leaders] do... She just heard that there was tourists who came and give them an amount of money. And she can see the guys buying cows and building houses. So she is saying all goes to those leaders.”

Problems of assumed corruption and lack of transparency extend beyond Longido. Alliy claimed that TACTO could tell when a CTP enterprise is in trouble when the coordinator stops submitting an annual earnings report. “Those that are not doing well, they can’t report, because they have eaten the money.”⁵⁵ The Longido CTE reports its earnings to TACTO, the TTB, and the Longido Village Council, and the Council announces this revenue and the VDF at the village meetings. However, few boma residents attend these meetings. As stated before, the Longido Town meetings are conducted in Kiswahili, not Maa, which excludes many of the female and older Maasai, and the meetings only concern the Longido Town budget. Ol Tepesi, where a majority of handicraft sellers reside and where three out of the five frequently visited bomas are located, has its own budget and Council. However, the Ol Tepesi government did not hold formal public meetings to discuss the budget, and most of the accusations of corruption centered on Ol Tepesi officials and guides. The Ol Tepesi residents were also less likely than Longido Town residents to know anything about the CTE Office and its workings. Because there is less transparency in Ol Tepesi, it is difficult to determine whether or not the money is used correctly, stolen, or simply mismanaged, but the general assumption held by residents, including Alliy, was that at least some of the tourism revenue was embezzled by the Ol Tepesi government.

⁵⁵ Alliy Mwako, interviewed by author, November 14, 2012.

The Longido Town government appears to have earned more trust from its constituents than the Ol Tepesi government because of greater transparency. The Town is also more densely populated and is the hub of Longido commerce and public life, so CTE employees and government officials were generally more visible and available. Mr. Ngamela is the Longido Village Chairperson. His personal residence is recognizable for the brightly colored purple blooms framing his front door, and it is located just a few doors away from both the CTE Office and the Longido Police Station. He usually keeps the door of his office open and can be seen walking throughout the village daily or conducting tutoring sessions with local students. He is gregarious, well-spoken, warm, and approachable. In other words, he knows how to create a conciliatory presence and acts the part of the populist politician very well. Most of the residents I spoke with seemed to like him, even if they were not entirely sure that they trusted him. Politicians in general are not trusted in Tanzania, and someone once told me that people only enter politics to get rich. However, it did appear that both Alliy and Mr. Ngamela's attempts to be open and forthright about tourism earnings created more trust in Longido Town than I found among residents in Ol Tepesi.

The CTE Office kept detailed, if not organized records on everything, and Alliy claimed that he could go to these records any time there was a dispute over payment. However, in my interview with the Longido Chairperson, I learned that the way that the Longido Town VDF is administered differs from what I was originally told and what is reported to both tourists and residents. Rather than using the VDF specifically for development projects, this fund is absorbed into the general Village budget along with all other Village revenue. The VDF is essentially treated like a tax. The Village does use a

portion of their budget for development purposes, but it is also used for other Village budgetary needs, such as paying salaries. So there is no direct link between the VDF and any development projects. Yet the association between tourism revenue and community development remains an important aspect of Longido resident discourse and imagination.

Normalizing Corruption

Despite the rhetoric of community benefit and the ways that tourism revenue is indirectly used for development, mistrust was still an issue. The local people do not trust their leaders when it comes to money, and the presence of tourists, and more specifically the revenue that the tourists represent, only serves to deepen the distrust. Someone involved in the CTP who wished not to be identified claimed that very few people working in the CTP are actually interested in community benefit and that most of them are only interested in earning money for themselves. According to this person, “nothing will be done in the proper way” once money is introduced, and this includes both local government as well as the CTP Coordinators. Daudi Peterson of Dorobo Safaris also recognized the problem of corruption in the communities in which Dorobo works. “The irony is the more money that you are generating for them, the more corruption is likely to happen. It’s just because the temptation is greater.” Dorobo has tried to mobilize the communities to hold their leaders accountable, and has even seen a few corrupt leaders removed from office as a result. Daudi claims that change is possible, “but it has to come from within” the community.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Daudi Peterson, interviewed by author, June 27, 2013.

Despite the complaints about corruption, many Longido residents expressed a general ambivalence, insinuating that corruption was to be accepted as a natural aspect of governance. In her research on Tanzanian attitudes toward corruption, McDonnell (2011) also heard the phrase “eating money” used often in reference to taking bribes and embezzling money. Chai was often used as a euphemism for a bribe, and according to McDonnell, “associating corruption with food—a basic necessity for life—and with chai—a staple in Tanzanian culture and diet—implies that corruption is also an intrinsic part of life.” The two jewelry sellers mentioned earlier in this chapter told me that there were certain men who try to “own the tourists” and keep the revenue within their own bomas, but that “they don’t want to mention their names because it’s their sons.” The women did not mean that the men were their actual sons, but that maintaining social harmony in a society that views its members as family was more important than dealing with corruption.

For the residents of Longido, corruption is not desirable, but it is expected and assumed to be normal. Many of the residents that I spoke with claimed that they could not change anything, or that they wished or hoped that someone would step in and change the system for them. Some residents asked me to tell Alliy to change the guides, or to intervene on their behalf, but they all expressed a passive role in suggested responses to corruption. I also came across this attitude when residents discussed economic insecurity. In both cases, residents lack knowledge about the situation. Corruption was related to a lack of government transparency, and economic insecurity was related to a lack of tourism industry understanding. Not knowing why something is happening or how to change it leads to feelings of powerlessness. Although the Longido CTE was established

to create community benefit, the community does not believe they have any control over it. Despite the commendable intentions of CTP planners and administrators, tourism-related corruption and economic insecurity persist because the dominant knowledges about tourism reinforce notions of powerlessness. Tourism holds the promise of development and self-determination, but residents perceive this promise as mysterious and out of their control to claim or keep.

Case Study: “And Then Everything Stops”

The women who sell jewelry to tourists in Longido experience the highest levels of tourism-related economic insecurity. They were also the residents most likely to express feelings of powerlessness when talking about their ability to affect their own circumstances, even though their economic security varied considerably at the household level. For some of the women, inability to rely on tourism revenue did not affect their ability to feed their families, even if it meant that they were entirely dependent on their husbands without it. Other women experienced greater suffering when tourism income dried up because they were heads of their households or because their husbands' income was also unreliable or scarce.

Most of the women involved in tourism attributed their lack of agency to a lack of knowledge, but many of them also pointed out the ways in which CTE guides affected their capacity to successfully sell jewelry. Guides are the primary mediators between the women and the tourists, and guide behavior, whether intentionally malicious or not, directly impacted the ability of women to earn much needed income. Women claimed

that several guides restricted and controlled access to tourists, misquoted prices, pocketed a portion of the women's earnings, stole potential customers, were openly hostile to the women, or simply "blocked" tourists from the women.

Interviewer: What is your opinion of the guides that bring tourists to your boma?

Translator: Sometimes they are nice, and sometimes they can block tourists to do anything to them.

Interviewer: How do the guides block the tourists?

Translator: She doesn't know because they don't understand the language. But he kind of talks to them, and then everything stops.

Another woman told me that the guides do not allow the tourists "to be free" and walk around. "If they don't be free, then they don't feel comfortable to come and buy their stuff." Women also complained that the guides do not allow the tourists enough time to browse the Women's Market, and that the tourists are hurried off while they are still looking. This was an observation that I also made during participant observation. The guides are told that they are responsible to keep to a schedule, and because the visit to the Women's Market is usually conducted last, guides feel pressure to rush everyone through it. I was even left behind once when I had joined a tour group. I was talking to one of the jewelry sellers until she pointed out that the tourists were gone. I looked around me and saw that the women were beginning to pack up their wares and that the tour group was already far off in the distance walking back to the CTE Office. According to one interviewee, "Sometimes when they start to look over the beads, and they want to buy, the guides start telling them, 'Let's go, time is out. So let's go.' The tourists listen to him. Some... already have money in their hands, but [the guide is saying] let's go, and then they have to go and they leave us."

The women also accuse the guides of taking advantage of their role as mediator and translator during price negotiations with tourists in order to “make their own price” and take a cut of the women’s earnings. I heard this complaint from several of the women, but one woman made the point to tell me that this behavior was not characteristic of all of the guides.

The guides also are good guides, because they bring these tourists to us. They tell us what the tourist is saying. They tell the prices we say. They help us to sell the stuff. Some, they add some money on top of the price [we] say. So then when the tourists give the money, later on they will come and ask you, “You said 20 and I said 25, so I need my 5 back.” But not all of them.

The practice of quoting higher prices in order to claim a cut has direct repercussions on the women’s earnings. Most tourists haggle, and very few agree on the first price that is quoted. The women do not take issue with haggling; it is the norm in almost all transactions in any Tanzanian market. However, the women invest a certain amount of their own income in supplies to create the jewelry, and often their profit margin is only a few dollars per piece.⁵⁷ Sometimes, the cut that the guide pockets is the entirety of the woman’s profit off of the piece, but the woman will go through with the sale because she needs to make back what she has already spent, and cash, even with no profit, is still cash to take home that day. One woman said that she will sell a piece even if she will not make a profit “because you need money, you need food... but you can’t get materials to make another one... [you] don’t make any profit.”

At times, the price the guide quotes to the tourist is much higher than the piece is worth, so the tourist will decide against the sale and the woman does not receive anything. The women also reported that a few of the guides steal customers by selling

⁵⁷ Chapter Three includes details on jewelry prices and profits.

directly to the tourists. One woman claimed that four of the guides have “big bags full of jewelries” that they purchase from wholesalers in Arusha or Namanga, and that they employ “so many tricks” to make sure that the tourists buy from them before the women even have a chance. She told me that these guides sell to tourists at Orpul Cave or at the Longido Town bar where tourists will sometimes be taken to taste *pombe* (locally brewed beer). Both locations are traditionally male spaces where Maasai women are forbidden or not expected to go. “While the women are waiting for the tourists to get out to buy their stuff, they have already sold stuff to them.”

Although many of women said that they wished that new guides would be hired or that Alliy would reign in the bad behavior, most admitted that they did not go directly to the CTE Office with their complaints. However, the few that did confront Alliy or the guides directly did not feel as though their complaints were being addressed. One woman claimed that “they ignore women” and that “they don’t like women at times.” Another woman recounted a story in which a group of women heard that there was a student tour group camping at the secondary school but that no one was bringing the tourists to the Women’s Market, which was set up in the structure off of the Namanga Highway. So the women decided to bring their wares to the tourists and they set the market up at the school. The teachers responded by calling the police. “They were bringing the lights. They wanted to burn our stuff.” The women were eventually chased from the school by the police. When they complained to Alliy, the woman recalling the events to me claimed that he told her that they needed to sit and wait at the market building; that the tourists would come to them. Yet the student group never came. She believed that Alliy was not promoting their market, and she felt frustrated by his lack of support. However, most

women claimed to have little interaction with Alliy, and so did not hold strong opinions on the CTE Office. Rather, most of their issues were with the guides.

Although many of the women complained about guide behavior, most conceded that their grievances only applied to a specific minority. Some women even made a point of commending the other guides for good behavior. “The guides are different. Some are good; some are not very good... Those who are good, when they bring the tourists, they allow the tourists to be free. To look at what they want to see. They come to the market, and they tell exactly the price which you ask.” Some guides will actually make an extra effort to give the women a fair chance to sell their jewelry. I was once with Daudi and a small group of tourists at a boma, and one of the boma’s residents approached the tourists as they were leaving, offering them a chance to look at her wares. The tourists were interested, but Daudi insisted that the tour group wait to buy jewelry until they visited the Women’s Market. To buy from the woman at the boma would give that woman an unfair advantage. It was an uncomfortable situation, in which the tourists felt embarrassed and the jewelry seller was disappointed, but Daudi was trying to do what he thought was right for the CTE, the tourists, and the women of the Women’s Market. Daudi is one of the guides who could be described as a “true believer” in the ideals built into the CTP, and he is steadfast in his application of Alliy’s rules concerning correct behavior. In general, the guides were all interested in making money for themselves, but certain guides, like Daudi, fervently believed that the CTP existed to benefit the community. Others guides had different motivations driving their interactions with tourists and other residents. Some were very focused on customer satisfaction (and tips) and privileged the desires of tourists over those of locals, and others were more nonchalant about their role as

mediator and only interfered in tourist or resident behavior if absolutely necessary. There was also a minority that actively took advantage of tourists and residents for their own gain.

