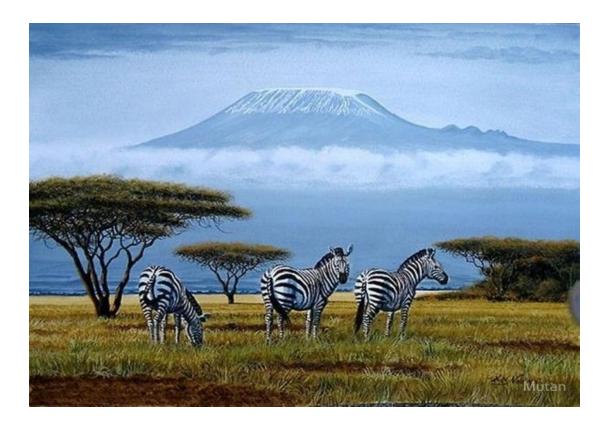
5,895 above sea level: Investigating Empowerment of Local Community Engaging in Mountaineering Tourism: A case study of Mount Kilimanjaro (Marangu route, Tanzania)



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Abstract

Mountain Kilimanjaro attracts a significant number of tourist climbers every year. The increase has led to the stimulation of the local economy through direct and indirect employment opportunities. It has drawn a substantial amount of investors who have opened up tour operation businesses which have created employment opportunities for the locals around the mountain by taking different tasks such as mountain guiding, cooking and carrying luggage on the mountain. Employment opportunities join locals to work together with tour operators, however there is less understanding of how tour operators empower (economically, politically and socially) mountaineering communities (mountain guides, cooks and porters) during the process of preparing and offering the climbing package to tourists. This study used Empowerment theory by adopting three empowerment dimensions: economic, political and social. In-depth interviews were conducted to both internal players (such as tour operators and the mountaineering community) and external players (such as governmental and non-governmental organisations). It investigates how these players influence tour operators to empower the mountaineering community. The findings generated from interviews show that empowerment of the mountaineering community depends on which tour operator that the mountaineering community is working with (big or small tour operators). Also, there is a lack of government monitoring relating to how tour operators and non-governmental organisations perform their work on enhancing mountaineering community empowerment.

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CHAPTER 1

1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the background information concerning mountaineering tourism, and how locals around Mount Kilimanjaro take advantage of the employment opportunities. It also gives information about the importance of conducting this study and how it can contribute to social science research. Therefore, it contains a preliminary problem statement, objective, the relevance of the study and research questions.

1.1 Background of the Study

According to UNWTO (2015), Africa received 56 million foreign tourists in 2014 compared to 26 million international tourists in 2000. The increase is said to be due to the rich of wildlife diversity, unique natural beauty, beautiful cultural heritage and diversification of tourism products ranging from wildlife safaris to relaxation on the coastal beaches, that are continually marketed to different places around the world UNWTO (2015). It is often argued that not only does tourism contribute to the growth of the national economy but it also helps in the preservation of ancient architecture, unique heritage, natural environment and wildlife (Smith, 2014). Similarly, tourism also attracts both locals (around destinations to take part in different mountaineering activities), tour operators and travel agents across the globe who organise competitive and adventurous packages to tourists who plan to participate in tourism is to provide a memorable experience to tourists, while contributing to the local's economic, political and social wellbeing, the majority of locals engaged in tourism activities are marginalised and treated unequally with limited rights (Melubo, 2015). One major question is, how are the locals involved in tourism activities empowered by tour operation businesses?

A lot has been written about the wellbeing of locals living around tourist attractions (such as nature, cultural and history attractions). For example several researchers such as; Melubo, (2015), Peaty, (2012) and Dodds and Kuehnel, (2010) research on mountaineering tourism, regarding how locals such as mountain guides and porters take advantage of employment opportunity provided by tour operators. However, less is known about how tour operators empower the mountaineering community (mountain guides, cooks and porters) when undertaking mountaineering activities. Additionally, other critical local groups that are also engaged in mountaineering tourism such as cooks, are not well portrayed in the literature. Therefore, this study is situated to investigate both mountain guides, cooks, porters and tour operators to bridge the gap left by Melubo, (2015), Peaty, (2012) and Dodds and Kuehnel, (2010). This will be done by investigating how tour operators empower mountain guides, cooks and porters (referred to as the mountaineering community) and how they interact in the process of planning and involvement in decision making during preparation and offering mountaineering packages to tourists.

Empowerment dimensions such as; economic, political and social, will be used as a tool intended to critically analyse how tour operators empower the mountaineering community when undertaking different mountaineering activities. To achieve this, Mount Kilimanjaro (Marangu route) is chosen as an interesting case study. The knowledge created by this research intends to contribute to the social welfare of the locals involved in the tourism industry and could be applied to various scientific studies especially those dealing with social sciences. Moreover, the research could contribute to the formulation of guidelines for tourism businesses especially those dealing with locals (as employees) with the aim of creating a better working environment for involved actors.

1.2 Research questions

To get a clear picture on how tour operators empower (economically, politically and socially) the mountaineering community involved in mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro. Research questions related to empowerment are formulated in order to easily investigate how tour operators and the mountaineering community interact in the process of offering mountaineering experience to tourists.

Central question

How do the tour operators empower (economically, politically and socially) the mountaineering community in the process of offering mountaineering service to tourists in the area of Marangu, and which policies are facilitating the situation?

Sub-question

- How is the mountaineering community empowered economically by tour operators from their mountaineering activities?
- How is the mountaineering community empowered to become involved in the decision making process by tour operators in designing and executing mountaineering activities?
- How is the mountaineering community socially empowered to undertake mountaineering activities?

1.3 Thesis outline

This thesis is organised in five chapters; the first chapter provides the background information of the study that explains why this research was necessary. The chapter first explains the theoretical framework used in this research and how the theory will be operationalised in this study. The third chapter explains the methodology which includes a case study approach selected for data collection. Chapter four presents the research findings and an analysis that will be used to answer the research questions. Finally, chapter five offers discussions and a conclusion based on the outcome of the study.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Framework

This chapter begins with a general review of empowerment theory that is used as a lens through which the research problem and research questions will be evaluated. Empowerment dimensions (economic, political and social) proposed by Scheyvens, (1999) - when studying the benefit of ecotourism to locals living around different attractions as well as the levels of their involvement in ecotourism projects - were used to investigate how tour operators in Mount Kilimanjaro are economically, politically and socially empowering the mountaineering community to undertake mountaineering activities.

2.1 Empowerment

While empowerment proposes participation in different stages, it also critically looks at fostering socio-political understanding as an important foundation towards achieving expected goals and a doorway towards accessing resources. As elaborated in the organisation level of analysis, a good organisation holds organisational processes and frameworks that incorporate members participation to attaining not only organisation goals but also for the individual member's purposes (Perkins and Zimmerman,1995; Scheyvens, 2000). Yet again, Zhao and Ritchie, (2007); Cole, (2006) suggest that, the logic behind local/employee participation is essential because it encourages inclusion of locals/employees in all economic aspects and hence it creates massively positive attitudes, local support and commitment in tourism development. Locals therefore feel part and parcel of the tourism industry.

In terms of tourism, Cole (2006) explains that the reason behind lack of community participation in tourism development programs is caused by a number of factors such as a lack of knowledge, confidence, capital, time and enthusiasm and hence, locals cannot control resources. On the other hand, Adrian (1998) points out that empowerment should be connected to the reallocation of power but rather, it is practically applied solely as employee's participation by management which aims at creating obligations for employees towards

organisation prosperity. He argued that when employees are simply involved, it does not mean that they have the authority of power; instead, the opportunity of employee's involvement is always in the hand of an employer to decide whether or not employee's participation is necessary.

The ongoing discussions of empowerment in tourism writings have been due to the increase of effort that encourages local participation in tourism. For example, Friedmann (1992) and Scheyvens (1999) suggested four dimensions of empowerment; economic, political, social and psychological. According to their findings, empowerment dimensions assist in assessing the exercise of power in tourism ventures that involve private investors and locals. It includes how locals have control over tourism resources and activities through their involvement in planning and decision making. It also brings to light how tourism business ventures empower or disempower locals to undertake different positions in businesses for their self-development and wellbeing. Therefore, this study adopts only three dimensions of empowerment which are; economic, political and social.

2.1.1 Economic Empowerment

Scheyvens (1999; 2000) suggested that instead of looking at whether tourism ventures are economically empowering local community, it is best to take into consideration employment and commercial opportunities which emerge from both the formal and informal sector. The local community may gain economic benefits from being employed by tourism ventures, but challenges may occur if these ventures fail to provide reliable incomes and equality in the distribution of the economic benefit. For example, the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) initiative in South Africa, was established with the aim of including disadvantaged local people in financial schemes. The South African government encourages different corporations to adopt empowerment in their daily management as a way to include locals through employment opportunities, corporate social responsibility, and staff development.

Hence, economic empowerment can be defined as the ability of the local community to access natural resources through a number of ways such as engaging in the tourism business, employment as well as gaining indirect benefits, for example; selling their agricultural products within hospitality establishments such as hotels and lodges. Whilst economic disempowerment in tourism can be described as a situation whereby locals fail to access any productive resources - for example within the establishment of a protected area - the marginalisation of locals occurs. As a result, they lack access to this kind of activity and most of the time their land can be taken away (Scheyvens, 1999).

2.1.2 Political Empowerment

According to Foucault (1980), power is exercised through circulation rather than domination. Political empowerment facilitates communities to participate in decision making when it comes to any tourism developments, activities or projects that are being carried out in their areas. Similarly, Kuokkanen and Leino-Kilpi, (2000) explain that coercion and domination can be replaced and this can mean something useful for example, effectiveness and goal-oriented.

