Contribution of Tourism to Cultural Heritage Resilience: An Analysis of Old Towns of Kenya's Coast

Susan Mbuthia, Damianah Kieti & Hellen Ipara

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[1*]Susan Mbuthia, [2]Damianah Kieti & [3]Hellen Ipara

[1]**Doctorate Student, Moi University**
[2]**Lecturer, Division of Finance, Planning and Development, KCA University**
[3]**Lecturer, School of Natural Resource Management, University of Eldoret**
***Email of the corresponding author: smbuthia@gmail.com**

Abstract

The preservation of cultural heritage in developing countries faces significant challenges, including economic pressures and climatic changes. Despite the cultural and economic importance of heritage, traditional conservation and preservation efforts often struggle against competing industrial development, as seen in places like Lamu. This study examined the role of tourism in enhancing cultural heritage resilience by focusing on issues such as preservation, the interplay between tourism and communities, and the impact on tangible and intangible heritage. Conducted in the culturally rich old towns of Mombasa and Lamu, the research was guided by ecological resilience theory and utilized exploratory and descriptive research approaches to analyze the relationship between tourism, culture, and heritage resilience. The study targeted a population of 470 individuals, including elders, household leaders, and heritage managers, and selected a sample size of 110 participants through multistage cluster sampling. Using purposive and snowball techniques, 15 heritage managers, 40 community household leaders, and 55 elders were chosen. Data collection involved interviews with site managers and household leaders, supported by observation schedules and photography to document cultural heritage. The findings revealed that cultural heritage undergoes various changes due to human interaction and environmental factors. Intangible heritage experienced more frequent shocks (89.9%) compared to built heritage (10.1%). A notable 38.9% of respondents disagreed that tourism significantly contributed to heritage resilience, suggesting that locals do not primarily preserve cultural heritage for tourism purposes. The study concluded that while tourism contributes to the resilience of tangible heritage, local values such as religious practices play a more significant role in sustaining cultural heritage in the old towns. The study recommends involving local leaders in Mombasa and Lamu Old Towns in conservation efforts to ensure the sustainability of both tangible and intangible heritage. It further suggests incorporating Swahili culture into the school curriculum, similar to Maasai and Samburu cultures, to preserve intangible heritage and foster cultural appreciation, with Swahili language learning emphasized for communication and cultural maintenance. A rational resilience framework should be adopted, tailored to address socio-cultural and environmental heritage resilience, balancing ecological and cultural aspects while considering social justice and community perspectives. Lastly, the study highlights the need for specific cultural indicators and monitoring methods to ensure cultural authenticity, as well as policies that integrate sustainable tourism, land use, and infrastructural development to protect cultural heritage systems amidst economic and demographic pressures.
Keywords: *Tourism, Cultural Heritage Resilience, Old Towns, Coast, Kenya*

1.0 Introduction

Tourism can be defined as the short-term travel made by people with intentions to pursue leisure activities. Tourism participants can be either singly, or in groups, from their permanent residence to other destinations within or outside their country (Bums, 2014; Nash, 1981; Okpoko, 1990; Pearce, 1989). As much as there are many forms of tourism, the two broad categories, that is domestic and international tourism, focus on the natural and cultural dimensions of the destinations, resulting in heritage tourism with two general forms: nature tourism and cultural tourism. With the current needs to incorporate conservation and protection of tourism resources, other forms of tourism have emerged such ecotourism, nature tourism and green. As it continues to grow, the tourism industry has become a central industry in developing world, mainly for its economic, physical, environmental and socio-cultural benefits. Several authors, including Mathieson and Wall (1992), have provided a comprehensive analysis of the economic, physical and social impacts of tourism.

As early as the 80's, Nash (1981) stated that the tourism industry is known to create a wide range of benefits to society. Having provided about 49% of jobs in Kenya in 2012 (KTB, 2013), the tourism sector employs, formally and informally, numerous people in various cadres as managers and subordinate staff in hotels, restaurants, motels, lodges, airlines and parks and other businesses such as curio-selling, shop-keeping, transport, banking, entertainment and tour guiding. By employing men and women in such sectors as hotels, lodges, tour companies and national parks, tourism allows citizens to participate in the cash economy, thereby raising their living standards (Muthee, 1991). Moreover, the revenue raised from tourists through entrance fees promotes the conservation of the natural and cultural endowments (Haulot, 1985; Muthee, 1991; Nveki, 1993)

Despite the success of tourism worldwide and in major historic cities and towns in Kenya, such as Mombasa, where about 65% of tourists' activities take place (Mohammed *et al*., 2019), tourism has been criticized for its uneven distribution of negative and positive impacts in host destinations. A wide range of literature contends that although tourism has played a positive role in the socio-economic development of many countries (Mathieson &Wall, 2016), it can also cause negative impacts on the environment, culture and society in many destinations. Nevertheless, assessing the impacts of tourism to determine sustainable ways of development for the benefit of both hosts and guests has been a consistent challenge for the tourism industry. Fasco and Nijkam (2019) notes that tourism impacts are multidimensional; economic, social, environmental, direct and indirect, positive or negative. Tourism may affect demographic characteristics, social structures and values, as well as ecosystems. All these can ultimately lead to a "shocked" or a changed cultural heritage.

 The industry threatens the life of the tangible and intangible cultural heritage in many ways. The first threat of tourism to the immovable cultural heritage is its contribution to the loot and damage of the immovable and movable heritage through theft of and illicit trade in cultural objects and the scribbling of graffiti on monuments. Bwana (1995) observes that the theft and illegal trade of cultural pieces, such as the Mijikenda *vigango* (specially carved memorial grave posts), has led to the desecration of the traditional burial sites and shrines (the *makava)* and the consequent virtual loss of these treasures. However, except for the highlights by Bwana (1995) and Maikwcki (1995), the extent to which theft and illicit trade have affected the cultural heritage in Kenya has received little attention. On the other hand, graffiti making continues at many Kenyan sites and monuments (Abdalla *et al.,* 2013; Kessy *et al.,* 2013. Nyamanga, 2015). Although capturing a historically valuable artwork, graffito is destructive as it interferes with the aesthetic value of and messages in

the heritage and creates avenues for other decay and deterioration agents to undermine the heritage's fabric. In addition, there is an increased danger of fire, light and smoke resulting from a variety of indirect tourist activities in a destination such as a cafeteria, camp fires, as well as sound and light shows (Buhalis & Fletcher, 1995).

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Even though tourism development may contribute to negative impacts on cultural heritage, tourism may also contribute to conserving it. Money accrued through entrance fees may be ploughed back to a heritage site for conservation efforts. But this "entrance for conservation" notion must be taken with a lot of caution. First, in countries plagued with corruption and misuse of funds like Kenya, there has been the need to enforce the proper usage of money accrued as entrance fees to be purposely used for conservation but with little effort. This means it can never be enough, and thus, facilities have been forced to increase entrance fees to cover conservation needs. This stipulates that tourists may forgo facilities with expensive entrance fees, which may subsequently lead to the degradation of the heritage resource and its eventual closure.

