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Heritage proximity, attitudes to tourism impacts and residents' support for heritage tourism in Kaole Site, Tanzania

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Abstract. This study examines determinants of residents' support for tourism by testing a model based on the social exchange and material culture theories. The model proposes that perceptual heritage proximity influences residents' attitudes to positive and negative impacts of tourism, which in turn influence residents' support for tourism. The model was tested using data gathered from a sample of 256 local residents in Kaole Village, Tanzania. Results from structural equation modelling indicate that heritage proximity has an influence on attitudes to the impacts of tourism, which in turn influence support. The findings imply that heritage proximity serves as a point of reference for residents' evaluation of tourism, which is critical in fostering support. Findings confirm the relevance of the heritage proximity concept in explaining support for tourism. The study provides recommendations to better engage the residents in tourism development. Suggestions for future research are provided.

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1. Introduction

The remains of the features built by past people, also known as the historic heritage or ruins, including old burial grounds, spiritual sites, sacred old wells and other built complexes are among important survived cultural works (Muceniece, 2015). They are irreplaceable aged materials of cultural and historic knowledge, forming a dynamic segment of the heritage tourism industry. Through tourism, they generate socio-cultural and economic benefits, including the reduction of poverty for people living in and around them, namely, the local residents (Timothy, Nyaupane, 2009; Chirikure et al., 2010; Muceniece, 2015). Heritage tourism is thus acknowledged as a sustainable alternative to mass nature-based tourism and one of the best models for local development (Edgell, 2006).

As more historic ruins around the globe are developed for heritage tourism purposes, it is increasingly recognised that the success and sustainability of this kind of development depends on, among other things, support from the local residents (McKercher, du Cros, 2002; Nunkoo, Gursoy, 2012). However, the complex and contested nature of the heritage, diverse values among the residents, and the distinctive nature of the local heritage settings make the process of fostering tourism support a far from linear and clear-cut task (Timothy, Nyaupane, 2009; Masele, 2012). Regarding this, several studies acknowledge the importance of heritage specific policies and reveal the demand for destinations to unravel the unique variables responsible for change in the local setting, rather than sticking to stereotypical models that tend to undermine the distinctiveness of a heritage place and local societies (Twining-Ward, Butler, 2002; Nunkoo, Gursoy, 2012). Accordingly, there is a constant search – among both heritage and tourism policy makers and researchers – for the understanding of local residents' support for heritage tourism (Andereck, Nyaupane, 2011; Nunkoo, Gursoy, 2012).

Despite the fact that residents' support for tourism differ depending on specific heritage settings, literature indicates that the majority of studies have been conducted on destinations and communities from developed economies and nature-based destinations. Little is known about residents' support for heritage tourism in the region of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), and especially from the historic ruins context. In contrast to Western countries, some residents in SSA region are spiritually and ancestrally connected to the ruins. Moreover, the heritage ruins in this region are associated with a mix of the past indigenous and colonialist societies, the slavery and colonialism accounts and the living traditional practices and culture (Richards, 2002). Local residents in heritage destinations live in extreme levels of rural poverty, and some of their livelihood practices are harmful to the heritage and its environment (Ndoro, 2001; Mapunda, 2005). Thus, local residents' perceptions, values and behaviour towards the heritage and its development for tourism in SSA are likely to differ from those of the developed western world. The conceptual models, findings and policy implications emerging from existing research may not be applicable in this region.

Past research indicates that the conventional information deficit model, which attributes local residents' hostility to heritage tourism to a lack of information and understanding of importance of heritage, dominated explanations before the 21st century (Pendlebury, Townshend, 1999). Howev-

er, some residents were found to have favourable attitudes despite their low awareness (Larkham, 2000). The Irridex model (Doxey, 1975) argues that as the number of tourists increases in a community, attitudes towards tourism change from a state of euphoria to apathy, annoyance and antagonism (Andereck et al., 2005; Vargas-Sánchez et al., 2009). Butler's (1980) tourist area life cycle (TALC) considers tourism destinations undergo an evolutionary life cycle with six stages reflecting different degrees of development characterized by increasing number of tourists and their impacts. The stages, presented based on increasing state of development, include exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation and decline (Butler, 1980). Studies argue that resident attitudes change over time according to development stages which are associated with tourism impacts (Yoon et al., 1999). Extensive tourism studies based on the social exchange theory (SET) argue that perceived benefits associated with tourism development, such as economic, socio-cultural and environmental benefits, outweigh the costs and influence tourism attitudes (Ap, 1992; Gursoy, Rutherford, 2004; Nunkoo, Ramkissoon, 2010; Nunkoo, Gursoy, 2012). Other studies argue that trust in authorities and participation in decision making are important factors in explaining tourism attitude (Nunkoo, Ramkissoon, 2010; Lee, 2013). From the point of view of power relations, studies have argued that power distribution between residents and the management actors, and within residents themselves can influence residents' attitudes (Besculides et al., 2002). In addition, demographic variables and community factors such as community attachment have been recognized to influence attitudes (Andriotis, 2005; Rasoolimanesh et al., 2015). However, exploratory evidence in SSA (see Masele, 2012) shows that limited account to local residents' perceptual distance to their heritage (i.e. heritage proximity) result into residents' hostility to tourism development. It is therefore critical to understand the role of heritage proximity on residents' support for tourism.

