

The Development of Cultural Tourism in Uganda

Status, Potential and East African Experiences

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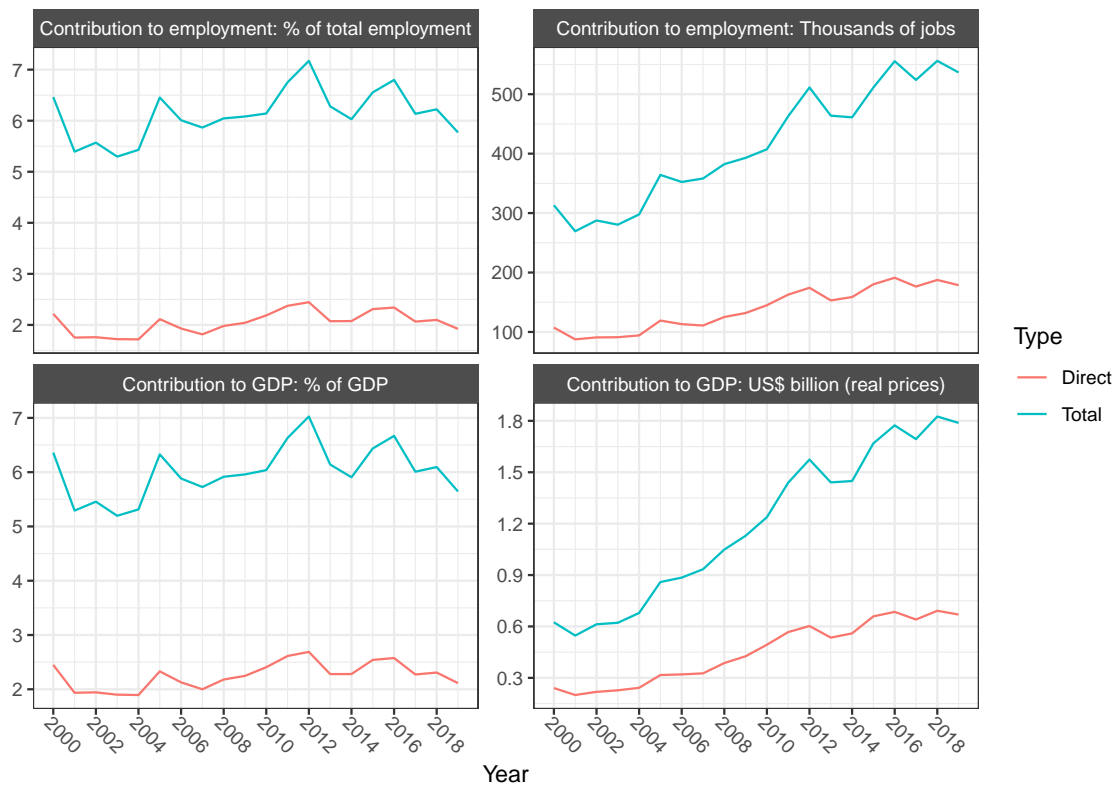
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1 Introduction

Tourism is an important sector of the Ugandan economy both in terms of employment and foreign exchange income. The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) estimates a direct contribution of the sector to employment in Uganda of 178,700 jobs in 2019 (1.92% of employment) (WTTC, 2018, 2019). The total amount of jobs (direct + indirect + induced) in 2019 is estimated at 536,626, which would constitute 5.8% of total employment. The direct contribution of the sector to GDP was estimated at UGX 2,479 billion (US\$ 669 million), 2.11% of total GDP in 2019, whereas the total contribution was estimated at UGX 6622 billion (US\$ 1,788 million), 5.64% of total GDP in 2019. The evolution of these numbers is shown in Figure 1 below. According to the Ministry of Tourism Wildlife and Antiquities (MoTWA) Annual Tourism Performance Report FY 2017-2018, the tourism sector generated US\$ 1.453 billion as foreign exchange (English, 2019). The average total expenditure of leisure tourists on a pre-booked package tour is estimated at US\$ 1,200 per capita, and that of international business tourists at US\$ 900, excluding air fares (UTDMP, n.d.).

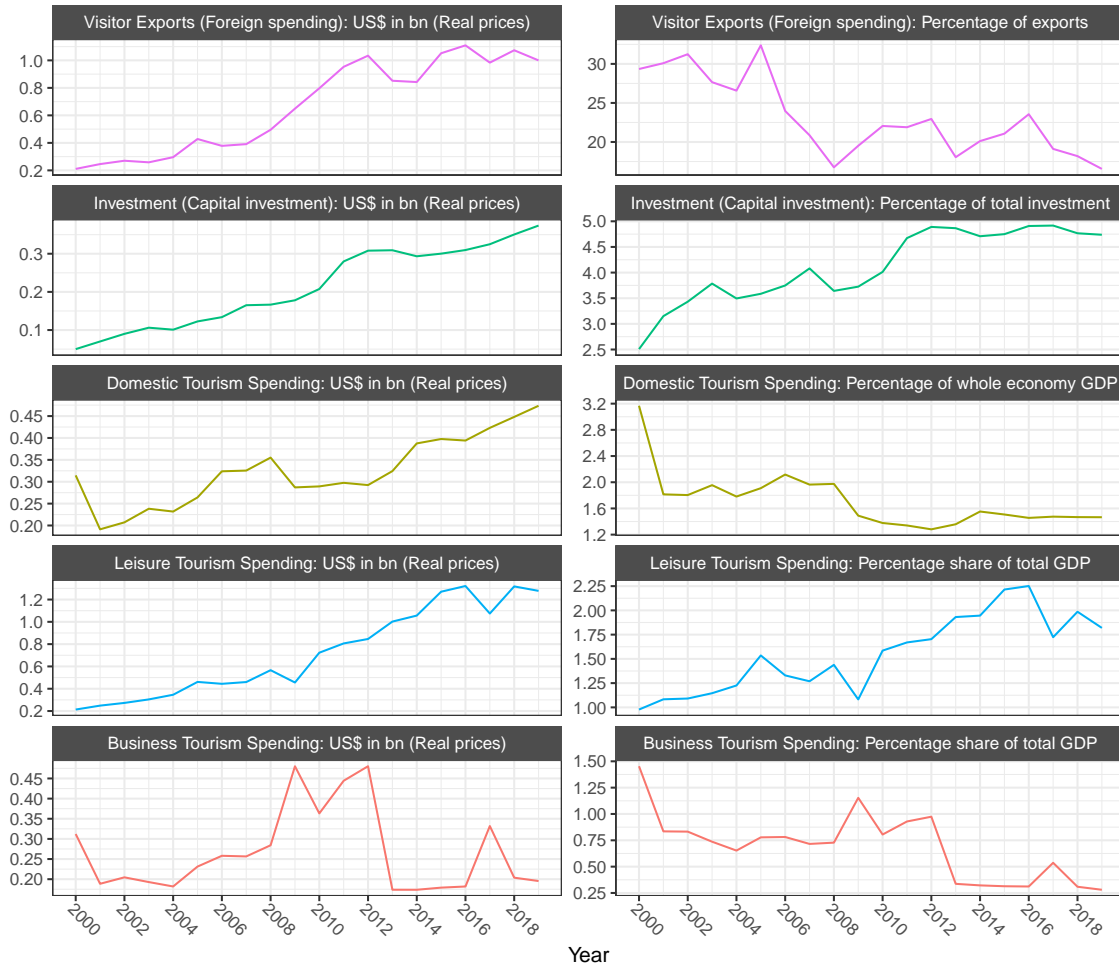
Figure 1: Contribution of Tourism to Ugandan GDP and Employment
 Source: WTTC (2019)



The contribution of the sector to exports, investment¹ and consumption is similarly meaningful as shown in Figure 2 below. The Government prioritizes tourism in the NDP II (2015-2019) and Vision 2040, emphasizing product diversification, conservation, infrastructure development, capacity building and increased promotion (Mkono, 2019). This contributes to strategic outcomes such as increases in length of stay, expenditure, investment and eventually employment and earning opportunities for the population (English, 2019).

¹Investment includes capital investment spending by all industries directly involved in Travel & Tourism. This also constitutes investment spending by other industries on specific tourism assets such as new visitor accommodation and passenger transport equipment, as well as restaurants and leisure facilities for specific tourism use (WTTC, 2018).

