Nigerian Studies Review
ISSN 2376-5801

EDITORIAL AND SUBMISSION POLICY

NIGERIAN STUDIES REVIEW (NSR) is the leading journal that deals with multi- and inter-disciplinary analyses of the history and cultures of the Nigerian people and of social relations between Nigeria and her neighbors. *NSR* is published once a year and is a dynamic and innovative journal, providing unique scholarly perspectives and insights on one of Africa's most populous and complex nation. *NSR* is peer-reviewed and publishes original research from scholars across the disciplines on all aspects of Nigerian studies, including topics related to the Nigerian Diaspora worldwide.

Submissions accepted for consideration will be evaluated anonymously by at least two external reviewers. All manuscripts submitted for consideration must be original works that have not been published previously or is currently being considered by any other publication outlet.

Submissions may include scholarly articles, commentaries, review articles, film, and book reviews. Manuscripts must be written in English and must not be more than 30 pages, clearly typed with Microsoft Word Times New Roman 12 points font size and double-spaced with one-inch margin on all sides. Articles should include a brief abstract, and a short biography with author's full name, title, current affiliation, and full postal address/phone/fax/email details of author(s).

Authors are asked to strictly limit their use of underlining and bolding. Tables should be kept to a minimum and should be typed on separate sheets and their position indicated by a marginal note in the text. All tables should indicate their source(s) typed below the tables and submitted in grayscale (black and white) in .gif or .jpg format. Diagrams and photographs or 'Figures' as they are known generally, should be referred to as such in the manuscript and numbered consecutively.

NIGERIAN STUDIES REVIEW uses the Chicago Manual of Style 15th Edition. All endnotes must be inserted and numbered automatically as generated by a word processor program such as Microsoft Word. They are placed at the end of the documents as Notes. Do not insert endnotes and numbers manually.

Nigerian Studies Review

Number 3, 2018

ARTICLES

'WHAT HAS ANTHROPOLOGY GOT TO DO WITH IT?': THE INTERFACE BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGY AND TOURISM

CHINYERE UKPOKOLO
University of Ibadan

Abstract

Although there are obvious differences between anthropology and tourism in terms of goals and approach, anthropology and tourism share certain similarities as the two fields focus on specific spaces, paying attention to the ways of life of those whose lives are defined on such spaces. This article explores the interconnectedness that exists between anthropology and tourism, in order to establish the areas anthropology can enhance tourism and tourism studies. I have incorporated my experiences as an anthropologist and an academic in higher education institution, particularly experiences gained supervising the dissertations of postgraduate students in anthropology and tourism studies. I have discussed how the adoption of ethnographic approach in research projects carried out by students working on the area of tourism in the two disciplines brought insights into the experiences of tourists and members of the local communities at the tourist destinations. The article concludes that anthropology can enrich the discipline of tourism through its ethnographic enquiries, expertise and knowledge that are indispensable in the promotion of tourism and enhancing knowledge production in tourism studies.

INTRODUCTION

Anthropology, the science of humans, prides itself as the discipline that studies humans holistically. For anyone coming in contact with a textbook of anthropology for the first time, the all-encompassing scope of the issues covered as the concerns of the discipline of anthropology certainly will be amazed. Anthropology is concerned about everything that concerns humans – humans' past, present, future, society, biology, culture *et cetera*. This article explores the relations between anthropology and tourism, seeking to ascertain the nature, the divergences and convergences existing between anthropology and tourism. It seeks to understand how anthropological knowledge and expertise can enrich tourism and tourism studies. I have also incorporated my experiences as an academic, with over a decade experience in the teaching of anthropology, experiences gained carry-

ing out ethnographic fieldwork, which spanned beyond my career as an academic, and my supervision of students' dissertation on the area of tourism at the postgraduate level. Supervising students of Tourism Programme at Centre for Sustainable Development (CESDEV), an academic unit in my university, also offers me further insights from which I discuss the interface between anthropology and tourism. I have made references to some of the findings from some of the research carried out by my postgraduate students in order to further re-establish the connectedness between anthropology and tourism and their point of departure. The article is divided into five main sections. It began with an introductory section, followed by an exploration on the concept of tourism, and diverse definitions scholars have used to define tourism. I have also brought to the fore why there are fears and skepticism when the issue of tourism is raised. The concerns of anthropology as a discipline bring the interface between anthropology and tourism.

TOURISM, TOURISTS AND THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

Etymologically, the word 'tourism' is taken from the word 'tour' which implies movement from one place to the other. Taking the above explanation literally as the definition of 'tourism' could mean that any distance one covers indicates that 'tourism' has taken place! Of course, this is not exactly correct about tourism. From available literature, scholars do not seem to agree on a precise definition of the concept of tourism. The complexity surrounding the concept 'tourism' emanates from the divergences characterising the phenomenal activities termed 'tourism'. Dennison Nash and Valene L. Smith raised critical dimensions of this complexity when they ask: Should tourism be viewed from the dimension of the consumer? Or, the provider? Brokering industry/entrepreneur or government policies? Or still, should tourism be viewed from development discourse or imperialism? Or still, should tourism be viewed from each peculiar activity or interest of the tourists, and by extension, the peculiar nature of the tourist site or item?[1] They conceive tourism as "one form of leisure activity and tourists to be leisure travellers, that is, travellers who are free of more important cultural obligations."[2] Tourism is indeed more that this; it incorporates, educational, religious, medical, sports, leisure and so on. Humans irrespective of class and society engage in one form of tourist activities or the other. Currently, there are scores of definitions of the concept 'tourism'. Peter M. Burns in *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology*[3], listed some of the popular definitions of tourism as contained in the literature. Some of these definitions are represented below:

i. 'A profound, widely shared desire to know 'others' with the reciprocal possibility that we come to know ourselves. . . a quest or an odyssey to see, and perhaps to understand, the whole inhabited earth' (McKean, 1977) .

ii. 'A study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and the impact that both he and the industry have on the host socio-cultural, economic, and physical environments' (Jafari, 1977).

iii. 'Multi-faceted phenomenon which involves movements to and stay in destinations outside the normal place of residence; comprises dynamic, static, and consequential elements' (Mathieson and Wall, 1982).

iv. 'Tourism may be defined as the loosely interrelated amalgam of industries which arise from the movement of people, and their stay in various destinations outside their home area. . . Tourism is, in essence, a phenomenon concerned with the leisured society at play' (Pearce, 1982). No allowance for impacts.

v. 'How and why for short periods people leave their normal place of work and residence. It is about consuming goods and services which are in some sense unnecessary. They are consumed because they supposedly generate pleasurable experiences which are different from everyday life' (Urry, 1990).

vi. 'Essentially, tourism is about experience of place. The tourism 'product' is not the tourist destination, but it is about experience of that place and what happens there: [which is] a series of internal and external interactions' (Ryan, 1991)

vii. 'Although travel and tourism are invariably identified as an 'industry' it is best understood as a total market. . . [which] reflects the cumulative demand and consumption patterns of visitors for a very wide range of travel-related products' (Middleton, 1998).