Most of the women assumed that they could not do anything to change the situation with the guides other than complain to Alliy. Inability to speak English was the main contributing factor that the women attributed to their powerlessness.

Normally, from the beginning, most of the people can sell stuff to the tourists and get benefit. But nowadays, the people who are benefiting [the most are] the guides... Because even if [we] have arranged all [of our] stuff together and sell to the tourist, the guide [will] still have a trick or technique to show the tourists to buy from his wife or his mother. So the guide is the one who is benefiting from tourists nowadays, because [we] don't have anyone [among us] who can speak English.

The women cannot access the tourists directly, but must wait for the guides to bring the tourists to the Women's Market, and once there, they must rely on the guides to translate and communicate price negotiations. Most women that I spoke with expressed a strong desire to learn English for business purposes, and the women that seemed to do the best at the market and have the most control over their business were the ones who had received some business and English training from MWEDO or Mondo Challenge. Knowing English also seemed to be related to better relationships and greater trust between the women and the guides. According to one jewelry seller, learning English could "take away the thought [that] maybe this guide... doesn't want the tourists to buy my stuff. So you can just do business by yourself." Yet without a means to learn English or control the behavior of the guides, the women felt powerless to change the current situation.

Translator: They have been thinking of how the guides can be changed. But they have no one to change them.

Interviewer: So you want the guides to be changed?

Translator: They really want to be changed, but they don't know how it will work.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EMPOWERMENT PARADOX

Introduction: Who Holds the Power?

The three Australian tourists were in Longido to see the Maasai. They came with their cameras, and their hiking boots, and their guilt-laden curiosity. When their CTE guide Abraham led them to a group of Maasai men butchering a goat, they tentatively took out their cameras only after Abraham encouraged them to do so. As soon as the cameras were out, however, the men began shouting and gesturing angrily. The tourists, red-faced and ashamed, quickly put the cameras away and self-consciously looked down at their feet as Abraham explained how the Maasai butcher animals. Later, they told me how conflicted they were about visiting the community as cultural tourists. They were interested in learning about Maasai culture but were also worried that they were treating the Maasai as attractions in some sort of “human zoo.” In my research, I have met many tourists struggling with this same conflict of conscience. Conscientious tourists experience a kind of schizophrenia when traveling to Developing World cultural destinations. One may be motivated by a desire to understand, humanize, or help local communities, but these motivations are intertwined with the fear that one’s presence might actually be exploiting, dehumanizing, or damaging residents. How can one

ethically engage in cultural tourism in a way that is sensitive to the impact that one has on the community visited?

The iconic image of the Maasai people – colorfully dressed in red togas and beaded jewelry, spear in hand, herding cattle over the African savannah – has attracted travelers to Tanzania since the 19th century (Bernsten 1980). The tourism guides in Tanzania joke that the “Big Five,” representing the five African animals that every tourist needs to see on safari, should be called the “Big Six” to include the Maasai. However, many self-aware tourists feel conflicted about seeking out and photographing the Maasai. They worry about insulting or angering the local people by behaving insensitively or disrespectfully, and they are concerned about the impact their presence has on the daily lives of their hosts. They assume that they are intrusive in some way; that they are merely tolerated for the income that they represent.⁵⁸ But in my interviews with residents of Longido, I found that no one expressed a strong opinion on tourist behavior. The tourists are seen as a curiosity and a source of income. Most residents are baffled as to why the tourists come, but they welcome them because it is an honor to host guests and because the money the tourists bring injects cash – needed for school, clothes, and food – into their mostly subsistence economy. The tourists aren’t merely tolerated, they are usually welcomed. After the incident with the Australian tourists and the men butchering the goat, I found out that the men were not angry with the tourists, they were angry with the guide. Abraham did not greet them properly when he arrived with the tourists. Rather, he walked up speaking English to the tourists and ignored the men. The butchers came to the CTE Office afterward to complain about Abraham “because he is rude, he doesn’t want

⁵⁸ This characterization of self-aware cultural tourists is based on participant observation, tourist questionnaires, informal interviews, and conversations that I have had while traveling in Tanzania.

to greet, he thinks we're here for the Wazungu's money, [but] we are not depending on that money like him."⁵⁹ He was held responsible for not showing proper respect; the tourists were a non-entity in the conflict.

Often, those expressing concerns about tourism's impacts conceptualize tourists as holding all of the power, whether they are the concerns of tourists, scholars, or tourism developers. After all, the residents must respond to the desires and expectations of the tourists, or at least to assumptions that are held regarding tourist desires and expectations. Yet as this dissertation has illustrated in the previous two chapters, residents have their own motivations for engaging in tourism, and they view the actions of tourism intermediaries, such as guides, as more important than those of tourists, who are seen more as economic assets than independent actors. As mentioned in Chapter One of this dissertation, power is not a commodity that one can possess; it is relational and dynamic and involves a continuous dialectic between the individual will and the pressures of external forces and actors. The CTP was developed with the intention of empowering local people to take charge of their own futures, which fits the tenets of transformative development. But the very nature of the CBT model used to accomplish this goal has actually exacerbated both internal and external power disparities, leading residents to feel powerless and deepening dependence on external actors. This chapter critically examines assumptions about power in the context of community-based tourism by looking at how Longido residents view their position of power in relation to other touristic actors.

⁵⁹ Alliy Mwako, interviewed by author, December 14, 2012.

Tourist Impacts, Real and Imagined

The self-conscious Australian tourists are not alone in their fears of being perceived as invasive by locals. Many of the tourists that I encountered in Longido, as well as in my other travels in the Developing World expressed similar concerns about their impact on destination communities. Of particular concern were the effects of tourist photography. I once accompanied an American woman as she visited a boma with the CTE. She was in Tanzania for business and felt that she should spend her few free days of leisure travel supporting a community-based tourism enterprise, rather than indulge in a wildlife safari or beach excursion. She had carefully researched the tour company that she hired, making sure that it was Tanzanian-owned and culturally and environmentally sensitive. When she arrived in Longido, she was polite to everyone she met, made an effort to learn Kiswahili and Maa greetings, and asked a lot of questions about the residents' well-being and the impacts of tourism. I noticed that she only took her camera out to take landscape and wildlife pictures, and that she kept it hidden in her bag during the boma visit. As we walked back to the CTE Office at the end of her tour, she gushed about the beauty and elegance of the Maasai mama whom she had just met, and how she wished that she could have taken a photo to capture a memory of her. When I told her that it was generally expected of the tourists to take photos, she expressed surprise, asking if it was not considered invasive or rude. Although most tourists took pictures of the Maasai in Longido without expressing as much concern as this American business tourist, many asked their guide whether or not it was appropriate. The guide's reply was

to always ask and be respectful of those who refuse, but that photography was expected and acceptable to the local people.

It is not my intention to dismiss the political significance of tourist photography, especially in this context. Photography of the Maasai in Tanzania represents a long history of image appropriation and marginalization. Maasai images are commonly used without the permission or compensation of the subjects in promotional materials for tour companies and on prints, postcards, and other photographic media sold in gift shops to tourists. I heard several Maasai complain about the logos of foreign-owned tour companies featuring Maasai images. The CTE guide Abraham mentioned several times how he wished that the government would prohibit the practice of non-Maasai profiting off of the Maasai name and likeness. International attention to the issue of Maasai image appropriation has increased in the last few years with the creation of the Kenya-based Maasai Intellectual Property Initiative, which is publically campaigning against companies and fashion designers who use the Maasai name and image without consent or compensation, such as Land Rover, Louis Vuitton, Calvin Klein, Diane von Furstenberg, and Ralph Lauren (Faris 2013).

In discussing photography of the Maasai in Kenya, Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2005) state that “photography is an aggressive act,” and “a means of dominating the object” (56). However, conceiving tourist photography as an act of asserting dominance assumes, once again, that the tourist occupies the dominant role in touristic interactions. As will be discussed later in this chapter, residents of Longido do not identify tourists as the locus of power, nor do they express feelings of subjugation in their relationships with tourists, despite many of the tourists expressing fears that they

were exploiting their assumed dominant role. Rather, tourists were conceived as economic assets, and those who had access to and control over these assets were identified by residents as the dominant actors in touristic encounters.

Observations of Tourist Photography

Although photography was not usually regarded as exploitative or invasive, residents did express opinions on the practice. For those directly involved in tourism, either as CTE employees, jewelry sellers, or as residents of the visited bomas, photography was a regular feature of their lives during the high season. Even though only two of the guides and almost none of the residents owned cameras (I observed that a few men had camera phones), the Maasai were regularly the subject of the tourists' photographs. When asked what tourists do when they visit a boma, almost all interviewees mentioned photography first. Even though photography was common and expected, responses to cameras varied. In one day of field notes, I recorded a variety of reactions to a single group of camera-wielding visitors from Slovenia. An old man flatly refused to be photographed, shaking his head and putting his hand up as he abruptly walked away. A young mama quickly hid her face behind another mama who giggled at her friend's bashfulness. Children begged for pictures to be taken and grabbed impulsively at the cameras to see the results. My LCD screen was covered in smudgy fingerprints by the end of the day. Some kids jumped in front of other kids trying to be photographed. Others ran squealing and laughing, hiding behind their friends, or burying their faces in the vitenge of the mamas. Some of them appeared frightened, knitting their eyebrows together in concern and skittering away as soon as the camera pointed at them,

the curiosity displayed just a moment earlier forgotten. Very few adults volunteered to have their pictures taken, although many at the bomas consented if asked. Others refused, hid, or turned away, and a few mamas pushed their children in front of the camera, almost as if they were offering their children up to avoid the same fate.

I noticed that children were the most frequent subjects of tourist photography. Not only were they of great interest to the tourists, who cooed and gushed over the “cuteness” of the children, but they were the most enthusiastic subjects. Many of the adults who acquiesced seemed reluctant or at least shy and self-conscious, shifting their eyes away from the direct gaze of the camera. However, there were a few adult residents who encouraged the tourists to take their pictures. One woman walking alone along the road stopped and offered to pose with the tourists, smiling and laughing, and speaking a little bit in English. She teased the lone male tourist of that group, posing with him as he exclaimed gleefully, “This is my new girl!” The *mama kubwa* (senior wife) of one of the bomas was a frequent subject of photographs due to her prominent presence, welcoming demeanor, and elegant appearance. Although not as enthusiastic as the woman on the road, the *mama kubwa* did not exhibit the same shyness as most other women allowing their photo to be taken, and she always looked steadily at the camera with her chin up.

Although most tourists only photographed residents during the boma visit, some also tried to take photos of people in town. The town residents were not directly involved in tourism and most did not want to be photographed, although they were generally welcoming to tourists. I was accompanying a lone Dutch tourist one day, when we passed by the hair salon up the street from the CTE office. Some of the women inside called out to the guide Abraham. They were laughing uproariously and saying that there was a girl

inside who “needs to marry in old European man!” We walked over to the doorway and Abraham started teasing the women and demanding that the girl who needed a Mzungu husband identify herself. A young woman with blonde highlighted braid extensions stood up from where she was working on someone’s hair and loudly proclaimed herself the culprit. She went on to say how much she loves Mzungu men and began teasing the tourist, asking him if he was ready to marry her. Everyone was laughing, and the tourist asked if he could take a picture of her. She replied that it would cost him some cash, and Abraham said that she must be “a bad woman” who was just out for money, but I said that she was simply a “professional model.” She laughed at my comment, but she remained insistent that if he was going to take her picture, she should be paid. The amused tourist eventually left without a photograph of his “fiancé.”



