

The Impact of Tourism in Tanzania on Community Development: Theoretical Perspectives

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Abstract

The paper aimed to present atheoretical review of The Impact of Tourism in Tanzania on Community Development with a specific debate on how tourism may relate positively or negatively to socio-economic development. The pro-poor theory, social justice theory and collective action tourism theory were reviewed so as to relate them to the study of Arusha Region. The study used a theoretical review approach in which Community Based Tourism theory (CBT) was highlighted within its contribution towards participation together with other relevant theoretical perspectives. From the literature and related studies, it was evident that the government of Tanzania through the Ministry of Tourism and Natural Resources has policies which do not adequately mainstream local community participation; various studies across the world and sub-Saharan Africa have shown weak relationship between tourism and community development. Since Tanzania as a country is not exempt is recommended to study this phenomenon empirically in order to enhance the relationship.

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a theoretical review in which Community Based Tourism theory (CBT) is highlighted within its contribution towards participation. Other relevant theoretical perspectives are analyzed, including pro-poor theory, social justice theory, and collective action tourism theory. This is followed by conceptual framework of the study, national tourism policy review, and finally a review studies related to the study objectives in their respective order. The importance of this paper is to locate the debate of how tourism may relate positively or negatively to socio-economic development. At the end of the paper the gap of knowledge is identified in order to give justification for the empirical study in the future.

THEORETICAL REVIEW

The researcher revisited theories related to the tourism sector's contribution towards the economic development of communities that form the basis of the tourism sector. In this regard, community based tourism, pro-poor theory, social justice theory and collective action tourism theory were reviewed so as to relate them to the study of Arusha Region.

Community-Based Tourism (CBT) Theory

The question of whether the local communities within or adjacent to the tourism attraction areas are economically benefitting from the revenue generated by the tourism sector in Tanzania has been debated in various forms, including in the National Parliament.

Community-based tourism (CBT) centers on the involvement of the host community in planning and maintenance of tourism development in order to develop a sustainable economic base (Hall, 1996).

Tourism planning is often done without host community involvement at the outset. Many tourism projects are prepared by professionals or managers without input from the host community. When these projects are made available for community input, usually not until the final stages of development, they often fail to get support as they do not meet community needs or values. In addition, many social groups within the host community often feel helpless and frustrated because they are unsure about how to get their concerns addressed at any point of the development process.

Community-based tourism is often recognized as a perfect example of sustainable tourism development. The reason for this is mainly that local community participation in the development and practice of these projects is supposed to be high, and that the whole community benefits from the projects (Brohman, 1996; Hatton, 1999). Community development is at the heart of CBT. Most CBT projects are small-scale and they often include community owned and operated lodges and other facilities. This would provide positive economic benefits, such as income, for large parts of the community. Besides that, CBT is regarded as being less harmful to the socio-cultural environment because the local population is in control, and they decide which cultural traits they share with their guests. Finally, CBT projects would also have less negative impacts on the natural environment. Community members are often best able to judge what is best for their natural surroundings. The small-scale character of CBT also means that small numbers of tourists visit at one time and therefore do not cause overcrowding of the socio-cultural and natural environment.

However, one of the issues regarding tourism is that communities have not been a part of the decision-making process in its development and also have not been beneficiaries of its social and economic benefits. Most of the tourism development projects have been designed without those communities' consent and have mostly disregarded the community's involvement and not benefited from community's immense knowledge and cooperation. However, there has been a shift in the general attitude of governments, development agencies and NGOs, and they are giving considerable emphasis to community-based tourism (CBT) as a primary development strategy to support poverty reduction, rural development, and strengthen the social capital of the remote communities. A development model to direct the tourism planning towards communities and their interests, i.e. community-based tourism (CBT), has been planned and implemented in similar small towns and rural areas where economic activities based on primary resources have been dwindling and consequently economic hardship has been experienced. In addition, environmental concerns, subsidized agriculture, recreational needs, and sustainable development have become challenging issues in rural areas to make the social transition and diversify the economy. The EU's rural tourism policy is very firmly based on this process (Burton, 1995; Gannon, 1994).

