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Tourism and dependency: An analysis of Bigodi village, Uganda

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ABSTRACT

Rural development is a priority in Uganda, East Africa and tourism is being promoted there for that purpose. However, in Uganda's Bigodi village tourism appears to have encouraged a dependency on Westerners—a situation contrary to development objectives like self-reliance. The research presented here investigated the relationship between tourism and dependency in Bigodi. Using qualitative methods, data were collected and analyzed during 10 months of fieldwork. Results show Bigodi's dependency is not a direct result of tourism. Instead, it results from a social-psychological condition known as an external locus of control. This condition has resulted from traumatic events in the village's past, such as civil strife and the creation of a nearby national park, which were acting on residents well before the introduction of tourism. This finding highlights the importance of understanding the social-psychological context into which any tourism development intervention will be injected. Management implications are discussed.

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1. Introduction

Across Sub-Saharan Africa, tourism is being promoted as a means to rural development (Brown, 1998; Weaver, 1998). This is the case in Uganda where the national tourism policy cites rural development as a primary benefit (Uganda Ministry of Tourism, Trade and Industry, 2004). Indeed, tourism has proven successful at improving the immediate economic conditions of the rural poor in Uganda (Lepp, 2002, 2007; Sandbrook, 2006) and elsewhere (Ashley, 1998; Ashley & Roe, 2002; Hampton, 1998; Honey, 1999; Kosak, 1998; Murphee, 2001; Wallace & Pierce, 1996). However, development is more complex than the improvement of economic conditions. Alternatively, development can be understood as a process towards self-reliance (Isbister, 1998; Sharpley, 2000). In this sense, self-reliance entails awareness of full potential and the agency to achieve it. This raises the question: can tourism increase self-reliance among Sub-Saharan Africa's rural poor? In Bigodi, a rural village in western Uganda, research suggests that the implementation of a tourism based development project has decreased self-reliance and fostered dependency (Lepp, 2004). The purpose of the research presented here was to examine why. The findings, based on the analysis of extensive qualitative data collected in Uganda from October 2002 until July 2003, have implications for rural tourism development worldwide.

2. Background

Bigodi is a village of approximately 385 adults. Most residents are subsistence farmers. Bigodi borders Kibale National Park (KNP) and is just a few kilometers from KNP's main tourist center. KNP is a popular tourist destination because it offers a reliable opportunity to view chimpanzees in the wild. However, the area's wildlife is not limited to KNP. Within Bigodi there is a forested wetland known as Magombe Swamp. The swamp is home to an abundance of tropical birds and several species of primates, all of which are easily viewed from the swamp's edge.

In 1991, a US Peace Corps Volunteer (PCV) was stationed in Bigodi to facilitate development. In his free time, he wandered around the swamp's edge observing the birds and primates. This became the inspiration for tourism. Realizing that others might enjoy the swamp as he did, the PCV developed a plan to attract KNP's tourists to Bigodi where they would tour the swamp and village. As described in Lepp (2007, 2008), the PCV organized a local cooperative to manage the swamp for tourism. Profits would fund community development. However, support for the project was very low since residents had no knowledge of tourism. Residents simply could not imagine foreigners traveling great distances to visit their humble village. In fact, the idea caused widespread anxiety. Thus, the cooperative was formed of only six local elites plus the few farmers whose land bordered the project area. The cooperative was named the Kibale Association For Rural and Economic Development, or KAFRED.

Undaunted under the PCV's leadership, the small cooperative cleared a trail, trained local guides and posted brochures at KNP's

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tourist center. Indeed, many of KNP's tourists were interested in local culture (Obua, 1996). KAFRED quickly attracted these tourists and a profitable business began. Simultaneously, the PCV secured funding for KAFRED from the US Embassy's Self Help Fund which was used to construct a brick visitor center and a boardwalk through the wettest area of the swamp. The brick visitor center stood in contrast to Bigodi's numerous mud homes. With these successes, residents became interested in KAFRED and tourism. By July 2003 (the time of this research), KAFRED's membership had grown to 42 and Bigodi was hosting an average of 75 tourists a month. Over the years, project revenue funded several community projects, including the construction and operation of the area's first secondary school. Consequently, residents' attitudes towards tourism changed significantly from the initial anxiety to overwhelming support (Lepp, 2007, 2008).