Power cannot be exercised by the organisation alone, but power is generated by each in the organisation through their actions. Furthermore, creating opportunities, ensuring the provision of sufficient information and supporting each level of the organisation are key to exercising power. However, Scheyvens, (1999) argued that, if the leadership is self-centred, it is difficult for the opinions of communities and employees to be considered.

When considering community participation, careful thought about power and decision making between and within the community is crucial. A solid understanding of who is local, and who should participate in ruling some people in and some people out, should also be considered to avoid misunderstandings and conflicts over limited resources. This can otherwise result in tourism becoming an isolating industry (Cole, 2006). Moreover, communication is a fundamental factor towards empowering employees in an organisation; however, in most cases, communication in the majority of organisations is downward rather than upward (Wilkinson,1998). Top-down communication tends to inform employees organisation goals such as how they plan to achieve and win over the market outside but also reminding employees why they are employed in that company. Upward communication is an approach whereby employees are incorporated in organisational initiatives, in terms of having active participation in influencing the decision-making process and having the freedom always to change a decision that they see does not cater for both the organisation and the employee's needs (Wilkinson,1998).

2.1.3 Social Empowerment

Faulkner and Patiar (1997 explained that staff empowerment has a high impact in reducing work stress which facilitates commitment and improvement in their daily work. However, they suggest that not all business recognise the importance of employee empowerment hence hindering employees' working performances. When employees are empowered and treated as part of the organisation, it creates an environment of employee commitment, self-management and teamwork.

Accessibility of information is also another fruitful aspect regarding employee empowerment and company achievement. Employees awareness of company strategies enlightens them about the company's expectations as well as the required effort and commitment that the company expect from them. Information about an organisation's mission and performance at all levels ensures that employees focus, which brings a sense of ownership and employees' creativity, influencing decision making and concerns of how any mistakes can affect what it is expected from them. (Steven, et al.,1999).

Empowerment in different aspects influence employees'/local's self-esteem. Self-esteem can be defined as the sense of self-worth whereby an individual feels confidence in pursuing their daily life. This can include confidence in thinking, ability to cope with day to day challenges, happiness, a sense of belonging and worth, and being able to meet one's needs and wants (Branden,1990). Tourism can promote local culture and environment, in such a way that it stimulates locals' sense of pride, culture and environment. Benefits that are facilitated by tourism and the way tourists enjoy and respect locals' unique culture and environmental features, is the main reason that locals want to always keep their pride (Boley and McGehee, 2014). Scheyvens, (1999) emphasizes that any tourism initiative that tends to respect local culture, employees' rights and which recognises their contribution in making any project or business possible, has a higher chance of prospering than the one that marginalises and mistreat locals (especially those that are employed in private firms).

Boley and McGehee, (2014), explain social empowerment in tourism, as the way in which people perceive tourism as a mechanism to increase individuals' interactions within a community that enhance balance, cooperation and togetherness in working areas. It is argued that social empowerment is an essential aspect of motivation and inclusion of employees in any organisation.

2.2 Operationalisation of the Theory

The above-discussed dimensions are also intended to contribute to evaluating how tour operators empower (economically, socially and politically) the mountaineering community to undertake mountaineering activities such as mountain guiding, cooking and transporting things on the mountain. Additionally, through critically reviewing the empowerment dimensions will foster an understanding of how the mountaineering community interacts in the process of preparation and offering mountain packages to tourists. This includes how both actors are involved in planning and decision processes.

Economic empowerment comprises a number of elements that are going to be evaluated. This dimension will assist in investigating how the mountaineering community are engaged in the financial scheme which includes involvement in salary settlement and what they get from their workforce. Also, apart from salaries, economic empowerment will assist in uncovering other benefits such as employees' appraisal, retirement benefits, loans and other financial related benefits that are provided by tour operators to the mountaineering community.

Political empowerment will assist in investigating how involvement is carried out within mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro. This includes how tour operators involve the mountaineering community in planning and participatory decision making during preparation and offering the packages tour to tourists interested in climbing the mountain. Moreover, political empowerment will also assist in uncovering the power relations between tour operators and the mountaineering community, in terms of how power is exercised and produced among these actors.

The social empowerment dimension will assist in evaluating local mountaineering employee's social equity, and wellbeing practised by local tour operators on Mount Kilimanjaro and the mountaineering community's social rights such as access to healthcare, climbing equipment, food and staff development.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 Methodology

The analysis of the study is based on the two months (November- December 2018) fieldwork in Kilimanjaro. A case study approach was used to gain a more in-depth investigation focused on how tour operators empower (economically, politically and socially) the mountaineering community in Kilimanjaro. To accomplish this, in-depth interviews were conducted with 20 respondents, such as; government and non-governmental officials, local tour operators, the mountaineering community (mountain guides, cooks and porters).

3.1 Case study design

A case study is a methodological approach used to investigate a relatively enclosed phenomenon in depth and analyse the conditions under which this phenomenon occurs, to reveal the margins between context and subject. The case study is situated within the poststructuralist approach to unclear boundaries between aspects and conditions that it constitute (Mohammed et al., 2015). Hence, the case study approach assisted the researcher in choosing certain data collection methods and thus interviewed respondents to examine how respondents thought and the actions which were shaped by discourse.

3.1.1 Positionality

The research was conducted in a familiar place; the researcher fully understands the culture and norms of Marangu community. Therefore, location did not pose any problems, although carefulness about influencing respondents answers was observed. The majority of Marangu community are primary school leavers; therefore the researcher was careful when asking the questions by making sure the questions asked were easily comprehended by respondents and posed according to their level of education. A follow up questions approach was also used to get in-depth information, as well as to increase clarity about the answers that were more closed. In order to gain more information from respondents - especially the mountaineering community - speaking to their level was also applied because, if a researcher speaks highly about themselves it is hard to gain information. It could also reduce referrals, since a community will ignore the researcher and sometimes disagree to engage in the research.

3.1.2 Ethical Consideration

When the researcher was in the field collecting data through interviews, one thing that was considered before starting an interview, was to ask respondents their consent for being recorded and whether they would allow their names to be used when presenting the findings within report writing. The majority of respondent did not wish to be recorded or mentioned for security purposes. Hence in the results chapter, respondents are given tags as 'resp1' up to 'resp20' to ensure confidentiality.

3.1.3 Case Study Area

Mount Kilimanjaro is Africa's highest peak standing at 5,895 meters above sea level; it is located in Northeast Tanzania between latitude 2°50-3°10 S and longitude 37°10-37°40 E, about 330 km south of the Equator, near the Tanzania- Kenya border. The mountain is popularly known as the world's most accessible high summit which attracts many adventurous tourists and climbers (TANAPA, 2004). Kilimanjaro mountain encompasses three volcanic peaks which are Kibo, Mawenzi and Shira. Kibo is the highest peak of all the three at 5,895m. Mawenzi is known as the rugged peak with 5,149m and for tourists to be allowed to access this peak, they need to possess climbing skills, knowledge and special climbing equipment. Shira is 3,962m, which is the smallest peak, although it used to be the highest among the three before collapsing 750 years ago (TANAPA, 2005). Kilimanjaro montane forest provides habitat for different animal and bird species, and this presents an opportunity for climbers to not only gain mountaineering climbing experience but also to experience and enjoy incredible attractions on the way. The mountain is accessible throughout the year, although the best time to climb is during mid-June up to October, and December up to mid-March when the days are bright, and the nights are cool (TANAPA, 2005). Kilimanjaro has seven routes such as; Londorosi, Lemosho, Machame, Umbwe, Mweka, Kilema and Marangu that are used to ascend and descend the mountain (TANAPA, 2005). The Marangu route (which is the case of this study), is preferred by most of the tourists to ascend and descend the mountain since it is the shortest route among all (using 34 kilometres from Marangu gate to Uhuru peak for 19 hours) and it includes accessible facilities like accommodation (TANAPA, 2005).

Besides, Mount Kilimanjaro attracts 50,000 visitors a year and many visitors come from parts of Europe and America each year. This is said to be due to different attractions apart from mountaineering experiences that the destination offers. These include snow-capped peaks, glaciers, its five vegetation zones such; as lower slopes, montane forest, and moorland, alpine desert and the summit which attracts thousands of climbers from all over the world. The high demand for mountain packages has led to a boost to both national and local economy through employment opportunities for the local community (Mitchell,2009). Local farmers living around the mountain region and along the main climbing routes are the best example of those who take advantage of the economic opportunities by supplying food ingredients to the tourist's facilities in and around Mount Kilimanjaro (Karinen et al., 2008; Peaty, 2012, Mitchell,2009).

Mount Kilimanjaro is managed under the administration of Mount Kilimanjaro National Park (KINAPA), whose authority is vested within Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA). TANAPA is Tanzania's government agency that is mandated with conservation and management of all the sixteen (16) parks including KINAPA. TANAPA functions include protection of natural resources, park facilities and tourists; park management; ecological monitoring; tourism development; and community engagement in conservation efforts (TANAPA, 2005; Holroyd, 2016). TANAPA is, therefore, a critical primary player in mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro through KINAPA. Different conservation and development projects to support the local community have been initiated by KINAPA as a sustainable approach to ensure that the local population adjusts to benefits from the revenue collection (Mitchell, 2009).