Figure 18: Tourist filming women at a boma, 2012. Author’s own photograph.



Figure 19: Children looking at photo of themselves on the LCD screen of a tourist's camera, 2012. Author's own photograph.

Resident Perspectives on Tourist Photography

In my interviews I learned that residents hold diverse opinions on tourist photography. The factor determining one's opinion was almost always whether or not photography had any perceived benefit for the subject, either direct or indirect. Those that did not believe there was any benefit, and especially those that were not involved in tourism at all, did not wish to have their photo taken, although most did not find the act of photography malicious on the part of the tourists. They simply did not like it, or they felt that it was unfair that they were not being compensated. I was told on several occasions that people at the bomas did not mind, but that people in town did not like photography.

Most of the residents that did not want their photos taken stated that money was the issue affecting their aversion. They believed that they should be paid. Indeed, in many areas of Tanzania, it is common practice for a Maasai subject of a tourist's photo to demand compensation, but in Longido, the CTE Office and the guides tell residents that they cannot ask for money, but they can refuse to have their picture taken. I asked one woman how she felt about tourist photography and she replied, "[I] like very much when they are entering [the boma], but not very much when they are taking photos." I asked why, and she said, "Because they don't pay for photos." Many women stated that they do not mind photographs as long as the tourist buys jewelry from them. However, with women making less money through jewelry sales because supply has exceeded demand, opinions on photos are starting to change. "Now they mind because some tourists... don't buy anything from the market... and they still take photos."

Just as the residents were confused as to why the tourists come to Longido, they were also uncertain of tourist motivations for taking photographs. There was a common suspicion that the tourists were taking photos in order to sell them overseas, and the residents believed that they should receive some of that profit. One town resident feared that some tourists might even use the photographs for a scam.

Interviewer: So how do you feel about tourists taking pictures?

Translator: I don't like.

Interviewer: *Kwa nini?* (Why?)

Translator: It's not good, because some, they can do business. Like they take pictures of people and then they go tell the other people, "You see this picture, I'm sponsoring this person," and it's not true. So he asks help from other big people, and when they get this money, they keep for themselves.

Interviewer: So it is like a scam?

Translator: Yeah.

She admitted that she did not know of this actually happening, but she feared that it was possible.

Other residents simply did not like the manner in which tourists take photos, specifically those that did not ask permission. Although most tourists made gestures, such as holding up their camera to indicate that they would like to take a photo, or asked permission through the guide, I witnessed several groups who were less polite, and did not ask permission or acknowledge the subjects of their photography in any way. These tourists were the minority, but their behavior was none the less invasive and rude in the eyes of the residents. The guides encouraged tourists to ask permission, but did not always enforce this rule. The following quote from a senior male elder illustrates the frustration and anger that can result from interactions with disrespectful tourists:

Some people don't want photo to be taken. But also Wazungu are so sharp when taking photos, and sometimes when you are saying, "I don't want anyone take my picture," he has already taken. So you can't ever say you don't want a picture, because they can stay far away from you... and they take photos.

Later, after getting to know this elder better through repeated visits to his boma, I asked if I could take a photo of him with his son and grandson so that I could remember them when I returned home. He agreed, and later when I gave him a copy of the photo, he was pleased to have it. He was not against the idea of photography, but he did not like strangers that he was welcoming into his home not showing him respect.

Almost all of my interviewees from town claimed that they did not like their photos taken by tourists, but a majority of boma residents claimed that they liked it or that they did not care. When I asked why they liked it, most claimed that there was some

link between tourist photography and earning cash, even if it was indirect. Some responses equated the tourists' happiness with earning potential. If the tourists are free to take photos, they will be happy, and more likely to spend money. As one resident stated, "[I] don't mind because that is the way to encourage the business with them. They take photos and then they get to come to buy your stuff." Others viewed indulging the tourists as insurance that the revenue stream will continue. "They like [tourist photography] because if they don't allow them to take photos, then they will not want to come again." Residents also recognized that tourist photography could enhance word of mouth promotion of the CTE. "[I] think when [tourists] take a picture, it is something good. Because people can show [pictures] to the other people who didn't come, and [they will] get interested to come."

In general, allowing tourist photography was viewed as a good business decision. It did not cost the subject anything, but could lead to income generation. One resident said that he allowed tourist photography because "pictures don't affect anything, and it will help to promote our cultural tourism." Although there were tourists that behaved inappropriately and took photos without permission, the choice of whether or not to be photographed was usually up to the individual. Residents had specific motivations for allowing or not allowing themselves to be photographed and exercised agency in communicating their wishes to the tourists. The act of photography was viewed as directly related to income earning, and residents' decisions to allow or not allow the practice usually hinged on whether or not they believed they would be financially compensated, either directly or indirectly.

A few residents stated other motivations for allowing tourist photography that were not strictly financial. Two of the guides told me on multiple occasions that they liked when tourists allowed them to take photographs. They enjoyed the act of photography, but could not afford a camera of their own. Occasionally tourists would mail the photos back to the guides. Daudi has dedicated an entire wall in his house to the photos that tourists and volunteers have sent him over the years. Alliy has wallpapered the entire CTE Office with photos, many of which were sent to him by past visitors. Photography is popular in Tanzania, especially family portraits, but most residents cannot afford a camera, and photo studios and prints are also expensive. Therefore, tourist photography is sometimes viewed as an opportunity to capture one's own memories. Although most tourists do not send photos back to the residents, many residents enjoyed seeing their image on an LCD screen, and many also expressed the hope that a few of the pictures would make their way back to them. "[We] like because we don't have cameras. We like to see ourselves, because they take photos and they show us. And some bring photos back." I took many photos during boma visits with tourists, and I lent my camera out after completing interviews at each boma so that the families there could take their own portraits. I spent a few days during my last week in Longido visiting the bomas and dropping off photos. Their ecstatic reactions to seeing and holding their photographs was one of the highlights of my entire fieldwork experience.

Managing Resident and Tourist Behavior

Although residents had their own motivations for allowing or disallowing photography, these motivations were influenced by the ideology promoted by the CTE

Office that created and continues to reinforce the association between tourism and development within the imaginations of the community. In the early years of tourism in Longido, the residents did not uncritically agree to tourist photography. Several interviewees mentioned that most residents opposed the practice in the beginning, largely because they assumed tourists were making money off of the photos. According to one resident, they demanded to know why tourists wanted their pictures. Eventually, Alliy and the guides were able to convince most people that the tourists were not selling the photos, but simply recording memories for their own enjoyment. The guides also tell residents that they cannot ask for money because the tourists are already paying community development fees. One of the CTE guides, Issa, told me, “Some of them, they say, ‘I need money.’ And I say, ‘no money.’ Because these people, they pay money for you, like fees, even development fees. So we don’t ask them money for pictures. And they say okay.” Many of the residents reported that they had decided to allow photography for this very reason. They decided that the tourists were indirectly paying for photographs through VDF fees. However, not all residents were convinced that the VDF should cover photography.

Interviewer: Do you think that people should be paid for their photos?

Translator: It’s good. Right in the beginning people were getting paid... But after the system of cultural office started, now they say “No, don’t ask to be paid when you’re taken photo, because tourists are bringing benefit to us, to the village.” So from there, no one is paying for pictures.

Interviewer: Do you think that’s fair?

Translator: It’s not fair.

Interviewer: So they should be getting something for the photos?

Translator: Yeah.

The guides and the CTE Office actively attempt to manage resident behavior through interactional cues as well as through the promotion of specific knowledges about the relationship between tourism and community-wide benefits. However, residents still exercise agency in deciding whether or not to accept this narrative as their own.

The CTE Office was also actively managing the behavior of the tourists in order to protect the residents from the negative effects of tourism, as well as to ensure that the community continued to support the CTE. Ol Tepesi Village has its own cultural tourism coordinator, although most of the bookings and arrangements with the tour companies are still made through the Longido Office. The coordinator serves primarily as a liaison and advocate, and the position is voluntary and unpaid. I interviewed the coordinator and when I asked for an example of how he advocates for Ol Tepesi residents, he mentioned an issue that had to be resolved concerning tourist photography.

Translator: [There] has been a little problem about taking pictures. Each community has a different lifestyle. You can't find the Maasai living their life like the way the Wazungu can live in their country. So you can find some little Maasai kid without clothes; they are naked. [Tourists] were taking pictures and the community was not very happy about that. So they discussed that [with the CTE Office]. They announced that [the guide] has to tell [tourists] that they [cannot] take naked photos... So they have to... ask them [to take pictures].

Interviewer: So the guides are now in charge of making sure the tourists only take pictures when they ask permission?

Translator: Most of the tourists who come, they like to ask... The guides ask the one who is [going to be photographed]. So there is an agreement. They have to agree that, yes he is ready. If not, they can say no. So it's not a big deal.

The manager of the TEMBO Guesthouse also claimed that the regulation of tourist behavior was in the best interest of the community.

If you compare Longido to other areas like the coast, I've been to the coast. The coast, the tourists don't really ask much. Mostly sometimes you find when they get to the coast, they become friends maybe with the beach girls or beach boys. They go roaming around with them. But when you see tourists in Longido, I don't think they roam around. Maybe if they have a tour guide, yes, they go with the tour guide. They don't go alone, all alone just walking, no. At least they know, when they are in Longido they are supposed to follow. They don't have to go on their own because even the village has to ask, "Where are these tourists from? Why are they taking pictures? Who's permission?" But if they have a guide, there's no problem.

In my visits to other CTEs, I observed how the guides and the local residents actively managed tourist behavior to control impacts and increase benefits. The Hadzabe invite cultural tourists along on hunting expeditions. When my sister and I joined a hunt, I was interested to see how they dealt with the presence of tourists. Although they earned cash from tourism, the Hadzabe still practice a primarily subsistence hunting economy, and I could only imagine how inexperienced tourists tagging along could be detrimental to a successful hunt. I learned that they broke into smaller hunting parties and that tourists were sent with the youngest and most inexperienced hunters. My sister and I were awkward and loud, and our hunting companions never stood a chance of getting close enough to kill any prey, but the other parties managed to kill several bush babies, which they cooked over a fire and shared with everyone else, including my sister and me. That community was able to earn cash income without having to make much of an effort to adapt their existing lifestyle to accommodate the tourists.

Tourists as Economic Assets

In general, tourists are not held directly responsible for their own behavior in Longido. The CTE Office or the guides were usually blamed for any negative experiences with tourists, as was the case with the butchers and Abraham. Tourists were

not even held accountable to the rigorous social norms that dictate respectful interactions among the Maasai. When I entered a boma with Musa, who is around the same age as me, he would go over to the *mzee* (elder) and offer the top of his head to be touched. This is an important sign of respect among the Maasai. However, I was almost always offered a handshake, even when I tried to offer my head. I was outside the laws of interaction in Longido, and the local people did not expect me to know about, let alone follow, their practices. When I was told that women were not allowed to be at Orpul Cave, I pointed out that I was a woman. The guide laughed and stated that I was not a woman, I was a Mzungu, and was therefore not breaking any rules. Out of the 48 interviews conducted with residents of Longido, not one person said that they did not like tourists. At the worst, residents mentioned a particular behavior that irritated or bothered them, such as snapping pictures without permission or failing to buy something after browsing, but those that took issue with tourism connected their grievances with the actions of other residents (e.g., the guides, government officials, Alliy).

Tourists were conceptualized as economic assets rather than as independent actors in touristic interactions. Tourists represented cash income, and residents talked about them in economic terms, discussing who controlled access to them, factors affecting the flow of tourists into the community, and the effects of tourism income on household economies. They did not discuss tourist behavior or motivations unless it was in reference to their ability to earn income, as is illustrated in the following quote from a resident:

They don't have any effect to people in Longido. Most of the time, they bring benefit, because everything they want to do, they pay for. They pay in the office. They pay to come to the boma. They pay for the dance. If the women are dancing, they pay women. If the warriors are asked to dance, they pay the warriors with the ladies who come and dance with the warriors. If the warriors are showing them

how to throw spears, they also get paid. So if you try to look in general, they do bring benefit.