KAFRED's success produced many spin-off activities, all of which the PCV had a hand in establishing. The PCV organized a women's group to produce handicrafts for tourists. The PCV negotiated with KNP to allow the women's group to operate KNP's tourist canteen. The PCV organized a separate group of women to make peanut butter for selling to tourists. In addition, the PCV secured funding from UNDP's Global Environment Fund in support of the peanut butter project. The funding built a brick office and purchased a mechanical grinder. The PCV helped two locals form tourist hostels, worked with them to develop menus and standards suitable for western tastes and even taught a local baker to make banana bread. These achievements were reported by residents during the fieldwork for this study in 2003.

The initial objective of the 2003 fieldwork was to elicit a local meaning for tourism. Because residents had little or no knowledge of tourism prior to the KAFRED project, and because tourism was not a part of residents' leisure repertoire, the researcher was interested in how they understood the tourism taking place in their village. Using qualitative methods, a unique and nearly homogenous local meaning for tourism emerged (Lepp, 2004). Residents understood tourism as a means of attracting Westerners who were described as the primary source of ideas and money necessary for development. Residents described development as "positive change." As an example of this, residents often referenced the change in Bigodi's housing—before tourism houses were built of mud and grass thatching, after tourism houses were built of bricks and iron sheets. Throughout the interviews, residents stated that there was no development before the PCV introduced tourism. Thus, tourism was closely associated with the belief that development depends on outsiders. This dependency was frequently observed in residents' actions and noted in their stories and descriptions of life. For example, a grandmother told this story of misfortune which had struck her grandson, Akiki:

Akiki had a wooden bicycle, and some tourists came across him and took a photo. The tourists left but then later sent a very nicely wrapped envelope with the photo and a letter, but now I can't find it. In the letter it was written that if you have any problem you write to us and we will help you. But now I have no way to send a letter to these tourists so my grandson has failed. (Mzee Namata, personal communication)

The implication of the story is that if she could have contacted those tourists then the boy would not have failed. In other words, the grandmother believed the boy's success was dependent on the outsiders' intervention.

Indeed, it was a Westerner who introduced the idea of tourism to Bigodi. In addition, Westerners comprise the vast majority of Bigodi's tourists. Yet this alone should not lead to a dependency on Westerners. Intrigued, the researcher developed several new questions. Was tourism the cause of Bigodi's dependency on

Westerners? If not, what was? And perhaps more importantly, how could Bigodi's experience with tourism inform a more general understanding of rural tourism development? To provide a foundation for answering these questions, the following section reviews the literature on tourism and dependency.

3. Tourism and dependency

Dependency is commonly understood in reference to Frank's (1967) theory of underdevelopment. Therefore, this theory will briefly be discussed and then related to tourism. Frank described the global economic system as having a developed "metropolitan center" and an underdeveloped "periphery." Raw materials are exported from the periphery to the center where they become manufactured goods and in turn are exported back to the periphery. The periphery becomes dependent on the center to purchase its raw materials and to supply manufactured goods. Economic history shows the value of raw materials from the periphery has steadily fallen in relation to the value of manufactured goods from the center. This results in the steady flow of capital from the periphery to the center, also known as leakage. According to dependency theory, this leakage creates economic development in the center while stunting it in the periphery.

Dependency theory has been used to describe the relationship between the western, tourism generating "center" and "periphery" destinations in the developing world. Britton (1982, 1996) has been the leading proponent of this view although others have recognized its descriptive power (Brohman, 1996; Brown, 1998; Khan, 1997; Mbaiwa, 2005). To summarize briefly, tourist destinations in the developing world are located in Frank's (1967) periphery. However, they are dependent on markets, expertise and capital located in the center, or in the tourist generating West. As tourists move from the center to the periphery, they often insist upon Western amenities and standards of comfort. Typically, these amenities and standards cannot be provided in the periphery without investment and expertise from the center. Thus, the money tourists spend in the periphery often leaks back to the investors and experts in the center. In fact, the leakage of tourism revenue from developing countries can exceed 50% (Brohman, 1996; Brown, 1998; Honey, 1999).

Also inspired by Frank's (1967) work, Erisman (1983) contends that tourism may cause something more menacing than economic dependency. He identifies this as cultural dependency. According to Erisman, tourism between the center and the periphery creates a subservient periphery. This subservience has a cultural dimension and manifests itself when residents in the periphery perceive their own culture as inferior to that of the center. Once this occurs, it is the tourists' norms and values which dominate the periphery. Thus, the host culture is devalued and residents become dependent on the tourists for cultural identity. Erisman first identified this phenomenon around large-scale resorts in the West Indies.