3.2 Methods

A qualitative method for both data collection and data analysis were adopted in this study. Qualitative methods are useful when studying social phenomena; it allows for gaining detailed information and provides a more profound understanding of the subject under investigation. It also gives room for the respondent to speak freely without many limitations (Gill et al., 2008). Empowerment theory is used in this study as a tool to analyse the research findings which intend to evaluate how the mountaineering community is empowered (economically, politically and socially) to undertake their activity by tour operators? The question, 'what is the power relation between tour operators and the mountaineering community?' will also be explored.

3.2.1 Secondary Data

Secondary data collection involved reviewing and analysing existing literature and official reports. As (Boeije, 2010) explains, reviewing literature helps the researcher to understand what is already done. Secondary data, in this study, involved the evaluation of existing literature concerning mountaineering tourism and power relations in the tourism industry in Tanzania. Analysis of official documents such as Tanzania's tourism policy was carried out in order to gain an understanding of how the government is involved in mountaineering tourism. This includes looking at strategies that facilitate a good working environment of business people (tour operators) and for locals engaged in mountaineering tourism on Mount Kilimanjaro.

3.2.2 Primary Data

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to obtain detailed information from the critical informants who are knowledgeable within the topic under study. To contact the intended key informants, purposive and snowballing techniques were administered. Purposive sampling - which can also be referred to as judgement sampling – allows for the selection of informants based on the knowledge and qualities that the researcher is looking for in order to answer the research questions (Tongco, 2007). Snowballing recruitment was also adopted based on a number of reasons. These reasons included the idea that respondents under study may be hidden (Browne, 2005). Snowballing was useful for this study because the majority of the mountaineering community are informally employed; hence, difficult to locate them. Therefore, through the referral from tour operators, government officials, it was easy accessing this group.

Interviews were conducted face to face using two languages (English and Kiswahili), because the researcher is familiar with both languages. Kiswahili is the national language of Tanzania, and therefore it is spoken by all citizens. The interview was conducted in Swahili to local guides, porters and cooks because the majority of this group do not speak English except for local guides who can speak English (but may not be fluent). English is an official language used at secondary school as the medium of instruction and official matters in Tanzania. It is spoken well with government officials (but not all) and therefore a mixture of the two languages were used with the KINAPA official. Tour operators and the KILIMERU Association could speak English and some could not speak any; thus the mixed languages were also applied to this group. Interviews were recorded but only with those who gave permission. Notes were also taken during the meetings to record the conversation but also because some information that could not be captured by voice recorder such as non-verbal expressions.

3.3 Data analysis

To understand how tour operators, empower (economically, politically and socially) the mountaineering community empowerment, theory was used. Mainly, the themes used in this research came from the empowerment dimension, which refers to the economic, political and social. This enabled the flow of the results. The data collected were categorised and coded into these themes to assist in interpretation and to help draw conclusions. Respondents were given a unique tag such as Resp1, Resp2 or Resp3 to identify them when presenting the results quickly; this was also done to protect the respondent from being identified. Other themes also were created based on the findings and research questions. Topics like power relations between tour operators and mountaineering community and power hierarchy within the mountaineering community were added.

3.4 Research Limitations, Reliability and Validity

Gaining accessibility to research in Tanzania is a bit challenging. One of the requirement is that the researcher needs to make an application to the Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH) in order to get accessibility which can take a long time. The researcher made the application by sending an email, but there was no response, that is when the researcher decided to go physically, but still, the researcher was told to wait. Waiting was not on the side of the researcher, so the researcher decided to go on the field to try talking to the government officials for accessibility. Fortunately, it worked, but under one condition: before they spoke, they requested to check the researcher's interview guide to check whether the topic was sensitive. The researcher did not have any other choice other than to turn in the interview guide. After a verification that the topic was not sensitive; government officers in KINAPA provided an appointment date to conduct an interview the next day. Such situation, of the respondent became aware of the questions that the researcher is interested in asking before the interview, could have to lead the respondent to prepare the answers and become biased, hence the reliability could not be claimed.

Moreover, the researcher also intended to use field observation, but during data collection, it was already a low season (mid-September - December). Therefore, it was hard to get a group of tourists to climb with for the aim of observing how mountaineering tourism is carried out and how the mountaineering community are empowered to engage in this activity. As a result, the researcher, relied solely on one method (interviews) for data collection. As a result, the findings could be different if the research was to be conducted again, either by the same researcher or another, since they could have led to another set of results.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 Results and Analysis

Before introducing the findings of this study, a context is set. A description of how mountaineering tourism works is provided to assist the reader in understanding what is happening in mountaineering tourism, who the actors are and how they come together in the process of offering mountaineering experiences to tourists in Mount Kilimanjaro. The results are presented in different themes adopted from empowerment theory and some are raised from data collected through interviews. The results explains attempts that are taken by tour operators to empower mountaineering community when performing mountaineering activities, and the current initiatives done by both government and non-governmental organisations to facilitate empowerment. Furthermore, this part also introduce different power hierarchy between tour operators and mountaineering community and within mountaineering community themselves.

This study adopted empowerment dimensions (economic, political and social) to evaluate how tour operators empower the mountaineering community in Kilimanjaro. In the process of analysing the empowerment dimensions, different actors are introduced such as those who are directly involved in mountaineering tourism, for example the mountaineering community (who according to this study are identified as mountain guides, cooks and porters) and tour operators (identified as big and small tour operators). Additionally, the influence of indirectly involved actors (external) such as; government (through policy) and non-governmental organisations (responsible for fighting mountaineering community rights) are introduced and used to understand how they intermediate and facilitate relationships between tour operators and the mountaineering community in a number of issues such as the welfare of both parties involved, tourists and environment.

4.1 How Mountaineering Tourism works in Mount Kilimanjaro

Mountaineering tourism on Mount Kilimanjaro is practised by the private sector which is comprised of local and international tour operators owning tour operation businesses. Tour operators are the major employers of locals around mountain Kilimanjaro, who engaged in mountaineering tourism by taking different jobs like local guiding, transport on the mountain (porters), and cooking (cooks). Tour operators mentioned that, their primary role is to create a marketing niche for their competitive mountain packages as well as being on the forefront to convince potential and willing tourists based on the other tourists' experience. For instance one tour operator, mentioned, to invest a lot on environment and corporate social responsibility (by employing locals in their company). They mentioned CSR and environment are the latest buzzwords in international travel. Besides that, they also act as an information centre that influences tourists' decision making in choosing Mount Kilimanjaro as their travel destination (Resp13,14.11.2018). On the other hand, tour operators serve as ground handlers by arranging all the logistics such as accommodation bookings, transport and payment for park fees, organising any equipment needed and hiring staff (i.e. guides, porters, cooks, rangers) for a complete travel or hiking experience (Resp11, 13.11.18 and Resp13,14.11.2018).

The mountaineering community (such as mountain guides, cooks and porters) who are locals from around Mountain Kilimanjaro, take different initiatives towards earning a living through employment opportunities that tour companies operating on Mount Kilimanjaro provide for them. Mountain guides, for example, play critical roles in providing standard and professional instructions to tourists while undertaking mountain adventures. They act as the interface between an attraction and a tourist, thus they are responsible for helping the tourists to achieve a mountain experience and meet their expectations by providing guiding services such as pathfinders, interpreters and educators to assist tourists in appreciating and understanding more about the Mountain Kilimanjaro terrains and other attractions on the way (Resp3,24.11. 2018 and Resp7,15.11.2018).

Cooks in Kilimanjaro are considered as 'porters' but with an extra role in ensuring healthy and hot meals are served to all (i.e. tourists, guides, porters). Furthermore, during mountain trip preparations, cooks are involved in food budgeting, purchasing and packing according to the number of days that a tourist will spend ascending and descending the mountain (Resp5,24.11.2018 and Resp7,15.11.2018,). Porters are also important crew members for any high altitude climbing such as Mount Kilimanjaro. While on the mountain, Porters play integral roles in assisting with the carrying of tourists' luggage, food supplies, camping and specialised climbing equipment to get up and down the mountain. In special cases, the porters act as rescuers in case of an emergency such as altitude sickness to both tourists and mountain crew. They are also responsible for bringing any plastic waste used during climb - which is later inspected by Park government officers responsible for environmental wellbeing - before exiting the Park to make sure what goes on the mountain is brought back down (Resp6,20.11.2018).

Data collected from interviews suggest that mountaineering community employment is categorised into two types; temporary employment and permanent employment. A temporary job is offered by the majority of small tour operators and some of the big tour operators. This group usually works for multiple tour operators since they do not hold a permanent job. The second one is permanent employment, which is mostly offered by big tour companies (owned by foreigners and few local Tanzanians). The research respondents pointed out that, the reason for the mountaineering community to have either temporary or permanent employment is caused by number of factors. These include the type of tour operators (which are categorised as big and small) and the seasonality nature of tourism. These are explained below (Resp1, 15.11.18; Resp 4 15.11.18; Resp6, 20.11.18 and Resp 7, 15.11.2018).

4.1.1 Types of Tour Companies Operating on Kilimanjaro

According to the results, tour operators are categorised into two parts; small tour operators who are positioned as niche players, and major tour operators that are known as major players in the travel industry. The majority of big tour companies are owned by foreign tour operators and few local tour operators, while, many small tour operator companies are owned by local tour operators. (Resp6,20.11.2018 and Resp7, 15.11.2018).

For example, big tour operators argued to provide permanent employment to the mountaineering community employed in their companies because of the international

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connection (from Europe and America) they have, which provides them with the regular market that sustains their financial capacity to execute a proper business plan and operations including paying employees' salaries as well as employee development. Additionally, big tour operators mentioned that, when there is an increased number of visitors, they also offer the temporary job to ensure all visitors are handled well and working standards are maintained in terms of quality services (Resp1, 15.11.18; Resp 4 15.11.18 and Resp 6, 20.11.18).