Many residents were not even sure of why the tourists come to Longido or why they behave in any particular way. They simply know that tourists represent cash. I asked one guide how residents felt about tourists visiting Orpul Cave, which has deep spiritual and cultural significance to the Maasai. The guide replied matter-of-factly, “Yeah, they like it as long as they will pay something.” Another resident summed up the prevailing attitude toward tourists as economic assets thusly:

Interviewer: How do you feel about the tourists that visit your boma?

Translator: They like very much.

Interviewer: Why do you like them?

Translator: They like because we can get some money.

Several of the residents also spoke of how forming relationships with tourists was advantageous because they could bring benefit that could extend beyond a single financial transaction. I was told that if you become friends with a tourist, that tourist may decide to sponsor your child. I was approached on more than one occasion by someone hoping that my friendship with them or their children could transition into a sponsorship. Several of the guides also talked about how their relationships with specific tourists or volunteers had created social capital in the form of academic sponsorships or access to repeated business. Abraham told me how he formed a friendship with an Italian woman who had visited Longido, and that she had decided to hire him to arrange and lead a three country tour for her and a few others. He described his friendship with her as an “advantage.” Residents often used language specific to describing assets rather than people when talking about tourists. One interviewee told me that certain men benefited

from tourism more than everyone else in Longido, because “they have their own Wazungu,” meaning that they have access to a separate and private source of tourists through their own tour company. Other residents spoke of guides hoarding tourists by taking them to their own family’s boma, or stealing tourists by selling jewelry directly to them. Many of the negative social impacts such as increased competitiveness and mistrust were due to that fact that tourists were very visible economic assets, which had been presented to residents as a source of community wealth. Those who were benefiting more than others were considered greedy because tourists were supposed to be communal assets. Whenever residents complained about tourism or identified any negative impacts, they referred to the actions of other residents as the cause, not the tourists. According to one interviewee:

Normally the tourist has no effect. But the problem will come to the side of the black people themselves... He is not very happy when they take photos... and the other people benefit, people in government benefit by selling pictures... So the problem is only with the local government. But the action of taking photos, no problem.

Another resident stated, “[I] like tourists, because they always have nothing to do with us. They are always nice people... They are not the ones who don’t give. But the ones who receive, they don’t give as they are given to.” The residents were not too concerned with the tourists themselves. Rather they were most concerned with those that controlled access to tourists and the benefits that they represented.

Longido's Tourism Gatekeepers

Tourism intermediaries play a much more significant role in the lives of Longido residents than tourists. Residents did not have direct access to tourists, who were brought to Longido primarily by outside tour companies, and once in Longido, the movements of tourists, as well as access to them, was controlled by local intermediaries, specifically the CTE Office and the guides. Most of the tourism revenue was also controlled and allocated by intermediaries. Even the revenue that was earned directly from tourists through jewelry sales was significantly mediated by guides who translated and assisted in price negotiations. The jewelry sellers often complained that they had to wait for the guides to bring the tourists to them, and that the presence of tourists in the village did not guarantee that the Women's Market would be visited. As was discussed in the last chapter, women accused several of the guides of "blocking" tourists from sellers, directing tourists to buy from relatives, or outright stealing business. Even those who attempted to remain fair and ethical in their role as intermediary still functioned as "tourism gatekeepers," controlling resident access to tourists and tourism revenue.

Local Intermediaries

Intermediaries serve as tourism gatekeepers at the local, national, and international levels. Locally, Alliy and the guides mediate resident tourism engagement through the control of tourist movements, communication, and revenue. Residents identified ways that guides both facilitated and inhibited interactions with tourists. According to one resident, sometimes a tourist will decide that they would like to help

someone that they have met, but because they cannot communicate directly, the guide “can block the connection between the tourists and them” rather than assist. However, other residents claimed that the guides served as effective representatives as well as facilitators in interactions with tourists. One resident stated that she trusted the guides to communicate with the tourists on her behalf because “they are Maasai like us.” Another resident recognized the important role that guides played in ensuring that residents were able to conduct business with tourists by stating, “They are good guides because they bring tourists. They tell us what the tourist is paying, and we tell what we want to say to the tourist, and they represent.”

In addition to mediating communication, the guides also regulated the movements of tourists within the community. They decided which boma to visit (although the tourists’ needs and time constraints were always the key determining factors) and accompanied the tourists at all times. Tourist movements were relegated to specific routes and locations within Longido, and guides were responsible for ensuring that the tourists remained chaperoned for the comfort and well-being of the clients, but also for the sake of community members’ privacy. One of the reasons why residents claimed that the presence of tourists did not affect their daily lives was the fact that interactions with tourists were so tightly mediated. Some residents acknowledged that controlling the movements of tourists protected their own interests, but others complained that the guides were abusing their position as chaperon and intermediary and only taking tourists to their family’s boma. Others were less concerned about their privacy as they were with having open and equal access to the tourists. One resident stated that she would prefer if tourists were allowed to explore Longido freely, saying, “[Guides] don’t let the tourists walk

around. They just go, ‘This is the boma. This is the house to enter.’ And then also, ‘Let’s go.’ They rush them to go back, and always the tourists listen to them.”

The guides and the CTE Office also mediate financial transactions between tourists and residents. They translate and assist during price negotiations at the Women’s Market, and they often handle the cash that is paid for the enkaji visit. When asked if there was anything that he would like to see changed, one man asked that the tourists “give direct from their pocket to the part of the boma, and not to the guide” because he did not trust the guides to resist the temptation to pocket some of the money. Other than the money that tourists spend on tips or jewelry and handicrafts, all tourism revenue passes through the CTE Office. Alliy is responsible for setting, negotiating, collecting, and distributing all fees and payments from clients. Although he is generally considered to be fair and ethical in fulfilling his role as a financial mediator, money is always associated with temptation, and several interviewees expressed concern that he was solely in charge of tourism revenue. As stated earlier, people in positions of leadership, specifically ones involving money, are often not trusted regardless of whether or not there is specific evidence of corruption. Even though Alliy has never been directly accused of corruption, there is evidence that other CTP coordinators have embezzled CTE revenue, and TACTO had to actively intervene on a few occasions.

Alliy serves as a tourism gatekeeper in several other ways. He deals directly with the tour operators, hires and manages all CTE staff, and is largely responsible for finding all of the clients for the CTE. According to one accommodation provider in Longido, Alliy holds the monopoly on all international tourism in Longido. She would prefer to have more options and competition when she is trying to find a tourism provider for

clients in Longido. “I can’t enter into a negotiation with him, because after all he will say, ‘if you don’t want to bring them, fine.’” Perhaps most significantly, he manages the message of the CTE, actively contributing to knowledge production about tourism and its association with development and community benefit. He oversees all aspects of the CTE, including creating and reinforcing the norms and etiquette of touristic interactions for all local actors as well as tourists. Residents do not ask for money from tourists for pictures, even though this is common practice elsewhere in Tanzania, because Alliy does not allow that behavior. He has very carefully conditioned the behavior and expectations of the community so that local engagement in tourism fits the ideology of the CTP. Tourists remarked that Longido cultural tourism felt more “authentic” than other experiences they had with the Maasai, and many stated that they appreciated the lack of begging and hassling of tourists for cash. Alliy has strategically crafted a specific atmosphere, which discourages exploitative practices from the side of tourists and residents alike, because he holds the view that the goal of the CTP is not profit, but development. Although this tightly regulated approach to tourism has certainly guarded the tourists and residents in Longido against many of the ills of tourism engagement that have plagued other destination communities, it has also kept the community from gaining any sense of ownership or control over tourism in their own community.

Non-Local Intermediaries

Tourism gatekeepers also exist at the national and international levels. These non-local gatekeepers strongly influence experiences of tourism for all Longido residents, including the local gatekeepers. Although local intermediaries are identified as the

dominant actors by other Longido residents, the guides and Alliy identified non-local people and entities as the dominant actors affecting their own ability to earn tourism income. As was discussed earlier in this dissertation, the CTP enterprises, including the Longido CTE are almost entirely reliant upon tour companies for access to the market. The TTB does not do much to promote the CTP, and local coordinators like Alliy do not have much opportunity or the capacity to establish direct connections with international markets. Relationships between CTEs and tour companies are unequal because the cultural tourism market is saturated in Tanzania, where over 50 enterprises compete for the business of a small, niche, and uninformed market. Tourists seeking out cultural attractions rely on tour companies to locate and arrange visits, and usually do not make much of a distinction between different areas or ethnic groups. Even if tourists were interested in researching and choosing which enterprise to visit, there has been no effective cultural destination branding or even comprehensive information for international tourists seeking out cultural attractions in Tanzania. There are complete guidebooks devoted to each of the national parks that include details on what to expect and the unique features of each park. Very few guidebooks have much information on cultural attractions, and those that do, often describe the Maasai and other groups vaguely and list information on tour companies that offer “cultural activities” without including details on distinct destinations or ethnic groups. The Lonely Planet includes some of the most detailed information on the CTP, highlighting several of the specific CTEs, but even those sections are slight compared to information on other attractions, and the guide targets adventurous, independent travelers. There is still little information on cultural attractions or the CTP available through the traditional channels of pre-trip information

for international tourists (i.e., online sources, travel agencies, popular knowledge of a destination through branding and marketing, and word of mouth). Therefore, tour companies are completely free to develop the cultural components of their itineraries in a way that works best for them. As a result, the enterprises have little to no leverage in attracting or negotiating with companies (SNV 2010). Longido experienced the devastating effects of losing one large client without even having the opportunity to argue for the continuation of their business. The CTEs are entirely reliant upon the tour companies for access to clients, and the tour companies are very much aware of this fact.

National and regional government bodies also act as tourism gatekeepers by creating and enforcing legislation that impacts tourism businesses. As stated earlier in this dissertation, gate fees and other local government charges levied at tourism operators and tourists can affect whether or not tour companies decide to bring clients to a particular enterprise. Even independent tourists are dissuaded from visiting certain CTEs because they cannot afford the area's entrance fees. National policies and tourism-related fees can impact where tourists go and what they are able to do. Alliy complained that the rise in volunteer visa charges was driving more volunteers to serve in communities across the border in Kenya, rather than in Tanzania, and while the creation of WMAs reallocated some of the national wildlife tourism revenue to local government bodies, they also caused a spike in community-based tourism fees. Tourists that may have decided to spend time viewing wildlife on community lands in order to spend less money in the more expensive national parks now have less incentive to go through the CTEs. Even though cultural tourism is not well-regulated, all wildlife tourism activities are tightly controlled. Government officials have taken advantage of the ambiguity of the non-consumptive

(photographic) wildlife policy language in order to tack unanticipated charges onto cultural activities that may involve unplanned wildlife viewing. Alliy has run into this problem when tourists end up seeing wildlife on nature walks in Longido. “Oh, when you are in this area, you can see ostrich. You can’t stop your eyes to look! Then you have to pay.” Tourists are also charged for wildlife viewing in certain areas even if they fail to see anything. Some CTEs are located in migration zones where wildlife viewing is possible only during certain times of the year, but tourists pay the fees year round. These fees create less incentive for tour companies to conduct business in certain areas, especially if the tourists become frustrated with paying for something they did not receive.

Ultimately, residents were more concerned with the actions of tourism intermediaries than they were with the actions of tourists in Longido. Tourists were transitory and their presence had minimal impact on the daily lives of residents, but they did represent economic opportunity, which could have an enormous effect on food security, education, and independence. Tourism gatekeepers retain dominance in touristic systems at the local, national, and international levels because they control access to tourists, and by extension, all of the promises of development and self-determination associated with them.

