

Socioeconomic Impact of Tourism: The Case of Tanzania

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Abstract

The paper shows that while tourism has grown over the past few decades and has made a significant contribution to Tanzania's exports, Tanzania's economy and Tanzania's labour market, Tanzania's tourism sector could have been more successful. This claim is supported by the fact that Tanzania has a greater number of natural wonders than its competitors, greater potential market and it features more prominently than other destinations in the packages offered by tour operators around the world. The paper further argues that while the tourism sector could be more successful and attract more tourists, there is a trade-off between the economic dividends and the environmental problems that a thriving tourism sector could generate. The key policy implication of the present paper is that Tanzania's tourism sector should be developed in a sustainable way. By failing to do so and by damaging the environment, the tourism sector could undermine its own sustainability.

Keywords: Socio-economic; Tourism; Tanzania; development; environment and wildlife

JEL classification: O1, O2, O5, Z0, Z1, Z3

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1. Introduction

The first issue of volume 33 of *Africa Insight*, in 2003, was entirely devoted to Tourism and Development in Africa. In the introduction to the special issue, Rogerson (2003) noted that few studies had thus far explored the relationship between tourism and development. The situation has, obviously, changed significantly in the following years. Several studies have explored tourism impact on employment (Pelizzo and Kinyondo, 2017), inequality (Kinyondo and Pelizzo, 2015), poverty reduction, economic growth and socio-economic development in Africa (Rogerson, 2005: 2012) and elsewhere.

In reviewing a rapidly growing body of research Rogerson (2007) advanced a series of claims namely that data on tourism are poor, that the tourism sector is rapidly growing and represents a large share of total exports in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa, that the Big Four (Egypt, South Africa, Tunisia, Morocco) dominate African tourism, that Tanzania belongs to a second tier (which also includes Kenya, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Mauritius and Swaziland/Eswatini), that 60 per cent of tourists come for leisure, that the largest number of international travellers comes from the region, and that several studies have explored the factors constraining the tourism sector such as the lack of proper regulatory frameworks, lack of air transport, lack of skilled labour, the presence of weak institutions and terrorism/political instability.

Some of these claims are still valid. The quality of data on tourism is still poor (Kinyondo and Pelizzo, 2018), the Big Four still dominate African tourism, and Tanzania still belongs to the second tier. According to World Bank Tunisia has 7 million international tourism arrivals, Egypt has 8.1 million international tourism arrivals, South Africa has almost 10.3 million tourist arrivals and Morocco is the single most successful tourism destination in Africa with 11.3 million international tourism arrivals, while Tanzania and the rest of the second tier have between 1 and 2.5 million international tourist arrivals. Furthermore, with regard to the constraining factors, terrorism and political instability do deter tourists as Kenya learned all too well in 2015.

Some of the other claims that Rogerson (2007) advanced are partially valid or need to be somehow qualified. The tourism sector has grown globally and it has grown in (Sub-Saharan) Africa as well. Yet, while, in the aggregate, one detects a clear upward trend one also detects considerable variation cross-nationally and over time. As we will show in greater detail later on, the number of international tourist arrivals has grown steadily in Tanzania, but not so in Angola, Botswana, Burundi Chad, Comoros, Republic of Congo, Egypt, Eritrea, Guinea, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Zimbabwe.

Tourism's contribution to total exports has not grown steadily and does not always represent a terribly large share of a country's total exports. The data made available by the World Bank Development Indicators database reveal that tourism's receipts represented 8.5 per cent of total exports in 1995, but only 6.6 per cent in 2017 at the global level. Tourism's contribution to total exports followed a similar pattern in Sub-Saharan Africa. Tourism's receipts represented 11 per cent of Sub-Saharan Africa's total exports in 1998 and just 9.2 per cent in 2017 –which as such better than the 5.7 per cent recorded in 2011, but clearly not as good as it had been in previous years (1998, 1999, 2003). Furthermore, the data make clear that tourism's contribution to total exports and, subordinately to GDP, has fluctuated over the years and displayed some variation across countries. Tourism's contribution to total exports has grown steadily in Angola, Ivory

Coast, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia and Togo but not so in the rest of the continent, including Tanzania.

The fact that Tanzania's tourism sector has grown consistently over time (in terms of number of tourist arrivals) but has failed to make a larger contribution to Tanzania's total exports raises some questions as to what is and has been tourism's contribution to Tanzania's economy and society. The purpose of the present paper is to address this question by analyzing how the tourism industry contributes, not only to Tanzanian exports, but also to Tanzania's GDP and employment. Our analysis reveals that while tourism is rather important for the Tanzanian economy, the economic and developmental dividends that tourism yields in Tanzania are not as large or as significant as in other countries in the East African region—which are Tanzania's most obvious competitors. Upon reviewing some of the reasons why Tanzanian tourism could be doing better, we discuss whether Tanzanian tourism should be doing better.