Compared to big tour operators who offer permanent employment to the mountaineering community, small tour operators declared to provide temporary jobs for its workforce. According to some of the small tour operators, factors such as; lack of international connections, lack of enough capital and the seasonality nature of tourism are some of the main reasons for not offering permanent employment for the mountaineering community working for them. Instead, small tour operators keep a lists of names and contacts of the mountaineering community work in tourism in Kilimanjaro, and when work appears, tour operators contact the mountaineering community and hire them according to the number of days spent by tourists on the mountain (Resp1, 15.11.18; Resp 4 15.11.18 and Resp 6, 20.11.18).

4.1.2 Seasonality nature of the tourism industry

The tourism industry is seasonal where seasons vary depending on destinations and time. High (peak) and off-peak seasons are the general terms used to characterise the seasonality of the tourism industry. While many tourists travel to different destinations across the globe at different times, in Tanzania, and particularly for mountaineering tourism, high season is between mid-July to October and December to mid-March. Off-peak is between late March to mid-July and November. High season is mainly favoured by good weather in the East Africa region. Many respondents (tour operators and the mountaineering community) talked about how the seasonal nature of tourism creates an impact in a number of ways. During high season, employment is certain compared to low season whereby, a majority are unemployed and forced to stay at home. For example, one respondent (from the mountaineering community category) in an interview, explained, and I quote:

"Many companies do not employ mountain guides, porters or cooks, if they hire, they are few big tour companies, example some big companies can employ may be 50 mountain guides, but they cannot go beyond that. This is because our work is seasonal, so we usually work temporarily. During low season we stay at home and do some agriculture work or any other work that can be available" **(Resp4,24.11. 2018).**

However, some of the mountaineering community holding permanent employment within big tour companies claim not to be affected by the seasonal nature of tourism because their salaries are paid regardless of a change in seasons. On the contrary, other members of the mountaineering community commented on being paid half of their wages because of the unavailability of work. In other occurrences, tour operators - with the diversity of tourism businesses such as restaurant and wild safaris package - claim to take the mountaineering community to work at these businesses when the mountain trips are not at their most profitable. The situation was also confirmed by one respondent, a cook, who explains during the low season they are offered work in restaurants owned by tour operators. Many mountaineering community respondents, considered employment elsewhere as an excellent opportunity, because it secures their financial situation during low season (Resp10, 3.12.2018; Resp11, 13.11.18 and Resp13,14.11.2018).

Also, big (massive) tour operators mention not to be affected profoundly by seasonality aspects due to their international market connection in different travel agencies operating from different regions across the world and especially from the Europe market. The companies also have a good reputation since their employment criteria of offering permanent options, even during the low season, compared to the small tour operators that lay off their mountaineering community workforce. This was well explained by one respondent who said:

"All these workers are employed in our company because we do have reliable clients because of connections we have with international agents and also we want to make sure that our company do not receive a bad reputation because of picking some temporary workers who we are not sure of their effective performance and commitment. We do this to avoid any misconduct of the mountaineering community, such as stealing from tourists, bad customer care that can ruin our company reputation." (Resp11, 13.11.2018).

4.2 Attempts which are taken by tour operators to empower the Mountaineering Community

Tour operators remain an essential stakeholder for the mountaineering community despite the segregation in job status, i.e. temporary and permanent. The ability to benefit financially for undertaking different responsibilities such as cook, guides or porter is one of the motivating factors for the mountaineering community. The duties as breadwinners in their young families, act as another motivating aspect for them to work in such a risky job. Economic, political and social empowerment act as a determinant towards understanding power relations between the mountaineering community and tour operators in Kilimanjaro. After the above enlightenment on how mountaineering has been conducted, the explanation below offers clarity on how tour operators empower the mountaineering community in Marangu.

4.2.1 Economic Empowerment

One of the reasons mentioned by the mountaineering community engaged in mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro, is the financial returns obtained from the activity such as salaries, and other economic benefits. The mountaineering community claim to be motivated when payment is fair and paid on time. For example, according to the results, economic empowerment attempts carried out by tour operators in Kilimanjaro include providing mountaineering community salaries, loans and financial training to enhance mountaineering community wellbeing.

Mountaineering Community Salary Benefit

According to the mountaineering community respondents, salaries are paid based on the term of employment. The members of the mountaineering community employed temporarily, based on the number of days a tourist is likely to spend on the mountain which can be from 6 to 8 days, receive their salaries after finishing their tasks on the mountain. While the mountaineering community employed permanently, mention that they receive their salaries at the end of every month (Resp1,15.11.2018; Resp3,24.11. 2018; Resp4,15.11.2018 and Resp5,24.11.2018). Furthermore, according to respondents, the mountaineering community's salaries are paid differently based on a salaries scale set by the Tanzanian government in collaboration with non-governmental organisations. These organisations are, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) and the Ministry of Work Employment together (governmental organisations). The non-governmental and organisations are; Kilimanjaro Meru Mountain Guide Society and Kilimanjaro Meru Mountain Porters (KILIMERU) Tanzania Association of Tour Operators (TATO) to mention a few. One of the agreements made was, that there should be a recognised salary scale for the mountaineering community based on their working class and responsibilities (GN 12/12/2015; Resp1,15.11.2018; Resp6,20.11.2018 and Resp18, 11.12.2018).

Based on the results, the working class of the mountaineering community is divided into three categories. Mountain guides fall under the first category because of the enormous responsibility they have. As a result, their salary ranges from 20\$ or above per day. Cooks follow second on the rank, with their salary ranging from 15\$ or above per day. Meanwhile, porters obtain the third row, their salary is 10\$ or above per day (or equivalent to Tanzanian shillings) (GN 12/12/2015 and Resp6,20.11.2018).

According to respondents who are tour operators, it is mentioned that they involve the mountaineering community in salary discussion settlements. They claim that the act is a way to encourage transparency, not only in the salary benefit but also when performing work. However, when the mountaineering community were asked to confirm their involvement, many mentioned being involved by big tour operating companies. One example they gave described the discussion of salaries being done before they started working for big tour companies. An employee becomes aware of the economic benefit (apart from their wages) they are likely to receive, only when they demonstrate commitment, creativity and managerial

skills when performing their work. Things like salary increment and rewards are communicated to the mountaineering community as a way for big tour companies to create an inclusive and contented environment that motivates employees to increase their working performances. Compared to small tour operator companies, discussion related to salaries and other economic benefit is not well communicated. However, mountaineering respondents working for small tour operators mentioned, in some cases, involvement is done when the tour operator has charged the low client cheapest tour package which generally affects the ability of tour operators to pay mountain crew their rightful salaries. For example, respondents mentioned that package cost for climbing Kilimanjaro varies among different tour operators. The difference in price is a result of unhealthy business competition between various tour operators offering the same tourism product in the form of a Kilimanjaro climb. The small tour operators take advantage of the free trade or freedom to determine the package cost to charge tourists very minimal costs - as low as US\$ 1,000 per visitor - compared to the normal range of US\$ 4,000 to US\$ 5,000 per visitor. The low package cost led to a lack of proper consideration for the mountaineering community. Whereby, small tour operators exploit the mountaineering community by paying minimum wages, in order to accomplish the Kilimanjaro climb with other requirements such as; tourist climbing equipment, accommodation and transport (Resp1,15.11.2018; Resp4,24.11. 2018; Resp10,3.12.2018 and Resp20,15.11.2018).

In some circumstances, the mountaineering community respondents claimed that small tour operators use a hostile approach of threatening them when they demonstrate disagreement on issues related to receiving low wages. The threat that employees receive from the management related to deprive them from work, forces the mountaineering community to agree on the amount that the tour operators are willing to pay. On the other hand, small tour operators and the mountaineering community claim to work as a family. For example, discussions related to the lowering of prices of a climbing package is done between tour operators and the mountaineering community when there is a scarcity of tourists. However, the mountaineering communities also mentioned the agreement on lowering prices not being carried out not because they want the change, but because of high dependence on mountaineering activities as a way to earn a living. (Resp1,15.11.2018; Resp3,24.11. 2018; Resp4,15.11.2018; Resp5,24.11.2018 and Resp18, 11.12.2018).

Due to the continuing of economic challenges faced by the mountaineering community, respondents from governmental and non-governmental organisations responsible for fighting mountaineering community rights and creating good working environments for the mountaineering community mention taking various actions. These include coming up with different strategies that not only eliminate or reduce problems, but ones that also create a better working environment for the mountaineering community. For example, one of the strategies carried out, was the introduction of a working contract that requires tour operators to provide mountaineering community members with such a document whenever they are assigned mountain works. Contracts should mention the amount of salary (should not go beyond the agreed salary of 20\$ for guides, 15\$ for cooks and 10\$ for porters) according to the number of days that will be spent by the mountaineering crew on the mountain. For the contact to be lawfully recognised, it should contain both tour operators and mountain crew's signatures. Before climbing the mountain, contracts are inspected by KINAPA officials at the entrance gate, and copies are left at the gate as a reference whenever there is a complaint about an unsettlement of salaries. However, these organisations explained, one of the acts that back peddle their efforts towards helping mountaineering community, is when the mountaineering community agree on receiving low salaries different from the one they are supposed to get. (Resp7,15.11.2018). (Resp1,15.11.2018; Resp2,22.11.2018 and Resp6,20.11.2018).

