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Index

I. LIST OF TABLES

II. LIST OF FIGURES

III. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AA	African Association
AU	African Union
AEC (AU)	African Economic Community (of African Union)
CCM	Chama Cha Mapinduzi (Party of the Revolution)
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DAC	Development Assistance Committee (OECD)
DOAG	Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft
EAC	East African Community
EATTA	East African Tourist Travel Association
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GCET	Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (UNWTO)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GDI	Gender-related Development Index
GEM	Gender Empowerment Measure
GNI	Gross National Income
HDI	Human Development Index
HDR	Human Development Report
HPI	Human Poverty Index
HTTI	Hotel and Tourism Training Institute
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
LICs	Low Income Countries
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MKUKUTA I	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupungaza Umaskini Tanzania 2005 (The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty)
MKUKUTA II	Mkakati wa Kukuza Uchumi na Kupungaza Umaskini Tanzania 2010 (The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty)
MNRT	Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism

MPI	Multidimensional Poverty Index
NBS	Tanzania National Bureau of Statistics
NEPAD (AU)	New Partnership for Africa´s Development (of African Union)
NSGRP	National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty
NTP (abbr.)	National Tourism Policy (1999)
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
RETOSA (SADC)	Regional Tourism Organization of Southern Africa (of SADC)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
ST-EP Initiative	"Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty" Initiative (UNWTO)
TAHI	Tanzania Hotels Investment Corporation
TANAPA	Tanzania National Parks
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
TCT	Tourism Confederation of Tanzania
TCU (SADC)	Tourism Coordination Unit (of SADC)
TIC	Tanzania Investment Centre
TMP (abbr.)	Tourism Master Plan (2002)
TNTB	Tanzania National Tourist Board
TTA (abbr.)	The Tourism Act (2008)
TTB	Tanzania Tourist Board
TTC	Tanzania Tourist Corporation
TZS	Tanzanian Shilling
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN-OHRLLS	United Nations Office of the High Representative for Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developed Countries and Small Island Developing States
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
USD	US-Dollar

1. Introduction

Tourism has become an important part of today´s life all over the world. It is not only one of the biggest and fastest growing economic sectors worldwide it also affects people worldwide on very different levels. Nowadays people from industrialised countries have the opportunity and privilege to travel around the world to get to know countries and peoples around the globe. The expansion of the tourism industry roughly happened within the last thirty to forty years and as such it is closely linked to the emergence of the capitalistic and industrialised economic world system. At the end of the 18^{th} century tourism and travelling was a prerogative of the wealthy, the nobility and clergy, and of institutionalised groups such as craftsmen and scholars. The industrial revolution not only brought about fundamental changes to the world economy, it has also laid the foundation for the modern tourism industry to develop. For the first time in history, people outside the above mentioned elite had the time and the necessary means to travel. The various technological improvements attributed to this era further paved the way for the modern tourism industry as we know it today. Today, one billion tourists travel every year and tourism is no longer confined to geographical, economic or cultural boundaries. Travelling became a prestigious status symbol and even serves as an element of identity formation through distancing oneself from the "same" and experiencing the "other". This "other" however, can be defined through very tangible elements such as geography or language or through more psychological aspects such as habits and customs.

The engagement with tourism in developing countries manifests a certain Eurocentric perspective as the distinction between source markets, i.e. countries of tourists´ origin, and destinations always reveal different power relations and dependencies on various levels. As tourism plays a vital role in the economy of many developing nations, respective countries face a certain economic dependency on the industry. And while tourism, like many other industries, is susceptible to fluctuations, the economy of these countries is relatively vulnerable as there are few other industries to rely on. Moreover, tourism in developing countries is often nature based which always bears the risk that the impact of increases tourism activity might harm the destination´s ecosystem and thus the initial quality that furnished the development of tourism in the first place.

Also, the interaction between people with different cultural, linguistic and economic backgrounds might result in tensions within prevailing socio-cultural structures and might encumber the economic benefits of the tourism industry. Tourism in developing countries is thus hardly ever a reciprocal exchange and the awareness of this reality is crucial in order to come to an all-inclusive approach towards tourism that maximises the benefits for developing countries.

It is self-evident, that tourism can generate benefits for developing countries on an economic, socio-cultural as well as ecological level, and therefore can serve as an instrument to alleviate poverty. Tourism accounts for a growing share of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in many developing countries, it has the ability to generate revenues and local employment and can contribute to the improvement of local infrastructure. Furthermore, tourism can strengthen cultural identity and contribute to the preservation of natural areas. In order to make tourism sustainable and even “pro poor”, thus generate benefits for the poor in order to alleviate poverty, the complexity of the tourism industry has to be fully acknowledged and the many stakeholders actively involved. In this context, a thorough and comprehensive planning process on a meta level is of paramount importance. Governments and regulatory bodies in the tourist destinations play a crucial role in this context as it is up to them to meet the challenges of tourism in terms of economic, socio-cultural and ecological aspects. Only then can sustainable tourism unlock opportunities for the poor and thus contribute to the overall sustainability of a destination.

1.1. Epistemological Interest

The subject of tourism has accompanied me throughout my whole academic career in varying intensity, degree and perception. During my studies at the University of Applied Sciences in Tourism Management I gained knowledge about the shaping of the tourism industry, its economic impact and its effect on people and societies. However, the main focus laid almost exclusively on Austria as a tourist destination. My home country looks back on more than a century of engagement in tourism and the industry continues to play a vital role in the domestic economy as it offers a very diversified tourist product, from cultural to city tourism and from business and congress to mountain and winter tourism. Due to its mountainous location along the Alps, Austria is a well-known winter tourism destination with over 65.5 million overnight stays in the last winter season 2012/2013 (Österreich Werbung 2013). However, the success of winter tourism in Austria both reveals and exemplifies the biggest challenges within the industry itself and the country in general: winter tourism is solely based in natural areas, thus the environment of the respective area is highly affected; the future of winter tourism is threatened by climate change and global warming and lower areas are increasingly dependent on the use of snow making machines requiring large amounts of energy and water; the emphasis on winter tourism can lead to the emergence of economic monostructures and therefore to the elimination of traditional sectors; and winter tourism has further major implications on community and social structures as seasonality and mass tourism can alter demographics, gender relations and social practices.

These challenges reveal both the complex nature of tourism as well as the importance of a comprehensive planning process which needs to include all affected stakeholders: governments and policy makers, regional planners and related institutions, companies and entrepreneurs, the population and civil society. During my studies I soon realised that these challenges both apply to industrialised countries like Austria as well as to developing countries, albeit under different conditions. The engagement with tourism in developing countries, amongst other aspects, awakened my interest for Development Studies and after graduating from the University of Applied Sciences in Tourism Management I enrolled at the University of Vienna to attain knowledge on development theory and economics. Since spending a family holiday in Kenya during my childhood I was very interested in the East African region and as neither African history nor development theory is part of the curriculum in most Austrian grammar schools, I had to catch up on a lot of knowledge. I came across the history of Tanzania for the first time during a seminar on colonialism and gender in one of my first semesters at the Department of Development Studies and soon found myself not only interested but fascinated with the history of the country. From this point onwards, I focused my studies on Tanzania, its history, culture and economy.

In 2008 and 2009, I had the opportunity to participate in a course about "Regional Development in Developing Countries" at the Technical University of Vienna that included a field trip to Tanzania in February 2009. I was part of an interdisciplinary team to conduct research on the feasibility of an ecotourism camp in Karatu in Northern Tanzania. The small town plays an important role within the Northern Tourist Circuit, as it is the southern gateway providing access to both the Ngorongoro Conservation Area and the Serengeti National Park. As the majority of visitors pass through Karatu on their way from Arusha it was given the unfavourable nickname "safari junction". Even though on the very core of the most visited circuit, Karatu benefits only indirectly from tourists as they are mostly isolated from the daily life of the inhabitants and there are only very few opportunities for the local population to engage in the local tourism industry and benefit from it. During my research I had the opportunity to interview local government officials and tourism planning officers, meet local tourism entrepreneurs and read up on Tanzania´s tourism policies, plans and regulations. After finishing our research, my colleagues and I travelled other parts of Tanzania – Ngorongoro, Serengeti, Arusha, Tanga, Pemba, Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam – and thus we became acquainted with the country´s diversified tourism product.

Tanzania is much more than a beautiful and fascinating destination with a rich history and culture, it is also still a developing country fighting fundamental problems such as low income, high poverty rates and limited access to education and health care for its population. The knowledge of these aggravating circumstances and developmental challenges further intensified my interest in tourism development and planning and its possible contribution to poverty alleviation. I strongly belief that tourism offers many benefits for developing countries such as Tanzania is, if however, planned thoroughly, prudently and sustainably. Otherwise, tourism can have dramatic impacts on destinations and further exacerbate the often already challenging economic, ecological and socio-cultural situation of developing countries and its population. Through the engagement in the complex field of tourism in developing countries in general, Tanzania in particular and the analysis of relevant policies I hope to contribute to a deeper understanding of the benefits and costs of tourism in developing countries.

1.2. Research Interest

The underlying hypothesis of the present thesis is that tourism can contribute to poverty alleviation in developing countries. In my argumentation I will move along the theoretical concepts of development theory at the meta level with the focus on poverty and poverty alleviation. As I will mainly argue from an economic perspective, coupled with recent data on economic development and poverty, the following subjacent level will focus on tourism as an economic practice with the latest numbers on the tourism sector on both a global and regional level. The focal point of my analysis is the United Republic of Tanzania and its relevant tourism policies. Sustainable tourism development with its possible positive impact on human development and poverty alleviation cannot be achieved by merely applying a standard blueprint, policies always have to be adapted and tailored to meet the local prevailing circumstances; every country and tourism destination has its own specifications and characteristics regarding history and development, economy and socio-cultural structures as well as ecology and geography. In order to respond to this crucial challenge, I will provide a historic perspective on the thematic focal points of this thesis: tourism, development and poverty reduction, and Tanzania including its economic and political development, to lay the foundation for the analysis of the regarding policies. Thus, the present thesis will move along the nexus of development theory, tourism as an economic practise and Tanzania as the local reference point of the analysis.

The specific research interest of this thesis it to analyse Tanzania´s efforts in public tourism planning and its possible contribution to poverty alleviation in the country. For the analysis I will concentrate on the tourism-related national planning and regulatory process and analyse three tourism-related planning documents. In order to attain the most comprehensive result as possible, the chosen planning documents need to cover the complexity of the tourism industry in Tanzania on three different but closely intertwined levels: the National Tourism Policy, the Tourism Master Plan and the Tourism Act. The National Tourism Policy constitutes the foundation of the country´s tourism development process and covers the national tourism-related policy-making process: the policy level. The Tourism Master Plan puts an emphasis on the specific implementation of the national policy and the development of an integrated tourism product: the implementation level. The Tourism Act covers the respective legal framework with regarding institutions and regulations: the legislative level.

1.3. Research Questions and Methodology

The main objective of this thesis is to find out if the central Tanzanian tourism planning policies have the ability to establish a basis to harness tourism as an instrument to alleviate poverty. Several questions in that respect come to mind, which I will use as a guideline throughout this thesis:

- How are the three aforementioned Tanzanian tourism policies constituted?
- To what extent are the three different planning documents – on the policy, the implementation and the legislative level – interconnected and do they interact with each other?
- Are the policies embedded in the general development planning process of Tanzania?
- Do the planning documents have the ability to create a solid framework for a sustainable and "pro poor" tourism industry?
- What can be deduced from the analytical outcome for future policy-making, planning and implementation?

Methodological, the three planning documents constitute both my primary sources and content of the analysis. After a thorough literature analysis on the nexus of development theory, tourism as an economic practise and Tanzania as the geographical parameter, I will analyse the aforementioned three primary sources on the basis of relevant indicators. These indicators are based on the Pro Poor Tourism concept presented in chapter 2.5., but will be adapted accordingly. The source analysis of the three documents might entail certain risks and research limitations such as impaired comparability due to the differing target orientation. However, by carefully choosing and shaping the indicators for the analysis, I have tried to minimise such limitations in order to attain a justifiable result.

1.4. Structure

The current chapter provides information on both the epistemological as well as the research interest and research questions of this thesis. And, subsequently, the methods used for the analysis of the Tanzanian tourism policy papers.

In the second chapter, I will introduce tourism as an economic practice in all its manifoldness. First, I will present the various approaches to define tourism and tourists, and I will provide information on the history of tourism and travelling and discuss its various types and trends. Secondly, I concentrate on the possible effects and impacts of tourism on destinations in general and on developing countries particularly. The Pro Poor Tourism approach is then presented at the end of the first chapter.

Chapter three focuses entirely on the development and poverty discourse. Information is presented on the history of development theory and strategies for poverty alleviation and eradication. I will especially focus on the United Nations Millennium Development Goal programme and on Pro Poor Growth as the reference policies behind the Pro Poor Tourism approach. The varying concepts for defining and measuring development and poverty are presented at the end of the chapter.

Tanzania is the central topic in the fourth chapter. As the structures and characteristics of a country or destination are determining parameters for a tourism industry to serve as a possible means for poverty alleviation, I will briefly sketch the country´s history as a developing nation and discuss future development challenges. In order to interconnect tourism as an economic practice and development planning, the Tanzanian tourism market is also portrayed in chapter four. At the end of the chapter I will present the current Tanzanian tourism planning policies, which will be discussed in more detail in the following fifth chapter.

The fifth chapter is dedicated then to the analysis of the three concerning Tanzanian tourism planning policies: the National Tourism Policy, the Tourism Master and the Tourism Act. The analysis will be conducted on the basis of relevant indicators, which are based on the Pro Poor Tourism approach as mentioned earlier. The indicators will be presented at the beginning of the fifth chapter.

The thesis closes with conclusions and recommendations (chapter six), derived from the theoretical framework of the first chapters and the extensive analysis of the policy documents.

To improve readability, I will abbreviate the tourism planning policies in both the continuous text and the reference. The very first mentioning of these sources will be cited correctly according to the guidelines of the University of Vienna. In a footnote I will then explain the abbreviation used in the ongoing analysis. The following table illustrated this modus operandi.

Policy Paper	**Abbr. in Text**	**Reference**	**Abbr. of Source**
National Tourism Policy of 1999	NTP	United Republic of Tanzania (1999a): The National Tourism Policy. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism	NTP 1999: page
Tourism Master Plan of 2002	TMP	United Republic of Tanzania (2002): Tourism Master Plan: Strategy & Action. Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism	TMP 2002: page
The Tourism Act 2008	TTA	United Republic of Tanzania (2008): The Tourism Act, Act No 29. Dar es Salaam: Enacted by Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania	TTA 2008: page

2. Introducing Tourism

The following chapter will give an overview of the complex and multifaceted concept of tourism. The chapter will start with the various definitions of tourism as an industry and system; the tourist and his or her motivation; tourism´s recognition as a trans- and multidisciplinary phenomenon; describe its history in general as well as in the East African context; the different types of tourism and emerging trends; and present the possible positive and negative impacts of tourism on developing countries. The chapter will conclude with the presentation of the Pro Poor Tourism approach.

2.1. Definition of Tourism and Tourists

Tourism is a complex and multi-layered phenomenon, which both encompasses and influences various disciplines. Research shows that there are multiple definitions, depending on the focus or field of study. As the very idea of tourism and travel activity involves regions, people and cultures of at least two different parties, the complexity of the topic is problematic to grasp and define. The existing definitions vary, depending on the diverging research interests. Most definitions share the consensus that tourism involves people travelling to and (temporary) staying in places outside their usual environment. The United Nations Organisation World Tourism Organization defines tourism accordingly as "the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes" (UNWTO 1995: 1).

Economic approaches stress tourism´s role as an industry, economic sector and possible contributor to economic growth of destinations.

> *"Although travel and tourism is invariably identified as an `industry´ it is best understood as a total market […which] reflects the cumulative demand and consumption patterns of visitors for a very wide range of travel-related products."* (Middleton 1998, quoted in Burns 1999: 30f.)

> *"Tourism may be defined as the loosely interrelated amalgam of industries which arise from the movement of people, and their stay in various destinations outside their home area […]. Tourism is, in essence, a phenomenon concerned with the leisured society at play."* (Pearce 1982, quoted in Burns 1999: 30f.)

Sociological and social-cultural approaches highlight the social effects and socio-cultural impacts of tourism. As most definitions have their origin in developed societies, these sociological approaches reveal certain Western notions, such as “escapism or the perceived need for a `break´ from daily life” (Lanfant, quoted in Burns 2004: 1).

> *“A profound widely shared human desire to know `others´ with the reciprocal possibility that we may come to know ourselves […] a quest or an odyssey to see, and perhaps to understand, the whole inhabited world.”* (McKean 1977, quoted in Burns 1999: 30f.)

> *“Essentially, tourism is about experience of place. The tourism `product´ is not the tourist destination, but it is about experience of that place and what happens there: [which is] a series of internal and external interactions.”* (Ryan 1991, quoted in Burns 1999: 30f.)

> *“A study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and the impact that both he and the industry have on the socio-cultural, economic and physical environments.”* (Jafari 1977, quoted in Burns 1999: 30f.)

Evidently, tourism comprises of all of these approaches: there is always an economic element as value, whether monetary or in form of goods and services, is exchanged. And there is always a socio-cultural component as people from different regional, cultural or educational backgrounds meet one another. Therefore, both approaches are legitimate; however, recent attempts tend towards systemic and transdisciplinary approaches, which incorporate both economic and socio-cultural aspects and further try to recognise tourism as a complex system or set of sub-systems within a holistic framework of economy, culture and society.

> *“The advantage of a systems approach is that tourism is not automatically seen in isolation from its political, natural, economic and social environments […]. It emphasises the inter-connectedness between one part of a system and another. This encourages multi-disciplinary thinking which, given tourism´s complexities, is essential to deepen our understanding of it.”* (Burns 1999: 29)

The central element of all approaches is clearly the tourist and his or her underlying motivation to travel. There are various models to describe the forces, which both direct and underlie behaviour and motivation. In general, motivation drives a person to satisfy a special need and is initiated by either physiological or personal and social forces. Most approaches come from a psychological and sociological background, such as Abraham Maslow´s hierarchy of needs and Freudian theories. In tourism, researchers as well as marketers often apply the dimensions of push and pull factors to both explain tourist motivation and respond to it. Push factors derive from person´s own internal forces, e.g. self-actualisation, curiosity and self-indulgence. These factors are mostly intangible and intrinsic desires, which push the tourist out to the destination. Pull factors, on the other hand, are tangible factors as well as tourists´ expectations and perceptions, which draw the tourist in to the destination, e.g. the perceived attractiveness and image of the destination. (Burns 1999: 41ff.; Newsome 2002: 9; Murphy 2004: 196f.)

To further identify and interpret tourism motivation, it is advisable to look deeper into the different classifications of tourists. A deeper insight into the decision-making process of tourists is not only substantial for a better comprehension of the various types of tourism[1], but also crucial for a sustainable planning process of tourism. Tourists can be classified by descriptive factors such as time (excursionists or same-day visitor, overnight stay or longer), geography (region, language, climate) and demographic criteria (age, sex, income), amongst others. In 1974, Erik Cohen (see table below) provided one of the first analytical approaches to understand tourist behaviour by analysing to which extent the tourist is embedded in the tourist industry. He identified four types of tourists:

[1] For the various types of tourism see chapter 2.3.

Tourist Typology	Description
Organised mass tourist	Highly dependent on an `environmental bubble´ created, supplied and maintained by the international tourism industry. Characterised by all-inclusive, fully packaged holidays. Familiarity dominates; novelty non-existent or highly controlled.
Individual mass tourist	These will use the institutional facilities of the tourism system (scheduled flights, centralised bookings, transfers) to arrange as much as possible before leaving home; perhaps visiting the same sights as mass tourists but going under their own steam.
Explorer	The key phrase here is `off the beaten track´ perhaps following a destination lead given by a travel article rather than simply choosing from a brochure. This type will not move into the bubble of comfort and familiarity if the going gets too though.
Drifter	This type of tourist will seek novelty at all costs: even discomfort and danger. They will try to avoid all contact with `tourists´. Novelty will be their total goal; spending patterns tend to benefit immediate locale rather than large companies.