Several authors have commented that dependency, whether economic or cultural, can be avoided by developing alternatives to the large-scale resorts and luxury enclaves responsible for capital leakage and subservience (Brohman, 1996; Brown, 1998; Honey, 1999; Khan, 1997; Mbaiwa, 2005). Alternatives should enable a range of local investment opportunities from cooperative ventures to partnerships with larger scale enterprises. They should promote local participation particularly in decision-making. Finally, they should be well integrated with local support industries such as agriculture. The objectives are to empower local people and reduce leakage, thereby keeping more tourism revenue in local hands for locally directed development. In fact,

research from across Africa has identified several forms of alternative tourism development capable of achieving these objectives (Ashley, 1998; Ashley & Roe, 2002; Kirsten & Rogerson, 2002; Koch, De Beer, & Elliffe, 1998a, 1998b; Lepp, 2002; Mafunzwaini & Hugo, 2005; Mahoney & Van Zyl, 2002; Victorine, 2000). Thus, alternative tourism development strategies can lead to rural development and avoid dependency.

Interestingly, tourism development in Bigodi is based on these alternative strategies (Lepp, 2007). Bigodi's tourism is small scale, locally owned, locally managed, culturally sensitive and well integrated with local agriculture and other local industries. Residents participate in decision-making and the enjoyment of benefits. The majority of tourism revenue stays in local hands and contributes to locally directed development projects. Furthermore, Bigodi's tourism development project is well integrated with local norms and values. For example, KAFRED hosts an annual event in which locals come and express their grievances. KAFRED then provides a feast as compensation and the mood quickly turns celebratory. In fact, this is a traditional method of problem solving in Bigodi premised on the belief that those who share a meal together will not leave the table as enemies (Lepp & Holland, 2006). Considering all of this, Bigodi's dependency is not a result of economics, nor does it result from a devaluing of local culture and subservience. In short, it is not explained by the existing literature. Therefore, alternative explanations must be pursued. In the following section, a social-psychological framework is presented which offers new insights into the connection between tourism and dependency.

3.1. *The social-psychology of dependency*

Montero and Sloan (1988) describe dependency as something woven into the cultural fabric of a community. In such a culture, the actions of powerful others are perceived to dictate life's events. In reflecting on this, Montero and Sloan suggest that Rotter's (1966) locus of control variable provides valuable insights into the nature of dependent communities. Locus of control is a psychological characteristic referring to an individual's perception of where control over life's events is centered. An internal locus of control means a person perceives what happens to them is largely a result of their own actions (internality). Conversely, a person with an external locus of control perceives what happens to them is largely independent of their own actions (externality). Research by Collins (1974) found individuals with an external locus of control are characterized by an acceptance of any of four beliefs inherent in Rotter's original scale: the world is difficult, the world is unjust, the world is governed by luck, and the world is governed by politically unresponsive powerful others. Montero and Sloan hypothesized that dependent communities would be characterized by an external locus of control while self-reliant communities would be characterized by an internal locus of control.

Indeed, communities, cultures and even nations can be described by locus of control. Zoe (1981) found Whites, indigenous Africans and Indians in South Africa had significant differences in locus of control with Whites showing the most internality. This makes sense considering the conditions of apartheid at the time of the study. Smith, Trompenaars, and Dugan (1995) tested the locus of control scale in 43 countries and found significant inter-country differences. They suggest national culture influences locus of control. Khanna and Khanna (1979) compared Indians in India with Indians living in America and found Indians in America had greater internality. The authors suggested developing nations have greater externality than developed nations. An explanation for these differences is offered

by Crandall and Lehman (1977) who found that stressful life events, such as the insecurity often associated with the developing world, leads to a greater perceived external locus of control. In Bigodi, locus of control proved to be a critical variable in understanding residents' dependency on Westerners. In the following section, the methods which investigated Bigodi's dependency are discussed.

4. Methodology

Coalter (1999) argued that an over-reliance on the classical methods of empirical science was limiting an understanding of leisure's meaning. By this, he meant the fragmentation, quantification and categorization of data—a process he critiqued as too often refining what is already known rather than creating knowledge along new frontiers. As a remedy, Coalter suggested a renewed focus on the cultural context of leisure's meaning through the use of qualitative methods. Coalter suggested that meaning is best procured from the subjective minds of the individuals that comprise a culture of interest. Likewise, Samdahl (1999) explained that social reality is subjectively defined based on varying cultural and historical contexts. Therefore, the cultural-historical context gives meaning to the social processes within it.

