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Conflict and Tourism in Uganda

by

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requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

I am looking into the relationship between conflict and tourism. I will specifically focus on the case study of Uganda in East Africa. Uganda has a strong history of conflict and a reputation of violence. The country has undergone multiple well-reported tragedies. After colonization, the country had to rebuild and suffered a lot of strife. The conflict was seen by the world. Aid is sent, but the country is still working to end all violence. Uganda is seeking the tourism industry to help the economy. The tourism industry has a lot of backing by economists and developers as a way of increasing incoming money and foreign investment. The Ugandan government set up a group officials create and market tourism in the country. They are using methods such as branding to promote the industry. The country must create a new perception of safety to finally stray away from the violent reputation and reinvent tourism to interest outside investors and travellers. They use various methods and focus on different national aspects in order to make gains in this economy.

Background/Introduction

Much of Africa has experienced an extensive and harsh history. It has been an obstacle course of colonialism, violence, political strife, economic instability. These and other issues create a difficult environment to grow an economically and socially stable government and country. There are many methods countries look to to grow their economies and increase foreign investment; one of these methods is through the tourism industry. In 2012, worldwide tourist arrivals exceeded the one billion mark for the first time (UNWTO 2013 3). International tourist receipts reached US\$ 1,075 billion worldwide in 2012 (UNWTO 2013 3). As the tourism industry grows, developing countries are able to use it to expand their economy. Despite

publicized conflict situations and instability, countries still can achieve vast growth in their tourism industry and serve as a valuable example for other developing countries.

Many newly independent countries are now struggling to build their economies and stabilize their governments. Various aspects of these economies were not developed in colonial times, and as countries fought for independence, they soon realized that they must build these economies in order to be self-sustainable. Due to colonialism some economies are based on agrarian societies. African economies are known for developing raw goods and exporting raw supplies to outside investors. Some industrial sectors are not as advanced and it is now intensely competitive to become a major player in that section of the economy. Countries are finding other ways to develop and contribute to the global economy while bringing in foreign investment to build their country, freeing themselves of a colonial legacy.

Tourism in Uganda has suffered from a 40 year legacy of violence. Uganda has suffered through many violent conflicts throughout its history and is still struggling against many conflicting sources within the country. In recent history beginning in 1971, Idi Amin led a coup that overtook the President at the time, Milton Obote. He established a new military government, but many Presidents surrounding as well as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) refused to recognize it as a legitimate government (Military Rule Under Amin, 1975). Amin favored military tribunals over civil law and posted military officials and soldiers around the country to govern. There



(CIA World Factbook, 2014)

was a lot of torture and executions under his rule. He expelled almost all 50,000 Asians within the country, seizing the property “for the people” yet military took over the new homes. He also ordered smugglers shot on site, who attempted to smuggle raw goods to Kenya. In 1976, Amin attempted to aid an international terrorist Organization by giving them a home base to keep for hostages of a flight from Air France, but the hostages were rescued. During this ordered the killing of many airport officials. He also began genocidal purges and religious conflict during his reign. He supported Islam and in defense, Christians felt threatened because of his continued support of Muslims. Amin thought of the churches and potential opposition to him, and he murdered an Archbishop who led a protest against army terrorism. Finally in 1978, his followers had diminished and Tanzania along with an army of Ugandan refugees under the title of the Uganda National Liberation Army (UNLA) fought to overthrow Amin. They succeeded, forcing Amin to flee and ending his eight year regime with a total loss of around 300,000 victims.

After Amin was exiled, there was a transition period. Many people fought for the title of



(CIA World Factbook, 2014)

President. With Milton Obote ending up as President for the next four years with more casualties and devastation than during Amin’s eight year rule. As Milton Obote took office, the National Resistance Army (NRA) was formed, led by Yoweri Museveni in opposition of Obote’s government. In order to reduce his support, Obote issued a removal of almost 750,000 people from rural areas. There was also negative media from an Amnesty International

report informing about torture in military barracks. In this short stint as President, there were estimated around 500,000 casualties. At the end Obote fled the country to Zambia with other officers, and Yoweri Museveni became President.

Uganda has also undergone more recent media scrutiny with the Lord's Resistance Army and the violent conflict involving child soldiers. The Lord's Resistance Army, led by Joseph Kony, and started in Uganda as a spiritual movement, where the leaders believed themselves to be mystics. Kony began kidnapping children and adults to be soldiers in his army, where many were raped and he forced them to kill people including their families. The LRA was chased out of Uganda, but there is still a negative image of Uganda because of the media coverage of this resistance. One such coverage was a video made by the organization Invisible Children, explaining who Kony is and urging people to spread the word about his actions in order to get him captured. This video has over 99 million views, reinforcing Uganda's negative images are shown across the world. It is a small wonder Uganda's tourism sector was limited.