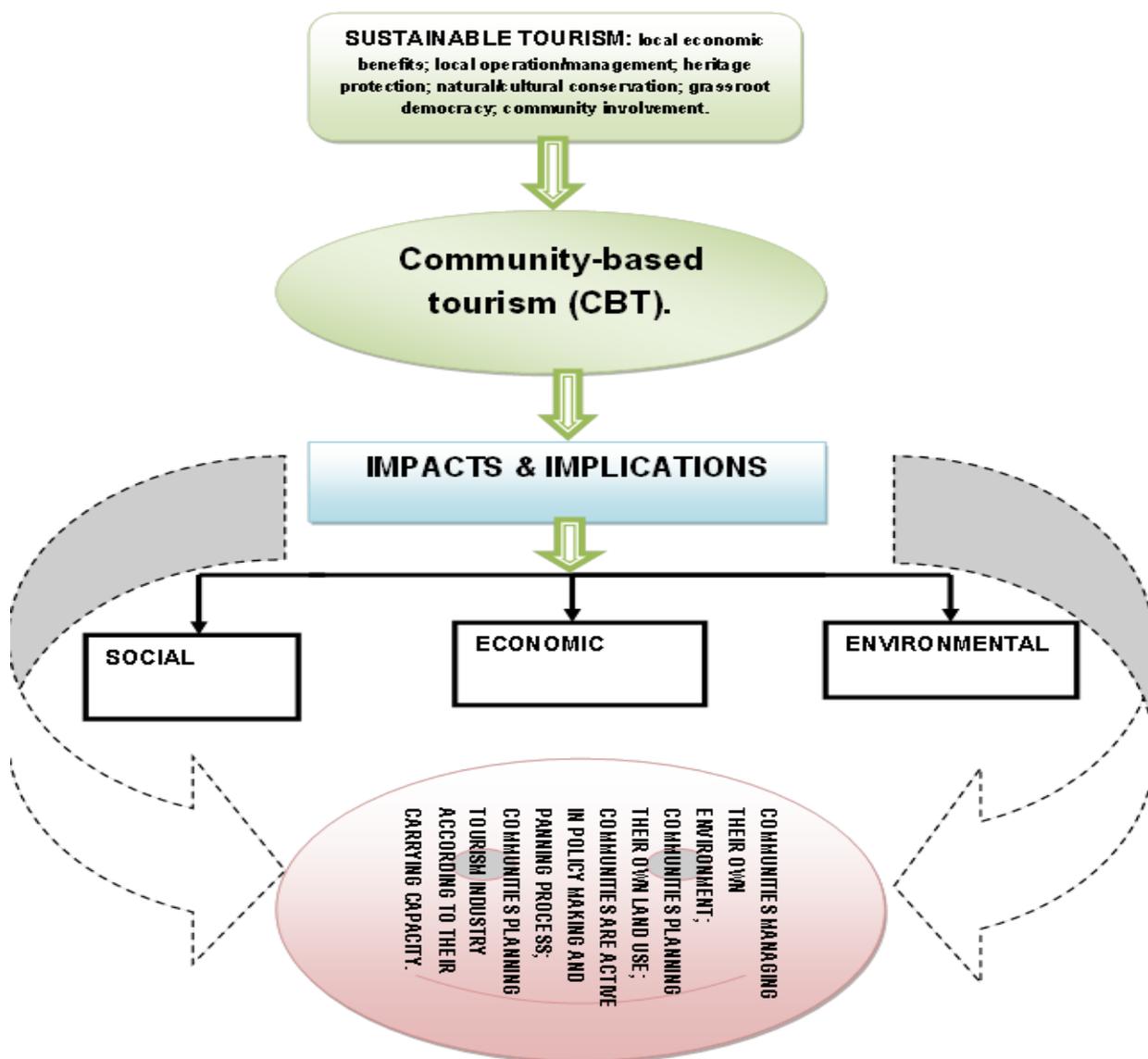


Figure 2.1: The Community-Based Tourism (CBT) model (Shahmir, 2012)

A community participation approach has long been advocated as an integral part of sustainable tourism development. It is envisaged that the approach can increase a community’s carrying capacity by reducing tourism’s negative impacts while enhancing its positive effects (Haywood, 1988; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Murphy, 1985). According to Connell (1997: 250), participation is “not only about achieving the more efficient and more equitable distribution of material resources: it is also about the sharing of knowledge and the transformation of the process of learning itself in the service of people’s self-development”. Arnstein (1969) states that the purpose of participation is power redistribution, thereby enabling society to fairly redistribute benefits and costs. In the context of tourism planning, Haywood (1988: 106) defines community participation as “a process of involving all [stakeholders] (local government officials, local citizens, architects, developers, business people, and planners) in such way that decision-making is shared”.

While CBT is very popular for sustainable tourism development, it has been both positively and negatively reviewed (Goodwin, 2011). This theory has its challenges, as some studies, for instance, find that the revenues gained from CBT are relatively small (Mitchell & Muckosy,

2008; Goodwin, 2006) and sometimes very little revenue is granted which does not meet the communities' needs. CBT projects can also fail because of a lack of access to markets and poor governance. Other researchers have also found limitations to participation of the local community, such as lack of knowledge and resources, and that some local communities do not always operate as one group (Koch, 1997; Tosun, 2000; Scheyvens, 2002; Timothy, 1999). While there are challenges, some of the ways forward are to train the local community how to participate in tourism planning and development, and for the government to grant more revenue for the economic development of local communities.

Pro-poor Theory

The pro-poor theory identifies itself with the poor in the sector of tourism. It asserts that poor people and their needs should be considered as critical stakeholders in any tourism investment (Harrison, 2008).

The pro-poor tourism has been employed as a framework by many studies both outside and within the continent of Africa (Torres, Momsen, 2005, 2006; Hill, Nell & Trotter, 2006; Goodwin 2008; Akyeampong, 2011). For example, Harrison (2008) presented pro-poor tourism as being crucial to poverty alleviation since the early 1970s, but this focus was increasingly blurred in theoretical debates over "development" in the 1980s and 1990s. Thereafter, it has resurfaced again. The author contends that while pro-poor tourism is based on a worthwhile injunction to help the poor, it is also closely associated with community-based tourism. On a different note, Goodwin (2008) questioned pro-poor tourism by saying that, "there was a challenge to identify ways in which tourism could contribute to poverty elimination. The question was not 'should tourism be developed?' but rather, 'where tourism exists as a largely private sector activity, how could the tourism system in a destination be used to ensure a contribution to poverty elimination?'"