The paper is organized in a fairly straightforward manner. In the next section, we review the literature on tourism and development and by doing so we identify three groups of scholars: those who believe that tourism can be a driver of economic growth and development, those who believe that the economic and developmental dividends of tourism are conditional, and those who think that tourism does not yield economic and developmental dividends but is a source of social problems—from the distortion of cultural practices to environmental degradation. In the third section we will discuss the data, the data sources and the methodological approach employed in this article. Building on this discussion, in the fourth section, we analyze some data to see whether and to what extent tourism contributes to Tanzania's economy. Specifically, by analyzing tourism's contribution to Tanzania's total exports, GDP and employment, we show that tourism is not as important as it had been in previous years. In the fifth section, we review some of the reasons – number of natural wonders available, tour operators' offer, size of the potential market- why Tanzania's tourism sector could be more successful than it is, while in the sixth we discuss whether a faster growth of the tourism sector is actually beneficial for Tanzania. In the seventh and final section, as is customary, we will draw some conclusions.

2. Literature: Tourism and development

Writing in 2003 Rogerson noted that the relationship between tourism and socio-economic development had received up to that point in time little attention. What Rogerson (2003) neglected to note, however, was the fact that the few studies written on the subject went on to shape the terms of scholarly inquiry for many years to come and continue to do so in many ways.

The literature on tourism and development received a seminal contribution by Peters (1969). The study, that had a profound influence on the work that Bryden (1973) would publish a few years later (recast this statement), claimed that tourism can yield five different dividends for a developing nation. Tourism can be beneficial because it can improve the balance of payments, it can contribute to the development of non-industrial areas, it generates employment opportunities, it can impact the economy through a multiplier effect and produce social benefits such as widening one's horizons.

The notion that tourism yields developmental dividends gained wider currency, it was debated, discussed, discredited and resurrected. In a matter of few years, in reviewing a rapidly growing

body of work, Bryden (1973) could already note that the literature on tourism and development was split into three different camps.

One group of studies, pioneered by the work of Peters (1969), underlines the economic benefits of tourism. In this line of inquiry tourism is identified as a source of income (Kruja and Hasj, 2010), income distribution (Blake, 2008; Macoullier and Xia, 2008), foreign exchange (Smith and Jenner, 1992), government revenue (Sharpley, 2009), employment (Choy, 1995), knowledge (Shaw and Williams, 2009) and even technology. It is shown to contribute to GDP (Fayissa, Nsiah and Tadasse, 2008), economic growth (Durberry, 204), development (Milne and Ateljevic, 2001; Sharpley, 2003) and poverty reduction (Sharpley and Naidoo, 2010).

A second group of studies, however, raised considerable doubts about tourism's ability to yield economic and developmental dividends. The studies, within this second category, can be further sub-divided between those that suggest that tourism can yield some economic and/or developmental dividends but not others (Tosun et al., 2003) and those that suggests that tourism's ability to yield economic and developmental dividends is conditional (Sharpley, 2009).

While a third group of studies argued that tourism is ultimately a detrimental activity both in economic and non-economic terms. Summarizing the main claims advanced by tourism's critics, Bryden (1973:1) reported five issues: distortion of local culture, conversion of farmers into wage workers, alienation of land, perpetuation of inequality and erosion of dignity. To the list of problems, summarized by Byden (1973) and at times dismissed by more recent studies, one should add tourism's environmental impact. Tourism is a sector that, in order to remain viable, requires the mobilization of increasingly large amounts of resources (Gössling and Peeters, 2015) and several studies have estimated the impact of tourism on environmental degradation (Williams and Ponsford, 2009), air pollution (Saenz-de-Miera and Rossello, 2014) and water pollution (Baoying and Yuanqing, 2007)-arguing, in some cases, that sustainability is essential for the success of the tourism sector and for the economic and developmental dividends it can generate (Pigram, 1980) but also arguing, in other cases, that the sustainability of tourism may have little to no impact on the sustainability of a country's development (Sharpley, 2000; Pigram and Wahab, 2005).

Given the diversity of opinion as to what tourism can deliver in developmental terms, and given Tanzania's attention to a tourism sector that is expected to stimulate its economy and spur its development, it is worth investigating tourism's contribution to Tanzania's total export, GDP and employment-which is precisely what we plan to do in the remainder of the paper.

3. Methodology and data

While it is generally understood that research has to be innovative, much less attention is paid to the fact that innovation is a complex, multi-faceted phenomenon. In an effort to map the various ways in which research can be innovative Voss (2003) noted that there are four basic types of innovation: innovation is incremental when, for example, in a well established model we add an additional independent variable; it is architectural or environmental when a proposition that is well established in one setting is tested in a new/different setting; it is modular when a study proposes a new way to operationalize a concept and it is radical when it changes the way in which the scholarly community thinks about a specific problem or issue.