The other issue is the meaning of conservation of cultural heritage to heritage managers. In essence, conservation is the preservation, protection, treatment and maintenance of heritage resources to elongate their lifespan for continued beneficial use by the society (Linstrum, 1978; Nvamanga, 2013). This means conservation has the primary goal of lengthening the life of a cultural heritage resource. This out rightly implies that the cultural resource may have an end-stage because even preserved items have expiration timelines. In fact, Price (1990) asserts that the primary aim of conservation is to reduce the rate of decay to which objects are inevitably exposed (Fitch, 1992; Price, 1990). However, reducing the rate of decline does not mean that the heritage resource will stay intact. In reality, conservation's main aim is to hold together the cultural resource for some time. This is not what heritage managers should be contented with. Other lasting means of managing heritage resources should be explored, for example, exploring and promoting activities that enhance the resilience of heritage resources.

Incidentally, lots of research has been done about conservation of cultural heritage and its preservation efforts. For instance, Burkart and Medlink (1981), Mathieson and Wall (1992), Sanitwong and Ayutthaya (1985), Sudaporn (2012), Jiraporn (1994), Kanueng (2000), Kraisorn (2012), Hobson (2014), Kunkaew (2015), Aas *et al*., (2015), Chirikure*et al.,* (2008), Macdonald (2016), O'Connor (2016), Elsorady(2012), Dian and Abdullah (2013), Borsdorfaand Hidalgob(2013), Nysetha and Sognnæsb(2013) and Cho and Shin (2014) have all addressed cultural heritage preservation efforts and tourism's role in preserving heritage, but they all have a common summary. That preservation and conservation remains the realm of those interested in guarding their patriotic mindset and interests, thereby requiring a more holistic approach to managing heritage resources. Even with the possible and minimal efforts of safeguarding heritage through zoning of heritage sites, empowering communities with preservation finances and inscribing heritage resources to improve recognition status, this has not improved the lifespan of some intangible and tangible heritage resources. Most of those resources have continually appeared on the list of endangered properties. This, for a fact, has made tourism researchers see the industry as a saving sector that can potentially reclaim a decaying cultural heritage resource but have failed to address whether tourism can promote its resilience through tourism initiatives.

While tourism researchers have lauded the industry for its positive efforts to conserve and preserve heritage resources, others have pointed otherwise. For example, the literature review indicates that

the influence of tourism on cultural heritage results in conflict. For instance, Porter and Salazar (2016) have detailed how and why dispute arises due to cultural heritage tourism development with resounding success. Other Studies showcasing the conflicting influence of tourism on cultural heritage include Appadurai (2011), Garrod and Fyall (2000), Zhang *et al.* (2015), Rahman (2013), Barton (2013), Barton (2012), Salazar (2010), Timothy and Daher (2019), Porter (2008) and Pollock-Ellwand (2016). With the recognition of the conflicting role of tourism on heritage, it remains to be seen how cultural heritage resilience as a result of tourism can be used as an agent to mediate such conflict when it is indeed found out that tourism plays a positive role in the resilience of cultural heritage.

It is important to note that tourism, lack of conservation and preservation defined role alone is not the reason as to why cultural heritage is threatened. UNESCO (1976), Teo (1994), Mansfield and Korman (2015) and Teeger (2015) have identified other ways in which cultural heritage may become extinct. As they have outlined, wars, changes in socio-economic fabrics, immigration and emigration, and globalization, among others, may have devastating effects on heritage resources. For example, in most African countries, effects of colonial wars, colonial occupation, and partition of African states, ethnic wars, natural disasters, Post-election violence etc. can still be felt through the recorded misplacement, damage, and loss of cultural properties. Even with proper storage of such heritage assets in safe places such as digital museums and archives, those museums and archives cannot contend with cultural heritage in its natural setting. Again, in developing countries, rapid changes in social-economic situations have affected the protection and maintenance of cultural heritage assets. A case in point is Kenya's move to construct mega structures within the vicinity of heritage properties and resources such as the construction of standard gauge railway right through Masai Mara and other reserves, as well as the development of LAPSSET, an ambitious mega project of several East African states, that has its bosom in one of the most splendid cultural heritage site of Kenya- Lamu county.

The impacts of such projects such as LAPSSET may be gradual. Still, they will be felt full-blown once the respective communities such as those in Lamu discard their heritage in favor of the new economic activities that may come with the mega project. A cultural heritage impact assessment study prepared for a power company due to the construction of a coal plant had a very informative outcome. Among the impacts of the possible development of the coal plant was on the Lamu archaeological artefacts, cultural and economic lifestyle and the outstanding universal value of the Lamu heritage site. As such, they were enforcing conservation or preservation at such a place that is competing with industrial development which in reality may be futile. Thus, other measures must be explored, such as working towards the resilience of heritage in the midst of industrial development.

Encouraging other means of heritage management may be important and may be a welcomed possibility, especially in heritage sites competing with massive industrial development. To start with, the areas such as the old towns of Mombasa and Lamu have one common aspect: they are a stronghold of cultural heritage tourism due to their outstanding cultural heritage resource. It would then be prudent to use the same economic tourism activity to ascertain whether it can indeed contribute to cultural heritage resilience.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Cultural Heritage and Tourism

Prentice (1993) defined the term "heritage" as not only landscapes, natural history, buildings, artifacts, cultural traditions and the like that are literally or metaphorically passed on from one generation to the other, but those among these which can be promoted as tourism products. The author suggest that heritage sites should be differentiated in terms of types of heritage: whether built, natural, and cultural heritage. Furthermore, Hall and Zeppel (1990) further clarifies that Cultural heritage may be more tied with visual attractions, performing arts, and festivals. In contrast, built heritage involves historical sites, buildings, and monuments. For this purpose, heritage tourism is referred to as experiential tourism because visitors often wish to immerse themselves in the historical environment and experience cultural dimensions provided by the cultural environment. In her study of the connection between heritage and tourism, Peterson (1994) reveals three major reasons for visiting historical sites as to experience a different time or place, learning to enjoy a cerebral experience, and sharing with others or teaching children the history of the site.

Heritage tourism is also described as a segment of highly motivated travelers by performing and visual arts, cultural exhibitions, and other related attractions. For this reason, cultural heritage has not been overlooked in the sciences of sustainability. Most ethnographers ascertain that Cultural heritage is an essential tool for sustainable development. Communities living in proximity of heritage places have been prompted on the benefits of cultural heritage to stimulate sustainable development. Cultural heritage has been identified as a driver for sustainable development whereby resources and products related to culture and heritage are used as means of development. This has been achieved by using cultural heritage places and objects as sources of income generation, while communities also benefit from heritage tourism as a form of economic sustainability (UNWTO, 2014).