Figure 2: Contribution of Tourism to Ugandan Exports, Investment, and Consumption
 Source: WTTC (2019)



Uganda’s tourism industry has long emphasized nature-based tourism such as safaris, gorilla tracking, and tropical forest reserves, with fast growth experienced particularly by mountain gorilla and chimpanzee trekking. This focus however has neglected the diversification of the countries tourism product base, particularly in the area of cultural and historical tourism (Mkono, 2019).

This paper seeks to situate Uganda in terms of its cultural tourism development, assess the nascent potential of further developing cultural tourism in Uganda, and provide policy recommendations towards that end. In line with these aims, several case-studies of cultural tourism development in Uganda and it’s neighbours Tanzania and Kenya are provided to exhibit a breadth of experiences and viewpoints as well as some of the potential challenges and pitfalls to promoting cultural tourism in Uganda.

1.1 Cultural Tourism and Development

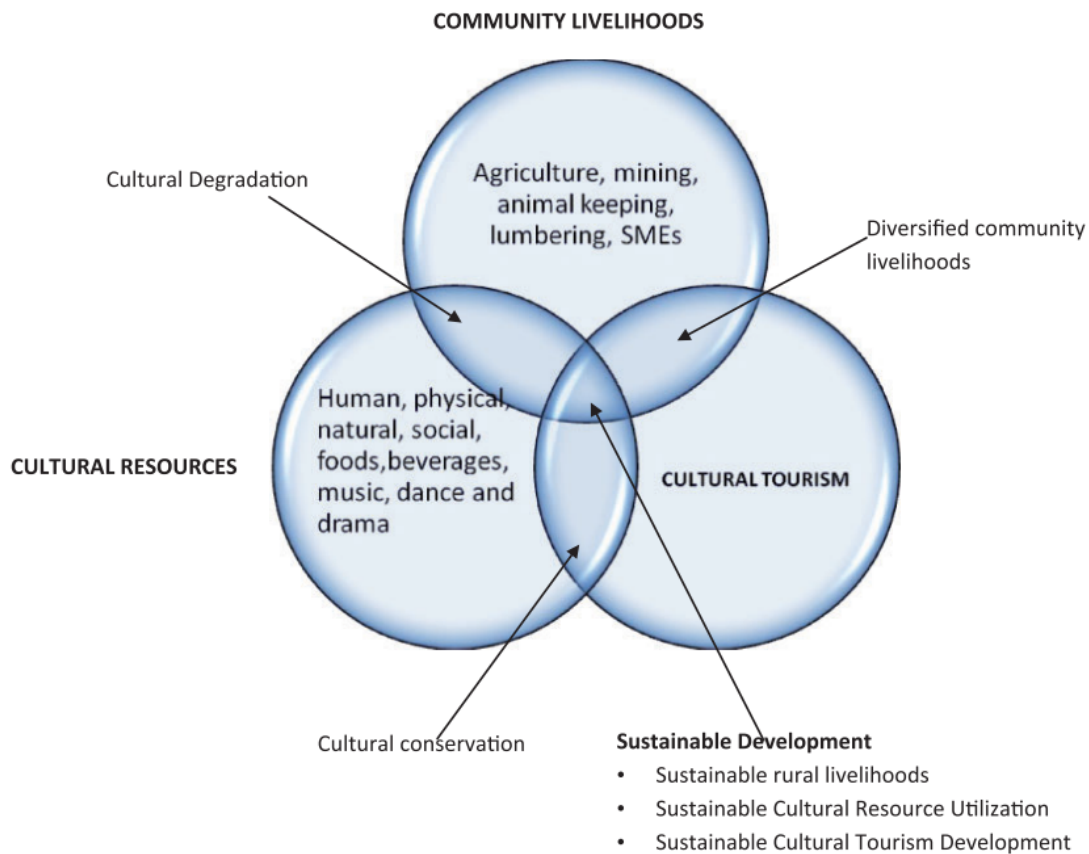
Cultural tourism involves experiencing the lifestyle and history of people in various settings, as expressed in particular through art, architecture, religion, and social customs (Mkono, 2019). This includes tourism in urban areas, particularly historic or large cities and their cultural facilities such as architecture, museums and theatres, archaeological sites, and also tourism in rural areas showcasing the traditions of indigenous cultural communities (i.e. festivals, rituals), and their values and lifestyle Ali (2014). Cultural tourism differs from recreational tourism in that it seeks to gain an understanding or appreciation of the nature of the place being visited (ICOMOS, 2009).

Cultural Tourism contributes to Community Development through providing employment to

local people as Tour Guides, coordinators of Cultural Tourism Enterprises, traditional dancing, storytelling, food service provision, accommodation service provision and through direct sales of goods and services to tourists [Akama & Sterry \(2002\)](#).

It is also widely acknowledged that the success in culture-based tourism is bestowed on the level of cultural conservation among the communities and in turn that culture-based tourism activities in the community encourages the continuation of cultural conservation including rejuvenation, or enhancement of traditions and a way of life ([Ahebwa et al., 2016](#); [Richards, 2004](#); [Akama & Sterry, 2002](#)). [Spenceley \(2010\)](#) in her study concluded that culture-based tourism encourages the rehabilitation of cultural sites (e.g., museums, gardens, and monuments), raises awareness of the importance of conserving cultural sites and values, the traditional cuisine and other cultural practices with the aim of attracting culture curious tourists, thereby opening opportunities for improving community livelihoods ([Spenceley, 2010](#); [Ahebwa et al., 2016](#)). [Ahebwa et al. \(2016\)](#) provides a nice graphic on the interaction between cultural tourism, cultural conservation and development.

Figure 3: Cultural Tourism and Development Nexus
Taken from [Ahebwa et al. \(2016\)](#)



2 Cultural Tourism in Uganda

Uganda is gifted with a rich historical, natural and cultural heritage. This includes diverse and unique cultures in many different ethnic communities as well as tangible and intangible heritage sites forming a large potential for the development of cultural tourism ([Mkono, 2019](#); [Jain, 2011](#)). Some of these heritage sites have attained international recognition like the Kasubi Royal Tombs Heritage site in the Buganda Kingdom.

Tour operators agree that, although tourists come to Uganda first and foremost for the wildlife, they also want to have cultural experiences and get to know the people ([English, 2019](#)).

Currently approximately 650 designated cultural heritage sites and monuments that have been identified by the department of Museums and Monuments. Out of these, a total of 56 sites have been identified as being of national significance and require urgent conservation. Apart from being identified, most of the sites are not mapped and documented. They include: historic sites and buildings (such as churches, cathedrals, mosques, monuments, forts and tombs, slave trade routes, explorer routes); archaeological sites (including rock paintings, stone age settlements and earthworks); traditional shrines, ritual sites and caves (UTDMP, n.d.). Furthermore the constitution recognizes 56 tribes and 9 indigenous communities in the country (Mkono, 2019).

While a number of protected areas, monuments and cultural heritage sites have been established, these are also faced with challenges of ensuring that they are sustainably utilised and managed UTDMP (n.d.).

The mandate to conserve, manage and protect the cultural and heritage assets in Uganda is with the Department of Museum and Monuments in the Ministry of Tourism Wildlife and Antiquities (MoTWA). The Historical Monuments Act (1967) provides for the "...preservation and protection of historic monuments and objects of archaeological, paleontological, ethnographical and traditional interest...". It offers a legal framework for the preservation, protection and promotion of cultural heritage. The Museum and Monuments Department currently has responsibility for two museums: The National Museum of Uganda (the oldest in East Africa, having been formally established in 1908) and the Moroto Museum (a community museum focussed on Karamoja culture) (UTDMP, n.d.).

Although the preservation, protection and promotion cultural heritage assets are catered for under the 1967 Historical Monuments Act, there has been no promotion of policy and regulatory guidelines to enable it's full implementation (UTDMP, n.d.). The current law on Museums and Monuments is therefore weak especially on issues of penalty for vandalizing cultural sites and monuments, preventing illicit trafficking of antiques and encroachment on land of cultural assets UTDMP (n.d.). Apart from lacking legal and policy guidance, heritage conservation is generally constrained by inadequate skilled human resource and limited funding of conservation programmes.

Most of the cultural heritage sites within Uganda have no mechanism for recording visitor numbers. The inadequate data and research on artifacts, monument and intangible heritage combined with limited awareness of the economic and social value of cultural heritage by the communities poses a big challenge not only for promoting, conserving and preserving these cultural heritages, but also to the sustainability of the tourism industry in Uganda.