Several previous studies (e.g. Belsile, Hoy, 1980; Jurowski, Gursoy, 2004; Gu, Ryan, 2008) consider the notion of *proximity* from the geographical distance perspective to study the effect of individual's distance to the heritage attraction zone, i.e. the role of *spatial proximity* on tourism attitudes. An in-

teresting observation is that, while extant research acknowledges that local community is not a homogenous, but rather a heterogeneous entity with individual residents and groups holding varying perceptions and identities with the heritage that is being promoted for tourism (Nyaupane, 2009), the notion that the perceptual kind of proximity can determine individual's support for heritage tourism has only been developed to a limited extent (Uriely et al., 2002). Moreover, its reciprocal relationship with attitude towards tourism, and their interplay effect on support behaviour has not been empirically tested. In fact, in practice, tourism and heritage managers often have related the affective and cognitive-kind of discrepancies in perceptions to local residents' ignorance and lack of awareness (Mapunda, 2001), and have spent little effort in studying them as the phenomenon of interest, but rather concerned with those who are physically close to the heritage. Thus the limited understanding of this dimension of proximity is partly the reason for prevailing faulty heritage tourism development (Chirikure et al., 2010). There is therefore an urgent need for theoretical guidance that considers broad conception of heritage proximity over and above the notion of social exchange to underpin the development of heritage tourism.

In an attempt to address the above mentioned knowledge gap, this study tests a model of local residents' support for tourism in a historic destination in Tanzania. Drawing from the notion of perceptual heritage proximity as developed by Uriely et al. (2002), the model (Fig. 1) posits that the heritage proximity influences attitudes towards the positive and negative impacts of tourism; which in turn, from the point of view of SET, influence residents' support for the sector. Further conceptualisation of the notion of heritage proximity from the point of view of the material culture theory, which has remained an underutilised theoretical lens for examining local residents' support for tourism, forms the main theoretical contribution of the study.

2. Local residents' support for tourism

Local residents' support for tourism is a behavioral intent concept that residents express toward tour-

ism (Nunkoo, Ramkissoon, 2010). Although some studies (e.g. Gursoy et al., 2002) refer support for tourism as an attitude to tourism, there is an increased understanding of the premise that residents' act on their attitudes toward the perceived impacts of tourism, including both positive and negative impacts, by supporting or opposing the sector (Nunkoo, Gursoy, 2012). The two concepts can therefore be distinct, especially when support for tourism is considered as a behavioral intent and attitude considered as an evaluation of the impact of tourism with some degree of favour or disfavour. SET posits that social relations involve an exchange of resources between social entities which seek mutual benefit from the exchange relationships (Ap, 1992). While the side that implements tourism seeks local residents' support, residents' key interests are to obtain benefits outweighing costs (Ap, 1992). Using the logic of SET, tourism studies argue that residents will support tourism if their self-interests in gaining particular benefits outweighing costs are satisfied (Johansson, Henningsson, 2011).

2.1. Residents' attitudes to positive impacts of heritage tourism

Attitude is defined as "a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favour or disfavour" (Eagly, Chaiken, 1993: 1). Attitude towards tourism impacts thus means a psychological tendency that the local resi-

dents have by evaluating the impacts of tourism development with some degree of favour. Tourism is thought by local residents to have a potential of promoting their sense of place, pride of their own culture and self-esteem (Besculides et al., 2002), and awareness of local culture and identity (Xu, 2007). It enriches community fabrics and preserves cultural values (Andereck et al., 2005; Stronza, Gordillo, 2008). It can also improve the quality-of-life of local people through employment and income generating opportunities (Gursoy, Rutherford, 2004; Dyer et al., 2007; Xu, 2007). In addition, it can promote the conservation of local heritage and the environment, and promote public awareness of environmental issues. Studies agree that the positive impacts of tourism positively influence residents' support for tourism (Gursoy, Rutherford, 2004; Lee et al., 2010; Nunkoo, Ramkinssoon, 2010; Nunkoo, Gursoy, 2012; Chen et al., 2016). It can be therefore hypothesized as follows that:

H1a Local residents' attitude to the positive impacts of heritage tourism has a positive relationship to their support for heritage tourism

2.2. Residents' attitudes to negative impacts of heritage tourism

The local residents are often against costs or negative impacts of tourism. Tourist visits and tourism activities (such as construction) can destroy cultural and historic heritage. Tourism can also cause so-

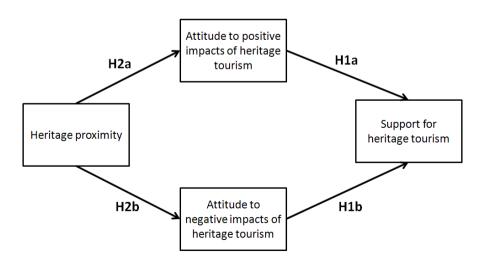


Fig. 1. Conceptual model Source: Author, based on past empirical studies and theories

cial divisions in the community, reduce a sense of cooperation and ties among local people and conflicts (Nyaupane, 2009). Tourism development may ignore local people and serve other parts (Timothy, Nyaupane, 2009) and create an elite landscape such as expensive hotels for tourists. Other socio-cultural costs include the invasion of local people's privacy by subsequent cultural tourists, increase in prostitution, smuggling, crime and psychological tension (Milman, Pizam, 1988; Andereck et al., 2005). Local residents are likely to be against the increase in price of goods and services (Goeldner, Ritchie, 2009) and uneven distribution of economic benefits among them (Pedersen, 2002). On the other hand, the environmental costs may include pollution, litter and influx of tourists (Dyer et al., 2007; Xu, 2007). Overall, tourism studies agree that there is a negative relationship between residents' attitude to the negative impacts of tourism and support for tourism (Gursoy, Rutherford, 2004; Nunkoo, Ramkissoon, 2010; Lee et al., 2010; Chen et al., 2016). The following hypothesis is therefore proposed:

H1b Resident's attitude to the negative tourism impacts has a negative influence on resident's support for heritage tourism

2.3. Heritage proximity, identity and material culture theory

Despite its dominance in explaining support for tourism, SET is criticized for being inadequate in explaining residents' support for tourism (Andereck et al., 2005). It overlooks the notion of heritage proximity. The term proximity comes from the Latin term proximus, meaning nearness (Torre, Rallet, 2005). The notion of proximity can be conceived with reference to geographic or space, that is spatial proximity, and organized dimensions such as neighbourhood, institutions, interpersonal relationships, epistemic communities, kinship and representations (Torre, Rallet, 2005). Spatial proximity has been dominant in the geography literature to express the distance that separates two units such as individuals, organizations and towns in geographical space with binary parameters of either far from or close to (Torre, Rallet, 2005). The parameters are judged by distance, time and price units, and the

perception that individuals have of them (Torre, Rallet, 2005). Organized dimension of proximity is basically relational and express two aspects: First, it refers to belongingness or belonging to a particular entity such as neighbourhood, organization and other units where the interactions are facilitated by rules, norms or routines (Torre, Rallet, 2005). Second, it refers to social relations where cases are considered as close because they share a same system of representations or set of beliefs that facilitate their interaction (Torre, Rallet, 2005).