Despite the legacy of violence, there have been consistent efforts to restart the country's tourism industry. After colonization ended, the tourism industry was destroyed when Idi Amin disallowed arriving foreigners from entering the country. After Amin, president Yoweri Museveni came into power in 1986 (Lepp and Harris 528), he transformed Uganda into a whole new place, working to take away the reputation Amin left in his wake, along with revoking the law that banned travel into the country. By the early 1990s, Museveni had "restored peace, disciplined the military and repaired the shattered economy" (Lepp and Harris 528). This provided the tourism industry the ability to rebuild. By 2001, tourism was one of Uganda's leading earners of foreign exchange. International tourist arrivals were up to 205,000 people, a substantial increase from zero in 1986. After this increase Museveni made tourism a top priority,

leading to the initiation of many major attempts and projects aiming to increase Uganda's tourism. The 2010/11-2014/5 National Development Plan also prioritized tourism as a growth sector (World Bank 2013 2).

Literature Review

Much research and opinions have been written about the tourism industry and its impact on development and how it can help the developing world. In my research, I look into how conflict in developing countries in Africa can affect the tourism industry in those countries, thereby disabling further economic development. There are many authors and theories looking in to various aspects of my research. There are many theories as to how tourism can and should affect development. Scholars have asked similar questions in different case studies and regions around the world, beginning to delve deeper into this subject.

Major actors in the field of tourism and conflict appear in discourse with each other constantly. Many look at multiple aspects of tourism development and conflict or appear to focus on just one region or country of the topic. Major players in this field include Neumeyer, Teye and Sonmez, Honey and Gilpin, Dieke and Lea.

There has been extensive discourse on the subject of how tourism in the developing world can affect development overall. One of the major authors in this subject is Martha Honey. She has multiple writings herself and is the co-founder and co-director of the Center for Responsible Travel (CREST). She writes along with Gilpin who is the associate vice president for Sustainable Economies at USIP. These authors (2009) believe tourism *can* be good, but stress the importance of it being planned and managed correctly. They argue a more hands on and supervised industry in order to create a healthy and sustainable industry. Honey emphasizes ecotourism in many of her works as a way to do this.

Another player is Dieke, who works with hospitality management, also cannot put enough emphasis on the importance of the tourism industry in Africa. He pushes for cooperation for the field to be adequate to aid in the development of the country's economy and wellbeing. John Lea, an author of papers on tourism development in Africa, northern Australia and the Pacific Islands and a teacher of urban and regional planning at the University of Sydney, also writes about the development and importance of the tourism industry in the third world (1990, 1993). He also is a proponent of conscious decision making in the tourism industry like Honey, to develop an appropriate and responsible industry.

Neumayer (2004), who specializes in Geography and Environment and Political Science, is the first to discuss the relationship of political conflict and tourism on a global scale. He first saw here was a gap in knowledge about political violence, but much discourse on terrorism and tourism. He argues that political violence consistently has a negative impact on tourism, even if tourists are never the people to get physically harmed. He also finds that short term effect is considerably smaller than the long term effect. He suggests further research into why human rights violations deter tourism and whether there is spillover to the whole region.

Other authors have looked at Residents' Attitudes towards tourism to discover how the industry affects the host country. Teye and Sonmez (2002) discovered that there is a negative attitude from locals, but with people with higher educations, there is more belief in the tourism industry because they have learned about the discourse and benefits regarding the tourism industry and its potential to help development and economies. Teye and Sonmez (2002) also have a strong belief in the tourism industry's potential. Teye (1986), who has done extensive research and fieldwork in tourism and travel development in Africa, also looks into how conflict and tourism relate in a case study of Zambia. He also believes that conflict heavily impacts

tourism, but requires further research as well as Neumayer (2004). Development has its limitations in the tourism industry based on factors in the region including lack of capital, distance, cost of travel, and poor image abroad.

As many people look into the tourism industry as a strategy for development, many authors argue over the way to develop this industry. Most strongly believe in the tourism industry as a form of development for third world countries, but there are extensive writings on how to make good decisions and create sustainable ways of tourism, stressing the importance of policy implications and conscious travelers (Honey and Gilpin 2009, Dieke 1990 and 1993). This must be taken into consideration when looking at the responses by people and governments after conflict events on the tourism industry.