The purpose of the present paper is to be innovative in incremental, modular and radical terms, to use Voss (2003) terminology. The paper attempts to make a contribution to the literature on the developmental and economic dividends of tourism in Tanzania, it proposes a new way in which one could look at the economic and developmental dividends of tourism in Tanzania, and it uses a wide range of data and data sources that, to the best of our knowledge, the literature had failed to employ. Before addressing in some detail what data and data sources were used in the course of the present research and how they were used, some attention should be paid to our research questions and to the way in which such questions could be addressed.

The present paper seeks to address three different, albeit related, questions, namely: whether and to what extent tourism yield economic dividends in Tanzania, whether Tanzania's tourism sector could be more successful and be more beneficial to Tanzania's economy, whether there are costs associated with an unregulated expansion of the tourism industry in Tanzania. In order to address such questions, we will use, with the exception of a few statistical graphs, a qualitative approach. The methodological choice was dictated by two complementary reasons. The first reason is that quantitative analyses provide at best an indication of whether and how variables are related to one another, but they do not provide any indication as to why such a relation may or may not exist. The second reason is that quantitative analyses could not have been meaningfully employed to address the second and the third question that we wish to address in this paper—namely whether the tourism sector could or should do better. To address these questions, a different approach was required. We had to look at what Tanzania can offer to tourists, how Tanzania's tourism offer is packaged and marketed by tour operators, and whether Tanzania's tourism sector does a good job in addressing the demands of its potential market in comparative perspective.

Tanzania's data alone could not provide an answer for the questions we were attempting to address. Tanzania's data could become and indeed became meaningful only after they were compared with the data from other attractive tourism destinations in Sub-Saharan Africa. Data on the number of international tourist arrivals and tourism's contribution to exports were taken from the World Bank Development Indicators Database. The information concerning how the tourism offer is packaged was collected by analyzing the content of the websites and tourist brochures of several tour operators. While the potential demand for tourism was estimated on the basis of the traffic (number of visits) of tourism portals promoting various tourism destinations in the region. Finally, the information on the desirability of a more economically successful tourism sector was collected by means of archival and bibliographic research from predominantly Tanzanian sources.

4. Tourism's contribution to Tanzania's economy

The most obvious piece of information is that Tanzania's tourism sector has increased significantly from the mid-1990s onward. The growth of the tourism industry can easily be appreciated by simply looking at the increase in the number of international tourist arrivals and/or in the international tourism receipts. The number of international tourism arrivals increased from 285,000 in 1995 to 1,275,000 in 2017.



Figure 1. International Tourism Arrivals
Source: World Bank Development Indicators

The increase in the number of tourism arrivals went hand in hand with an increase in the international tourism receipts. In fact, tourism receipts increased from 502 million US dollars in 1995 to 2284 million US dollars in 2017.



Figure 2. International Tourism, Receipts
Source: World Bank Development Indicators

The number of arrivals increased by 447 per cent in 23 years, while, in the same period, receipts increased by 454 per cent. These numbers show that the tourism sector has grown significantly over the years in absolute terms yet they do not provide an indication of the extent to which the development of the tourism sector contributed to Tanzanian economy.

In order to assess the economic impact of the tourism sector we will assess tourism's contribution to Tanzania's total exports, its contribution to Tanzania's GDP, and its contribution to employment. With regard to tourism contribution to Tanzania's total export, the data made available by the World Bank Development Indicators Database (2019) show that tourism's contribution to export steadily declined in the 1995-2011 period and has steadily been rising ever since. In fact, while tourist receipts represented 39.7 per cent of Tanzania's total exports in 1995, their contribution to Tanzania's total exports was of just 18.7 per cent in 2011. Tourism contribution to Tanzania's total exports has steadily increased in each of the following years, it has failed to be as significant as it had been prior to 2007. With regard to tourism's contribution to GDP, the data reveal that it has also declined. While in 1995 tourism receipts amounted to almost 9.6 per cent of Tanzania's GDP, by 2017 tourism receipts amounted to just 3.95 per cent of the GDP.



Figure 3. International Tourism receipts as percentage of total exports
Source: World Bank Development Indicators