This array of definitions reflects different stand points from where various scholars conceive 'tourism'. Obviously, some definitions are more embracing than others. For instance, Ryan's definition that incorporates both the 'guest' and the 'host', as well as the experiences emanating from interactions in a place can be said to be more appealing than those that either omit impacts (eg Pearce, 1982),[4] or the one that lacks gender sensitivity (eg Jafari, 1977).[5] Peter Burns identified four fundamental elements of tourism which any definition of tourism must incorporate (i) travel demand, (ii) tourism intermediaries (iii) destination influences, all of which consequentially lead to (iv) a range of impacts.[6] He, therefore, posits that tourism can be studied either as "business" or as "a set of phenomena."[7]

Although discourse on tourism has gained attention in the Western world over a century, in Nigeria, it stated gaining the attention of political office holders in recent decades leading to the establishment of the National Commission for Museums and Monuments (NCNM) established in 1990 and the Nigeria Tourism Development Corporation (NTDC) established in 1992 as two critical agencies mandated to promote tourism in the country. O.B. Lawuyi identifies two approaches to the discourse on tourism in Nigeria as (i) academic interest by scholars, and (ii) public discourse, which mostly centres on political economy of tourism, that is, discourse of capitalism and the need to respond effectively to the emerging market.[8] According to O.B. Lawuyi 'tourism' implies "a sense of exploration, and of an ecstasy of seeing the spectacular, of witnessing the strange, the extraordinary thing beyond the range of the everyday observation or occurrence as, many places can offer".[9], while also acknowledging the need to incorporate the perspective of the tourist as well as those "whose worlds or constructed versions of them we read."[10] Humans are inquisitive beings, always seeking to discover, to understand beyond what is ordinary. Through all stages of human history, the search to discover beyond one's immediate environment has remained the driving force that propels humans beyond their immediate reality. This quest to know more, to experience more was further given impetus with the spectrum of scientific discoveries that characterized modernity. Modernity, historically located in the 18th century, was characterized by the reign of science and scientific discovery, which paved way for technological revolution. Advancement in technology broke the hitherto existed barriers between diverse peoples of the world. Services of scientific breakthroughs such as automobiles, planes, automatic weapons, long range artillery, ocean liners, wireless communications, and so forth enhanced explorations of the world for various purposes, which include tourism.

Tourism offers us inroad into the value system of the peoples in different societies. In an article titled, 'Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and other Alternatives', Stronza avers that "the things that tourists do, the experiences they seek" can help us to understand the "value system of the modern world."[11] Citing MacCannell, the author further notes that tourism can also serve "a unifying force in modern societies, bringing people together to define collectively the places, events, and symbols that are deemed important and somehow meaningful"[12]. The author then concludes, "The act of seeing these 'in person', and then sharing the experience with others through photographs, souvenirs and stories allows tourists to reassemble the disparate pieces of their otherwise fragmented lives"[13]. Tourism involves identification, movement to a new physical space, discovery, and participation in the environments through the consumption of the culture of a people as facilitated

by culture brokers, with some impacts on both the guests and hosts in diverse ways. 'Discovering' of a tourist site is not in the sense of Joseph Conrad's discovery of 'heart of darkness' and all other ethnocentric undertones that characterise Western encounters with non-Western societies, but in the sense of gazing at other people's cultural products, and participating through consumption of their lifeways. Tourists are leisure seekers, moving away from their normal daily routines to places of encounters, to experience 'other worlds' and the subsequent transformation that naturally accompany such encounters, not just for the tourist but also members of the tourist destinations, touristic sites and those who facilitate tourism experience. Tourism therefore has something to offer to stakeholders in the tourism economy.

ADVANTAGES OF TOURISM

Tourism has a lot of advantages to add to leisure seekers and members of the local community that harbour tourist attractions. These can be briefly summarised as indicated below:

Employment opportunities in the rural communities

Tourism can have a reasonable impact on the life of members of the host community. Development of tourism in a local community provides employment opportunity for the unskilled and semi-skilled youth of the community, and other residents who may work as servers, interpreters, security men, waiters, cleaners, guides *et cetera*. This can reduce rural urban drift. With more money in the hands of these workers, their purchasing power increases as well as their standard of living. In a study carried by Zeloye Moemeke on Sarki Faremi Williams Abass Slave Museum, Badagry, Lagos, an informant notes:

> Tourism in Badagry is creating jobs for the local people… [A] couple of young people are employed as tour operators, tour guides, heritage site managers, boat men, transporters, and others. So, in a way they are making gains.[14]

Moemeke further reports that "Community members are also self-employed as independent tour guides and tour operators. These independent tour guides have been able to provide services to the slave museum and other heritage sites."[15] Creation of direct and indirect jobs are part of the side effects of tourism promotion.

Diversification of the economy in tourism destinations

Tourism leads to the diversification of the economy of any nation. At the local level, members of the local community produce more of what are in popular demand by the tourists. Goods like beads, calabashes of different sizes and shapes, foot wears, craftworks, locally made fabrics like *adire* among the Yoruba, *akwaette* material among the Igbo, *sotiba* materials popular in Dakar, Senegal, locally made hand bags, fans, and calabashes of different shapes and sizes and different cuisines to meet the increasing demands by tourists are made available in such communities. Individuals in the local community can also start their personal businesses to meet the needs of the visitors as they throng into their town at particular periods. Industries that service tourism like lodging also emerge and boom at this period.

Promotion of and intercultural encounter and communication

Tourism connects local communities with different peoples of the world as tourists from different parts of the globe throng a particular tourist destination. This promotes global peace and understanding. In the twenty-first century, globalisation demands that nations must cooperate if certain goals must be met. Challenges of insecurity and international terrorism, climate change and so on cannot be resolved without the cooperation of other nations. Tourism contributes in intra- and inter-national understanding. Victoria Nkebem in a study on Carnival Calabar, Nigeria notes that tourists from over 26 countries participated in Carnival Calabar in 2017. Such encounter promotes inter-group and intercultural understanding. One of the informants, Mr Bassey Inyang, in the study notes:

> The carnival has attracted many youths and children from far and near. Within and outside Cross River State coming together to interact, dance and associate peacefully with one another. The carnival brings about unity among states and countries. Personally, I have made some friends and associated with some people in the course of this event.[16]

In developing country like Nigeria where ethnicism and nepotism thrive and there is mutual suspicion of the other, tourism can help in the promotion of positive inter-group relations.