The department of Museum and Monuments which is supposed to oversee the management and protection of cultural and heritage assets in Uganda, is severely constrained by the shortage of both financial and human resources. There are inadequate skills, both in numbers and quality required for management of cultural heritage both at the Department of Museums and Monuments and site level. As a result the majority of the identified sites, including some of those on the tentative list for inscription as World Heritage Sites, and most of the 56 sites designated as of national significance, have very limited, or sometimes no, conservation or protection measures in place. The consequences manifest in terms of heritage loss, such as the significant fire damage caused to the Kasubi Tombs site in Kampala and the illegal quarrying of granite from the Nyero rock art site UTDMP (n.d.).

Over the years the local communities and the private sector are increasingly playing a significant role in the cultural heritage conservation. It is estimated that there are approximately 25 local community museums throughout Uganda, including the Museum of Acholi Art and Culture in Kitgum; the St Luke's Community Museum in Rakai; Wakiso (Kawere African Museum); Isingiro (Ankore Cultural Drama Actors Museum), Jinja (Cultural Research Centre Museum); and Soroti (Iteso Cultural Union Museum). These local museums are preserving the particular culture and heritage of the different parts of Uganda and reinforcing the role and significance of culture and heritage in everyday society. Some members of the private sector have invested in cultural centres and museums such as the Igongo Museum in Mbarara UTDMP (n.d.).

The cultural institutions also play a vital role in preserving cultural values and customs. At the forefront have been the traditional kingdoms of Buganda; Bunyoro-Kitara; Busoga; and Toro that play an important role in Ugandan culture and life today [UTDMP \(n.d.\)](#). Uganda has 10 kingdoms and chiefdoms that have attempted to harness cultural heritage resources for cultural tourism ([Mkono, 2019](#)). In the Buganda Kingdom, these resource include Kabaka's (kings) palaces, Kabaka's trail, Namugongo martyrs shrine, Kasubi tombs, Wamala tombs, Kabaka's coronation site in Naggalabi, Sezibwa Falls and Katereke ditch ([Mkono, 2019](#)). Some of these sites are frequently visited by tourists even without any significant touristic infrastructure. Local dance groups have been formed to entertain these tourists.

The following 3 subsections summarize case studies conducted by various parties on cultural tourism in Uganda. These serve to enrich the perspective of this paper with some experiential knowledge and advice.

2.1 [Nsibambi \(2014\)](#): Monarchies and the Development of Cultural Tourism: A Case Study of the Buganda Kingdom

[Nsibambi \(2014\)](#) discusses the development of cultural tourism in the Buganda Kingdom. He found that:

The Buganda monarchy has positively contributed to the development of cultural tourism through the creation of the Ministry of Heritage, Royal Tombs and Tourism as well as passing of the conservation and maintenance policy. The above initiatives have led to the identification, gazettement and protection of historical and cultural-environmental sites. In addition, the kingdom provides both moral and financial support to the development of cultural tourism. For instance, in the 2015-2016 annual budget, a total of 50,240,000 Uganda shillings was budgeted and 52,780,000 Uganda shillings was spent. Wamala and Kasubi's renovation were commissioned. The kingdom has also embarked on a massive campaign to identify and renovate the gazetted and ungazetted cultural sites in the kingdom. ([Nsibambi, 2014](#))

[Nsibambi \(2014\)](#) further notes that cultural festivals in the Buganda kingdom have been promoted mainly through cultural exhibitions, performing art, clan institutions, ritual practices, craft-related businesses, health and environmental conservation campaigns, media advertisement, capacity building and directly extending financial support.

Through a survey with various stakeholder and site-managers, [Nsibambi \(2014\)](#) concludes that Buganda still lacks an appropriate strategy to manage the cultural heritage tourism sites and recommends the engagement of professionals like environmentalists, tourism experts, historical and cultural scholars and other qualified personnel in analysing and assessing any activity at the various sites to avoid endangering the historical, customs and cultural values of the sites under transformation.

He further recommends that county administrations and the private sector should partner with sub-counties and initiate the building of Traditional Arts and Ethnology Centres while adopting a community based approach to cultural tourism development.

2.2 [Ahebwa et al. \(2016\)](#): Bridging community livelihoods and cultural conservation through tourism: A case study of the Kabaka Heritage Trail in Uganda

[Ahebwa et al. \(2016\)](#) analysed the promotion of culture-based tourism as a tool for cultural conservation and community livelihoods improvement in Buganda, taking the Kabaka Heritage Trails Project as a case study. The study adopted a cross-sectional, correlational survey design with a combination of both quantitative and qualitative aspects. The study population consisted of 3035 households living around the different cultural sites on the Kabaka Heritage Trail.

Introduction

Studies by [Holland et al. \(2003\)](#) and [Meyer \(2004\)](#) show that communities living around cultural sites in Uganda have for long been characterized by poor livelihoods in many aspects, despite their proximity to such sites. Communities living around most of the culturally rich sites in these kingdoms are facing several problems including limited livelihood options, poverty, unemployment, poor infrastructure, lack of access to good health and education facilities, and low demand for goods and services. It is against this background that the Kabaka Heritage Project was initiated in the Buganda Kingdom in 2001 to encourage tourism along the Heritage Trail of the kingdom's Kings (Kabakas). This trail takes a visitor from where the Kabaka is enthroned to the prison for wrong elements in the Kingdom, the King's resting and recreational areas, the homes for what used to be the different wives of the Kabaka, the Kingdom's parliament, the Kabaka's Palace, and finally to the Kabaka's burial grounds. These sites are well spread within the Kingdom and at different levels of tourism development.

Analysis

[Ahebwa et al. \(2016\)](#) asked various household heads and stakeholders along the sites sets of questions relating to culture-based tourism, cultural conservation and community livelihood, and obtained 3 factor scores for these constructs at a high level of reliability. They find a significant positive correlation between culture-based tourism and cultural conservation ($\rho = 0.609$, $p < 0.01$).

For instance, the frequency with which visitors go to the villages and enjoy traditional music, dance, and drama is associated with the local communities holding on to their traditions. ([Ahebwa et al., 2016](#))

The authors also held focus group discussions at all sites, which also revealed a general consensus on the contribution of culture-based tourism to cultural conservation. It was expressed that the tangible heritage elements are the major attractions at the sites followed by the intangible heritage attractions such as stories about Buganda culture that the tourists are inquisitive about. ([Ahebwa et al., 2016](#)).

The focus group meetings further revealed that all sites had cultural dancers who were natives of Buganda Kingdom and could dress in traditional costumes and perform traditional Buganda songs for tourists. All visitors were also welcomed to the site in a traditional way where one removes shoes before entering a holy place, they are seated and given a welcome coffee beans. In emphasizing this, one site overseer argued:

All people who perform cultural dances to our visitors are native Baganda. They dress in traditional costumes which we put on when performing to our king and at traditional ceremonies. We want our visitors to experience are true culture in its form.. in Buganda, entering respected places like the palace etc.. one would go bare footed... we still maintain this and our visitors are advised so as well... .

[Ahebwa et al. \(2016\)](#) further found a positive correlation between culture-based tourism and community livelihood ($\rho = 0.349$, $p < 0.01$). One interviewed Uganda Community Tourism Association (UCOTA) official argued:

We used to directly get involved in the running of the cultural sites on the Kabaka's Trail together with Action for Conservation through Tourism (ACT) and the Kabaka's Foundation. We later formed community associations at the sites of about 215 members and 63 percent of them were women. A legal agreement was made stipulating that the associations were required to give 30 per cent of the net entrance fee collected at each site to the Buganda Kingdom administration for maintenance of other sites. The remaining 70 per cent and all other income from their activities (e.g. guiding, handicraft sales, cultural entertainment) accrues to the association and its members. This agreement provided new incentives for the local community to work together with each other.