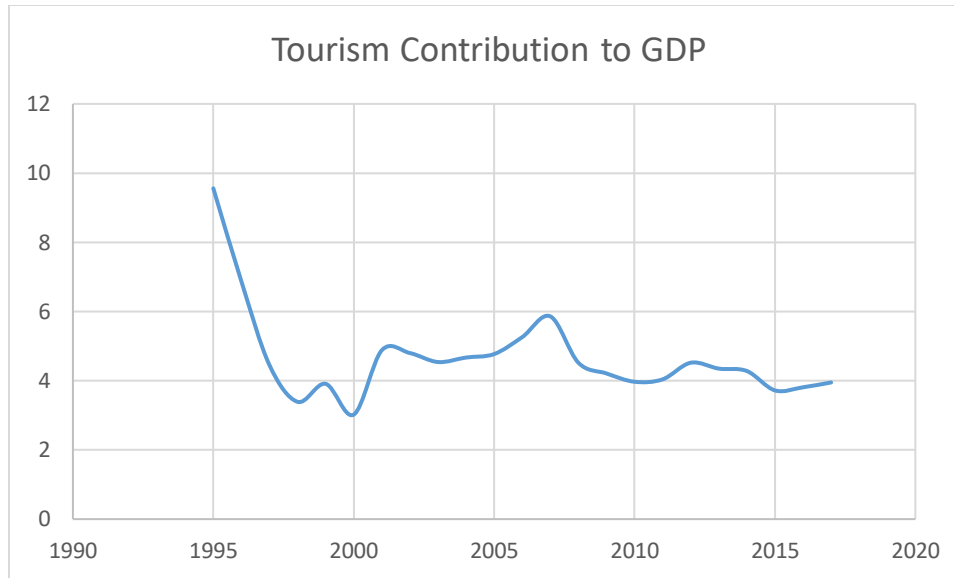


Figure 4. Tourism contribution to Tanzania’s GDP

Source: authors’ elaboration of World Bank Data

The growth of the tourism sector has had an unequivocally beneficial impact on the labor market. The number of individuals employed in accommodation and food service activities has increased in both absolute and relative terms. In fact, The Formal Sector Employment and Earning Survey 2016 revealed that 10.2 per cent of the 1,748,695 individuals employed in the formal sector worked in accommodation and food services, whereas in 2013 only 7.3 per cent of 1,531,665 individuals working in the formal sector were employed in accommodation and food services. This means that in a short three years, the accommodation and food service sector created more than 66,000 new jobs in the formal sector –which corresponds to a 2.9 per cent increase in the percentage of the formal labour force employed in this sector. Tourism creates jobs, contributes to Tanzania’s exports and GDP though not as much as it once did.

5. Could Tanzania have a better performing tourism sector?

Tourism is important for Tanzania. It creates jobs and contributes to exports and the GDP. Could tourism make an even more significant contribution to Tanzania’s economy?The answer is obviously yes for at least three reasons: its natural wonders, its potential market, and tour operators’ offer. Let’s review each of these issues in order.

With regard to the natural wonders, it is worth recalling that Africa as a whole hosts seven natural wonders: The Serengeti Migration, the Ngorongoro Crater, Mount Kilimanjaro, the Nile River, the Red Sea Reef, the Sahara Desert, and the Okavango Delta. Three of these wonders (Kilimanjaro, Serengeti, Ngorongoro) can be admired in Tanzania. Furthermore, to enhance its appeal to international tourists and to ensure the preservation of its rich wildlife, 44 per cent of Tanzania’s “land mass is set aside for national parks and game reserves” (<https://www.export.gov/article?id=Tanzania-Travel-and-Tourism>). Hence, while what Tanzania has to offer may not be better than what can be admired elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa, it is fairly clear that Tanzania has more to offer.

The second reason is that Tanzania has a wider potential market than many of its competitors. In fact if we analyze the number of visits per day to the websites devoted to promoting tourism in a specific destination, we find that Tanzania's potential appeal is much greater than that of its competitors. As revealed in Table 1, the Tanzania's tourism portal is more successful than that of its competitors. It is slightly more successful than the tourism portal of Mauritius and Kenya, it is noticeably more successful than the Botswana's portal and it is remarkably more successful than the Ugandan and Zimbabwean portals. Tanzania's tourism portal has roughly four times as many daily visitors as the Ugandan portal and it has nearly 9 times as many daily visitors as the Zimbabwean portal. The fact that so many daily visitors visit Tanzania's tourism portal is consistent with the claim that Tanzania has a considerable appeal to tourists.

Table 1. Number of viewers of tourism websites

Country	Organization website	Number of visits per day
Tanzania	Tanzaniatourism.go.tz	4250
Mauritius	https://www.tourism-mauritius.mu	3913
Kenya	Magical Kenya	3768
Namibia	Travel Namibia	3267
Botswana	www.botswanaturism.co.bw	3220
Uganda	Visit Uganda	1033
Zimbabwe	Zimbabwe Tourism	473

Source: Author's Compilation (2019)

Yet, Tanzania somehow fails to translate its potential into actuality and it is actually outperformed by its competitors. In fact, while Tanzania had 1,275,000 tourists in 2017, Mauritius had 1,342,000 tourists, Kenya 1,364,000, Uganda 1,402,000, Namibia 1,499,000, Botswana 1,574,000 and Zimbabwe 2,423,000 (<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ST.INT.ARVL>). In other words, Botswana, Kenya, Mauritius, Namibia, Uganda, and Zimbabwe were all more successful tourist destinations than Tanzania in spite of the fact that they do not have as many natural wonders as Tanzania and of the fact that they do not devote as much mass land to national parks and game reserves. Tanzania fails to capitalize on its parks, natural wonders and its potential appeal.