While most authors looking into the subject argue that most conflict negatively affects tourism (Teye 1986, Neumayer 2004, Dieke 2003), others believe the tourism industry within limits, remains robust despite problems like terrorism, health pandemics and the global financial crisis (Honey and Gilpin 2009). This area has many different case studies from around the world and some on a global scale, but there is little look into why these effects take place and what can be done to aid in the redevelopment of tourism in countries affected by conflict and media coverage of the events.

How Conflict Affects Tourism

Studies such as Neumayer 2004 have proven that conflict can have a substantially negative impact on the tourism industry. On a global scale, tourism takes a drastic hit during times of conflict. The impact of this is even more devastating in countries that are dependent on tourism receipts. It was found that “substantial increases in political violence lower tourist arrivals in the long run by about one-quarter in our global sample” (Neumayer, 2004, 277).

Developing countries also derive more of their Gross Domestic Product (GDP) from tourism than developed countries (Neumayer, 2004, 261), sometimes as much as 15 percent. Tourism is growing the fastest in developing regions, making them more vulnerable to the effects of conflict. Since the industry is still developing negative images can quickly destroy everything that a country had built. That said, conflict is more prone to occur in these developing countries, so the tourism industry is impacted. In order for these developing countries to retain tourists they must have multiple experiences for to consume. If these aspects are basic and easily found in other places, tourists will switch to another area that is safer. The smallest likelihood of insecurity can prompt travelers to other vacation destinations. Therefore, conflict, or perceived conflict, can be incredibly detrimental to the tourism industry even if it is a small likelihood to impact a tourist's trip. Even countries with highly valued characteristics are hurt by conflict in their area.

Conflict impacts multiple aspects of tourism as well as the economy in developing countries. Visitation goes down by 25 percent in areas with substantial political violence (Neumayer 2004 277). Consequently, as the numbers of tourists visiting decreases as does the revenue, which can quickly devastate a country's economy. In many developing countries, tourism brings in a large portion of foreign revenue and investment. It is a way to get higher GDP countries' citizens to spend money in their country, providing jobs within the tourism industry for local people, and creating a better economy for the host country. Not only does conflict affect the people, but the loss of the tourism industry affects many jobs around the countries, leaving victims jobless in an already unstable country and economy. Lack of jobs and a broken economy puts a halt on development plans. Whatever the country might have been working towards must be postponed in order to deal with the conflict. Setbacks are also a great

possibility if infrastructure, jobs, economy and other industries are hindered during the conflict. An authoritarian government, or a country declaring martial law, also creates a decline in development plans, which makes government reform a priority and adds to the tasks already at hand. Conflict creates issues in various sectors of a country's economy, causing the need for development and hindering plans already implemented.

Violence affects tourism both contemporaneously and with lagged effects (Neumayer, 2004, 261). People could choose not to travel directly after a conflict occurs, or they might already be tied into travel plans and continue to travel, causing a lagged effect on the decline in tourism. An increase in media coverage, causing people to back out of travel plans after hearing of conflict, is one of the primary reasons for such a delay. Another reason for a delayed effect on the decline of tourism is when conflict is ongoing and therefore tourism drops off over time. The full extent of the instability may not be realized right away, causing a delay as well. That said, it is difficult to determine the exact reasons that people delay their response to conflict.

In 1998 Sonmez discussed the "generalization effect" in which tourists generalize an incident to an entire region (430). Therefore, if an event of conflict happens in one country, they generalize it to the whole area and the surrounding, completely safe, countries lose tourism receipts as well. This is detrimental to the whole area, and can be very difficult to come out of, since it creates a negative, unsafe image for everyone. This forces countries not experiencing conflict must then do recovery marketing in order to rebuild their tourism industry as well.

The opposite of the generalization effect is also true, also known as the "spillover effect," where the countries surrounding the one in conflict have the possibility of absorbing the conflicted country's lost tourist (Sonmez, 1998, 429). If the safe country has similar aspects for tourist consumption as the conflict country then tourists see it as a safer option and transfer their

vacations to the neighboring, or similar, safer countries. Even though the conflict is still affecting the host country, it then give surrounding countries positive growth, so long as they are not affected by the generalization effect. According to Manfeld, as cited by Sonmez, the amount of visitors in a spillover country is directly correlated to the level of involvement in security situations. These effects on neighboring countries to conflict can be both negative and positive. Both are cause for concern in rebuilding tourism industries, whether in the conflict country or in the neighboring country.

