Community Based Conservation and Poverty Alleviating: Rhetoric and Reality in Northern Tanzania Tourism Hub

Ally H. Namangaya
Ardhi University
Makongo, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Abstract

Community based natural resource management has been idealised as doubled-edged sword that could fight both rural poverty and environmental destructions. Co-management setups where locals are supposedly decision-makers in resource use and rip direct and indirect benefits of conservation were expected to lure communities to engaging in tourisms related activities and other sustainable livelihood activities. This research in Tanzania has shown that despite the fact that a studied community round Burunge wildlife management is located in tourism hotspot zone and there are favourable natural conditions for engaging in sustainable livelihoods, communities continue to engage in traditional extractive activities which conflict with objectives in conservation sector. As population increases pressure on natural resources increases to the extent that viability and acceptability of conservation narrative is starting to be questioned, which undermines the co-management imperatives. It therefore important that for community based conservation to reach its objectives more emphasis by supra-village resource custodians, development partners and large tourism business operators be directed towards building locals economic system that would engage all actors in livelihoods that capitalises on opportunities related to tourism and conservation related businesses.

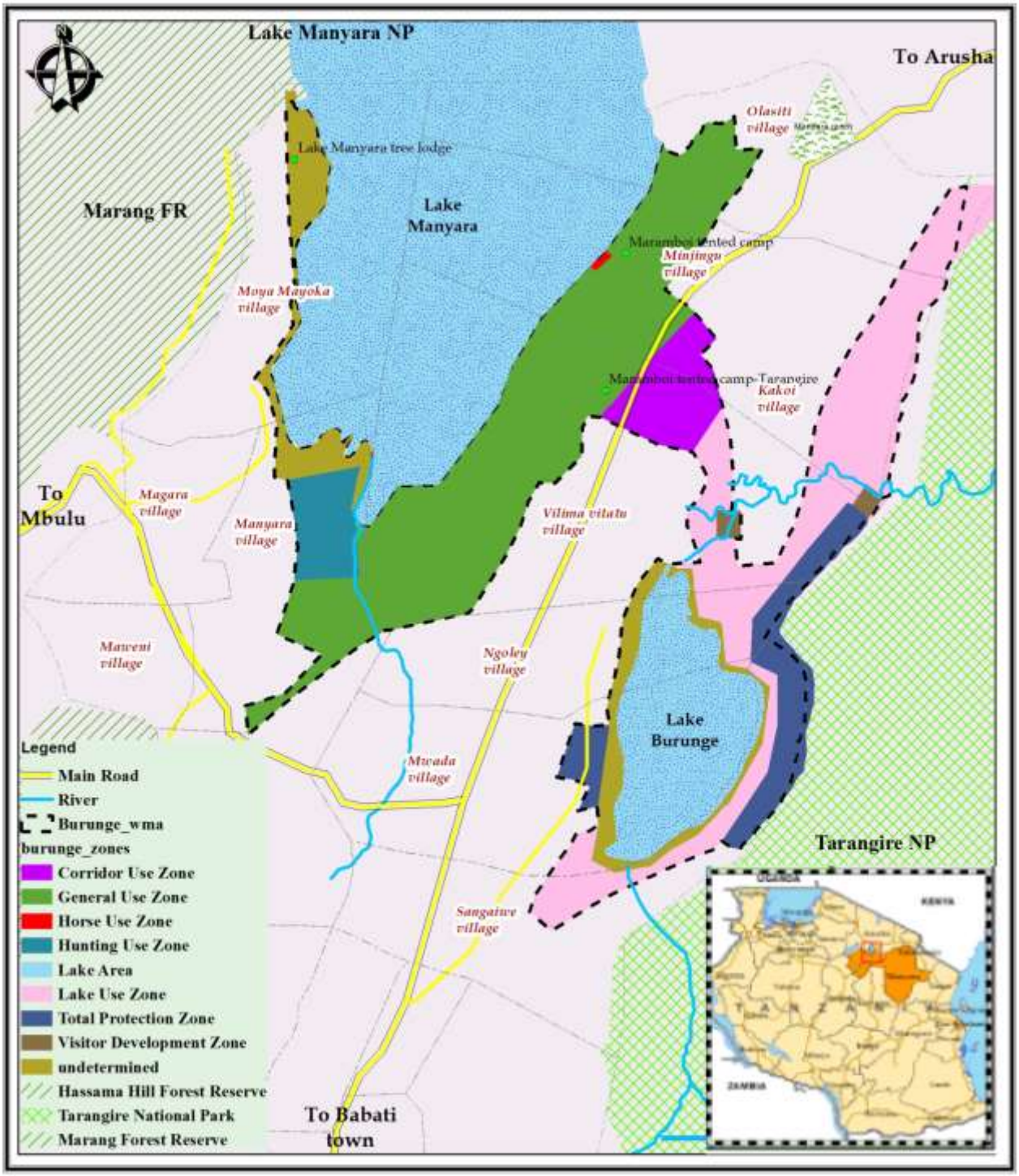
Key words: Tourism, spatial planning, conservation, Arusha

Introduction

In Tanzania and many other parts of Africa growth in numbers of tourists and revenues generated from the tourism sector contradicts with the relative high level of poverty within communities surrounding these tourism hubs (Gereta, 2010; Kidegesho, 2010). Empirical studies on tourism in Tanzania have shown that the emphasis on tourism as a means for poverty reduction has been resulting in the opposite outcomes (Nelson, 2012). Prevalence of poverty in communities surrounding flourishing tourism hubs has led to critics on narrative that natural conservation can facilitate poverty alleviation (Sulle *et al*, 2011; Davis, 2011; Lelitia, 2009).

In rural areas, widespread conflicts between protected areas' management and communities surrounding them evolve around access to resources and the lack of tangible benefits for the respective communities (Gaesing, 2009; Mombeshora and Le Bel, 2009; Namangaya, 2011). There are also arguments that policies that emphasize on the centralisation of resource rights coupled with dominance of sectoral planning in the areas of land or wildlife result in tourism activities that threaten local livelihoods (Gardner, 2012). One of the communities that manifest the paradoxical relationship between success in community-based conservation and tourism *vis a vis* extreme level of community economic disempowerment is Burunge Wildlife Management Area (BWMA).