2.2 Relationship between Heritage and Tourism

Among the most stressed disadvantage of tourism development is that it aids in cultural erosion. This is whereby hosts or local communities adapt behaviors and attitudes of visiting tourists while also transforming their way of life to make the tourist "feel at home". More so, even when the local people realize that their culture is a strength in that it encourages tourism visitors and have new opportunities to develop cultural tourism, they (host) face the simultaneous pressure and temptation to over-develop their fragile historical and cultural un-renewable resources (Endersene, 2012). The above scenario gives tourism development agencies a challenge that requires a systematic balance between tourism development and cultural heritage resource sustainability. This is because tourism may, on one hand, help to maintain/conserve cultural products –for economic purposes- but to a large extent, may negatively impact on heritage through physical actions leading to wear and tear which occurs when visitors touch, climb

The ability of tourism to rejuvenate and conserve cultural heritage is undisputed. But the impacts and the resulting change driven by tourism on cultural heritage may need further review. In this context, impact refers to the effects or changes tourism has on available cultural the heritage, intensity and price-strength) and direction (negative or positive). Tourism as an industry has significant negative and positive impacts effects on the environment, economy and social structures. The interaction and expectations as well as desires of visitors and host or local

communities presents many challenges that compete with the positive aspects of tourism on heritage. For example, extreme or uncontrolled development of poorly managed tourism and tourism-related infrastructure can threaten the physical nature, integrity and significant characteristics of cultural heritage. Additionally, the environmental setting, culture and way of life of the local communities may also be corrupted. Furthermore, through negative social interactions, a degradation of social norms may be experienced. This may result to a degraded visitor's experience. ICOMOS has listed several impacts of tourism on cultural heritage such as: A lack of adequate or appropriate presentation and communication of the significance of a place to both the visitor and members of the local or host community can lead to a lack of understanding and appreciation of the culture and heritage of the place within the wider community. Secondly, an improper or inequitable balance in programs for the interpretation and presentation of the physical attributes of a place including its intangible aspects, contemporary cultural expression and the broader context of minority cultural or linguistic groups, can lead to an unbalanced or narrow understanding of the cultural heritage in the mind of the wider community. Where tourism is concerned, most emerging cultural destinations have insufficient integration of cultural heritage protection and management regulations and practices into social, economic, political, legislative, cultural and tourism development policies at national and regional level. These inadequacies can weaken the protection and conservation of cultural heritage over time.

The most realized impact however, is the Inadequate recognition of the potential conflicts between tourism projects and the conservation of cultural heritage. This can lead to diverse impacts on the heritage and lifestyles of the host community. However, this is not to mean that tourism has no positive impacts on heritage. Economically, tourism generates revenue and foreign exchange and creates job opportunities for people in various cadres in the industry. Tourism also promotes the preservation of the cultural and natural heritage for tourists' consumption. This is done through the stimulation of the production and sale of local cultural resources and products to meet the needs of visitors. At the same time, through selling of such cultural merchandise, tourism may contribute to the continuation of traditional crafts and skills. Indirectly, tourism may help promote the welfare and progress of members of the societies who earn from cultural enterprises. However, as Irandu (2014) asserts, the dangers of tourism oriented businesses are the fact that most may be owned and controlled by foreign investors. However, since tourism activities must occur in protected cultural areas and historical sites, monies from entrance fees, souvenir sales and contributions within those sites help in their restoration and preservation. Kenyan scholars (Irandu, 2014; Sindiga, 2014) have critiqued the inadequacy of information on tourism's impact on the cultural heritage but, perhaps most research information on the impacts have been incorporated in the vast general of tourism on the socio- economic environment of communities.

2.3 Tourism and Culture Change

The basis of these research is resilience of cultural heritage and therefore, it cannot be complete without the discourse of cultural change. Understanding of the social and cultural effects of tourism has gained prominence the tourism literature. In fact, there exists models of cultural change as exhibited by Carter and Beeton (2004) such as: changes in tourist arts (Graburn, 1984); 424 R.W. Carter. demographic changes (e.g. White, 1985); social exchange and resident perceptions (e.g. Ap, 1992). product change and ethnic preservation (e.g. Thompson & Cutler, 1997; Esman, 1984; Smith, 1996), among others. However, Carter and Beeton (2004) explain that, the theoretical explanations and models which may help in understanding cultural change and the role of tourism

in such changes remain missing in research. This may be catastrophic to communities particularly where broad survey of impacts of such changes maybe missing.

According to Varnam and Grossman (2017), Culture change is modification in ideas, norms, and behaviors of a group of people. It can be as a consequence of changing external influences such economic expansions. Internally induced culture change through discovery and inventions especially in businesses. However externally induced cultural change is the most common since it takes time to prevent or manage the changes. For example, cultural change from tourism related activities such as exposure of hosts to foreign cultural features may result in corrosion of authentic culture or at worse, may result in a complete change of a definite cultural expression. But, Carson and Beeton (2004) state that Change in one trait per se may be immaterial to cultural integrity. The most important work is reducing the strengths of interactions or links that results in cultural change. For example, the authors emphasize that the more people that practice the tradition the greater will be its strength. It is therefore safe to highlight that culture change resulting from contact depends largely on the nature of the contact, the socio-economic profiles of interacting individuals, and population magnitudes. Tourism could influence a positive or negative change in culture but other accompanying elements must be taken in to account. For example, media influences and improved communications technology and globalization may induce culture change. Nevertheless, agents of cultural change may cause a change in one element of cultural heritage such as a particular cultural practice such as the way people farm which may in turn cause a significant change in the nutrition of communities. This means some change can have a ripple down effect on the social livelihood of communities. Adoption of a changed cultural expression requires cognizant or intentional some kind of compromise or what Tucker (2001) calls trade-offs by individuals and the community. In most African settings, the level of acceptable change is normally controlled by community elders who may want cultural continuity but cultural economist will accept some concession, which as tucker (2001) notes is assessed in terms of the benefits a community will get and whether the changes are acceptable by the community.

This can further be explained with the use of a model of cultural change. In this model by Carlton & Beeton (2004), cultural expression as an element of culture has been used to exemplify a model of change.
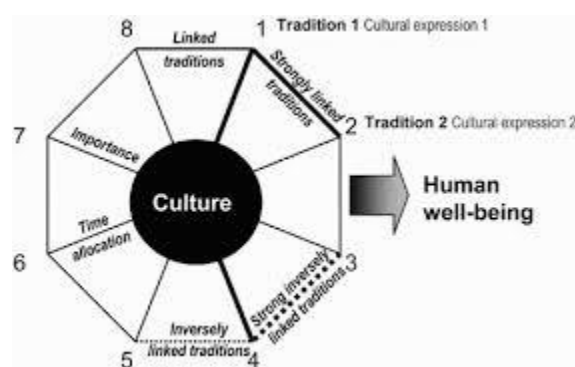
Carlot & Beeton (2004)

As the authors state, the Centre represents culture as a whole and the points of the polygon represent cultural expressions (1 to 8). The value of a cultural expression or tradition can be observed by the time allocated by an individual and a community to the expression or tradition (the length of line to the culture core). Since cultural expressions are known to be beneficial to

communities such as healing, spiritual development and management of social order. The Strengthening and protection of a particular expression will relate to the value a tradition has to the community. This will in turn lead to human wellbeing (Carlton &Beeton 2004). It is probable that under the influence of a means of cultural change, an expression will be substituted or adopted. This may prove to be positive or negative. But whatever the case, the cultural expression will change resulting to a changed model of cultural change as shown below
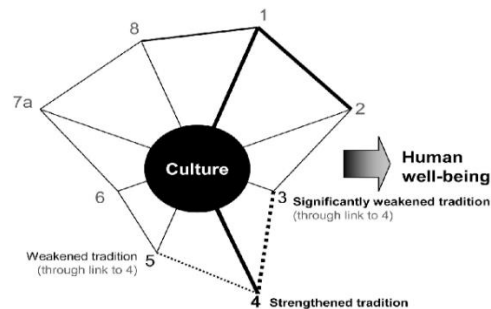

Figure 1: Features Associated with Cultural Expression

Carlton & Beeton (2004)