The social process under investigation in this study is tourism, specifically as it occurs in the small, rural Ugandan community of Bigodi. The study of tourism as a social process, like the study of leisure, benefits from furthering an understanding of meaning (Hepburn, 2002; Simpson, 1993). For this, qualitative methods are well suited. Reflecting upon this, Cohen (1988) argued that some of the most significant contributions to the study of tourism have been made by researchers who have employed qualitative methods. In practice, the use of qualitative methods in tourism research steadily increased throughout the 1990s (Riley & Love, 2000). Not coincidentally, this increasing interest in qualitative methods coincided with a burgeoning interest in host communities' perceptions of tourism and tourism's impacts (Walle, 1997). Simpson articulated this connection when he stated:

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

It was the "fine grain of local experience" that this study sought to reveal. To this end, the methods of discovery were qualitative.

As previously mentioned, the researcher's initial interest in Bigodi was to explore tourism's local meaning. Preliminary investigations were conducted during the summer of 2001. The researcher then returned to Uganda in October 2002 and collected data in Bigodi from January to July 2003. It was during this fieldwork that the researcher recognized Bigodi's dependency. This recognition raised new questions which the researcher determined to answer with continued data collection. Throughout the research, the primary method of data collection was active interviews (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002; Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Active interviewing takes advantage of the interviewee's life experience by recognizing him or her as an authority on the matter of interest. Active interviews are conversational in style. The interviewer's job is to keep the conversation focused on important areas of interest while remaining open to the emergence of important ideas not yet considered. As such, the interviewee is an active participant in the construction of meaning. In Bigodi, the dependency of residents on Westerners was a theme which unexpectedly emerged from the data. Thus,

interview topics expanded to include: residents' pre-tourism interactions with Westerners, particularly during the colonial era; Bigodi's history, particularly origins and significant events; and finally politics, particularly whether residents felt politicians were responsive to their needs. It was hoped that an explanation of Bigodi's dependency would emerge from this broader context.

As the focus of the interviews expanded, the sampling of new interviewees continued. Throughout the data collection process, interviewees were selected through theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling is a strategy where data collection continues until the topic of interest has been saturated with information (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Therefore, residents of Bigodi were interviewed regarding the topics of interest until subsequent interviews produced no new information. In addition to the sampling of new interviewees, the researcher revisited previous interviewees to gain their insights on emerging issues. Using this method, 48 of Bigodi's 385 adult residents were interviewed (12.5% of population). In terms of gender, life stage and education, interviewees approximated village demographics (Lepp, 2004). Specifically: 29 interviewees were men and 19 women (the village is about 60% male because tourism has attracted young men in search of work); 8 respondents were late adolescents, 19 were young adults, 14 were older adults, and 7 were elderly; 29 had a primary school education or less, 12 had completed O-level (junior high school), 5 had completed A-level (high school), and 2 had a 2-year certificate beyond A-level (Table 1). Interviewees also approximated village demographics in terms of occupation (Lepp, 2004). Notably, 28 were full time farmers although all residents farm to some extent, and 6 were employed full time with tourism related occupations. Other occupations included merchants in Bigodi's trading center (3), teachers at area schools (5), a blacksmith (1), a tailor (1), a brick maker (1) and casual laborers sometimes employed by tourism (3). Two additional interviews were conducted with Ugandans living near Bigodi who had special insights into the area's history and culture: the former District Commissioner of the region prior to independence, and the Chairperson of a non-governmental organization called the Rural Women Development Agency. Typically, interviews lasted from 1 to 2 h. All interviews except two were tape recorded and transcribed. The two who chose not to be tape recorded feared that a tape recording would jeopardize their anonymity. However, they did allow notes to be taken during their interviews. Additional data were gathered through informal conversation and observation which were regularly recorded in field notes.

All data were analyzed within a grounded theory framework using the method of constant comparison (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Grounded theory necessitates that data are analyzed continuously throughout the research process. This involves several steps: open coding, focused coding, categorizing and theory building (Charmaz, 2002). Codes allow the researcher to compare data from one respondent to the next. Initially, open codes are used to signal what is happening in the data by reducing recorded events to single words or phrases that capture the essence of the data. After analyzing several interviews, open codes are carefully studied and those that appear frequently are selected to sort larger amounts of data. This is focused coding. Focused codes emerge from the constant comparison of different interviews and represent themes within the data more precisely than open codes. In a study such as this, with an abundance of data, focused codes must eventually be categorized. This study yielded several rich categories of data such as "initial tourism development" (Lepp, 2008), "attitudes towards tourism" (Lepp, 2007), "attitudes towards conservation" (Lepp & Holland, 2006), "tourism's meaning" (Lepp, 2004) and "dependency." During the field work for this study, sampling and analysis continued until these categories were saturated and no new information emerged. Finally, theory is developed as the researcher seeks to understand each final category and the relationships between them.