Results from all focus group discussions indicated that between 2000 and 2004 the six sites were very active and many community members sold handicrafts, formed community associations in each of the sites; there were music, dance, and drama performances; they created friendship with foreigners who invited some community members abroad; sold food stuffs like "Matooke" to

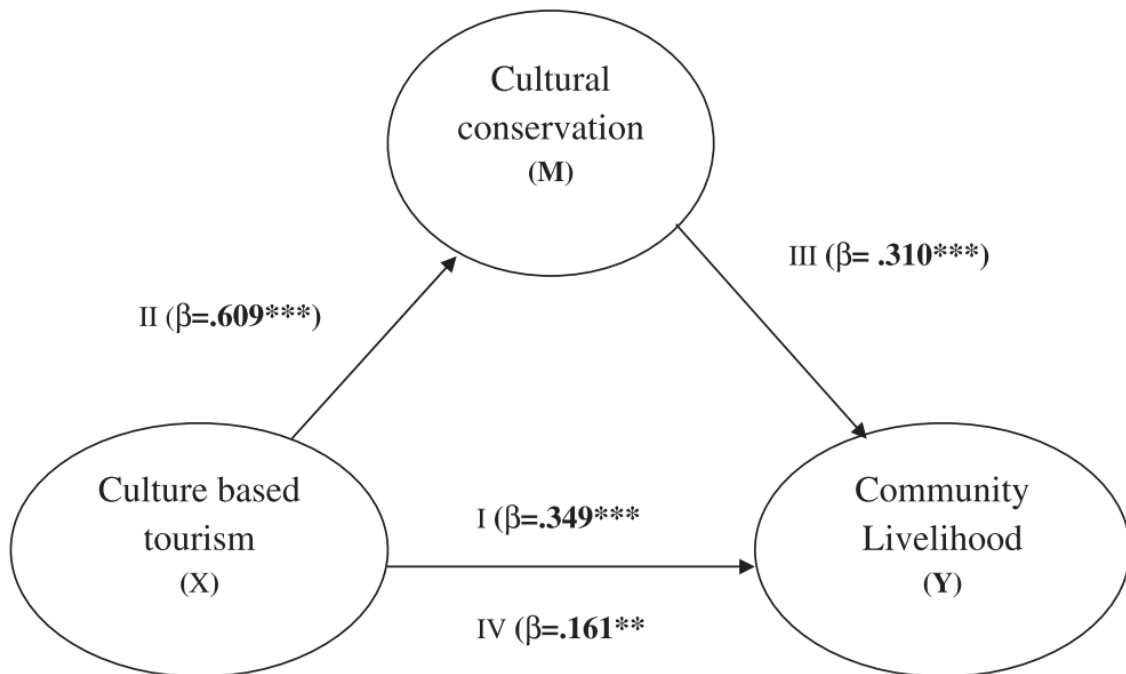
the tourists and some community members were trained in handcrafts making and tour guiding skills (Ahebwa et al., 2016).

Cultural conservation was also found to be positively correlated with community livelihood ($\rho = 0.408$, $p < 0.01$). When cultural assets were conserved, income was generated both directly and indirectly. Community members got jobs ranging from guides to providers of cultural products and services. Some members opened up restaurants, handcrafts shops, started cultural dance groups, provided tour guiding and interpretation services among others.

Using their factor scores, (Ahebwa et al., 2016) performed a mediation analysis reported in Figure 4 below and find a partial mediation of the effect of culture based tourism on community livelihood through cultural conservation (about 50% of the effect can be accounted for by cultural conservation)²:

Figure 4: The mediating effect of cultural conservation on the relationship between culture-based tourism and community livelihood

Taken from Ahebwa et al. (2016)



The revealed positive and significant relationship between culture-based tourism and community livelihoods and between cultural conservation and community livelihoods indicated that culture-based tourism and appreciation of cultural conservation significantly improves the level of community livelihoods around cultural sites... (Ahebwa et al., 2016)

Challenges

Despite a very positive start of the project, Ahebwa et al. (2016) note some key challenges that eventually curtailed most of the community benefits and the lively nature of cultural tourism in these sites. Key challenges include limited skills possessed by local people to run tourism businesses, governance issues, limited capital for starting appealing businesses, conflicts within the community, and limited exposure to the tourism industry and tourists' expectations. Ahebwa et

²The mediation analysis involved running 3 simple linear regressions with the factor scores (shown by the arrows in 4 with the coefficients β reported above the arrow). A fourth regression of community livelihood on culture based tourism was run controlling for cultural conservation, and the coefficient on culture based tourism shrunk from 0.349 to 0.161, indicating a partial mediation through cultural conservation accounting for $(0.349 - 0.161)/0.349 \times 100 = 53.87\% \approx 50\%$ of this effect.

al. (2016) assert that because of these issues, even where donors start community enterprises, the majority collapse as soon as donor funds and technical assistance runs out. A detailed summary of the challenges is provided below in bullet points:

- Heritage assets like Buganda House called "Bwanika" at Nagalabi burnt down on 8th August 2012 part of Bulange on October 2012 and Kasubi Tombs (a popular site that was already declared a world heritage site) burnt down on 16th March 2010.
- It is still a big challenge for communities to run and compete in business with private tourism service and product providers. The communities have limited business skills, thus although they embraced the benefits brought by the Kabaka's Trail Project, most of these seemed to have vanished by the end of year 2002 when some of the founders like Action for Conservation through Tourism (ACT) returned to the United Kingdom. These actors had provided business support to communities and they left without a clear succession program to keep the project running.
- Most of the associated benefits were declining due to low visitor arrivals. A low visitor arrival was attributed to limited marketing, limited information about products and services offered at these sites, and inadequate online visibility. The robust marketing program for the project ended when donors pulled out and handed the project to community associations.
- Some community members viewed culture-based tourism as culturally disruptive. Benefits were also not flowing to all members of the community. This triggered some hatred that led to the burning of some establishments along the trail.
- It emerged that cultural elements that are at the forefront of culture-based tourism tend to be more commercialized. The focus groups in all sites contended that some elements of their culture like dress code, language, and social practices generally had been negatively affected by the coming of tourists to the communities around the cultural sites. This finding nonetheless does not invalidate the role of culture-based tourism in enhancing opportunities to conserve culture as well as access to social, human, natural, physical, and financial capital for construction of community livelihoods.
- It was noted that the governance problems associated with Kabaka Foundation and the financial constraints of UCOTA have jointly hampered and constrained the functioning of these institutions in ensuring sustainable culture-based tourism development in Buganda.

As a possible solution, [Ahebwa et al. \(2016\)](#) emphasize the possible utility of private-community partnership models. In these arrangements, communities benefit from wider business networks and expertise as well as financial assets of the private sector. They conclude that:

There is a need to support the emergence of community entrepreneurs through training and capacity development not just associations around cultural sites. This will serve the social development objectives of culture-based tourism projects and also to sustain their continuity and operation of business. There is also a need to investigate the novel and innovative ways of marketing and promoting cultural tourism. Community perception, stakeholder relationships, and benefits (trickle down effects) from culture-based tourism development at local, national, regional, and international levels can also be studied. ([Ahebwa et al., 2016](#))

2.3 [Adiyia et al. \(2015\)](#): Analysing governance in tourism value chains to reshape the tourist bubble in developing countries: The case of cultural tourism in Uganda

[Adiyia et al. \(2015\)](#) analyse the tourism value chain in Uganda and provide further insights on the challenges of integrating cultural tourism into it. They begin by noting that:

In developing countries, the establishment of local linkages to the tourism value chain, and thus the poverty alleviation potential of the sector, is even more difficult because empowered stakeholders tend to organise the value chain vertically. This means that tourists are led from the airport to the main attractions and transported back to the airport, using a spatially and socially confined trajectory in the destination, the so-called tourist bubble. When the tourist bubble is strongly delimited and tourists only rarely move outside this bubble, sustainable regional development is hampered by a dependency on the willingness of empowered stakeholders to link local labour, products and services to the value chain. ([Adiyia et al., 2015](#))

[Adiyia et al. \(2015\)](#) explain this confinement by a spatially fixed tourism product in the destination (such as a national park) and international tourists unfamiliarity with travelling in developing countries. As a result, tourists tend to purchase packages of individual sub products, such as air transfer, local accommodation and local transport, from tourism intermediaries, in which nationally based tour operators, partly or fully owned by foreign investors, act as agents for global tour operators by coordinating in-country tours on the destination scale ([Adiyia et al., 2015](#)).