Figure 1: Location and zones of Burunge WMA



Source: Topographical sheets, 1998 and Burunge Management Plan 2011

BWMA is located in Babati District in Manyara Region (figure 1). It is in Tanzania's wildlife-rich northern tourism circuit between two main protected areas of Tarangire and Lake Manyara National Parks. The area is accessed by the Arusha-Babati-Singida-Dodoma highway, and by air from Arusha and Kilimanjaro International Airport. The Burunge WMA has a total area of 81,960 hectares.

Ten villages of the Babati District apportioned land to establish Burunge Wildlife Management Area. These villages are Vilima vitatu, Mwada, Sangaiwe, Olasiti, Kakoi, Minjingu, Magara, Manyara, Maweni and Ngoley forming an Authorized Association (AA) called Jumuiyaya Hifadhi Burunge (JUHIBU), which is a Swahili name for Burunge Wildlife Management Area (BWMA). The BWMA developed a constitution to guide its operation in 2004 and got its user right in 2006. BWMA has a General Management Plan (GMP) for the period of 2011-2020. The area is marred with conflicts among resource users and sense of dissatisfactions among some communities which may impede reaching the conservation goals (Nelson *et al*., 2011, Kaswamila, 2012). The biggest challenge for the area being increased population due to birth-rates and migrations, more people need land for livestock and crop farming and there is a sense of unequal distribution in accessing financial benefit resulting from conservation (Ostberg and Slegers, 2010; Davis, 2011; Mwakaje *et al.*,2013; Tynnerson 2009).

Problems in BWMA is the representation of general issue which is discoursed as the faulty conceptualisation and organisation of community conservation itself in which there is opinion that the setup marginalises the communities and prioritise natural resources preservation over meeting community needs (Nelson, 2005; Igole and Coacher, 2007). The faults established in literature seem to be also low technical analysis and poor involvement in planning and decision making stages (Gereta *et al*., 2004; Kaswalima and Songorwa, 2009).

The Issue in Scientific Discourses

Throughout the history of humanity, it has been known that natural resources are the sources of wealth. To emphasize the link between natural resources and wealth, the Department for International Development (DFID) estimates that 5% of global wealth comes from the direct harvesting of the natural resources while in developing countries the proportion is 26% (DFID, 2006).

As the number of the poor who live in more fragile areas and are more directly dependent on natural resources increases through the increase in world population, the pressure on natural resources also increases (Munasighe and Shearer, 1995). The discussion on the linkage between population, natural resources degradation, and social problem such as conflicts, dates back to Thomas Malthus (1798) with his thesis that: while food production (or generally human needs produced by nature) increases at arithematic rate, population (and their consumption needs) increases at geometric rate. Extending the Malthusian argument, Ehrlich and Ehrlich (1990) point to the link between environment impact (I), population growth (P), level of affluence (A) that is consumption or poverty level, and exploitation technology (T) in the equation:

$$I=P*A*T$$

Meaning environment impact is a product of population pressure, consumption level and state of technology. Therefore as population and their consumption behaviours increases, the threats and negative impact to the biodiversity increases. Although some authors like Boserup (1993) have questioned the doom scenario of Malthusian School on the base of technological innovations, others many believe that there is a limit to dependence on technology for solutions (Bennett, 2000; Henley, 2005).

Conservation has been used as the means of making sure that resources are everlastingly available for providing direct benefits and environmental services. However, most of natural resources are commons which are susceptible to competitions of users leading to unsustainable exploitation procedures. Proposals for regulating this unsustainable behaviour of users are; appeal to altruistic motives of users; privatization; use of coercive centralised monopolistic force by state; and instituting resources management institution at the users' level. It is important to briefly visit criticisms surrounding these alternatives. Appealing to altruism leads to prisoners' dilemma especially in the context of limited information (Ostrom, 1990). Hardins (1977) observes that individualization is not practical for most common pool resources; and differentiated locality characteristics might lead to inequality in privatization. Of the remaining two management strategies, the coercive force of monopolistic structures has been widely applied to date. Ostrom and Hardin argue against coercive monopolistic structures through central government and its agencies (as in national parks); because in such structures, there is a tendency of depriving users' right to manage resources, as minority, make decisions for the majority. Murphree (1991) gives additional disadvantage for this model because it tends to leave the costs of conservation or maintenance of the common resources with the local people (e.g. destructive animals, floods and environmental stewardship) while the decisions and benefits are centralised in the government or its agencies.

Some writers on community conservation still believe that by the fact that issues such as payment of hunting fees and licensing are done at the central government then this is still the coercive use of government power to manage and control resources (Igole and Coacher, 2007).

The alternative of creating institutions at a very local level has been criticised as having relatively higher decision making costs, and there is an additional problem of the boundaries, i.e. the limits of the commonality spatially and thematically, that may not go well with the administrative or management boundaries (Ostrom, 1977). This is what is recently called need to move from "island" to landscape wide conservation in which uses within or without the protected area should be more or less similar or at least uses outside should be somehow compatible to basic conservation needs targeted within protected area, if conservation has to be sustainable (Wien, 1994).
In addition to this dichotomy of whether to locate institutions for common resource as the central government or local (users) level, Murphree (2009) points to another problem of conflicts of means –end relationship in common resource stewardship, which is closely related to cost and benefit issue. Murphree further argues that there is disparity in the goals of conservation particularly in Africa between preservers, who mostly happen to be outsiders who seem to finance and push for conservation, against the locals who live and utilise the resources. The former aims at preservation and maintenance, and in so doing, they also finance development activities as a means of attaining the preservation goal. On the other hand, the latter views resources as currently usable wealth, and conservation as a means of generating wealth. This creates a conflict between agencies, most of which are funded from outside, who push for conservation that has to focus on preservation, against the local people, including some sections of the government, who want conservation activities to have direct financial benefits. Those who want conservation to have direct financial benefits treat conservation activities as active utilization. Co-management approaches to natural resource conservation, which is entrenched in shared responsibility (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2007; Gaesing, 2009) through community conservation as in community wildlife management areas is one methods of addressing natural resource stewardship issues. While this solves the problem of institutionalisation, the issues of sharing tangible benefits with communities remains to be a dilemma.