Just as the spillover effect can cause positive growth in an area, conflict can also lead to small increases in certain tourist subgroups. There is the tourist subculture of dark tourism, or conflict tourism that attract certain population of people. These tourists go to follow crime, conflict and dark history. For example, they could be looking for a little more adventure during the time of conflict, leading them to visit a country. Other tourists go to see places where conflict has occurred in the past, such as war areas or concentration camps. It is both educational and historical, representing powerful yet horrible times. Journalists and humanitarian relief are another population of travelers that commonly appears during times of conflict. Journalists arrive to cover world news and spread the new image of the country. Aid workers arrive to help out in the conflict areas, trying to manage victims of the violence, aid the government or groups in sorting out and controlling the conflict, and assist in rebuilding the economy and lifestyles after the conflict dies down or moves. This is only a small portion of tourism, but it can make an enormous impact on relief work, reconstruction, and victims' lives during and after the conflict. Even though general tourist arrivals decline drastically, certain tourism sub-group's arrivals increase within conflict zones.

With the arrival of journalists, as well as ones already in place in conflict zones, often comes negative media being broadcasted around the world. This negativity and description of violence sent into every household can create the negative images that are so detrimental to developing countries. Not all media presents the same side, but the most hindering to the tourism industry are the insecure images of violence, terrorism, instability, riots, etc. The insecurity spreads, and these images are burned into the minds of everyone seeing them, becoming an unstoppable negative force. Once a country's image is damaged, turning back becomes a seemingly impossible task because they are remembered by the violence and decline of the country in its time of conflict. It takes years to rebuild the industry and put fresh, positive images and ideals of the country into the minds of everyone around the world. However, it is possible to grow the tourism industry out of a disastrous effect by conflict, it just takes many new policy implementations and processes to do such.

Conflict can be disastrous to the economy and tourism industry in developing countries. Various methods of reconstruction help to aid in the expansion of the industry, but in some cases, tourism itself can be a powerful tool to aid in the forward progress of development and ending the conflict. Tourism can be used to "repair the country's political image" (Sonmez 1998, 431). People arriving, consuming, seeing, and returning home to impart a first-hand image of a stable society is an extremely effective way to promote the safety of the country. When the Philippines went under martial law, and they promoted tourism in order to show the safety of the country and control over the country they had under the law. "By using tourism development as an instrument of foreign and domestic policy, the Philippine government bought goodwill with it" (Sonmez, 1998, 432). Tourism arrivals increased from 144, 321 to 859, 396 in a mere seven years. Martial law became a "tourism attraction" in some ways, and actually helped the tourism

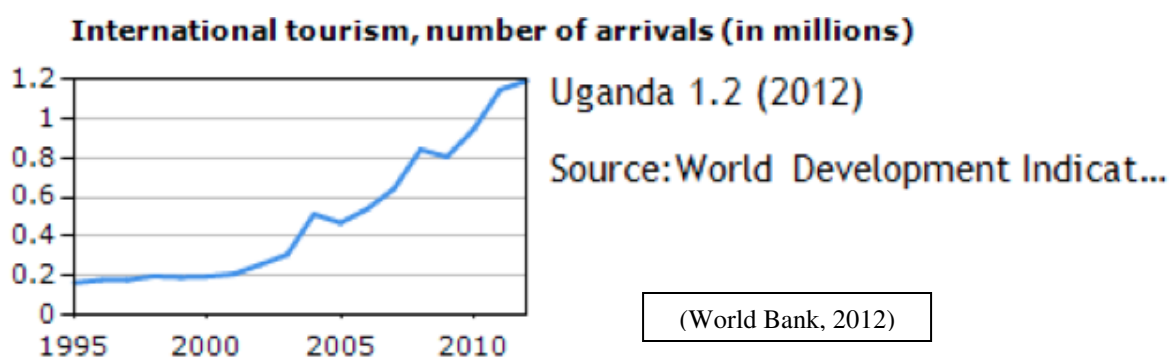
industry, as the tourism industry helped the global perspective on the country. Tourism becomes a means of showing peace and security within the country. If tourists return home with positive images and stories of the country under conflict, it can represent safety for tourists, making them more inclined to go as long as it is still safe. Tourists become international witnesses by being able to see the level of safety from a first-hand perspective. Countries can intentionally have these people around to see the reality of what is going on, versus the media version, giving a more clear picture to the outside world.

Many African countries are struggling with creating their national identity to construct and expand their tourism industry. Uganda is a prime example of this. Uganda was a British colony until 1962. Since then Uganda has scrambled through many military-like authoritarian leaders, trying to conquer the violence and conflict that spread across the nation. Since they were affected, like other colonized countries, by being exploited and controlled for three decades, they were in need of vast improvements in order to compete in a global market or be recognized at all as a stable community by the world.