Process of unwinding and self-discovery

For the tourist, tourism helps in unwinding and reinvigoration needed for a fruitful engagement with one's job. Cross-cultural encounters implicated in tourism experience enable people of diverse cultures to come in contact and discover our common humanity. In understanding other people, we

also understand ourselves. In a study on religious tourism carried out at Awhum Cistercian Monastery, Enugu State, Nigeria, Ukpokolo and Oko- ye note that touristic experience leads to transformation, self-discovery, renewal, and change. Religious tourism, with its capacity for spiritual re- newal, other forms of tourism have the capacity for inward examination and subsequent determination and resolution to do things differently.[17]

Despite the advantages associated with tourism, often times, people have expressed fears of the side-line negative effects of tourism develop- ment. These have generated scepticism and foot-dragging when tourism promotion in a local community is touted.

FEARS AND SCEPTICISMS ABOUT TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The study on the socio-cultural impacts of Carnival Calabar on members of the local community in Calabar, Cross River State, Nigeria, revealed that many of the older generations observed that the Carnival has had some negative influences on the lives of their children particularly, female adolescents. They raised what some local community members term 'moral depravity' that characterise the lifestyle of some tourists and how many of the local girls become pregnant at the end of the carnival. One of the informants in the study reasoned that though the carnival offers members of the community the opportunity to meet many celebrities, "government should create a forum to educate some of the girls in the community on the manner they can protect themselves against rape, un- wanted pregnancies *et cetera* because the rate of unwanted pregnancies is always [high] during the period."[18] Other fears about tourism promotion are under-listed:

Promotion of inequality
Tourism may promote unequal and lopsided economic empowerment in a local community. Those who live closer to the tourist attraction site ben- efit from the emerging economy unlike those who reside far from the site. This promotes inequality in the rural community and may not be healthy in intra-group relations within the community. In addition, in most occa- sions, tourism is a seasonal phenomenon, flourishing at a particular peri- od in the year. For instance, the *Osun Osogbo* Festival in Osun State takes place once a year and for a few days in August, *Iwa ji* New Yam Festival among the Igbo people of south-eastern Nigeria is generally celebrated during the months of August and September when the harvest of the new yams must have stated. The annual Cross River Festival takes place around the month of December. These festivals are seasonal activities. Employment opportunities are mostly available during the peak period of the celebration and drop immediately after. Besides, the sending societies

like Europe and America, also seasonally open their doors for their people, particularly during summer. Sending communities and receiving destinations, and other service providers such as hospitality industries, transportation businesses experience boom seasonally in economic activities associated with tourism. Findings from a study on Carnival Calabar revealed that members of the local community in Calabar lamented their limited participation in decision making for the carnival events. Political office holders and their supporters may reap greater benefits of tourism. In this way, tourism may re-enforce social and economic inequalities.

Commodification of local culture

Scholars, particularly anthropologists, have expressed the fears that tourism may commodified the local culture making it to lose the essence and meanings members of the local community associate with such cultural practices. Loss of meanings may mean loss of those things that bind the people together and the source of their collective identity. These fears are exacerbated as cultural practices are often taken away from the rural and natural habitats and staged in hotels and other public places managed by government. Cultural traditions that do not represent the current and authentic ways of life of the people may be reinvented to satisfy the tourists, and subsequently reinforce the civilised/primitive dichotomy that characterised the earlier studies of Africa by Western scholars. Indeed, Victoria Nkebem noted that 45.5% of her research participants on Carnival Calabar observed that they do not see the carnival as their true means of identity, while 29.5% identify with other cultural affinities than Carnival Calabar, suggesting some form of bias against the festival.[19]

As a new form of imperialism

The argument that tourism may be a new form of imperialism, where power asymmetry is reflected in the binary positioning of local/foreign, richer nations/poorer nations dichotomy has been raised. Tourists from rich affluent and industrialised societies, particularly Euro-American societies besiege the local communities in the third world, the poorly paid workers present themselves as 'servants' to these 'masters.' Peter Burns puts it this way: "Most times, the relationship and exchange between the two are unequal: engendering the feelings of superiority and inferiority between the 'guest' and the 'host.'"[20] Besides, imported materials, infrastructure and items of higher quality that the local people cannot produce or afford are used to serve the 'guests.' This economic disparity between 'host' and 'guest', which, like colonialism, can engender feelings of superiority and ethno-centrism among the tourists.

CONCERNS OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology, traditionally, has four main sub-fields namely: (i) Archae-ology (ii) Biological/physiological anthropology (iii) Social and cultural anthropology and (iv) Linguistic anthropology, and more recently the fifth sub-field (v) Applied anthropology. Though, coming from different sub-fields, certain issues emerge as the central themes in anthropology. We briefly explore these themes as identified in Joseph. P. Kottak.[21]

(i)   *Adaptation:* which focuses on the process humans cope with en-vironmental and circumstantial stresses; how people manipulate their environment for survival, resources conservation and the repletion of the natural resources to solve a particular human problem without endangering the possibility of the subsequent generations from meeting their needs.

(ii)   *Change*: Anthropology deals with change in diverse ways. For instance, Anthropology is interested in biological evolution of humans from prehistory to the present stage, homo sapiens. The discipline equally pays attention to changes in human societies, and in the lives of member of the communities. Anthropology engages with the problem of change that characterizes human condition. Human society has moved from hunter-gatherer to pastoralism, agriculture to the industrialism and the knowledge based economy of the Twenty First century. Evidently, in all these, change is paramount. Like the philosopher, Heraclitus, has observed centuries ago, the only thing that is constant in life is change; one cannot step into a flowing stream twice. The develop-ing countries like Nigeria has witnessed tremendous changes in the ways of life of the people as a result of culture contacts with the West beginning, with the earliest encounters with the Portu-guese traders, slave traders, to missionaries and colonial occupa-tion. Islamic religion and trans-Atlantic slave trade brought a lot of cultural impacts and change to the sub-Saharan Africa. Devel-opment in technology and communications have connected peo-ples of diverse cultures and societies and engendered much change than had previously imagined. These changes attract the attention of anthropology.