Using the notion of spatial proximity based on geographic space, tourism studies have shown that the geographical proximity to the attraction zone influences one's attitudes towards tourism (Belsile, Hoy, 1980; Jurowski, Gursoy, 2004; Gu, Ryan, 2008). A significant observation is that, while extant cultural heritage research in SSA shows that communities are not homogenous but rather a heterogeneous entity with individuals and groups holding varying identities with regard to the heritage that is being promoted for tourism (Chirikure et al., 2010), the argument that this kind of perceptual proximity can influence attitudes towards the impact of heritage tourism is rarely developed (Uriely et al., 2002).

The concept of identity has been useful in explaining residents' support for tourism in the tourism literature. It refers to the set of meanings and social position that the self possesses and internalizes, and serves as a reference or source of information guiding behaviour in situations (Stets, Biga, 2003). Identity theory posits that identity is a result of individual and collective (society) interactions in individual's interpretation of the self (Cinoglu, Arikan, 2012). Nunkoo and Gursoy (2012) utilized this point of view and indicated that identity can influence attitudes to the impacts of tourism and support for the sector. However, the kind of identity considered in their study (Nunkoo, Gursoy, 2012) emerges from individual's interactions with the self or the society. This perspective omits an explicit focus on historic heritage as the reference points for inspirations to self and identity.

The material culture theory by Appadurai (1996) posits that the nature and manner in which people view material objects provide them with the means to understand important aspects of their contemporary culture, including their human and social context. The symbolic meanings that are carried by

objects represent the most obvious level at which externalisation of the self occurs (Jacons, Malpas, 2013). Thus, the determination of self and self-identity is not limited to an individual's private internal life (in solitary isolation) and social forms of externality, but is inextricably bound to forms of materiality (Jacobs, Malpas, 2013). Regarding this, the historic heritage objects have an ontological significance in terms of their symbolic or expressive attributes whose meanings are integral to the articulation of the self and identity (Jacobs, Malpas, 2013). For instance, studies in developed economies show that heritage objects have stimuli that provide people's sense of orientation, identity, guidance, enrichment and stability (Lowenthal, 1985; Hubbard, 1993; Buckland, 2013). By contrast, studies in the sub-Sahara Africa show that the heritage objects form the reference points to self and identity as they stimulate intricate emotions pertaining to death and ritual, and genealogical link with the ancestors (Ndoro; 2005; Masele, 2012). This kind of identity that self internalizes serves as reference in individuals' evaluation of the impacts of activities done to their heritage (Hagger et al., 2007). The more the person identifies with the heritage objects, the more she/he will be concerned with its treatment (Lwoga, 2017). When the impact of the development of heritage for tourism is consistent with the reinforcement of identity, a person is likely to favour the positive impacts of tourism. But when the impact of tourism is not consistent with the maintenance of the historic features that underpin individual's identity, she/he is likely to agree with the indicators expressing negative impacts of tourism. Thus, the heritage system being promoted for tourism, and how close the person is affiliated with it, alters the person's evaluation of the impact of the sector.

2.4. Perceptual heritage proximity and attitude to the impacts of tourism

By using the perceptual notion of *proximity* from geography, Uriely et al. (2002) introduced a concept of heritage proximity, and defined it as the perceptual distance between residents and heritage promotion in a particular location. The context under

which the concept was developed was based on the religious celebrations that were promoted around the Christianity dominion to attract pilgrimages to the Christian holy sites in Nazareth. It is worth noting that in Nazareth, by then (2000), about twothird of the total population belonged to Islamic religion. Uriely et al. (2002) found that while Christians supported heritage tourism because it promoted the heritage that they are affiliated to, Muslims were less likely to support heritage tourism because they were not perceptually close to the heritage being promoted for tourism, in other words, they did not identify with what was being promoted. The findings suggest that a person whose cultural heritage she/he identifies with is involved and positively promoted for tourism is more likely to support tourism than one whose heritage is not involved or is not perceptually proximal to the heritage being promoted. Regarding this, Uriely et al. (2002) argue that Christian Nazoreans, because they were affiliated to, or identified themselves with, the heritage being promoted for tourism, they were more supportive of pilgrimage tourism than the Nazoreans of different faiths who are perceptually distanced from the heritage being promoted. The study by Uriely et al. (2002) was basically an exploratory study that had some limitations, as declared in their study. For instance, while their results suggest that an individual would primarily evaluate the impact of tourism on her or his heritage in order to decide to support it or not, the concept of individual's attitude to positive and negative impacts of tourism and its role was not made explicit. In addition, the concept of heritage proximity was not directly measured, instead it was assumed, given the magnitude of the gap between Muslims and the Christians in Nazareth. The measurement based on assumption limited the reliability and validity analyses.