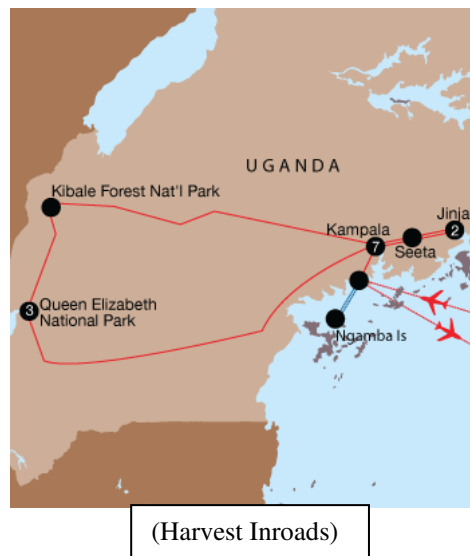
Since it is difficult to develop other industries in an extremely competitive global market with limited resources, Uganda poured its resources into the tourism industry. Just as other African countries have struggled, Uganda has grappled with the perception that it is an uncivilized and poor country, as well as being a landlocked country. With this Uganda has struggled to escape the perception that it is violent and unsafe, a major obstacle when it comes to attracting tourists. If a tourist does not feel safe, they will not travel to this country, and it seems that Uganda has constantly been trying to overcome this media image with Amin, the LRA, and other people and conflicts that negatively impact the idea of Uganda as a vacation spot.

Promoting Tourism

Despite the history of conflict, Uganda has built a solid tourism industry, even though it has a lot of room for growth. Uganda's tourism has "grown fivefold over the last decade with the improvement in security in the northern part of the country" (World Bank, v). Direct impact of tourism expenditures amount to 3.7 percent of the GDP in 2012. This is not quite as high as 4.8 percent in Tanzania or 5 percent in Kenya, but it is growing. In the last five years, the number of visitors has doubled (World Bank, 2).



There is still more room to grow; "Policy simulations show that attracting 100,000 additional leisure tourists to visit Uganda would add 11 percent to exports and 1.6 percent to GDP" (World Bank 2013 48). More tourists can increase Uganda's income drastically, so it is important to look at marketing strategy in order to make these increases a reality, but first they must get past negative images.



Uganda has a variety of tourists areas that attract many visitors, but the most prized are the National Parks and the ecotourism industry. Tourism in Uganda mostly occurs around protected areas like National Parks and Game Reserves (Tumwine, 1998, 66). Uganda is home to the rare mountain gorilla that has become one of the aspects. Within Uganda's 10 national parks (Tumwine, 1998, 60), the gorillas are the top tourist attraction in Uganda (Tumwine, 1998, 68). Tourists viewings of the gorillas are only allowed to a limited number of people per day and must be booked months in advance since there are only 2 parks that have gorilla viewing: Mgahinga Gorilla National Park and Bwindi National Park. The parks are tightly controlled to prevent disease transfer, sustainability practices and economic consciousness. Uganda has developed a strong tourism industry based off the ecotourism from the national parks and the gorilla viewing in the past few decades.

African countries are branding themselves often in order to promote their tourism industry. This industry along with increasing foreign investments and exports are the three top reasons to brand the nation (Volcic and Andrejevic 611). The brand itself is used to "construct a nation's identity for foreign consumption" (Lepp and Harris 526). This includes emotive characteristics and slogans. Creating the national identity is a heavier issue that is more rooted in encompassing everything about the country involving history, politics, economics and culture. (Lepp and Harris 527). This can go deeper than just encouraging a tourism industry, but creating an image that spans the whole country's people as well as a new ideal of the nation beyond itself into the globalizing world. The construction of this for foreign consumption "can serve to attract

foreign investment and increase the desirability of a nation's exports" (Lepp and Harris 527).

These brands and identities are *commercializing nationalism*. This is "the phenomenon whereby commercial institutions take on an increasingly important role in framing issues of national identity and promulgating branded forms of nationalisms and nationalist brand identities" (Volcic and Andrejevic 612). Every aspect of branding, or identifying for tourism, is encouraging the country's identity for consumption. This is creating capital on aspects of the culture that the nation most identifies with. They are not only creating interest in one good or service, but also marketing the nation as a whole for better representation and to promote all aspects for the economy and investment. This is used in the tourism industry because it creates a perception that tourists can go and experience all aspects of the culture including the food, land, people, and all other aspects unique to the location while allowing for the location to profit off the tourists. Countries must use these methods after conflict and violence, in order to shift the outside perception of the country's security.