In general, qualitative work is assumed reliable when the same individual collects and analyzes the data, as is the case with this research (Kirk & Miller, 1986). Validity in active interviews is achieved through the conversational approach to gathering information (Platt, 2002). In contrast to survey interviews in which interaction is sometimes restricted, active interviewing allows ample opportunity for both parties to clarify what is being said. Validity is also increased by the long-term nature of this study (10 months), the researcher's experience of working in rural Uganda (over 3 years) and familiarity with the culture and language. The following excerpt from the researcher's field notes illustrates the validity of this study's methods:

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

As Kirk and Miller (1986) explain, the idiosyncrasies of people and cultures can never be understood with perfect certainty; but an insightful fieldworker, developing good rapport over a long period of time, is the surest check of validity. Thus, the roots of Bigodi's dependency, as revealed by the methods described, will be

Table 1
Interviewees' life stage, gender and education

Life stage	Gender	Education				Total by life stage
		Primary	O-level	A-level	2-Year certificate	
Late adolescents	Male	0	4	0	0	8
	Female	0	1	2	1	
Young adults	Male	7	4	2	1	19
	Female	3	2	0	0	
Older adults	Male	6	0	1	0	14
	Female	6	1	0	0	
Elderly	Male	4	0	0	0	7
	Female	3	0	0	0	
Total by education		29	12	5	2	48

presented in the following section. All names have been changed to protect anonymity.

5. Analysis

Montero and Sloan (1988) attributed the dependency observed in some under-developed communities to an external locus of control. Collins (1974) found four indicators of an external locus of control within Rotter's (1966) original locus of control scale: the world is governed by luck or chance, the world is difficult, the world is governed by politically unresponsive powerful others, and the world is unjust. Belief in any one of these indicators is positively correlated with an external locus of control. Analysis of the data collected in Bigodi indicates a belief in each of these indicators. This suggests that residents of Bigodi can be characterized by an external locus of control and this is the root of their dependency. Thus, Bigodi's dependency is not a direct result of tourism development.

Evidence of residents' belief in each of the four indicators of an external locus of control is presented in the following paragraphs. Representative excerpts from the data are provided to illustrate each indicator. Excerpts cover a range of topics beyond tourism including crop raiding wildlife, local politics and Uganda's turbulent history. It should be noted that recent conceptualizations of tourism as a complex system justify broadening the scope of analysis in this manner (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004, 2005; Lepp, 2008; McKercher, 1999; Russell & Faulkner, 1999). As these authors argue, the tourism system is composed of (but not limited to) interconnected political, social, cultural, historical and ecological variables. Accordingly, this broader context was considered for analysis in order to gain a complete understanding of tourism in Bigodi.

5.1. Indicator one: The world is governed by luck or chance

The costs and benefits of tourism were among the many subjects covered in the interviews with Bigodi's residents. Throughout these interviews, four major benefits were consistently discussed: (1) community development, (2) improved agricultural markets, (3) increased income and (4) the seemingly odd belief that tourism provides everyone with a random chance at good fortune. These benefits are described in detail in a previously published paper (Lepp, 2007). Importantly, the fourth benefit is also significant for understanding residents' dependency. Thus, it will be revisited here. In Bigodi, there is a common perception that some of tourism's benefits are beyond an individual's control. They are controlled by chance. This is illustrated by the following story told by one of Bigodi's many farmers:

One time a boy leading a goat happened to pass by three tourists drinking at a hotel in Bigodi and one tourist asked the boy, how many people does it take to finish that goat? The boy said eight. The tourist asked how many are in your home and the boy said four. The tourist said there are three of us so you bring one more, that equals eight. Here is 30,000 [US\$] for that goat. Take it home, prepare it and we'll come for dinner. You can collect us here. Before the boy ran off the tourist gave the boy a little more money to buy drinks. At six, the boy returned, gathered the tourists and they went home and feasted! They ate the whole goat plus the mother had prepared some other food. The tourists asked if they could take photos and they were allowed so they photographed the whole evening and when they left they were so satisfied they gave the family

another 10,000 [US\$]. So, as you see, tourism gives everyone a chance! (Emmanuel, personal communication)

This illustrates residents' belief that the world is governed by luck or chance. To elaborate, while most of Bigodi has heard the above story, and enjoys hearing of the boy's sudden windfall, not a single resident has made an effort to capitalize on the apparent market for roasted goat and dinners with locals. Instead, residents are content to wait passively for their name to be called by a passing tourist. Montero and Sloan (1988) describe the effect of this belief as an "unwillingness to make cognitive and physical efforts to improve one's situation, and finally, a decline of that key trait for the modern entrepreneur, competitiveness" (p. 604). Observation and interviews from Bigodi suggest a dampening of the entrepreneurial spirit. Many residents simply wait for chance or good fortune to land on them rather than actively pursue it. According to Collins (1974), this is an indicator of an external locus of control.