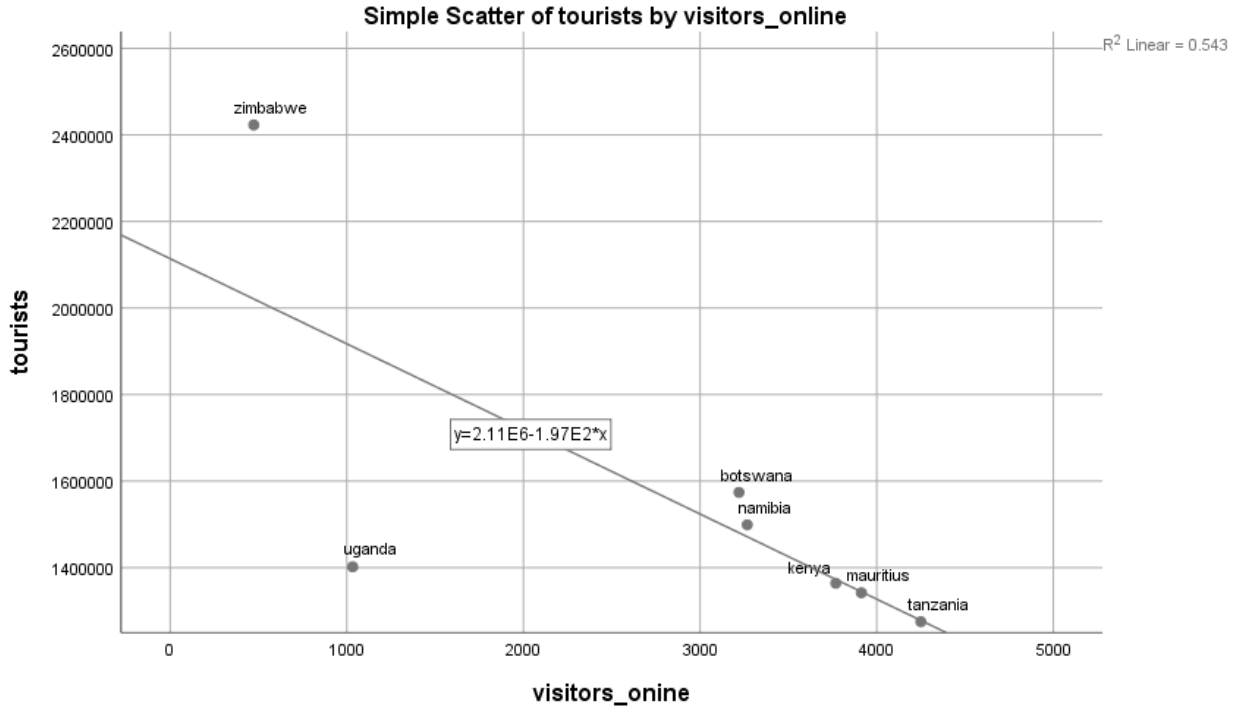


Figure 5. Scatterplot of the Number of tourists and visitors online

The third reason is that Tanzania features more prominently in tour operators' offer than any of its competitors. (this is short to be a paragraph. Join the next paragraph with this.)

I Viaggi di Levi is one of the top tour operators for travelling in Africa: it offers three types of travels to Zimbabwe (two of which also include Botswana and Namibia), three to Botswana, seven to Namibia and eleven to Tanzania. If instead of looking at the tours offered by *I Viaggi di Levi*, we consider the offer by *KEL 12* (which operates with National Geographic), we find that it offers 10 tours of Tanzania, 8 of Namibia, 2 of Botswana, one tour of Namibia and Zimbabwe, two tours of Uganda and Rwanda and one of Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo. *African Geographic* organizes tours to 11 destinations in Tanzania, 8 in Botswana, 7 in Kenya, 6 in Namibia and Uganda, and 4 in Zambia and Zimbabwe.

In other words, there is greater offer for Tanzania than for any other destination and the cost of touring Tanzania is lower than the cost of touring any Tanzania's competitors. The information disclosed by *I Viaggi di Levi* on its websites (11.11.2019) reveals that a travel to Tanzania lasts from a minimum of 9 to a maximum of 11 days, with an average duration of 10.09 days. The cost varies from 1,980 to 3,820 Euro with an average of 2,525.4 Euro. The duration of a travel to Botswana varies from a minimum of 10 days to a maximum of 12 with an average duration of 10.67 days. Travelling to Botswana is however considerably more expensive. The cost of such travel varies from a minimum of 3990 Euro to a maximum of 5640 Euro, with an average cost of about 4,563.3 Euro-which is roughly 80 per cent more expensive than a trip to Tanzania in spite of the fact that the average duration of the trip is roughly the same. The only tour of Zimbabwe costs 4,090 Euro for 12 days, while the duration of tours of Namibia vary from a minimum of 13 to a maximum of 15 days, with an average duration of 14.14 days. The cost varies from 2,700 to