Although the use of contracts is now in action, external actors from mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro (government and non-government organisations) mention that, there is a trick played by small tour operators to escape paying the rightful salaries to the mountaineering community by writing the proper amount of wages on the contracts, but in reality paying below the stated amount.(Resp1,15.11.2018; Resp2,22.11.2018 and Resp6,20.11.2018). However, small tour operators mentioned the reason for escaping payment requirements is because of the high rate of Mountain Kilimanjaro Park fee (which ranges from 750\$ to 850\$ (depending on the days spent on the mountain)) that hinders them from empowering the mountaineering community economically. One responded explained, and I quote; "But the big problem is the government. The Park fee for the tourists is so expensive. So, if you say that we have to pay the Park fee and pay ourselves well, it is a lie because almost all the money that a tourist is paying is going to the government. Maybe the government can reduce the park fees so that we can be able to pay our workers well. The one who works is the one who gets low benefit than the one who waits to receive the money" **(Resp14, 15.11.2018)**.

However, when the mountaineering community were asked whether these organisations have contributed to strengthening their relationship with tour operators by some challenges they face during performing their work (which include salaries and other social related benefits), the mountaineering community mentioned that these organisations fail to handle their problems related to wages and focus more on the collection of a membership fee which is 10 thousand Tanzanian shillings equivalent to 4.31\$ per year. One of the reasons that they agreed to be members in the first place, is because of the requirement made by a government that requires mountain guides, cooks or porters to belong to an organisation (recognised as worker's organisations). This was formulated to create a suitable and quick way for the government to reach out to the mountaineering community through their representatives from organisations whenever there are announcements, complaints or meetings. Even with these organisations around, the provision of help when the mountaineering community need it is still questionable (Resp1,15.11.2018 and Resp6,20.11.2018). On the other hand, cooks also claim that they do not have their designated association, hence they belonged to a porter's association and considered as porters regardless of whether they were carrying out cooking activities. They further explain the reason for them to lack association is because the cooking activity is not considered as a professional in Kilimanjaro mountaineering tourism.

Financial Training:

Despite the salary challenges, some tour operators explained that they facilitated other financial benefits to the mountaineering community working for them, as a way of motivation. One tour operator mentioned that financial knowledge is one of the challenges that a lot of mountaineering community members face whilst working in Mount Kilimanjaro. An example he explained, and I quote; "We do give them financial knowledge, but also they get some training from NGOs. But we also check if they are doing some developments with what they get, an example I even went to their houses to see if they are doing developments like buying farms, building homes. But for the many I have visited, they are doing something, but as you know we have a lot of them so we cannot go to everybody's house, but we are trying to tell them the importance of investing what they get" **(Resp13,14.11.2018).**

On the other hand, mountaineering respondents received financial training arranged by tour operators, claiming financial training would change their habit of misusing their money but instead invest them in businesses and agriculture. Example one respondent mentioned;

"Back then, I used my money for drinking beer, but now I don't use my salary anymore, I use tips I get from tourists for beer and other family matters and put my salaries aside for investing in my business that I am planning to open" (**RESP17,7.12.2018**).

Loans Benefit:

The majority of big tour operators mentioned providing loans to their workforce (mountaineering community) as a way to help and motivate mountaineering community performance to perform with accuracy. They claim that helping their employees to solve some of their problems by providing them with financial help like loans, creates the environment of the employees to be attentive and productive when carrying out their assigned tasks. Also, tour operators mentioned that loans assist their employees (mountaineering community) to invest in their businesses like agriculture, livestock keeping and other companies, which help them not to rely on tourism employment alone (Resp11, 13.11.18 and Resp13,14.11.2018). However, the mountaineering community benefiting from loans are those with a permanent job, because they are easy to be tracked and can return the money to their employers (tour operators). Small tour operators mention not to provide loans because they provide temporary employment; hence it can be challenging to trace mountain guides, cooks or porters to return the money (Resp14, 15.11.2018 and Resp20, 15.11.2018).

4.2.2 Political Empowerment

A successful business/organisation is one that engages all people working there. Involvement in planning and decision making, creates room for everyone to contribute in a political forum (which also is facilitated by decentralisation of communication) which brings both commitment and creativeness (Wilkinson, 1998). According to the ministry of natural resources in Tanzania, tour operators are categorised into two parts; small tour operators, who are positioned as niche players, and significant tour operators, that are known as major players in the travel industry. Presence of these two players doing the same activity facilitates a progressive, competitive environment that brings new knowledge and creativity (Mussa, 2011). This study found out that, the category of small and significant (big) tour operators also exist in mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro which also determines the way the mountaineering community are politically empowered and involved in the process of planning and decision making in mountaineering activities, which on the other hand brings about power relations. Therefore, according to the results (from political empowerment), this section will uncover how the mountaineering community are involved by big tour operators and small tour operators in the political forum during planning and decision making of the preparation and offering of mountaineering packages to tourists climbing mount Kilimanjaro, under a theme of power relations.

Power relation between small tour operators and the mountaineering community (crew).

According to many respondents, the current image of power relations between the mountaineering community and small tour operators, in Kilimanjaro, is characterised with low or lack of involvement in planning and decision making. It is claimed by respondents that tour operators have more control of mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro. The decision is made using a more top-down approach than down-up. For example, respondents (mountaineering community) employed by small tour operators claim to receive orders on how to perform their job which hinder them from being creative and experienced when carrying out their assigned work. Moreover, respondents explained, lack of discussions which bring diverse knowledge and ideas together, causes a lack of uniformity among mountain crew when offering services to the same group of tourists. For example, one respondent who is a mountain porter (temporary employee) explains:

"I am not involved in planning or decision making, as porter what they do is they tell you this is the luggage that you will carry, only that, other things are none of your business. However, those who are employed by big tour company are at least involved, they are not like us" (**Resp3, 24.11. 2018**).

Based on the given statement above, the mountaineering community argued that lack of involvement in planning affects them from performing their tasks at a satisfactory level. For example, some of the respondents mentioned a lack of participation on issues related to budget preparation and purchasing of food supplies, causing them to run out of cooking facilities like food and gas (Resp2,22.11.2018). Interview data suggested that small tour operators have a lot more contact with mountain guides than the rest of the mountaineers such as porters and cooks. All the responsibilities are delegated to mountain guides whereby later on down the line, a guide delegates power to others (cooks and porters). The delegation of authority by tour operators to mountain guides, has resulted in another power hierarchy within the mountaineering community, whereby, mountain guides seem to have more control than cooks and porters (Resp1,15.11.2018; Resp12,14.11.2018; Resp14,14.11.2018 and Resp15,5.12.2018).

On the other hand, the mountaineering community mentioned that, when called for employment (temporary), two ways can be used. For example, when the climbing work occurs, small tour operators get into contact with the mountain guide, Cook and Porters, to inform them about the work, which includes climbing date, days of the climb, the route that is going to be used and the number of tourists. They added that, after receiving the information, Cooks and Porters get together the day of the climbing date, however, mountain guides meet with tour operators the day before the climb to learn about the briefing of the tourists for their mountain tour. The second way mentioned, is small tour operators who delegate power to mountain guides who then hire Cooks and porters. Figure 1 illustrates the power relations between small tour operators and the mountaineering community in the process of communication, planning and decision making process.

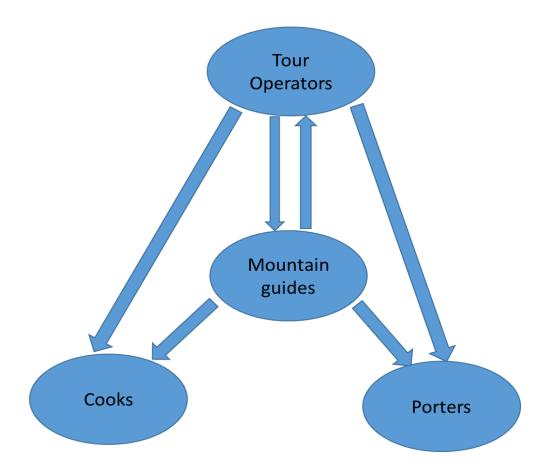


Figure 4.1. Power relations between small tour operators and the mountaineering community in planning and decision making.

Power hierarchy within the mountaineering community

Tour operators mentioned that mountain guides are ranked as number one in the power hierarchy because they have direct contact with tourists after they have been handed over to them by tour operators. Guides are in the highest position in ensuring the mountaineering experience for tourists and the happiness of the tourist. Also, in the process of briefing, guides also introduce the other climbing crew to tourists (cooks and porters). On the other hand, mountain Guides are considered bosses on the issues related to hiring and paying (salaries and tips) cooks and porters. Example one guide explains, and I quote;

"Some of my responsibility in these tour companies I work with, is looking for cooks and porters to work with me, I do hire them after discussing the number of tourists who are climbing with the company with the tour operator then, I know how many cooks and porters I should find". Also, when we are climbing, I make sure that everything is in order, in case there is a problem from tourist, cook or porter I take care of it, if it is hard then I communicate with the tour operator" **(Resp16, 7.1.2012)**.

However, respondents (mostly cooks and porters) consider the act of the power that is vested to mountain guides, to cause unfair treatment of cooks and porters in the process of accessing their rights such as salaries and tips when they are handed over to unfaithful guides. An example they mentioned, tour operators could handle the fair wages to mountain guides as a payment to the crew (cooks and porters), but sometimes guides hide some amounts of the money and blame tour operators for paying less. Similar to this, data from interviews showed that matters related to tips, also appear as a challenge, as tourists gives tips typically to the guides for the whole crew, but due to the greediness of some mountain guides, they keep or pay half of the money to the mountain crew. However, other tour operation companies have tried to avoid such complaints by enforcing transparency on salaries when handed over to mountain guides by informing mountain crew. Also, tour operators claim to take further action by advising tourists during a briefing, to give tips directly to the cooks or porters, or to announce the amount of tips that they are giving to mountain crew, so that everyone becomes aware of what they are receiving (Resp4, 15.11.2018; Resp11,13.11.2018 and Resp13,14.11.2018; Resp20,15.11.2018). Furthermore, respondents from government organisations mention the efforts made by government and non-governmental organisations in solving issues related to salary theft by either tour operators or guides. This included encouraging cooks and porters to report any violation in their salaries. However, fear of losing their job is still a factor that hinders them from communicating the problem (Resp1,15.11.2018; Resp3,24.11.2018; Resp4,15.11.2018; Resp6,20.11.2018; Resp7,15.11.2018 and Resp8,15.11.201).