5.2. Indicator two: The world is difficult

A second indication of an external locus of control is a belief that the world is difficult (Collins, 1974). Despite involvement with tourism, residents still identify themselves primarily as farmers. As an older resident made clear, "First, in Bigodi we are cultivators" (Waswa, personal communication). Therefore, residents view the world through the lens of the agriculturalist. The weather, the seasons, the soil, and the landscape are all intensely observed for clues to a more successful harvest. For this reason, crop raiding by wild animals, which has increased significantly since the creation of KNP in 1991, weighs heavily on everyone's mind (Lepp & Holland, 2006). As one farmer lamented, "We can plant three acres of maize and lose it all if not careful." The same farmer was then asked how a family survives after a major attack. He replied, "We have nothing to do to solve that problem, after the animals eat your food you have to leave your farm and work for others" (Kato, personal communication). In the not too distant past, farmers had an effective solution to crop raiding, they could hunt and thereby keep the populations of crop raiding animals in check. However, with the creation of KNP came armed rangers who enforced a ban on hunting. As a result, crop raiding has increased. When asked how often his farm is raided, one farmer replied, "It is daily!! For us it is daily!" (Kamuhanda, personal communication). Thus, crop raiding is a major impact on residents' primary occupation and source of identity, farming. It is an impact residents previously were able to control by hunting. With the recent creation of KNP and the enforcement of anti-hunting laws, control has been lost. As described by Collins (1974), crop raiding encourages the belief that life is difficult and control of life's difficulties is beyond local means.

5.3. Indicator three: The world is governed by politically unresponsive powerful others

Adding to the difficulty of crop raiding is a strong belief among residents that KNP's officials have the power to keep the park's animals at bay but chose not to do so. KNP's officials are believed to be unresponsive to local requests for help (Lepp & Holland, 2006). This contributes to residents' belief that the world is governed by politically unresponsive powerful others, another indication of externality (Collins, 1974). In fact, the very presence of the park contributes to this belief. There is a growing perception around parks in the developing world that park policy is set by foreign donors whose interests are not those of the local people (Derman, 1995; Neumann, 1998). This is the case in Bigodi. For example, a farmer described how her children often miss school in

order to stay home and guard the crops. She was worried about their education. To this, the researcher commented that if children could not go to school in America then the government would surely find a solution. Her reply was startling, she said:

That is America, but for us here no one would give us an ear. And then America is the one that orders that our forest be conserved so that the tourists can come and see it. Our government has no way of solving that problem or it would be able to solve it. The government that should be able to solve it is America's because it is the one that said let there be tourism. So how can our government manage except if America finds a way of solving the problem? (Mbabazi, personal communication)

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

Unfortunately, it is not only interactions with KNP that lead residents to believe their world is governed by politically unresponsive others. Elected politicians have also been unresponsive, particularly on the dominant issue of crop raiding. When asked why residents don't use the political system to address the crop raiding problem, a tired farmer concluded, "We ask politicians to provide rangers to guard our crops, but those politicians, when you take them your problems, they don't act. They are just there in their big offices" (Kato, personal communication). Such attitudes might be widespread in Uganda. A recent study by Francis and James (2003) found Local Councilors in Uganda, the elected officials closest to the grass roots, are generally perceived to be unresponsive to local needs.

In addition to Local Councilors, politicians vested with much more authority are also perceived to be unresponsive. For example, during one interview a farmer expressed extreme displeasure with the poor roads around Bigodi. He was upset because they limited his ability to access better markets for his produce. When asked if he has voiced his opinion about the roads to his elected officials, the following conversation ensued:

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

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

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

This conversation is dramatic for two reasons. It shows how political unresponsiveness results in disengagement and disengagement is an obstacle to self-reliance (Montero & Sloan, 1988). In place of self-reliance, residents depend on others. In Bigodi, the dependable others are Westerners. This is the second point illustrated by this conversation. The speaker credits the President with responding to local needs while other politicians are unresponsive. However, the action the President is lauded for is bringing in foreigners to develop the country. This is the crux of Bigodi's dependency—development comes from outside, not from within. Residents' belief that the world is governed by politically unresponsive powerful others is indicative of an external locus of

control (Collins, 1974) which in turn explains the dependency (Montero & Sloan, 1988).