Table 1: Cohen´s tourist typology (Cohen 1974, quoted in Burns 1999: 44)

There is a multitude of similar approaches. Valene Smith, for instance, extended Cohen´s work and identified seven types of tourists: "explorers, elite tourists, off-beat tourists, unusual tourists, incipient mass tourists, mass tourists and charter tourists" (Smith 1977, quoted in Burns 1999: 46). In the Anglo-American world the Value and Life Style methodology is frequently applied for tourist classification and market segmentation, whereas European experts often refer to the Euro-Lifestyles Classification. Both studies are based on surveys of people´s general attitudes and demographic profiles and identify different lifestyle groups. The Euro-Lifestyle Classification identifies 16 lifestyle segments: dandy and rockies depict young hedonists; business, protest, scout and pioneer belong to the group of demanding adventurers; squadra and romantic lifestyles are mostly young tourists; olvidados, vigilante and prudent belong to the group of cautious recreational holiday makers; and moralist, citizen, gentry and strict constitute the classifications for the classic recreational holiday maker (Zins 1993: 95ff.). (Burns 1999: 43ff.; Murphy 2004: 197)

The various classifications tend to oversimplify the complexity of tourists´ motivation and behaviour and the danger of stereotyping is omnipresent. Furthermore, the classifications seem outdated as lifestyles changed significantly within the last two decades, regarding family structures and information procurement. Tourists choose a destination for many reasons and an overly strict differentiation between classifications poses a threat to the further understanding of the multi-faceted phenomenon. Nevertheless, the approaches to classify tourists are of high relevance in regard to tourism statistics and planning.

Thus, tourism is a socio-economic phenomenon comprised of the tourist, away from his or her usual environment; his or her chosen destination; his or her activities and experiences during the journey; and the tourism businesses and enterprises that serve the tourist. The sum of these elements – activity, experience and services – constitutes the tourism product within the tourism system (UNESCAP 2003: 7; Murphy 2004: 11f.). From a microeconomic perspective, the tourism system itself can be described in terms of supply and demand. The demand side encompasses the tourism market, thus the tourist and his or her interest in and ability to travel, whereas facilities like transportation, hotels, attractions, activities, information and promotion constitute the supply side (Newsome 2002: 6; UNESCAP 2003: 7). The concept of supply and demand also applies to a macroeconomic framework, where visitor, collective consumption and tourism gross fixed capital formation constitute the demand and tourism activities and the share of their production purchased by visitors the supply side (UNWTO 2012: 19).

2.2. Anthropology of Tourism

As I have established the underlying concept of tourism, I would now like to take a step back and look deeper into the history and development of tourism as an industry and economic sector. The subparagraph "Travel under Colonialism" examines the history of tourism to colonial destinations in Africa and illustrates the relationship between colonialism and tourism. Then, I will elaborate on various trends and types of tourism, which developed according to the rise of the sector. The impacts of tourism on a destination´s economy, socio-cultural values and ecology will be discussed in chapter 2.4. As this thesis focuses on tourism´s possible contribution to poverty alleviation, the present chapter will concentrate on developing countries[2] and Africa respectively as a tourist destination for international tourism[3].

2.2.1. From Grand Tour to Mass Tourism

The tourism sector is often declared the largest business and fastest growing industry in the world[4] (Newsome 2002: 6; Murphy 2004: 11). However, the catalysts of this development are manifold, from progressing globalisation to changes in income levels to cultural shifts. Various researchers have linked this development with discursive elements of mass production and consumerism. In terms of mass consumption, mass tourism involves more than just the movement of large numbers of people. It is characterised by numerous additional factors, such as mass production and repetition of services, standardisation of products, economies of scale, investments from governments as well as collective consumption patterns (Burns 1999: 48ff.). Moreover, employment improvements, such as a higher level of disposable income, reductions of working hours and an increase in holiday entitlement, as well as advances in transportation technology contributed to the rise of mass tourism and enabled travellers to cover greater distances. (Harrison 2001: 2)

The history of what we now understand as mass tourism dates back to the second half of the 19th century, when English entrepreneur Thomas Cook organised the first pioneering forms of mass tourism. However, travel appears to be a timeless phenomenon and is inextricably

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[2] The definition of a developing country is subject to the methodological approach; there is no universal, agreed-upon definition. Throughout this thesis, I adopt the Human Development Index (HDI) approach, developed by the United Nations in 1990. This approach measures the development of a country by a compound of statistical indices such as per capita income, life expectancy and rate of literacy. I will provide more information on developing countries and development approaches in chapter 3.

[3] The UNWTO (2012: 18) distinguished between three forms of tourism: *„inbound tourism, comprises the activities of a non-resident visitor within the country of reference on an inbound tourism trip; internal tourism comprises [...] the activities of resident and non-resident visitors within the country of reference as part of domestic or international tourism trips; international tourism comprises [...] the activities of resident visitors outside the country of reference, either as part of domestic or outbound tourism trips and the activities of non-resident visitors within the country of reference on inbound tourism trips."*

[4] I will provide recent data on tourist arrivals and receipts in chapter 2.2.3.

linked with the history of mankind: pilgrimages, expeditions, trade caravans, crusades and nomadism have been features of human society since the earliest recorded times. Travel for purposes of recreation and curiosity, however, is a much younger phenomenon. By the Roman era people already travelled to visit well-established destinations within the empire, making use of the extensive road, transportation and communication system. During the Middle Ages religious pilgrimages to destinations such as Rome and Jerusalem were the most common form of travel and even though the main purpose of the journey was religious, recreational activities and social attractions developed along the routes. Despite political stability and technical innovations, travel was still mainly reserved for the wealthy elite. However, another form of travel developed simultaneously among the working class, the journeyman years. This craftsman tradition of setting out on travel for several years after completing apprenticeship was particularly common in German-speaking countries and in France and is still alive today, even though to a much lesser extent. Until the late 19th century, the journeyman years were mandatory for an aspirant master and strictly regulated by the guild regarding destination and duration. The journeyman hardly qualifies as a tourist by today´s standards, but the institutionalisation of travel for the purpose of gaining experience and becoming acquainted with different traditions is an interesting feature of a society with very low vertical mobility and pictures the variety of travel motivation. (Knebel 1981: 17ff.; Moscardo et al. 2000: xxiiff.; Harrison 2001: 2ff.)

In the late 17th century, a similar trend evolved at the opposite end of society: young men (eventually, women too) of wealthy and aristocratic families were sent on a Grand Tour throughout Europe to learn foreign languages and gain knowledge of culture and politics. The Grand Tour often followed a standard itinerary and lasted two to three years. Similar to the journeyman years of craftsmen, education was the main focus of the journey. The Grand Tour even served as an educational rite of passage and should prepare the young man for a future career in politics or diplomacy. Initiated by the British nobility and landed gentry, wealthy middle class families throughout Europe and later even North and South Americans soon adopted the tradition; consequently the character of the Grand Tour changed from an educational adventure to a holiday experience. (Knebel 1981: 17ff.; Moscardo et al. 2000: xxiiff.; Harrison 2001: 2ff.)

The industrial revolution and all its merits, from the steam engine to the wealth it generated, as well as political stability after the Napoleonic Wars encouraged the steep increase in tourism at the dawn of the 19th century. The steam engine encouraged the extensive evolution of railways and steamships, "compressing time and space, and bringing places once deemed far from the teeming cities within the reach of the prosperous middle class and (later) the more affluent working class" (Harrison 2001: 2). The faster means of transport enabled broad levels of the population to participate in tourism for the first time, which soon led to a change in leisure behaviour within the middle as well as the working class. Suddenly it was possible to flee the city and engage in recreational and health activities, be it at a seaside resorts like Brighton or Blackpool, at Spa in Belgium (which has become eponymous with places having thermal springs), the German Baltic coast, destinations upcountry or in mountainous regions. A new relationship to and interest in nature accompanied this development, reflected in new movements such as Alpinism and the German Wandervogel movement, inspired by ideals of Romanticism. The changing attitude towards health and recreation finally led to the development of news forms of tourism such as domestic day-trip tourism and international and long-distance travel later on. (Kröner 1981: 25ff.; Stadler 1981: 32ff.; Moscardo et al. 2000: xxiiff.; Harrison 2001: 2ff.)

The second half of the 19th century marked the beginning of mass (domestic) tourism accompanied by a new branch of business, the tour operator, as well as new products, travel packages. People now not only had time, but also independent means and motivation to travel. Thomas Cook was one of the first to take advantage of these changes; on the 5th of July 1841 he organised the first day trip from Leicester to Loughborough, about 10 kilometres away. In 1878, 30 years later, people could not only choose various international travel packages from the catalogue, but also book the first round-the-world trip. Cook´s idea soon spread over the whole continent, travelling became an integral component of the now available leisure time and its high social prestige strengthened the class-consciousness of the emerging middle class. Driven by technical innovations, first and foremost cars and aircrafts, tourism continued to grow, both in numbers of travellers and destinations visited. Peter Murphy (1985, quoted in Moscardo et al. 2000: xxiv) illustrates these changes with an example, stating that "in 1929 travel from New York to Sydney took two weeks by ship, by 1969 it took one day by air, and in 1999 it can take as little as 18 hours". Above all, technical advancements further stimulated international tourism and laid the foundation for mass (international) tourism, as we now know it. Since the 1950ies, international tourist arrivals have grown from 25 million in 1950, to 278 million in 1980, 528 million in 1995 and 1,035 million in 2012, reaching the historic one billion-milestone for the very first time (UNWTO 2013a: 2). (Wagner 1981: 29ff.; Moscardo et al. 2000: xxiiff.; Harrison 2001: 2ff.; Baumhackl et al. 2006: 9ff.)

2.2.2. Travel under Colonialism: Explorers, Expeditions and Missionaries

The development of tourism and travel in Africa is closely linked to the economic as well as political history of the continent and its – often violent and imperialistic – inclusion in global economy. Early manifestations of globalisation led the first Europeans to discover Africa out of various interests. Navigators sailed the coasts to establish new trade routes, scholars travelled through interior Africa to explore the unknown continent and missionaries tried to convert the indigenous “heathens” to Christianity. Formal colonialism later sparked the development of tourism “by colonialists for colonialists” (Harrison 2000: 37).

The Portuguese and particularly Henry the Navigator heralded the “Age of Discovery” in the 15th century and adventurers, explorers and scholars from all over Europe soon followed. Some went in search of new trade routes, others looked for highly demanded goods as gold and silver, spices and raw materials, and others set off to discover the new continent out of scientific interest and in the spirit of adventure. Trade relations between Europe and Africa even date back to the Middle Ages, however the Portuguese were the first ones to systemically explore Africa and soon many other European countries followed. In the course of the 16th and early 17th century, many European powers created coastal outposts to engage in the very lucrative African slave trade and merchants, settlers and missionaries came along. Further exploration of inland Africa was limited in the late 17th and 18th century, all European powers present were mainly engaged in slave trade, which reached its peak by this time. The consequences for both inland and coastal Africa however were dramatic and altered geographic, economic and social structures on an inconceivable scale. (Harding 2003: 31ff.; Baumhackl et al. 2006: 9ff.)

Researchers still argue about the impact and consequences of early colonialism in Africa and its integration into global economy. In his world-systems analysis Immanuel Wallerstein (Harding 2003: 32, 35) argues that European engagement in transatlantic slave trade during the 16th and 17th century did not integrate Africa into global economy, but rather expanded global economy beyond its own boarders through a geographical increase in division of labour. Integration into global economy did not take place until the end of the 18th century, when industrialisation and further development of the global economy coerced Europe to integrate Africa into its periphery to supply the required raw materials. Wallerstein (Harding 2003: 37, 39) further argues that formal integration into global economy only happened under colonialism, when colonies were effectively integrated into the economy of the colonial power. (Harding 2003: 32ff.)

Obviously, the history of colonialism in Africa and its integration into global economy, however described, is not directly connected to the development of tourism in Africa. Nevertheless it laid the foundation for the inception of the industry in the 19th century. The vast trade and communication network established throughout the coastal regions of the "dark continent" spurred the exploration of the African interior in the 19th century. Explorers, adventurers and missionaries benefitted from these networks and prepared the ground for colonial annexation, often through dubious tactics. David Livingstone, Henry Morton Stanley and Carl Peters[5] are some of the most well known explorers; all three of them equipped and started expeditions into inland Africa from Zanzibar, one of the most important commercial centres in the middle of the 19th century, trading spices, slaves and ivory between Arabic countries, India and Europe. They availed themselves of the existing networks, of porters and goods required for their months- and years-long expeditions and both Livingstone and Morton Stanley soon rose to fame for solving many questions on African geography, e.g. on the source of the river Nile, on Lake Victoria and the Congo River Basin. (Wirz 2003: 71ff.)

Throughout the second half of the 19th century, the number of European settlers in Africa increased steadily. Europeans had been establishing settlements throughout the continent since hundreds of years - the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope had been founded

[5] More on Carl Peters see chapter 4.1.

already in 1652, making it the oldest in the Sub-Saharan region – however, colonial annexation flourished in the late 19th century and new settlements sprung up all over Africa. These new oversea markets became increasingly attractive for many European empires as they were struggling with changing and highly unfavourable economic conditions within the European markets. Depression, growing deficits and protectionist markets shaped the European economy in the last quarter of the 19th century and the formal annexation of these oversea markets provided new economic opportunities. Additionally to foreign investments, European markets had become increasingly dependent on raw materials from Sub-Saharan Africa such as cotton, rubber, diamonds, cocoa and tea. According to Agricola (2003: 114), economic motives were only one reason for the incipient "Scramble for Africa", as the occupation and colonisation of Africa is often called; strategic, military, nationalist and religious motives further played a vital role in the establishment of formal European rule in Africa. (Agricola 2003: 110ff.; Schicho 2004)

The Berlin-Congo Conference in 1884/85 then denoted the end of the Scramble for Africa by agreeing on territorial division of African territories and political spheres of influence. Over the years prior and after the conference many European powers staked their claims over the African territories: the French claimed eight territories in West Africa and founded their federation of French West Africa; the British Empire fought to assert their colonial claim "from Cape to Cairo"; King Leopold II of the Belgians privately controlled the Congo Free State (modern-day Democratic Republic of the Congo); the Portuguese gained territories in Eastern and Western Africa in addition to the islands of Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe; Italy and Spain occupied and later claimed smaller territories in Northern and Western Africa and at the Horn; and the German Empire expanded their rule and founded German Cameroon, German Togoland, German South-West Africa (now Namibia) and the Protectorate of German East Africa (modern-day Rwanda, Burundi and Tanzania). (Schicho 2004)

To what extent is colonialism now connected to tourism? Navigators and explorers can hardly be described as travellers in the sense we understand tourism today; and if we look back to the definitions of classifications and motivations of travellers, we see only very few similarities. The assumption that the explorers and missionaries of the 19th century laid the foundation to modern tourism in Africa seems very far-fetched; however, their accounts on

African geography, culture and economy as well as their “souvenirs” – economic goods such as sugar, tobacco and coffee as well as cultural artefacts – both influenced and inspired people in Europe and Western societies to broaden their own horizon and explore other regions in the world. Travel literature highly contributed to the fascination with the “unknown” continent, travel narratives provided some of the earliest information for the public, whereas travel guidebooks offered specific detail for colonial personnel, business people and travellers. The already mentioned technical innovations - ocean-liners, railways and later also air travel - facilitated both travelling to and in distant regions enormously and more and more Europeans with the necessary means travelled to Africa. In 1908 Thomas Cook even organised the first travel package to Kenya by sea and rail. Apart from growing settler communities, a by-product of the establishment of formal colonialism, people travelled to Africa out of various reasons, mainly for adventure, business, missionary work or big game hunting. Throughout the first decades of the 20th century, game hunting and wildlife attracted evermore travellers and boosted the development of a tourism industry, which in turn then offered even more “adventures” and “experiences” for Europeans in Africa. (Moscardo et al. 2000: xxiiff.; Harrison 2001: 2ff.; Baumhackl et al. 2006: 9ff.)

Up until World War II, wildlife tourism had especially developed in East Africa and was mainly operated from Kenya, which had already built considerable tourist infrastructure such as hotels, tour companies and safari shops. After the hiatus resulting from the war, the growing tourism industry in Africa became increasingly institutionalised. In 1948, representatives of hotels, airways, transportation, agencies and banks founded the East African Tourist Travel Association (EATTA), a specialised semi-official agency in Nairobi. The interconnectedness of the EATTA with the colonial government – representatives sat on the executive committee and the chairperson was the Economic Secretary of the East African High Commission in London – reflects both on the increasing economic importance of the sector as well as on the dependency on the colonial system. Harrison (2001: 37) even states, that tourism “was developed by colonialists for colonialists” as the colonised Africans had “neither the financial nor the cultural capital to compete with Europeans.” (Crampton 1983: 180; Harrison 2001; Chambua 2007: 5f.)

As already mentioned above, mass tourism then developed on an international scale and Africa as a destination became highly attractive for tourists from the developed world. From the end of the 1960ies, overnight stays in Kenya for example have tripled as beach holidays, one of the most popular forms of tourism by then, became affordable for the middle class. This led to massive investments in tourist infrastructure during the 1970ies and 1980ies and tourism became one of the largest foreign exchange earners. However, at the present day the situation is far from stable: changing consumer patterns, growing competition among destinations as well as terrorism and political conflict put pressure on the tourism sector and thus also on economies dependent on this branch. In recent years, however, Africa achieved substantial increases in growth rates and the UNWTO (2013: 2) expects arrivals in emerging destinations even to increase at double the pace of that in advanced economies. Thus, the tourism sector harbours enormous potential for developing economies, but all involves parties – governments, supranational bodies as well as the private sector – are called upon to act in order to provide the best possible and sustainable strategy for future development of the sector. (Harding 2003: 31ff.; Schicho 2004: 278; Baumhackl 2006: 9ff.)

2.2.3. Tourism Trends

In recent history there has been much discussion about major changes and new trends in tourism. The ongoing economic crisis, changes in consumer patterns and global trends have put pressure on the sector. Organisations, governments and stakeholders are trying to establish ways on how to act upon substantial shifts and on how to meet the new demands already during the planning phase.

According to the UNWTO, there has been a substantial shift in both source markets and destinations visited. Traditionally, the source markets for international tourism have been concentrated in the advanced economies of Europe, the Americas and Asia. However, many economies from developing countries and emerging economies have shown high growth rates over recent years, due to political stability and rising levels of disposable income. In 2012 China became the number one source market in the world for the very first time (UNWTO 2013a: 3). Europe, the world´s largest source region, generated over half of all international arrivals worldwide (52.1%) in 2012, followed by Asia and the Pacific (22.8%) and the Americas (16.6%). Africa (3%) and the Middle East (3.1%) are both rather weak source markets. However, while the Middle East experienced a drop of 6.2 per cent compared to the previous year, Africa achieved substantial increases in growth rates in the last two years (ibid.: 12f.). Similar changes have been registered in the number of international tourist arrivals. As many new destinations have emerged within in the last years, apart from the traditional core markets in Europe and North America, the international tourism market gets more diversified every year. Despite the economic crisis and recession, international tourist arrivals grew by 4 per cent in 2012, up from 995 million tourists in 2011 to 1,035 million in 2012. With an increase of 7 per cent, Asia and the Pacific registered the steepest rise across all regions, followed by Africa with an increase of 6 per cent, reaching 50 million tourists for the first time ever (ibid.: 4). With a rise of 24 per cent, Tanzania experienced the second highest growth rates in sub-Saharan Africa (ibid.: 12). In the long-term outlook Tourist Towards 2030, the UNWTO forecasts an increase by 3.3 per cent to reach 1.8 billion in international tourist arrivals by 2030. Arrivals in emerging destinations are expected to increase at double the pace of that in advanced economies, whereas their market share is projected to reach 57 per cent by 2030 (ibid.: 2).

Beside growth in numbers, there has been much discussion on the changes in the nature of travel in general. Tourism experts and researchers all agree on a fundamental shift away from standardised packages towards more individual and flexible trips, a trend that has been emerging for the last ten years already. Tourists are more likely to plan and book shorter trips with flexible itineraries and greater variety. However, they want to travel the world and so the trend is towards shorter trips to long-distance destinations (Moscardo et al. 2000: xxiv). This tendency is also reflected in the changes and advances in transportation technologies. In 2012, 52 per cent of all tourists arrived at their destination by air, while 48 per cent travelled by surface transport, either by road (40%), over water (6%) or rail (2%) (UNWTO 2013a: 5). The UNWTO (2013: 5) further expects the trend for air transport "to grow at a somewhat faster pace than surface transport, so the share for air transport is gradually increasing."