The Empowerment Paradox

As Chapter Three illustrated, tourism engagement in Longido has created opportunities for greater economic independence, particularly for women. This is

significant because economic independence is a necessary precursor for self-determination for Maasai women who are typically dependent upon men to meet the family's economic needs. Greater financial independence through tourism engagement has led to greater food security, rising school attendance, and more control over the family decisions. However, the opportunities afforded by tourism are controlled by others. Although tourism can create pathways to independence, it also creates dependence on actors and processes that residents do not understand and do not believe they can influence. Knowledge about tourism and how to harness its potential is owned by intermediaries. Even the local intermediaries – who heavily influence experiences of tourism for other residents – identify non-local intermediaries as the dominant touristic actors affecting their own ability to benefit from tourism.

Several residents have built livelihoods on the promises of tourism, constructing houses, educating children, and moving away from abusive husbands, but their security is tenuous. Essentially, these residents have become dependent on a revenue stream over which they have no control. According to one jewelry seller, “They are addicted with the business.” They do not have any other options to earn the income that they have come to depend upon. The decrease in tourist arrivals means more than the loss of pocket change to these residents; it means children will be pulled out of school, houses will never be complete, and nutritional needs will not be met. And they do not know why it is happening or what they can do about it. One woman claimed that God brought the tourists to Longido. When I asked her why she believed that, she replied, “It’s difficult to tell why God decided to bring them here. Because it is something we didn’t know before and we didn’t plan. We didn’t... ask them to come. We just find them coming. So [I]

don't know how to explain that." Without understanding why tourists come in the first place, residents do not know how to ensure that they continue to come. Many interviewees asked that I do something to bring more tourists. When I told one man that I was not sure what I could do to make more tourists come to Longido, he assured me that I would be able to find a way because I was a Mzungu. Even though I did not work in tourism, and I had lived in Tanzania less than a year, he believed that I had greater capacity to address the problems of tourism in Longido than him simply because of my status as Mzungu.

This attitude demonstrates the prevailing knowledge about local agency and donor dependence that continues to influence economic development initiatives such as the CTP in Tanzania. After independence, African governments attempted economic self-sufficiency, but many remained largely dependent on their former colonizers because of the lasting effects of colonization (Potts 2004). Tanzania's first President, Julius Nyerere became the architect of the new African socialism, and his program of socialist and nationalist development, called Ujamaa, did affect social improvements, specifically in raising life expectancy and literacy rates. However, Ujamaa failed to transform Tanzania's economy, and after a costly war with Uganda to overthrow Idi Amin's regime, Tanzania began liberalizing its economy in order to attract foreign investment and aid (Ibhawoh and Dibua 2003).

As a result, Tanzania has become extremely dependent on the West to fund national development initiatives, and Western interests, assumptions, and cultural values continue to dominate development discourse and policy (Potts 2004). This discourse has served to legitimize knowledge about development that situates local people in the

position of “target,” and the development agencies and donors in the position of “savior.” Outside intervention is required to lift the “helpless” out of poverty. However, this mode of development has political ramifications for its “targets,” and many Western-led development projects have served to further marginalize vulnerable populations from political participation while strengthening and reinforcing international, national, and local hegemony (Escobar 1995). In the case of the CTP, local people are increasingly dependent upon local and international intermediaries, who not only control access to tourism’s economic assets (i.e., tourists), but the knowledge about tourism and the relationships of power between its actors. This knowledge situates residents in subordinate positions of power, entirely dependent on intermediaries, and powerless to influence tourism processes. The assumption that tourists hold all of the power is supplanted with the assumption that intermediaries hold all of the power.

However, residents are not passive actors, and this research has demonstrated the ways in which residents of Longido contribute to knowledge about tourism in their community, specifically the notion that tourism is meant for their benefit. Because residents operate under the assumption that Longido tourism exists for Longido development, residents have actively deliberated their role as hosts, deciding whether or not to accommodate tourists, their photography, or specific behavior from guides and tourists. Residents often visited Alliy in his office to discuss issues with tourists, guides, or payments, such as when the butchers complained about Abraham or when the Ol Tepesi Coordinator complained about the photography of naked children. Alliy and the Longido government have responded to various suggestions and complaints in full acknowledgement that resident acceptance of tourism is necessary for the survival of the

CTE. Alliy also frequently mediates conflicts between guides and residents and both the CTE Office and the Longido Village Council has worked to create more financial transparency in response to resident concerns about corruption. This is not to say that problems with corruption or guide behavior have been entirely resolved, but concerns are taken seriously, and changes have been made in response to residents exercising agency in their engagements with tourism.

However, residents continue to operate under the assumption that their agency is limited to the sphere of interpersonal relationships within the community, and even that agency is restricted by unequal gendered relationships of power. In general, men were more assertive in making demands of tourists, guides, and the CTE Office, as opposed to a majority of women who expressed powerlessness by stating that changes to tourism or economic and political structures within the community were the responsibility of the men. As was discussed in Chapter One, these assumptions about a woman's position in relation to a man in Maasai society are the result of historical processes of state intervention and the creation of "categories of control" that served to establish and legitimize the idea of the Maasai as inherently patriarchal (Hodgson 2001). This notion of female helplessness has become deeply entrenched, as was evidenced by the number of times I heard women say "that is something for the men" when discussing ways to improve experiences of tourism. The idea that Tanzanian communities must rely on outside intervention in order to improve livelihoods is also entrenched within residents' understandings of development, as is clear in the conflation of "tourists" and "sponsors" in Longido.

As was discussed earlier in this dissertation, if development is meant to be transformative, it must address and challenge the existing social, economic, and political structures that keep certain members of the community from realizing control over their own destinies (Blackstock 2005; Connell 1997). Although the Longido CTE attempted to do this by creating economic opportunities for impoverished members of the population, it did not address or challenge the power disparities that were responsible for their marginalization in the first place. As a result, the intended beneficiaries of tourism in Longido have become dependent on an industry over which they have little control.

Case Study: Just Sitting under a Tree and Waiting

In Tanzania, everything happens, *pole pole* (slowly). If I ever expressed any impatience or urgency, I would be admonished with the sing-song phrase “haraka haraka haina baraka,” which means that haste will not bring blessings. Much of one’s day consists of waiting. Waiting for the daladala; waiting for animals to move out of the road; waiting for someone to arrive for a meeting; waiting for the cows to be driven home for the evening milking. And for the Longido residents involved in tourism, waiting for tourists is a regular experience. However, this waiting holds additional significance. Residents are not merely inconvenienced by the capriciousness of tourist arrivals, they are held hostage by the uncertainty of revenue that they have come to depend upon. According to one resident, “I know there are people who are depending on tourists to survive. I know they are depending on tourists for their lives to grow.” When residents mention waiting for tourists, they are not simply talking about the act of waiting; they are

expressing helplessness to control or influence the flow of tourists. They are waiting because there is nothing else that they can do.

Jewelry sellers talked about waiting for guides to bring tourists to the Women's Market, and many claimed that they sometimes wait in vain because the guide has already directed the tourists to his own boma or the CTE Office has failed to tell the tourists about the Market. The guides also spoke of waiting for tour operators to bring tourists or for Alliy to call them with work. Subira⁶⁰ is one of the female guides. I asked her how often she worked as a guide, and she said that she was never really sure of when she would get work. "I just wait [for] when my coordinator calls me. And then [when he tells] me, 'you can be today with these visitors,' I can continue." The uncertainty of when tourists will arrive works against Subira's ability to earn money, because she has children and does not have the same flexibility as the young, single, male guides to drop everything at a moment's notice and go to work. Alliy also talked about waiting to hear from Sawadee, the Netherlands-based tour company that stopped sending large groups to Longido. Although they were an extremely important client for the CTE, Alliy could not get an answer as to why they withdrew their business. He told me that he was waiting to see if they would return to Longido or at least respond with a reason as to why they have ended the relationship.

Residents also said that they were waiting for someone to help them find more tourists, and many expressed hope that I was that person. When I asked one resident if there was anything that they would like to see changed, they replied,

The only one thing they want to change is to get more tourists. They have been asking themselves about this question. They have to find someone who can be a

⁶⁰ Name has been changed to maintain anonymity.

representative on [their] behalf... [Someone who] can find tourists to tell them to come to Longido. That's the only thing that has to be [changed], but they didn't ever find out how to do that.

In the meantime, residents are waiting and hoping that more tourists will come to Longido, so that they can experience the promises of development that they have come to associate with tourism. One widowed jewelry seller told me wistfully that the women used to be able to depend on tourism income for their livelihoods. But now, "They are just sitting under the tree, just from morning to evening, waiting [to see] if they can get any tourists."

CONCLUSION

RESOLVING THE EMPOWERMENT PARADOX

Community-based tourism (CBT) has been conceived by its supporters as a pro-poor community development and empowerment strategy. Community-based initiatives such as the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme seek to create opportunities for local communities to participate in and benefit from a historically marginalizing industry. Ideally, these types of projects will contribute to increased community-wide well-being through the investment of tourism revenue into local development. The community-based tourism model has been utilized throughout the Developing World by International NGOs as a development tool, and has been promoted by the United Nations as a development strategy that encourages environmental conservation and global cross-cultural understanding (UNWTO 2014a). The basic goal of community-based tourism is to direct the benefits of tourism back into the communities that host tourists. It is a simple and well-intentioned concept that contains significant complexities once applied, as can be seen in the experiences of the participants of the Longido CTE.

In Longido, tourism income has created opportunities for increased economic independence, specifically for women who have limited opportunities to earn cash elsewhere. As a result of their tourism involvement, many women have been able to renegotiate their roles and positions of power in their relationships with men, which has

led to greater family food security, increased education, and more control over the decisions that affect them and their children. Tourism in Longido has also created local jobs and opportunities for language and business training, and revenue has been invested into community development projects. However, tourism has also caused greater mistrust of leaders. Residents claimed that some community members, particularly those in authority positions, were stealing or mismanaging tourism revenue meant for community-wide benefit. Residents dependent on tourism income have also begun to suffer financially because supply has exceeded demand as tourist arrivals drop and local tourism engagement increases. Residents feel powerless to improve their situation because access to the market is controlled by tourism intermediaries, and residents lack the knowledge and capacity to influence the very industry that they have come to depend on for their livelihoods.

The failings of the Longido CTE can be traced to how goals were defined, who defined them, and the ways in which goal achievement was strategized and operationalized. This research found that any potential that engagement in tourism has for creating transformative change in Longido is limited by the very nature of the CBT model employed and the structures of power in which it is embedded at the local and global levels. Connell (1997) defines transformative development as addressing and actively challenging the social structures that limit the agency of marginalized populations. Local people are not just the beneficiaries of transformative development; they are the agents of the change that they wish to see in their communities. However, the CBT model that was used in Longido suffers from a “crisis of identity,” in which development and business goals and ideologies come into direct conflict with one

another, and as a result, the Longido CTE is struggling as both a development and business activity. Participants are still dependent on donors and lack leverage in negotiations with intermediaries, and the business is failing to make a significant or reliable economic impact.

There are several ways that the development and business objectives of the Longido CTE, and the CTP in general, come into conflict. As a development strategy, the CBT model is supply rather than demand driven (Harrison and Schipani 2007). Private tourism enterprises are developed to meet market demand, but the CTP was created to meet development demands, specifically poverty alleviation. The product was developed first, and then the planners attempted to locate and develop the market. However, Tanzania did not have a strong cultural tourism market when the CTP launched in 1995, and it remains an underdeveloped market that is difficult to identify and even more difficult to access. Yet despite this, the CTP continues to expand its offerings because it continues to focus on meeting development rather than business needs.