The tourism industry is one of the largest growing industries due to globalization and the increased access that people have to adventure to alternative regions of the world. The tourism industry is seeing significant growth in Africa and it has been an important player in African economies after colonialism (Lepp and Harris 525). Especially in the globalizing world the tourism industry is one that can be built everywhere and it will not necessarily compete with the large industrial economies of developed countries. It also does not have to build up wage in agrarian cultures because of the lasting effects of colonialism on the society, which leaves low wages, poor working conditions and poverty in many areas of the continent. The tourism industry is a way to re-identify each nation and escape the poor, primitive perception of the continent as a whole in the eyes of the rest of the world. Multinational tour operators, travel

agencies, and other marketing groups within the developed countries are creating the majority of the world's tourism marketing (Echtner and Prasad 661). Tourism marketing is targeted towards the interests of people in the developed countries, since the majority of tourists reside in these countries, and these are the nations that have the most money available to contribute to the nation's economy through tourism.

The reputation of many areas in Africa is less than perfect. Tourism marketing is working to remove the negative imagery that is emphasized through all types of popular media abroad and is trying to stray away from an idea of a dangerous and cruel destination (Echtner and Prasad 671). Tourism marketing can be used to create a new face and get away from these violent reputations. However, there is a persisting idea of exotic cultures, and tourism perpetuates these ideals within tourism marketing and the media (Echtner and Prasad 671).

Through these ideals, tourism is developed in certain ways corresponding to what the West has already seen of this culture, removing the negative aspects. Therefore much of developing country tourism is adopting myths about the cultures and placing them into the national identity of marketing of the country. This can be seen in different myths of promoted tourism. These are common visions the West has construed that the countries accept into their identities to attract the Western, richer tourists.

Rebuilding Tourism

Rebuilding the tourism industry after days, months, or years of conflict can be an extremely difficult feat. Conflict, regardless of the time span in which it occurs, can drastically decrease the tourism industry, whether immediately or over time. There are various forms of rebuilding countries having used in order to attempt to regain their tourists, and there are various successful strategies for how to rebuild depending on the situation. However, there are many

useful tools countries can impart by studying their tourism development methods, especially Uganda.

A large part of regaining tourists is by “recovery marketing” (Sonmez, 1998, 437). When a country “suffers a serious setback due to negative occurrences ... it can no longer rely on traditional marketing efforts” (Sonmez, 1998, 437). Recovery requires a lot more work and purpose than normal marketing. The image of the country is destroyed, and therefore the marketing must work to repair that image to a safe and peaceful one. The “destination image” is the idea of what a tourist will see and experience while travelling an area. These images are developed on two levels: organically and induced.

Organic images come from both live experience and travelling within the country. The induced images are what a country, or news programs, choose to market and attempt to formulate in the minds of everyone else. Recovery marketing must recreate an induced destination image in order to convince tourists to return. This is “marketing integrated fully with crisis management activities” (Sonmez 1998, 437). Creating a new national identity through marketing is possible through various media outlets like photography, documentaries, movies, propaganda, news broadcasts, articles, websites, particularly travel sites, etc. These images can focus on lack of conflict, specific tourist destinations that are away from conflict and/or safe, or the work that is being done to keep tourists and citizens safe from harm. The most important part is to guide the public away from the conflict and focus on the safety that is present within the country, thus diminishing the negative images in their minds.

There are many steps to rebuilding the tourism industry. One of the first is to have crisis management for international tourists. This gives guidelines to tourists for travelling within a country such as avoiding displays of wealth, keeping a low profile, varying your daily routine,

and flying economy (Sonmez 1998, 441). Providing these steps for more secure trips can help to minimize potential risks and create a safer feeling for tourists. Preparing tourists beforehand is a great way to minimize potential hazards or continued organic negative images. That said, some would still consider the costs outweighing the benefits and choose not to travel.

It is recommended to create a crisis management team that is specifically in charge of crisis situations and who can delegate tasks to different areas. A crisis management team would be in charge of communication, publicity, marketing, advertising, information coordination, and fundraising (Sonmez 1998, 441). This creates a way for everyone to contribute to the crisis mind-set and effectively complete the tasks assigned to them in an orderly fashion. This also enables a more focused and induced image for media coverage. It is easier to organize what would be said and portrayed to the outside world, which is beneficial to have so that a positive image can be created.

To this end, the Ugandan government established a board of officials to specialize the development of the tourism industry by creating a national identity. They work out of Kampala, Uganda's capital (Lepp and Harris 528). Tourism officials were interviewed, asking what the most important aspect and goal of developing this industry was, and they overwhelmingly replied that it was to create a positive image and show that Uganda was not Amin's country anymore, and that it is politically stable and free (Lepp and Harris 530). They said they wanted to showcase that Uganda was ready to be a part of the global community and global market, and wanted the rest of the world to realize that. This also helps to lead global community away from the violence and conflict that has been emphasized so often in the Western media about Uganda. Primary focus was placed on international tourism versus domestic tourism due to the increased

financial benefits and the higher potential that bringing international tourists into Uganda had on the restoration of Uganda's identity within the global community.