4,980 Euro with an average cost of 3,855.7—which is 52.7 per cent higher than the average tour of Tanzania. The average duration of a tour of Kenya and Uganda is of about 11 days with an average cost of about 3,273.3 and 3,495 Euro, respectively. In terms of costs per day, Tanzania is set at roughly 252 Euro per day, Namibia at 272, Kenya 280.4, Uganda 317, Zimbabwe at 340.8 and Botswana at 456. For additional details see Appendix 1. The data made available by Kel12 on its website (11.11.2019), similarly shows, that touring Tanzania is generally cheaper than travelling to any of its competitors (see Appendix 2).

Hence, given the fact that our operators offer more tours of Tanzania than of any of its competitors and that the costs of travelling in Tanzania is lower than that of travelling elsewhere, it is reasonable to conclude that Tanzania could easily attract more tourists than it currently does and that it could just as easily outperform its competitors.

There is an additional reason why Tanzania should do better than its competitors. Botswana, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe are land-locked and therefore are unable to appeal to those tourists who wish to enjoy sun and sand holiday, whereas Tanzania can offer sun and sand holidays on the white beaches of Zanzibar. With a wealth of natural wonders, with a wider potential market and with more to offer (at a lower cost) than its competitors, tourism in Tanzania could already perform better and make a greater contribution to the country's economy.

And of course, Tanzania could do more to have an even more dynamic tourism sector. In analyzing what could be done to make tourism work for Tanzania, Pelizzo and Kinyondo (2018) noted that Tanzania does not have a leading airline, Dar es Salaam is not a major hub and, as a result, reaching Tanzania is, if not more expensive, more time consuming than reaching Addis Ababa or Nairobi. A second issue that according to Pelizzo and Kinyondo (2018) was detrimental to the development of tourism in Tanzania was Tanzania's visa regime. Tanzania did not offer visa on arrival nor granted visas online. Tanzania has now revised its visa policy and it would be interesting to see whether and how significantly this policy change will affect the growth of the tourism sector. A third issue identified by Pelizzo and Kinyondo (2018) was the fact that Tanzania needs better marketing, needs to advertise not only its natural wonders but also its cultural/heritage sites and more generally the landmarks of the Swahili civilization—an issue on which little progress has been made. The fourth and final issue identified by Pelizzo and Kinyondo (2018) was the lack of good museums or the need to improve the existing ones. Improving museums has been a priority for several countries in Sub-Saharan Africa: on August 21, 2017 it was reported that “The Institute of National Museums of Rwanda is improving museum structures and service in order to double the current revenue of Rwf200m from cultural tourism per annum” (<https://www.africanpoliticsandpolicy.com/?p=8121>); on September 24, 2017, South Africa inaugurated The Museum of Modern African Art (<https://www.africanpoliticsandpolicy.com/?p=8759>); on September 29, 2019, it was reported that Mauritius launched the Intercontinental Slavery Museum project (https://www.panapress.com/Mauritius-launches-intercontinen-a_630606734-lang2.html); and Uganda, thanks to a grant from the Getty Foundation, is taking steps to preserve its modernist museum (<https://www.africanpoliticsandpolicy.com/?p=22778>). Yet, it does not seem to be a priority for Tanzanian policy makers who possibly fail to appreciate the dividends, economic and otherwise, that good museums can yield.

Better museums, better marketing of cultural/archaeological sites, better visa regulations and better flight connectivity could ensure a much faster growth of the tourism sector in Tanzania. While these solutions may be instrumental in attracting more tourists to Tanzania or in prolonging their stay, they do little to make tourism work for Tanzania. As Kinyondo and Pelizzo (2015) noted, foreign ownership, vertical integration, and the economic treatment of workers employed in the tourism industry are some of primary reasons why, in spite of the impressive rise of the tourism sector income inequality persist in the sector. Specifically, international tour operators use their own charter flights to bring tourists to Tanzania; moreover, while in Tanzania, they use locally their own means of transport, they accommodate tourists in hotels and resorts that they own and none of this contributes much to local economy. Kinyondo and Pelizzo (2015) continue to show that much of the profits in tourism industry tend to be repatriated hence reducing the extent of dividends that could have been accrued in Tanzania in the absence of repatriation. In addition, the sector tends to employ people with low skills and ones who are poorly paid (ibid). Kinyondo and Pelizzo (2015) further show that while there are more female workers than male in the tourism industry in Tanzania, women tend to be paid lower wages than their male counterparts. This implies that the majority in the sector receive wages that are in the lower side.