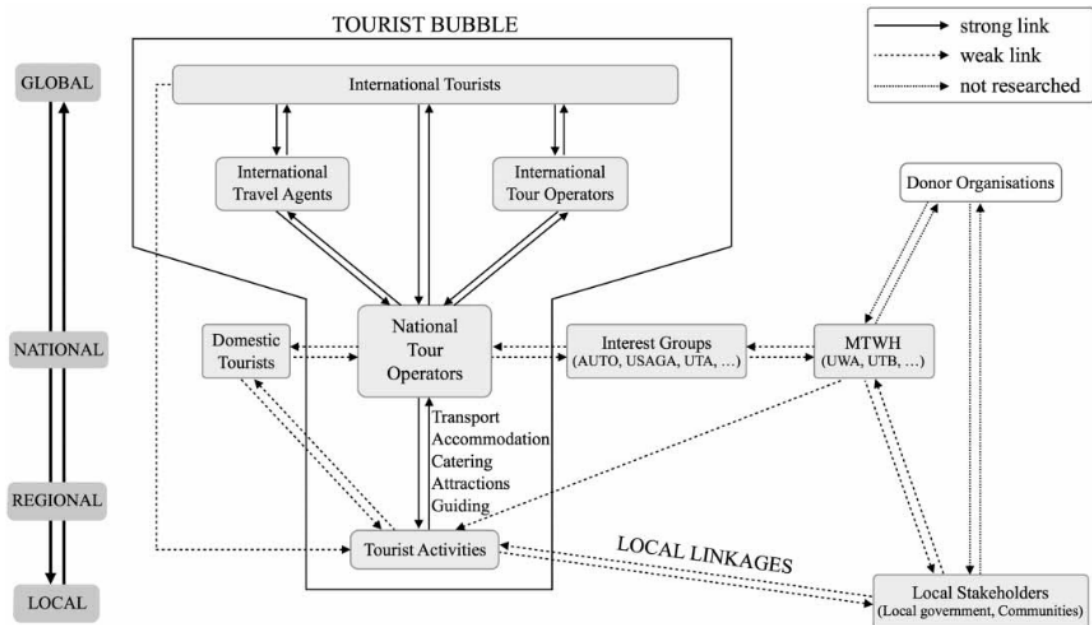
[Adiyia et al. \(2015\)](#) note that local stakeholders are less influential in structuring the overall value chain relations, whereas their empowerment is key in the use of tourism for regional development purposes.

The strong position of tour operators results in a situation in which disempowered local stakeholders are depending on them for developing and marketing tourism products. This power imbalance socially and spatially fixes the boundaries of the tourist bubble, in which nationally based tour operators decide to what extent local stakeholders are able to link their products to the tourism value chain and, therefore, to what extent tourism contributes to poverty alleviation and sustainable regional development in terms of local linkages. ([Adiyia et al., 2015](#))

They assert that to overcome these spatial and social barriers, the structure of the tourism value chain needs to be governed in such a way that local stakeholders are empowered to create linkages to enter the tourism value chain.

The tourist bubble in Uganda as perceived by [Adiyia et al. \(2015\)](#) is illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5: The Tourist Bubble
Taken from [Adiyia et al. \(2015\)](#)



Research

During fieldwork (July 2012 - January 2013), [Adiyia et al. \(2015\)](#) conducted 74 semi-structured in-depth interviews in Uganda ($n = 64$) as well as in Belgium and the Netherlands ($n = 10$) to grasp the role of various stakeholders on different scales in the Ugandan tourism sector and their connection with the tourism value chain. Interviews were undertaken with representatives from the private sector ($n = 46$), the public sector ($n = 12$), donor organisations ($n = 6$), national environmental groups ($n = 4$) and tourism interest groups ($n = 6$). Moreover 7 focus group discussions with local communities were conducted in the area surrounding Kibale National Park (KNP).

In the interviews conducted, several respondents maintained that, apart from the nature-based focus, there is a potential market for experiencing cultural activities in Uganda. Cultural tourism products in Uganda consisted of traditional performances of music and dance, community walks, storytelling, home-stays and handicrafts. Several respondents argued that the success of a local enterprise or activity depends on its proximity to the tourism circuit.

The guy (...) who has a farm over there may be beautiful, but is not along the road. Activities should be organised along the main routes between the national parks. And if they are well developed, tourists stay longer in Uganda. The longer you get them to stay in the country, the more money all of us get. (Foreign tour operator)

Your activity has to be on the circuit. Because very few tour companies divert from the firmly set circuit. (International lodge owner)

The few cultural activities that are offered for tourism are also located inside the tourist bubble. One such example is an organised village walk near KNP's entrance. Part of the revenues of this village walk are distributed by a local organisation (Kibale Association for Rural and Environmental Development or KAFRED) in community projects, such as a secondary school, a health unit and a running water project. In addition, KAFRED allows a local women's group to sell handicrafts to tourists at their main offices; 90% of the handicraft revenues are transmitted to the individual household budgets and the remaining 10% goes to the maintenance of a nursery school, established by the women's group. It is interesting to notice that KAFRED managed to intrude into the value chain as a local stakeholder and reshape the tourist bubble. According to several respondents, KAFRED is able to successfully link their activities to the tourism value chain because of their strategic location next to KNP's entrance:

KAFRED is successful because they are near a national park. Bigodi is next to Kibale National Park with the chimps, so everybody goes to Bigodi. In other places the local community was also interested and we tried to encourage it but no tourists came. (Local tour operator)

Tour operators partly or fully owned by foreign investors, on the one hand, and community-based organisations and tour operators owned by locals, on the other hand, acknowledge the importance of reshaping the bubble by cultural activities in the context of regional development. However, the former opines that developing cultural activities is non-profitable and, therefore, they can only be included on specific tourist demand. The latter state that cultural activities should be included in itineraries, stressing its large potential growing market due to a high diversity and relatively low cost (Adiyia et al., 2015).

Our offer in cultural activities is limited, because the cultural and community aspects are more difficult to express and sell over the internet. (...) The level that they [tourists] want to be involved in local culture and communities depends on the clients themselves and we adjust the itinerary on demand. But the reason they come is predominantly for the gorillas and, unfortunately, there is more money to make out of gorillas. (Foreign tour operator)

What we do after taking all those tourists to see the animals, to see everything, we always ask; what was your best activity here? And they answer: Oh, my visit to those people in the village or this visit to the cultural group is still in the memory.' So that shows if it is well marketed, if well packaged, it has a very big potential. (Local tour operator)

I think one of the main problems is that tourism is private sector driven. Some of those cultural attractions, no private sector can invest in them because they [private sector] do not make money from it. We think that the nature of tourism being private sector driven is a problem for this [cultural] development. (Tourism officer, MWTH)

Based on these perceptions, Adiyia et al. (2015) hold that the international stakeholders need incentives to reshape the tourist bubble, requiring an active search for tools to facilitate the process of reshaping the bubble.

Discussion and Diagnosis

Adiyia et al. (2015) conclude that their results indicate two main reasons why cultural activities are barely incorporated into the Ugandan tourism circuit. First, MTWH creates barriers for local stakeholders interested to expand the bubble and to enter the international tourism value chain, by further empowering the position of registered nationally based foreign-owned tour operators. Second, empowered private stakeholders are unwilling to include poorly developed, non-profitable tourism products in their itineraries.

They contend that the Ugandan government has a clear role in this decision-making process since the potential of cultural tourism depends on destination marketing and product development:

Analysis shows that MTWH fails in developing tourism and allocating resources to pro-poor strategies due to internal horizontal and vertical governance issues, caused by a lack of expertise and collaboration...

Although foreign tour operators are empowered in the value chain because of an inherent advantage due to the international origin of leisure tourists, multi-scalar internal governance complexities undermine external governance mechanisms, such as public-private partnerships. These are necessary to establish local linkages in the value chain and to maximise the poverty alleviation potential of tourism on a local scale. (Adiyia et al., 2015)

To spatially burst the bubble, existing governance complexities should be resolved to create stable external governance mechanisms. Internally, the government should clearly delineate the functional boundaries between the different government-led bodies and evaluate their functional

capacities. Moreover, the government should further integrate tourism planning in local government structures and develop local tourism departments in which tourism issues are handled by qualified experts in the field. It is not sufficient to only allocate resources for tourism promotion without investing in (1) facilitating the linkage of local labour, products and services to the sector, (2) awareness building among local stakeholders to develop quality products and tap in the domestic tourism market and (3) road infrastructure as to create a physical accessible link with the value chain. Moreover, stable external governance mechanisms, such as public-private partnerships, could be built to improve the quality of tourism institutions, providing a robust human resources base needed to resolve existing skill and knowledge gaps among different government-led bodies.