Part of solutions to this problem becomes integrating non-consumptive livelihood activities of the communities with tourism business (Llbery and Saxena, 2008). Broadly the thesis in Integrated Tourism Development (IRT) is that aligning communities economic activities with tourism businesses. Experience shows that the benefits of creating or capacitating communities to engage with tourism value chain exceed by far the benefits from philanthropic support such as donations and contributions to those communities (Hayson and Ashley, 2005).
Literature on integrated tourism development points to some factors that need to be undertaken in aligning livelihood activities to conservation. These factors are empowerment of local people; endogenous ownership and resource use; appropriateness of scale of operations; complementarily of other economic sectors and activities; networking among stakeholders, and embeddedness of activities in local systems (Cawley and Gillmor, 2007; Ashley *et al*., 2006; Hayson and Ashley, 2005; Garrod *et al*., 2006; Llbery and Saxena, 2008).

To elaborate on the factors; empowerment is measured by the skill level and availability of business development support for people to engage in tourism and conservation related business ventures. Endogenous ownership is assessed by examining the ownership of business and ventures while appropriateness of scale in this context refers to the presence of many small scale labour intensive ventures. Complementarily is the relationship between mainstay economic activities and requirement of tourism and conservation business as non-consumptive utilisation. Networking is the collective strife of working together and sharing information among local stakeholders with a goal of fostering successful tourism and conservation. Embeddedness is about enclosure in some spheres like employment, supply of goods and raw materials while selective embeddedness means creating deliberate link to customers and sources of tourists to other agencies outside the area.

In summary the review of worldwide discourse has established that promotion of sustainable tourism, that is tourism that contributes to resource preservation and desired benefit to immediate communities, hinges on ensuring that:

- pressure on natural resources is managed;
- primary stakeholders believe and feel they have control on decisions on resources use;
- there is land use compatibility within protected area and surrounding communities;
- Communities are empowered to participate economically into value chain of tourism thus guarantee their alignment of livelihoods and behaviours in support of conservation;

- substantial tangible and direct benefits of conservation accrue to the communities to the extent that motivates them align their behaviours and decision in line with conservation goals.

Therefore this study, informed by the above discourse, examines presence of these parameters in BWMA by analysing:

- Existing resources and changes in their availability;
- community welfare, particularly incomes and employment;
- major livelihoods of communities and their trends;
- the state of tourism related business linkages existing and constraints for communities involvement; and
- Options and recommendations for providing tourism related business and sustainable livelihoods among communities surrounding BWMA.

Methodology

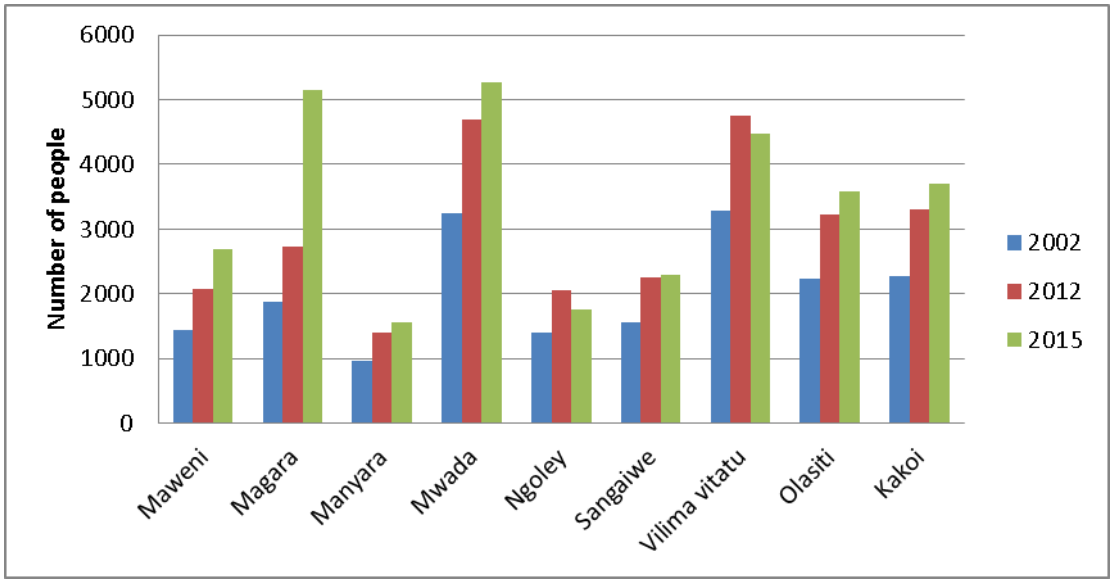
The study in BWMA was accomplished using the following methodologies; documents review, data collection and data analyses and interpretation. Review of numerous documents such as National Guidelines for Establishment of Wildlife Management Areas of 2003 and scholarly publication on integrated tourism development. Literature review and review of policy documents facilitated the establishing gaps and formulation of information requirements and data needed. The data requirement dictated research tools for data collection namely; household questionnaire, key informant interview, Focus Group Discussion (FGD) and observations. Households and key informant interviews were conducted in all BWMA villages except Minjingu, which refused to cooperate on argument that they have opted to withdraw from WMA, although they have contributed part of their land. Household interviews were conducted to a sample of 108 households randomly selected in BWMA villages. The distribution of questionnaire per village was determined by its population size.