Several exploratory studies in cultural heritage management reveal that individual's attitude to tourism impact can be determined by heritage proximity. Masele (2012) shows that the residents with personal spiritual attachment with Kunduchi Site in Tanzania (i.e. with higher heritage proximity) were less supportive of tourism development that was intended to have positive economic impacts. Thus, individual's heritage proximity determined their reaction to the prospective impact of tourism. While the site management (the Antiqui-

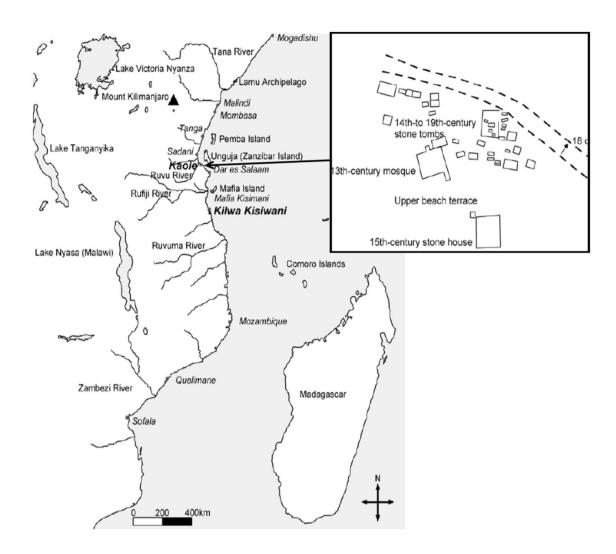


Fig. 2. Kaole Village and Kaole Ruins Site Source: Pollard (2008)

ties Authority) promoted the positive tourism impacts as a justification for tourism development, some individuals evaluated it negatively. This is also the case with a Buddhist stupa built around 800 AD (a World Heritage Site) that was promoted for tourism, which prohibited Buddhists from performing their rituals. In this case, the Buddhist residents may not have supported tourism despite having higher heritage proximity. This shows that an individual who has higher heritage proximity is expected to favour positive impact of tourism development, and disfavour negative impact of tourism development in relation to her or his heritage being promoted. The inherent evaluation of the positive (benefits) and negative (costs) of tourism means that the social exchange theory can aid the understanding of the effect of heritage proximity on local

residents' support for tourism. Based on the prior theoretical discussion on heritage proximity and the limited empirical evidences, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H2a Heritage proximity has a positive influence on resident's attitude to positive tourism impacts

H2b Heritage proximity has a negative influence on resident's attitude to negative tourism impacts

3. Material and research methods

3.1. Study context

The study focused on local residents living in Kaole Village that surrounds Kaole Ruins Site along the

Indian Ocean in Tanzania (Fig. 2). Kaole Fishing Village is located about 5.7 Kilometres from Bagamoyo town. On its west, there are several standing ancient coral stone-built ruins with dates ranging from 7th to 8th centuries AD (Chami, 2002; Pollard, 2008). The ruins include two ancient mosques, about 22 tombs, some with pillars and Chinese porcelain, foundation and low walls of an old building, and an old well. One of the mosques is believed to be the oldest in eastern Africa, dating back to the 7th century. The historic ruins are attributed to the Shirazi. When the Shirazi settlement declined in the 16th century, the local Zaramo people in the area called the place Kaole, meaning let us go and see, as an expression of admiration for the abandoned settlement. The settlement was revived in the 18th century by the Omanis, whose descendants are believed to be living in Kaole Village.

Today, some of the ruins in Kaole are still used by local residents. For instance, some residents conduct traditional rituals like washing their faces with magic water from a 16th century well believing that any curses or misfortunes would be washed away (Sing'ambi, 2017). Some residents visit the Sheriff's grave for offerings and blessing. Some residents believe that if they pray at the grave their wishes will be granted. They participate in a special spiritual event to protect their town *kupunga mji*. In addition, the water in an old well is believed to be holy, and can remedy their misfortunes and diseases (Sing'ambi, 2017).

Historically, before colonialism, local residents in this region valued cultural features such as old mosques and graves in terms of their spiritual and social importance, and through the traditional system, custodians and customs, they were responsible for their management. However, this was undermined and discouraged by the introduction of the western-based system during the colonial period. Through the Ancient Monuments Preservation Decree (1927) in Tanzania, for instance, the western valuing system based on restoration and conservation movements over the past 200 years, especially the Athens Charter of 1931 (see Jokiletho, 1986), was officially introduced. It assigned importance to the physical objects' materiality and features of cultural heritage that were believed to embody artistic aesthetic and historic significance (Jokiletho, 1986). Through restrictive laws and strategies, local residents were kept at a distance from their heritage and perhaps their traditional value system.

After independence, Tanzania, similar to other colonized states, adopted the colonial system that ignores the traditional knowledge and systems. Today, local residents' attitudes towards, and support for, development of the historic ruins for tourism are not well known in Kaole. Based on anecdotal experience, there are local resentments in terms of the development of the site for tourism purposes; these can have significant impacts in future. Currently, the site receives about 17,662 tourists (according to 2016 statistics), accounting for the largest share in tourist market to cultural heritage sites in Tanzania Mainland (United Republic of Tanzania [URT], 2017). Thus, the focus on the local residents at Kaole provides rich insights regarding the influence of the heritage proximity on support for tourism.

3.2. Research design

The study used questionnaire survey administered by the researcher through face-to-face approach to local resident individuals in Kaole Village. The determination of a sample size depended on the representativeness factor. According to the Tanzanian Population and Housing Census of 2012, Kaole Village had 1,384 households (Gautum, 2009). Based on Krejcie and Morgan's (1970) sample size determination matrix, the 1,382 households correspond to sample size of 302. Thus, 302 were administered, however, 256 (85%) were useful for analysis. Respondents were selected using a multi-stage stratified sampling. In the first stage, a register in the office of the Chairperson of the Village was used to randomly select households for survey. Then, at the household level, the head was selected to express her or his attitudes and perceptions. In case of either inability to participate or absence of the head, another resident adult (aged 18 years or over) was involved. The selection of respondents in their households helped to overcome problems associated with a geographically dispersed population in a village.