Changes in socio-economic structures and social values will further contribute to the development of new trends in tourism. With growing pressure to perform at the business and working life, affluent travellers from the developed world – both men and women – seek maximum options in a limited time and are increasingly able and willing to spend more both for and on their trips. However, this growing pressure also set new trends in the last couple of years that directly affect the tourism industry and will force destinations to customise their product according to the rise of new health awareness, consciousness about work-life balance and an increase in sabbatical years, to name but a few trends. Increasing affluence in emerging markets and newly industrialised countries, e.g. Brazil, Russian Federation and China, further contribute to a change in source markets and foster the growth of new groups of consumers. (Moscardo et al. 2000: xxvii)

Another new target group developed within the last decade and will furthermore be of great importance for the tourism sector: elderly people with the necessary means, good health and almost indefinite free time are travelling in increasing numbers (Moscardo et al. 2000: xxvii). Accessibility and consumer friendliness will be the challenges to cater the needs of this growing market. In the segment of young people and young adults, the trend is towards a more individual and flexible experience. Trends like couch-surfing, people staying and “surfing” on couches as a guest at a host´s home, spending a gap year to travel and/or doing voluntary social work bear witness to this development. Furthermore, there is an increased concern about the environment, which will lead to a continued demand in nature based tourism products and ecologically as well as socially sustainable[6] tourism practices. Many internationally operating airlines, e.g. Lufthansa, British Airways, Thai Airways, already offer voluntary carbon offset programmes, thus the passengers are offered the ability to compensate for their carbon emissions through flying. The money generated through these programmes is then reinvested in various projects to foster renewable energy or conservation programmes. (British Airways 2013; Lufthansa 2013; Thai Airways 2013)

Advances in communication technology have also revolutionised business practices in tourism and will definitely continue to do so. The Internet provides almost indefinite information for consumers about destinations, transportation, accommodation and prices;

[6] The UNWTO defines sustainable tourism as “leading to the management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems”. (Roe/Urquhart 2001: 2). I will further elaborate on sustainable tourism in chapter 2.5.

thus in some segments, the Internet already serves as the main information source for the whole tourist value chain. Tourists make purchasing decision based on information they get online, through tourism platforms, travel blogs or social media. They can compare prices online through various travel search sites and are able to immediately book flights, hire cars, accommodation and even guided tours. After the journey the tourist can post reviews and opinions on travel platforms and in turn provide valuable information for future tourists. For suppliers of tourism related products, the Internet provides easier access to markets for smaller companies. On the other hand, this almost unlimited flow of information implies an increasingly competitive global market for both multinational as well as small suppliers of tourism products and services. (Moscardo et al. 2000: xxv)

The aforementioned trends have already substantially shaped the tourism sector within the last decades and new innovations, technologies and business practices will further alter the market. The future challenges will most likely affect the sustainability of tourism, its economic as well as the ecological and social sustainability of its impact. In the report on "Poverty Alleviation through Sustainable Tourism Development" the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific summarised the challenges:

> *„Faced with these changing tourism trends, an increasingly competitive global market and growing environmental concerns and regulations, organizations providing tourism-related services have to develop innovative strategies and actions to ensure tourism is developed and managed in a sustainable and responsible manner." (UNESCAP 2003: 16)*

2.3. Types of Tourism

There is a sheer endless list of tourism types offered, advertised and marketed: wine tourism, festival tourism, religious tourism, culinary tourism, or even slum tourism. However, a marketing perspective in this context would not only be much too superficial but would also conceal the impact different types of tourism has on a destination´s economy, ecology and on socio-cultural structure, which will be the focus of attention in the next chapter. In the following paragraphs, I will try to categorise the most common types of alternative tourism and will further elaborate on the most important types relevant for this thesis.

Most tourism researchers draw a fundamental distinction between mass tourism and alternative forms of tourism, most often called either green tourism (Butler 1992: 35), quality tourism (UNESCAP 2003: 14), responsible tourism (UNWTO 2012: 2), nature based or natural area tourism (Newsome 2005: 19) or, more general, alternative tourism (Butler 1992: 31; Weaver 2001: 73). Despite the "success and appeal" (Butler 1992: 32) of mass tourism, critical voices were being raised from the very beginning of mass tourism. The emergence of the environmental movement in the 1980ies, which coincided with the increase of package holiday offers, put evermore emphasis on the possible negative impacts of tourism on the ecology of destinations. Newer approaches such as community-based tourism and Pro Poor Tourism further highlight the importance of sustainability in relation to the socio-cultural and economic impacts of tourism. Figure 1 illustrates types of tourism and puts the concept of alternative tourism and its subcategories into perspective to mass tourism.

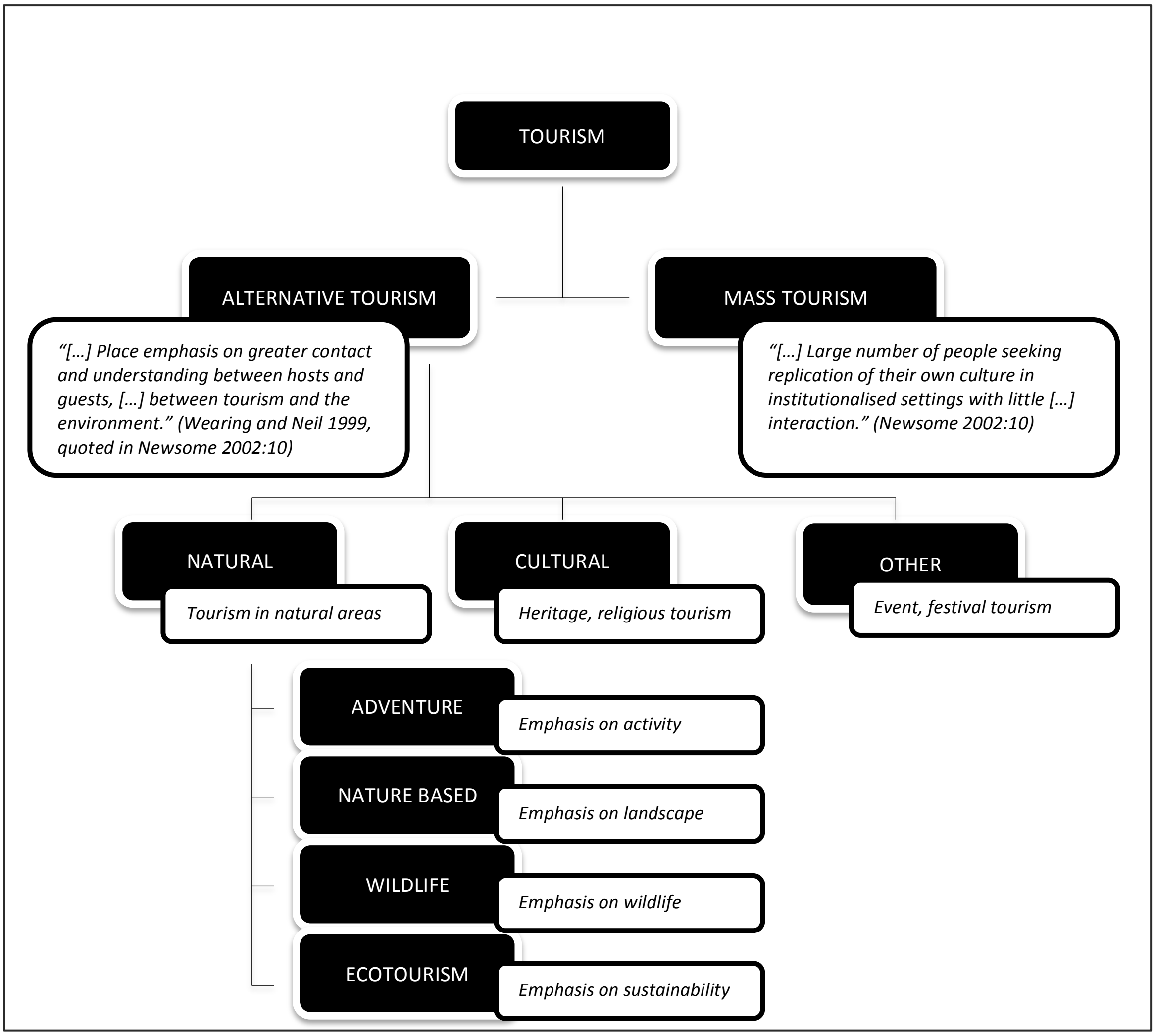

Figure 1: Types of Tourism (derived from Newsome 2002: 11)

A too rigid differentiation between the various types is certainly not possible. As the tourism market becomes more and more diversified, many hybrid forms of mass and alternative tourism have emerged. Nevertheless, there are certain und crucial characteristics of natural area tourism, which I will now outline. As the figure above illustrates, natural area tourism comprises of various types of tourism, which are all "bounded and defined by its setting in the natural environment" (Wearing/Neil 1999, quoted in Newsome 2002: 12). The subcategories – adventure tourism, nature-based and wildlife tourism as well as ecotourism – are characterised by how they relate to the natural environment; thus either in, about or for the environment (Wearing/Neil 1999, quoted in Newsome 2002: 12). It can be argued that the so called 3S tourism – sun, sand and sea – is also a form of tourism in a natural area, however it is mainly associated with aspects of mass tourism and "with hedonistic impulses and motivations that are commonly seen to be less meritorious than those that underlie ecotourism or adventure tourism" (Lawton 2000: 36).

Adventure tourism – tourism in the environment – emphasises the activity in the natural setting, often in remote, exotic and unusual places. It can be organised either in a small-scale manner with certain elements concentrating on supporting conservation, e.g. birding safaris in one of Tanzania´s national parks or scuba diving in Zanzibar; medium-scale with a focus on physical activity, e.g. climbing Mount Kilimanjaro or rafting at Rufiji River; or large-scale with elements of mass tourism, e.g. safari tourism in general. Nature-based tourism and wildlife tourism - tourism about the environment - focuses on the natural area itself, the fostering of both its understanding and conservation. Wildlife tourism or viewing tourism is a subset of nature-based tourism and emphasises the flora and fauna of a certain destination. Both types tend towards small-scale, e.g. walking safaris, but especially in high season it can become mass tourism, e.g. safaris during animal migration season. (Newsome 2002: 12ff.)

Ecotourism – tourism for the environment – has the goal "to foster sustainable use through resource conservation, cultural revival and economic development and diversification" (Newsome 2002: 14). Ecotourism follows five key principles: based on nature, ecological sustainability through minimal impact, environmental education and cultural awareness, financial benefits for both conservation and empowerment of local people, and tourist satisfaction. Ecotourism is one of the most dynamic segments of the international tourism industry and is still expected to grow, as it constitutes a niche segment within natural area tourism. However, the idea of ecotourism is often misused as a mere marketing phrase and requires thorough planning on different interconnected levels to comply with the key principles. Governments in developing countries, including Tanzania, are becoming increasingly aware of the need for support of the ecotourism sector, but in many cases policy development, regulations and legal frameworks are still at the planning stage. (Newsome 2002: 14ff.)

Newer approaches put increasing emphasis on both ecological and economic sustainability, e.g. through implementation of touristic certification systems and promotion of public-private partnerships, as well as on inclusiveness of local communities, e.g. community-based tourism. However, these segments are still niche markets. In recent years, researchers and planners put stronger emphasis on tourism as an instrument for poverty alleviation, e.g. through Pro Poor Tourism[7] projects. The UNWTO also recognised the potential benefit of tourism for poverty reduction and launched the ST-EP Initiative (Sustainable Tourism – Eliminating Poverty) in 2002 to contribute to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals[8] (MDGs). The ST-EP Initiative "promotes poverty alleviation through the provision of assistance to sustainable tourism projects" (UNWTO 2013b).

2.4. Impact of Tourism on Developing Countries

As tourism is a complex and multi-faceted sector, it includes a variety of stakeholders in its value chain: planners and governments, owners and management, employees and suppliers, competitors and consumers, communities and cultures as well as natural areas and ecosystems. In the tourism sector the value creation process occurs on a multiregional or multinational basis; in our highly globalised world economy however, this is certainly not a unique characteristic of tourism. Multinational value chains are the common practice of the consumer industry. The difference of tourism is the basal nature of the tourist product itself: it is not a physical product in the conventional sense, but rather an intangible bundle of

[7] I will elaborate on the concept of Pro Poor Tourism in chapter 2.5.

[8] The Millennium Development Goals have been established by the United Nations in 2000. For more information on the MDGs see chapter 3.

experiences; due to the simultaneity of production and consumption, it cannot be stored and consumed at another time; and finally, the consumption requires the active participation of the consumer. These characteristics reveal both the challenges and impacts of tourism on recipient regions and destinations. Along the whole production process, a multitude of systems, institutions and people with differing – and sometimes colliding – expectations, prerequisites, values and experiences are involved. This is especially true for tourism in developing countries.

Nevertheless, there is a growing recognition of the potential tourism has for developing countries, regarding economic development, poverty alleviation and promotion of sustainable development. Governments as well as planning and development organisations in the developing world commit themselves increasingly to tourism development. Khamis Kagasheki, Minister of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) of the United Republic of Tanzania, goes so far as to say that “if there is a particular sector that can contribute immensely to the Tanzanian goal of attaining the status of a middle-income country, it is definitely tourism” (The Business Year 2013).

However, the establishment of a tourism industry in a developing country has both benefits and costs. Only with thorough and careful planning, the destination and population, culture and ecology can directly benefit from tourism development. Thus, the understanding of tourism´s economic and social dynamic is crucial in order to help to prevent or minimise negative impacts of tourism. The following tables list potential benefits and costs of tourism development in developing countries.

2.4.1. Economic Impacts of Tourism

Economic Impacts of Tourism	
Economic Benefits	**Economic Costs**
Tourism is one of the **fastest growing economic sectors** worldwide and is consequently a crucial factor for national economies.	Tourism is highly **susceptible to fluctuations** in demand due to external factors such as recessions, terrorism, etc.
Tourism contributes to the **diversification of the local economy** and **stimulates profitable domestic industries**.	Tourism can drive out other types of economies and consequently foster the **emergence of economic monostructures**.
Tourism has numerous **sectoral linkages** and through **multiplier effects** it can contribute to the overall economic performance of the destination or region.	**Foreign and multinational companies** often dominate the tourism market in developing countries; thus the multiplier effect only contributes to the local economy if the revenues stay in the destination or region.
Tourism generates both **foreign exchange** and **increased tax revenue**.	Revenues from foreign exchange earnings often **leak back to the source markets** of tourists for imports of consumer and luxury goods demanded by tourists.
As a very labour-intensive sector, tourism **generates local employment** for both qualified and unskilled employees in central as well as peripheral areas and can therefore contribute to the labour market in developing countries.	Occupations in the tourism sector **often poorly paid, seasonal and have limited prospects of advancement**. Moreover, jobs in tourism may replace traditional forms of employment.
Tourism contributes to the **improvement of public infrastructure**, e.g. roads systems, water and sanitation, health system, security.	The **costs for the improvements of public infrastructure** are often **loaded onto the local tax base.**

Table 2: Economic Impacts of Tourism (derived from UNESCAP 2003: 9; GTZ 2007: 20f.)

2.4.2. Socio-cultural Impacts of Tourism

Socio-cultural Impacts of Tourism	
Socio-Cultural Benefits	**Socio-Cultural Costs**
Local communities benefit from economic diversification through tourism, e.g. through employment for the youth and women, fostering of entrepreneurship and can therefore contribute to the strengthening of social structures.	Traditionally established **structures, demographics and institutions** might as well be **damaged through tourism-induced changes**, e.g. migration of young people to tourism centres, personnel shortages in agriculture during high season etc.
Tourism-related facilities such as public infrastructure, recreational and cultural facilities and public spaces are often also **available for local communities.**	Improvements in public **infrastructure may not necessarily be of advantage for the local community**, e.g. through higher prices or exclusion.
Tourism provides the **opportunity for better understanding and communication** among people form different backgrounds.	Tourism is often regarded as a modern form of **cultural imperialism**. The confrontation with foreign values and behaviour could damage traditional social structures and result in the disruption of cultural traditions.
Tourism contributes to the **strengthening of cultural identity**, the **preservation of cultural heritage,** the **revival of local traditions, languages and handicrafts** and the enhancement of **local cultural awareness**.	In order to meet tourism demands, the **authenticity** of the social and cultural environment is often **"altered" beyond recognition**, which could lead to the further erosion of cultural values.
Tourism can generate **revenue for preservation of historical sites** and the **conservation of natural areas**.	The revenue generated for the preservation of historical site cannot often compensate for the **damages caused by a massive flow of tourists.**

Table 3: Socio-cultural Impacts of Tourism (derived from UNESCAP 2003: 10; GTZ 2007: 22)

2.4.3. Ecological Impacts of Tourism

Ecological Impacts of Tourism	
Ecological Benefits	**Ecological Costs**
Revenues from tourism can contribute to the creation, valorisation and funding of **natural areas, conservation areas and national parks.**	Mass tourism practices such as overcrowding, overdevelopment and extensive exploitation can cause **massive and irretrievable damages to the physical environment and ecosystems of destinations.**
Through the implementation of sustainable ecofriendly facilities and practices, tourism can create **valuable multiplier effects** within the local communities, e.g. through environmental education of people, businesses and tourists.	As **ecofriendly facilities and practises are expensive to implement and maintain**, they are mainly realised by foreign-owned companies, which rarely put emphasis on environmental education. If they do so, such programmes often reach only few people.
Tourism areas and destinations depend on a professional **water-, sanitation- and waste management**. Local communities and natural environments can benefit from the improvements in this sector.	The implementation of tourism facilities often puts even higher pressure on the already **scarce water supply** of destinations. Moreover, improvements in public **infrastructure do not often reach the local community**.
Sustainable tourism practices and nature based tourism activities can contribute to an **increase in awareness and concern for the environment.**	In order to contribute to an increase in awareness for the environment, **programmes and initiatives** have to be established. Foreign-owned companies are not often willing to create such programmes, locally owned and smaller businesses are on the other hand not always able to do so.

Table 4: Ecological Impacts of Tourism (derived from UNESCAP 2003: 11; GTZ 2007: 23)

2.5. Pro Poor Tourism[9]

As the three tables above have indicated, the influence of tourism on a country´s economic and socio-cultural framework, as well as its ecology, can be very powerful, both in a positive and negative sense. The tourism sector is one of the world´s largest industries with more than one billion tourists travelling around the globe annually and the numbers are expected to rise even higher within the next decades. The precise consequences are hardly assessable and vary significantly from destination to destination, but the importance of sustainable tourism planning, both on a local and global level, is obvious in order to maximise benefits and minimise the accompanying costs of international tourism, especially for developing countries. The developing world accounts for a growing share of the international tourism market, but this development requires increased attention, as these countries very often, neither have the financial means nor the political power to raise a claim within this powerful industry, mostly driven by the private sector and large international enterprises. Nevertheless, it is undisputed that tourism is of great significance for developing countries, in economic, social and ecological terms; an increased engagement in sustainability on a meta and global level in this context is, however, of paramount importance.

Further above I have already mentioned sustainable tourism practices and sustainability in tourism and tourism planning, but what exactly is sustainable tourism and how can developing countries benefit from such practices? Can tourism really benefit the poor in developing countries and if so, to what extent? The debate about how to make tourism sustainable is not new. In 1988, the UNWTO defined Sustainable Tourism for the first time as "leading to the management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems" (Roe/Urquhart 2001: 4). The issue was further taken up by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), alias "Earth Summit", in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, with the introduction of the Agenda 21 programme that called on governments to develop national strategies and master plans for sustainable tourism (Christie 2001: 12). Henceforth, the industry imposed "green" tourism

[9] The next chapter (Chapter 3) will provide an overview on development policies, definitions and measurement of development and poverty. Throughout this chapter, I anticipate the upcoming chapter and adopt the term „poor" as a complement to the presented Pro Poor Tourism approach to refer to proportions of the populations suffering from poverty.

practices on itself, e.g. environmentally sustainable management, standards and promotion of environmental awareness. Notwithstanding the importance of the emphasis on environmental issues, this approach proved to be both too one-sided and short-sighted as social practices and economic developments had been almost completely neglected. (Christie 2001; Roe/Urquhart 2001)

In order to enable sustainable and responsible tourism to tackle poverty alleviation issues, the linkages between poverty, environment and development have to be fully acknowledged. The Pro Poor Tourism approach recognises this challenge by "putting poor people and poverty at the centre of the sustainability debate" (Roe/Urquhart 2001: 2), rather than putting the emphasis on environmental concerns of destinations. In this context, Pro Poor Tourism is not understood as a type or sector of tourism, as for example adventure or natural area Tourism is, but rather as a holistic approach to the configuration and organisation of the industry itself. Pro Poor Tourism is defined as "tourism that generates net benefits for the poor" (Roe/Urquhart 2001: 5). According to the comprehensive and holistic nature of the Pro Poor Tourism approach, these benefits can be economic, social, environmental and cultural. The key element within this debate is to "unlock opportunities" (Roe/Urquhart 2001: 5) for the poor within tourism, rather than just impose tourism on them. Roe and Urquhart (2001: 5f.) have further identified three core strategy areas for unlocking such opportunities, which are shown in the table below.