[Korutaro et al. \(2013\)](#) also list several strategies to reshape the bubble such as training and educating communities, investing in capacity building, linking communities to the private sector, providing soft loans to enable communities to start tourism-related businesses and helping to organise these communities into associations to offer accommodation facilities or home-stays. In summary, these strategies identify the barriers for entry for communities and suggest ways to enable them to be part of the tourism value chain.

3 Cultural Tourism in Tanzania and Kenya

3.1 Ali (2014): Effectiveness of the Government strategies in Developing cultural tourism in Tanzania

Ali (2014) evaluates the effectiveness of the Government strategies in developing cultural tourism in Tanzania. He begins with a discussion of the [Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme](#).

The Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme (TCTP)

The Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme started out as a five year project jointly executed by Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB), Ministry of natural Resources & Tourism (MNRT) and Netherlands Development Organization (SNV), from 1996 to 2001 (TCTP, 2020). Its objective was to engage local communities in Tanzania in income generating tourism activities to alleviate poverty and diversify the country's tourism products. By the end of the project, 17 Cultural Tourism Modules, now Cultural Tourism Enterprises (CTE's) were established (Ali, 2014). Currently (2020), there are 41 CTE's located in various regions around Tanzania.

CTE's provide different cultural and natural attractions, activities and services in a given local community, and offer employment and income generating opportunities to local communities. There have been approximately 20% increases in visitor arrivals yearly. Over the past 15 years some CTE's have realized a tenfold increase in arrivals and revenues collected. Most CTE's focus on offering cultural experiences including experiencing people's way of life, traditional dances/ceremonies, sampling of local cuisines, home-stays, daily homestead chores, handicrafts, community development initiatives, indigenous knowledge, historical heritage, nature walks, and local folklores (TCTP, 2020).

The Cultural Tourism Programme is unique as it gives visitors to Tanzania the chance to tour tribal areas to meet the people and experience their traditional way of life. Through the programmes, visitors also experience indigenous attractions and scenery of rural Tanzania (TCTP, 2020; Ali, 2014).

CTE's contribute to Community Development mainly through providing employment to local people as Tour Guides, Coordinators of Cultural Tourism Enterprises, or in traditional dancing, storytelling, food service provision, accommodation service provision (home-stays & camping) and through direct sales of goods and services to tourists. Communities also benefit indirectly through tax or levy on tourism income (TCTP, 2020).

A number of development projects such as education, health, water, environmental conservation and orphanage centres have been supported by village development fees which make a small portion of the package price. Other tourists have been providing voluntary donations to support local development projects. For the year 2010, 20 Schools were renovated and supplied with desks. A new primary and a secondary school have been built in the Babati and Hanang. The school project is \$ 800,000 worth. Sixteen students with good performance have been sponsored for secondary education, College and university education in Barbaig community. An orphanage centre and English medium school project fund operated by Matunda Cultural Tourism have been supported financially and in-kind by tourists doing their excursions and tours on the slopes of Mount Meru (TCTP, 2020).

Over the years the cadre of TCTP supporters has also shifted to include various international and private sector bodies: Currently the TCTP is managed by the Tanzania Tourist Board through its Cultural tourism Programme Unit in collaboration with the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, with support from the United Nations-World Tourism Organization Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty (UNWTO ST-EP) foundation, the Tanzania Private Sector Foundation (TPSF)-Cluster Competitiveness Programme (CCP), the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and Centre for Development of Enterprises (CDE) (TCTP, 2020).

Cultural Tourism Policies and Their Perception by Government Officials

Despite its success, the TCTP seems to be a quite exceptional phenomenon concentrated on the touristic regions in north-eastern Tanzania. For his research Ali (2014) interviewed 40 Government officials and 10 community peoples among the management and members of staff of Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism and Zanzibar Tourism Commission (of which 30 were based in Tanzania Mainland and 20 in Zanzibar) about cultural tourism.

Of the 50 respondents 39 (78%) were strongly or moderately aware of cultural tourism. When asked about policies to develop cultural tourism, 16 (32%) of respondents maintained that policies existed but were not effective, whereas 29 (58%) answered that there were no such policies. He further notes that

Interviews with the community people revealed that there was no specific policy formulated as a guideline to develop cultural tourism. They also stipulated that the existing National Tourism Policy was merely requiring community involvement in tourism activities and not specifically putting emphasis on cultural tourism Ali (2014).

Furthermore, 40 (80%) of respondents indicated that cultural tourism in Tanzania was receiving a low level of advertisement and promotion and that most of the tourism promotion was for general Tanzania Tourism and not specifically for Cultural Tourism.

38 (76%) of respondents indicated that local communities were not aware of the role and existence of cultural tourism. Ali (2014) also noted that a Tourism Market Research Study for Tanzania 2008 recommended the promotion of lesser-known sites (such as Bagamoyo) and found considerable scope for development of the cultural product. The greatest social-economic problems for cultural tourism development in Tanzania according to the questioned group of officials were poor social infrastructure (28% of respondents), poor community awareness (24%), poor policy (12%), competition (20%) and poor promotion and advertisement (16%).

Conclusion

Ali (2014) concludes that government strategies are not maximally effective in developing cultural tourism because of several obstacles such as poor community awareness, high competition from other countries, low promotion and advertisement, poor policy and poor social and physical infrastructures, which in his opinion require increased attention. Ali (2014) recommends increased marketing and Infrastructure development, and public-private partnerships to further advance cultural tourism in Tanzania.

3.2 Ichumbaki et al. (2013): Linking Cultural Heritage and Eco-Tourism in Tanzania

Ichumbaki et al. (2013) explores and illustrates how Tanzania could link ecotourism and cultural tourism to promote not only tourism but also conserve both natural and cultural environments. He argues that:

Integration of such features is advantageous to tourists because they get an exposure to both cultural and ecological heritage at close distance. Therefore it is more fruitful in both time and money. However, despite existence of many features of the kind in Tanzania, such rare advantage has never been tapped. In addition, there are no strategies to link cultural heritage and eco-tourism for sustainable socio-economic developments. (Ichumbaki et al., 2013)

As examples for such possible integration he states Kilwa beaches which are both beautiful and unspoiled, have high touristic potentials and if linked to the area's cultural heritage could attract many visitors. Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara are indicative of many linked cultural and natural touristic potentials found along the coast. Other sites with such similar potentials along the Tanzanian coast include Kunduchi, Bagamoyo, Mbuamaji, Pangani, Kitunda, Mikindani, Sudi and Msanga and Mwingi.

Apart from the ruins of Kilwa, Serengeti National Park and Ngorongoro Conservation have the potential for developing a linked cultural and ecotourism. The two assets located in Northern Tanzania have numerous animal and plant species coexisting with humans and their cultures, as well as a rich and diverse cultural heritage which could be linked with nature tourism.

Research conducted by linguistic scholars of the University of Dar es Salaam under the Languages of Tanzania (LOT) Project shows that Tanzania has over 120 tribes. All these tribal groups have many and varying customs, traditions, foods and different cultural traits. These cultural traits are strategically located. They are found at niches which are attractive for tourism (Ichumbaki et al., 2013).

Ichumbaki et al. (2013) continues to criticize the Tanzanian Cultural Heritage Policy of 2008 that was prepared by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism after consultation with various heritage stakeholders, with the overall aim to increase the contribution of cultural heritage to the country's economy via tourism. Ichumbaki et al. (2013) asserts that none of the outlined specific objectives contribute much to the policies overall aim. He therefore ends with a couple of suggestions, which are in part already taken up in Uganda's UTDMP (n.d.).