Qualitative data were acquired from key informants who included all Village Executive Officers (VEO) of visited BWMA villages, Babati District Natural Resource Officers, tourism business operators and elders. Detailed discussions were done with three business operators namely Osupuko Lodge, ChemChem Lodge and Maramboi Lodge. Some of key informants assisted in acquiring documents like General Management Plan (2011-2020), Babati District Social-Economic Profile and other secondary data used in the report. To assess resource availability trends the data used were 30m resolution Landsat data some of which were interpreted by different organisations (TANRIC and NAFORMA) for general land cover mapping, hence no specific cover extraction. The imagery data were of different dates although in a similar season. Analysis of the data collected from the field was done through content analysis, quantitative analysis in SPSS and imagery processing integrated with spatial overlays to produce figures, maps and tables. Merging of some of the cover classes was done to facilitate this comparison and reduce errors related to deferent dates and cover classifications.

Resource Availability Trends in Relation to Population Growth

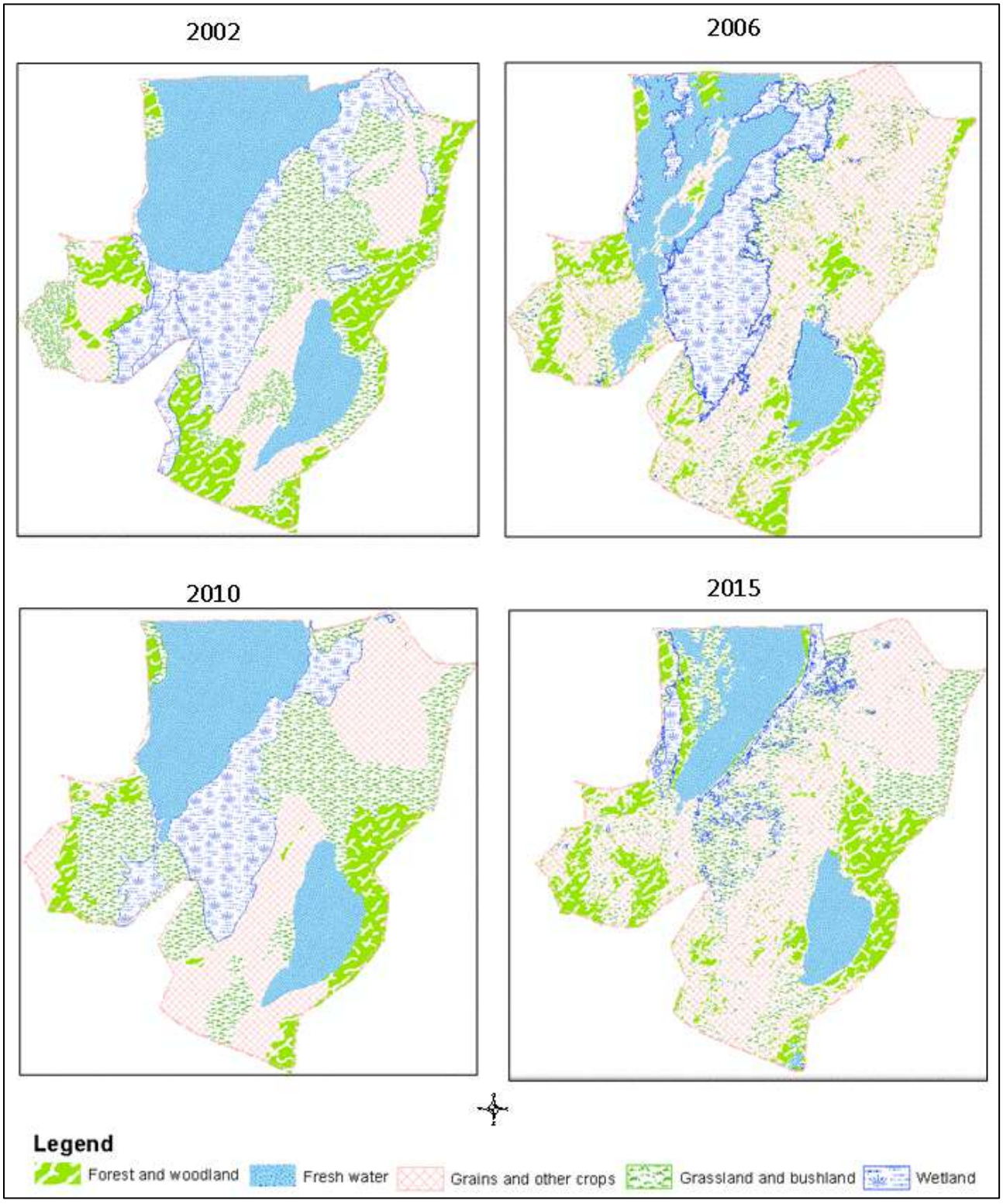
The population of the community which surrounds BWMA shows a drastic increase from 18262 in 2002, through 26517 in 2012 to 30497 in 2015. Over all a growth rate in the area is 3.8 which is above national growth rate of 2.8. The observable pattern is that population is increasing faster in off-road settlements a pattern which could be associated with looking for arable lands for farming (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Burunge Villages Population Trend