Power relation between big tour operators and the mountaineering community

Big tour operators argued to adopt a participation approach to the mountaineering community in the process of offering mountain climbing to tourists on Mount Kilimanjaro. The reason for the adopting participation, is because of the ability and mountain experience that most of the mountain guides, cooks and porters have in providing services to tourists. Also, the other reason mentioned was, tourists' time is spent with mountaineering crew hence, the

reputation of many tour companies lays on their hands of those who spend more time with tourists (mountain crew). When the mountaineering community are mistreated by tour operators, it affects the mountaineering community's working performance which commonly affects tourist experience and puts the image of the company at risk (Resp11,13.11.2018 and Resp13, 14.11.2018).

Many respondents (mountaineering community) mentioned that big tour operators in Kilimanjaro encourage discussions and meetings during planning and decision making as a way to inform, encourage and communicate companies' goals and to generate fresh ideas from the mountaineering community with the aim of improving both company and employee performances. For instance, they mentioned, planning starts during low season when tourists are few, whereby, issues connected to challenges faced by the mountaineering community during the previous season (high season) are addressed and how to overcome them for the coming season is discussed. After planning, different activities are distributed among the mountaineering community which also include having day to day meetings. Among the responsibilities, mountain guides - in collaboration with tour operators - design the trip itinerary, whilst cooks are involved in menu designing and preparing the budget needed for food purchasing and porters do tent check-ups, maintenance and pack climbing equipment (Resp11,13.11.2018 and Resp13, 14.11.2018).

Moreover, the mountaineering community involved claimed to be empowered because tour operators recognise and value their contributions to the company. Moreover, they added, empowerment encourages them to be more committed in their work which enhances good performance and aims to develop both companies and self-development. For example, one respondent pointed out that;

"I feel good when I am involved in budget planning; it gives me the opportunity to come up with good and amazing menus that when tourist consume the food I prepared, get satisfied and enjoyment. I feel happy when I cook for others" **(Resp5,24.11.2018)**.

Additionally, figure 2 illustrates the power relations between big tour operators and the mountaineering community during planning and decision making.

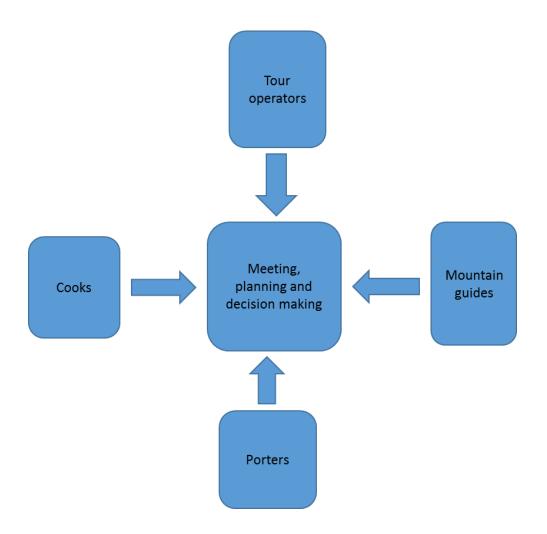


Figure 4.2: Power relations between big tour operators and the mountaineering community, during planning and decision making.

4.2.3 Social Empowerment

Interview data suggested that social empowerment in mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro is an important aspect that brings both tour operators and mountaineering community together and more importantly increases and ensures tourists' expectations and experiences (Resp6,20.11.2018). Some tour operators empower the mountaineering community by building their working capacity through training and delegation of responsibilities, which bring both self-development and professionalism. For example, according to the respondents, most of the tour operators (big tour operators) use low seasons to train their mountaineering community members with different courses such as; cooking skills, language skills, environmental education and customer care in order to assure quality services that increase company reputation as well as employee performance (Resp2,22.11.2018; Resp3,24.11.2018; Resp5,24.11.2018 and Resp15,5.12.2018). On the other hand, some tour operators (small tour operators) mention not considering social empowerment (especially training employees) as their responsibility. The example they argue, is that training an employee is like gambling; the assurance of them returning to the company after training is not guaranteed. Moreover, they consider training as the responsibility of the mountaineering community themselves and claim salary payment is the only responsibility they have (Resp12,14.11.2018 and Resp13, 14.11.2018).

Furthermore, some respondents who are tour operators explain that the mountaineering community are provided with three meals (breakfast, lunch and dinner) a day. Respondents (from the mountaineering category) clarified this and said that food is in fact covered by tour operators (especially big tour operators). However, there are challenges, for example individuals were given small portions of food by small tour operators, which seemed unjustified compared to the hard physical work they do. In some cases workers were provided with only two meals per day (breakfast and dinner). Furthermore, on issues related to health insurance, tour operators also claim to deliver to the mountaineering community as a way to make sure their health meets the requirements to carry out high altitude activities. Additionally, available and reliable medical help is provided for both tourists and the mountaineering community whenever they get injured or fall sick on the mountain (Resp11,13.11.2018 and Resp13, 14.11.2018). Provision of health services was also confirmed by some of the mountaineering community (guides, cooks and porters) on the matter of getting essentials for their work such as; climbing gears, training, health check-ups and food by some tour operators (Resp2,22.11.2018; Resp3,24.11.2018; Resp5,24.11.2018 and Resp15, 5.12.2018).

A significant number of cooks and porters demonstrate their concern on restrictive social empowerment within the mountaineering community on Mount Kilimanjaro. Mountain guides seem more socially empowered than cooks and porters, with the reason that guides are much more professional and spend more time with the tourist. Therefore, they are considered high priority by tour operators. Mountain guides receive different training like first aid to equip them with the knowledge to provide help whenever a tourist is hurt or experiences health issues. Although employee development is suitable for both company and employees, it is not offered equally among the mountaineering community; this situation is claimed to distress cooks and porters, because they feel left out. For example, one respondent pointed out that;

"I am not trained on first aid, but I have something to comment on that. During the summit, other tourists may decide not to go to summit the mountain due to them being tired or sick. So, others leave with a tour guide who receive the first aid training, and I am left at the camp with other tourists, what if they get some health problems that need my help and I have no idea on how to provide it? So, I would also recommend these companies to provide first aid training to us too and also porters. Because the guide who is trained can get sick and us cooks, and porters cannot help because we do not know how" (Resp2, 22.11.2018).

Also, according to big tour operators, they engage the mountaineering community in social activities that are non-work related to bring everyone involved closer together. One of the strategies that is used by these operators is to prepare different social gatherings such as celebrations and festivals to eliminate the working gap between tour operators and the mountaineering community and to create a more comfortable working environment. During social gatherings, tour operators also take the opportunity to congratulate employees that have performed well in work. Also, at these socials gatherings, employees have chances to explain any challenges that hinder them from carrying out their tasks either caused by the company itself or by employees (Resp11,3.11.2018). However, the mountaineering community respondents mentioned that this is not the case for small tour operators because they are only recognised when working, and that after coming down from the mountains, their relationship ends until next time they are called to work again (Resp2,22.11.2018; Resp3,24.11.2018; Resp3,24.11.2018 and Resp18, 11.12.2018).

In conclusion, the responses from interviews conducted to tour operators show the empowerment to the mountaineering community is more practicable in big tour operator businesses, and minimal in small tour operation businesses. However small tour operators also showed the concern of empowering the mountaineering community, if the government addresses their challenges such as lowering entrance fees for the tourists so that the money can be directed to enable the mountaineering community (Resp11,3.11.2018 and Resp13,14.11.2018).

CHAPTER 5

Discussions and Conclusion

5.1 Research Summary

Most research conducted in Mount Kilimanjaro concerning the empowerment of local mountaineers by tour operators, focuses on either tour operator vs mountain guide or tour operator vs porter's empowerment. However, there is little information about another group which is the cook. Hence, this research does not focus on cooks and tour operators only, instead, it focuses on all primary key players of the mountaineering community such as tour operators and the mountaineering community (mountain guides, cooks and porters). Empowerment dimensions (economically, politically and socially) were used as a road map towards investigating how tour operators, empower (economically, politically and socially) the mountaineering community participating in mountaineering tourism in Mount Kilimanjaro. Moreover, this research aim at bridging the gap left by other researchers who focused partly on empowerment of locals involving in mountaineering.

5.2 Empowerment Efforts

Mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro attracts many actors who form a complex working structure that is often determined by various factors. From the study, some of these factors include the seasonality of the tourism sector and the types of tour operators. When assessing the current efforts of tour operators to empower the mountaineering community in Kilimanjaro, one can think of using empowerment and disempowerment dichotomy. For example, empowerment efforts carried out by big tour operators whose majority are foreigners from Europe and America seem very encouraging. Big tour operators attempt to safeguard the welfare of the mountaineering community because they are international players and one thing to keep they do in order to keep their international reputation is to empower their workforce to enable the offering of quality services to tourists. Moreover,

empowerment is an essential tool used to motivate employees (mountaineering community) by big tour operators to influence good working performance as well as job satisfaction. This mentioned finding is in agreement with the study conducted by Wilkinson, (1998) on empowerment, theory and practice that argued that motivation at the workplace brings about job satisfaction because it provides employees with opportunity to participate in discussions related to planning and decision making.