Strategies for Pro Poor Tourism		
Focus on economic benefits	**Focus on non-economic benefits**	**Focus on policy/process reform**
Expanding business opportunities: small enterprises, particular in informal sector, often provide the greatest opportunities for the poor	**Capacity building, training and empowerment:** the poor often lack the skills and knowledge to take advantage of opportunities in tourism	**Building a more supportive policy and planning framework:** many governments see tourism as a means to generate foreign exchange rather than to address poverty. The policy framework can inhibit progress in Pro Poor Tourism; reform is often needed.
Expanding employment opportunities: unskilled jobs may be limited and low-paid by international standards, but are much sought after by the poor	**Mitigating the environmental impact of tourism on the poor:** tourism can lead to displacement of the poor from their land and/or degradation of the natural resources on which the poor depend.	**Promoting participation:** the poor are often excluded from decision-making process and institutions, making it very unlikely that their priorities will be reflected in decisions.
Enhancing collective benefits: collective community income from tourism can be a new source of income, and can spread benefits well beyond the direct earners.	**Addressing social and cultural impacts of tourism:** tourists´ behaviour, such as photography and western habits, is often regarded as cultural intrusion. Tourism can affect many other social issues, such as health care.	**Bringing the private sector into pro poor partnerships:** locally driven tourism enterprises may require input to develop skills, marketing links, and commercial expertise.

Table 5: Strategies for Pro Poor Tourism (derived from Roe/Urquhart 2001: 5f.)

The different strategies further illustrate the integral character of Pro Poor Tourism as it affects every outcome and impact of the (mainstream) tourism sector, even though from a new – pro poor – angle. In this context, Pro Poor Tourism is not just an aid tool for developing countries, but a holistic approach to the industry, as already mentioned above. Pro Poor

Tourism requires conventional, market-based economic activities such as the development of new tourism products, analyses of supply and demand, marketing, product quality, development and involvement of the private sector, investment and funding, to name but a few. Therefore, a variety of stakeholders are involved in Pro Poor Tourism which can actively contribute to its success: governments play a crucial and elementary role as they have the ability to include the poor in the elementary decision-making process, through planning policies, regulations and promotion of pro poor products; donors can support pro poor initiatives through assessment of poverty-related issues, implementation of standards and promotion on an international agenda; private companies can maximise inclusion of local suppliers and staff and further develop and share infrastructure; and the civil society can act as a catalyst and intermediary between stakeholders, amplify the voice of the poor and lobby for the promotion of Pro Poor Tourism. (Roe/Urquhart 2001: 7)

Pro Poor Tourism is a relatively novel approach that requires thorough planning and so far there are not few examples recorded of best practices. However, there a few ongoing and promising examples for Tanzania, one of which was presented in a World Bank report on the subject of “Harnessing Tourism for Improved Growth and Livelihoods” (Christie et al. 2013). The case study was conducted at one of Tanzania´s most famous destination, Mt. Kilimanjaro, which is visited by 30,000 to 40,000 tourists annually (and counting), 98 per cent of which are foreigners (TANAPA, quoted in Christie et al. 2013: 230). According to the Tanzania National Parks Authority (TANAPA, quoted in Christie et al. 2013: 230), Kilimanjaro National Park is the second highest income generator of all Tanzania´s national parks. An average trip to Africa´s highest peak lasts five days and the all-inclusive package costs about USD 1,205, including park fees, tour operator margins, accommodation, food and beverages, transport etc. (Spenceley 2010, quoted in Christie at al. 2013: 230). The park fees are by far the largest expense (47%), followed by wages and tips (18%), tour operator margins (16%) and accommodation and food and beverages (each 6%); guides earn an average annual income of USD 1,839, porters USD 842 and chefs make USD 771 (Spenceley 2010, quoted in Christie at al. 2013: 230). However, these employments are seasonal and the working conditions are often very dangerous and wearing. In order to benefit the poor in the region and contribute to environmental sustainability, TANAPA developed the Kilimanjaro National Park General Plan in cooperation with the public to ensure that the interests of the affected population and communities as well as cultural traditions are respected. The General Plan now regulates numbers of visitors and environmental aspects such as firewood collection or waste management and it has also set measures to empower women and the poor in the neighbouring communities. So far, 28 per cent or USD 13 million of the total revenues is pro poor, and Christie et al. (2013: 231) have argued that “engaging with and empowering [local people] may well be the most important action to increase the pro-poor impacts of mountain climbing on Kilimanjaro” (Christie et al. 2013: 231). (Christie et al. 2013: 229ff.)

Pro Poor Tourism has, so far, proved to be able to benefit the poor and contribute to the overall objective of poverty alleviation. However, it requires thorough planning and the involvement of multiple stakeholders. As every region, community and destination has its own configuration, there is no blueprint on how to introduce Pro Poor Tourism; however, the poor should always remain the centre of attention and strategies have to allow for flexibility in order to maximise benefits. Since its development, however, the Pro Poor Tourism approach has been further adapted and refined in order to be applicable on an even broader level. The Oversea Development Institute in the United Kingdom, the World Bank and the Dutch Development Agency SNV, for example, have developed the Pro Poor Value Chain Analysis to track impacts of Pro Poor Tourism in the whole tourism supply chain. The main objective of this analysis is to understand “how the poor can benefit from tourism and how to remove obstacles in their participation” (Christie et al. 2013: 86).

3. The Poverty Discourse

> *"Development brings freedom, provided it is development of people. But people cannot be developed; they can only develop themselves. For while it is possible for an outsider to build a man´s house, an outsider cannot give the man pride and self-confidence in himself as a human being. Those things a man has to create in himself by his own actions. He develops himself by what he does; he develops himself by making his own decisions, by increasing his understanding of what he is doing, and why; by increasing his own knowledge and ability, and by his own full participation-as an equal-in the life of the community he lives in. Thus, […] a man is developing himself, when he grows, or earns, enough to provide decent conditions for himself and his family; he is not being developed if someone gives him these things."* Julius Nyerere (1973: 60)[10]

This quote by Julius Nyerere, Tanzania´s first president after independence, however decontextualised it might be at this point, captures the essence of what is about to follow in this chapter. The quote is taken from his writing "Freedom and Development/Uhuru na Maendeleo" and both the writing and the quote outline my very understanding of development. To my way of understanding and in relation to Julius Nyerere, development is closely linked to freedom in the broadest possible sense: first, national freedom, a sign of the colonial time of Nyerere´s writing, could be translated into nowadays political freedom, i.e. suffrage, political participation, democratic structures and universal human rights; second, Nyerere´s freedom from poverty, hunger and disease is still very much valid 40 years later and closely related to freedom from restraints through e.g. economic participation, access to education and provision of health care; and third, personal freedoms such as freedom of speech, conscience, religion, sexuality etc. Authors in the more recent past have further continued to engage in concepts of freedom and development. In his book "Development as Freedom", Amartya Sen for example, who received the Nobel Prize in economic science for his work in welfare economics in 1998, focuses on development through the removal of so called unfreedoms: "poverty as well as tyranny, poor economic opportunities as well as systematic social deprivation, neglect of public facilities as well as intolerance or overactivity of repressive states" (Sen 2003: 13[11]). Similar to Nyerere´s self-reliance approach[12] stated in

[10] This quote is from Julius Nyerere´s writing "Freedom and Development" ("Uhuru na Maendeleo" in Swahili). For more information on Julius Nyerere see chapter 4.1.

[11] I retranslated Sen´s quote from the German version of "Development as Freedom" which is called "Ökonomie für den Menschen": „[A]rmut wie auch Despotismus, fehlende wirtschaftliche Chancen wie auch systematischen sozialen Notstand, die Vernachlässigung öffentlicher Einrichtungen wie auch die Intoleranz oder die erstickende Kontrolle seitens autoritärer Staaten" (Sen 2003: 13).

[12] See chapter 4.1. for more information on the Arusha Declaration.

the Arusha Declaration, Sen emphasises on opportunities, including political, economic and social opportunities. (Nyerere 1973; Sen 2003)

Such freedom of opportunity, as Sen designates it, requires development, interventions and planning. However, the organisation of development, intervention and planning makes the difference within the whole discourse and this configuration happens on an increasingly global scale. Since the existence of the development discourse, thus both the theoretical as well as the applied engagement with issues and challenges of development, the debate is highly politically loaded. Throughout the last decades, a multitude of concepts have emerged and policies have changed. The theoretical synopsis about to follow will give an outline of the conceptual framework of the development discourse in order to locate Tanzania as a developing country and tourism as an economic practice.

3.1. Towards a New Understanding of and Strategy for Development and Poverty

As the introduction of this chapter already implied, there are many understandings of development: freedom and opportunities, growth and catching up, dependency and cooperation, to name but a few. However, there is no universal and agreed-upon definition of development and the approaches towards the concept of development have transformed constantly in the course of the last decades. Development and the understanding of it has always been a sign of the times, both in political as well as economic terms. The following paragraphs will provide an overview of the varying definitions and approaches towards development to this day. The first subchapter deals with the last five decades of the development discourse and its respective school of thoughts, from modernisation theory and growth paradigm to dependency theory and basic need strategy to the “lost decade” in the 1980ies and the inception of a sustainable development approach. The second and third subchapter will then discuss two different approaches within the discourse.

In over sixty years of development discourse, an abundance of development strategies have emerged, from development aid, debt relief and microcredits to institutional to empowering approaches. However, I chose the upcoming two strategies – the Millennium Development Goals and the Pro Poor Growth approach – for two reasons. The Millennium Development

Goals have shaped the new discourse substantially as they represent the first global common strategy or rather goal for development. For the very first time, development efforts were aligned among the various stakeholders to reach the best possible and sustainable development results. The Pro Poor Growth, on the other hand, is a very targeted approach for poverty reduction and complements the Pro Poor Tourism approach, presented in the chapter above. Therefore, the presentation of the two strategies should give a comprehensive insight into approaches on both the meta and on the strategy level. The goal of this method is, again, to exemplify Tanzania as a developing country – by presenting Tanzania´s present results and prognosis in achieving the Millennium Development Goals – and tourism as an economic practice – by providing an overview of the concepts of Pro Poor Growth and Pro Poor Tourism.

3.1.1. Five Decades of Development Discourse

For many authors (Sachs 1993; Fischer et al. 2004; Nuscheler 2004; Rist 2008), the inauguration speech of the US-American president Harry S. Truman marks the inception of the modern development debate. Naturally, development had been a subject of discussion prior to 1949, however, the focus laid almost exclusively on economic development. In the late 18th century, pioneers of modern economy such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo and Jean-Jacques Rousseau engaged themselves in economic concepts that should contribute to the economic development of nations such as global free trade, division of labour and specialisation of production. Free trade was considered a prerequisite for economic development and hence for the wealth of nations[13] as it incorporated larger areas and created bigger markets. Such concepts specifically applied to the British Empire, the hegemonic economic power of the early 19th century. Less developed economies of that time, such as Germany, however, did not benefit from economic liberalism to the same extent and consequently sealed its economies off from global free trade through the introduction of protectionist measures like protective tariffs. Economic development and the dichotomy between free trade and protectionism had also been at the heart of the development debate during the Scramble for Africa in the late 19th century and following colonial rule. Again,

[13] "Wealth of Nations" is the abbreviated title of Adam Smith´s magnum opus "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations" published in 1776.

economists considered free trade a requirement for economic development; the emphasis however, laid on increasing economic development almost exclusively to the sole advantage of the empire rather than the development of the colony. (Fischer et al. 2004: 33ff.; Rist 2008: 49)

With changing geopolitical situations shortly after the end of World War II, rising tensions between the Western and Eastern Bloc and increasing decolonisation efforts, Truman´s speech gave the development debate a unique impetus as he addressed the pending problems and the affected people in the periphery, i.e. colonies and overseas, for the very first time in front of a global audience.

> *"More than half of the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate. They are victims of disease. Their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas. […] I believe that we should make available to peace-loving peoples the benefits of our store of technical knowledge in order to help them realize their aspirations for a better life. […] Greater production is the key to prosperity and peace. And the key to greater production is a wider and more vigorous application of modern scientific and technical knowledge.* (Truman 1949, quoted in Rist 2008: 71f.)

Truman´s speech illustrates the fundamental idea of development of that time: the "underdeveloped" rest of the world has yet to catch up with the developed West in terms of economy, technology, science and knowledge. The "underdeveloped" status of large areas of the world was not only considered a "handicap" for people in the respective areas, but also for the Western world. By mentioning the "peace-loving peoples" Truman further addresses the split between the political positions of the emerging Cold War and makes clear whom he considers a "target group" of future development efforts and whose lead they should follow. Nevertheless, he also addresses the major obstacles for human development: miserable living conditions, inadequate food supplies, diseases and primitive and stagnant economic life. At the same time, he also presents the key to development: greater production through application of modern knowledge to overcome the primitive and stagnant economic life. (Fischer et al. 2004: 14ff.; Rist 2008: 70f.)

Despite the political character of Truman´s speech, he set out the priorities of the development debate during the following twenty years: modernisation and economic growth.

The basis for economic recovery after World War II had been provided earlier, at the Bretton Woods Conference in 1944, aimed to regulate the international monetary and financial order. The world economic crisis of the 1930ies and World War II had disrupted international trade relations and goods traffic almost completely and the agreement on adjustable pegged foreign exchange rates, convertible currencies and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) not only revitalised the global economy, but also cemented the US-American economic power and hegemony. Many of the Bretton Woods agreements have been revised later, however, the establishment of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD[14]) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), both agreed upon during the Bretton Woods Conference and often referred to as Bretton Woods Institutions, are in place up to this day. Both institutions are within the United Nations system and "share the same goal of raising living standards on their member countries […] with the IMF focusing on macroeconomic issues and the World Bank concentrating on long-term economic development and poverty reduction." (IMF 2013: 1). Thus, development through growth was the leading paradigm throughout the 1950ies and 1960ies. It was considered that (economic) growth could only be obtained by improvements in technology, industrialisation and increasing diversification of trade. Developing countries were considered "backwards" or "underdeveloped" economies in need of a "big push" and consequently a "snow-ball effect" to reach similar economic development levels as developed countries in the Western world. This understanding was backed by various economic models such as Walt Whitman Rostow´s "Stages of Growth" model. The economist understood developing countries as traditional societies, characterised by subsistence agriculture, low level of technology and hierarchic structures, which would reach the "age of mass consumption" after an economic "take-off" phase, characterised by dynamic economic growth, a high investment rate, the formation of a substantial industrial sector and the emergence of an institutional framework. (Fischer et al. 2004: 34ff.; Rist 2008: 70ff., 93ff.; Sauter 2012)

By the end of the 1960ies, it became clear that economic growth is neither the panacea for development nor for poverty reduction. Despite the fact that some countries had indeed reached higher levels of economic growth, poverty levels had remained stable and prevalent.

[14] The IBRD is now a part of the World Bank.

The expected trickle-down effect proved to be an illusion: increasing investment rates had not automatically lead to economic development and growth rates had not automatically been redistributed to broad levels of poor population. The understanding that development is much more than mere economic growth and catching up to the Western world, revealed the limits of the modernisation paradigm and the necessity of a new approach towards development and poverty reduction. Furthermore, the view of developing countries as traditional societies and primitive or backwards versions of developed economies was increasingly rejected. Dependence theory became the new school of thought during the 1970ies. Its supporters, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Andre Gunder Frank and Dieter Senghaas amongst others, stressed the relationship of dependency between developing and developed countries in terms of economic, political and cultural dependency. They argued that the way in which developing countries are integrated into the world system actually perpetuated poverty and only benefitted developed economies. As a macroeconomic approach towards development and poverty, the "basic needs strategy" almost became the new development consensus during the 1970ies, endorsed by the World Bank, the United Nations, donors and developing countries (UNIHP 2010: 4). The basic needs strategy put the interests of the poor at the centre and intended to meet both substantial needs such as food and water, shelter and clothing as well as intangible needs like access to education and health care, freedom and political participation. (Fischer et al. 2004: 35f.; Nuscheler 2004: 78ff.; UNIHP 2010: 3f.)

Both dependency theory and the basic needs strategy highlighted a bottom-up poverty-oriented approach, unique in the development debate of that time. The 1980ies brought a halt to such approaches and went down in history as a "lost decade" for development. Due to the oil price shock in 1979 and 1980, the foreign debt level of many developing countries increased steeply, as export revenues dropped sharply. The debt crisis soon took centre stage within the development debate and various voices critical of modernisation and capitalism quickly fell silent as conservative or so called New Right governments under Margret Thatcher in the United Kingdom and Ronald Reagan in the United States of America took over power and neoliberalism soon became the new hegemonic ideology. Many developing countries had to seek assistance from the IMF and the World Bank to cope with the precarious financial situations caused by indebtedness and national deficits. Loans or lower interest rates from the Bretton Woods Institutions came at a high price. Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) mapped out the way and the conditions to reach their "declared objectives: to reduce soaring inflation, to correct disparities in foreign balances and national budgets, and to restore economic growth" (UNIHP 2010: 4). The consequences are illustrated by reference to Tanzania[15], which had to comply with the Institutions´ conditions in the middle of the 1980ies in order to receive highly required loans: the Tanzanian Shilling was repeatedly devalued, state subsidies were cut leading to higher prices in staple foods, wages were frozen and redundancies made in the public sector (Schicho 2004: 331). In retrospect, the SAP and its stringent conditions worsened the economic situation of many developing countries even further leading to even higher poverty rates as both growth levels and per capita income fell substantially. (Fischer et al. 2004: 39ff.; Nuscheler 2004: 80f.; UNIHP 2010: 4f.)

After the disastrous outcomes of the "lost decade", the development debate turned towards new and more detailed approaches covering different topics within the development spectrum. The 1990ies was the first decade without a comprehensive or overarching development theory, some authors even proclaimed the "end of the big theory[16]" (Menzel 1992, quoted in Fischer et al. 2004: 41). The single approaches had in common the promotion of sustainable development to the advantage of poor populations, ecosystems and socio-cultural structures in developing countries. In 1992, the "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro made the start within the sustainable development debate and many conferences, documents and agreements followed. With the launch of the United Nations Development Programme´s (UNDP) Human Development Report (HDR) in 1990, human development, as the name already suggests, took the centre stage. The Report´s authors, the Pakistani economist Mahbub ul Haq, and Amartya Sen (see above), explain the motive and their understanding of development at the beginning of the first chapter:

> *"People are the wealth of a nation. The basic objective of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives. This may appear to be a simple truth. But it is often forgotten in the immediate concern with the accumulation of commodities and financial wealth. Technical considerations of the means to achieve human development […] have at times obscured the fact that the primary objective of development is to benefit people."* (UNDP 1990: 9)

[15] See chapter 4 for more information on the economic development of Tanzania.

[16] I translated Ulrich Menzel´s quote („das Ende der ´großen Theorie´"), taken out of Fischer et al. 2004: 41.