Pro-poor tourism could become possible in Tanzania if the tourism policy could state categorically that the end result of tourism should primarily cater for the social needs of the poor in the relevant communities (Tourism Master Plan, 2002). However, the Tanzanian tourism policy (2002) did not put much emphasis on the involvement of local communities in the tourism sector. This has created a loophole in the planning and implementation of the tourism industry in Tanzania. Local communities, and basically poor people, view the tourism industry as a purely foreign activity.

Pro-poor studies have been done in South Africa (Briedenhann, 2011); in Mexico (Torres & Momsen, 2006) and Ghana (Akyeampong, 2011), among other places. Therefore, this reality of being used in various places by scholars backs this study in using pro-poor tourism perspective as a theoretical framework. However, the shortcoming of pro-poor tourism is that it is more of a theoretical than a practical approach (Goodwin, 2008).

Collective Action Theory

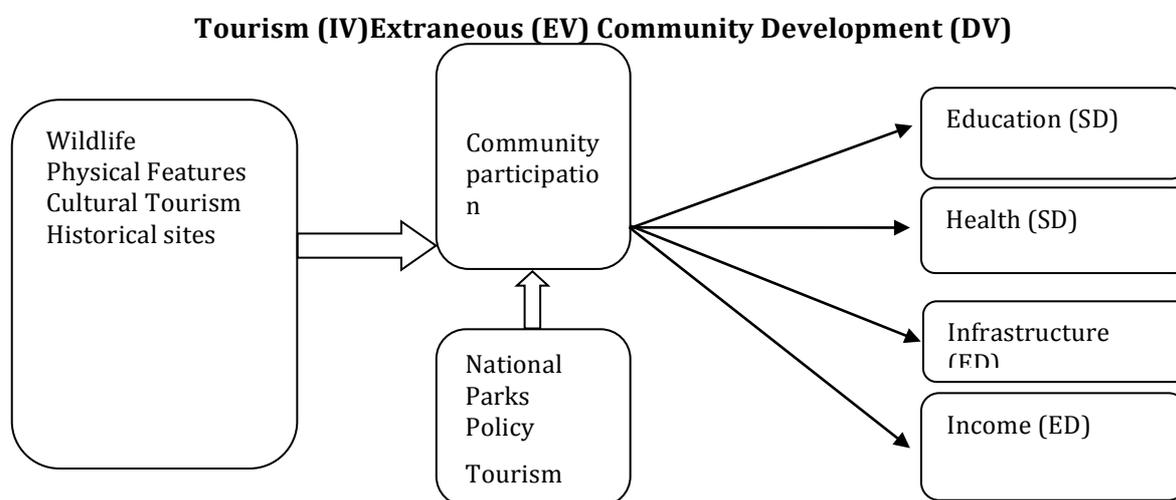
According to Olson (1965), the logic of collective action theory entails three kinds of groups, which are: Privileged groups (members of this group would gain more from a public good than it would cost them to provide it unilaterally); Latent groups (any member of this group could withhold his contribution to the public good without causing a noticeable reduction in its supply); and Intermediate groups (if any member of this group withholds his contribution, it will cause a noticeable decrease in supply of the good, or a noticeable rise in cost to other contributors). Collective action theory has been employed in various empirical studies, for example, in Tanzania (Kyessi, 2005; Babyenebonela, 2010).

This theory is relevant to the study because it appears that the local communities are neither in the privileged or latent groups but in the intermediate group. If this group chose to withhold their natural resources as well as labor, the tourism sector would come to a stand-still. Therefore the study contends that the local communities ought to be involved significantly in socio-economic development as a result of the tourism sector.

Social Justice Theory

Social justice theory has become a growing concern in tourism studies, where many researchers have engaged an advocacy oriented research (Cohen, 2012). The characteristics of social justice theory include the opportunity to participate in creating more just and sustainable world (Pritchard et al., 2011); the field of tourism should be pushed towards a political agenda that promotes social justice and equality through tourism throughout the world (Ateljevic, Hollinshead, & Ali, 2009) to politicize research, and transform society to a more equitable state (Pritchard et al., 2011).

Therefore, this theory is important to the paper because it views the agenda of socio-economic development as an equitability agenda.



Source: Researcher’s conceptualization of the variables

According to this framework, there are two primary components, which are independent variable, the tourism sector, and the dependent variable, which is community development in Arusha Region. It also examines the extraneous variables (EVs) that would affect the interaction of the independent variable on the dependent variable. The independent variable (tourism) was conceptualized into four basic elements: wildlife tourism, physical features tourism, cultural tourism, and historical sites. These aspects are the factors which influence the influx of tourists from abroad to Tanzania. On the other hand, the dependent variable (community development) was conceptualized in terms of development in education, development in health, infrastructural development and income. There seem to be a direct relationship between tourism activities and community development in Tanzania, since statistics show that tourism is the second biggest sector contributing to Tanzania’s GDP after agriculture. However, these relationships could be affected by other factors such as the national tourism policy and community participation in tourism activities. The coming of tourists is regulated by two key policies, which are the National Parks policy, which monitors service provision particularly with regard to national parks; the other policy is the tourism

policy, which oversees all tourism practices across the country and this may also involve tourism outside the national parks.

National Tourism Policy Review

The implementation of the tourism sector within Tanzania is strongly guided by two major national policies. These policies are the National Policies for National Parks (MNTR, 1994), and the National Tourism Policy (MNRT, 1999). They are intervening variables which may impact on community development.