In total 50.8% of the respondents were males and 49.2% were females. While few respondents were aged between 18 and 22 (8.6 percent) and be-

tween 51 and 60 (8.6 percent) and above 60 (2.7 percent), most respondents, 80.1%, were aged between 21 and 50, representing people who are more likely to work in various occupations. Most respondents, 78.1%, had primary and ordinary secondary levels of education followed by those with no formal education (15.2 percent), and those with advanced secondary education (2.7 percent) and university degree (3.9 percent). The majority were self-employed in activities such as food vending (20 percent), farming (19.9 percent), fishing (15.2 percent) and selling fish (14.8). Other self-employment activities include livestock keeping (5.1 percent), selling firewood (2.0 percent), freelance tour guiding (2 percent) and other small businesses (7.8 percent). Others were employed in activities such as hotels (2.4 percent), security guard (0.8 percent), teaching (2.0 percent), driving (0.8 percent) and conservation (0.8 percent); in total 6.0% of respondents had no employment as some were housewives (2.7 percent), students (2.3 percent) or retired persons (1.0 percent).

The questionnaire instrument was composed of both scaled and categorical measures to capture the variables of interest. It was prepared in Swahili so as to suit the majority of the respondents in the selected areas. Four main constructs were measured. These include heritage proximity, attitude to positive impacts of heritage tourism, attitude to negative impacts of heritage tourism and support for heritage tourism. The questionnaire also included several demographic variables such as sex, age, level of education, level of income, and occupation. As this study focuses on heritage proximity to sacred heritage with various dimensions, three measurement items were adopted from past exploratory research in sub-Sahara Africa that considered individual's sacred identification with the site (i.e. Masele, 2012; Sing'ambi, 2017). Attitude to positive impacts of tourism and attitude to negative impacts of tourism were measured with four and three items respectively, adopted from Nunkoo and Gursoy (2012) and Yu et al. (2017) to represent the socio-cultural, environmental and economic dimensions of the impacts. The construct of support for heritage tourism was measured with three items adopted from Dragouni (2017) and Muresan et al. (2016). All variables, with the exception of the demographic ones, were coded on 5-point Likert scales. The demographic variables involved include (i) the level of income (in Tanzanian Shillings), 0 = no income, 1 = 100,000 or below, 2 = 100,001 - 500,000, 3 = 100,000500,001 - 1,000,000, 4 = 1,000,001 - 1,500,000, 5 =1,500,001 - 2,000,000, 6 = above 2,000,000; (ii) sex that was coded 0 = female and 1 = male; (iii) education that was coded 1 = not gone to school, 2 =primary, 3 = ordinary secondary, 4 = advanced secondary, 5 = bachelor degree, 6 = masters degree, and 7 = PhD; (iv) occupation that was coded 1 = unemployed (student/housewife), 2 = retired, 3 = self-employed, 4 = employed in government sector, 5 = employed in the private sector and 6 = volunteering with NGOs, and; (v) age that was measured by asking the respondent to mention the year when she or he was born.

The internal consistency of the variables was examined using composite reliability and Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients. Validity (convergent and discriminant) of the measures was computed using the average variance extracted (AVE) measures. A pre-test of the questionnaire ensured that it had valid measurement items and measured the concepts that it intended to measure. A convenience sample of 110 residents was used to pre-test the questionnaire to establish the unidimensionality of the measurement items with regard to the constructs being measured. Exploratory factor analysis with varimax rotation, as indicated in Table 1, resulted into a parsimonious set of 14 measurement items clustering into a four factor solution as proposed in the conceptual framework. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient of 0.7 and above for each factor shows that the measurement was reliable (Hair et al., 2014).

3.3. Data analysis

The analysis of data from questionnaire survey involved descriptive and multivariate analyses that were conducted using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and SPSS Analysis of Moment Structures (AMOS). Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) with a varimax rotation method was used to determine the number of dimensions underlying the measurement items. By using SPSS AMOS program, Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) was conducted to test whether the measurement mod-

Table 1. Exploratory factor analysis and reliability test

Factor						
Factor Code	Factor name	1	2	3	4	- α -
ANI1	Causes deterioration of our historic heritage	0.940				0.95
ANI3	Results in traffic congestion, noise and pollution to our heritage environment	0.940				
ANI4	Increases the rate of unethical behaviour	0.918				
ANI2	Increases the costs of living	0.916				
API3	Leads to rediscovery of local heritage and traditions in our community		0.884			0.89
API2	Preserves the integrity of the cultural identity of this place		0.879			
API4	Incentivizes local residents to learn more about the ruins		0.826			
API1	Aids in maintaining our historical and cultural heritage		0.824			
HPX1	I identify strongly with the ruins			0.868		0.83
HPX2	I feel the historic ruins are part of me			0.845		
HPX3	To me, the historic ruins are sacred places			0.831		
SHT3	I believe tourism should be actively encouraged in my area				0.830	0.70
SHT1	Tourism development should be a priority in the local government agenda				0.797	
SHT2	Tourism development should be directly linked to the historic ruins				0.719	

Source: Own work based on collected data

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization, Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy = 0.770; Bartlett's test of Sphericity = 2217 (p = 0.0000); Four factors accounting for xxx% of the total variance; α = Cronbach's alpha; Factor 1 = Attitude to negative impacts of tourism; Factor 2 = Attitude to positive impacts of tourism; Factor = Heritage proximity; Factor 4 = Support for heritage tourism. ANI = Attitude to negative impacts, API = Attitude to positive impacts, HPX = Heritage proximity, SHT = Support for heritage tourism

el provided a good fit to the data. The Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) was used to test the predictive validity of the proposed model and the hypothesized paths.

4. Results and discussion

4.1. Descriptive statistics

The mean statistics of 4.0 and above for each item that tested support for heritage tourism (Table 2) indicate that, on average, respondents support tourism. Regarding heritage proximity, mean statistics of 3.5 and above indicate that, on average, the respondents felt that the historic ruins are part of their selves and are sacred places, and they identify with them. In terms of attitude to the positive impact, the mean statistics of 4.0 and above for each corresponding item show that, on average, respond-

ents perceive tourism as having positive impacts. With reference to the attitude to negative impacts, the mean statistics of 3.8 on one item "increases the costs of living" show that respondents perceive tourism to have negative economic impacts. Nevertheless, with the mean statistics of 2.9 and less in other items related to socio-cultural and environmental impacts show that, on average, respondents disagree that tourism has negative socio-cultural and environmental impacts.