(iii)   Anthropology is interested in the similarities and differences among peoples and societies - present, past, ancient, modern, and simple, or complex societies. Cross-cultural perspectives and comparison of the ways of life of people of different societies en-

riches anthropological enquiry. In an attempt to understand human nature, it goes beyond focusing on one society to diverse societies to generate accurate representations of cultural differences and similarities among peoples and from there generate a meta-theory about human condition. Systematic comparison of data from different populations and historical periods are important to the anthropologists.

(iv) *Holism:* Although the concept of 'holism' generates debates in the field of anthropology, leading to various kinds of holisms in the social sciences such as 'metaphysical holism', 'functionalist holism', 'topical holism', and 'processual holism', each of these conceptualisations represents a particular school of thought with varying positionality. Metaphysical holism, for instance, upholds the Hegelian approach, which posits that "phenomena such as organisms and human societies could not be studied by the methods that were appropriate for the study of inorganic phenomena" and further maintains that "the whole is more than the sum of its parts and cannot be reduced to them; the whole determines the nature of its parts, and the parts cannot be understood if considered in isolation from the whole."[22] However, functionalist holism has enjoyed the most acceptability in the field of anthropology. This kind of holism upholds that cultural elements are seen as interrelated and independent, and form systems that are interrelated and affect one another. This concept of holism makes the anthropologist to focus on the entirety of the human condition, past, present, and even future, including all aspects of cultural institutions - political, economic, religion and social. Accordingly, William Havilland hints that "only in discovering how all cultural institutions – social, political, economic, religious – relate to one another can the ethnographer begin to understand the cultural system. Anthropologists refer to this as the holistic perspective."[23]

(v) *Cultural Variation:* Cultural and biological diversities characterise human condition. All the sub-fields of the discipline of anthropology pay attention to the issues of diversity. While archaeology be interested in reconstructing variants of the economic, social, political, religions patterns of prehistoric population, cultural anthropology pays attention to cultural diversities existing amongst peoples of different periods, societies of different scales, biological anthropology tries to understand the biological variations characterising humans in different times and space, the

impact of the environment and on the environment, the genetic variations, humans responses to the specific environmental variations *et cetera*. Linguistic anthropology on its part looks at human languages, origin and development, relates language to society, human communication, studies specific languages and generate generalising theory or meta-theory on human languages across time and space, and with these establishes how one group in linked with another. Applied anthropology on its part pays attention to employing anthropological knowledge and methods to solving human problems in specific socio-cultural contexts.

Anthropological concerns have continued to evolve. Today we have urban anthropology, medical anthropology, and forensic anthropology, among others. Yet, these have not exhausted all that anthropology is about. Rather, they provide a somewhat suffice thematic concerns that will do in our current discussion.

WHAT DOES AN ANTHROPOLOGIST LOOK OUT FOR IN TOURISM ISSUES?

The historical origin of anthropology's interest in tourism dates back to the 1970s in the Western world where attention was focused on culture contact and culture change.[24] In recent decades, tourism has become a flourishing area of study both in basic and applied research. Nash and Smith observe that three areas have been of interest to anthropologists. These are: (i) transactions between tourists and hosts (ii) the impact of these transactions on the host people, and (iii) the transformative effects on tourists of their travels.[25] While not disagreeing with Nash and Smith, Stonza notes that anthropological studies on tourism has focused on two subject areas: (i) to locate the origin of tourism and (ii) to find out the impact of tourism. She criticises what she believes to be a common practice where some researchers pay attention to the tourists, or locals, a situation that has not generated a comprehensive picture. She advocates a shift of interest to "incentives and impacts for both tourists and locals throughout all the stages of tourism."[26] She further suggests that tourism needs to generate "social, economic and environmental benefits for local communities while creating truly transformative experiences for tourists."[27] Although in the West, anthropological study of tourism has dominated the field for over four decades, in the developing world like Africa, particularly in Nigeria, it is a relatively new field. Besides, in Nigeria, the field is currently dominated by archaeologists, who increasingly pay attention on cultural heritage resources,[28] and environmental archaeologists.[29] Some other scholars that engage in tourism studies may be scholars in agricul-

ture and forestry, hospitality management and so on. Others are culture brokers interested in packaging cultural tours, and government appointees. Thus, O.B. Lawuyi maintains that tourism has become an 'all comer' thing, with apparent near absent of anthropologists in the study of tourism in Nigeria.[30] Students of tourism studies in Nigeria in particular, may erroneously conclude that anthropology has nothing to do with tourism. Yet, tourism and anthropology have a lot in common.

Culture contact and culture change are fundamental issues in the discipline of anthropology, and this is where anthropology connects with tourism and tourism studies. Movement of tourists in and out of a rural/local community brings about culture contact and subsequent some degree of culture change. At a level, culture change may take place 'naturally' following the dynamisms of human interactions that occur. At another level, it can be deliberately engineered through the 're-packaging' of cultural products to meet the needs of tourists. But, what degree of culture change does tourism bring to a local community? While some scholars are of the opinion that this is very insignificant, they tend to overlook the 'forced' change that tourism may bring to the life ways of a people. For instance, in an attempt to commoditise the people's culture believed to possess tourism potentials, culture brokers interfere with the natural processes of culture change: people and activities are at times removed from their naturally occurring situations, repackaged and at times staged in hotels for the entertainment of the tourists. This form of 'repackaging' can create friction between the anthropologist and tourism enthusiasts. For the anthropologist, this process does not give room for an authentic representation of the lifeways of members of a local community; rather it leads to a creation of a 'brand' of the people's lifeways for the benefit of the guests. Put differently, the commoditisation of local culture does not depict an authentic representation of the people whom Anthropologists study to gain insights on human condition for the possible comparison, generalisation across cultures, and generation of grand theory on human condition across cultures. In fact, at its inception, anthropologists' interests on tourism was predominantly characterise with skepticism and criticism of how tourism would destroy the culture of the rural/local people. In a paper titled, 'Culture by the Pound': An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commodification', a study on the impact of tourism on Alarde in Fuenterrabia, Davyd Greenwood laments how the promotion of tourism has separated the people from their values and meanings of their shared cultural practices.[31] Greenwood's study then paints a gloomy picture of what tourism could do to local culture. For instance, he points out how the promotion of tourism changed the meanings the local community had of their ritual practice, which symbolised their identity, solidarity, and connectedness as a people.