The National Policies on National Parks

The Tanzanian National Park Policy was introduced in 1994. It was drafted by the Tanzania National Parks National Policy Committee in 1994. In the preamble there is an opening statement:

Man and beast are interdependent on this finite planet of ours with other elements – soil and plants, water and air which comprises the earth's fragile outer crust we refer to as biosphere.

This statement arguably resonates with pro-poor tourism theory, collective action theory and social justice theory. It is necessary that national parks do not only value the survival of wildlife but also other elements of nature, and do not view humans living adjacent or within such areas as subservient and not in a symbiotic relationship with nature. So the policy has captured this importance.

The objective of national parks policy is:

To manage and regulate the use of areas designated as national parks by such means and measures to preserve the country's heritage..., and scenery therein and to provide for human benefit in such manner and such means as will leave them unimpaired for future generations (1999).

It is very interesting to note that the policy is “locked” in two words, which are preserving and maximize human benefit for present and future generations.

As noted above, the policy was drafted in 1994. It must have reflected the needs of that time in terms of national parks development. But it is now over two decades since its enacting. Therefore, since there is a lot which has happened in terms of poaching, environmental destruction, global warming, and infrastructural development – it is arguably not an exaggeration to say that a review of the policy is long overdue. Therefore it needs to be revisited and perhaps put more focus on community development.

The policy is divided into 13 sections. It begins with an introduction (pp.1–2) where the history of conservation in Tanzania is briefly said to have originated since 1961. In that year the Arusha Manifesto on Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources was born. This signals how valuable national parks are to the country.

After that, a section on Park Systems Planning (pp. 3–11) has many subsections. However, the most significant to the study is new parks planning, which is guided by TANAPA and finally endorsed by the Ministry. It is very clear from sub-section 2.3 that the local community is out of the picture in terms of planning and this has arguably remained so for the last five decades.

Then there follows a longer coverage on Natural Resources Management (pp. 12–26). There are several policies with emphasis on wilderness and natural preservation, cultural preservation, and development. In this regard the National Parks may be commended for fulfilling the policy making for Tanzania as one of the very attractive tourist destinations in Africa (Igiha, 2013).

Other sections which are covered by the policy are public information interpretation and education (pp. 27–36); use of parks (pp. 41–47); park facilities (pp. 48–58); tourism and concessions (pp. 59–60); ethics (pp. 61–62); law enforcement (pp.63–64); and human resources (pp. 65–66).

This policy is making an important contribution to guide how national parks should manage natural resources as a present and future heritage for Tanzanians and the world at large. However, it is disturbing to note that some key elements which are found in the National Tourism Policy, such as community participation, and education for community development are lacking. There is more emphasis on environmental preservation and infrastructure development. The next sections will examine empirically the implication of the national policies for National Parks.

National Tourism Policy

The National Tourism Policy which was introduced in 1991 and revised in 1999 is currently in use up to the present time. This National Tourism policy is relevant to this study due to the fact that in objectives also focuses on insuring that the communities within the tourism attraction areas also economically benefits from the tourism sector operations.

The objective the National Tourism Policy:

Seeks to assist in the effort to promote economy and livelihood of the people, especially poverty alleviation through encouraging the development of sustainable and quality tourism that is culturally and socially acceptable, ecologically friendly, environmentally sustainable, and economically (p.5).

The National Tourism Policy is divided into six sections and these are as follows:

The background (p.1) presents Tanzania as one of the largest countries in Africa endowed with world heritage sites such as Mount Kilimanjaro – the highest mountain in Africa; Serengeti National Park, a vast national park with many different animals and bird species; the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, with the major attraction being the Ngorongoro Crater, formerly an active volcano, containing wildlife; and the Selous Reserve, which is the largest wildlife area in Africa. This introduction signals that Tanzania is an important tourist destination.

Section 2 presents (formerly) current status, constraints and limitations. This is arguably one of the most important sections. Before one launches a sustainable strategy for change, the limitations and challenges must be known. The priority of the challenges according to the policy is infrastructure (e.g. water and power supplies, transport, communication and accommodation). This constraint gives the current study a justification to be carried out. However, one may still wonder why this should be a challenge when tourism income is ever growing. The next paper will examine this aspect empirically.

The other challenge is lack of appropriate and specialized core personnel in the tourist industry and also lack of appreciation especially on the part of local communities. These two variables on education and community participation are pursued empirically in the next papers to establish why things happen as they do.

Section 3 presents the general tourism policy objective (p.5). The opening words are worth quoting verbatim:

The National Tourism Policy Seeks to assist in the effort to promote economy and livelihood of the people, especially poverty alleviation through encouraging the development of sustainable and quality tourism that is culturally and socially acceptable (p.5).

The above words express profound wishes for the poor who are living within or adjacent to National Parks. However, it is disturbing that the “mother policy” is not consistent with the “child policy” which is the National Parks Policy as far as poverty alleviation is concerned. All in all this policy is going to be tested empirically in the next papers if it really materializes in reducing community poverty.

Section 4 breaks the general objectives into 4 specific objectives. The objectives cover the areas of economy (p.6); Social (p.6); environmental (p.7) and cultural (p.7). These all objectives are well crafted and attainable. However the study in the next papers will look at whether the first three objectives have been attained to a satisfactory level as perceived by local communities.