Authors Suggestions to Tanzanian Authorities

- Establish an updated database for both ecological and cultural heritage, viable touristic attractions and the ways of linking them: The documentation must involve a full reporting of the asset types, location, state of conservation and their socio-cultural and economic significance. Important information for this purpose must include short texts, maps, images and plans. Tanzania lacks such an updated inventory of both cultural and natural heritage assets, their location and socio-cultural and economic significance. The proposed updated inventory database shall be of much assistance if it is linked to the country's geographic information system (GIS) to plot site locations and survey coverage alongside other data such as property boundaries. From this database it will be easy to produce relevant maps showing the locations of these assets. In addition, the database shall assist in guiding the tourists to know what kind of heritage asset (touristic attraction) is available and where such a resource is found. Moreover, if this database is made available to tour operating companies, it will be easy for them to develop itineraries which are linking both natural and cultural touristic attractions.
- Establishing new cultural heritage centres with good quality cultural heritage tourism facilities for people of all walks of life. Many districts and regions of Tanzania (if not all) have no cultural centers. It is at such centers where people (both citizens from other regions and foreigners) can experience the uniqueness of the community' cultures and the supporting ecology. The establishment of such centers in Tanzania shall result in offering a variety of programs that share the respective region's history and culture with that of all visitors. To make the established centers and programs live, either Government or private investors must think of establishing a simple open air museum, heritage inn restaurant, library and gift shops. From such centers, simple and accommodating tour itineraries of not more than one day must be prepared, promoted and sold. These itineraries should be prepared such that visitors have the chance to experience both the natural and cultural environment of the region.
- These first two strategies will work properly if there shall be effective planning and marketing within the local communities, tourism partners and other local and international tourism related institutions and organisations.

3.3 E. M. Irandu (2004): The Role of Tourism in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage in Kenya

E. M. Irandu (2004) describes the development of cultural tourism in Kenya, with a focus on tourism's effects on local cultures and the preservation of cultural heritage. The paper relies heavily on data and information obtained from personal observations in the field and visits to cultural sites (such as the National Museum, Fort Jesus, Gedi Ruins and Lamu World Heritage Site), interviews held with key informants from the Ministry of Tourism and secondary sources.

Positive Impacts

[E. M. Irandu \(2004\)](#) postulates that with the development of international tourism in Kenya in the 1970s there has been a revival in traditional arts and crafts among various tribes such as Maasai, Turkana, Pokomo and others. Tourism helped these peoples to take pride in their art forms and culture. International tourism has also acted as a stimulus to festivals, songs and dances.

Unique dance, music and musical instruments are found among the various communities in Kenya. Many of these were almost dying until tourist demand led to their revival. ([E. M. Irandu, 2004](#))

Positive effects observed were:

- Revival of traditional arts and crafts.
- Revival of traditional festivals, songs, music and dance.
- Restoration of historical sites and monuments.
- Demonstration effect (socio-economic transformation triggered by foreign exposure).

The author notes that due to the tourism demand, several village tourist centers have been established along the Kenyan coast. In these centers, tourists can see traditional huts, dances, rituals, costumes, traditional furniture, jewellery, beadery and fine African art. These provide an opportunity to international tourists to experience authentic African culture. These centers also offer employment to village dance groups, local musicians and entertainers ([E. M. Irandu, 2004](#)).

The author further notes that international tourism in Kenya has stimulated the restoration and preservation of historical sites and monuments. Among the most popular historical sites in the country are Fort Jesus, a sixteenth-century Portuguese fortless in Mombasa, the old town, Mombasa, Gedi Ruins near Malindi and the Lamu World Heritage Site.

Finally [E. M. Irandu \(2004\)](#) hypothesizes the existence of a positive "demonstration effect" of international tourism on socio-economic development at the Kenyan coast, where tourism and the observation of tourists by locals tends to act as an incentive for the youth to work harder towards a higher educational attainment.

Negative Impacts

[E. M. Irandu \(2004\)](#) also showcases some negative effects of tourism for cultural conservation in Kenya, witnessed primarily along the lines of commodification of culture and a negative demonstration effect.

Regarding the former, the author describes commodification to take place when the inherent quality and meaning of cultural artifacts and performances become less important than the economic motive of earning an income from their reproduction. When this happens, the culture of a given community may be modified to suit the tastes of tourists, and its original meaning and significance is lost: it becomes a "pseudo-culture" ([E. M. Irandu, 2004](#)).

Available literature suggests that commodification is particularly evident in traditional and/or indigenous societies that are rapidly exposed to relatively intensive and increasing levels of tourism development. It was found out that the Maasai Community of Kenya is a classic relevant case study. In the marketing of overseas travel agents, the Maasai culture is increasingly being used as a part of "package" on offer to attract tourists to Kenya. It was also observed that most of the cultural performances by Maasai morans in lodges in Maasai Mara or in beach hotels along the coast were more commodified than those in Maasai Manyattas. [E. M. Irandu \(2004\)](#) notes that many local dancers or woodcarvers may not provide an adequate explanation of the meaning of their activities.

The negative "demonstration effect" on the other hand occurs when the inability of the local people to achieve the same level of prosperity as demonstrated by the visitors may create a sense of deprivation and frustration which may find an outlet in hostility or open aggression. The most susceptible group are the youth who may get involved in crime, prostitution, gambling and drug

trafficking (E. M. Irandu, 2004).

The author suggests that the available evidence indicates that such a negative demonstration effect is strongly felt in the predominantly Muslim towns of the Kenyan coast, especially in the city of Mombasa and the tourist resort of Malindi. In this area, the school drop-out rate for male children is high. Drug-peddling and prostitution are activities that are very much scorned by the local community and especially the older people. However, it is difficult to attribute these ills solely to tourism development. Other modernizing agents may be to blame too (E. M. Irandu, 2004).

Conclusion

E. M. Irandu (2004) concludes that international tourism creates both positive and negative cultural impacts in a destination, but that innovative planning strategies can help to minimize or even eliminate altogether negative cultural impacts of international tourism. Towards this end he advocates that issues regarding visitor numbers, type of visitors and the contribution of visitors in enhancing the standards of living of the host community should be adequately addressed.

3.4 Wadawi (2009): The Role of Hotels in the Consumption of Cultural Tourism in Kenya

Wadawi (2009) illuminates another interesting aspect in the development of cultural tourism, which is the role played by significant stakeholders in the accommodation and hotels sector servicing high-calibre safari tourists and business people.

The author starts by noting that only around 19% of leisure tourists come to Kenya for reasons having to do with culture versus 79% nature and wildlife tourists. His objective is to establish cultural features that may constitute Kenya's hotel product package, and to identify cultural features that could help develop and differentiate the tourism product. Towards this end he surveyed managers and employees of 24 Kenyan hotels constituting a representative sample among all 232 Kenyan hotels with star ratings between 3 and 5.

Wadawi (2009) notes that only 6 out of the 24 hotels studied or 25% have architectural designs that are reflective of the Kenya culture. The rest are modern / western style. Most of those that hold African designs are located in game parks and holiday beach resorts. The architectural designs that have popularly been applied in the hotels studied include: Maasai hut structure, Samburu hut structure and Swahili village structure.

None of the hotels studied had chosen their location based on cultural considerations. 20 hotel units or 83.3% stated that their hotel rooms and general interior decorations have a cultural orientation. It is notable that while hotels don't use local language widely for branding services and facilities, the guests find excitement in their usage as it makes them learn and experience the local language.

Hotels that have embraced cultural aspects in their systems, although few, testify that there is great excitement from guests who pick the taste of culture in their visits. Wadawi (2009) also notes that hotels promoting cultural tourism have registered increased domestic tourism, which is able to cushion seasonal waves of international tourist arrivals.

Wadawi (2009) concludes with suggestions for hotels and associated policies:

- Fund cultural activities in the country to encourage the development and preservation of these cultures.
- Make use of traditional entertainment groups in tourist programmes.
- Include in the menu a greater variety of traditional African dishes.
- Establish hotel properties in culturally rich regions.

3.5 **E. Irandu & Shah (2016): Development of Cultural Heritage Tourism in Kenya: A Strategy for Diversification of Tourism Products**

A final perspective on Kenya comes from [E. Irandu & Shah \(2016\)](#) who discuss the development of cultural heritage tourism in Kenya, with a particular focus on Nairobi. The authors start by stipulating that the exploitation of heritage assets would increase Kenya's competitiveness as a top tourist destination in Africa. Today, the country is facing stiff competition from countries such as Seychelles, Mauritius, Namibia and Botswana which have diversified their tourism products.

Since independence in 1963, Kenya has relied heavily on wildlife and beach resources as her main tourist attractions. However, cultural heritage tourism has been growing rapidly in the last few years and currently is ranked as one of the major growth areas in global tourism demand.

Cities are often important focal points for development based on these resources because they provide concentrations of heritage assets, infrastructure services, private sector activity and human resources. There are numerous early and late Stone Age archaeological sites in Kenya, such as Olorgesailie (Kajiado County), Kariandusi and Hyrax Hill (Nakuru County) that can be developed as cultural heritage sites. Music festivals, carnivals and sporting events can also be developed into cultural heritage attractions for domestic and international tourism.