In the figure above, the authors identify several features that are associated with cultural expression. They explain that should a cultural expression with strong positive links to others gain significantly less attention, then it will be followed by a decrease in the associated linked expressions. For example, the demolition and failure to rebuild a kaya fortress of the Mijikenda people will automatically be accompanied by the failure to practice spiritual values and practices associated with the Kaya fortresses. It is prudent to note that the model of cultural change has its own limitations. For example, Carlton and Beeton (2004) recognize the model's assumption of multiple manifestation of cultural expressions which symbolizes that they provide a pragmatic indicator of a culture, and that maintenance of cultural expressions can indicate maintenance of cultural integrity. But culture is not simply the sum of its expressions, hence cultural integrity is not solely determined by maintenance of cultural expressions. Additionally, the expression may be in practice, but since it is a product of time and history, its traditional cultural meaning, relevance and significance may be imperfect, although still accommodated in the model by the strength of links to 'core culture'

2.4 Resilience Concepts

Although a disputed concept in tourism and other related studies, resilience, as noted by Davoudi (2012) is replacing sustainability in everyday discourses in much the same way as the environment has been subsumed in the hegemonic imperatives of climate change. Among notable fields that have embraced resilience are engineering, socio-psychology and ecology. For example, Holling (1973, 1986) defined engineering resilience as the ability of a system to return to an equilibrium or steady-state after a disturbance such as an earthquake. In this perspective, resistance to disturbance and the speed by which the system returns to equilibrium is the measure of resilience. Holing (1996) also described ecological resilience as "the magnitude of the disturbance that can be absorbed before the system changes its structure. Here, resilience is defined not just according to how long it takes for the system to bounce back after a shock, but also how much disturbance it

can take and remain within critical thresholds. In the context of system changes, this means that those particular changes undergo a form of a cycle before resilience takes its full advantageous course. For example, walker *et al.* (2014) identified the adaptive cycles which offer a framework for descriptions of the role of disturbances in social and ecological systems. What these cycles basically represent are disruption, reorganization, and renewal of the system (Holling, 1986).

Chapin et al. (2019) use a forest ecosystem analogy to describe the key phases of adaptive cycles and how the theory can be used to describe disturbances that a given system undergoes. The authors note that an initiation of the cycle in the forest ecosystem, hereby referred to as "release phase" may be by a stand-replacing wildfire which brings about such rapid change among most properties of the forest system as death of trees, decline in productivity, increase in runoff to stream as well as compromised public faith in fire management. "The phase occurs in a matter of hours to days and radically reduces the structural complexity of the system". Ecologically, the resilience of an ecosystem is the amount of disturbance that a particular ecosystem could withstand without changing self-organized processes and structures. Holling (1996) explains that the ecological resilience concept assumes multiple regimes, hence more than one basin of attraction. The system may move about within the basin, never settling at the bottom; it may also cross a threshold and settle in a new basin of attraction, as shown in figure 2 below.
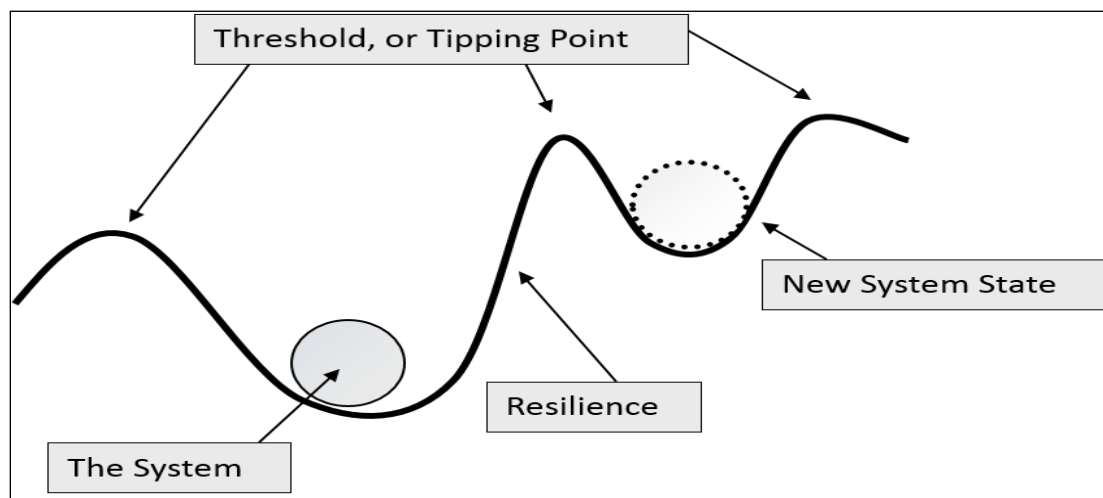

Figure 2: Resilience of systems Source

2.5 Theoretical Framework

As discussed in the preceding sections, resilience is a concept that has been in use by biologists and ecologists to explain how a phenomenon has withstood shocks and adapted to change. Therefore, interpreting resilience from a natural to a social world may need a clear paradigm shift and critical thinking of four issues, namely: intentionality of human actions, outcome or purpose of resilience, defining a system's boundary like in ecosystem the analysis of resilience has to determine the "resilience of what' and fourthly the challenge of translating resilience from ecology to how society relates to power and politics and the conflict over questions, such as, what is the desired outcome, and resilience for whom (Davoudi *et al.,* 2012).

In this case, however, as much as such critical issues may occur while advocating for resilience in cultural (social) settings, it should be noted that cultural heritage, by definition, can be both natural

and cultural and thus, both adaptive or ecological models of resilience can be applied to cultural heritage resources. According to SOE (2016), understanding and identifying tangible and intangible values of indigenous heritage is a critical component of cultural heritage resilience; hence the more people know, the more they can manage sites whose value is in physical (tangible) form. However, some indigenous places with intangible value have demonstrated an ability to recover through re-engagement of traditional owners, the transmission of stories and the re-establishment of traditions (SOE, 2016). Additionally, Indigenous communities' access to and ongoing use of indigenous heritage places are important resilience-building factors. This may demand a proactive research-based approach to establish whether the local communities maintain their heritage places for their community's sake or economic (tourism) benefits. This research is therefore informed by the adaptive theory of resilience of systems and regime shifts. For this research, resilience is defined as the ability of a system to maintain certain functions, processes, or populations after experiencing a disturbance. This concept of resilience emphasizes connectedness, context, and feedback. It also focuses on how a system absorbs and adapts to change, as Berkeset al. (2013) explained. As represented by Holling (1986, 2012)-see figure 3, the adaptive cycle has four stages, namely, Reorganization, growth phase, conservation and creative destruction phase.
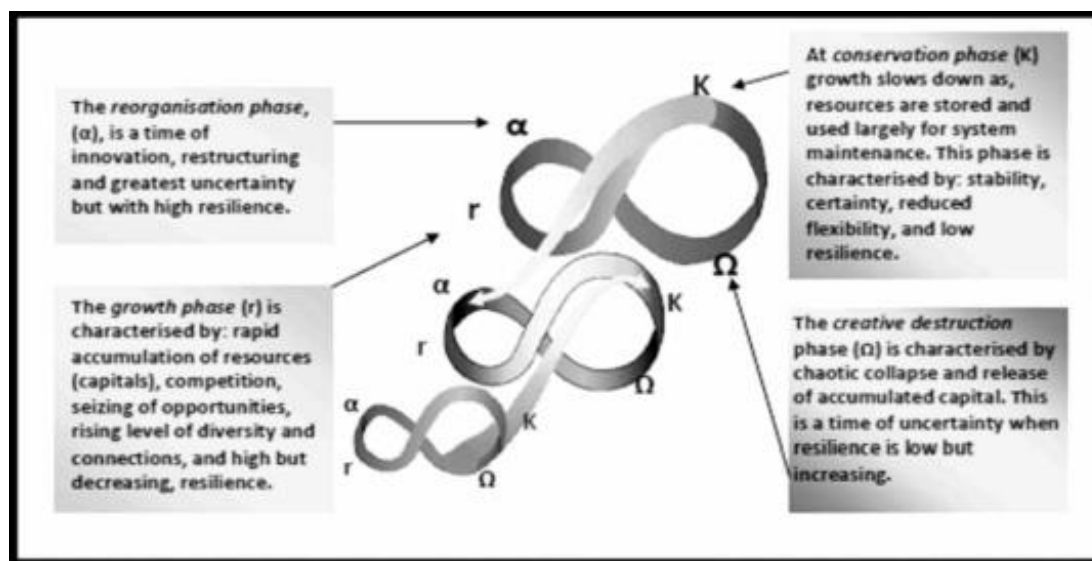

Figure 3: The model of the adaptive cycle. Source: Holling and Gunderson (2012, p. 34) and Pendall et al. (2010, p. 76).