Tourism therefore provides grounds for anthropologists to ask questions from the vantage point of anthropological concerns. The cultural dynamics and cross cultural encounters, which results from the promotion of tourism, for instance, raise issues of cultural change. The anthropologist is interested in understanding the interactions between the tourists and the local community, and how these affect the collective identity of the locals as well as what the tourist makes of the ways of life of the members of the host community. The anthropologist wants to understand the attitude of members of the local community towards the people that seasonally visit their community, moving from place to space, taking pictures, and gazing at cultural objects or the local practices. When anthropologists study tourism, just like tourism studies, they tend to look at the impact of tourism and tourists on local community – the people and their life ways, customs, values, *et cetera* - during and after the season of tourism. Note that the 'host' in this sense is not exclusively about the indigenous members of the community. Those outsider-insiders, that is, migrants who have resided in the community over an extended length of time are part of the members of the local community. Some may be more knowledgeable of a culture and the changes it might have gone through as a result of tourism promotion more than the insider-outsiders, who though indigenes of the community, live in the diaspora and have minimal contact with the home town. While paying attention to the individual experience, anthropologist also assesses the social, economic, and political impacts context of tourism, and raises questions such as: (i) why do people come to this site? (ii) What are those things that motivate the tourists to travel? (iii) What is their attitude to the site? (iv) What is the nature of their interaction with the site? And (v) What is their experience of the site? That is, what stories and narratives are they taking back? How is this story (re)constructed? (vi) Are the guests increasing in number or not? Why? The assumption is that a tourist ought to experience transformation by virtue of the encounter with the 'unfamiliar' (vii) What culture change has tourism brought to the local community?

The study of culture change is as old as anthropology itself, particularly with colonial encounter in non-Western societies, which brought about massive culture change through acculturation, with the agency of missionalisation, modernisation and globalisation. Debates on the rights of indigenous people gain credence in view of the violations of human rights that may arise in the process of modernisation or commoditification of cultural products. One can therefore rightly aver that while the local community may reap immense economic benefits from tourism development, they may be negotiating their rights for self-preservation and cultural identity in the exchanges taking place. And, this is where the political economy of tourism lies. What is the asymmetry of power underlin-

ing tourism promotion and local people's right of collective identity? Where can the line be drawn between improvements on the economic well-being of the people and maintaining their cultural identity? And, where do we draw the line between artificial preservation of a people's culture for the sake of tourism, and sustaining the meanings inherent in these cultural practices? Anthropology therefore is in a privileged position to raise critical questions that can engender comprehensive understanding of tourism to ensure that the meanings people have of their lives are not jeopardised. Thus, Peter Burns maintains:

> While tourism as a set of activities crosses many cultures, the application of anthropology helps in a better understanding of these cultures and the emerging dynamics. This is done through ethnographic enquiries and application of acculturation models that help in the appreciation of culture relativity and culture change, which are aspects to tourism.[32]

In line with this position Joseph Kottak avers that anthropologists need also apply their advocacy role to strengthen the position of members of the local community.[33] And the role for anthropology should, according to him, include (i) "identifying needs for change that local people perceive (ii) working with those people to design culturally appropriate and socially sensitive change, and (iii) protecting local people from harmful policies and projects that threaten them."[34] Anthropology's advocacy role is needed in the field of tourism. In developing countries that have embraced tourism as a means of increasing the nations' Gross Domestic Products (GDP), a more introspective examination of tourism side-line effects could further reveal the indispensability of anthropological knowledge in tourism development, and the need to see anthropology as a mediator between tourism and host community.

INTERFACE BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGY AND TOURISM

When anthropologist study tourism, they are interested in the socio-cultural, political, and economic dimensions of tourism; they seek to unveil the behaviours of cultures and societies. Anthropology is interested in the nature of the interactions of the tourists with the local community - the landscape, the people and their creativity, and the outcome of these interactions. The anthropologist studies tourism by exploring the individual's experience, perception, and aspiration,[35] paying attention to the qualitative aspects of the experience of tourism. Anthropological research whether of tourism or other subject matter is characterised by 'thick descrip-

tion'[36] of the site and lifeways of the people under study. N. K. Denzin explains 'thick description' as it must:

> [P]resent detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships. Thick description invokes emotionality and self-feelings. It establishes the significance of an experience or the sequence of events. In thick description, the voices, feelings, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard. It captures and records the voices of lived experience.[37]

The anthropologist is a fieldworker, and participation and observation in the life of the 'Other' are prerequisite tools in knowledge production in the discipline of anthropology. Anthropologist is guided by his/her research questions with which he navigates the site and experiences of the Other. The anthropologist is not a leisure seeker. If this takes place, however, it is secondary, and must be in furtherance of data generation to answer well calculated questions, and to make a justifiable statement! That 'statement' is contained in written ethnography, a product. Thus, O. B. Lawuyi hints: "Ethnography, the written text, is the highly important defining set of ethnographic writing which differentiates the production in this sector (anthropology) from any other type of production.[38] Ethnographic writing, he maintains, is:

> One of the three independent but interrelated parts – purpose, fieldwork, and writing – that gives ethnography its unique character and establishes it as a well-coordinated approach to cultural studies. In the absence of the "text", the writing account of the experience and the interpretation given the data collected is like a person without a voice.[39]

John Brewer in his book *Ethnography*, identified ethnography to be of two forms – process and an approach.[40] Ethnography as a process is an activity, carried out by the researcher. It is demonstrated in fieldwork and the application of ethnographic methods. As a product, ethnography is a text, a by-product of fieldwork experience. It is a written text, a portrait of a culture as documented by the anthropologist. Although the insider's perspective is privileged in an anthropological enquiry, ethnographic text is a product of dialogic and inter-subjective encounters. The 'subject's voice are incorporated in the outcome of that interaction. The anthropologist strives to understand and participate in the life of his/her 'people'. The outcome of this engagement is a 'knower' from the insider's perspective, a projector of some sort of a voice that could ordinarily remain muted and invisible at the intellectual arena. In furtherance of this position, Deborah Kaspin maintains that:

> Anthropologists are uniquely positioned to transcend the ethnocentrism of the Western gaze precisely because of their seriousness with which we investigate the cultures of the locality. In so doing, the anthropologists unlike the short term sojourner [tourist], can cultivate a voice that is 'politically informed.'[41]

Whether in a journal, seminars, conferences or books, the ethnographer assumes the role of a knower, and the projector of that which s/he knows, the lifeways of a people, a product of a shared encounter. Anthropology's claim of authenticity is, however, open to contestation. For this, since its inception as a distinct discipline, anthropology is confronted with the question of the epistemological foundation of anthropological knowledge, the question of representativeness. For anthropology to lay claim to authentic knowledge, it must address this age-long question. From whose point of view is the anthropologist speaking. Is it from that of a researcher, the institution and tradition of the discipline or that of the local community? The debate on positionality and reflexivity is well established in social research, a debate which has caused the outcome of social research to come under some degree of questioning.