Section 5 is arguably the longest section of the policy. It has a total of 14 subsections on strategies of tourism policy (pp. 8–30). Among the strategies which are relevant to the study are infrastructure development (p.15); employment and human resource development (p.16) community participation (p.17); and environmental protection (p.22).

In summation, the policy resonates closely with the pro-poor tourism theory, the collective action theory and social justice theory. This is because the policy is clearly for the poor while at the same time it aims at enhancing natural resources management, unlike the National Park policy. Nevertheless, the next papers will reveal if the theory on paper is reflected in practice for people living near the selected national parks.

Review of Related Literature

This section presents scholarly findings related to the study. The section was categorized into three sections, following the research objectives, where section one focuses on the independent variable (tourism), followed by community development and the relationship between tourism and community development considering elements such as, education, health, infrastructure and income.

Tourism (wildlife, cultural and historical sites, physical features)

While discussing the idea that wildlife tourism should benefit local communities, Osano, Said, Leeuw, Ndiwa, Kaelo, Schomers, Briner and Ogutu (2013) carried out a study in Kenya with the guiding question, “Why keep lions instead of livestock?” Their findings showed that the Maasai cattle herding community were continually displaced in order to pave the way for wildlife tourism. The study further argued that there was widening inequality in income between the Maasai cattle herders and tourism investors. This study argues that such a kind of tourism is neither community-based nor sustainable, and therefore not to be commended.

Furthermore, other researchers have indicated that wildlife tourist attractions may account for 20–40% of global tourism, yet one of the clearly observed negative consequences of this is the tendency for governments and tourism investors to think that the tourists are always right. This means that the concerns of tourists are given high priority at the expense of the local communities who have been living with wildlife from time immemorial (Moohouse, Dahlsjo, Baker, Cruze, & Macdonald, 2015). This study disagrees with the stance of prioritizing the needs of tourists at the expense of local communities. If developing economies are to harness fully the potential of sustainable tourism, there is a need to find a balance so that neither side suffers.

Tourism can be classified into different forms according to related purposes (Tureac, 2008). There are many reasons which attract tourists to come to Tanzania, which include the country's geographical features like Mount Kilimanjaro, Mount Meru, and the attractive beaches along the Indian Ocean, the cultural aspects of the country and also its wildlife (MIGA, 2005). However, the wildlife aspect appears to be drawing more tourists than other reasons. A study by Mustika, Birtles, Everinham and Mash (2013: 112) indicates that a better understanding of the tourist experience is crucial in designing sustainable...wildlife tourism in developing countries. While the current study is in agreement with that, it also contends that understanding the needs of local communities should also be paramount, because if the local communities are left outside they may increase poaching activities as well as environmental degradation.

Countries around the world are desperate to develop their domestic tourism to enhance equitably-shared wealth, stable progress, peace and tranquility, people-centered development for sustainability, and as a major player in a country's economy. Numerous studies have demonstrated that tourism can play a significant role in balanced, sustainable development, and that it can be effectively harnessed to generate net benefits for the poor (UNWTO, 2002).

The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC, 2010) estimates that travel and tourism contributed US\$59 billion to the Asia region's GDP, and created 8.2 million jobs in 2010 and expect an average growth rate of 6.6 percent per annum between 2010 and 2020. Tourism in the region has gradually recovered from the Asian financial crisis in 1997, the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) epidemics in 2003 and the massive earthquake and tsunami in 2004 that seriously shrank international demand. Experts from Dubai also affirm the contribution of tourism in development of major cities of the world.

According to UNWTO (2014), the current data shows that international tourist arrivals in developing grew by 4.3 % in 2014 to 1.133 billion. In 2014, international tourism generated US\$1.5 trillion in export earnings. UNWTO forecasts a growth in international tourist arrivals of between 3% and 4% in 2015. As shown earlier, tourism is clearly one of the major boosters of economies throughout the world and will continue to grow. However the question remains, does this economic development enhances the living conditions of local communities?

Unlike wildlife tourism in Tanzania, which is arguably well developed, cultural tourism has not been given a high priority. Wade, Mwasaga and Eagles (2001) contend that apart from lack of marketing and promotion, the tourism industry has failed to diversify into areas beyond wildlife, such as culture and beach tourism. Consequently, most visitors treat Tanzania as an "add-on" to their Kenyan safari. The current study agrees with the said observations, although it is painful for Tanzania to be seen as an add-on to Kenyan tourism. Such studies are a wake-

up call to the Tanzanian tourism sector to ensure that cultural tourism is given a good position, hand-in-hand with wildlife tourism.

While Tanzania is encouraged to embark on the revamping of cultural tourism, it is good to note that it may come with the baggage of sex tourism, an aspect which is detrimental in terms of health and cultural heritage. Curley (2014) and Phillips (2008) both warn of the dangers of sex tourism in developing countries, which include Tanzania. The authors argue that there needs to be international law enforcement and NGOs to facilitate the prosecution of sexual offences particularly done to children. Furthermore, sex tourism has been observed to involve homosexual behavior, which is arguably inconsistent with African culture.

Tourism and Community Development

After this general discussion on the state of tourism across the world, the shift now goes to specific studies which deal with how tourism is related to community development. This section will review studies from countries such as the USA, China, Australia, Indonesia, South Africa, Ghana, Seychelles, Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda, and finally Tanzania.