The Human Development Report is considered a milestone within the development debate as it promoted a new understanding of economic approaches without neglecting the outcomes for human development. Economic growth is deemed an absolute necessity to meet human objectives, however, the authors put a strong emphasis on the management, distribution and translation of growth for the benefit of those affected. The HDR characterises development as a process of enlarging people´s choices in terms of health, education, standard of living, access to education and health care, political freedom, human rights and personal self-respect (UNDP 1990: 1). The first HDR of 1990 introduced the Human Development Index (HDI), a comprehensive composite statistic reflecting "the many dimensions of human choices" (ibid.: 1) and has been published annually ever since. The development of the HDI has been an important landmark in order to make poverty transparent, track development progress, rank countries and, most importantly, has encouraged the development debate to focus on human development in the most comprehensive way. Whereas earlier indices focused almost exclusively on economic data as GDP and per capita income, the HDI includes numbers on human development, such as life expectancy, standard of living, education and income. However, the original HDI had its limitations, as it did not include ecological impacts, gender-related issues, human rights or political participation, issues crucial for development and poverty reduction. The UNDP responded to such criticism with adaptions of the original HDI[17]. Besides any shortcomings, the HDI has gained the widest possible acceptance throughout the development discourse and is used by developing countries, organisations, donors and other stakeholders equally. (UNDP 1990; Fischer et al. 2004: 40f.; Nuscheler 2004: 85f.; UNIHP 2010: 5)

3.1.2. Millennium Development Goals

In 2000, at the 55th General Assembly of the United Nations, known as the Millennium Summit, the attending delegates looked back on more than five decades of development debate and the results were far from positive: one billion people have been subjected to extreme poverty, living on less than one USD per day. The summit ended with the ratification of the Millennium Declaration, setting the course for the United Nation´s future efforts and

[17] I will get back to the issue of adaptions in the following subchapter.

the global community´s challenges. The attendees, over 150 heads of states and governments as well as representatives from donor agencies and non-governmental organisations, agreed on the eight chapters of the Declaration: Value and Principles; Peace, Security and Disarmament; Development and Poverty Eradication; Protecting our Common Environment; Human Rights, Democracy and Good Governance; Protecting the Vulnerable; Meeting the Special Needs of Africa; and Strengthening the United Nations (UN 2000). Chapter three – Development and Poverty Eradication – was particularly prioritised and a set of goals to achieve by 2015, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), was endorsed to "free all men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty" (UN 2000: 4). (UN 2000; UNIHP 2010: 5f.)

The Millennium Development Goals			
Eradicating **Extreme Poverty** and **Hunger**	Achieving **Universal Primary Education**	Promoting **Gender Equality** and **Empowering Women**	Reducing **Child Mortality Rates**
Improving **Maternal Health**	**Combating HIV/AIDS, Malaria,** and other **Diseases**	Ensuring **Environmental Sustainability**	Developing a **Global Partnership for Development**

Table 6: The Millennium Development Goals (images and data derived from UN Millennium Development Goals 2013)

The MDGs comprise eight goals and a total of 21 targets, which are measured by a series of health and economic indicators. The goals and targets range from halving the proportion of people living on less than USD 1.25 a day and who suffer from hunger, promoting gender equality and reduce maternal mortality, combating HIV/AIDS and other diseases to ensuring environmental sustainability, halving the proportion of the population without improved drinking water and developing a global partnership for development. Since the inception of the MDGs, significant and substantial progress[18] has been in achieving the goals: amongst others, the proportion of people living in extreme poverty (less than USD 1.25 a day) has been cut by half at the global level; 2.1 billion people gained access to improved drinking

[18] Tanzania´s results and prognosis in achieving the MDGs will be presented in chapter 4.2.2.

water; mortality rates from diseases such as malaria and tuberculosis have dropped significantly; the lives of over 200 million slum dwellers have improved due to better water sources and improved access to sanitation facilities; numbers on school enrolment and primary education have risen; and the hunger reduction target is still within reach (UN 2013a). In the light of the approaching deadline, however, it is obvious that further action is an absolute imperative. The results in Sub-Saharan Africa need special attention, as poverty levels have remained relatively stagnant, the HIV/AIDS prevalence rate is still very high and the number of children completing primary education is too low, to name but a few challenges for this region (UN 2013a). (UN 2000a; UNIHP 2010: 5f.)

Although widely welcomed as a common strategy, the MDGs faced criticism right from the start for not providing a macroeconomic framework strategy, missing employment orientation and lacking strategies for the improvement of political participation. Despite all criticism, the Millennium Development Goals have been a milestone in the development debate as the programme has achieved the broadest possible consensus in development strategy formulation and planning. Nevertheless, the 2015 deadline is approaching quickly and the discourse already embarked on the Post-2015 Development Agenda. During the MDG review process in 2010, UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon presented the strategy for the development agenda beyond 2015 and appointed a task team and a High Level Panel of Eminent Persons – among others the former president of Germany Horst Köhler, the president of Liberia Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom David Cameron, the Chief Executive of the Association of Manufacturers of Kenya Betty Maina and the Indian economist Abhijit Banerjee – to make both recommendations and support preparations for the Post-2015 UN Development Agenda, as it is officially called. In their report "A New Global Partnership: Eradicate Poverty and Transform Economies Through Sustainable Development", the task team responded to the criticism of the MDGs and calls for new goals to drive fife big transformative shifts: Leave No One Behind; Put Sustainable Development at the Core; Transform Economies for Jobs and Inclusive Growth; Build Peace and Effective; Open and Accountable Institutions; and Forge a New Global Partnership (UN2013b: Executive Summary). (UN 2013a; UN 2013b)

The Post-2015 Development Agenda will definitely not be the last chapter of the development debate. New strategies, approaches and ideas for development and are drawn up and conceived continuously by the many stakeholders within the development discourse. The United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, known as Rio+20 or Earth Summit in 2012, agreed on a set of Sustainable Development Goals to harmonise economic and environmental development goals and will be integrated into the development agenda beyond 2015 (UN 2013b: 5). A rather new school of thought proclaims “Welfare without Growth”, readopting and enhancing the growth criticism. In his book “Prosperity without Growth”, the ecological economist Tim Jackson calls for a new and sustainable global economic system outside the growth paradigm and under a new political, cultural and economic framework (Brand 2012: 9).

3.1.3. Pro Poor Growth

In retrospect, economic growth is still a controversial topic within the development debate. However, experts agree on the crucial role of growth for development; the challenge is to make economic growth beneficial for the poor. The Pro Poor Growth approach acknowledges this challenge and strives to actively include the poor in the national economy in order to make economic growth beneficial, shared and inclusive. Pro Poor Growth emerged in the late 1990ies and was widely discussed in 2000 after World Bank economists David Dollar and Aart Kraay published their article “Growth Is Good for the Poor” (Dollar/Kray 2002). They argue that economic growth can, in fact, have an important impact on poverty reduction and that growth in the past 40 years has indeed been reflected in the rise of per-capita income of the poor. However, macroeconomic policies favouring growth such as low inflation, sound financial management and participation in international trade does “benefit the poor as much as everyone else in society” (ibid.: 27) with “little systematic effect on the distribution of income” (ibid.: 27). Since then, the discourse debates on the best possible effects of economic growth for the poor and how to define and measure it. The consensus is that growth is pro poor when it raises the average income of the poor; the question on how to measure it is still in the centre of the debate. Those favouring a relative measure demand that the incomes of the poor have to rise faster than those of the rest of the society in order to be considered Pro Poor Growth. The absolute measure, on the other hand, emphasises on improving economic conditions of the poor and distributional change through growth. (Dollar/Kraay 2002; Wiggins/Higgins 2008)

Thus, the key concepts of the Pro Poor Growth approach are growth as the determining factor, poverty reduction as the main goal and inequality as the constituent challenge. Growth requires macroeconomic policies such as ensuring stability, functioning institutions, good governance and rule of law, a favourable investment climate and efficient markets to attract private investment and foster entrepreneurship. In order for growth to contribute to poverty alleviation, the poor have to have access to participate in markets. According to Wiggins/Higgins (2008: 2f.), there are four central challenges for the poor to participate in the market economy: first, the poor might physically not be able to access the market due to the costs of entering; second, a failing market hinders the poor to obtain the necessary resources needed to invest and innovate; third, the human capital of the poor might be lacking education, vocational skills as well as health and access to social services in order to be successful in the market and earn a decent living; and forth, discrimination on grounds of ethnicity, language and gender can exclude the poor from economic participation. These elements further constitute the challenge for Pro Poor Growth: inequality, to which the poor are often subjected. Inequality might be a problem in itself as it compromises both the chances of the poor to improve their economic situation and the economy itself as the poor stay unable to participate and therefore contribute to the economy. (Wiggins/Higgins 2008)

Tourism and especially Pro Poor Tourism has the ability to react to some of these challenges and unlock opportunities for the poor. It has low entry barriers and offers participation for micro and small entrepreneurs. As a very international sector, under other circumstances considered a negative factor in terms of capital drain, it can be relatively independent from failing domestic markets and is not necessarily dependent on imports. Furthermore, it is a very labour-intensive sector and offers economic opportunities for unskilled, untrained and low-educated people. Considering gender discrimination, tourism often has high female employment ratios and could therefore contribute to the empowerment of poor women. (Ashley/Mitchell 2005; Wiggins/Higgins 2008)

3.2. Defining and Measuring Development and Poverty

With changes in the ongoing development debate, the definition of development changed accordingly. After presenting the various concepts and approaches of the last six decades, it is now time to focus on the terminology of how to measure and define development and poverty.

During the 1950ies and 1960ies, when the growth paradigm was the predominant approach, development was explained through the simple equation development = economic growth = industrialisation. Development was measured by numbers of economic growth and often compared to developed countries to explain the backlog demand. In 1973, Robert McNamara, then World Bank president, introduced the term absolute poverty, "a condition of life so degraded by disease, illiteracy, malnutrition and squalor as to deny its victims basic human necessities […] a condition of life so common as to be the lot of some 40% of the peoples of the developing countries[19]" (McNamara 1973; quoted in Nuscheler 2004: 79). Relative poverty, in contrast, describes poverty as defined by and dependent on both the economic and social context, thus the various inequalities are the main benchmarks in the analysis of relative poverty. (Fischer et al. 2004: 18f.; Nuscheler 2004: 142ff.)

Since 1990, the United Nations and the World Bank use international poverty lines to measure absolute poverty. The "USD per day line" has been introduced to compare poverty over time and to track progress in development. The poverty line has been adjusted to current prices in 2005, from USD 1 per day to USD 1.25 per day and is also used to monitor the first Millennium Development Goal, to halve the share of the population living in extreme poverty. According to the OECD (2013: 35), the usage of the poverty line indicator has reached the "limits of its usefulness and relevance" as poverty levels in middle-income countries are on the rise and the USD 1.25 per day line is not applicable to such countries as their national poverty lines are much higher. Furthermore, both institutions apply absolute measurements to categorise countries. The World Bank classifies countries according to the

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[19] In Nuscheler (2004: 79), McNamara´s statement is quoted in German: „Absolute Armut [...] ist durch einen Zustand entwürdigender Lebensbedingungen, wie Krankheit, Analphabetentum, Unterernährung und Verwahrlosung charakterisiert, dass die Opfer dieser Armut nicht einmal die grundlegendsten menschlichen Existenzbedürfnisse befriedigen können, [...] sind diese Bedingungen so weit verbreitet, dass sie das Los von etwa 40% der Menschen in den Entwicklungsländern bestimmen."

Gross National Income per capita (GNI). Low income countries´ GNI per capita is USD 1,035[20] or less – these countries (LIC) are generally referred to as developing countries according to the World Bank´s measurement; lower middle income countries´ from USD 1,036 to USD 4,085; upper middle income from USD 4,086 to USD 12,615; and high income from USD 12,616 and more (World Bank 2013b). The United Nations also use the low income criterion to classify developing countries or Least Developed Countries (LDCs) as they are called, however two other criteria are further applied: the Human Asset Index based on indicators on nutrition, health, education and adult literacy rate, and the Economic Vulnerability Index which includes population size, remoteness, share of natural sectors in GDP, instability of exports and other indicators (UN-OHRLLS 2013). According to the United Nations (2013) the current List of LDCs comprises of 49 countries of which 34 are in Africa, 14 in Asia and one in Latin America. (OECD 2013; UN-OHRLLS 2013; World Bank 2013a)

Another reason for a reevaluation of the absolute poverty line approach is the multidimensional character of poverty itself. Poverty is determined by inequalities on grounds of social status, gender, ethnicity and religion, there is nutrition as well as health poverty and lack of economic and political participation, among other constituent factors of poverty. Thus, relative measurements of poverty cannot be neglected. The HDI, already mentioned above, is one of the approaches acknowledging this multidimensionality. In 1995 and 1997 respectively, the UNDP developed new indices to meet criticism of lacking gender-related issues and insufficient poverty orientation. The Gender-related Development Index (GDI) adjusts the average HDI achievement of a country to reflect gender gaps in life expectancy, education and income. The Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) puts an emphasis on opportunities for women and measures political participation and decision-making, economic participation and power over economic resources. The Human Poverty Index (HPI) was developed to complement the HDI to measure deprivations along the basic dimensions of human development: life expectancy, knowledge and illiteracy, and poor access to economic resources crucial for a decent standard of living. In 2010, the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) replaced the HPI to determine multidimensional

[20] According to the World Bank´s measurement, Tanzania belongs to the low income countries´ group with a GNI per capita of USD 570. The low income group comprises 36 countries, of which 27 are from Sub-Saharan Africa (2012). (World Bank 2013a)

poverty. The MPI combines ten indicators reflecting education and knowledge, health and standard of living (OECD 2013: 45). (Fischer et al. 2004: 32; OECD 2013)

In its latest Development Co-operation Report on Ending Poverty the OECD (2013: 43) suggests a new indicator based on the MPI to better measure the many dimensions of poverty.

> *"Experience in using it suggests that it would be a feasible indicator to complement an income-poverty measure. It would help to bring into view the overlooked poor and to unleash energies for ending other dimensions of poverty as well. […] It would also help to monitors the degree to which economic growth is equitable and to show the important links between poverty and sustainability. Eradicating poverty as measured by this new multidimensional index would dismantle a critical mass of deprivations, achieving much more than eradicating USD 1.25 income poverty alone."* (OECD 2013: 43)

Whatever the future measurement for development and poverty might be, the main focus must remain in fostering sustainable development and the alleviation of poverty itself. The development discourse has seen promising results in the fight against poverty. However, the goal has not yet been achieved. The future development discourse should always keep in mind, that sustainable development affects the whole global community as seen during the recent economic crisis. Developing countries however, not only have to face the multidimensional development challenges, but also often do not have the voice and power to raise their claim within the development discourse. For a very long time, the various approaches and strategies have been imposed on them and one of the main future challenges within the debate will be to come up with a new design of development.

Since gaining independence in 1961, Tanzania made various attempts to find its own course within the development debate. In their own day, the Arusha Declaration, Ujamaa and Julius Nyerere´s[21] concept of African Socialism have been revolutionary and unique, but, in hindsight, unsuccessful development designs. In recent years, Tanzania has shown some very promising results, especially in terms of economic growth, political stability and debt sustainability. However, it remains one of the poorest countries in the world and human

[21] More information on the Arusha Declaration, Ujamaa and Julius Nyerere´s concept of African Socialism will be provided in the upcoming chapter.

development – from poverty alleviation to improvement of livelihoods – remains the biggest challenge. The upcoming chapter will now concentrate on Tanzania as the local reference point of this thesis.

4. Tanzania – Sustainable Destination?

The fourth chapter focuses on the United Republic of Tanzania, its history from colonialism to an independent country, its economic performance and development issues. Wherever possible, I will focus on the tourism sector and provide relevant data. The historic context cannot be excluded, as Tanzania could not start from scratch after gaining independence, but "inherited" a running economy, a primary sector with a special focus on subsistence agriculture and a fairly well established producing sector for raw materials. The first few introductory paragraphs "localise" Tanzania in the global and economic context. In the ongoing process, I will then concentrate on Tanzanian tourism and the regarding political planning strategies. The "localisation" of Tanzania as a reference point is therefore crucial in order to lead over to the analytical part of this thesis.

The United Republic of Tanzania is bordered by Uganda and Kenya to the north; by the Indian Ocean to the east (with the three islands Pemba, Zanzibar and Mafia); by Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia to the south and by the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi and Rwanda to the west. Together with its neighbouring countries Uganda and Kenya, Tanzania belongs to what is nowadays referred to as East Africa. Tanzania´s location, geography and climate offer a vast variety of ecological and natural features, all of which encompass the existing and potential touristic product: a tropical forest and sandy beaches along the coastline and on the northernmost islands of Pemba and Zanzibar; the country´s largest city and formal capital Dar es Salaam; the mountainous Northeast region including Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Meru; below Mount Meru lies the city of Arusha, an important hub for both international tourists as well as diplomats; further northwest is the eastern arm of the Great Rift Valley, a volcanic highland area with many salt lakes at the floor also encompassing the Ngorongoro Crater and the Serengeti National Park to the west; Lake Victoria further northwest and Lake Tanganyika southwest with a large section of the Central Zambezian Miombo wood flat plateau in between; the large plateau in the centre with undulating grassland in the south and arable crop land in the north; and mountainous areas in the south with Lake Nyasa at the border to Mozambique and Malawi, the big Selous Game Reserve with Rufiji River at the southeast and the Ruvuma River forming the border with Mozambique. (Coulson 1982: 6ff.; ÖFSE 1999: 8ff.)

Together with Kenya and Uganda, Tanzania constitutes the core of the Swahili-speaking world and the Bantu language is the official and predominant language in all three countries. Historically, Tanzania is home of descendants and variances of all four African language families (Iliffe 1979: 6f.) and therefore offers a rich amount of cultural diversity with more than 120 different ethnic groups throughout the country. In 2012, the population has reached almost 48 million[22] in total, of which 1.3 million live on the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar. About 75% of the total population live in rural households, who constitute 80% of Tanzania´s poor (World Bank 2013a). The youth, aged 14 to 25 years, represent roughly 18% of the total population. Within the last ten years the population has increased by 10.5 million inhabitants compared to the figures of the last census conducted in 2002. By 2016 Tanzania will stand at approximately 51 million inhabitants, if the current population growth rate persists. These figures also depict future challenges for the nation´s society, economy and developmental planning, especially in light of the approaching Millennium Development deadline in 2015 (Athumani 2013; NBS 2013). Within the last decade, Tanzania made huge progresses in the education sector: bank support and the removal of school fees have led to an increase in school enrolment rates; net primary school enrolment is up from 59 per cent in 2000/2001 to 95.4 per cent in 2009. The main problem however, is the low quality both at the primary as well as the secondary level due to the lack in qualified teachers and schoolbooks (World Bank 2013a).

In contrast to many other Sub-Saharan countries, Tanzania has a long history of providing health services to both its urban and rural population. In 1985, 99 per cent of the urban and 72 per cent of the rural population had direct and free access to health services. Nevertheless, the quality of the provided health services is rather low, due to lack in funding, qualified personnel and their training, poor supply of medical equipment, drugs and vaccines, opening up new and momentous challenges for the country, especially given the MDG deadline in 2015 (World Bank 2013a). Tanzania is still one of the poorest economies in the world: its HDI in 2012 was 0.476 and – even though the highest index since 1990 – with the 152nd rank among the lower ranks worldwide (UNDP 2013a: 15). The same applies to the per capita income: with USD 1,600 per capita income (on a purchasing power parity basis)

[22] The „2012 Population and Housing Census“ conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics lists 45 million inhabitants (NBS 2013: iii).