Disempowerment is common to the majority of small tour operators who operate unprofessionally by neglecting the progress of their companies (focusing on short term profit) because they lack the vision of future for both their companies and employees. This finding corresponds with other tourism counterparts Dodds and Kuehnel, (2010) who argued that the majority of tour operators are profit driven rather than community driven. Also, Kasim (2006) argued that tour companies are much more focused on short-sighted targets, like profit maximisation, rather than the long term vision of engaging employees/locals. Furthermore, according to the information provided by respondents throughout interviews, there is difference in how the mountaineering community are economically empowered by big tour operators and small tour operators.

Economic empowerment motivates the engaged mountaineering community to dedicate their strength and professionalism when performing the work. However, small tour operators fail to empower the mountaineering community economically regardless of how harsh the seasonal and exhausting conditions in which the employees work in is. As argued by Wilkinson, (1998) if a worker is economically empowered, it is likely that worker will contribute to the success of the organisation. It also brings workers closer to the employer and creates a comfortable environment for the worker to suggest improvements and open up about things that are not productive to both organisation and individual. Moreover, big tour operators pay the mountaineering community salary themselves, compared to many small tour operators delegate such task to mountain guides. Mountain guides (who are in charge of the whole crew) are given tasks of paying cooks and porters salaries and tips whereby in many cases guides take significantly larger shares than what they are supposed to. Based on this scenario, mountain guides become economically well off and powerful compared to cooks and porters.

This finding also agrees with Peaty, (2012) who studied porters wellbeing on Mount Kilimanjaro. He found out that, most mountain head guides are the ones hiring and paying porters salaries, since they have been told by tour operators to do so. Most of the time, these guides pocket some of the porter's salaries and tips (from tourists) and hand less to porters. However, in this study not only did porters suffer the problem of unfaithful guides (providing low salaries and tips) but so did cooks.

Moreover, the mountaineering community are politically empowered differently by big tour operators and small tour operators in Mount Kilimanjaro. Involvement in planning and decision making which goes hand in hand, is found to be different. For example, big tour operators - who are doing well in involving the mountaineering community - use meetings of which many are conducted during low seasons to provide opportunities for all employees to participate. Meeting are used to engage people in planning and decision making and also it is a place whereby all the challenges that the mountaineering community have encountered during their work are communicated. Big tour operators use an involvement approach and distribute their power since, big tour operators believe that the mountaineering community know more about the mountain field. Distribution of power between big tour operators and the mountaineering community in the process of package preparation and offering of mountain services seems far in a way that big tour operators understand every individual contributes to their given task, hence having the power in decision making and planning of how an activity should be carried out. This finding agrees with Kuokkanen and Leino-Kilpi, (2000) who argued that a company alone could not afford to exercise power; instead, individuals who carry on different tasks generate power.

Small tour operators on the other hand, do not engage the mountaineering community during planning and decision making. However, to some extent mountain guides are involved slightly, because tourists are handed to them for briefing, and the fact that mountain guides are the one guide tourists throughout the mountain trip, involvement tour operators aught of mountain guides is crucial. The act of mountain guides being given high priority by small tour operators, has caused the formation of a power hierarchy within the mountaineering community itself, which gives more power to mountain guides when it comes to decision

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making (especially during climbing) and being in control of other mountaineering community members (cooks and porters). Besides this, the exercise of power and communication of many small tour operators to the mountaineering community is top-down. This finding is also in agreement with Wilkinson, (1998) who argued that most companies use a downward approach rather than an upward approach on things related to planning, decision making, communication of company's goals and expectations. Hence, lack of involvement of the mountaineering community by small tour operator companies has contributed to the disempowerment of the mountaineering community due to the monopolisation of power, whereby small tour operators have much more control of mountaineering activities. In addition, this finding concurs with Scheyvens, (1999) who argued that, when the leadership is self-centred, employees' opinions are not considered as necessary.

Furthermore, most big tour operators operating in Mount Kilimanjaro appear to embrace social empowerment. The mountaineering community working for big tour operators are provided with different trainings such as customer care, first aid and financial and environmental education, to enrich competence and working performances during service delivery to tourists. Provision of good services and the effort that big tour operators do to socially empower the mountaineering community, attracts more tourists to book with their companies because they are assured with the quality of their services which observe employees' rights. Moreover, the mountaineering community are also empowered by being promoted to different positions like from porter to a cook, or from a cook to a mountain guide or from mountain guide to head mountain guide. The act of promotion motivates the mountaineering community to perform better during service delivery. However, based on the results of this study, small tour operators are against social empowerment, because they believe access to training and education to their employees is upon the employee themselves. Due to the lack of social empowerment, some mountaineering community members (with less education) face difficulties such as interpersonal skills during provision of services to the tourist.

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5.3 Government and Non-governmental organisation support.

Support from governmental and non-governmental organisations is seen within the mountaineering community in Kilimanjaro. This finding slightly contrasts with Dodds (2010), who argued that there is no support from the government regarding mountaineering community problems. Based on the findings, one of the initiatives and efforts that was carried out by the Tanzanian government, was the setting of regulations on the provision of contracts and a salary scale for the mountaineering community (whereby mountain guides receive 20\$ per day, cooks 15\$ per day and porters 10\$ per day). This was communicated on official documents and websites of different governmental entities. Based on the findings, all tour operators are fully aware of the set minimum salary scale for the mountaineering community. However, due to the weak effort regarding the implementation of the passed regulations by the government, room is made for some of the tour operators (usually small tour operators) to take advantage of the situation by paying low wages to the mountaineering community. Although on the issues related to a weak effort by the government to strengthen mountaineering and tour operators' relations, this study, agrees with what Dodds (2010), found, that there is less effort implemented by the government and private sectors to enforce the set minimum wages for the mountaineering community working in Kilimanjaro.

Furthermore, with many problems caused by a complicated form of tour operation in mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro, non-governmental organisations fighting for mountaineering community rights continue their interest in getting the mountaineering community to register in their organisations for the aim of helping mountaineering community to overcome their problems with tour operators who violate mountaineering community rights. However, there are contradictions between what these organisations claim to do for the mountaineering community on the issues regarding mountaineering rights, and the views of the mountaineering community themselves regarding these organisations. Although, these organisations' visions and missions are well described, still, there are many questions of whether what they claim to do, is for the benefit of the mountaineering community.

5.4 Cooks welfare

The study revealed that, a cooks' profession is less considered in mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro as it is in the works of other literature. There is less writing concerning cooks who offer their cooking services to tourists climbing the mountain. Based on Kilimanjaro, cooks are currently considered as porters even though; they have extra essential tasks such as cooking different meals to both tourists and climbing crew. Cooks do not have an organisation that represents them as for the mountain guides and porters. With these reasons, cooks are forced to belong to the porters' associations and to abide with the rules and regulations imposed by KINAPA, that require the mountaineering community to belong to any organisation that stands for either porter's rights or mountain guides rights. The importance of joining these organisations is to get identities that are recognised by the government (KINAPA) to allow the mountaineering community to access and work on the mountain. Therefore, since there is no organisation for cooks, they are forced to join the porters' organisation to gain identities. The fact that cooks belong to the wrong association, results in their problems not being appropriately addressed, since cooks and porters have entirely different tasks. However, there is a plan for the government (under KINAPA) to recognise cooks as a profession because of how sensitive the job of feeding tourists and mountain crew is. Similarly, some nongovernmental organisations and cooks who were respondents of this study, show interest in opening cooks' organisations in the nearby future with the aim of convincing the government to implement the plan they have of recognising cooking as profession, but also addressing their needs and challenges.

5.3 Conclusion

In summarising the findings of this research, the category of small and significant (big) tour operators that exist in mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro determines the way in which the mountaineering community are economically, politically and socially empowered. Tour operators with strong and international market connections perform better since they have a substantial market that sustains their financial capacity to execute proper business plans and operations. Most of the big tour companies are owned by professionals with travel experiences from their well-established networks, thus understanding the dynamics both in

the market and operations of adventurous activities in such mountaineering tourism. Besides, the proprietors of these large companies are investors mainly from Europe and America who are keen on ensuring that the values and rights of their employees are put into practice, hence building a strong base for their workforce. Small tour operators, on the other hand, are less concerned in empowering the mountaineering community. Due to a number of reasons such as; lack of short term and long-term planning, focusing more on profit-making and focusing less on investing in their employees (the mountaineering community), low capital and lack of international connections that guarantee reliable clients every year.

In addition, the main problems identified in mountaineering tourism in Mount Kilimanjaro are; there is lack of empowerment by small tour operators to the mountaineering community which comes from unhealthy competition. Whereby tour operators struggle to survive on the market by cutting all necessary costs including the mountaineering community salaries, and other employees benefit such as training, provision of climbing gears and health. Additionally, the tremendous increase of unprofessional small tour companies that are not effective enough to run mountaineering business has also resulted from fewer rules in opening tour companies in Tanzania and the absence of tour operation monitoring.

Furthermore, economic empowerment to the mountaineering community is promising to those mountaineering community members with permanent employment and working for big tour operating companies. Big tour operators communicate the economic benefits that a mountaineering community will get before employment. Compared to small tour operators, economic empowerment is less practised, for example involvement in salary settlement is not done correctly. In some cases, mountaineering community members, especially cooks and porters, do not come into contact with their employers - the tour operators - and instead payments of salaries and tips are vested to mountain guides, hence encouraging salary and tips theft by unfaithful mountain guides.