Ideally, as Allison and Hobbs (2014) state, during reorganization phases, the capacity of a system to adapt and change using accumulated resources is high. Therefore, this guarantees the increased resilience of a system. The coastal region of Kenya is a mature tourist destination. The researcher assumes that the destination is in the reorganization phase of the adaptive cycle. As such, the destination is either innovating or restructuring itself due to high economic activities and other environmental pressures, especially through development of mega structures eg LAPPSET, in Lamu, and expansion of superstructures e.g. the Kenya Ports. Consequently, tourism in the region may act as a resilient agent should reorganization of the heritage system occur in the process. Therefore, the study espouses that, during the reorganization phase, where there's innovation,

restructuring and uncertainty in areas surrounding culture, there's high cultural heritage resilience, as depicted in the theoretical model below.

In this study, the concept of cultural heritage resilience is concerned with the ability of the intangible and tangible cultural heritage (whether natural or manmade) to sustain and maintain its heritage "functions" after experiencing re- organizational disturbances of tourism development. On the other hand, regime shifts are persistent changes in systems structure and function, which can be abrupt and difficult to reverse. For example, in the case of tsunamis destroying touristic villages of Sulawesi in Indonesia may cause regime shifts that may be irreversible. In a cultural heritage system, regime shifts reflect a major change in cultural practices, behaviors and ethos due to infrastructural development, environmental changes like climatic changes, and population increase. The study defined regime shifts in the state of historical sites in the built environment and cultural activities systems by observing their functional levels. If the heritage site cannot sustain the same identification to the original residents (in this case, it is not resilient enough to suit the heritage of the locals), such major change in local cultural practices can be treated as a regime shift.

3.0 Research Methodology

The study employed an exploratory research design enhanced by a cross-sectional survey to investigate the role of tourism in cultural heritage resilience. The exploratory approach was suitable as it addressed a relatively unexplored topic, aligning with Creswell (2014), who emphasized the importance of this design for under-researched areas. The cross-sectional survey allowed for the simultaneous analysis of multiple respondent characteristics, capturing qualitative data that provided meaningful insights from the participants. This methodology enabled the researcher to explore cultural heritage resilience comprehensively by focusing on the perspectives of community leaders, households, and heritage site managers in Mombasa and Lamu Old Towns, as suggested by Mertens (2012).

The study was conducted in Mombasa and Lamu Old Towns, selected for their historical significance and appeal to cultural tourism. Mombasa, Kenya's oldest town and second-largest city, boasts a rich heritage influenced by Omani, Portuguese, and British rule, evident in its architecture, cuisine, and cultural practices. Lamu Old Town, similarly steeped in history, offered insights into the interplay between built heritage and living culture. The study focused on these heritage sites as they embody a complex cultural narrative that attracts both local and international tourists. The target population included 470 individuals, comprising community leaders, households, and site managers, with a sample of 110 respondents, including 40 community households. Sampling techniques such as purposive and snowball sampling ensured adequate representation of key groups.

Data collection involved semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The interviews, lasting approximately 30 minutes each, were recorded for transcription and analysis. Participants shared varied insights based on their demographic characteristics and roles, with site managers displaying more technical knowledge and households contributing cultural context. Observation complemented the interviews, capturing unstructured data about cultural events, practices, and heritage sites. Content analysis was used for data interpretation, leveraging semantic techniques to identify themes and sentiments from the qualitative data. Designation analysis highlighted frequently mentioned heritage elements, while attribution analysis explored the descriptive language used by participants, revealing perceptions such as the influence of tourism and internal

migration on cultural heritage. Statistical analysis was conducted using SPSS version 22 to ensure replicability and validity.

4.0 Findings

4.1 Study Setting

Lamu is one of Kenya's oldest towns which has seen continuous settlement for decades and it is attributed by eminent Swahili researchers as the cradle of Swahili civilization. UNESCO indicates that, Lamu county is known as the home to some of the best preserved Swahili architecture in the world. But the small archipelago exhibits the distinctive but rare African cultural heritage that is a mixture of Swahili, Arab, Indian and other Asian heritage. In fact, as Rotham (2002) affirms, the county boosts of its inimitable architecture against a background of splendid ocean view that is a result of cultural influences that have come together over many centuries from Europe, Arabia, and India. Owing to its status as a World Heritage Site inscribed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), Lamu has all the luster of a successfully well maintained heritage site that attracts tourists yearly. Its inscription as a world heritage under criterion ii, iv and vi means denotes its importance as a cultural hub. For starters, the different criterions mean that Lamu's architecture and urban structure demonstrate the cultural influences that have come together there over several hundred years from all over the world which have utilized traditional Swahili technique, represents a significant cultural and economic phase in the history of the region, and it is a significant center for education in Islamic and Swahili culture as it continues to attract scholars, tourists and religious visitors. (UNESCO)

Initially, the town was a small center inhabited by the Swahili people. As a small trading center, Lamu served as a trading settlement for goods between the Arabian Peninsula and East Africa such as Mangrove poles from the coast of Kenya, and ivory and rhinoceros horns from the interior of Africa (Horton and Middleton 2000). The town also served successfully, as an important maritime linkage of trade between interior African towns and those of Asia and their empires such that the Omani saw an opportunity and conquered the Thriving East African coastal towns. Although assimilation of Omani Arabs into the Swahili culture was imminent, The Lamu heritage society states that it was during the occupation of the Omani Arabs in the 1600-1700s, that saw the rise of the unique coral stone houses that are still standing even after the subsequent arrival of British and Germans in the town. The Inhabitants of Lamu have maintained much of their heritage as well as their economic activities. Traditional economic activities include fishing, dhowing, mangrove farming and harvesting, spice trading, boat masonry among others. Tourism and other social economic activities at the county have seen accessibility means to the county improve overtime. Mombasa, just like Lamu has a long history as an important port on the Indian Ocean Trading Routes. The town is inhabited by a mix of local, Arab, Asian, Portuguese and British settlers. ombasa is a major city, the most active seaport on the East African coast. The city proper is an island, a rectangular bit of land roughly three by five miles. It is set within the jaws of the coastline but is completely separated from the mainland by a narrow semicircular inlet of the Indian Ocean.