Tanzania only ranks 202nd. In terms of GDP (again on a purchasing power parity basis), the country has achieved a better ranking recently (2012 estimates accounted for USD 75.07 billion, equivalent to the 85th rank) due to high growth rates within the last couple of years. The Tanzanian economy always has been and still is highly dependent on the agricultural sector, which accounts for more than 25 per cent of GDP, provides 85 per cent of exports and employs 80 per cent of the labour force. (CIA 2013; World Bank 2013a)

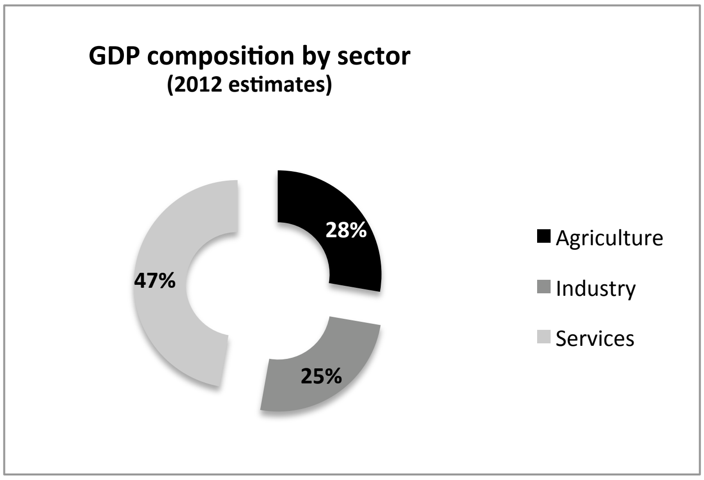


Figure 2: GDP composition by sector (CIA 2013)

The most exported cash crops are coffee, sisal, tea, cotton, pyrethrum[23], cashew nuts, tobacco and cloves, amongst others. Tanzania´s industrial sector is one of the fastest growing in Sub-Saharan Africa, accounting for over 25 per cent of GDP. The main industrial activities include agricultural processing (mainly sugar, beer, cigarettes and sisal twine), mining (mainly gold, diamonds and iron), salt, soda, cement and oil refining (CIA 2013). In 2012, the most important export partners have been India, China, Japan, Germany and the United Arab Emirates. With over 47 per cent, the service sector accounts for almost half of GDP and continues to be one of the economic driving forces. Especially the tourism subsector plays a major role in further development of the tertiary sector and accounts (directly and indirectly) for 13 per cent of GDP and provides direct and indirect employment for 1.1 million people (WTTC, quoted in Christie et al. 2013: 229). According to the UNCTAD (2007, quoted in Christie et al. 2013: 43), Tanzanian export earnings from tourism exceed those of gold and agriculture. Other subsectors, such as the communications subsector (due to the steep

[23] Pyrethrum is an insecticide made from the chrysanthemum plant.

increase in the usage of mobile phones), as well as the trade and repair and the financial intermediation subsector, further contribute to the performance of the service sector. Despite considerable economic progress and growth rates in the service sector, Tanzania has been fighting with high inflation since 2011, when inflation reached 20 per cent, a dramatic peak after almost a decade of relatively stable prices, mainly due to increasing food and petrol prices. Since then, then inflation rate started to decline again, but with 15.7 per cent is still considered high (African Economic Outlook 2013). (African Economic Outlook 2012: 2f.; CIA 2013; World Bank 2013a)

Administratively, the United Republic of Tanzania is divided into 30 regions, from which are 25 on the mainland, three on Unguja (Zanzibar) and two on Pemba Island. Since 1996 (officially since 1974) the capital is Dodoma in the centre of the country. Dar es Salaam, the former capital, remains to be the commercial capital and centre of the central government bureaucracy and, by far the biggest city with 4.36 million inhabitants (NBS 2013: 2). In 1961 Tanzania gained its independence from Great Britain[24] after 76 years of colonialism, first under German, after World War I under British rule. Julius Nyerere, a teacher and president of the national movement TANU, became the first president of the newly independent country. In 1964 Tanganyika united with Zanzibar to form the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar that was later renamed United Republic of Tanzania. TANU, which later became Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) party, dominated the country´s politics until 1995, when the first multi-party election was held. Since 2005 Jakaya Kikwete of CCM is president and head of government. (ÖFSE 1999: 12ff.; World Bank 2013a)

4.1. Historical Overview

East Africa and the area now known as Tanzania already played a role, by some extent, in the world economy long before any European colonial aspirations. The Indian Ocean and the sea trade connected the different areas across the coasts for centuries and East Africa became a supplier for luxury goods as gold, ivory, cowries and slaves, up to a certain degree. Especially gold was an important trade item and contributed to the wealth of the coastal region and its

[24] Before gaining independence, Tanganyika was de facto a United Nations trust territory under British control.

ports, e.g. the prosperous sultanate of Kilwa at the southern coast of modern-day Tanzania. The industrial revolution had only indirect effects on the economy of East Africa and manifested mainly by increasing prices for luxury items such as ivory. As the rising demand for ivory in Europe could not longer be satisfied, the traders had to turn to inland regions for constant supply. Nonetheless, the commercial centre remained at the coast, more precisely at the island of Zanzibar, which was ruled by Sayyid Said ibn Sultan since 1840. During his reign, the majority of internationally traded goods went through Zanzibar; ivory went to India and was re-exported to Europe, textiles came from India and were imported into the interior as well as arms and ammunition; the newly cultivated cloves were sold to Europe and the Arab world. The cultivation of cloves on plantations on Zanzibar and its neighbouring island Pemba resulted in a steep increase of slavery and Stone Town soon had the ambiguous reputation of East Africa´s main slave-trading port, long after the start of the abolition movement, making East Africa one of the only regions in the world where slavery experienced an increase during the nineteenth century. The various trade relations and commercial connections increasingly attracted European empires, which soon became deeply involved. Their aim quickly developed from being a mere trading partner to becoming the sole beneficiary of natural resources and presumed raw materials such as gold, copper and diamonds. The burgeoning rivalries among the European empires, both in political and economic terms, soon let to the aforementioned Scramble for Africa. Modern-day Tanzania became a German colony under the name German East Africa and Zanzibar was turned into a British Protectorate. (Iliffe 1979: 72ff.; Coulson 1982: 10ff.)

In comparison to other European empires, first and foremost Great Britain, Germany´s participation in the Scramble for Africa started belated. German merchants had established trade relations with East Africa since 1849, but colonial expansion was not a main priority. However, Germany´s emerging economy and advancing industrialisation revealed the need for further growth and economic stability. The rise of the German empire also posed a threat to Britain´s economic domination and both feared exclusion of the new markets through protective measures. According to Iliffe (1979: 88), “fears escalated until a region´s existing commercial value became less important than its possible future value”. Nevertheless, Otto von Bismarck, the German Imperial Chancellor, wanted to focus the empire´s economic efforts rather on other European empires and markets than on yet unknown territories, but he had to succumb to political pressure and finally supported Germany´s export offensive and the introduction of protective tariffs. Beside political pressure from German merchants who favoured colonial endeavours, Carl Peters, a young adventurer who founded the Society for German Colonisation in 1884, further provoked Bismarck. In the same year Peters led an expedition, legitimised by Bismarck, to acquire territories for Germany. Through highly dubious tactics, he soon managed to obtain 140.000 square kilometres and on the 26th of February 1885, the day after the Berlin-Congo Conference, the German Emperor Wilhelm I granted imperial protection to the German East African Company (DOAG[25]). Wilhelm installed Carl Peters in office as the first governor of the Protectorate of German East Africa. (Iliffe 1979: 88ff.)

The colonial economy in German East Africa was dominated by "the re-ordering of economies into a colonial pattern" (Iliffe 1979: 123) and it took both Germany and the colonial government a considerable amount of time to consolidate the local economy and gain a surplus. Up until 1902, Zanzibar remained to be the main source of income for Germany as both the coffee and cotton plantations managed by European settlers turned out to be not as profitable as expected. Instead of agricultural products, rubber and ivory became the main trading and export goods of the advancing colonial economy and the railway construction gave a further impetus. When ivory became scarce and a mere "trophy for wealthy tourists" (Iliffe 1979: 130), the European reinforced rubber collection and experimented with sisal, a highly demanded product that was easy to grow and perfect for mass production and export. In order to further realise integration of the colonial economy and benefit from it, the Germans forced structural economic developments such as monetisation and taxation, which led to massive resistance in some of the prospering regions. By the last decade of German rule, the colony finally yielded profit and investment rose substantially. The number of European settlers increased, their businesses contributed more than half of the export value and Asian tradespeople secured the retail industry in the inland regions. However profitable for Germany, the consolidation of the colonial economy eliminated traditional structures and

[25] The German East African Company (in German: Deutsch-Ostafrikanische Gesellschaft) was the successor organisation of the Society for German Colonisation.

evoked resistance from various groups. The Maji-Maji[26] Resistance from 1905, put down with great violence, is probably the best known and most researched rebellion against German rule. (Iliffe 1979: 123ff.)

The Germans were able to remain in power until their defeat in World War I in 1918. German East Africa was divided among the Entente Powers and their allies: Rwanda and Burundi were passed to Belgium, the Kionga Triangle, a small territory at the south fell to the share of Portuguese Mozambique and the territory of modern-day Tanzania was assigned to Great Britain under a mandate from the League of Nations, and renamed Tanganyika Territory. The mandate stated that Tanganyika was to be administered in the interests of "the material and moral well-being and the social progress of [the] inhabitants, by banning slavery, forced labour for private advantage […] and abuse of African land rights" (Harlow and Chilver 1965, quoted in Iliffe 1979: 247). However, history has proven that these rules were generally not being complied with and independence remained a distant goal. (Iliffe 1979: 246f.)

The British colonial administration focused on agricultural production through the established system of diversification of production, just as the Germans did before. Sisal production remained mainly in the hands of big plantation companies owned by European enterprises, white settlers extensively cultivated coffee at the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro and Mount Meru while aggressively driving out African producers, and small-scale African farmers grew – in some cases compulsory – cotton. Industrialisation was not taken up until after World War II, even though the world depression in the 1930ies had drastic effects on the economy of Tanganyika and revealed its dependence on the primary sector: prices fell dramatically, putting more pressure of African peasants, wages for plantation workers were cut and fewer workers were employed. The small but promising industrial sector established under German rule, was almost entirely abandoned by the British, even though "the resource base was sufficient for a balanced industrialization" (Coulson 1982: 70). However, the colonial administration actively decided against industrialisation to the advantage of Britain and Kenya, where both British industrialists and the colonial government fostered the policy of suitable and a more general industrialisation. Almost two decades later, the independent

[26] Maji is Swahili for "water" and describes the use of water as a spiritual element in the context of the Maji-Maji Resistance. (Ranger 1968a: 437ff.)

state had to suffer the consequences of this formative policy: the industrialising process had to be launched almost from scratch[27]; the soil in some areas was depleted due to extensive cultivation of crops; and there were fundamental consequences for the employment market and the formation of a working class, as most of the employees worked in the agricultural sector across the whole country or in the service sector on short-term contracts. (Iliffe 1979: 246; Coulson 1982: 43ff., 70ff.; Schicho 2004: 315)

The economic and administrative policy of British rule evoked political implications in terms of nationalist aspirations. From 1922, the British had implemented their system of "indirect rule" in Tanganyika Territory through the creation of Native Authorities with local and (pseudo-) legitimised African chiefs at the top. Together with a threefold "multiracial" division of the society into Africans, Asians and Europeans, this system increasingly aroused opposition and fuelled independence efforts. In 1929, members of the emerging bourgeoisie and the educated elite founded the African Association (AA) "to be the sole representative of Africans" (Iliffe 1979: 406) and to have a strong basis for petitions and demands on the colonial administration. In 1954 the AA was reorganised and renamed Tanganyika African National Union and Julius Kambarage Nyerere, a rather unknown teacher, became its first leader. The foundation of TANU encouraged independence efforts and for the first time it seemed to be in reach. Despite its rather urban basis, TANU actively associated with the entire spectrum of the population and united peasants and wage labourers, educated elite and rural mass as well as cities and peripheries. On the 9th of December 1961, seven years after its formation, TANU led Tanganyika to independence from British rule and Julius Nyerere became the first president of the Republic of Tanganyika. (Iliffe 1979: 406ff., 521ff.; Coulson 1982: 94ff., 118ff.; Schicho 2004: 315ff., 325ff.)

The young republic had inherited a challenging economic structure characterised by a "thriving capitalist agriculture, based on plantations, settlers, and an expanding class of African capitalist farmers" (Coulson 1982: 145). Nyerere´s version of African Socialism and his

[27] Several years before independence, the private sector - particularly members from the Asian community - had started investing in manufacturing for the local market. Moreover, a number of Asian und multinational companies in Kenya opened subsidiaries in Tanzania. (Coulson 1982: 168ff.)

ideological concept of "Ujamaa na Kujitegemea"[28], presented in a paper in 1962 and – more prominently – through proclamation of the Arusha Declaration in 1967, should actively contribute to the alteration of the existing structure of economic dependence, inequality and capitalism. In 1964, the government launched the Five-Year Plan that incorporated underlying concepts of the World Bank: commitment to and encouragement of private investments in import substitution industrialisation to foster domestic production and reduce dependency; a transformation approach in rural areas in order to realise a more sensible and reasonable usage of soil, mechanisation and irrigation in addition to the foundation of modern settlements and cooperatives; and encouragement of manpower planning through investments in secondary and technical education (Pratt 1967, quoted in Coulson 1982: 141f.). In retrospect, Ujamaa and especially the "Village Settlement Scheme", which included the resettlement of peasants to so called Ujamaa villages, failed due to bad planning, forced resettlement, unequal of land and housing and corruption. Despite the failure, the Tanzanian population benefited from the stability of the young Republic, had free access to education and health care, affordable housing, sufficient staple foods and the possibility of political participation. (Coulson 1982: 141ff., 145ff.; Schicho 2004: 323ff.)

By the middle of the 1980ies however, the economic situation in Tanzania had further deteriorated and the country found itself forced to radical economic changes. The new government under the leadership of Ali Hassan Mwinyi had to comply with the demands made by the IMF and the World Bank in order to receive required loans. The Structural Adjustment Programme comprised a set of measures in order to reverse the socialist policies of Nyerere: privatisation of industries, deletion of state-owned monopolies, increases in the market prices for both producers and consumers, deregulation of the banking sector, enforcement against corruption, the liberalisation of external trade, removal of state subsidies etcetera. The Tanzanian population had to bear the consequences as their economic situation and living standard further deteriorated. In 1995, the new government under president Benjamin Mkapa was forced to cope not only with increasing debts and their implications; it also had to fight corruption in order to regain frozen funds. By 1996, debts had added up to USD 7.8 billion, the same amount as the gained export revenue from 16

[28] "Ujamaa na kujitemegea" is Swahili for family, community and self-reliance.

years (Tanzania Information 1996, quoted in Schicho 2004: 333). According to the IMF and the World Bank, Tanzania is an example of success in terms of structural adjustment as inflation decreased, the Tanzanian shilling remained stable and “good governance” was improved. The results and consequences of this policy will be examined in the following chapter. (ÖSFE 1999: 14f.; Schicho 2004: 331ff.; World Bank 2013a)

4.2. Poverty and Development Challenges

The synopsis of Tanzania´s economic history and especially the numbers presented at the end of the previous chapter has only broached the developmental challenges for the country. Various numbers and indicators show a similar picture, namely that poverty levels in Tanzania have remained both prevalent and stagnant, despite high growth rates, favourable macroeconomic policy performance and the government´s attempts to foster both industrialisation and agricultural production (World Bank 2013a). In terms of macroeconomic conditions, Tanzania reveals some remarkable results, first and foremost in terms of economic growth and overall economic stability. However, the main challenges still lie in human development and improvement of livelihoods, which is still of paramount importance and should be considered imperative.

4.2.1. Macroeconomic Policy and Governance Challenges

The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (NSGRP or MKUKUTA[29]), issued in 2005, had a strong focus on economic growth, as the name already implies, as well as on governance (United Republic of Tanzania 2005: 2). Indeed, the economy has been growing rapidly and stable over the past two decades: from 3.5 per cent on average in the 1990ies to 7 per cent in the 2000s. Even during the financial crisis of the past few years, Tanzania has proved to be quite resilient to this severe international shock and has been able to keep up a high growth rate in GDP (2012: 6.9%). According to the World Bank (2013a), this stability in growth rates is explained by three factors: firstly, crucial sectors such as the communication sector, whose innovative character has transformed business practices, has been expanding

[29] The National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (MKUKUTA in Swahili) will be further assessed in subchapter 4.2.3.

at a very fast pace, doubling its contribution to GDP since 2008; secondly, the country registered a steep increase in domestic demand, resulting from the rapid population growth rate; and thirdly, Tanzania´s relative isolation from world markets has further contributed to the economic performance as it has helped to remain stable in times of external and regional shocks. (United Republic of Tanzania 2005; African Economic Outlook 2012; World Bank 2013a)

Other indicators give further evidence to Tanzania´s overall macroeconomic stability and policy performance, albeit on a smaller scale. Especially inflation remains a rather critical indicator: since the beginning of 2012, when it reached a high of 19.8 per cent, it has dropped to 9.8 per cent (as of March 2013), but is still double that of its neighbours Kenya and Uganda. Fortunately, the risk of hyperinflation was averted due to a tight and prudent monetary policy. In 2012, the improved food supply and a relatively stable energy situation, both crucial expenditures items, contributed to ease inflationary pressure on the economy (African Economic Outlook 2013). The fiscal position shows a similar picture. After difficulties in meeting revenue targets and growing deficits, the situation has slightly improved in the fiscal year of 2011/2012, when domestic revenues exceeded the target by 4 per cent (African Economic Outlook 2013). This fiscal year (2013/2014), domestic revenues are even expected to increase to 18% of GDP. However, the World Bank (2013a) lists the financial crisis of the state-owned electricity producer TANESCO and arrearage in payments for construction companies as this year´s risks for a higher deficit. In the ongoing fiscal consolidation process – recommended under the policy support instrument framework of the IMF – increased tax revenues and reduction in non-priority spending have been vital. Despite the challenging fiscal position and the risks, investments in infrastructure, energy and the social sector have been declared priorities. (African Economic Outlook 2013; World Bank 2013a)

An increase in exports of agricultural and manufacturing products further led to an improvement of the balance of payments in 2012/2013. However, the World Bank (2013a) perceived “a shift away from aid and FDI inflows [author´s note: foreign direct investments], balanced by increased non-concessional borrowing.” At the end of 2012, Tanzania´s external debt stock, the foreign currency liabilities of both the private and public sector, accounted for 37.3 per cent of GDP (by December 2012), which equals USD 10.7 billion. Despite the high level of debt, the country faces low level of debt distress in the near future, according to the recent debt sustainability analysis carried out by the government, IMF and World Bank (IMF 2012: 59). In order to maintain debt and fiscal sustainability, the analysis recommends a conservative and careful approach to non-concessional borrowing on expensive terms, a sound debt management policy and high commitment to fiscal discipline. (IMF 2012; African Economic Outlook 2013; World Bank 2013a)

Tanzania´s policy on economic cooperation, regional integration and trade is another challenge on the macroeconomic level. With the current account balance standing at a deficit of USD 3.44 billion in 2012, the situation has slightly improved in comparison to previous years. Exports of goods and services reached USD 8.7 billion in the last year, exceeding the results of Brazil, Mauritius and Korea, while imports only recorded a moderate increase of 5.3 per cent (African Economic Outlook 2013). Higher prices in Tanzania´s main export goods such as coffee, sisal and tobacco as well as gold, have been the main drivers of the registered high growth rates. However promising these numbers may be, the concentration on a few products prone to fluctuation in prices, such as gold is for example, can pose risks to economic stability. In terms of export partners, Tanzania recently diversified away from the European Union (from 50% to 30% over the period from 2000 until 2011) towards Asia (from 23% to 30% from 2000 until 2011). Export relations to African countries also intensified from under 10 to over 30 per cent (African Economic Outlook 2013). Tanzania participates in various regional economic communities and trading agreements, predominantly in the East African Community (EAC) and Southern African Development Community. The aim of these strategic intergovernmental and economic alliances is to enhance regional integration through various protocols dealing with common customs procedures, trade facilitation, tariff reduction, establishment of a common market, and others. (African Economic Outlook 2013; World Bank 2013a)

Despite a rather positive forecast for macroeconomic trends, there are still many economic as well as political challenges ahead as the tense economic situation poses a constant threat to the country´s stability and to the wellbeing and livelihoods of its population. Rural poverty remains one of the most prevalent problems, as the level of poverty in rural areas is still very high at around 40 per cent. Despite attempts to boost agricultural production, the sector lags behind in its performance and therefore also in its possible contribution to poverty alleviation. According to the World Bank, "problems include low adaption of improved technologies, high transport costs, and the lack of adequate market competition" (World Bank 2013a). Due to its character as a key sector, problems and underperformance in the agricultural sector can easily trigger an economic downward spiral. High prices for staple foods, caused by drought and consequent food shortages, could, amongst other factors, contribute to a rise in inflation rates. Thereby, not only the national economy would be negatively affected, but also the poor in rural areas would be harmed, as basic foodstuffs constitute more than half of the poor households´ consumption basket. (African Economic Outlook 2013; World Bank 2013a)

In this context, the challenge ahead lies in economic diversification and recent numbers support this trend. Sources of growth are rather concentrated in a few sectors, such as the mining sector, construction and in the private sector, particularly in telecommunication and tourism. However, Tanzania faces many challenges for overall productivity growth. Insufficient power supply paired with constant main failures is one of the most crucial constraints to economic stability as it compromises the growing industrial sector and leads to an increase in production costs as producers are forced to shift to using generators, which, in turn, also have negative impacts on the environment. Improvements in transport infrastructure – both roads and railways – are also necessary as inadequate transport routes again raise production costs, especially in rural areas. (African Economic Outlook 2013; World Bank 2013a)

Tanzania´s development strategies require stable and sustainable governance policies in order to improve both macroeconomic stability and human development. One of the most prevalent challenges in the political context is the fight against corruption. With a Corruption Perceptions Index[30] of 35, Tanzania ranks 102nd in the global comparison (Transparency International 2013b). This high level of corruption poses a severe threat to both economic and human development, as government revenues and development aid may just trickle away. It further compromises the economic and business environment as investors and

[30] The Corruption Perception Index is a composite index based on how corrupt a country´s public sector is perceived to be and is conducted annually by Transparency International. (Transparency International 2013a)

entrepreneurs are deterred from investing and doing business altogether. After some high profile corruption scandals in the past, including the resignation of the Prime Minister Edward Lowassa in 2008, Tanzania introduced a series of regulatory policies, institutions and laws to tackle corruption. (Transparency International 2011)

The three constraints mentioned earlier – power shortages, inadequate infrastructure and corruption – not only affect the macroeconomic environment, but also impede the development of private businesses. Tanzania recognised the private sector as a driver for growth and declared the "strengthening of the private sector […] one of our priorities" (TIC 2013). The government has taken various measures in order to foster private businesses and facilitate start-ups: apart from legislative acts dealing with regulations and national ordinance, the government established the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) in 1997; the TIC offers a one-stop facilitation centre for investors and entrepreneurs and it publishes the Tanzania Investment Guide annually to provide all necessary information. Despite these measures, Tanzania´s still ranks very low in international comparisons regarding business environment and climate for investment. The African Economic Outlook (African Economic Outlook 2013) lists increasing costs for construction permits and difficulties in importing of goods as the major obstacles. (African Economic Outlook 2013; TIC 2013)

In hindsight, Tanzania has proved to be a relatively stable country, both in political as well as macroeconomic terms. In contrast to its neighbouring countries, Tanzania has never experienced civil wars or violent internal conflicts. Moreover, the introduction of a multi-party system in 1995 has demonstrated the commitment to democratisation and participation. However, the fight against corruption remains one of major challenges within the political sphere and needs to be addressed in an all-encompassing and, above all, sustainable manner. Regarding macroeconomic results, Tanzania has shown positive developments, especially in terms of growth, stability and debt sustainability. Despite all promising figures and efforts taken, Tanzania remains one of the poorest countries in the world and still has a long way to go towards eliminating of poverty and sustainably improving the livelihood of its people.