The United States Institute of Peace (2009) underlines that tourism has the potential to deliver prosperity and stabilize communities, especially when there is an improvement in service delivery, environmental protection and culture. While his observation is true, this is not generally what is happening in Tanzania. Tourism in Tanzania has caused land grabbing, and the culture of local people is at risk (Haule, 2013). As if that is not enough, the service delivery in terms of primary schools and secondary schools is not in good order (URT, 2012). In this connection, Ooi (2013) conducted a qualitative study in Colorado, USA, to explore whether social capital and socio-cultural sustainability is enhanced by mountain resort tourism. A total of 53 interviews were conducted. After thematic analysis, the findings showed that there was a wide range of impacts that affected the social capital components of networks, norms, and resources in numerous ways. These effects include the strengthening of community bonding networks, the reinforcement of social norms, and the mobilization of shared resources through collective action, all of which highlight the existence of positive aspects of socio-cultural sustainability as a sense of community, democratic community participation, collaboration, and empowerment. This study is important because it shows that when there is democratic community participation, the likelihood of socio-economic development is enhanced.

As the review shifts from the USA experience, Ramos (2012) conducted a study in Mayan rainforests, in China with the goal of assessing how local communities are empowered economically. The author found that scholars who have addressed issues related to community-based ecotourism have observed that the top-down approach to ecotourism development has often resulted in communities having limited power to have their voices heard or to exercise choice in its implementation. One of the interesting findings was that both disempowered communities were located next to a World Heritage Site and protected natural area, but lacked tourists, tourism services, and access to the community by paved roads. It appeared from this study that although government is a necessary stakeholder by providing legislation and resources and implementing policies that foster ecotourism development, the private sector is paramount through its ability to connect guests and hosts. These findings are relevant to the situation in Tanzania, where the Maasai people are located at another world heritage site, the Ngorongoro Crater, but their socio-economic life does not reflect tourism earnings (Charnley, 2005).

Yuling (2013) conducted a study on sustainable employment in government policies on indigenous tourism in Australia. The study employed content analysis to decode the meaning of the data. The findings revealed that while policy objectives have been developed regarding sustainability, they tend to be limited and mainly focus on the economic aspect and, to a much lesser extent, socio-cultural, political and ecological development, which are the other three pillars of sustainability. These findings mean that indigenous communities benefit least in terms of tourism income. It is noteworthy to realise that the trend of disempowering local communities is widespread even in developed nations. This is one of the reasons the current study is dealing with a more or less similar issue in order to economically empower the communities living in tourist areas in Arusha Region.

Dian-Yulie (2014) conducted a qualitative research study in Madura Island, Indonesia. The purpose of the study was to critically explore the meanings of tourism held by residents in the context of tourism planning. The theoretical framework used was symbolic interactions, while the data interpretation employed a thematic analysis approach. The findings revealed there was little local participation in planning for socio-economic development related to tourism. This study is important because it shows the incidence of lack of participatory planning is not only in Tanzania (Kazuzuru, 2014), but also in other parts of the world.

In connection to the above, Africa exhibits challenges on how tourism affects the socio-economic development of local people. Monakhisi (2009) conducted an empirical study in the Panorama Region, in Mpumalanga Province, South Africa. The aim of the study was to analyze the benefits of growing tourism for the local communities. The study found that meaningful involvement of local communities in the tourism industry through ownership of tourism-related enterprises was almost non-existent. There were no meaningful linkages between the industry and the local communities other than the communities' supply of unskilled labor. There were also no programmes aimed at harnessing the phenomenal growth in South Africa's tourism for the economic empowerment of local communities. The economic empowerment of local communities need not be achieved through the ownership of tourism-related enterprises only, but may also include shareholding, outsourcing, affirmative procurement and social responsibility programmes by the industry. The continued marginalization of local communities by the tourism industry was attributed to unsatisfactory progress with the industry's transformation. This study in essence comes close to the Tanzanian situation, where the beneficiaries of tourism are primarily the government and the rich private sector, and not the local community (Sitts, 2009). Thus a gap is established that will be dealt empirically in the next papers.

On the same note, Achiempong (2011) conducted a study on the relations between tourism policies and development in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. The study indicated that although there is a lot of positive development in improving socio-economic development to communities, there was lack of collaboration between the local communities, government and private sector. If this could be done, then maximum benefits from tourism could be gained.

Gopaul (2006) carried out a study that aimed at determining the role of tourism, empowerment and participation in the socio-economic development in the development of Umgababa, South Africa. The study concluded that the socio-economic living conditions of the community of Umgababa are very poor and that empowerment and participation of the community in tourism could be an answer to their problems. Given the opportunity, most of the people were willing to participate in a tourism business venture. Investigation revealed

that there is an abundance of natural and human resources in Umgababa to start a tourism business. The community also felt that by communicating their knowledge and experience they would be able to help other communities in their own development. This study resonates closely with the socio-economic realities of local communities living close to National Parks in Arusha Region (Kazuzuru, 2013). Therefore it is important to explore deeply the real contextual issues in the Tanzanian setting.

Similarly, a complementary study in Ghana (Frempong & Asamoah, 2014) indicated that community members around Lake Bosomtwe find it difficult to meet their daily responsibilities of taking care of their family needs due to low income generation from their activities. However, another study in the Seychelles (IFAD, 2013) indicated that the country has an initiative to eradicate rural poverty through fisheries and tourism. This positive initiative ought to be emulated by all countries which aim at deriving significant earnings from tourism.