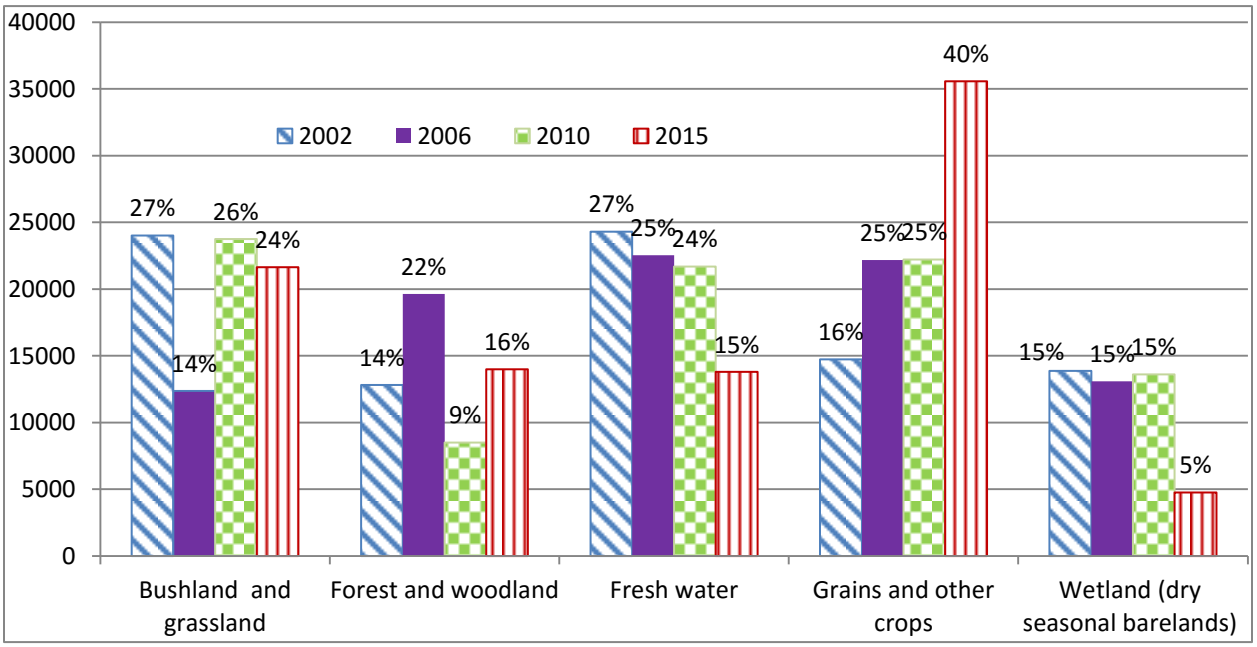
Source: Census and Village office, 2015

Figure 3: Land Cover in Villages Surrounding the WMA



Source: Analysis of Landsat data 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2015

Figure 4: Figure 3: Hectares of land by each cover type in Villages Surrounding the WMA



Source: Analysis of Landsat data 2002, 2006, 2010 and 2015

The observed resource trends (figure 3) indicate the following:

- Water and wetlands have registered huge and continuous decrease in the proportion of its coverage.
- Areas under cultivation have been steadily increasing in coverage, especially in all non-core protection areas, leaving g the core areas as islands.
- There has been a slight decreasing trend in coverage of, wooded vegetation, bushland and grassland. The quantity in figures and coverage in maps indicate also that there has been a degradation of forest and woodland into bushland, that partly explains variability in these cover classes.

When comparing population growth with resource availability trends, it is evident that human population growth is having steady impact on resource availability particularly for arable land and water resources. This implies that more people are depended on consumptive utilisation of natural resources. Such pattern is inconformity to sustainable tourism enshrined by BWMA and other tourism stakeholder's in the area.

Livelihoods, Incomes and Natural Resource Sustainability

To explore further the impact of population on natural resources, the analysis of livelihoods was undertaken. Data from interviewed households shows that farming is a leading economic activity practised by forty nine per cent (49%) of the households, followed by those practising both farming and livestock keeping which constitute forty three per cent (43%) of households while those engaging in livestock keeping only were one per cent (1%). Only two per cent (2%) of the respondents are employed in salaried jobs. There are those conducting small business selling normal merchandise which are five per cent (5%) of households. Small business includes local brew selling, small restaurant and shops. Within sampled households, none of the respondents were involved in direct tourism related business although few stalls are found at the entrance to Tarangire and in Mwada.

In the farms the average yields for major crops are low ranging from 0.5 to 3 sacks of 90 kilogram per acre of simsim; 1.3 to 15 sacks of 100 kilogram per hectare of maize; and 3 to 15 tin of 20 kilogram per hectare of sunflower. Unreliable incomes from remittance, causal labouring in farms and sale of wooded products also exist. Livestock observed were thin and undernourished, and some of interviewed households said parts of their families have migrated to coastal areas due to scarcity of foliage in the area. This mostly attributed to extensive land usage and establishment of new farms. As the average farm sizes are low due to the reliance on human labour; ranging from 1-3 hectares per household, the resultant incomes are also low. Information gathered from respondents surrounding BWMA villages showed that their average expenditure per household is 354,000Tshs or 177 USD per month with minimum and maximum of 39700 Tanzanian Shillings (Tshs) or 20 USD and 1,306,900 Tshs or 650 USD respectively.

Considering average household size of 6 people, on average a household member has about 1 USD per day which is below the poverty line of 1.25 USD per day as per sustainable development goals. Therefore, about two-third of the population lives below the poverty line. From livelihood and income analysis it is evident that farming is neither environmentally sustainable nor capable of meeting livelihoods needs as population grows.

Table 1: Revenue from Tourism to the Villages

Year	Revenue (USD)	Expenditure (USD)	Distribution (USD)	Distribution by Village (USD)	Average exchange rate for a USD to Tshs
2006/2007	30078.44	6655.017	15039.22	1671.025	1246.64
2007/2008	62901.73	20262.97	31450.87	3931.358	1196.42
2008/2009	48925.14	25911.74	24462.57	2718.063	1320.29
2009/2010	162551.2	72369.43	81275.6	8127.559	1400.29
2010/2011	248648.5	95483.97	124324.2	12432.42	1574.35
2011/2012	299234.4	111132	149617.2	16624.13	1583.17
2012/2013	172227.7	101950.6	86113.87	8611.387	1599.22
2013/2014	247988.3	105493.3	123994.2	12399.42	1663.76
2014/2015	383579.7	135878.7	191789.9	19178.99	2140.22

Source: BWMA office August 2015

Sustainable tourism activities would be an option to increase potential of generating the much needed household incomes to alleviate people from prevailing state of absolute poverty. To examine the performance of sustainable tourism, the starting point is the revenue generated from tourism. One major source of revenue for villages is the fees that BWMA receives from hotels and lodges as percentage of fee paid by the tourist. This is the major income source which is used by the villages for infrastructure investments thus offsetting direct costs and contribution the household had to pay to acquire or contribute to servicing. This therefore is equivalent of the income of the households. The trend in this source has been increasing although with some fluctuations (Table 1). However, when the figures are moderated by population growth the incomes are much lower, for instance in 2012, the average income for a six-people household in a year from this source was about 2US$ while in 2015 it stood at about 3.8US$. This is too low to contribute meaningful to the household expenditure thus become disincentive in engaging in consumptive utilisation of natural resources.