Every nation has beliefs and ideas they consider are their own. These are the basic building blocks of a national identity. These ideas, along with everything else that creates what they believe their national identity is, are used "as a means of furthering national interests and promoting a sense of loyalty and belonging" (Volcic and Andrejevic 598). There is a difference between creating a national identity and branding the nation. The national identity is more of an idea of what and who the nation is. This is where the people can benefit most, creating the sense of loyalty and belonging Volcic discusses, but the brand helps create the idea of commercializing and marketing the idea for foreign consumption.

Nation branding is becoming a popular topic among scholars and officials looking to promote or market the tourism industry in their country. They believe that the creation of an image of a place and its people can separate the nation from the conglomerate idea of a poor, powerless "Third World". This is a way of creating an induced destination image to market to the masses. Countries have "unprecedented levels of state expenditure on branding consultants" due to the high demand (Volcic and Andrejevic 599). It combines the state using commercial strategies for international relations and private sector's nationalism to sell product. There are multiple reasons why nation branding is used to sell products. It brings in foreign investment, identifying the nation with certain products. The most visible area this is used for is the tourism industry. The brand can create catchy slogans, or present images of what life consists of in each nation, identifying the specific places for people to visit, creating a pre-idealized image of what the country wants a traveler to think of them. African countries are utilizing nation branding as a way to showcase the aspects of their nation to potential tourists. This not only breaks away from

the traditional African image but also shows that Africa is not one homogenous state.

The nation branding process is both internal and external. Both must believe in and accept the brand to make it into a reality, creating a more positive image for tourism as a form of marketing the image and helping dissolve the conflict. This is the same for national identity, except nation branding relies more heavily on the acceptance of this identity in order to increase the economic value of the country. At an internal level, it must “monitor and mobilize the populace” (Volcic and Andrejevic 600). The citizens must believe in the brand; the citizens must “Live the Brand.” The national image must remain true to the brand, recreating the chosen identity throughout the culture, so any visitors will only see the identity that was made. The citizens themselves are the message showing the tourists. Nationalism becomes a form of consumption, and citizenship becomes a way of “living the brand” (Volcic and Andrejevic 605). Nation branding is a way of making the people promoters of a new peaceful ideal to rebuild the tourism industry.

Utilizing the nation branding technique, Uganda now claims to be “The Pearl of Africa,” an idea originally thought of and adopted from Winston Churchill (Fursich and Robins, 2004, 143). This slogan is used vastly in Uganda’s tourism industry and is now on Uganda’s official



tourism website visituganda.com. It also helps to create a national identity, by emphasizing that Uganda might be hidden under an ugly, damaged shell, but once

searched, inside is a priceless beauty to be discovered. This can help both externally, to tell travelers that there are memories and lands to be explored, but also internally as it can boost the confidence and sense of pride in nationality of the Ugandan people.

Fortunately, Uganda has developed many ways of marketing their country and forming a national identity that not only creates a healthy image of the country as a tourist destination, but also creates a positive outlook for its citizens to see their country in a positive light as well, giving them hope of becoming a member of the global community and to not be seen in an adverse light. They have implemented methods of expanding the tourism industry including, the use of the internet, nation branding, Museveni's touring, contracts with Western media coverage, a documentary, and instituting a board of government officials to handle the growth of the tourism industry.

Countries believe it is essential to gain positive publicity in times of crisis and conflict in order to more quickly create a beneficial destination image. One of the best ways to do this is hosting international events. This takes away from the negativity and focuses on a positive aspect that is sure to gain international attention, visitors, and media, and take the minds off of the conflict occurring or that occurred. This also removes the attention from the negative industry and lack of development. Instead, it can gain outside investors for the event stimulating the economy in order to rebuild, and aid the country to climb out of the rut the conflict put them in.

President Museveni has personally assisted tourism in many ways. In 2003, he toured the USA specifically for tourism in Uganda (Lepp and Harris 528). In the middle of his visit, they made a documentary film about *Uganda: The Presidential Tour* which emphasized the highlights of Uganda and promoted tourism to the country; it was eventually played on the Discovery Channel, culminating in a 50 percent increase in tourist arrivals the next year. This promotes the positive image internationally, even though they are not hosting, yet still involved on an international level. On top of the documentary, the government signed a contract with CNN to

market the country for six months. After these efforts, the international tourist arrivals to Uganda were over half a million. In five years, Uganda's tourism doubled.