Spenceley et al. (2010) conducted a study on gorilla tourism in Rwanda. The study acknowledged that tourism is a leading export sector in Rwanda. However, it was observed that the poor appear not to be enjoying the “milk and honey” of this booming sector. The study recommends stimulating the activities of the private sector, increasing the number of joint venture agreements, enhancing opportunities for local employment and career progression, and improving business linkages with entrepreneurs and entertainers. Like previous studies reviewed herein, the poor appear not to be key beneficiaries of tourism. The current study will endeavor to find contextual reasons which prevent local communities in Arusha Region, who are primarily poor, from being key beneficiaries of tourism.

Manyara and Jones (2007) did a study that aimed at evaluating community based tourism potentials and the challenges for poverty reduction in Kenya. It employed a case study design which used in-depth semi-structured interviews. The results emphasized the conservative orientation of CBEs, which support agencies preferring partnership approaches involving white investment which inadequately addresses community priorities. Through foreign resource control and heavy reliance on donor funding, CBEs promote neocolonialism and reinforce dependency. An urgent review of the support framework for community tourism development in Kenya integrating the principles of sustainable development is advocated. Therefore the implication is that tourism in Kenya is still dominated by white communities which have less concern for community socio-economic priorities. The current study also aims to establish whether the private sector in National Parks within Arusha Region makes a tangible contribution to local community socio-economic development through partnerships in planning and other aspects.

Correspondingly, Lepp (2008) conducted a case study in Bigodi, Uganda with the aim of assessing residents' attitudes towards initial tourism development. The findings showed that residents uniformly recalled that their attitudes towards initial tourism development were of suspicion, anxiety and fear. Moreover residents agreed that it took several years before attitudes began to improve. Analysis shows that residents' attitudes were dependent on events which happened long before the introduction of tourism. This suggests that conceptualizing tourism as a complex system is helpful for recognizing the multitude of factors which can potentially influence residents' attitudes. These findings imply that when tourism was introduced in Bigodi village, the residents were not involved in planning – a situation that made them view tourism suspiciously. The current study will further explore if the respondents living in National Parks within Arusha are suspicious of TANAPA and the tourism sector as a whole.

According to Kazuzuru (2014), the challenges that face tourism in Tanzania relate to the environment, lack of empirical studies, tax policy on accommodation being relatively high as compared to neighboring countries, competition for use of natural resources between national parks and local communities, financial leakages, fewer benefits to local communities, destruction of culture, lack of domestic tourism, lack of proper statistics in relation to arrivals and departures of tourists before 1995, poor infrastructure, mastery of English language, and health issues like malaria and HIV/AIDS. The current study commends the author for a thorough analysis of the issues that face tourism in Tanzania. However, what is of special importance is the recognition that there is lack of empirical data on tourism as well as the plight of local communities benefitting from tourism. These two aspects arguably support the need for empirical studies to address how local communities can benefit socio-economically from tourism.

Furthermore, Charnley (2005) performed an in-depth study that examined what is needed to be done in order to transform nature tourism in protected areas to eco-tourism. This was supposed to have social benefits for local community sustainable development. The study revealed that first opportunities to capture the economic benefits of tourism must be structured in a way that is culturally appropriate, and therefore accessible to the target population. Second, for communities to benefit from ecotourism, they need secure land tenure over the area in which it takes place, as well as the ability to make land use decisions for that area. Third, tourism benefits to local communities must be more than economic; they must promote deeper social and political justice goals that, if left unaddressed, restrict peoples' ability to enjoy the economic benefits of tourism. Without these elements, the conservation outcomes of ecotourism are likely to be less favourable. Although this study was conducted ten years ago, it is still relevant and sound today. The local communities not only in Ngorongoro Conservation alone, but also other communities living in national parks within Arusha, need to be supported from the proceeds of tourism via participatory planning.

Nelson (2011) conducted a seminal study that was trying to investigate if political economy of tourism development is either a blessing or a curse. The study found that local communities and ordinary citizens are not able to capture tourism value in addressing poverty issues. Furthermore the study noted illustrations of growing conflicts over land tenure, wildlife revenues as well as access to tourism benefits. So this study clearly supports the findings that tourism in Tanzania has not come to a state that local communities are empowered economically. If that has been happening, the study contends that it is not significant. Snyder and Sulle (2011), using the lenses of pro-poor tourism and poverty alleviation concepts, wondered that there are many questions which remain about whether tourism in Tanzania will alleviate poverty. However, their study was optimistic about the fact that if tourism in Tanzania is managed properly it could achieve significant benefits for poor communities. The current study supports these findings, which is the reason it is using the same theory – pro-poor tourism – to investigate how communities are benefitting socially and economically from tourism.

It is noted that tourism activities are mostly very labor intensive and often require low levels of skills. Because of the seasonal character of tourism, many jobs might be provided to certain groups of people such as students or the elderly (Bull, 1995). However, foreign ownership of tourism businesses, which is often typical in developing countries, can cause high levels of leakage (Telfer & Wall, 2000; Torres, 2003; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008). The tourism industry also competes with other economic sectors, such as agriculture. While in some destinations locals

might be completely dependent on the tourism industry for their income, in other places it might provide a nice way to gain some extra earnings besides regular income.