In six villages, analysis was done on the number of people engaged in non-consumptive livelihoods as per data from village offices (table 2). The community members in tourism related jobs are in positions such as Village Game Scout which counts as nine (9); Guides and interpreters are eight (8), Personal tourism services providers are three (3) and others like cooks and security guards are six (6). It was established that only nine per cent of households in the communities that surround Burunge WMA had a member participating in tourism related activities as income generating activities. Most of this nine per cent are those who seasonally engage in selling mats and other merchandise to the passing tourists. Of the employed household members' in tourism sector, twenty nine per cent (29%) had primary level of education, sixty four per cent (64%) have basic secondary education (eleven years of schooling) and seven per cent (7%) have primary incomplete education levels (seven years of schooling). Almost none had tertiary education. Since the quality of labour engaged in tourism related business are low, the incomes are also low with highest being USD 250 per month.

Table 2: Villages' Employment Statistics for Villages

Occupations	No of people employed						
Occupations/Village	**Maweni**	**Magara**	**Ngoley**	**Sangaiwe**	**Vilima vitatu**	**Olasiti**	**Total**
Teachers	10	5	0	7	11	3	35
Health officers	8	10	0	3	4	1	26
Village Executive Officers	1	1	1	1	1	1	6
Agriculture officer	3	0	0	0	1	0	4
Livestock officers	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Village Game Scout	0	3	1	3	0	2	9
Guiders	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Personal Tourism Services and camping	0	1	0	0	0	3	3
Interpreters	0	0	0	0	0	7	7
Security guard	0	0	0	0	6	0	6
Total	**23**	**20**	**2**	**14**	**23**	**18**	

Source: Fieldwork in respective village offices August 2015

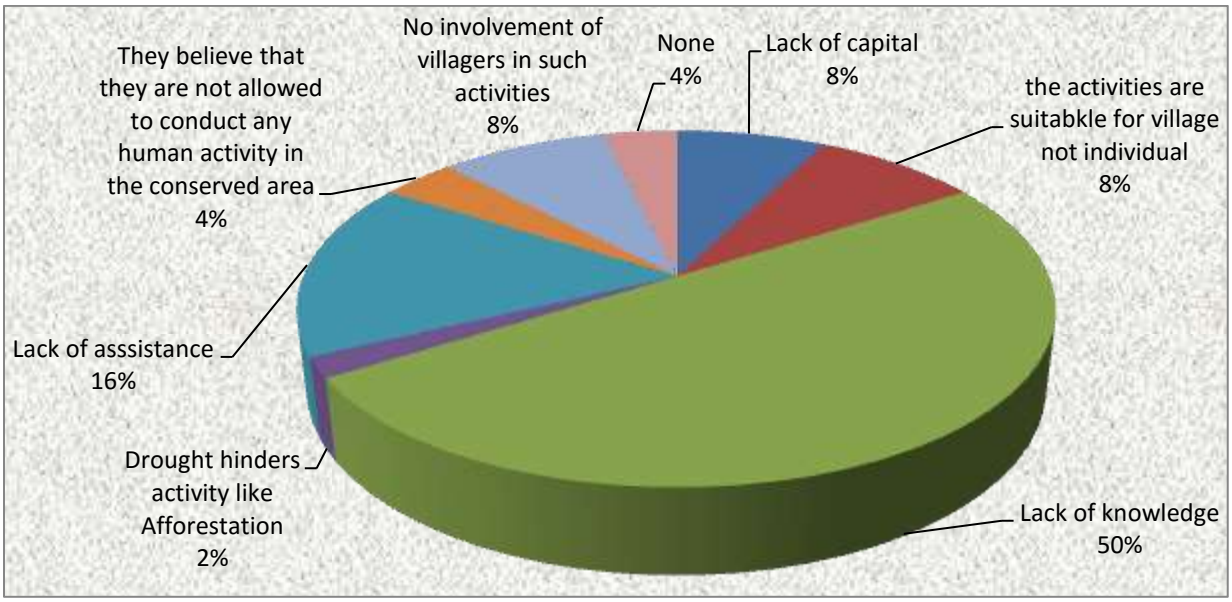
Another area where households could obtain income in non-consumptive utilisation is from conservation related livelihoods. Households' respondents, when interviewed as to whether they generate income from conservation related activities or trading, eighty nine per cent (89%) said 'no' while eleven per cent (11%) said 'yes' but unfortunately those who are engaging in conservation related activities said they earn almost nothing from it. Those who responded 'yes' largely said they engage in craft, as presented by fifty per cent (50%) and the rest are engaging in afforestation, beekeeping and performing arts. As stated earlier this is taken as sideline activity and not the economic mainstay of any household. There are villages like Sangaiwe where they have zoned 50 acres of village land in the WMA borders for establishing hotels. They have one operating hotel and two are in the process of establishment. They have also zoned an area for tourist market. Such initiatives are rare and their benefits have not been realised, however, they are movements in positive direction and need support.

Practice towards Integrated Rural Tourism as Strategy for Poverty Alleviation

From the presented data there is neither capacity nor financial incentive as of present to engage in non-consumptive livelihoods be it conservation or tourism related. Simply because the activities as they are practiced now they do not generate substantial income, and the cadres of those engaging now are of low skills and education levels. The question that emerges is, why so? The question is intriguing because this community is taken as an exemplary case of adopting co-management approaches in management of common resources where BWMA as local institutions constituted of and representing villagers is a custodian of resources (Borrini-Feyerabend et al., 2007; Gaesing, 2009).

As a 'Yes' response were given by eighty six per cent (86%) of all respondents when asked if they are interested in engaging in conservation related activities as source of income, it is important to first to share communities perceptions as to why they have a low inclination in engaging in tourism and conservation related livelihoods. Respondents mentioned various reasons as to why they are not involved, even as side-line activity, in any conservation related activities as a main source of income. Lack of knowledge and awareness, which means that they have no technical knowhow was the dominating reason followed by far by the lack of technical assistance on how to engage in such activities (Figure 4). Other reasons were lack of capital and wrong belief as to who is allowed to engage in such activities, which all relate to lack of knowledge.