Conducting development in a tourism context is also problematic because the target community is almost entirely unfamiliar with that context. Before the CTP was initiated, members of rural communities in Tanzania such as Longido were unlikely to have any experience in tourism as either a consumer or provider, and their training was limited to developing specific services within their own community. Almost all of the Longido participants, save Alliy and a few of the guides, are entirely unfamiliar with the tourism industry and its market. According to Connell (1997), local participants cannot take ownership of their own development “if the conceptual orientation and the language of that process do not relate to their experience, and if they lack the tools to assess their

needs effectively and to know what options are available to them to bring about constructive change” (250). Essentially, “project participants need information and perspective on the economic and political context in which their project is operating” (Connell 1997:250).

Another factor affecting the CTP and its ability to succeed as either a development or business activity is the conflict between the neo-liberal and populist ideologies informing the agenda of each. Competition drives most profitable tourism businesses and ensures quality control. The CTP has increased competition between the enterprises by expanding the program, but has not created mechanisms for quality control. Enterprises that fail to meet quality standards or market needs are usually still supported through donor assistance. The private sector is reluctant to work with the CTP because they risk losing their own clientele if the enterprise is of unreliable quality. But simply adopting a more effective capitalist model that allows underperforming enterprises to fail conflicts with the principles of egalitarianism built into the CBT model and fails to address or challenge underlying power disparities that disadvantage some participants while enabling others to succeed. A purely capitalist model may lead to a more economically successful tourism initiative, but is also more likely to exacerbate inequalities (Blackstock 2005).

Yet a CBT business that fails to make money also fails to make much of an impact on the designated target community. Manyara and Jones (2007) found that the Kenyan CBT enterprises in their study failed to make a significant impact on poverty because sharing profits equitably means that the dividends are minimal. The focus on community benefit built into a CBT model actually diminishes potential benefit at the

individual and household levels. In Longido, a significant portion of the tourism revenue is paid into the VDF for community-level benefit, but the actual contribution of the VDF to the village budget, as compared to other sources of village revenue such as taxes, is small. The impact from tourism revenue is much more important to those directly earning income, either as employees of the CTE or through jewelry sales. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, many of the women who sell jewelry have become dependent on this income to meet specific needs. However, as an activity open to full community participation (i.e., anyone who wants to can sell jewelry), supply far exceeds demand, which means that benefits are so thinly spread that actual impact at the individual level is minimal and unreliable.

If the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme has transformative development as its goal, the CBT model might be the wrong tool. CTEs such as the one in Longido cannot achieve transformative change that leads to the self-determination of its participants when the tourism industry necessitates continued dependence on foreign markets and local people lack market access and knowledge. Attempting to accomplish both development and business goals when they are in direct conflict with one another has led to a failure to fully achieve either transformative change or significant or reliable economic impact. Unclear and underdeveloped goals have also led to uncertain expectations and roles for participants. Once SNV ended direct involvement and funding, there was confusion over who was responsible for the Programme and its enterprises. SNV intended for local people to take ownership, but previous experience with donors and development projects in Longido, and in most of the other enterprise locales, had conditioned residents to assume the need for continued outside donor intervention. After

all, tourism was presented to them as a development activity in which they were the intended beneficiaries. Not only is it unclear to residents that they are expected to take ownership, it is also unclear how they are supposed to accomplish that objective without being equipped with the knowledge, skills, and experience needed to fully participate in the tourism industry. This is compounded by the power disparities between local actors and intermediaries, especially at the national and international level. Despite the intentions of the CTP, the Maasai in Longido continue to be marginalized from full and equitable participation in the tourism industry in Tanzania.

The Longido CTE has failed to fully meet its development and business goals because of the conflicting nature of those endeavors, but this failure does not address what should be the central question in evaluating development or tourism projects, namely, who is defining the goals of development in the first place. Whoever is defining the goals is determining whose interests are being represented and prioritized. According to Connell (1997), NGOs need to approach local participation as an equal partnership during all phases of development, including goal formation, strategizing, implementation, and evaluation, and knowledge needs to be shared both ways so that the initiative addresses local priorities and so that local participants can gain an understanding of the larger context of the project (i.e., the tourism industry). In the case of the CTP, the original project was community initiated (i.e., Longido area Maasai men approached SNV to start a tourism business), and a certain amount of knowledge sharing occurred during development (e.g., identifying tourism products, the structure of the VDF, choosing the coordinators and guides), but control of the project was largely in the hands of the CTP planners, and both the development and business goals were underdeveloped

and vaguely defined from the start. When SNV left, the CTP was unprepared to function without donor assistance at the program level, and the individual enterprises struggled to meet both development and business objectives. Wearing and McDonald (2002) state that the principles of participatory development “place an emphasis on planning with –rather than planning for – in the search for ways to build a community’s capabilities to respond to changes as well as to generate change themselves” (202). The capacity to generate change from within was never successfully built into the CTP, and as a result, CTP enterprises like Longido remain dependent on outside actors and forces over which they have no control, because the inherent power disparities between residents and intermediaries, as well as the power disparities between subpopulations within the community, were never addressed or challenged.

Tourism experiences and processes are difficult, if not impossible to generalize because tourism is a complex and multifaceted global phenomenon that affects numerous and diverse pockets of humanity in vastly different ways. This particular research study represents the experiences of one, small community in a specific moment of time, and although I believe that these findings can be extrapolated to form a better understanding of tourism processes as they relate specifically to experiences of community-based cultural tourism, it is important to note the limitations of this study’s scope. First, the study is limited by the time frame. The scholarly literature suggests that destination communities experience stages and cycles in respect to perspectives and experiences of tourism over time (Butler 2006). The study is also limited in its focus on a very specific niche in a large and diverse global industry. Finally, the study is limited in the size of its subject population, which is relatively small compared to the millions of people engaged

in tourism all over the world, and small even in comparison to other cultural tourism destination communities. Further study could address some of these limitations through comparative analysis of Longido at different points in time and in relation to other community-based cultural tourism sites.

This ways in which project goals have been defined, understood, and operationalized in Longido have created an empowerment paradox, in which the potential that CBT has for transforming relationships of power, particularly between women and men, are limited by the very nature of the CBT model employed. CBT enterprises such as the one in Longido cannot achieve transformative change that leads to the self-determination of its participants when the tourism industry necessitates continued dependence on foreign markets and local people lack market access and knowledge. Attempting to accomplish both development and business goals when they are in direct conflict with one another has led to a failure to fully achieve either transformative change or significant or reliable economic impact. If the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme has transformative development as its goal, the CBT model might be the wrong tool. Most significantly, the approach taken in developing and conducting tourism in Longido must consider the diverse priorities and motivations of participants, as well as the touristic relationships of power which limit the agency of local participants in achieving the realization of their own goals in tourism engagement.

APPENDIX A

Interview Samples

Table 1: Key Informants

Category	Organization	Title
CTP	Longido CTE	Longido Coordinator
CTP	Longido CTE	Ol Tepesi Coordinator
CTP	CTP Office	CTP Coordinator
Tanzania Tourism	Dorobo Safaris	Owner-Operator
Tanzania Tourism	TTB	Arusha Branch Manager
Tanzania Tourism	TACTO	Executive Manager
Tanzania Tourism	TATO	Executive Officer
Government	Longido	Longido Village Chairperson
NGO (CTP development)	SNV	Agriculture Advisor
NGO (Responsible tourism)	Honeyguide Foundation	Director
NGO (Pastoralist advocacy)	PINGOs	Information and Communication Manager

Table 2: Longido Resident Interview Sample

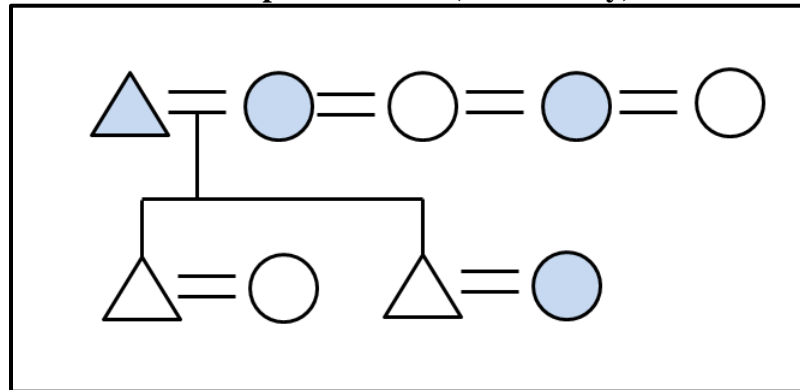
Subgroup	Male	Female	Total
CTE Guides	6	2	8
Other CTE Employees	1	2	3
Boma residents (age 18-35)	4	8	12
Boma residents (age 35+)	4	8	12
Handicraft sellers	0	6	6
Business owners	1	2	3
No tourism involvement	1	3	4
TOTAL	17	31	48

APPENDIX B

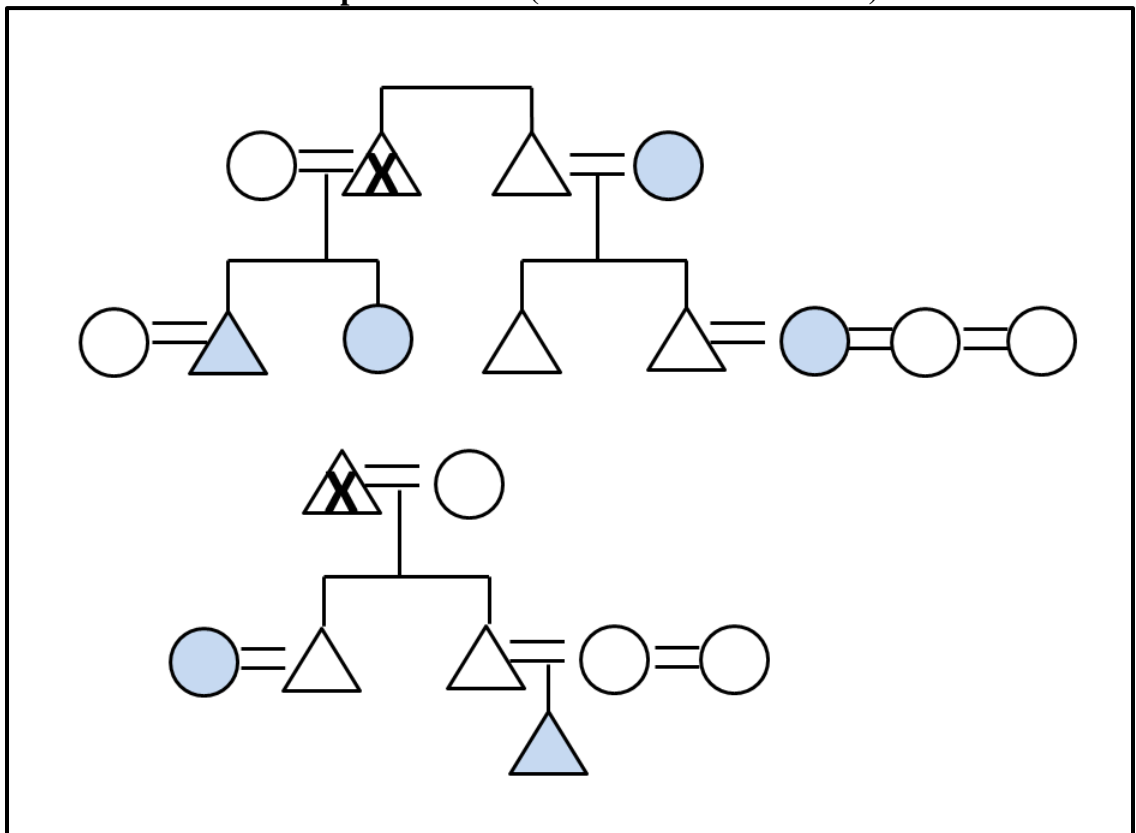
Boma Kinship Charts

(The shaded symbols represent interviewees.)