The history of Mombasa, though fascinating is mixed with emotions for the locals. Once a small village that was called gongwa and was occupied by some Swahili groups that were ruled by one Queen Mwana Mkisi, followed by Shirazi dynasty. It was during the Shirazi dynasty that the Portuguese found their way into the island in the 1500s. The Portuguese visits, though destructive, opened the small island to become one of the most important towns for the great Indian Ocean trade. The trade consequently brought in several far East and Asian traders and migrants who were

later joined by Europeans. The mix of traders and migrants brought in a blended form of tangible and intangible heritage that can be manifested by the unique architecture of buildings such as the German post office and the Fort jesus. The old town itself is designed in a form of mitaa (mtaa) which is Swahili for "localities" making the houses in the old town to be closely packed together. Still currently, most houses still maintain the typical rectangular Swahili houses. Though devoid of the Swahili courtyard with a somewhat neglected look, the houses in the old town still portray the leaf abstracts and floral patterns and Ornately carved doors which signifies the main entrance feature for many Swahili houses

4.2 Response Rate

Out of the sample size of 110, the total respondents were 92, indicating a percentage of 83.63%. With a completion rate of 80% and above, the research is said to be unbiased since this indicates that more than half the sample size responded and thus highly relative. This is recorded in a number of previous studies; Twalib & Obonyo (2018) achieved 72.2%, Sibunruang and Capezio (2013) had 60% and Mumma (2010) achieved 55%. The data collected was qualitative since the interviews had open ended questions to allow explanation.

Table 1: Response Rate

Heritage sites	No of community leaders	No of community households	No. of local heritage site managers	Total frequency	Percentage
Old town Mombasa	13	27	7	47	51.09
Lamu old town	16	24	5	45	48.91
Total	29	51	12	92	100.00
Percentage	31.51	55.44	13.05		

Source: Researcher (2021)

Table 1 indicates the distribution of the response rate which showed that the highest response rate was from old town Mombasa, represented by 51.09%, and those from Lamu old town were 48.91%. The highest number of respondents were community households, represented by 55.44%, the total number of community leaders was 31.51%, and the local heritage site managers indicated the least number represented by 13.05%.

4.3 Tourism and cultural change

From the standpoint of the government of Kenya and of both counties, the tourism sector is regarded as an incentive to increase the community's economic prosperity. In fact, it is among the seven economic pillars of Kenya's vision 2030, meaning that it is recognized as a one of the important industries that can spruce up the Kenyan economy. The tourism Industry has contributed positively to the economic development of Lamu and Mombasa in the past years. Other than sun, sand and sea, cultural tourism is the second most motivator for most international and domestic tourist to travel down coast of Kenya.
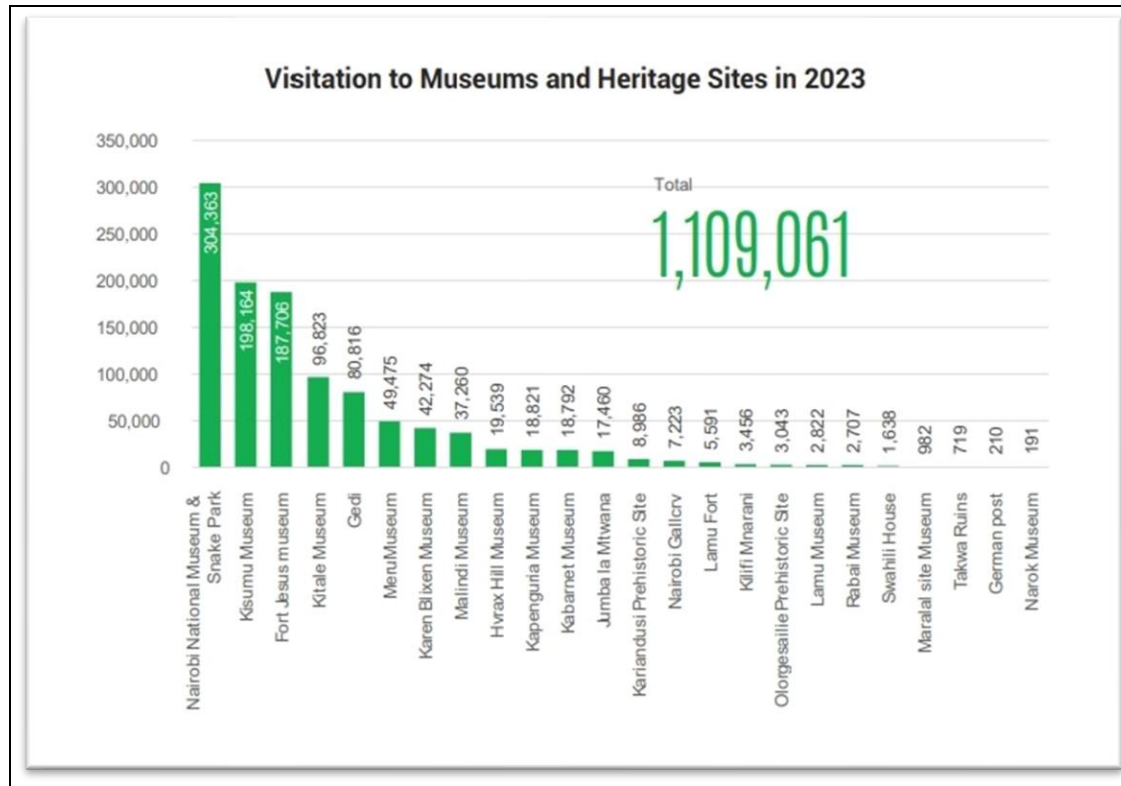
Figure 4: Museum and Heritage sites visits: (Annual Tourism Report 2023)

The data above illustrates the number of visits to museums and heritage sites in Kenya. As can be seen, the Fort Jesus in Mombasa old town is among the top three best performers in heritage site visitations. However, one cannot rule out the unavailable data that may show the total tourists visits within the old town of Mombasa since there is no common entrance and fee to the old town. Also as seen in Lamu, all the attractions that fall under the umbrella of Lamu museums have recorded some impressive performance such that when combined, the Lamu old town would be among the top ten most visited area in Kenya. Similarly, one cannot ignore the absence of actual data that shows visitation numbers of tourists within the Lamu old town to just experience cuisine and local architecture. As a matter of fact, while on site, the researcher gathered that return visits to Lamu by tourists were just to experience the dhows and the annual niche festivals like Yoga which have unrecorded performance. The tourists' visits combined with other factors may impact on the cultural resources negatively.

These changes may be as a result of contact and interactions among people in an area and the occurrence of cultural process such as cultural acculturation, assimilation, innovation and diffusion may affect the original culture of a community (Boyer 2001; Carter and Beeton 2008; Herskovits 1958; Salih 2007; Servaes and Obijiofor 2007). Cultural heritage can also change due to stress and shocks from ecological, infrastructural and socio-economic processes. In this regard, some elements of the local culture may be lost as people modify cultural practices into more modern ways which may be detrimental to a society. Addressing such issues promotes practical strategies that can enhance the management and durability of cultural heritage such advocating for heritage resilience. According to SOE (2016), understanding and identifying tangible and intangible values of indigenous heritage is a critical component of cultural heritage resilience; hence the more people

know, the more they can manage sites whose value is in physical (tangible) form. However, some indigenous places with intangible value have demonstrated an ability to recover through re-engagement of traditional owners, the transmission of stories and the re-establishment of traditions (SOE, 2016).