4.2.2. Human Development and Prognosis for Millennium Development Goals

Tanzania´s progresses in the macroeconomic sphere have so far had only limited direct impact on the socioeconomic situation of the population. The high level of indebtedness and the remaining financial dependency on development aid contributes to the aggravation of the very precarious situation. Tanzania itself allocates 30 per cent of its already tight budget resources for development expenditures, whereas the remaining 70 per cent are allocated for recurrent expenditures (African Economic Outlook 2013). Public social spending only accounts for four to six per cent of the GDP, resulting in limited spending for health, education and social security (CIA 2013; World Bank 2013a). Various poverty-related indices – 152th rank in the Human Development Index and 119th in the Gender Inequality Index (UNDP 2013a: 143, 158) – further illustrate the low level of Tanzania´s human development and, thus the major challenges for the future, especially in the light of the approaching deadline of the Millennium Development Goals in 2015.

Recent reports on Tanzania´s progress towards the MDGs reveals that it has been uneven and the country is expected to reach only three out of the eight Millennium Development Goals. The first MDG – Eradicating Extreme Poverty and Hunger – will definitely not be reached by 2015. The level of poverty remained high and the absolute number of poor has even slightly increased. The reasons for the stagnant high level of poverty lie, first and foremost, in the underperforming growth of the agricultural sector, slow rural development and the lack of employment opportunities. As poverty in Tanzania is mostly confined to rural areas, the efforts and attention should be drawn to both the agricultural sector and rural development, as the achievement or, at least, the progresses in the first MDG are expected to have significant positive spillover effects on other MDGs and other development objectives. (UNDP 2011: 5ff., 61)

Tanzania is on track to meet the second MDG – Achieving Universal Primary Education – and the achievement of the third goal – Promote Gender Equality and Empower Women – is still probable. There was considerable progress in gender parity among students in the primary and secondary school level; however, there is need for improvement in the tertiary level. (UNDP 2011: 15ff., 19ff.)

The results of child health-related indicators suggest that Tanzania is likely to achieve the fourth MDG – Reducing Child Mortality Rates. Infant mortality rates have declined by almost 50% from 99 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1999, to 51 in 2010. Under-five mortality rate has fallen from 112 deaths per 1,000 live births in 2005, to 81 in 2010. However, there are differences in child health-related results between mainland Tanzania and Zanzibar, which is trailing behind the mainland area. Vaccination programmes and measures against other diseases further contributed to improvements in child health: the proportion of children vaccinated against measles increased, a more effective malaria drug treatment has been introduced and more children sleep under protective nets. (UNDP 2011: 24ff.; UNDP 2013b)

There was only modest progress in Improving Maternal Health, the fifth MDG, making an achievement highly unlikely. The maternal mortality rate has dropped from 578 deaths per 100,000 live births in 2005 to 454 in 2010. The causes for this high maternal mortality rate are related to poor health and malnutrition on the one hand, and to the rather small proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel on the other hand. (UNDP 2011: 28ff.)

The country, however, is on track to meet the sixth MDG – Combating HIV/AIDS, Malaria and other Diseases – and has actually already achieved some of the sub-results. HIV/AIDS prevalence in both adults and youth has been reduced, however there are differences in regional results. Cases of malaria and tuberculosis have also dropped. (UNDP 2011: 34ff.)

Ensuring Environmental Sustainability, the seventh Millennium Development Goal, seems out of reach as only a few indicators are on track, whereas others lag far behind. Access to improved drinking water has improved in urban areas, but remained low in rural areas. Results in access to improved sanitation facilities are far behind the MDG targets. In terms of natural resources, Tanzania´s progress in ensuring environmental sustainability is considered rather slow, despite the increase in exploitation of raw materials. The first sub-goal in this category – to integrate the principles of sustainable development into country policies and programmes and reverse the loss of environmental resources – has been enforced through the implementation of the Environmental Management Act in 2004 and the Environmental Impacts and Audit Regulations of 2005. Both policy papers provide for conducting both environmental and social assessments and have so far been enforced in all projects of significance. Natural resources play a crucial role in Tanzania´s economy, raw materials are increasingly profitable commodities on the one hand, and natural resources as well as protected wildlife are the very basis for the tourist destination on the other hand. Hence, the environmentally sustainable management of natural resources is of crucial importance. Tanzania´s natural forest area dropped from 46 per cent in 2005 to 36 per cent in only two years and the rate of deforestation is estimated at 412,000 ha per year. The country has various designated protective areas, such as National Parks, Wildlife Conservation Areas and Game Reserves. Ensuring environmental sustainability is an imperative necessity as "climate change is likely to compound already existing problems of land degradation, deforestation and loss of wildlife and habitats" (UNDP 2011: 51). (African Economic Outlook 2013; UNDP 2011: 45ff.; UNDP 2013b)

The eighth MDG – Developing a Global Partnership for Development – unites different subgoals targeting the implementation of structural reforms such as trade liberalisations and public service reforms; the enforcement of policies such as anti-corruption strategies, aid management and ensuring debt sustainability; the stimulation of cooperation with the private sector in order to make available the benefits of new technologies, amongst others. Tanzania has, so far, implemented a number of reforms and could therefore attain the last of the MDGs. In 2012, the external debt stock accounted for 38.6 per cent of the GDP and is expected to increase as Tanzania is shifting away from aid and donor dependency towards (more expansive) non-concessional borrowing. (UNDP 2011: 53ff.; UNDP 2013b)

The table below gives an overview of the Millennium Development Goals. A selection of subgoals and indicators of each MDG exemplify Tanzania´s performance and provide recent results in the light of the upcoming deadline in 2015.

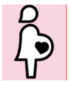
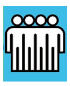
Millennium Development Goals		Tanzanian Result	Prognosis
	Eradicating **Extreme Poverty** and **Hunger**	• Poverty: 33,6 % (Prop. of population below USD 1, 2007) • Under-5 Underweight: 16,8% (2009)	**Not Achievable**
	Achieving **Universal Primary Education**	• Net Enrolment Ratio in Primary Education: 95,4% (2010) • Illiteracy: 27,5% cannot read or write in any language (2010)	**Achievable**
	Promoting **Gender Equality** and **Empowering Women**	• Ratio of Girls to Boys in Primary School: 101% (2010) • Ratio of Girls to Boys in Secondary School: 81% (2011) • Ratio of Girls to Boys in Tertiary School: 68% (2010) • Prop. of Women among Members of Parliament: 30,3% (2010)	**Achievable/ Achievement Probable**
	Reducing **Child Mortality Rates**	• Under-5 Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births): 81 (2010) • Infant Mortality Rate (per 1,000 live births): 51 (2010) • Prop. of Children vaccinated against Measles: 85% (2010)	**Achievable/ Achievement Probable**
	Improving **Maternal Health**	• Maternal Mortality Rate (per 100,000 live births): 454 • Prop. of Births attended by Skilled Health Personnel: 50,5% (both 2010)	**Not Achievable**
	**Combating HIV/AIDS, Malaria,** and other **Diseases**	• HIV/AIDS Prevalence (Adults): Women: 6,2%/Men: 3,8% • HIV/AIDS Prevalence (Youth): Women: 2,7%/Men: 1,1% (both 2012) • Malaria prevalence in children (6-59 months): 9% (2011)	**Achievable**
	Ensuring **Environmental Sustainability**	• Area covered by natural forest and woodlands: 36% (2007) • Prop. of population using improved drinking water source: rural: 57,1%/urban: 38% (2009)	**Not Achievable**
	Developing a **Global Partnership for Development**	• Deal comprehensively with debt problem: external debt stock (of GDP): 38,6% (2012), external resources flows: USD 2.4 billion from DAC countries (2011) • In co-operation with private sector, make available the benefits of new technologies	**Achievement Probable**

Table 7: (Mainland) Tanzania´s progress in achieving Millennium Development Goals (images derived from UN Millennium Development Goals 2013; data derived from UNDP 2011; UNDP 2013b; World Bank 2013a)

4.2.3. Tanzanian Development Strategy

The preliminary results in achieving the Millennium Development Goals as well as the prognoses have depicted Tanzania´s challenges in macroeconomic as well as socio-economic development. The present chapter is dedicated to Tanzania´s most recent development policies, i.e. both National Strategies for Growth and Reduction of Poverty (MKUKUTA I and MKUKUTA II[31]) and the Tanzania Development Vision 2025. The presentation of the policies will be conducted on a meta-level with a special focus on tourism. Nevertheless, Tanzania´s efforts should not be neglected in the context of this thesis for two reasons: the development policies provide the necessary overview on the country´s development planning process, and as tourism has been acknowledged as a potential key sector for driving growth it will be possible to thematically locate tourism within the national development strategy before tourism itself takes the centre stage.

After the severe economic crisis during the late 1970ies and early 1980ies, Tanzania finally had to agree to the Structural Adjustment Programme of the Bretton Woods Institutions in 1986, after several internal and self-guided measures had failed. In accordance with the institutions´ strict regulations, Tanzania made the transition from a socialist and centrally planned economy to a market-oriented, multi-party democracy. The long-term impacts of the structural adjustment programmes mentioned above, have changed the country´s political and economic direction substantially. The Arusha Declaration, Tanzania´s first development vision after independence, had an almost diametrically opposed focus on "socio-economic liberation based on socialism and self-reliance" (United Republic of Tanzania 1999b: 6). The introduction of the SAP fundamentally broke with the tradition of state-control and planned economy as well as with socialism and self-reliance and put a strong emphasis on macroeconomic adjustments. According to the Tanzanian government however, both the policy and the nation in general "lacked direction and a philosophy for long-term development" (ibid.: ix). In 1999, almost 15 years after the introduction of the SAP, the adaption of the Tanzanian Development Vision 2025 filled this void. The Vision 2025 stated five overall objectives: achieving high quality livelihood; peace, stability and unity; good governance and rule of law; a well educated and learning society; and building a strong and

[31] Hereinafter I will use the abbreviated Swahili term MKUKUTA in the ongoing text when referring to the "National Strategies for Growth and Reduction of Poverty".

resilient economy that can effectively withstand global competition. The comprehensive strategy embraced both social and environmental issues, as opposed to the SAP, such as gender equality, access to education and health care, moral and cultural uprightness and environmental protection. In 2012, a review of Vision 2025 revealed, that the progress was too slow to effectively achieve the objectives, especially in important key sectors. (United Republic of Tanzania 1999b; World Bank 2013a)

Whereas Vision 2025 constitutes Tanzania´s long-term perspectives on development, both MKUKUTA strategies are the instruments for achieving the overall objectives. MKUKUTA I was conceived in 2005 as a successor of the first Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper. It formed part of the overall development strategy formulated in Vision 2025 and committed to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. MKUKUTA I adopted the overall objectives of Vision 2025 and formulated three thematic clusters with a set of goals and measurable operational targets: growth and reduction of income poverty; improved quality of life and social wellbeing; and governance and accountability. And even though the goals of each cluster had been similar to Vision 2025, the approach of MKUKUTA I was very different. MKUKUTA I was strongly focused on outcomes and in linking the strategy to the budget, multiple stakeholders, inter-sector reforms and macro-micro linkages, it followed a comprehensive and holistic approach. In order to integrate MKUKUTA´s outcome-based approach sustainably into the overall national policy, cross-sector collaboration, national ownership and harmonisation with other policies had been declared a priority. Another characteristic of this comprehensive approach was the introduction of cross-cutting issues such as gender, environment, HIV/AIDS, disability, children, youth, elderly, employment and settlements, which had been mainstreamed into the clusters. In MKUKUTA I, tourism is (only) acknowledged as one of two fast growing sectors, alongside the mining sector, with potential to promote employment, but “apart from the indirect impact of increased revenue […], growth in tourism has not led to direct reduction of income poverty” (United Republic of Tanzania 2005: 3). (United Republic of Tanzania 2005; World Bank 2013a)

The follow-up policy, MKUKUTA II, is currently under implementation and shall transform Tanzania into a middle-income country. MKUKUTA I showed positive results in terms of economic growth; improvements in access to education, health services and clean water have, however, shown only modest progress. MKUKUTA II pursues a similar strategy as its predecessor did, but it increasingly focuses on growth and enhancement of productivity "with greater alignment of the interventions towards wealth creation as a way out of poverty" (United Republic of Tanzania 2010a: ix). The strategy is again organised around the three thematic clusters introduced in MKUKUTA I, though it incorporated more goals and operational targets to meet the new challenges. The increased focus on poverty-reducing growth through pro poor intervention highlights the importance of the first cluster, growth and reduction of income poverty, but the strategy acknowledges the interdependence of the clusters and the mainstreaming of the cross-cutting issues as crucial for the implementation of the framework strategy. Thus, MKUKUTA II continues to pursue a comprehensive approach as every sector and every cross-cutting issue plays, in fact, a vital role for increasing growth and reducing poverty. In contrast to its predecessor, tourism is not only addressed as a sector for expanding growth, but has also been incorporated into the first cluster as an operational target to "reduce income poverty, through promoting inclusive, sustainable, and employment-enhancing growth and development" (ibid.: 40). The strategy recognises tourism´s comprehensive and multiplying potential for yielding benefits, besides foreign exchange earnings, to various sectors such as infrastructure and transportation, public services, manufacturing and education. The targeted result for tourism is a growth rate of 7.9 per cent by 2015; the following table depicts both the cluster strategies to achieve this target and the future challenges for the Tanzanian tourism sector. (United Republic of Tanzania 2010a; World Bank 2013a)

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Cluster Strategies

"Growth of tourism in real terms increased from 4.2 per cent in 2009 to 7.9 per cent by 2015" (United Republic of Tanzania 2010a: 48)</th></tr>
<tr><th>Cluster Strategies</th><th>Intervention Packages</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Promote Tanzania to be the best tourist destination</td><td>Implement the Tourism Development Master Plan</td></tr>
<tr><td>Aggressive marketing; and cost reduction</td></tr>
<tr><td>Diversification of the sector and investments</td></tr>
<tr><td>Implement measures that directly link tourism with other sectors in the economy</td><td>Measures to integrate local economy with tourism magnets (supply of goods and services, employment etc.); more earnings to the country from tourism proceeds</td></tr>
<tr><td>Step up marketing and product promotion of tourism package, including sports, products of MSME operating in the tourism industry</td><td>Marketing and promotion; product development and innovation; use of market information; market intelligence, research, etc.; Quality of services (value for money) by small and large scale operators</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Promote human resource development and professionalism for tourism industry</td><td>Impart knowledge, skills and right attitude; Creation of critical mass of tourism sector professionals (customer care Orientation, Coaching and internship)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Compliance to labour laws and human rights in the tourism sector</td></tr>
<tr><td>Improve infrastructure for tourism sector growth</td><td>Basic infrastructure (roads, railways, airstrips, ports) connecting to existing tourist and potential destinations; energy, water, health facilities, etc. to encourage expansion of tourism, including local tourism; communication technology; Facilitation of acquisition of land for tourism activities such as land for hotel chains, recreational sites, etc.</td></tr>
</table>

Table 8: MKUKUTA II Cluster strategies related to tourism development (derived from United Republic of Tanzania 2010a: 137f.)

The table already implies the variety of stakeholders involved, from the government providing macroeconomic structures and policies, the private sector contributing to the national economy, to the communities and, last but not least, the tourists themselves. The biggest challenge however, lies in streamlining the efforts of those stakeholders involved in order to achieve the desired contribution of the sector. In order to locate this challenge within the tourism sector, an analysis and presentation of the sector itself is vital. The following subchapter shall now contribute to the understanding of the structures and characteristics of Tanzanian tourism. (United Republic of Tanzania 2010a; World Bank 2013a)

4.3. Tourism Market Analysis – "The Land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar and the Serengeti"[32]

Tanzania offers some of the world´s greatest natural sights and is home to both natural and cultural UNESCO World Heritage Sites: Mt. Kilimanjaro, with a height of 5,895 metres Africa´s highest mountain and the highest freestanding mountain in the world; Serengeti National Park with its famous migration of over a million wildebeests and its archaeological findings in Olduvai Gorge, now know as the cradle of humankind; and Stone Town, the old town of Zanzibar City with its beautiful stone houses and carved wooden doors. Due to its rich abundance of wildlife, Tanzania is first and foremost a destination for wildlife and natural area tourism. Along the four safari circuits there are fifteen national parks and further 30 game reserves and conservation areas for the tourists to explore (TTB 2013). The Northern Circuit is, by far, the best known, most visited and developed of the four circuits with Tanzania´s most famous sites, such as the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Serengeti National Park and Mount Kilimanjaro. The city of Arusha, situated below Mount Meru, is an important hub for both tourists and diplomats. It is close to Kilimanjaro Airport, surrounded by some of the most famous national parks, and it hosts the headquarters of the East African Community as well as the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. The Western or Great Lakes Circuit encompasses Lake Victoria, Lake Tanganyika and, further south, Lake Nyasa. Due to its remoteness and rather poor accessibility, this circuit is the least frequented; however, the freshwater lakes and their surrounding area offer both a unique flora and fauna and many Cultural Tourism Programmes[33]. By far the biggest game reserve, Selous Game Reserve, as

[32] "The Land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar and The Serengeti" is the official slogan of the Tanzanian Tourism Board. (TTB 2013)

[33] The Cultural Tourism Programme started as a joint initiative by the Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB), the Ministry of Natural Resources & Tourism (MNRT) and the Dutch aid agency Stichting Nederlandse Vrijwilligers (SNV) in 1995. Its main objective was to engage local communities in community-based tourism activities in order to benefit from income-generating tourist activities. By designing and organising small-scale tours for tourists to experience the host community´s culture, i.e. their history, traditions and way of life, the communities are directly involved in the tourism planning process. Since the official end of the project in 2001, the communities engaged in Cultural Tourism Programme took ownership of the

well as Tanzania´s biggest national park, Ruaha National Park, are to be found in the Southern Circuit, which is still regarded as an insider´s tip, although the numbers of tourists travelling to the south are increasing. Since the opening of the Unity Bridge across Ruvuma River, connecting Tanzania with its southern neighbour Mozambique, Tanzania further benefits from an additional influx of tourists from the south. Selous Game Reserve, home to the African Wild Dog and more than 350 different bird species, covers five per cent of Tanzania´s total land area, equivalent to the size of Switzerland and three times larger than the Serengeti, making it the biggest game reserve in whole Africa and the most important attraction in the south. The Coastal Circuit encompasses Tanzania´s 800 kilometres of coastline and the three islands Mafia, Zanzibar and Pemba. The Coastal Circuit mostly attracts tourists interested in beach holidays, water sports such as diving, snorkelling or surfing, and exploring the marine ecosystems of the Indian Ocean. The Tanzanian coastline also offers various cultural sights, such as the historic towns of Dar es Salaam, Bagamoyo, Kilwa, Tanga and Stone Town in Zanzibar. (TTB 2013; UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2013)