This unfortunate reality, provides a further justification for an urgent need to build local content in the industry-entails the involvement of local businesses and employees and the use of local inputs in a particular sector (Kolstad and Kinyondo, 2017). In this particular case, local content in the tourism industry is measured by the extend local businesses, skills and inputs are employed in the sector. On the part of the country, the need for local content is straight forward. Indeed, when fully developed, local content is in theory expected to increase employment and upgrade the skills of workers, and to improve productivity through transfers of technology from multinational corporations to local firms involved in the tourism sector (ibid). In turn, through developing local content, multinationals involved in tourism sector in Tanzania acquire social license to operate from locals (Kolstad and Kinyondo, 2017).

Tanzania will enjoy tourism's economic and developmental dividends to a much larger extent not only if the sector grows but also and more importantly if it is redistributed among local economic actors—which requires more local content, less vertical integration, better wage conditions for workers, and gender-discrimination in the salary conditions.

6. Environmental and wildlife protection

If attracting more tourists did not have any environmental implications, then of course Tanzania should simply try to maximize the number of international tourist arrivals. But as some of the authors previously recalled expanding the number of incoming international tourists may have a devastating on the Tanzanian environment and on the sustainability of its tourism sector.

Sustainable tourism is one that also recognized the need to protect environment. No amount of forex from the industry should allow environment to be degraded. Unfortunately, a common occurrence in tourist hotspots is building huge hotels next to water sources and the likes. This tradition must be curtailed as authorities must recognize the fact that tourists are in the first place attracted by the natural beauty they encounter when they come to Tanzania. It follows that entertaining impunity to individuals degrading environment is akin to saying goodbye to future tourists.

Efforts to enforce environmental protection measures among investors in the tourism industry should thus not be overemphasized. Protecting environment is equivalent to banking on future tourists' arrivals. Any compromise to environmental protection is thus counterproductive to making tourism work for Tanzania.

Going hand in hand with environmental protection in the tourism industry is wildlife conservation. This is crucial as wild living things complete the ecological cycle that is necessary for preserving the environment. Wildlife conservation efforts in Tanzania started as way back as in 1891 when the German rule enacted the law that prohibited hunting (Kideghesho, 2016). In this instance, hunting by Africans was classified as poaching and militaristic strategy was used to enforce the law against hunting. Years after, the British Administration enacted a more comprehensive wildlife conservation legislation called Game Preservation Ordinance of 1921 after which several Game Reserves were gazetted. The country adopted this law upon independence.

In total, about 40% (use per cent, this is what you have been using) of Tanzania is designated as a protected area easily making it the largest protected area estate in Africa (Kideghesho, 2016; Goitom, 2013). The government has over the years enacted various laws that govern wildlife. However, not many of these laws address issues pertaining to poaching and trafficking. In addition, the laws were so fragmented that prevented them from being effectively enforceable. Specifically, the Wildlife Conservation Act (WCA) and the National Parks Act (NPA) as well as their subsidiary legislation are the controlling laws in mainland Tanzania. In the semi-autonomous region of Zanzibar, the governing law appears to be the Forest Resources Management and Conservation Act (FRMCA).

However, while as stated above the WCA is expected to enforce the provisions in mainland Tanzania, the Authority's reach did not extend to the Ngorongoro Conservation Area and the national parks (Goitom, 2013). Indeed, the task of protecting wildlife resources in the national parks was vested in the Board of Trustees of the Tanzania National Parks, while the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority was tasked with the same role in the Ngorongoro Conservation Area. Also, various other government bodies including the police also enjoy some enforcement authority.

The sheer size of protected areas together with fragmented laws have provided a challenge for Tanzania particularly when it comes to protecting wildlife. This coupled with the ever-increasing demand of wildlife products around the world, has intensified poaching and trafficking in Tanzania and beyond. Indeed, according to Kideghesho (2016), the demand of ivory in China has tripled its price in just four years from US\$750/kg in 2010 to US\$ 2,100/kg in 2014 hence fuelling wildlife poaching and trafficking around the world.

Not surprising that poaching and trafficking of wildlife in Tanzania reached industrial scale a few years back. Data released by the government of Tanzania shows that the country has lost more than half of its elephant population between 2009 and 2014 declining from 109, 000 to 44, 051 elephant; Rhino population dropped from 10,000 in 1970 to a mere 2,313 in 2014; the number of lions declined from 25,000 to 16,000 in the same period (Domasa, 2018; Ringa, 2018; Traffic, 2015). As if that was not enough, the Honourable Minister responsible for Natural Resources and

Tourism, Dr. Hamisi Kigwangalla was recently quoted saying that some of the hunting operators not only kill over 20 animals instead of permitted 2 but also extend their hunting blocks and/or transferring their hunting blocks without following proper procedure (Domasa, 2018).