The importance of managing and preserving cultural heritage is based on the fact that many heritage assets in the developing countries lack protection. Timothy and Nyaupane (2009,11) explain that threats to cultural heritage resources and preservation challenges have lead to loss of important elements of the resource. Among the issues that prompt management of cultural heritage are like war and political conflict, vandalism and human wear, urbanization and agricultural pressures, overcrowding by tourists, and lack of planning and management". The lack of clear structures regarding who take the responsibility of managing heritage assets, has put a dent on stakeholders such as the community and the non-governmental organizations that craft rules, code of conducts and principles of heritage management. Lack of funds for conservation and restoration of important heritage assets in public places has also led to deterioration of urban heritage. In fact, conservation of cultural heritage without funds to do so is just a conversation.

Lack of skilled human resource in the heritage sector is also an issue in community governed heritage sites. For example, house owners in the old towns may lack essential skills and resources to manage their cultural assets. In fact, they may be un aware that they possess important cultural heritage assets that can be regarded as heritage products for consumption. Furthermore, understanding the distinction between intangible and tangible heritage may create concerns not only to community members, but also to heritage managers when it comes to developing, packaging, and managing the resource whether for tourism or for community benefits. The intangible aspects of culture require a methodical approach in managing it as it requires the availability of the community members who retain intangible elements, and who must also decide and distinguish which intangible aspects of culture is important to them.

4.4 Tourism, community and Cultural heritage

Communities are termed as the owners of heritage. The general understanding of the community on the importance of cultural heritage and attitude towards the resource may determine the sustainability of the resource in the long term. The table 2 below, indicates a mean of between 1 to 4 since the Likert scale indicated 1 to 4 for strongly agree of strongly disagree. Therefore, majority of the respondents agreed that cultural heritage draws people together towards their common cultural goals as indicated by the mean of 1.06. This means that when individual share the same element and behavior they tend to be drawn together.

Table 2: Tourism and cultural heritage

Tourism and tangible cultural heritage	Mean	Standard Error	Sample Variance	Standard Deviation
There is close relationship between the local community leaders and heritage organizations such as UNESCO on the protection of national tangible cultural heritage.	1.9282	0.0727	0.9559	0.9777
Tangible cultural heritage is damaged in the hands of tourist	3.9278	0.0863	1.3411	1.1581
Tourism has greatly influenced the safeguarding and protection of heritage in this county	2.58	0.101	1.463	1.139
The tangible objects are an indication of human history of ideas, memories and habits.	3.43	0.096	1.412	1.993
There is a growing cultural heritage diversity in the state as each generation changes	2.19	0.105	1.502	1.255
The cultural heritage draws people together towards the common goal.	1.06	.076	1.112	1.237
Tourist are briefed on the cultural heritage history and its meaning to the local community	1.15	0.071	1.027	1.055

Source: Researcher (2021)

Respondents also acknowledged that tourists may tend to damage cultural heritage by a mean of 3.927 but on the other hand, the same tourists are briefed on the cultural heritage history and its meaning to the local community as indicated by the mean of 1.15. Due to the importance of cultural heritage the tourist is educated on the history of different cultures in order to understand why people behave the way they do and to appreciate the cultures they encounter. This may be with an effort to manage negative impact of tourism on heritage. There is close relationship between the local community leaders and concerned heritage organizations on the protection of national tangible cultural heritage as indicated by a mean of 1.9282. This indicates that all the parties involved are willing to protect tangible cultural heritage since they understand its importance to the economy and the entire community. A mean of 2.19 shows that there was an agreement that there is a growing cultural heritage diversity in the state as each generation changes. As the generation grows, they tend to adopt new ways of operating and carrying out activities. This is facilitated by different education and technological advancement which explain the diversity. For example, in the case of female circumcision and early marriages among girl child has tend to be reducing as time goes by which is supported by the education system.

4.5 Contribution of tourism to Cultural Heritage resilience

Additionally, Indigenous communities' access to and ongoing use of indigenous heritage places are important resilience-building factors. Activities such as tourism may be one of those resilience building factors. Lamu and Mombasa old towns being in tourist rich counties made most respondents aware of the industry and its benefits. The respondents were asked whether tourism may contribute to resilience of cultural heritage. Nevertheless, the researcher had to explain and in some instance demonstrate the concept of resilience. The researcher noted that respondents were glad to acquire a new knowledge pertaining resilience concepts.

Table 3: tourism contribution to cultural heritage resilience

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	12	13.0
Agree	24	26.1
Disagree	32	34.8
Strongly disagree	24	26.1
Total	**92**	**100.0**

Source: Researcher (2020)

When asked on whether tourism contributed to tangible heritage resilience, majority (34.8%) of the respondents disagreed with the statement while 26.1% strongly disagreed. Consequently, 26.1% and 13.0% agreed and strongly agreed with the statement that tourism played a role in tangible heritage resilience. However, the respondents from National heritage sites like fort Jesus as well as Lamu Museums had different opinions. They noted that heritage facilities such as museums, archives and monuments were preserved for tourism purposes but when it comes to intangible heritage such as family cultural objects like the ancient bed (plate 4.8) as well as ancient hand fans (plate 4.9) used to cool oneself, were preserved for their love for culture and not necessarily for tourism purposes. These findings contradict most literature on cultural heritage and tourism where researchers have hailed tourism for enhancement of cultural heritage conservation among Maasai, the Mijikenda, as well as most ethnic communities in Africa.

The researcher noted that historical buildings in Lamu old town such as the old post offices, the Lamu museum, the Lamu fort, the barazas and the narrow roads all portray elements of resilience probably from constant restoration and management due to tourism. For example, the Lamu museum is located on the waterfront area which makes its suffer from direct exposure to sea humidity, strong winds, direct sunlight, and salinity from the Indian Ocean. Ali the researcher's official guide was quick to point out the role the county government played in sourcing for funding for management initiatives of the historical buildings. For example, in 2021, the Lamu museum underwent a renovation initiative funded by the Omani government. The renovation included replacement of worn out roofing and renovations of dilapidated plaster walls.

In a stack contrast, the old buildings in Mombasa old town have not benefited for the status of an old cultural city. The buildings such as the old post office is a shell of its former self and the researcher noted that wall plasters have peeled off leaving the building to exhibit a rundown and environment. The researcher noted that the fort jesus, treasury square and the mandhry mosque seemed to exhibit some sort of maintenance perhaps due to local's daily usage of the facilities, still, there were notable shocks that signify urgent need for intervention. For example, the

researcher noted the once spectacular wooden balconies were falling off, peeled off white plasters and in some instances traces of collapsed seawalls around the fort jesus. Additionally, perhaps due to influx of population, environmental pollution such as blackened ocean, and heaps of garbage could be noted in the interior of old town. The researcher was able to deduce that in places where tourists frequented such the within the fort jesus, conservation of buildings was evident. Similarly, community building such as old mosques and barazas were well maintained perhaps justifying the role of communities in recognizing and taking care of what they deemed important to their everyday life.

The importance of managing and preserving cultural heritage is based on the fact that many heritage assets in the developing countries lack protection. Timothy and Nyaupane (2009,11) explain that threats to cultural heritage resources and preservation challenges have lead to loss of important elements of the resource. Among the issues that prompt management of cultural heritage are like war and political conflict, vandalism and human wear, urbanization and agricultural pressures, overcrowding by tourists, and lack of planning and management". The lack of clear structures regarding who take the responsibility of managing heritage assets, has put a dent on stakeholders such as the community and the non-governmental organizations that craft rules, code of conducts and principles of heritage management. Lack of funds for conservation and restoration of important heritage assets in public places has also led to deterioration of urban heritage. In fact, conservation of cultural heritage without funds to do so is just a conversation.