Obviously, the anthropologist goes deeper than the tourist. The tourist/sojourner has no 'political' space to contest for, nor does he represent any group except the self, seeking for self-transforming experience. The tourist consumes his goods/and products and passes judgement on it – good or bad. He does not necessarily need another's validation to determine if the product is good enough. But the anthropology has a totally different issue to contend with. Take for instance, when Malinowski claimed that the Trobriand women were powerless,[42] that position was contended by Weiner decades later, a contention that crumbled Malinowski's constructed legitimacy.[43] Same also applied to Margaret Mead and her sojourn among the Samoa. When Freeman refuted Mead's claim as 'myth' and engaged her in what he called 'unmasking of the anthropological myth.' This brings to the fore the fact that the anthropologist must give account and an accurate account to his audiences. It is not surprising therefore that Marcus and Fischer conclude that the question of interpretation and representation distance the anthropology from tourism.[44]

The tourist is in search of leisure on a space, while the anthropology is in search of 'space', or as Virginia Woolf would rather say *A Room of One's Own*'[45], physical space for ideological/intellectual stance, which may induce political statements. The anthropologist locates the space, interrogates the space and unveils the embedded meanings in such a space, which adds to a pool of meanings from where a meta-theory, a grand theory, that explains the general reality, and is applicable across cultures and societies. The anthropologist tries to create an ideological empire

which stands the chance of being deconstructed as new facts emerge. Deborah Kaspin, however, laments that while anthropology searches to make politically informed voice, and to refute certain claims that do not represent the authentic positioning of the 'Other,' other agencies like the media continue to propagate the errors that anthropology seeks to refute.[46] The worst dilemma for the anthropologist is that his/her subject can refute his claim to objective knowledge. The difference in tourism and anthropology is also visible in the area of tourism serving as industry specifically for recreation, leisure, relaxation and for making financial income. It also stands out as one of the greatest sources of job creation. However, both anthropology and tourism complement each other in the area of human development.

EXPERIENCES FROM SUPERVISING POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND TOURISM STUDIES

As a faculty in my university, I supervised postgraduate students working on the area of tourism. While few of these students are anthropology students, most come from a sister academic unit in my university, Centre for Sustainable Development (CESDEV). I encourage my supervisees to incorporate ethnographic approach in their research, even when they may complement this with quantitative approach. Over the years, I have discovered that ethnography as a method enriches tourism research as voices of tourists and members of the local community are incorporated in the research process. For anthropology students, a good knowledge of the local culture through the documentation of the socio-cultural and physical contexts of the lifeways of the people help in interconnecting the ideational and material culture of the people for holistic understanding of the research theme. For anthropology students, at a point in data collection process, they take case studies of the tourists' experiences and allow each to make a brief narrative of his/her life history with more focus on the experience as tourist at the site. This approach offers a rich 'thick description' of an encounter and transformation. Postgraduate students in anthropology working on cultural tourism such as festivals and religious tourism, for instance, have demonstrated how thick description captures the depth of the experience of tourists. More importantly also, anthropology students raise questions and issues that span beyond the coverage of tourism. eligious tourism, Ukpokolo and Okoye contend, presents how "pilgrimage as a social process" provides the platform for people of diverse social class and cultural backgrounds to meet and interact closely, breaking class barriers.[47] Tourists-participants in that research narrated the transformative experiences they had at Awhum Cistercian Monastery. Social connections are established among room-mates as they pray together and share expe-

riences at the site. Such platform provides what Victor Turner calls 'communitas.'[48] According to one of the tourists at Awhum Monastery:

> You know the way people behave here surprised me. People are so humble and not minding their status in life. Do you know that my roommates are very big men but you can hardly know until they told me one day during discussion? One is a pastor. He flew in with a bank manager to help him in prayer. The manager paid for the travelling expenses. My roommate came from abroad they relate with me as if we are all mates not minding my age.[49]

Religious tourism provides the context for individuals and groups in search of meanings and inner experiences of the supernatural to gather and satisfy their yearnings.[50] Similarly, a tourist narrated his experience at the natural waterfall within the vicinity of the monastery thus:

> When I saw the waterfall, I thought it was a joke, that some people were at the top there pouring the water. When I went closer and the water touched me, I was overwhelmed with joy and started praying because many people were praying. Since that day, I don't miss going to the waterfall.[51]

Such deep experience of touristic site can only be captured adequately through the use of ethnographic method.

Another study by a Tourism student who employed ethnographic approach in her study, revealed the richness of this method in tourism studies, and captures the emotions and cultural undertones that underlie tourism from the perspectives of members of the local community. In a study titled Socio-Cultural Impact of Carnival Calabar on Members of Local Community in Calabar, Nigeria,' Victoria Nkebem discovered that some members of the local community in Calabar expressed skepticism on possible negative impacts of the carnival on the life-ways of the locals. They noted that premarital pregnancy becomes rife after the carnival each year, raising the issue of moral implications of tourism promotion in a local community. According to Victoria Nkebem, "majority of the respondents in the host community are happy about the social cultural impact but some of the interviewees feel disappointed because the ladies in the community are either being forced or deceived into premarital sex by the tourists, and at the end …, the girls are left stranded with unwanted pregnancies."[52] This is represented as "82% asserts that the carnival Calabar contributes to social vices among youths in the state, … impacting on immorality, drug addiction and so on." However, qualitative data from of an informant, Lawrence Etim, states:

> The Carnival have [sic] exposed a lot of youths, adults, and children to immoral acts, immoral dressing. The attire used during the carnival reveals the sensitive parts of the body, they [sic] youths are seen half naked, immoral dances, misbehaviour in terms of thefts etc. Valuable items are lost because of porous environment, securities are only on guard when the festival is ongoing.[53]

Emotional aspects of the participants are not adequately captured through quantitative approach, yet tourism has a lot to do with emotions, interaction with people and environment. Still on Carnival Calabar, the long week of the festival and the months of preparation, parents observed, take the youth away from the traditional productive ventures, and thereby distorting the people's cultural values.