4.2. Confirmatory factor analysis

Prior to testing the hypotheses, evaluation of the psychometric properties of the measurement structure was done using a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in Amos 7.0. Composite reliability estimates as indicated in Table 3 were all above the threshold value of 0.7, ranging from 0.704 to 0.933; thereby showing that the constructs are internally consist-

Table 2. Mean statistics

Item		Mean	Standard Deviation
ANI1	Causes deterioration of our historic heritage	2.90	1.509
ANI3	Results in traffic congestion, noise and pollution to our heritage environment	2.93	1.563
ANI4	Increases the rate of unethical behaviour	2.91	1.538
ANI2	Increases the costs of living	3.80	1.516
API3	Leads to rediscovery of local heritage and traditions in our community	4.21	0.836
API2	Preserves the integrity of the cultural identity of this place	4.30	0.796
API4	Incentivizes local residents to learn more about the ruins	4.18	0.881
API1	Aids in maintaining our historical and cultural heritage	4.26	0.775
HPX1	I identify strongly with the ruins	3.58	1.284
HPX2	I feel the historic ruins are part of me	3.81	1.090
HPX3	To me, the historic ruins are sacred places	3.77	1.191
SHT3	I believe tourism should be actively encouraged in my area	4.29	0.711
SHT1	Tourism development should be a priority in the local government agenda	4.32	0.703
SHT2	Tourism development should be directly linked to the historic ruins	4.39	0.678

Source: Own work based on collected data

ent and unidimensional (Hair et al., 2014). Table 3 also shows that the average variance extracted (AVE) estimate for each construct was higher than the highest variance that each construct shared with the other construct in the model, suggesting that all constructs exhibited discriminant validity. AVE estimates were also above the threshold value of 0.50, ranging between 0.510 and 0.824, showing that the variance due to measurement error is smaller than the variance due to the construct and the convergent validity of the constructs (Hair et al., 2014). The standardized factor loadings as shown in Table 4 ranged between 0.524 and 0.967, and were all statistically significant as p < 0.001 level, further evidencing that the constructs exhibit convergent validity (Hair et al., 2014). The overall fit of the final CFA model was χ^2/df ratio = 1.822; GFI = 0.942; CFI = 0.974, TLI = 0.964 and RMSEA = 0.057 (Table 4, and Fig. 3). This indicated that the measurement model fits well.

Table 3. Scale properties of the constructs

	CR	AVE	API	SHT	HPX	ANI
API	0.892	0.674	0.821			
SHT	0.704	0.510	0.219	0.670		
HPX	0.831	0.621	0.358	0.202	0.788	
ANI	0.933	0.824	0.130	-0.126	-0.097	0.908

Source: Own work based on collected data

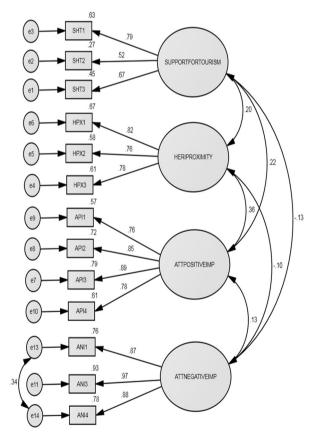


Fig. 3. Measurement structural model (standardized estimates)

Source: Own work based on collected data

Table 4. CFA results

		Path	Standardized Estimate	p
SHT1	<	Support for heritage tourism	0.793	***
HPX3	<	Heritage proximity	0.782	
HPX2	<	Heritage proximity	0.765	***
HPX1	<	Heritage proximity	0.816	***
API3	<	Attitude toward positive impact	0.890	***
API2	<	Attitude toward positive impact	0.848	***
API1	<	Attitude toward positive impact	0.758	***
API4	<	Attitude toward positive impact	0.781	
ANI3	<	Attitude toward negative impact	0.967	***
ANI1	<	Attitude toward negative impact	0.871	***
ANI4	<	Attitude toward negative impact	0.882	
SHT3	<	Support for heritage tourism	0.667	
SHT2	<	Support for heritage tourism	0.524	***

Source: Own work based on collected data

Note: *** means p < 0.001. Fit indices: χ^2/df ratio = 1.822; GFI = 0.942; CFI = 0.974, TLI = 0.964 and RMSEA = 0.057 with PCLOSE of 0.246

4.3. Hypotheses testing

The hypotheses were tested using the maximum likelihood estimation with the sample covariance matrix. The fitting indices of the structural path model results as shown in Table 5 indicate that the model's fit is reasonable, and the model is appropriate to the subsequent test of the hypothesized paths (χ^2/df ratio = 1.893; GFI = 0.937; TLI = 0.961; CFI = 0.970 and RMSEA = 0.059). The results as indicated in Table 5 and Fig. 4 supported H1a, which predicts a positive relationship between attitude to positive impacts of heritage tourism and support for tourism (β = 0.24, p < 0.01). The results indicate

the presence of a negative relationship between attitude toward negative impact and support for tourism, though partially significant ($\gamma = -0.15$, p < 0.1). The H1b was therefore not fully supported. In addition, the results disclose that there is a positive relationship between heritage proximity and attitude toward positive impact of heritage tourism ($\gamma = 0.36$, p < 0.001); thereby supporting H2a. In addition, the findings reveal there is a negative relationship between heritage proximity and attitude toward negative impact of heritage tourism, however statistically non-significant ($\gamma = -0.10$, p > 0.05); thereby not supporting H2b.