A vital way to develop and keep tourism steady is by guiding tourists away from violent areas. This can be done whether the conflict is still occurring, or after it is over, and want them to avoid seeing the troubled areas. This can be done by creating activities or marketing certain areas that are vital aspects of the country or culture. This is good to simultaneously build national parks, villages, cities or other tourist areas that might need the incoming money along with creating a better image of the country with induced and organic images

From Museveni's efforts, six new parks were created in Uganda. Uganda has marketed these as primary attractions for international tourists, making a point to promote them and their pristine wilderness above all other areas. (Lepp and Harris 531). These areas used to house rebel groups and were incredibly insecure, but the government established control and they are now used to demonstrate their progress on achieving full security and peace. The parks, as main tourist attractions, can also be associated with Echnner and Prasad's myth that developing countries are uncivilized and wild. Uganda embraced this myth as a tourist promotion, like many African countries embrace, showcasing not only the pristine land but also the native people. The World Bank urges Uganda to invest more in their national assets to build the industry (2013, 48).

Parks and protected areas are in neglect from earlier decades, so it would be beneficial to invest in park infrastructure, equipment, protection and management of wildlife, and staff skills to increase the value of the natural assets, bringing in more leisure tourists.

All African countries are now effectively utilizing the Internet to create websites on tourism in their country. These websites are used for telling history and culture as well as exploring tourism sights and destination. However multiple websites link histories to the CIA

Factbook (Fursich and Robins, 2004, 146). Uganda itself has turned over the telling of history and tourism to a private enterprise visituganda.com. This is a commercial site, showing beautiful images of Uganda and highlighting great destinations and things to do in Uganda. It also contains links to hotels, rental cars, restaurants, airlines and many useful resources. Uganda has always had a variety of ethnic groups within the country (specifically 30 ethnic groups), and each has had harsh histories of mistreatment depending on who the leader was at the time. Fursich and Robins found in 2002 that it is now a country of contrasts, conglomeration many different peoples who enjoy “spontaneous dancing and music” on the website (201). Ugandans also put on their website about their tribes and being able to visit them. They say the villages welcome visitors, but you must ask to take out your camera (Fursich and Robins, 2004, 144). This could create an interesting aspect to internal communication and relations, combining all ethnicities and villages into similar tourist spectacles. Uganda is thereby using its ethnic people as tourist spectacles.

Since the destruction of the tourism industry by Amin in 1986 the story of Uganda’s tourism industry has changed. The borders have gone from being locked to visitors to Uganda being promoted as a thriving tourist destination. Through various means of marketing including nation branding, Uganda’s officials believe they have succeeded in their goal to help create a more positive national identity both internally and externally. Uganda, however, still has a ways to go before they accomplish their goal of being seen as an equal partner in a global community and shedding the former perception of Uganda being violent, insecure and poor. Uganda is a great example of how a country can go from so much political and social strife to having a successful, booming tourism industry.

Conclusion

Africa has long struggled with Western societies' view of Africa as being insecure, poor and primitive. Postcolonialism has prompted countries to attempt to break free of this idea and institute new industries, becoming part of a global market. Tourism is a developing industry that many countries are seeking to utilize as a tool for them to become a part of the global economy, allowing for them to better support their people. In the mix of this, researchers are finding "tourism's construction of national identity for foreign consumption can serve to attract foreign investment and increase desirability of a nation's exports" (Lepp and Harris, 527). Countries like Uganda are creating national identities, with the use of tools such as nation branding, to attract international tourists while simultaneously escaping the stereotypes and increasing national pride in positive identities within their citizens. Many aspects are affecting these perceptions. While they are trying intensely to move away from a similar identity to all other African countries, nation's are still being treated as colonies in some ways. This is seen in promoting colonial frames of mind within tourism such as the myths of the unchanged, uncivilized and unrestrained. However, countries have made leaps and bounds to increase the industry and perceptions are slowly being recognized and altered.

Uganda has been a prime example of how countries are able to increase the tourism industry in their country. They went from zero to half a million international tourists arriving in a matter of a few years thanks to multiple new projects and a strong governmental support to increasing the industry. They have overcome insurmountable conflict and instability in order to create a new national identity, promoting tourism and bringing the citizens into more of a cohesive nation. Tourism is a positive way to increase foreign investment, even though there are still many poor perceptions of Africa as a whole. There are many countries who have a long way to go, and many who have come a long way, but overall it is getting better.

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