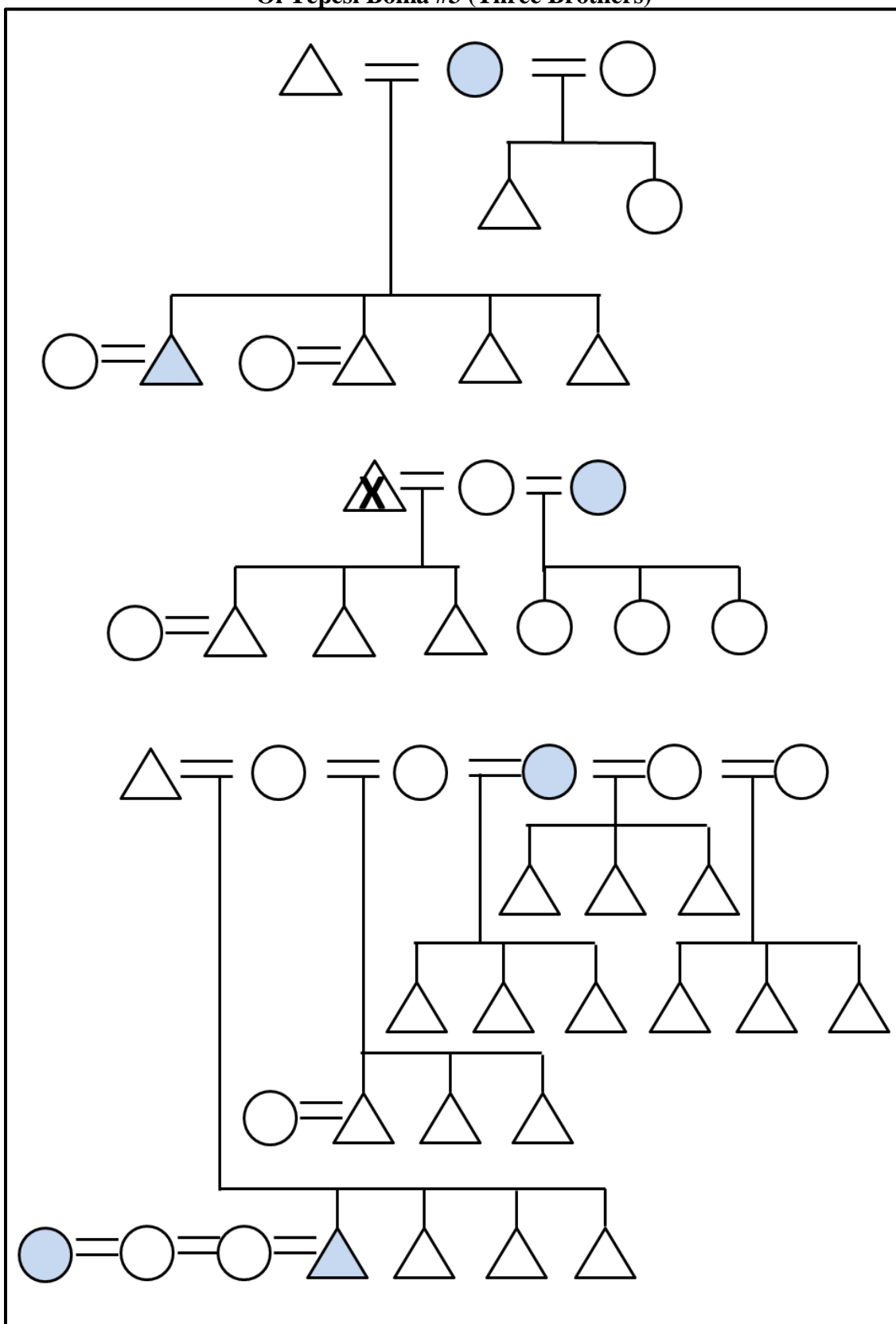
OI Tepesi Boma #1 (One Family)



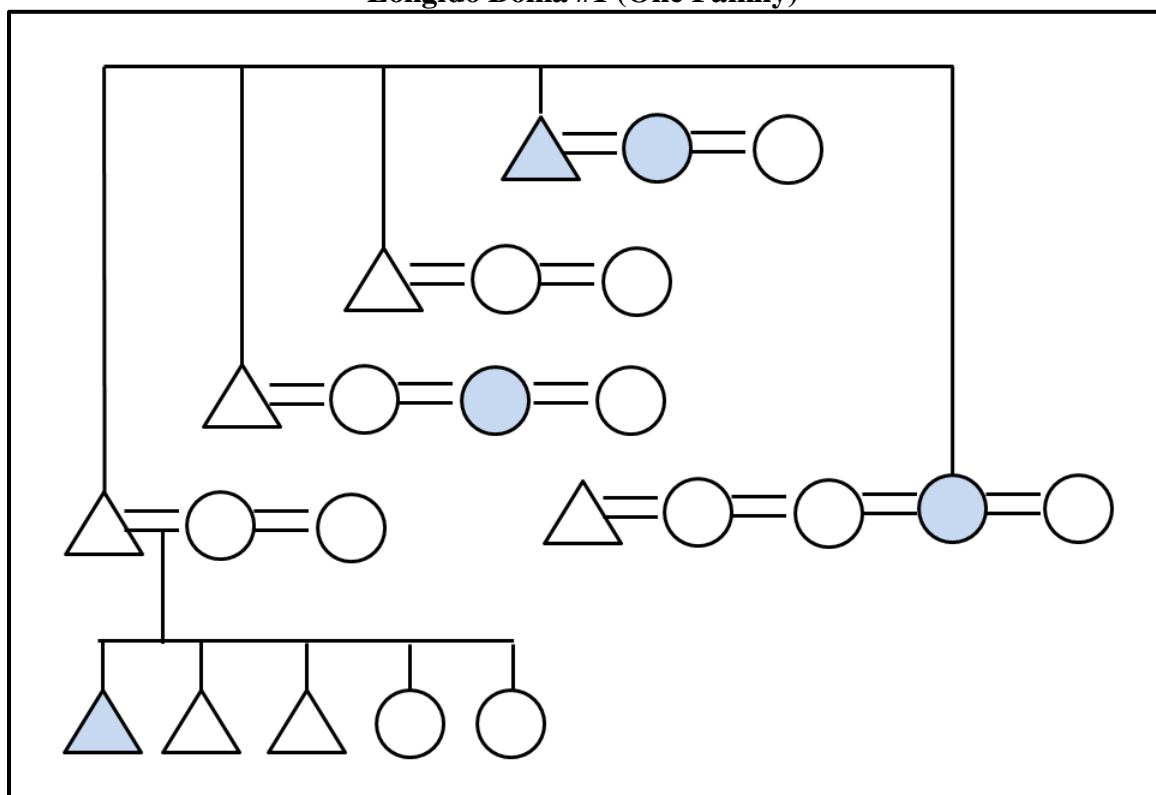
OI Tepesi Boma #2 (Two Unrelated Families)



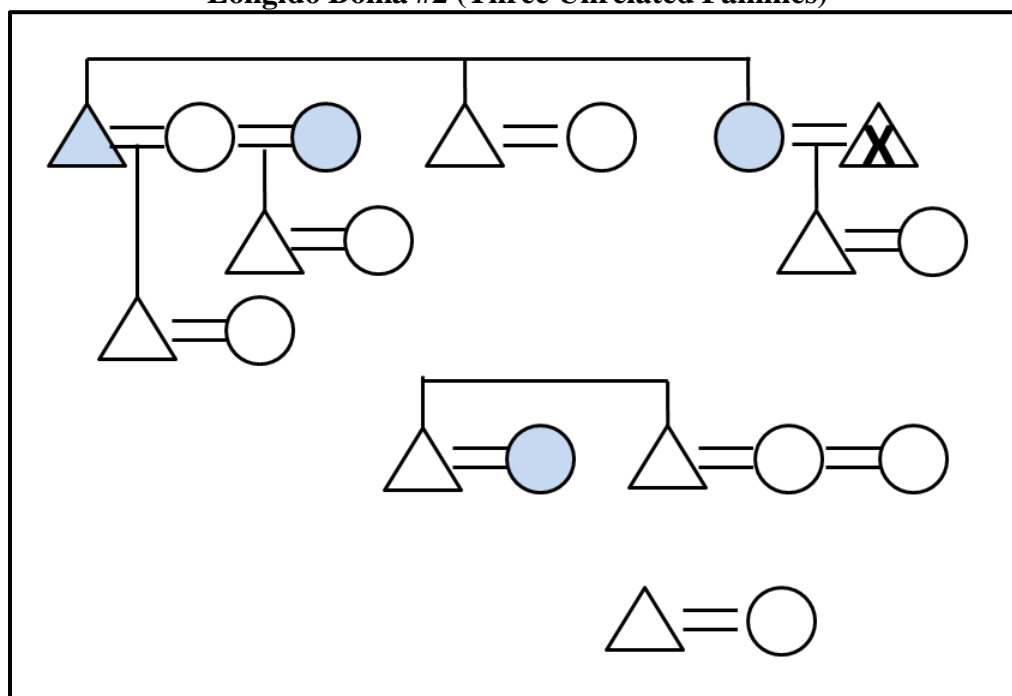
Ol Tepesi Boma #3 (Three Brothers)



Longido Boma #1 (One Family)



Longido Boma #2 (Three Unrelated Families)



APPENDIX C

Consent Form in English

University of Maryland, College Park

Project Title	Resident Perspectives on Cultural Tourism in Tanzania
Purpose of the Study	This research is being conducted by Melissa Stevens of the University of Maryland, College Park, USA. You are invited to participate because of your experience with the Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise. The purpose of this research is to learn about the Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise from the perspective of Longido residents, and to understand how Longido residents interact with the tourists.
Research Procedures	You will be interviewed by the researcher, and the interview will be audio-recorded. You will be asked questions about your knowledge of and experience with the Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise. Maasai residents of Longido will also be asked questions about their understandings of a Maasai identity. The interview will last about 1 hour, and will take place in a location of your choice.
Possible Outcomes	There are no known risks associated with participating in the research project. You do not have to answer any question that you do not want to answer. There are no direct benefits for participants, but the inclusion of your thoughts and feelings in the research report may help improve the Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise.
Confidentiality	Your name and any information that could reveal your identity will remain confidential. The audio recordings and interview transcripts will be stored on a password protected computer. The password is known only to the researcher. Your identity will not be connected to any information that you provide that is included in any report or publication, unless you stipulate otherwise.
Right to Withdraw	Your participation in this research project is voluntary. You may choose not to participate at all. If you decide to participate, you can stop participating at any time.
Questions and Concerns	<p>If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, please contact the researcher: Melissa Stevens Phone: 0755 024 987 Email: melissa.stevens7@gmail.com Tanzania Address: TEMBO Guesthouse, P.O. Box 95, Longido USA Address: 625 8th Avenue, Folsom, PA 19033, USA</p> <p>If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact: University of Maryland College Park Institutional Review Board Office 1204 Marie Mount Hall College Park, Maryland, 20742, USA E-mail: irb@umd.edu Telephone: 000-1-301-405-0678</p>

Statement of Consent	Your signature indicates that you are at least 18 years of age; you have read this consent form or have had it read to you; your questions have been answered to your satisfaction; and you voluntarily agree to participate in this research study. You will receive a copy of this consent form. If you agree to participate, please sign your name below.	
Signature and Date	NAME [Please Print]	
	SIGNATURE	
	DATE	

APPENDIX D

Interview Guides and Tourist Questionnaire

Boma Resident Interview Guide

Personal Info:

- Name
- Male or female?
- Age
- Relationship to others in boma (use kinship chart)

Tourism Impacts

- How often do tourists visit your boma?
 - High season (June-August)?
 - Low season (September-May)?
- How do tourist visits affect your daily life?
 - Typical daily activities when there are no tourists?
 - How tourists affect these activities?
- How does tourism affect people in Longido?
- How do you think tourism affects the Maasai in Tanzania (not just Longido)?

Tourism Benefits

- Does tourism benefit Longido?
- Who benefits from tourism in Longido?
 - How do they benefit?
 - Who has benefited from tourism the most?
- Do you benefit from tourism?
 - How? Or why not?