Table 5. Hypotheses test results

				~		
		- ·		Standardized		
Hypothesis	Path			Estimate		
H1a	Support for heritage tourism	<	Attitude to positive impacts of heritage tourism	0.236	0.002	SUPPORTED
H1b	Support for heritage tourism	<	Attitude to negative impacts of heritage tourism	-0.149	0.066	PARTIALLY SUPPORTED
Н2а	Attitude to positive impacts of heritage tourism	<	Heritage proximity	0.357	***	SUPPORTED
H2b	Attitude to negative impacts of heritage	<	Heritage proximity	-0.098	0.167	NOT SUPPORTED

Source: Own work based on collected data

Note: *** means p < 0.001. Fit indices: χ^2/df ratio = 1.893; GFI = 0.937; TLI = 0.961; CFI = 0.970 and RMSEA = 0.059, PCLOSE = 0.174

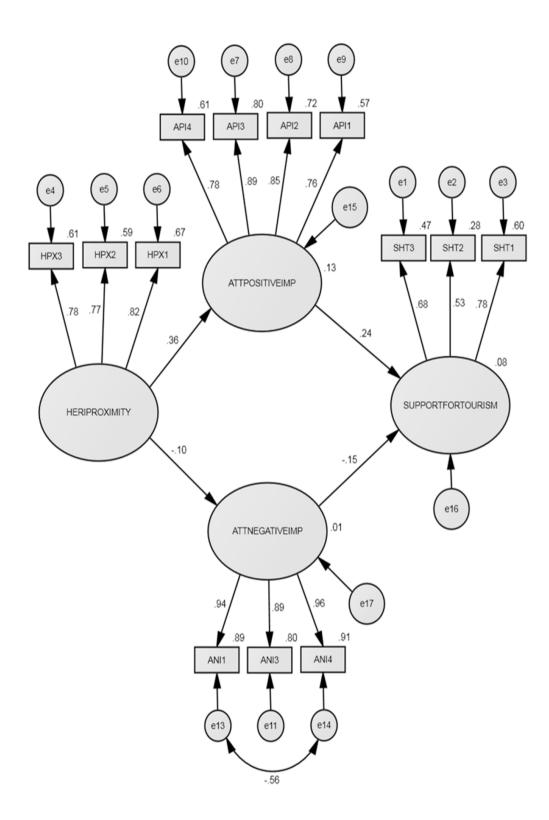


Fig. 4. Structural model (standard estimates) *Source:* Own work based on collected data

4.4. Discussion

Overall, the results support two hypotheses (H1a and H2a), and partially support one hypothesis (H1b). With reference to H1a, the study hypothesized that local residents' attitude to the positive impacts of heritage tourism has a positive relationship to their support for heritage tourism. As expected, the results indicate a positive and statistically significant relationship between local residents' attitude to the positive impacts of heritage tourism and their support for heritage tourism. This suggests that the more positively a local resident perceives heritage tourism, the more likely she/he will support the sector. The study also hypothesized that local residents' attitude to the negative impacts of heritage tourism has a negative relationship to their support for heritage tourism (H1b). The results show that, indeed, there is a negative relationship, meaning that, the more negatively local resident perceives heritage tourism, the more likely she/he will not support the sector. Such findings as a whole support the results from other research (Lee et al., 2010; Nunkoo, Gursoy, 2012).

According to the study, attitude to positive impacts of tourism involves an individual's evaluation of the socio-cultural, economic and environmental impacts of tourism with reference to the heritage being promoted. The descriptive results (Table 2) indicate that, with reference to socio-cultural and environmental aspects of their heritage, local residents view heritage tourism as having more benefits than costs. However, with reference to economic aspect, residents view that tourism has no much impact on their economy. This means that tourism contributes much to the maintenance of the features of the historic heritage and its environment, which are reference points for inspirations to their selves and cultural identities. Thus, the impact of the development of heritage for tourism is consistent with the reinforcement of their identity. It was observed that the promising growth of cultural tourism and its socio-cultural benefits helps to make the attitude towards tourism more favourable. Thus, the support that they express for heritage tourism is primarily because of its socio-cultural and environmental impacts rather than economic ones.

Kaole ruins site, to local residents of Kaole village, is the preferred place to conduct their socio-cultural activities such as rituals and religious commemorations at the old mosque, grave site and old well. The descriptive results (Table 2) indicated that respondents generally agree with the statements that tourism preserves the integrity of the cultural identity of the place, leads to rediscovery of local heritage and traditions, and aids in maintaining their historical and cultural heritage. With this regard, Kaole ruins are considered important as they support the local traditions, social ties and interactions of residents, and have features that sustain meaningful socio-cultural practices. The site under the management of the state's Antiquities Division provides access to residents to practice their socio-cultural activities as described in the study area section. Although there are some challenges in residents' access to the site such as time limitations, payment of entrance fees and limited privacy, they at least have chances of sustaining their meaningful socio-cultural practices and relationships, and strengthening their cultural identities.

Kaole Site on the other hand provides limited economic benefits to the local residents. For instance, the local residents are allowed only to a limited extent to sell their cultural products and foods within the site. Kaole as a state-controlled national heritage site collects and centralises the economic benefits in terms of entry fees and revenues to the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. The site therefore remains with limited funds to designate special mechanisms and share economic benefits with the immediate neighbours of the sites. Ironically, the Antiquities Division bans residents from selling their products to visitors at the Kaole site. Of course some of the groundings of doing this are logical in terms of discouraging the destruction of the site. But it would have been better if the Antiquities Division would have designated alternative arrangements that would simultaneously sustain residents' small businesses and the site.

This findings in this study contradicts Liu et al's (1987) argument that the economic impacts of tourism are the most valued elements for the local residents. This said, the study by Liu et al. (1987) was conducted in a developed world context and a community where there is a limited socio-cultural attachment. In the context of Kaole Ruins Site (as shown in the study settings) and related sacred places such as Kunduchi Ruins Site (see Masele,

2012) in sub-Sahara Africa, residents are closely socio-culturally affiliated to their heritage. Thus, in such setting, the socio-cultural and environmental benefits are likely to foster local residents' favourable evaluation of tourism and support it. Accordingly, as found earlier by Masele (2012), despite the prospective economic benefits, local residents can reject plans to develop their heritage for tourism in case they perceive negative socio-cultural impacts.