Kenya also has about 42 ethnic communities, each with its own unique culture and language developed over many years. These communities have their own artefacts consisting of implements, containers and dresses, among other types. These resources are also exhibited as well as conserved by the National Museums of Kenya (NMK).

[E. Irandu & Shah \(2016\)](#) contend that funding and marketing are major challenges for various cultural sites in Kenya. For example they asked tourists at Nairobi National Park (NNP) on whether they were aware that there was a heritage site inside the NNP (the elephant ivory burning site), and only 10% of respondents answered affirmatively. Site managers at various cultural sites in Nairobi mention funding as the major challenge, followed by poor implementation of policies and lack of enough trained personnel to help in the management of the sites. All the site managers also indicated that the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage and the Kenya Tourism Board must work together with all the cultural sites in the country to help market them in a wider domestic and international tourist market. Finally, the authors note that places of worship are neglected when it comes to marketing them as sites of tourist interest, which is effectively being done in many other parts of the world where places of worship are very popular tourist sites, especially in Nepal.

The authors summarize the key challenges and shortcomings for the development of cultural tourism in Nairobi as follows:

Challenges for Cultural Heritage Tourism in Nairobi

- Worship places not developed as potential tourist sites
- No flagship event linked to the city
- Little awareness of old buildings
- Lack of funds (maintainance, advertising)
- Weak link between heritage conservation stakeholders, e.g. between NMK and others
- Limited space for conservation
- Lack of intellectual property rights
- Lack of marketing initiatives for cultural products
- Lack of international accreditations
- Poor dissemination of research results

- Lack of internships and exchange programmes
- Low involvement of private stakeholders
- Slow response to market needs and client-orientated programmes
- Obvious lack of management plans

E. Irandu & Shah (2016) conclude that in order to make cultural heritage tourism in Kenya sustainable and more appealing to domestic and international tourists, some strategies need to be adopted. These include collaboration among stakeholders, the promotion of attractive cultural heritage tourism products and the conservation of national cultural and historic resources. They maintain that due to its very nature, cultural heritage tourism requires effective partnerships, and therefore there is need for local communities, NGOs, Kenya's government and development partners to work closely together in order to develop robust and sustainable cultural heritage tourism that can make a community a better place to live as well as an attractive tourist destination.

4 Some International Guidance

The Association for Tourism and Leisure Education (ATLAS) held International conference on cultural tourism in Africa, Mombasa, Kenya in 2000. Later in 2002, the ATLAS printed the book about that conference known as Cultural tourism in Africa: strategies for the new millennium (Akama & Sterry, 2002; Ali, 2014). Key recommendation proceeding from the conference are:

- In order to ensure that the benefits associated with cultural tourism accrue to the society various strategies should be adopted, especially encouraging local participation through partnerships and institutional linkages, awareness raising through cultural and environmental education, and capacity building through training. This needs to be accompanied by rational planning, development of a code of ethics, establishment of a cultural museum and a cultural centre, and provision of quality communication and infrastructural facilities.
- Governments should conserve natural, cultural resources sustainably and develop tourism for national prosperity and benefit of mankind through development of appropriate policies, strategies and guidelines; formulation and enforcement of laws and regulations; monitoring and evaluation of policies and laws.
- Tourists will be interested in the dynamic properties of culture if it is revealed and presented to them in an authentic and meaningful way. Programming must become as important as marketing. If there is a lesson which has been learned about rural tourism development, be it be nature or culture based, it is that those who will be most affected by development must have a major role in its creation and shaping. Only through active participation by all partners in the tourism system will success be achieved the development of in cultural tourism.
- For cultural tourism to be operational, it should be bi-directional. That is, it should be directed to the tourist host community, such that they know the need to conserve their own culture, and also to the visiting tourists, so that they become mutually respectful of their hosts.

5 Research and Policy Gaps

As Mkono (2019) points out, most tourism research in Uganda has been qualitative and a number of studies in Uganda have focussed on natural resources, with small sample sizes providing only indicative results. Harnessing cultural heritage resources in Uganda for tourism needs to be informed by substantive research and resource mapping efforts to guide cultural tourism policies and their implementation. Specific policy guidelines and directions to harnessing cultural heritage sites for cultural tourism are lacking.

The Uganda Tourism Board (UTB) itself acknowledges a weak statistical research base alongside the following issues in their presentation for the Economic Growth Forum in 2019 (EGF, 2019):

- Limited capacity to undertake research on its own for use when making marketing decisions.
- Important to have reliable and credible statistics for effective decision-making at all levels.
- Need to fully understand the provenance and behaviour of tourists that visit Uganda.
- Market demand/research studies need to be carried out in the major source and prospective markets to provide information on potential tourists' perceptions, attitudes, holiday requirements (for effective marketing)
- Ministries and UTB need to collaborate with Universities and research centres (there are also sizeable research grants from donors outside)
- Monitoring and evaluation of the strategies and marketing expenses is crucial.

6 A Suggested Plan of Action

Many valuable recommendations have been given in the studies summarized above. This section attempts to develop a brief plan of action incorporating the most valuable advice to successfully develop a cultural tourism in Uganda:

1. Begin to document and map cultural sites in Uganda. Optimally this would include all 650 identified sites, but at least the 56 sites of national significance identified in (UTDMP, n.d.) should be mapped and documented. The mapping would ideally be conducted by an experienced team examining these sites, consisting, as a minimum, of a good photographer, an expert in Ugandan history and culture (someone able to grasp the historical and cultural significance of the site), an archaeologist and/or civil engineer (someone able to grasp the value and cost of restoring/reconstructing something), and a marketing specialist and/or private sector representative (someone who, in consultation with the others, can grasp the potential economic value and target group of tourists of the site). In line with the guidance provided by Ichumbaki et al. (2013), The mapping should be GIS supported (capturing the exact location of all sites), and provide a clear perspective of the socio-cultural and economic significance of each site. The mapping should also document any existing touristic infrastructure and potential issues with it (such as cultural commodification, mismanagement, community issues etc.). Special attention needs to be paid to sites actively used by a local community. Such sites must be followed up at a later stage and detailed guidance for touristic development needs to be formed in consultation with community members.
2. Use the Mapped information and make it available to the private sector and tourists. This can be done in form of a public access database as suggested by Ichumbaki et al. (2013) (optimal to support product development by the private sector) and a website to display the information (pictures + small article) alongside an interactive map of the sites. Furthermore, Uganda would do well to develop a range of tourist maps for the whole country and the different regions containing both natural and cultural attractions and important transportation and shopping facilities / local markets. Such maps should be provided free of cost at the airport and major tourists hotspots (cafe's, restaurants, hotels) as is done very successfully in Rwanda. They could also be made available online as PDF download or inside mobile applications. (Study the tourist maps the Rwanda Development Board (RDB) has developed since around 2010 for guidance).
3. Hold consultations with the private sector, present the gathered information on cultural sites and develop joint strategies to include cultural attraction in the narrow mainstream of wildlife and safari circuits (Adiyia et al., 2015). Single out the cultural sites most attractive for private sector involvement and fathom out the willingness of private sector actors to participate in the restoration and touristic development of these sites (e.g. through funding the construction of a tourist center, area mapping activities, restaurants, tour services etc.).
4. Hold consultations with local communities in important sites and fathom out possibilities for sustainable community development through cultural tourism. Consider the model of the Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme involving both community, the private sector and international funders in the development of cultural tourism on a local scale with effective

government promotion (Ali, 2014). Learn from past projects such as the Kabaka Heritage Trail project in Uganda and avoid common pitfalls such as community mismanagement, lack of promotion and business skills, cultural commodification or negative community influences through tourism such as hostilities and unequal development (Ahebwa et al., 2016).

7 Conclusion

Culture and tourism have backward and forward linkages, with culture providing opportunities and incomes through tourism and tourism strengthening and preserving culture (Mkono, 2019). Harnessing these linkages through appropriate mapping, investment and marketing in cultural heritage sites and cultural resources promises to turn Uganda into an attractive destination for cultural tourism in Africa. A clear policy framework needs to be developed to direct such efforts. Cultural institutions, the government and private sector actors need to collaborate with well defined roles and benefits.

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