5.4. Indicator four: The world is unjust

Finally, there is much evidence which shows residents believe in an unjust world, the fourth indicator of externality (Collins, 1974). This stems, in part, from historical circumstances. Beginning in 1971 and lasting for nearly two decades, Ugandans suffered terribly through the depravity of Idi Amin and subsequent rulers. By its very nature, the degeneracy that residents experienced was unjust. Furthermore, it appeared to be random and beyond anyone's control. A teacher at the secondary school remarked that "in those days, you could be thrown in jail for nothing" (Kakye, personal communication). Unfortunately, prison was the least of it. Many people in Bigodi who lived through these times and have a story of a family member or friend who was raped, hauled away by soldiers, or mysteriously disappeared. For example, one farmer remembered this about Amin's soldiers:

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

Many residents of Bigodi have experienced extreme injustice. This influences their beliefs and behaviors still. For without a belief in justice, the ability of the just to influence their world falters. In Bigodi, the chaos surrounding Amin's reign encouraged a belief in an unjust world. This belief is yet another indicator of residents' external locus of control (Collins, 1974).

This analysis has provided evidence of Bigodi's external locus of control. Beliefs in the four indicators of an external locus of control were present in Bigodi at the time of this research: the world is governed by chance, the world is difficult, the world is governed by unresponsive powerful others, and the world is unjust (Collins, 1974). As Montero and Sloan (1988) suggest, this social-psychological condition explains the dependency currently manifesting itself in Bigodi. Furthermore, this analysis has shown that Bigodi's external locus of control stems from recent events in Bigodi's history such as political insecurity, the creation of KNP, a corresponding increase in crop raiding, and unresponsive politicians and park authorities. Importantly, these events occurred before the introduction of tourism. Thus, this analysis has revealed that Bigodi's dependency is not a direct result of tourism as other authors have shown (Britton, 1982, 1996; Erisman, 1983; Mbaiwa, 2005). The significance of this finding for rural tourism development is discussed below.

6. Discussion

Tourism has created benefits in Bigodi such as a secondary school, improved housing and extra income (Lepp, 2007). However, tourism has not fostered self-reliance and thus tourism's promise of development is unfulfilled (Isbister, 1998; Sharpley, 2000). Instead, residents' reactions to tourism in Bigodi are suggestive of dependency. Previous conceptualizations of tourism and dependency have failed to explain Bigodi's experience (Britton, 1982, 1996; Erisman, 1983). Using a social-psychological framework based on the work of Rotter (1966) and Montero and Sloan (1988), this paper identifies locus of control as the variable in which Bigodi's dependency is rooted.

Clearly, tourism's effectiveness as a rural development strategy depends on an array of interconnected variables. This is the key understanding of conceptualizations of tourism as a complex system (Farrell & Twining-Ward, 2004, 2005; Lepp, 2008; McKercher, 1999; Russell & Faulkner, 1999). This research suggests that social-psychological variables are influential components of complex tourism systems—in particular, Rotter's (1966) locus of control. This understanding allows for two general hypotheses concerning rural tourism development: (1) tourism development will more likely be associated with dependency in communities characterized by an external locus of control; (2) tourism development will more likely be associated with self-reliance in communities characterized by an internal locus of control. The former of the two hypotheses is supported by this research from Bigodi.

These hypotheses predict two outcomes for rural tourism development. The first results from an external locus of control. In this case, tourism's potential for meeting basic needs and improving economic conditions will be dependent on the intervention and good will of outsiders. However, if outsiders fail to inject new ideas then benefits may languish and frustration with tourism may ensue. Perhaps, this is already occurring in Bigodi. Since the PCV left in 1993, residents have not directed any change. To the contrary, a successful, locally owned hostel has closed because of the owner's death, and in the years since, no one has attempted to fill the void (Lepp, 2004). One resident explained the dearth of innovation saying, "we just lack knowledge." It would seem that after more than 10 years of tourism experience that residents do have the knowledge. However, an overriding belief that success or failure is not controlled by individual knowledge precludes action. The second outcome results from an internal locus of control. In such a case, community decision-making and implementation will guide the tourism development process. Tourism development will continue as long as it meets local needs. Outside expertise will still be important, yet residents will determine its importance. There is little evidence of this in Bigodi.

Yet even in Bigodi, this second outcome might still be possible. Potentially, any community can internalize control, break the bonds of dependency and achieve self-reliance. Internalizing control means encouraging the perception that residents are in control of the events affecting their lives. Levenson (1981) cites education as a manageable ingredient in the process of restoring an internal locus of control. For communities like Bigodi who perceive that the world is governed by chance, education concerning those societal forces which operate in predictable ways would be helpful. This underscores the importance of tourism education as a major component of any tourism development project.