Figure 4: Factors for not engaging in Conservation Related Activities



Source: Household questionnaires August 2015

From the conceptual discussion on preconditions for successful Integrated Rural Tourism (IRT), the empowerment element is broadly missing in the area for communities to engage in non-consumptive business ventures. When asked on institutions available in the area and their responsibilities (table 3), none of the listed institutions was focusing on business development support or taking tourism or conservation as business for communities. To confirm this, ninety eight per cent (98%) of interviewed households said they have never gotten any training on tourism or conservation related business.

Table 3: Institutions available to address to Support Community Development

	Institutions	Roles
1	TASAF (community development and social security fund)	Provide fund to the households with poor living condition
2	World vision	Provided conservation training specifically on tree planting at Maweni village
3	TANAPA (national park authority)	Provided funds for already constructed two teachers houses at Olasiti
4	World Bank	Provided funds for Water project at Olasiti
5	Village Cooperative Banking groups	Provide credits
6	ChemChem lodge	-Yearly donation and football sponsorship - Constructed toilet for school, police post and water points
7	Dorcas	-Provide fund for construction of hospital toilet
8	Central and local government	-Provide social services such secondary school, dispensary and roads.

Source: Fieldwork in respective village offices and discussion with elders August 2015

In the dimension of ownership, it was found that none of the locals own any hotel or lodge and many of the big ones like ChemChem Lodges and Maramboi lodge are part of networks that have their origins in Serengeti and Selous. There are rumours that even few stalls at the gate of Tarangire National Park selling artefact belong to Kenyans. None of the household uses part of the house to provide accommodation for tourists, a practice which is common in many rural areas that are known to attract tourists. There are no services like use of hotel courtyards and websites for locals to promote local business. In some cases tourist lodges request traditional dances from locals, but not locals requesting for opportunities to perform in this lodges. Therefore, almost all the money earned in the area from tourism related activities is done through big tourism hotels and lodges.

This implies that small scale businesses that would allow majority to be entangled in tourism business chain are not there. As a result there are no complementarities between activities undertaken by locals which are farming and livestock keeping, and conservation or tourism related livelihoods

On networking, it was found that among hoteliers and tourism business operators there are no associations or any form of collaborative operations. Differences in scales of businesses, business strategies as well as customer segments are stated by hoteliers to be the reasons for not cooperating. This means the area lacks branding and network and each business likely has higher overheads in dealing with issues individually. Regular meetings and use of a common platform could be some of the ways to institute cooperation and common visioning among stakeholders. However, when this was examined in Burunge, nothing of such happens. There is no evidence of regular stakeholders meetings. On contrary there is apparently a kind of antagonistic relationship between BWMA management who mostly perceives hoteliers/campers as potential defaulters in paying their dues and hoteliers who perceive BWMA as a myopic organisation in business perspective as they only know fees as a source of income. In this setup, all parties lose. One apparent area of loss is, as stated, the failure of BWMA to use hoteliers to secure contracts of commodities they can supply and network for community to sell goods and services. The hoteliers fail to secure branding, expand packages into socio-cultural products and waste money on trying to deal with individual village leaders and philanthropic activities whose effects ingrain deeper dependency on donations.

Moreover, there is not any means where the villages are getting information on expected arrivals and numbers of visitors to prepare for their businesses. This is due to lack of connection between business operators and communities. There is an information centre built which is a good innovative idea that needs to be strengthened and used effectively. BWMA is also known to participate in many tourism promotional activities but this seems to be undertaken as a showcase of successful community based conservation rather than attract sustainable businesses.

Conclusion

This study in an applauded community conservation area shows that conservation of natural resources has not been an agent of poverty eradication, a phenomenon which is not unique to this area (see for example Kellert *at al*., 2000). Mismatch between conservation objectives of those external conservation agents and some sections of central government against the objectives of local resources users who focus active consumption forms of utilisations has been accredited to this failure (Hilborn, 2007; Kellert *at al*., 2000; Namangaya, 2011).

Integrated rural tourism as a strategy to boost development in this kind of context has generally failed because actors are pursuing different objectives which are inherently contradicting. As observed, WMA management is focusing resource preservation; there is scarcity of business development agencies to foster tourism and sustainable utilisation and the district council does not have active programmes to foster linkage between tourism and local livelihood. Thus people are pursuing agriculture and other resource harvesting as livelihood activities while hoteliers and conservation agents are pursuing tourism and sustainable utilisation. In this setting, when villagers designate land for conservation uses, they do it as a transitional land use until it ready to be used for agriculture and other exploitative uses. Hjalager (2000) talks of reorienting tourism areas like this by industrial district strategy where all actors are pursuing the same tourism and sustainable harvesting livelihoods as a development strategy.

The study also indicates that absolute resource scarcity (Homer-Dixon and Delligiannis, 2009) in the area is still prevalent despite the fact that BWMA is organised and functioning in a co-management form of resource custodianship. Absolute resource scarcity undermines people's confidence in the co-management of and they start feeling like they are coerced in the resource management form as indicated by attempts to withdraw by some villages from the WMA consortium. They are many accusations that BWMA and hotel owners are denying them of resources access. Theoretically this implies that in condition of absolute resource scarcity, co-management institutional setup in resource management can be undermined.

References

Ashley, C and Hayson, G. 2005. From Philanthropy to a Different Way of Doing Business: Strategies and Challenges in integrating Pro –Poor Approaches into Tourism business. *A paper ATLAS Africa Countries: Pretoria October 2004.*

Bennett, J. 2000. Environmental Consequences of Increasing Production: Some Current Perspectives: *Agriculture, Ecosystems and Environment 82 (2): 89–95.*

Boserup, E. 1990. *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: the Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure*. EarthScan, London.

Davis, A. 2011. Ha! What is the Benefit of Living Next to the Park? Factors Limiting In –migration Next to Tarangire National Park, *Conservation and Society 9.(1): 25-34.*

DFID. 2006. *DFID's Approach to Environment*. DFID, London.