Similarly, political empowerment is also practised differently between big and small tour operators. Big tour operators involve mountaineering community members almost in all stages regarding the selling of mountain packages to tourists, to bring new ideas aimed at improving both employee and company reputation. Social empowerment is also practised more by big tour operators. For example, training (in customer care, first aid, financial

education and further professional developments) are provided to mountaineering community members working for the mountaineering community, however, small tour operators objected to the idea of training the mountaineering community.

Based on the results of how tour operators empower the mountaineering community, it appears, power relations between the mountaineering community and tour operators in Kilimanjaro varies from one tour operators to another, this is due to the presence of a difference in operation. By comparing big tour operators and small tour operators, the exercise of power can be characterised by powerless and powerful. The mountaineering community and big tour operators generate power, based on the distribution of work, that every individual becomes aware of their tasks, as well as in control of the activity. Hence, the power brings social relations through activities by both big tour operators and the mountaineering community. To small tour operators, the exercise of power is more dominant. There is a lack of involvement in planning and decision making processes, and the leadership approach is more of self-centred, hence small tour operators make all the decision making and planning choices related to a mountain package tour.

Initiatives (formulation of contracts, setting minimum salaries) done by the government regarding the facilitating of the environment of tour operators to empower mountaineering community lack enforcement. With more effort in making sure the regulations set are in place and implemented by the tour operators with support from the government and NGOs, the initiatives might bring a positive outcome. Furthermore, there is a great need for the Tanzanian government to collaborate with tourism stakeholders such as tour operators, the mountaineering community and NGOs in order to evaluate mountaineering activities concerning the challenges that both parts are facing which hinder empowerment of the mountaineering community. Also, more effort should also be put on restricting tour companies that operate unhealthily and which pose a threat to the mountaineering community and their wellbeing. Moreover, awareness should be raised, to encourage tourists to climb with registered companies that follow the rules and regulations regarding their business and mountaineering community rights. Monitoring of tour companies should also be considered in order to improve both the mountaineering community and tour operators' relations.

Moreover, the majority of non-governmental organisations fighting for mountaineering community rights in Kilimanjaro, have a weak regulatory framework hence failing to solve the existing problems that are faced by the mountaineering community. There is less impact seen from these representative organisations in influencing empowerment of the mountaineering community by tour operators in Kilimanjaro; instead, there are many complaints from those represented (mountaineering community) against these organisations. Hence further research is needed to explore the effectiveness of these non- governmental organisations responsible for fighting for mountaineering community rights in Kilimanjaro. The research could address the following questions:

1. How do the efforts done by the Non-governmental organisations fighting for mountaineering community rights, impact mountaineering community lives on Mount Kilimanjaro?

2. To what extent does the effort done by Non-governmental organisations fighting for mountaineering community influence fair treatment of mountaineering tourism by tour operators on Mount Kilimanjaro?

3. What are the long-term future efforts that Non-governmental organisations fighting for the mountaineering community are planning to implement?

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Appendices

Appendix A: List of interviewees

Date	Organization	Position	Type of method
13.11.2018	Asante tours company	Resp11 – Tour operator	Personal interview
14.11.2018	Nyange Adventure	Resp12 – Tour operator	Personal interview
14.11.2018	Gladys Adventure	Resp13 – Operation Manager	Personal interview
15.11.2018	Pikili and Safaris	Resp14– Tour operator	Personal interview
15.11.2018	Allen tour company	Resp20 – tour operator	Personal interview
15.11.2018	Kilimanjaro Meru Mountain Guides Society	Resp7 – Guide coordinator and secretary	Personal interview
15.11.2018	Kilimanjaro Meru Porters Society	Resp8 - Porters Coordinator & Secretary	Personal interview
16.11.2018	Mountain Guide (Zara Tours)	Resp1 – Mountain guide	Personal interview
16.11.2018	Mountain Guide	Resp4– Mountain guide	Personal interview

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20.11.2018	Kilimanjaro National Park	Resp6 – senior Park Warden	Personal
		Tourism	interview
22.11.2018	Multiple tour operators	Resp2 – Cook	Personal
			interview
24.11.	Porter to multiple tour	Resp3 – Porter	Personal
2018	operators		interview
24.11.2018	World Tours	Resp5 – Cook	Personal
			interview
3.12.2018	Multiple tour operators	Resp9 – Cook	Personal
			interview
3.12.2018	Cook Asante Tours	Resp10 – Cook	Personal
			interview
5.12.2018	Chagga Tours (small tour	Resp15 – Tour operator	Personal
	operator)		interview
7.12.2018	Gladys Adventure	Resp16 – Mountain Guide	Personal
			interview
7.12.2018	Thomson Safaris	Resp17– Mountain Guide	Personal
			interview
11.12.2018	Asante Tours	Resp18– Porter	Personal
			interview
11.12.208	Thomson Safaris	Resp19– Porter	Personal
			interview
		1	

Appendix B: Interview guide

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon,

Thank you for creating some time to be part of this research.

My name is Levina Modest; I am a master student from Wageningen University in the Netherlands. I am studying Ms Leisure, Tourism and Environment, I am doing this research about the impact of mountaineering tourism on local people living around Mount Kilimanjaro as part of my study requirement but as well as applying research skills that I got during my first year of study in a real-life scenario.

This research will focus on several aspects that will lead to understanding empowerment practice on locals involved in mountaineering tourism, and how it can enhance their wellbeing, which is the reason why I decided to contact you for an interview since you are an essential stakeholder on mountaineering tourism. (mention who the stakeholder is (tour operator, government official, mountain guides, porters or cook)).

The report about this research will also be written. Therefore I ask your permission if possible your organisation can be mentioned?

I expect the interview to take around 30 minutes, during the meeting I (someone) will take notes. Also, to avoid missing out some critical information, I would like to ask if it is okay to record this interview?

Tour operators

Introductory;

Could you explain your involvement in the mountaineering tourism on Mount Kilimanjaro?

Knowledge (Practical)

1. Tourism is known as the tool for poverty reduction and improving of local's wellbeing. How do you apply that to the locals involved on mountaineering tourism on Mount Kilimanjaro?

2. What is the contribution of your tour company on facilitating the improvement of local guides, porters and cook's wellbeing?

3. Are the benefits from mountaineering tourism shared equally to the people involved?

• How do you share the benefits?

4. Do you think local guides, porters and cook's salary is equivalent compared to the services they provide to tourists on Mount Kilimanjaro?

5. Apart from salaries that your company offer to these local employees, what other benefits that local guides, porters, and cooks get from you?

Follow up questions

- Do you provide health benefits
- Do you provide climbing equipment
- Do you provide food (how many meals per day)
- Staff development (such as cooking skills, mountain guiding skills Language learning, Environmental education etc).

6. Can you explain how do you involve local guides, porters, and cooks in planning tourists climbing itinerary? If yes;

7. Cooks involvement when planning for different dish for tourists, when and how to cook it?

8. Do you involve mountain guides in advising which route a tourist should take?

9. How are the local guides, porters, and cooks' part of your companies' decision?

10. Since climbing the mountain is a hard task, how do you ensure local guides, porters, and cooks are working happily and offer good services to tourists?

Local Employees (Mountain guides, porters, and cooks)

Introductory;

Could you explain your involvement in the mountaineering tourism on Mount Kilimanjaro?

Knowledge (Practical)

1. Please explain your employment with tour companies?

Follow-ups questions

- Do you work for multiple or one tour company?
- Do you feel you are part of tour company(ies)?
- Do you understand your employment rights? Please explain them.

2. What benefits do you get doing this job (guiding, cooking or carrying tourist's luggage)?

3. Do you think that the salary you get from doing this activity is fair compared to the activity itself?

4. Do you understand how tour operators distribute benefits gain from this activity?

If yes how?

5. Are you satisfied with the salary you get?

6. Can you explain apart from salary what other benefit does the tour operators offer to you?

Follow up questions

- How do tour operators facilitate you with health benefits
- Do you get climbing equipment and climbing gears
- How many meals do tour operator give you per day?
- Staff development (such as cooking skills, Language learning, Environmental education etc.

7. In relation to your work, how are you involved in planning climbing itinerary for tourists?

8. Do you get to decide what food is suitable for tourist who climb the mountain and when and how to cook it? (Cooks)

9. Do you get to decide what suitable route to use when guiding tourists up on the mountain in relation to the season of the year? (Tour guides)

10. Are you involved in any decision making in relation to mountaineering tourism on Mount Kilimanjaro?

- How are you involved?
- Do you feel happy when undertaking mountaineering activity?

KINAPA and KILIMERU Officials

Introductory

Can you explain your involvement in mountaineering tourism in Kilimanjaro?

Knowledge (Practical)

1. How does your involvement affect/facilitate relationship between tour operators and mountaineering community (Mountain guides, cooks and porters)?

- 2. How do you intermediate tour operators and mountaineering community to work together?
- 3. What current initiatives have your organisation done to facilitate good relationship between tour operators and mountaineering community and how was it effective?
- 4. How are you involved in solving any problems related to mountaineering wellbeing?
- 5. How do you collaborate with other stakeholders such as non-governmental organisations to bring about good relationship between mountaineering community and tour operators?

End/Closing

- Thank you very much for your time and effort, I really appreciate for the information you have provided, it will contribute a lot to the findings of this research. I also want to ask if I could contact you by email or phone call in case there is additional questions that may rise late and was not covered in this interview?
- Exchange of contracts, business cards, gifts if there will be any
- Small talk after the interview but also related to the phenomena under study.