The World Tourism actors acknowledge that countries should support greater involvement of communities in the planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation processes of tourism plans, programmes and projects (Hall, 2007; Murphy & Murphy, 2004). While tourism relies on visiting places and people, it cannot exist outside a community. Therefore, the role of both tourism and the communities should be viewed simultaneously – any change to one will influence the other.

A community participation approach has long been advocated as an integral part of sustainable tourism development. It is envisaged that the approach can increase a community's carrying capacity by reducing tourism's negative impacts while enhancing its positive effects (Haywood, 1988; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Murphy, 1985).

According to Connell (1997: 250), participation is “not only about achieving the more efficient and more equitable distribution of material resources: it is also about the sharing of knowledge and the transformation of the process of learning itself in the service of people's self-development”.

A community participation approach has long been advocated as an integral part of sustainable tourism development. It is envisaged that the approach can increase a community's carrying capacity by reducing tourism's negative impacts while enhancing its positive effects (Haywood, 1988; Jamal & Getz, 1995; Murphy, 1985). According to Connell (1997: 250), participation is “not only about achieving the more efficient and more equitable distribution of material resources: it is also about the sharing of knowledge and the transformation of the process of learning itself in the service of people's self-development”. On the same note, Arnstein (1969) states that the purpose of participation is power redistribution, thereby enabling society to fairly redistribute benefits and costs. In the context of tourism planning, Haywood (1988: 106) defines community participation as “a process of involving all [stakeholders] (local government officials, local citizens, architects, developers, business people, and planners) in such way that decision-making is shared”.

Many researchers, however, have doubted the possibility of implementing community participation. Taylor (1995) criticizes “communitarians” as romanticism that is not rooted in reality. In addition, a participatory approach is time-consuming. Other barriers (i.e. lack of education, business inexperience, insufficient financial assistance and conflicting vested interests) also have to be overcome (Addison, 1996) before public involvement can be embraced. Thus, such an approach is often ineffective because of its high transaction costs, not only in terms of getting the program started but also in its maintenance (Jamal & Getz, 1995). Other barriers include lack of education and business inexperience among local communities. Jamal and Getz (1995) assert that the capacity to partake cannot be guaranteed merely by the right to do so: the means to get involved is also necessary. Practical participation requires both the right and the means. Moreover, Gray (1985) emphasizes that community residents need adequate resources and skills to acquire the capacity to take part; the power to obtain them is often held by governments or other stakeholders who do not regard local residents as equal partners. The residents themselves often do not even know where to begin when it comes to participation (Joppe, 1996). The above arguments provided against community participation have neither suggested alternatives for achieving sustainable tourism development, nor taken into account the demand for such programmes. The community-based

approach, despite the implementation barriers, is still the best course of action due to the following reasons. First, local issues have a direct influence on the tourist experience: a backlash by the locals results in hostile behavior towards tourists (Pearce, 1994). Thus, tourist environments should be created in harmony with the social climate, where residents will benefit from tourism and not become the victims (Wahab & Pigram, 1997). Second, the image of tourism is based on the assets of the local community, including not only the local people but also the natural environment, infrastructure, facilities and special events or festivals; therefore, the cooperation of the host community is essential to access and develop these assets appropriately (Murphy, 1985).

Many studies agree that tourism is one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world (UNCSD, 1999; Paci and Marrocu 2013). For example Paci and Marrocu (2013) noted that domestic and international tourism promoted economic growth in 179 surveyed European Nations. On a similar level, Chheang (2009) indicated that tourism has been rapidly growing in Cambodia since the early 1990s and, more importantly, it has been focusing on benefitting the local communities. These studies indicate that tourism, regardless of being found in a developed economy or developing economies, has a potential to spur economic development.

While tourism has accolades of spurring economic development, sometimes it comes with a baggage of unpleasant things. UNCSD (1999) indicated in the background paper that tourism can lead to decreased access to natural resources for local communities; it can lead to increasing cultural erosion and disrespect for human rights; it can lead to unqualified jobs and foreign exchange leakage. Therefore, this information implies that countries like Tanzania and others elsewhere should not be only be content with the positive side of tourism in terms of economic development, but also consider the negative side. This side is very important because if not taken care of, all the development could be brought into stagnation.

As a strategy to enhance community development, Sitts (2009) discussed comprehensively several ways in which tourism can benefit the poor in Tanzania. These are: the establishment of primary tourism enterprises by the poor; direct sales of goods and services to visitors by the poor and other secondary enterprises; employment of the poor in tourism enterprises; the supply of goods and services to tourism enterprises by the poor or by enterprises employing them; a levy on tourism income with proceeds benefitting the poor; voluntary giving by tourism enterprises; voluntary giving by tourists; investment in infrastructure stimulated by tourism also benefitting the poor locally; and sale or rental of property. The current study agrees with the above reasons but its focus is particularly on what tourism can benefit the poor directly in aspects related to community development.

From the literature reviewed and related studies, it is evident that the government through the Ministry of Tourism and Natural Resources, NGOs based in Tanzania, and other scholars have conducted research on the impact and contribution of the tourism sector in Tanzania and on the community development within the tourism attraction areas. However, there is no availability of any research specifically focusing on the impact of tourism sector performance on local community development in Arusha and this is what this study is intended to do.

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