Ehrlich, P. and Ehrlich, A. 1990. *The Population Explosion. Simon and Schuster*, New York.

Fahmi, W. 2008. Global Tourism and the Poor's Right to the City: Spatial Contestation within Cairo's Historical Districts. In: Tourism development. Growth, myths, and inequalities. Wallingford, UK, Cambridge, *MA: CABI, S. 159–191*.

Ferreira, S. 2011. Balancing people and park: towards a symbiotic relationship between Cape Town and Table Mountain National Park. In: *Current issues in tourism14 (3), 275–293.*

Gaesing, K. (ed). 2009. *Reconciling Rural Livelihood and Biodiversity Conservation: Lesson from Research and Practice.* SPRING Research Series No.52, Dortmund.

Gereta, E. and Skaft, E. 2010. *Conservation of Natural Resources: Some African & Asian Examples*. Tapir academic press. Trondheim.

Gereta, E., Meing'ataki, G., Mduma, S. and Wolanski, E. 2004. The Role of Wetlands in Wildlife Migration in the Tarangire Ecosystem*, Journal of Environment & Development Westland Ecology and Management 12:285-299.*

Hardin, G. (ed).1977. *Managing the Commons*. Freeman San, Francisco.

Henley, D. 2005. Agrarian Change and Diversity in the Light of Brookfield, Boserup and Malthus: Historical Illustrations from Sulawesi, Indonesia: *Asia Pacific Viewpoint 46 (2):153–172.*

Hilborn, R. 2007. Defining Success in Fisheries and Conflicts in Objectives: *Marine Policy 31: 153–158*

Hjalager, A.-M. (2000) 'Tourism Destinations and the Concept of Industrial Districts', *Tourism & Hospitality Research 2(3):199-213*

Homer-Dixon, T. and Delligiannis, T. (2009). Environmental scarcities and Civil Violence. In Brauch, H., Behera, C., Béchir J., Kameri-Mbote, P., Krummenacher, H., Mesjasz, C. and Spring, Ú. (2009). *Securitinizing Global Environmental Change*: Facing Global Environmental Change. Springer, Berlin.

Igoe, J. and Croucher, B. 2007. Wildlife Management Areas in Northern Tanzania Community Based Wildlife Management – in *Conservation and Development Conservation and Society, Pages 534 – 561.*

Kellert, S., Mehta, J., Ebbin, S. and. Lichtenfeld, L. 2000. Community Natural Resource Management: Promise, Rhetoric, and Reality: *Society & Natural Resources: An International Journal 13 (8): 705-715*

Kaswalima, A. and Songorwa, A. 2009.ParticipatoryLand– Use Planning and Conservation in Northern Tanzania Rangelands. *Afr.J.Ecol, 47 (Suppl.1) 128-134.*

Kaswamila, A. Ed.2012.*An analysis of the Contribution of Community Wildlife Management Areas on Livelihood in Tanzania Sustainable Natural Resources Management*.

Kideghesho, J.R. 2010. Wildlife conservation in Tanzania: Whose interests matter? In . Gereta E and Røskaft E. (eds), *Conservation of natural resources; Some African & Asian Examples*. Tapir academic press. Trondheim.

Mombeshora, S. & Le Bel, S. 2009. Parks-People conflicts: the Case of Gonarezhou National Park and the Chitsa Community in South-East Zimbabwe. *Biodiversity and Conservation 18 (10): 2601-2623.*

Mombeshora, S. and Le Bel, S. 2009. Parks-People conflicts: the Case of Gonarezhou National Park and the Chitsa Community in South-East Zimbabwe. *Biodiversity and Conservation 18 (10):2601-2623.*

Munasighe, M and Shearer, W. 1995. *Defining and Measuring Sustainability: The Biophysical Foundation*. World Bank and UNU, Sussex.

Murphree, M. 1991. Communities as Resource Management Institutions. *Gatekeeper Series No. SA36* .IIED, London.

Murphree, M. 2009. The Strategic Pillars of Communal Natural Resource Management: Benefit, Empowerment and Conservation. *Journal for Biodiversity Conservations 18. (10): 2551.2562.*

Mwakaje, A., Manyasa, E., Wawire, N., Muchai, M., Ongare, D., Mugoya, C., Masiga, C., and Nikundiwe, A. 2013. Community -Based Conservation, Income Governance, and Poverty Alleviation in Tanzania: The Case of Serengeti Ecosystem. *Journal of Environment & Development. 5.(4):1-23*

Namangaya, A. 2011. *Land Use Conflicts in Coastal Protected Areas: their Origin and Management Options.* SPRING Research Series, Dortmund.

Nelson, F. 2005. Wildlife Management and Village Land Tenure in Northern Tanzania *TNRF Occasional Paper No.6*

Ostberg, W. and Slegers, M. 2010. Losing in the Land: Changing Environmental Perceptions in Burunge country, Tanzania, *Journal of Eastern Africa Studies,4. 2: 247-265*.

Ostrom, E. 1990. Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Ostrom, V. and Ostrom, E. 1977. A Theory for Institutional Analysis of Common Pool Problems. In Garrett, H. and Baden, J. (eds). *Managing the Commons*. W.H. Freeman and Company, San Francisco.

Sandercock, S. &. Dovey K. .2002. Pleasure, Politics and the "Public Interest". Melbourne's Riverscape Revitalization. In: *APA Journal 68 (2), 151–164*

Saxena, B and lbery, B .2008. *Integrated Rural tourism: A Border Case Study Annals of Tourism Research 35(1):233 – 254.*

Sulle, E., Lekaita, E. and Nelson, F. 2011, *From Promise to Performance, Wildlife Management Areas in Northern Tanzania*: accesses online August 2015.

Tynnerson, S. 2009. *Conservation, Commerce and Communities: The Story of Community – Based Wildlife Management, Areas in Tanzania's Northern Tanzania Tourist Circuit*.

Wien, J. 1994. Habitat Fragmentation: Island V Landscape Perspectives on Bird Conservation. *IBIS. 137: S97-SlO4*