As part of the tourism education project, communities like Bigodi should be encouraged to take an accounting of all aspects of their community which they believe are attractive, interesting and unique. Many of these items can be marketed to tourists as well. This exercise will serve to orient communities inward in their search for direction, not outward. As an exercise, the researcher asked residents to discuss what was most interesting to them about Bigodi. An elderly man mentioned a set of footprints set in a huge stone on the hill above Bigodi. He explained the footprints were cast by the first King of Toro who was a very powerful man. The legend behind the footprints was quite fascinating. A woman who sells local alcohol mentioned the place where banana beer is made. The location includes a trough where bananas are mashed into juice and a distillery where alcohol is extracted from the fermented juice. To everyone's surprise, the researcher suggested these would make good tourist attractions. After some more discussion, residents' reaction was

prideful. The pride resulted from discovering that what was locally interesting also has international appeal. Furthermore, such exercises have the benefit of instilling a greater sense of control over tourism and the immediate environment.

In general, citizens of the developing world should take greater control of tourism development projects. This will eliminate Westerners as a potential object of dependency and build capacity at the grass roots. For example, throughout Uganda there are many potential tourism development workers in communities like Bigodi. Residents' experience with tourism in such places is a valuable resource. Realistically, the most knowledgeable individuals from Bigodi and villages with similar experience can be paired with professional Ugandan tourism extension workers to promote tourism in Uganda. This would have the dual advantage of increasing self-esteem among Bigodi's residents, while avoiding dependency on Westerners in other communities. Makerere University, Uganda's leading academic institution, now offers a degree in tourism. If tourism extension positions can be created in selected areas then there will be qualified Ugandans to fill them.

This research has also suggested that the presence of national parks may encourage externality among rural people. Likewise, many authors have argued that the creation of national parks across the developing world has disempowered local people (Akama, Lant, & Burnett, 1995; Anderson & Grove, 1987; Guha, 1989; MacKenzie, 1988; McLean & Stræde, 2003; Rao & Geisler, 1990; Rao, Maikhuri, Nautiyal, & Saxena, 2002; Turnball, 1972). For example, Neumann (1997, 1998) suggests that national parks and protected areas actually serve as an extension of state authority into formerly inaccessible areas. This is typified by the military approach traditionally taken to park management in developing countries. This creates extreme asymmetry in power relations between people and parks. The obvious consequence is the perception that park authorities not only control the wildlife but local people as well. The disempowering effect of these parks may be measurable with Rotter's (1966) locus of control scales, thus allowing for the comparison of different park management strategies. This is an area for future research.

Accompanying the belief that control of nearby national parks rests with powerful others is the belief that parks only benefit powerful outsiders such as tourists and government officials. This belief was evident in Bigodi (Lepp & Holland, 2006). In this case, educating residents that national parks are for the benefit of a nation's citizens may engender a greater interest in their management. A national park should provide more to rural people than a chance at tourism revenue or token opportunities for resource extraction. In Bigodi, this approach has not done much to endear residents to the park (Lepp & Holland, 2006). National parks need to extend the many benefits of outdoor recreation to neighboring communities. These benefits should no longer be reserved for international tourists. Designing activities and attractions at national parks specifically for local people will encourage greater local interest in their management. The current approach of targeting all activities to Western tourists severs a potential local bond. If necessary, parks can be zoned for different recreational opportunities, some zones would target tourists' interests and some zones would target local interests. Therefore, researchers need to investigate what constitutes meaningful leisure for local people and parks should strive to provide it. For example, during the 2 years in which the author worked as a park warden in Uganda, he came to realize that some local people are interested in neighboring parks for recreational opportunities such as solitude, exploration, environmental education, star gazing through a telescope and the use of park infrastructure for special events. The hope is that increased local involvement in park activities will increase participation in park management and ultimately instill a sense of local control. Without a sense of local

control, residents will continue to perceive parks as obstacles rather than avenues to development.

In conclusion, it should be realized that throughout the world there are communities targeted for tourism development which have been previously subjected to long periods of war, political instability, poor governance, corruption, displacement justified by the creation of national parks and a host of other stressful life events. These stressful life events can produce an external locus of control (Crandall & Lehman, 1977). As Bigodi demonstrates, communities characterized by an external locus of control are vulnerable to dependency. Therefore, as a general rule, the context into which any tourism development intervention is injected should be well understood for it is from this context that the intervention takes its meaning and likelihood for success.

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