Similarly, in another study carried out by my former postgraduate student, Zeloyi Moemeke, titled, 'Ethnographic Report on Tourists Interactions with the Seriki Faremi William Abass Slave Museum, Badagry, Lagos Nigeria', where ethnographic approach was the only method adopted, he reported one of the tourists as saying:

> The moment I carried the umbrella, what actually came to my mind was how the slaves carried this umbrella for their masters. The weight of this umbrella was so heavy for me to lift.[54]

Humanistic and emotional dimension of the tourists' experiences are side-lined by statistical figures. Such findings as indicated above, call for the need to take a critical look at the cultural impacts of tourism promotion. Anthropology provides needed data for a more balanced analyses vital for tourism development. Comparative analysis as one of the central themes in anthropology, as indicated earlier, can enrich the study of tourism in multiplicities of ways. Also, the focus on holism can provide a more detailed analysis of these areas where the cross-cultural contact with tourists have brought about change in the ways of life of the host community, and with identification of the specific areas these changes have taken place, such as the economic, religious, social, political organization/institutions.

Undoubtedly, the interface of anthropology and tourism is based on the fact that anthropology is interested in the study of the ways of life of a people and their society. Similarly, tourism is about the movement of people in search of leisure, location of touristic attractions, and consumption of cultural commodities. What tourists come to appreciate are the ways of life of the people, their heritage - whether as they unfold or as preserved in artefact in form of material culture such as those from archaeological excavations or the monuments of previous human creativity

and civilization, or even as part of the landscape. Other ways anthropology and tourism share characteristics include (i) both explore the cultural production, rituals and symbols of societies (ii) They both move from the familiar to the unfamiliar, and (iii) Both carry the status of outsiders, though anthropology can also carry the identity of insider. Thus, Deborah Kaspin sums up the convergence between tourism and anthropology this way:

> Anthropologists and tourists do share some common concerns, such as a fascination with the exotic, a love of adventure, and a willingness to tolerate deprivation for the sake of discovery.[55]

The 'deprivation' Kaspin suggests is to a relative degree. The tourist seeks satisfaction, and what Kaspin describes as 'deprivation' may actually be what the tourist tries to avoid, to escape from - busy schedule at the workplace, routine activity as the place of residence. Of course, some discomfort may be experienced in the process of exploring and consuming what a site has to offer. It may therefore not be accurate to describe 'escape' from routine activities for relaxation and entertainment as 'deprivation'. For the anthropologist, it is different. The anthropologist deprives himself/herself of comfort in search of knowledge. My experience during my postgraduate programme captures what most anthropologists experience during anthropological fieldwork. In a section of my work titled, 'Beginning fieldwork…' I capture what could best be described as emotional exhaustion anthropologists experience during anthropological fieldwork:

> The stress that goes with fieldwork almost made me to wonder if one must go through all these to get a degree in Anthropology. On one of the occasions of my fieldwork, after the research in Nanka, enroute to Ibadan, I was admitted in a hospital in Benin, Edo State! Thank God for my brother-in-law who resides in Benin [capital of Edo State]. I was weak, sick, and tired. Indeed, I was emotionally and physically exhausted! I spent three days in the hospital where I was administered intravenous infusion and malaria treatment before I was discharged.[56]

This certainly is a consequence of deprivation and suffering, not fun-seeking, entertainment, and relaxation. Touristic experience and fieldwork in anthropology are not similar. Nevertheless, by virtue of the willingness of the practitioner in each field to engage with the 'Other', their search for the unknown for the sake of discovery the two disciplines can enrich one another.

CONCLUSION

Undoubtedly, anthropology has got 'something' to do with tourism in many ways. As anthropologists, we are concerned about the local community and the rights of indigenous peoples. Anthropologists interact with members of the local community and, at times, 'adopt' such spaces as our individual spaces. We are concerned about the changes taking place on 'our sites', and how 'our people' are responding to these changes. We are also interested in the values and meanings which members of the local community hold and how the emerging changes are impacting on these values and the people's collective identity. Anthropologists bother about how the monies generated through tourism are redistributed so that members of the local community, and not a segment of it, benefit equally from the proceeds of tourism promotion to ensure group cohesion. From the discussions presented in this article, certain conclusions can be drawn. Tourism overlaps with anthropology in diverse ways as we have argued in this article. Tourism brings people from disparate socio-economic backgrounds into close interactions, and further raises the issue of cross-cultural contact and intercultural communication, which are in the purview of anthropology. Although tourism can immensely benefit from anthropology, anthropology benefits from tourism to the extent that it provides subject matters of anthropological interrogation. Nevertheless, the relationship between the two fields remains for now, interdependent to a very large extent.

Also relevant as a conclusion from this research is the fact that while tourism can bring about economic diversification and employment, resources generated need to be distributed for the benefit of the generality of the community. Ethnographic information is needed to bring to the limelight the rich historical, and socio-cultural values of tourist sites. Tourism centre without ethnographic information will be lacking in an important instrument needed to showcase its contents in order to attract much needed patronage. Expertise of anthropologists will enhance the development of tourism both the training of students of tourism studies and retraining of managers of tourism. Across the spectrum, whether from the position of the provider, consumer/client, development planners or culture brokers, anthropological knowledge can address the practical needs of the hosts and the guests. More importantly, anthropology has the capacity to ensure that the collective identity of the host community remains uncompromised in a bid to promote tourism.

NOTES

¹ See Dennison Nash and Valene L. Smith, "Anthropology and Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 18 (1991): 12 25.

² Ibid, 14.

³ See Peter M. Burns, *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 30.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid., 25 – 26.

⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁸ O. B. Lawuyi, 'Tourism in Nigeria,' in *Anthropology and Anthropological Applications in Nigeria*', O. B. Lawuyi, and B. O. Ololajulo (eds.) (Oshogbo: Swift Print Limited, 2011a), 160.

⁹ Ibid., 156.

¹⁰ Ibid., 167.

¹¹ A. Stronza, 'Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and other Alternatives,' *Annual Reviews of Anthropology*, Vol. 30. (2001), 265.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ An informant, Bolaji Akande, as cited in Zeloye Moemeke, 'Ethnographic Report on Tourists Interactions at the Sarki Faremi Williams Abass Slave Museum, Badagry, Lagos, Nigeria,' 2004, 46.

¹⁵ Ibid. Zeloye Moemeke, 'Ethnographic Report on Tourists Interactions at the Sarki Faremi Williams Abass Slave Museum, Badagry, Lagos, Nigeria', 2004, 46.