Longido CTE

- What is your opinion of the Longido CTE?
- What is your opinion of the CTE guides?
- Do you know about the Village Development Fund?
 - Do you know how the money has been used?
 - Do you think Longido has benefited from the VDF?

Tourism Economy

- How much money does your boma make from tourism?
 - How do you receive money from tourism?
- Who controls tourism income at your boma?
- What is tourism income used for?

- How important is income from tourism to your livelihood? (compared to other income sources)

Interactions with Tourists

- How do you feel about tourists visiting your boma?
- How do tourists behave at your boma?
- How do you feel about tourists taking pictures at your boma?
 - Of you? Your children?
 - Why do you think tourists take pictures?
- Do you want tourists to visit your boma?
- Why do you think tourists come to Longido?
- Is tourism changing life in Longido?
- Would you like to see anything changed or improved with tourism in Longido?

Longido Business Owners Interview Guide

General/Demographic

- Personal info:
 - Name, age
 - From Longido?
- Business info:
 - Name of business
 - When business started
 - Number of current employees
 - Are you involved in any other business?

Impacts

- How does tourism affect your business?
- How often do tourists come to your business?
- How much do you rely on tourists for business?
- Do tourists spend more or less money than locals?
- How do tourists behave at your business?

Tourism Benefits

- How does tourism affect people in Longido?
- Does tourism benefit Longido?
 - Do you benefit from tourism?
 - Who benefits from tourism the most in Longido?

Longido CTE

- What is your opinion of the tourists?
- How do you feel about tourists taking pictures?
- Why do you think tourists visit Longido?
- Do you want tourists to visit Longido?

- Do you want tourists to visit your business?
- What is your opinion of the CTE?
- Do you know about the Village Development Fund?
- Is tourism changing life in Longido?
- Would you like to see anything changed or improved with tourism in Longido?

Jewelry Seller Interview Guide

Jewelry

- Name, age
- What do you make to sell to tourists?
- What kind of item is the most popular with tourists?
- How long does it take to make _____?
 - A pair of earrings
 - A bracelet
 - An esos
- How much do you sell _____ for?
- How much do materials cost?
- About how much money do you make from selling jewelry to tourists? (high/low season)
- What do you use the money for?
- Do you give the money to anyone else, or do you spend it yourself?
- How important is income from tourism to your livelihood? (compared to other income sources)

Longido CTE

- How do you feel about tourism in Longido?
- How does tourism affect people in Longido?
- Does tourism benefit Longido?
 - Who benefits the most?
- What is your opinion of the CTE?
- What is your opinion of the CTE guides?
- Do you know about the Village Development Fund?

Tourists and Tourism

- What is your opinion of the tourists?
- How do you feel about tourists taking pictures?
- Why do you think tourists visit Longido?
- Is tourism changing life in Longido?
- Would you like to see anything changed or improved with tourism in Longido?

No Tourism Involvement Resident Interview Guide

General

- Name, age, M/F
- Occupation
- From Longido?

Tourism Benefits

- What is your experience with tourism?
- How does tourism affect people in Longido?
- Does tourism benefit Longido?
 - Do you benefit from tourism?
 - Who benefits?

Longido CTE

- What is your opinion of the tourists?
- How do you feel about tourists taking pictures?
- Why do you think tourists visit Longido?
- Do you want tourists to visit Longido?
- What is your opinion of the CTE?
- Do you know about the Village Development Fund?
- Is tourism changing life in Longido?
- Would you like to see anything changed or improved with tourism in Longido?

CTE Guide Interview Guide

General/Background

- Name, age
- Are you from Longido?
- How long have you been a guide with the CTE?
- What kind of training have you had as a guide?

Employment and Income

- How often do you work as a guide?
 - High/low season?
- Do you have other work besides guiding for CTE?
 - What? Main source of income?
- Do some guides work more often than others?
 - Why?
- How much money do you make from the CTE as a guide?
 - High/low season?
- How much money do you make from tips?
 - High/low season?
- What do you use income from guiding for?
- What is your opinion of how the CTE operates?

Longido Tourism

- How do you feel about tourism in Longido?
- How does tourism affect people in Longido?
- Does tourism benefit Longido?
 - How? Who?
- How do people in Longido feel about tourists taking pictures?
- Why do you think tourists visit Longido?
- What would you like tourists to learn about Longido and Maasai culture?
- Do you learn anything from the tourists?
- Is tourism changing life in Longido?
- Would you like to see anything changed or improved with tourism in Longido?

Other CTE Employee Interview Guide

****Cooks: General and Income**

- Name, age
- Are you from Longido?
- How long have you been a cook for the CTE?
- How often do you work as a CTE cook?
 - High/low season?
- Do you have other work besides cooking for CTE?
 - What is your main source of income?
- How much money do you make from the CTE as a cook?
 - High/low season?
- What do you use income from CTE for?

****Performance Organizer: General and Income**

- Name, age
- Are you from Longido?
- How long have you worked with the CTE?
- How often do you organize performances?
- Do you have other work?
 - What is your main source of income?
- How much money do you make from the CTE?
 - How much money do the performers make?
- What do you use income from CTE for?
- How do you organize the performances?
 - Who do you contact?

Longido CTE

- How do you feel about tourism in Longido?
- How does tourism affect people in Longido?
- Does tourism benefit Longido?
 - Who benefits the most?

- What is your opinion of the CTE?
- What is your opinion of the CTE guides?
- Do you know about the Village Development Fund?

Tourists and Tourism

- What is your opinion of the tourists?
- How do you feel about tourists taking pictures?
- Why do you think tourists visit Longido?
- Is tourism changing life in Longido?
- Would you like to see anything changed or improved with tourism in Longido?

Longido Tourist Questionnaire (Not in original formatting.)

Instructions:

Please be as honest as possible. Your responses are completely confidential.

This questionnaire has two parts:

- PART I: Fill out before you begin any cultural tourism activities. (Takes 5min)
- PART II: Fill out after you finish cultural tourism activities. (Takes 10min)

PART I: PLEASE FILL OUT <u>BEFORE</u> CULTURAL TOURISM ACTIVITIES
--

1. What is your purpose for travel to Tanzania? (Check all that apply)

- ☐ Leisure (tourism)
- ☐ Volunteer
- ☐ Business
- ☐ Study
- ☐ I am a resident of Tanzania
- ☐ Other: _____

2. The following is a list of tourism activities in Tanzania. Please rate each activity by how interested you would be in doing it, whether or not you have done it or are planning to do it. (Please mark only one box for each activity.)

	Extremely Interested	Very Interested	Somewhat interested	Not very interested	Not at all interested
Wildlife safari (not hunting)					
Hunting safari					
Cultural tour (Maasai)					
Cultural tour (not Maasai)					
Beach holiday					
Visit historical sites					
Mountain trekking or hiking					
Visit museums					
Go shopping (crafts, gems, jewelry, cloth, etc)					

3. How did you find out about the Longido Cultural Tourism Enterprise? (Check one)

- ☐ Website or brochure
☐ Guidebook: Which one? _____
☐ Tanzania Tourist Board office
☐ Tour company: Which one? _____
☐ Word of mouth
☐ Other: _____

4. Why did you decide to visit Longido? If you came to see the Maasai, why are you interested in seeing them?

5. As quickly as you can, please write down 4 words or phrases that you would use to describe the Maasai.

6. What is your country of origin?

7. What is your gender? (Please check one.)

- ☐ Male
☐ Female

8. What is your approximate age? (Please check one.)

- ☐ 0-17 years
☐ 18-24 years
☐ 25-34 years

- ☐ 35-44 years
- ☐ 45-54 years
- ☐ 55-64 years
- ☐ 65 or older

PLEASE STOP READING HERE.

Phase II begins on the next page. You will fill that section out after completing your cultural tourism activities.

PART II: PLEASE FILL OUT <u>AFTER</u> CULTURAL TOURISM ACTIVITIES
--

1. How long was your visit to Longido? (Please check one.)
 - ☐ Half day
 - ☐ Full day
 - ☐ Overnight one night
 - ☐ Overnight more than one night: How many nights?: _____
2. What activities did you participate in while in Longido? (Check all that apply.)
 - ☐ Boma visit
 - ☐ Visit to the Warrior Cave (campsite with paintings on the wall)
 - ☐ Hiked Mount Longido
 - ☐ Visited cattle market
 - ☐ Saw ceremony
 - ☐ Other: _____
3. Would you recommend the Longido Cultural Enterprise to others? Why or why not?
Do you have suggestions for improvement?
4. Name two interesting things that you learned about the Maasai while in Longido. Try to think of things that you did not expect to see or learn about the Maasai before you arrived in Longido.
5. How does your experience with the Maasai in Longido compare with your experience with Maasai elsewhere?
6. From your experience here, do you think tourism in Longido is a positive experience for Longido residents? (Please check one.)
 - ☐ Probably for most residents
 - ☐ Probably for some residents, but not for others
 - ☐ Maybe for most residents
 - ☐ Maybe for some residents, but not for others
 - ☐ Probably not for most residents

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN THIS RESEARCH!

GLOSSARY

[Sw= Kiswahili; M= Maa]

Arusha Region: One of Tanzania's 30 administrative regions; borders Kenya in northern Tanzania; contains several popular tourism sites, including Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Lake Manyara National Park, Arusha National Park, Lake Natron, and Mount Meru. Longido District is located in the northeast sector of Arusha Region.

Arusha Town: The capital of Arusha Region; the central hub for safari tourism in Tanzania; located one hour south of Longido Village.

banda: Simple, thatch-roofed structure. (Sw)

boma: Maasai homestead usually composed of several related family households; circular gated enclosure comprised of individual family houses and animal enclosures; Kiswahili term used in tourism, called “enkang” in Maa. (Sw)

chai: A hot sweet milk and spiced tea drink; a staple in Tanzanian diets (Sw)

dala-dala: Shared taxi vans used as local public transport in Tanzania. (Sw)

duka: Shop or store. (Sw)

enkaji (pl. inkajjik): Maasai house built by women out of a wooden frame covered in mud and cow dung; most modern styles have a thatch roof; each enkaji houses a woman and her children. (M)

Kimokouwa: A village within Longido District, north of Longido Village, and bordering the north face of Mount Longido.

kitenge (pl. vitenge): Colorful, printed cloths worn by women in Tanzania as wrap skirts, shawls, baby wraps, and head coverings (Sw)

Longido District: Municipality located in the northeast sector of Arusha Region; has a majority Maasai population; the capital is Longido Village.

Longido Town: The commercial and residential area of Longido Village comprised primarily of modern, concrete buildings, and where most of the commercial businesses and service providers are located. Longido Town is a sub-village of Longido Village, and its official name is simply Longido, but it is referred to as Longido Town, both colloquially and in this manuscript, in order to differentiate it from the entirety of Longido Village.

Longido Village: The municipality of Longido Village is a ward within Longido District, which is in Arusha Region, within the country of Tanzania. Longido Village is the capital of Longido District, and is comprised of three sub-villages, Longido (referred to here as Longido Town), Ol Tepesi, and Ranch.

mzee (pl. wazee): An elder or someone advanced in age (male or female). (Sw)

Mzungu (pl. Wazungu): Person of European descent. (Sw)

olmurrani (pl. ilmurran): Maasai age-grade for young, circumcised men, between boyhood and elder; also known as the “warrior” age-grade. (M)

Ol Tepesi: Sub-village of Longido Village, located southeast of Longido Town.

Orpul: A Maasai sacred place with several uses: (1) a place to eat meat and receive healing from medicinal plants; (2) an ilmurran campsite; (3) a campsite where young boys receive cultural education from elders; (4) a cave in the foothills of Mount Longido where cultural tourists learn about Maasai cosmology and cultural values (definitions 1-3 are general Maasai definitions of Orpul, definition 4 is specific to Longido). (M)

Ranch: Sub-village of Longido Village, located south of Longido Town.

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