Lack of skilled human resource in the heritage sector is also an issue in community governed heritage sites. For example, house owners in the old towns may lack essential skills and resources to manage their cultural assets. In fact, they may be un aware that they possess important cultural heritage assets that can be regarded as heritage products for consumption. Furthermore, understanding the distinction between intangible and tangible heritage may create concerns not only to community members, but also to heritage managers when it comes to developing, packaging, and managing the resource whether for tourism or for community benefits. The intangible aspects of culture require a methodical approach in managing it as it requires the availability of the community members who retain intangible elements, and who must also decide and distinguish which intangible aspects of culture is important to them.

5.0 Discussion of the Findings

The study focused on the contribution of tourism to cultural heritage resilience in Mombasa and Lamu old town (UNESCO) site. As noted by various scholars, culture is static as it keeps changing with time. The Mombasa and Lamu old towns are no exemption when it comes to the impacts of those changes and shocks. Tourism's role in heritage resilience is very evident in most cultural tourism destinations as most of the ancient monuments and native buildings are mostly protected for tourism purposes. In Mombasa and Lamu old towns (UNESCO) sites, although it was notable that most of the tangible cultural heritage such as old buildings were preserved for tourism purposes, the locals felt that it was more of government interest than it was for the general benefit of the local residents in the region. It was noted that the locals believed that maintaining the building alone was not an indication of cultural heritage as building alone and other tangible cultural resources were not a reflection of their heritage. Therefore, it is necessary for those responsible to devise better modes of encouraging locals on why they should preserve the tangible cultural heritage resources for posterity. Most tourism research on cultural heritage management

have noted that tourism contributes highly to cultural heritage conservation, as is the case for Maasai and the Samburu. However, the findings of this study revealed a different view altogether.

The respondents believed that the greatest contributor to intangible heritage resilience in Mombasa and Lamu old towns was their inclination to Islamic religion because they believed that most of their practices have strong roots in their religion and thus once the community is focused on religion, it will be automatic that the intangible heritage will be more resilient in spite of what happens in the surrounding. These findings are an indication that tourism, although it is thought to be the reasons as to why cultural heritage is preserved and conserved, in Muslim dominated regions like Mombasa and Lamu old towns, religion plays a very critical role. However, we one cannot dismiss the role of tourism in resilience of cultural heritage. Although tourists will opt for faster means of transport within the towns eg Motor bikes and motor boats, some tourists will also travel to the old towns to experience the dhow races, or have a nice sunset dinner aboard a dhow. Other tourists will want to browse through the narrow streets on board the donkeys, in order to experience the authentic side of the old towns.

Most governments believe that cultural heritage is critical to in constituting community's economic balance, sustain regional and communal identity as well as to improve people's lives. Heritage managers are of the views that cultural heritage must be preserved because it can reduce the negative effects of modernization or globalization this ideology of preservation is of cultural heritage is based on the fact that its values are threatened by destruction and disappearance. But we have seen that preservation has its limitation especially when it comes to open spaces susceptible to economic changes such as the old towns. On the other hand, communities expect to gain positive returns from tourism and from preservation of cultural heritage. Burns (2014) argues that "if tourism is to have a positive effect on culture it must go well beyond the creation of infrastructure and the improvement of material conditions to strengthen local cultures and languages. Therefore, tourism development managers believe that by establishing tourism in heritage places, the community's cognizance regarding culture and tourism will automatically increase. This may lead to cultural heritage resilience if communities lean towards recognizing the benefits and role of culture on tourism and vice versa.

6.0 Recommendations

6.1 Recommendation for Practice

The study recommends that tourism stakeholders devise strategies to involve local leaders in Mombasa and Lamu Old Towns to conserve and protect both tangible and intangible heritage for long-term sustainability. Additionally, the government, through the Ministry of Education, should incorporate Swahili culture into the school curriculum in these regions, similar to how Maasai and Samburu cultures are included, to ensure the preservation of intangible heritage. Teaching basic Swahili language to tourism stakeholders is also advised to facilitate communication and maintain cultural authenticity. Moreover, the study highlights the importance of introducing a culture-specific subject in the curriculum to enhance understanding and appreciation of cultural heritage. The study further emphasizes the need for a tailored resilience framework to address the unique challenges of cultural heritage conservation. Stakeholders should define resilience in terms of its beneficiaries, key players, and its purpose within the tourism and heritage sectors. Balancing socio-cultural and environmental resilience is essential, as conflicts may arise between ecological preservation and cultural heritage resilience. Additionally, identifying specific indicators of cultural heritage authenticity and monitoring their changes is crucial. Finally, the study points out

that demographic changes could shift cultural heritage from religious inclinations to contemporary expressions, potentially fostering conservation driven by economic motivations, such as tourism, and leading to rejuvenation in areas like Mombasa Old Town.

6.2 Recommendations for Policy

The study recommends deliberate recognition and integration of sustainable tourism development policies that address proper land use, environmental protection, housing, and infrastructural development to enhance the protection of cultural heritage systems. Joint policies across these areas are crucial to fostering a sustainable tourism structure, with coordinated efforts from relevant ministries ensuring the resilience of cultural heritage systems. Such policies should also promote the harmonious development of urban park spaces, particularly in heritage-rich old cities like those in Kenya. Additionally, the study emphasizes the need to enforce existing traditional and cultural policies to safeguard cultural expressions and intangible heritage unique to the old towns of Kenya. This enforcement is vital to maintaining the integrity of these unique cultural elements and protecting them from intellectual property violations. Through these measures, the resilience and sustainability of both tangible and intangible cultural heritage can be ensured.

6.3 Contribution of research findings.

The study contributes to cultural heritage literature by employing a qualitative approach to explore the role of tourism in heritage management and resilience. It highlights the need for further review of tourism's role and advocates for new models of cultural heritage management, emphasizing community involvement in developing, maintaining, and managing cultural resources. Public participation and partnerships between stakeholders and communities are crucial, particularly in developing economies, to ensure effective heritage conservation and sustainable utilization. Key findings reveal the richness of intangible heritage in the study areas, exemplified by annual festivals and community occasions that reflect deep cultural significance. Heritage managers are encouraged to raise local awareness of the value of intangible heritage, not only as a reflection of religious inclinations but also as a resource for tourism. Additionally, tangible heritage, including deteriorating historical structures like narrow roads, the old post office, and Fort Jesus, requires urgent rehabilitation to preserve their historical and cultural value. Restoration efforts should be prioritized to sustain these iconic sites for future generations and tourism development.

6.4 Theoretical Implications

The study's theoretical implications stem from its application of scientific processes to construct and expand existing knowledge on cultural heritage systems. This approach addressed key research questions regarding the management of cultural heritage, tourism's impact on heritage resilience, and the integration of resilience factors beyond ecological systems. By doing so, the study identified strategic recommendations for alternative approaches to managing cultural heritage, particularly in open urban spaces threatened by rapid development. The research highlights the need for further investigations into aspects of heritage management, including the identification of positive and negative resilience within authentic cultural heritage. It underscores the importance of addressing the question of "resilience for whom" to ensure that management strategies benefit all stakeholders equitably. Moreover, the study emphasizes the role of local values, cultural expressions, and ethos in fostering cultural heritage resilience, suggesting that these elements should be prioritized in future research and policy-making efforts.

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