¹⁶ An informant, Mr Bassey Inyang, cited in Victoria Nkebem, 'Socio-Cultural Impacts of Carnival Calabar on Members of Local Community in Calabar, Nigeria', 2018. A Dissertation Submitted to Centre for Sustainable Development, (CESDEV) University of Ibadan, in Partial Fulfilment for the Requirement for the Award of a Masters of Arts in Tourism, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria, 73.

¹⁷ Ukpokolo, Chinyere and Obiageli Okoye, 'Exploring the Tourism Potentials of the Cistercian Monastery, Awhum, South-eastern Nigeria," *West African Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 43. No. 2 (2013): 69-94.

¹⁸ Victoria Nkebem, 'Socio-Cultural Impacts of Carnival Calabar on Members of Local Community in Calabar, Nigeria,' a ddissertation submitted to Centre for Sustainable Development, (CESDEV) University of Ibadan in Partial Fulfilment for the Requirement for the Award of a Masters of Arts in Tourism, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria, 2018, 77- 78.

¹⁹ Ibid., 77.

²⁰ Peter M. Burns, *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology*, (New York: Routledge, 1999), 78.

²¹ Kottak, Joseph Phillip, 'Teaching the Introductory Course: Central themes in the teaching of Anthropology,' in *The Teaching of Anthropology: Problems, Issues, and Decisions*. Kottak, Conrad Phillip, Jane J. White, Richard H. Furlow, Patricia C. Rice (eds.). London: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1997), 13–21.

²² Harris, 22.

²³ William Haviland, *Cultural Anthropology*, (Orlando: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1993), 13.

²⁴ Dennison Nash and Valene L. Smith, "Anthropology and Tourism," *Annals of Tourism Research*, Vol. 18 (1991): 12-25.

25 Nash and Smith, ibid.

26 A. Stronza, 'Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and other Alternatives,' *Annual Reviews of Anthropology*, Vol. 30 (2001), 266.

27 Ibid.

28 See P.U. Okpoko, The Role of Cultural Resources in Tourism in Nigeria. In B.W. Andah, (ed) *Cultural Resource Management. An African Dimension* (Ibadan: Wisdom Publisher, 1990), 126-135.

29 See P.A. Oyelaran, "Human Impact on the Natural Habitats and Effects on Tourism in Nigeria," in *Preservation of Land, Culture and Wildlife for the Development of Ecotourism in Africa,* Aremu, D. A. (ed). (Ibadan: Spectrum, 2008), 83 -87.

30 O. B. Lawuyi, 'Tourism in Nigeria'. *Anthropology and Anthropological Applications in Nigeria'*. Lawuyi, O. B. and B. O. Ololajulo (eds.) (Oshogbo: Swift Print Limited: 2011a).

31 Davyd Greenwood J. 'Culture by the Pound': An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commodification'. In Smith, Valene L. (ed.) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, (London: Blackwell Publishers, 1977), 129 – 138.

32 Peter M. Burns, *An Introduction to Tourism and Anthropology*. New York: Routledge, 1999: 72.

33 Joseph Phillip Kottack, 'Teaching the Introductory Course: Central themes in the teaching of Anthropology'. In *The Teaching of Anthropology: Problems, Issues, and Decisions*. Kottak, Conrad Phillip, Jane J. White, Richard H. Furlow, Patricia C. Rice (eds.). (London: Mayfield Publishing Company, 1997), 13 – 21.

34 Ibid., 34.

35 M. Smith, *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies*, 2nd ed. London: Routledge, 2009: 5

36 See Clifford Geertz, Religion as a Cultural System. *The Interpretation of Cultures,* (New York: Basic Books. Inc.1973), 87-125.

37 N. K. Denzin, *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. 3rd edition, (NJ: Prentice Hall, 1989), 83.

38 Lawuyi, O. B. (2011b): 'The Challenge of Fieldwork in Anthropology' *Anthropology and Anthropological Applications in Nigeria'*. O. B. Lawuyi & B. O. Ololajulo (ed.), (Oshogbo: Swift Print Limited, 2011b), 71.

39 Ibid., 71.

40 John D. Brewer *Ethnography*, (Buckingham: Open University, 2000).

41 Deborah Kaspin, 'On Ethnographic Authority and the Tourist Trade: Anthropology in the House of Mirrors. *Anthropological quarterly.* Vol. 70. No. 2 April: 53, 1997.

42 See Bronislaw Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*, (London: University of London Press, 1913).

43 see A.B. Weiner, *Women of Value, Men of Renown: New Perspective in Trobriand Exchange*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976).

44 M.J. Fischer and E.M. George, *Anthropology as cultural critique; an experimental moment in human sciences*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986).

45 Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co. 1989).

46 Deborah Kaspin, 'On Ethnographic Authority and the Tourist Trade: Anthropology in the House of Mirrors. *Anthropological quarterly.* Vol. 70. No. 2 April, 53, 1997.

47 Chinyere Ukpokolo and Obiageli Okoye, "Exploring the Tourism Potentials of the Cistercian Monastery, Awhum, South-eastern Nigeria," *West African Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 43. No. 2 (2013): 69-94.

48 Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors Symbolic Action in Human Society*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

[49] Obinna, personal communication. Cited in Chinyere Ukpokolo and Obiageli Okoye, 'Exploring the Tourism Potentials of the Cistercian Monastery, Awhum, Southeastern Nigeria, *West African Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 43. No. 2 (2013): 77.

[50] Ukpokolo and Okoye, "Exploring the Tourism Potentials," 69.

[51] Uliakpor, personal communication. Cited in Ukpokolo and Okoye, "Exploring the Tourism Potentials," 79.

[52] Nkebem, 'Socio-Cultural Impacts of Carnival Calabar," 78.

[53] Lawrence Etim, oral communication, as cited in Victoria, 80.

[54] Chima, personal communication, 2012. Cited in Zeloye Moemeke, 44.

[55] Deborah Kaspin, 'On Ethnographic Authority and the Tourist Trade: Anthropology in the House of Mirrors. *Anthropological quarterly,* Vol. 70. No. 2 (1997), 53.

[56] Chinyere Ukpokolo, 'Gender, Social Agencies and Traditional Peacebuilding in the Resolution of '*Afu-Afughi*' Religio-cultural Conflict in Nanka, Anambra State, Nigeria,' Ph.D thesis submitted to the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria, 2006, 66.

Chinyere Ukpokolo is a Reader in the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Ibadan, Ibadan, Nigeria. She researches in the areas of Ethnicity, gender studies, higher education, tourism.