The wildlife poaching and trafficking situation grew so bad that Tanzania was named as one among 'the gang of eight' notorious countries that are key in fuelling illegal ivory trade in the world alongside Kenya, Uganda, Malaysia, China, Thailand, Vietnam, and the Philippines (Kideghesho, 2016). Furthermore, a report from the Elephant Trade Information System (ETIS) points a Dar Es Salaam and Zanzibar ports as principal exist points for large quantities of ivory in the world (Traffic, 2015). Indeed, according to latest available information from seizure records, at least 45 tonnes of ivory has flowed from Tanzania to international markets since 2009 (ibid).

All in all, the image of the government of Tanzania has suffered due to wildlife poaching and trafficking activities at its shores. It is perhaps in the quest for protecting its image around the world that the government has since intensified its efforts to curbing poaching and trafficking of wild animals. The efforts were preceded by the formulation of the Tanzania Wildlife Management Authority (TAWA) in October 2015 to get rid of fragmentation in enforcing wildlife related laws (First for Wildlife, 2015). TAWA is expected to improve science-based wildlife management and increase wildlife conservation capacity in Tanzania through, among others, increasing the number of personnel and equipment necessary to enforce wildlife conservation laws.

The ministry responsible for natural resources and tourism has been leading the fight against poaching and trafficking from the front. Just recently, the minister responsible named and shamed operators, owners of hunting blocks and officials in the ministry accused of supporting poaching syndicate (Domasa, 2018). Several of the accused have been arrested since.

In concluding, wildlife conservation is crucial as it ultimately help the country to generate revenues through both consumptive and non-consumptive tourism. For instance, Kideghesho (2016) points out that the value of one elephant over its lifetime (60-70 years) when considering its non-consumption price (tourism) is estimated to be US\$ 1,607,624.83 with an annual financial contribution of US\$22,966. In its totality, hunting tourism generates around US\$27 million per annum in Tanzania. Moreover, wildlife completes the ecosystem necessary for preserving the environment and ultimately survival of all living things in Tanzania. Poaching and trafficking of wildlife are thus very costly to the country and hence must be faced with the full force of law. This is absolutely crucial since protecting the environment and wildlife is essential for keeping tourism sustainable in Tanzania.

7. Conclusions

The paper suggests three basic conclusions. The first is that tourism is important for Tanzania and its economy: it contributes to its total export, to its GDP and it creates employment opportunities. The second conclusion is that the tourism sector in Tanzania could considerably be more successful in generating wealth and in ensuring that the local population enjoys a larger share of the wealth that tourism generates. Moreover, Tanzania could be more successful because it has more natural wonders than many of its competitors combined, because it features more prominently in offers provided by international tour operators and because it has a much larger potential market.

There are several steps that authorities in Tanzania could take to ensure, by transforming a potential market into an actual one, that tourism yields greater economic and developmental dividends to the Tanzanians. Nevertheless, while increasing the tourism-generated wealth is a necessary condition to ensure that Tanzanians benefit from the sector, it is not a sufficient condition in itself. The other requisite is that wealth sourced from Tourism must be more equitably distributed. For this to happen, three steps seem to be of particular importance: increasing local content, reducing vertical integration, and ameliorating the wage treatment for individuals employed in the tourism sector, particularly for the women.

Ultimately though, what Tanzania needs the most, is to keep its tourism sector sustainable. To do so, Tanzania needs to protect its environment and wildlife—which could be harmed if the tourism sector grows faster and uncontrollably at the expense of the environment, thereby preventing the tourism sector from achieving sustainability level it so badly needs to remain attractive.

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Appendix 1

I Viaggi di Levi

country	Tour name	duration	cost
Tanzania	North	10	2320
Tanzania	South	10	3100
Tanzania		11	2560
Tanzania	Kilimanjaro	10	2250
Tanzania	Kilimanjaro	9	2040
Tanzania	North	10	2370
Tanzania		1	2540
Tanzania	South	10	2620
Tanzania	Machame	10	2180
Tanzania	Marangu	9	1980
Tanzania	North	11	3820
Botswana		10	3990
Botswana		10	4060
Botswana		12	5640
Zimbabwe		12	4090
Namibia		13	4180
Namibia		13	4140
Namibia	Fly and drive	15	2700
Namibia	Fly and drive	15	2820
Namibia		15	4980
Namibia	Kaokoland	15	4290
Namibia		13	3880
Uganda	Parks and gorillas	10	2550
Uganda		12	4440
Kenya	3300	13	3300
Kenya	2740	9	2740
Kenya	3780	13	3780

Appendix 2.

Kel12

country	duration	cost
Tanzania	12	4550
Tanzania	8	4150
Tanzania	10	5300
Tanzania	9	3280
Tanzania	11	3760
Tanzania	10	4450
Tanzania	14	4500
Tanzania	11	3280
Tanzania	13	3900
Tanzania	10	2980
Botswana	7	4800
Botswana	14	5400
Namibia	15	4430
Namibia	15	4280
Namibia	11	4600
Namibia	13	4980
Namibia	15	4550
Namibia	16	5750
Namibia	15	5650
Namibia	16	6200