With reference to the effect of heritage proximity, the study hypothesized that it has a positive influence on resident's attitude to positive tourism impacts (H2a). The results indicate that the positive relationship exists significantly. This means that the more that local residents identify with the heritage being promoted for tourism; the more likely that they will positively view the positive impacts of heritage tourism. In addition, the study hypothesized that heritage proximity has a negative influence on resident's attitude to negative tourism impacts (H2b). Results, though not statistically significant, indicate that there is a negative relationship, meaning that the more the local resident is affiliated to the heritage being promoted for tourism, the more likely that she/he will negatively view the negative impacts of heritage tourism.

The historic, social and physical attributes of the ruins of Kaole are embodied with cues that, to some individual and groups, express and affirm their identities. With regard to the history and cultural background of the communities at the Kaole Village, it is possible that some residents are perceptually proximal or affiliated (identify) with the site as part of cultural materials left by their ancestors. Some individuals, claiming as being the descendants of the past communities, are connected to the settlers of the historic Kaole. They are probably concerned with the maintenance of the integrity of their socio-cultural aspects that signify their identity, and further stress on the maintenance of the historic ruins that embody meanings and values affirming and expressing their identity. The results in this study indicated that this sense of proximity with the historic ruins primarily informs the residents' evaluation of the impact of tourism. Thus, heritage proximity indirectly influences residents' support for tourism through its effect to residents' attitudes to tourism impacts. This means that the mechanisms designed by heritage authority to foster residents' support for tourism and conservation may be irrelevant to the residents if they are not pertinent with their affiliation with the site. This implies to the Antiquities Authority that the heritage proximity that residents hold should be central in the management, development and conservation plans.

Overall, the results confirm that residents' perceptual heritage proximity can influence attitudes to tourism impacts. These findings support limited past exploratory research on the effect of perceptual heritage proximity (conceptualized from the point of view of religious heritage) on tourism attitudes (e.g. Uriely et al., 2002). In addition, they further clarify the link between heritage proximity and support for tourism by confirming that the former influences the latter through its effect on attitudes to the impacts of tourism from the historic ruins setting in sub-Saharan Africa.

5. Conclusion

Several previous studies (e.g. Belsile, Hoy, 1980; Jurowski, Gursoy, 2004; Gu, Ryan, 2008) have investigated the effect of proximity on residents' support for tourism by referring to its geographical distance spatial perspective while overlooking its perceptual perspective. Moreover, the majority of studies on support for tourism have been conducted on destinations and communities from developed economies and nature-based destinations while ignoring the historic ruins destinations in an African context. Due to their uniqueness in terms of their link to the local residents, historic ruins destinations in sub-Saharan Africa face particular tourism development challenges. This study tested a model of local residents' support for tourism based on the social exchange and material culture theories, and the notion of heritage proximity as developed by Uriely et al. (2010) using data gathered from residents of Kaole Village that surrounds Kaole historic ruins site in Tanzania. The model hypothesized the influence of heritage proximity on residents' attitudes to positive and negative impacts of heritage tourism and support for tourism.

The findings suggest that heritage proximity is an important concept in explaining support

through the effect it has on attitudes. They show that residents' decisions to support heritage tourism are based on the perceived benefits and costs of tourism development. With these findings, the study shows that the social exchange theory is equally relevant in explaining residents support in historic ruins destinations, not only in the developed world, but also in the region of sub-Saharan Africa. The major contribution that the study makes to the body of knowledge relates to the application of the notion of perceptual heritage proximity in explaining residents' attitudes, and indirectly, support for tourism. The findings mean that perceptual heritage proximity serves as a point of reference in the evaluation of the impacts of tourism, which are the key in stimulating support for tourism. They also mean that, within the realms of identity, the material culture theory can be important in linking a person to the complex heritage structure in the evaluation of the impacts of tourism, a conceptualization which has been overlooked in previous research on tourism attitudes.

The study has several implications for heritage tourism planners and site managers to better engage the local residents in tourism development. The resident's self and identity that relate to the historic objects should be placed in the centre of contemporary strategies of developing heritage for tourism. This can be done by promoting tourism that uses the historic heritage in a manner that does not disrupt the local residents' affiliation to the heritage, but rather strengthens the local cultural identity. Local residents can be considered as key stakeholders in the development of heritage tourism. Managerial studies such as stakeholder analysis can be done by site managers to understand the local residents, the varying patterns of their proximity with the heritage, not only limited to its spatial perspective but also perceptual perspective. Moreover, the integration of the historic heritage and the local cultural identity they embed in the strategies of heritage tourism will not only encourage tourism development that is favourable to the local residents, but also differentiate tourism products from competitors and add into historic heritage experiences. In fact, active involvement of the local residents in such strategies is a key to success. In addition, managers should understand that the economic benefits are not the sole kind of positive aspects that the local residents are

looking for, but there can be other critical aspects such as the socio-cultural and environmental that the residents care about, especially with reference to the heritage proximity. Thus, programmes to reinforce the socio-cultural and environmental benefits of heritage tourism should be designed to stimulate residents' positive evaluation of tourism.

In final analysis the study was limited to socio-exchange and heritage proximity perspectives. Admittedly, it is not possible to study all factors influencing residents' support for tourism in a single study due to the complexity of support behaviour. But, due to the fact that residents' support can be affected by spatial proximity, future studies should incorporate this factor in the model, and test its potential moderating role. The study did not unravel and examine the effect of dimensions of heritage proximity and tourism impacts such as economic, socio-cultural and environmental dimensions on their support for tourism. However, in the discussion, the study indicates the possibility that each dimension can have unique influence on support for tourism. Future studies can thus unravel the dimensions of heritage proximity and attitudes to tourism impacts and test their interactions and effect on support for tourism. Despite the interesting findings of this study, caution should be exercised when interpreting the findings in a wider context. This is because of the issues relating to the sample. The study sample was drawn from the population in Kaole Village in Bagamoyo, Tanzania. Future studies should test the model in other contexts. In addition, whilst households were selected based on random sampling, the actual respondents were the heads of households. Thus, future studies should device a fully random mechanism of selecting individual respondents.

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