Due to Tanzania´s rich and diversified tourism products – wildlife and nature, beaches and sports, history and culture – the country attracts tourists from all over the world. Among the ten main source markets are Italy (17.3%), United Kingdom (15.4%), United Stated of America (11%), Germany (8.1%), Australia (5.2%), Spain and France (each 4.3%), Netherlands (3.4%), Canada (2.6%) and Belgium (1.9%). Tourists from African domestic markets are mainly from South Africa, which accounts for 4.3% and ranges among the top ten source markets, Kenya (2.4%) and Zambia (1.2%). Compared to previous numbers, the source markets have remained relatively stable, except for some new entries such as Austria (1.4%), Zambia and India (each 1.1%), which have replaced Ireland, Japan and Switzerland from the top 15 of source markets. The numbers clearly show a strong tendency towards the European and US market; however, source markets are subject to variations and the changing economic conditions of emerging markets are also reflected in the tourism sector through new markets such as China, India and Turkey. (United Republic of Tanzania 2012[34]: 3, 7, 8, 9)

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programme and continue to offer tours and cultural tourism activities. (Tanzania Cultural Tourism Programme 2013)

[34] All statistic data on source markets, purpose of visit, travel arrangements, length of stay and tourist activities is derived from "The Tanzania Tourism Sector Survey", a survey conducted in 2012 by the National Bureau of Statistics. The survey is conducted annually since 2001 "in order to assess [tourism sector´s]

In 2012, Tanzania registered more than one million visitors for the very first time, an increase of about 24 per cent compared to the previous year – the second highest growth rate in Sub-Saharan Africa after Cameroon with a plus of 35 per cent – and about twice as many as in 2000 (UNWTO 2013a: 12). Tanzanian tourism was only slightly affected by the world economic crisis, after a decline in 2009 the numbers are again on the rise. The economic importance of the sector is also reflected in the earnings from tourism, which increased by 15.6 per cent to USD 1.5 million in 2012 (UNWTO 2013a: 12). According to the Tanzanian Tourism Sector Survey (United Republic of Tanzania 2010b: 3), this increase is explained by the overall rise in numbers of international tourist arrivals, the average length of stay and the average tourist expenditure per person per night. In 2010, the overall average expenditure of a tourist in Tanzania was USD 258 per person per night: with 25.3 per cent hotel accommodation accounted for the biggest share of expenditure, followed by 17.8 per cent for shopping, 16.8 per cent for food and drinks and 13.5 per cent for mountain climbing, whereas transport, gate fees and expenditures for activities collectively cover a relatively small share of 27 per cent. (United Republic of Tanzania 2010b: 3, 26, 27)

Performance of the Tanzanian tourism sector						
	2000	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**
International Tourist Arrivals (in 1,000)	502	750	695	754	843	1,043
Change (in %)		8.4	-4.8	8.5	11.8	23.7
Share (in %)		4.1	n.s.	1.6	n.s.	2.0
International Tourist Receipts (in USD million)	739	1,289	1,160	1,255	1,353	1,564
Share (in %)		n.s.	4.4	4.1	4.5	4.7

Table 9: Performance of the tourism sector in Tanzania (data derived from United Republic of Tanzania 2010b: 154; UNWTO 2010: 9; UNWTO 2011: 9; UNWTO 2012: 11; UNWTO 2013a: 11)

impact on the economy […] and gather information for the promotion of the tourism sector" (2012: ix). 7,143 visitors (out of 9,662 recorded), equivalent to one per cent of the total 714,367 visitors in 2010, have been targeted departing from six different departure points, four major airports and two border points. Some of the numbers presented in the study has been squared with other sources in order to obtain the most valid results, e.g. the data on source markets is checked against immigration data.

Leisure and holiday tourists are, by far, the biggest target group for the Tanzanian market. As presented below (Figure 3), more than two third of all tourists (81%) visit Tanzania for leisure and holiday purposes, followed by tourists who visit friends and relatives (8%), and a small share of each business (5%) and conference tourists (2%). Despite the worldwide trend towards business and conference tourism, the Tanzanian numbers are comparatively small and visitors from this segment are mostly confined to Arusha and Dar es Salaam. The purpose of visit often directly correlates with the source markets, i.e. most visitors coming for business purposes are from African domestic market (Zambia, Kenya and South Africa), whereas holiday makers are mostly from oversee, i.e. long-distance source markets (Italy, United Kingdom and United States of America). The highest proportion of tourists coming to Tanzania to visit friends and relatives are from United Kingdom, United States of America and Germany; the major source markets for conference tourism are Kenya, United States of America and United Kingdom. Far more than half of all tourists (63.5%) use package tour arrangements, a common form of travel arrangements among long-distance holiday and leisure tourists as it offers pre-arranged transport, accommodation and activities. The remaining 36.5 per cent travel under non-package tour arrangements, mostly business and conference tourists travelling under a certain agenda and often have established (business) contacts and networks at the destination. The same applies to tourists visiting friends and relatives. The average length of stay for visitors to Tanzania was eleven nights, more than half of all tourists (57%) spend between eight and 28 nights, another 30 per cent stay between 4 and 7 nights. With an average of 14 nights, Austrian visitors stay the longest, followed by German and Belgian with 13 nights each. (United Republic of Tanzania 2012: 13, 14, 15f., 18, 19, 20ff.)

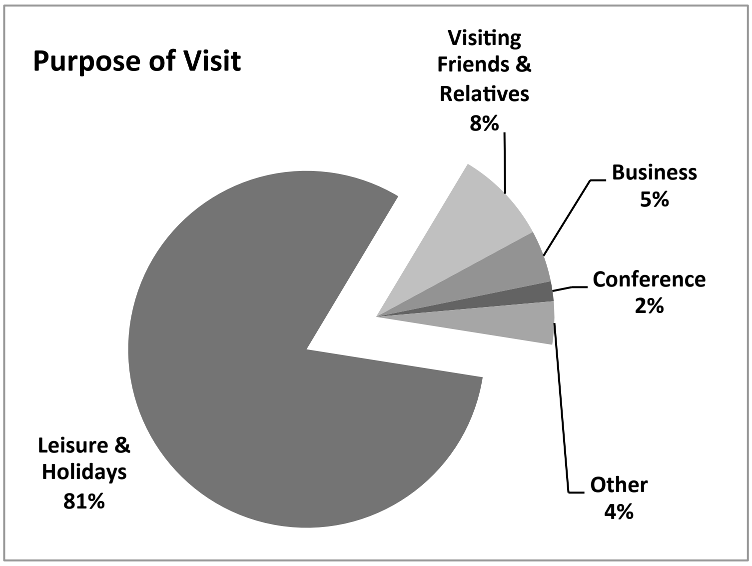

Figure 3: Purpose of Visit (data derived from United Republic of Tanzania 2012: 13)

An analysis of tourist activities shows a clear tendency towards wildlife tourism, which is, by far, the most preferred activity and, due to the abundance of nature and wealth in national parks and game reserves, Tanzania´s unique selling proposition[35] in the tourism marketplace and centre of promotional efforts. The second most attractive activity is beach tourism, followed by mountain climbing tourism and conference tourism. Cultural tourism, bird watching and hunting tourism have smaller, but still important shares in the market. By comparing the preferred tourism activities and the country of residence, it is possible to identify major source markets for the different activities. Tourists from the United States are very interested in all kinds of wildlife activities and rank first among wildlife, bird watching and hunting tourism. Italians prefer both beach and cultural Tourism, whereas tourists from the United Kingdom visit Tanzania mainly to engage in mountain climbing and wildlife tourism. South Africans come out of two main reasons, for beach as well as conference tourism and Austrians rank third in hunting tourism activities and have a big share in bird watching tourism. The preferred activities of tourists clearly depend both on regional and cultural preferences, location and promotional activities in the source markets and are subject to variations. Nevertheless, the results provide important information for destinations regarding planning and promotional activities. (United Republic of Tanzania 2012: 23f.)

[35] The concept of USP originated from marketing and describes a destination´s (or product´s) unique brand characteristic in the marketplace.

With growing numbers of tourists, the demand in tourist infrastructure – accommodation, transport and access to activities – also rises. In terms of accommodation and hotel investment, Tanzania lacks behind, especially in the provision of high-quality accommodation. In 2012, Tanzania had 174 registered and licensed tourist class hotels with a total of around 15,000 beds. The comparison to its neighbour and main competitor Kenya, offering 15,000 beds in the capital Nairobi alone and another 28,000 beds along the coastline, illustrates Tanzania´s deficiency in tourist accommodation. Dar es Salaam and Arusha, both important destinations for city and conference tourism and latter being the gateway to the Northern Circuit, only have 3,500 and 2,800 beds respectively. Other key tourists sites and towns further lack accommodation facilities. Reasons for these shortages lie in the history of the tourism planning process[36] on the one hand, and in the lack of hotel investment on the other. Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Zanzibar and Kilimanjaro region lead in accommodation facility investments, mostly international, high-standard hotels. However, excessive bureaucracy in processing investors´ licenses, business documents and a general lack in confidence in institutions hinders investors from a stronger participation in the tourism sector. (Tairo 2012; Nkwame 2013; The Business Year 2013)

Promotion of foreign investment in tourism is necessary to cater the needs of the growing numbers of, especially international, tourists as Tanzania´s tense economic situation cannot provide enough financial means to further develop the sector itself. However, this strategy also implies certain risks for the sustainability of the sector and its possible contribution to Tanzania´s economy and subsequent poverty alleviation. The concentration on foreign ownership results in a loss of revenues for the country and according to the Tanzanian sociologist C.S.L. Chachage "Tanzania loses about two thirds of its foreign earnings on the tourism sector" (Chachage 1999, quoted in Salazar 2009: 264). In 2001, 80 per cent of all hotels and lodges were in foreign hands, 95 per cent of hunting, 99 per cent of air travel and 50 per cent of leisure and recreational tourism facilities (MNRT 2001, quoted in Salazar 2009: 264). The problem of foreign ownership is not only the loss in revenues, but also the resulting high entrance barriers for Tanzanian entrepreneurs as even the management of joint ventures is in most cases also left to foreigners. However, Tanzanian private entrepreneurs

[36] I will further elaborate on the tourism planning process in the following chapter.

enter new markets such as middle class facilities outside the core tourism circuits; these niche markets are especially attractive for domestic tourists, a slowly but steady growing market, as well as for individual international tourists. (Salazar 2009)

In order to further stimulate growth in tourism, Tanzania increasingly puts emphasis on intensified and professionalised promotional activities. In 2008, the Tanzania Tourism Board, together with the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism and other stakeholders, started a campaign to rebrand the country´s tourism image as a versatile destination. The new destination brand, a logo with the slogan "Tanzania, the Land of Kilimanjaro, Zanzibar and the Serengeti" illustrates, both visually and perceptibly, the manifold character of the destination by incorporating not only three of the most famous sights, but also the most preferred tourist interests: mountain climbing and sports, beaches and marine activities as well as wildlife and nature (Figure 4). The brand design now accompanies all advertising and media campaigns: the US market was targeted by Tanzania´s first-ever TV tourism campaign; at the UK market the tourism products were advertised through six football stadiums of the English Premier League, with over four billion viewers the most watched sporting league in the world, followed by a partnership with the Premier League Club Sunderland AFC as "Official Destination Partner"; diplomats from important source markets have been approached to promote Tanzanian tourism and the TTB increasingly uses social media platforms, such as Facebook and Twitter to reach out to future visitors. (United Republic of Tanzania 2012; SAFC 2013)

Figure 4: Selection of Tanzania´s promotional activities (SAFC 2013; TTB/Facebook 2013; TTB/Twitter 2013; TTB 2013)

The promotional activities increasingly aim at the goal to promote other forms of tourism activities apart from wildlife tourism, which used to be the central selling point. The new slogan was the first step to present Tanzania´s tourism related diversity, however, the promotion of other possible activities like cultural tourism, ecotourism, sports and conference tourism is important to encourage repeat visits and open up new markets. Tanzania´s dependency on certain source markets proved to be problematic as economic and financial crises led to a decrease in tourists from the affected markets. However, the TTB increases promotional efforts in new and promising markets such as China, India, Japan, the United Arab Emirates and Turkey. Further diversification is also possible through attracting new segments of tourists, such as elderly people, a relatively new target group with financial means, good health and free time. This segment, however, demands quality accommodation and transport as well as improved sanitation facilities. (United Republic of Tanzania 2012)

There is no doubt that Tanzania has much to offer: an abundance of pristine wildlife, a rich history and culture, thriving cities, beautiful beaches and marine areas, among other highlights. However, to benefit from tourism´s possibilities as both an economy and a developing country, a holistic and sustainable planning process is of crucial importance. As already established above, the risks and possible costs of tourism are manifold and can harm the economic, ecological and socio-cultural structures irreversibly. These challenges could often be averted during the planning process in order to harness tourism for economic growth, improved livelihoods and poverty reduction. The next paragraph will both give a short overview of Tanzania´s tourism planning policies and an introduction into the analysis of the central policy papers.

4.4. Tanzanian Tourism Planning Policies

The Tanzanian tourism planning process has always been closely linked to the county´s political history. Further above, in chapter 2.2.2. "Travel under Colonialism: Explorers, Expeditions and Missionaries", I have already presented a short overview of the development of tourism in Tanzania and Eastern Africa, respectively. I will now take a step back into history to outline the tourism planning process – regulatory bodies, institutions and policies – after independence, which should lead the way to the present tourism policies.

Only a year after independence the Tanzanian government established a new institution to foster the development of the promising tourism sector. The main idea behind the Tanzania National Tourist Board (TNTB) was to encourage domestic investments through grants and loans to productive enterprises. However, tourism was almost entirely in the hands of "Europeans and Asians, who had the most experience in the industry [and gave them] the advantage over inexperienced Tanzanians" (Salazar 2009: 262). This deficit perpetuated the dependency on foreign knowledge and funds for tourism development. As there was no African entrepreneurial base, the state itself took over and created the first tourism facilities such as hotels and lodges, financed by foreign companies, capital and loans. Despite the yet poor development of the industry, the numbers of tourists travelling to East Africa increased. However, Tanzania was more of an "add-on" to tourists visiting Kenya and its thriving tourism market (Wade 2001: 94). Up until independence, Tanzania remained a member of the East

African Tourist Travel Association (EATTA), which promoted the East African destination, but withdrew, together with Uganda, as the organisation increasingly focused on the booming Kenyan tourism market. The paradigm change introduced by the Arusha Declaration in 1967 brought a further halt to the already slow development of the industry, as international tourism was considered incompatible with the Declaration´s central idea of self-reliance and expected to contribute to dependency on foreign capital as well as foster both economic and cultural inequalities. Therefore, the state itself took control over the sector and incorporated it into the growing, but rather inefficient public sector. The TNTB was disbanded in 1969 and replaced by the Tanzania Tourist Corporation (TTC), which managed 15 properties and hotels, established product marketing and created travel agencies, but discouraged domestic private and foreign investment (Wade 2001: 94). (Wade 2001; Salazar 2009)

By 1970, the number of tourism capacities and earnings had again increased and tourism was further institutionalised by the creation of a tourism division within the Ministry of Natural Resources, a structure that has been preserved to this day[37]. One of the first actions of TTC was the presentation of the country´s first Tourism Master Plan in 1971. Subsequently, the state invested heavily in new tourism-related facilities such as the Kilimanjaro International Airport, the Hotel and Tourism Training Institute (HTTI) and additional accommodation facilities. Within seven years, from 1964 until 1971, the value of parastatal tourism assets had risen from TZS 15 million to TZS 157 million (Coulson 1982: 279). However, the whole sector was very dependent on foreign capital, goods and expertise, which was also the reason for a rather brief concentration on the possible merits of tourism because “it was not identified as a sector of full state ownership” (Salazar 2009: 263). Due to this negligence, the emerging economic crises, a nationwide draught in 1973, rising tensions with Kenya over cross-border issues and the war with Uganda, the whole sector deteriorated rapidly. Salazar (2009: 263) gives a rather vivid description of the downfall of the young sector:

[37] The name of the ministry was later changed to Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism.

> *"Maintenance of […] facilities was not seen as a priority and they rapidly became dilapidated and fell below international standards. Management was localized, and the new staff was inexperienced and not sensitive to the expectations of international visitors. The roads to the beach hotels north of Dar es Salaam and to the wildlife parks deteriorated. […] The sector showed significant increases in prices […] and the overvalued local currency made tourism simply too expensive. […] All businesses, including the government-owned Tanzania Wildlife Safaris, were closed down. Government authorities moved quickly to seize and impound foreign-registered Land Cruisers, supply trucks, minibuses, aircraft, and equipment."* (Salazar 2009: 263)

Tourism development was literally non-existing for almost a whole decade, when Tanzania began anew to invest in tourism by the end of the 1980ies. Compliant with the SAP´s general liberalisations and privatisations, the government privatised formally state-owned hotels through the Tanzania Hotels Investment Corporation (TAHI) and launched a comprehensive campaign to "reverse its earlier image" (Salazar 2009: 264). With the introduction of the National Tourism Policy in 1991, the first tourism-related policy document, the country laid the foundation for extensive tourism development. The policy was later reviewed in 1999 on account of considerable political, economic and social changes, which increased the need for a regular review of the policy. As a consequence of these changes, stimulating efforts to expand the private sector were made, consistent with the gradual withdrawal of the state from sole ownership and operation of tourism facilities. The launch of the TTB in 1993 and the Integrated Tourism Master Plan of 1996 further demonstrated the commitment for tourism, as both the board´s and plan´s main goal was to attract more tourists into the country. The process of implementation was set out in a series of Action Programmes, which were to be undertaken in phases during the planed period from 1996 until 2005. The primary focus of the Master Plan was to obtain sustainable benefits for the people of Tanzania by generating additional economic activity from available resources through investment in and rehabilitation of existing facilities; institutional reorganisation with the formation of the Tourism Confederation of Tanzania (TCT) to promote private investment in tourism; an increased focus on development planning and wildlife conservation; an emphasis on human resources and training for tourism, amongst other things. (United Republic of Tanzania [NTP] 1999a[38]; United Republic of Tanzania [TMP] 2002[39]; Salazar 2009)

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[38] Hereinafter, the National Tourism Policy is referred to and quoted as NTP 1999. See chapter 1.4. (Page 7) for explanation.
[39] Hereinafter, the Tourism Master Plan is referred to and quoted as TMP 2002. See chapter 1.4. (Page 7) for explanation.

The Tourism Master Plan was updated in 2002; its new core strategy was "to develop an integrated tourism product that is capable of attracting low volume, high yield segment of the international tourism market" (TMP 2002: 4). In order to achieve this goal, tourism development has been further stimulated, directed and the activities of various tourism-related enterprises coordinated. A series of Action Programmes has been launched, covering the areas of knowledge and know-how, attracting capital investment, improving service standards, creating greater market awareness and strengthening institutions and economic linkages. Additionally, the country reorganised its economic regulatory body in order to provide a positive climate for enterprise development and facilitate private investment with the establishment of the Tanzanian Investment Centre in 1997, "an effective one-stop shop for new investors where they can meet with responsible officers from various regulatory government agencies" (TMP 2002: 74). In 2008, the national strategies for tourism planning were further reviewed and put into a comprehensive legal framework, the Tourism Act. Earlier tourism-related legislative acts only covered fragmental issues such as the Hotel Act of 1963, the Tourist Agents Licensing Act of 1960 or the Hotel Levy Act of 1972 (Wade 2001: 95). The Tourism Act of 2008 was enacted by the Tanzanian Parliament "to provide for an institutional framework, administration, regulation, registration and licensing of tourism facilities and activities, and for related matter" (United Republic of Tanzania [TTA] 2008: 5[40]).

Tanzania´s tourism development and planning is further stimulated through and influenced by regional as well as supranational cooperation. On the regional level, Tanzania is both a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the East African Community (EAC). Both intergovernmental organisations encompass tourism-related bodies: the SADC incorporates the Tourism Coordination Unit (TCU) and the Regional Tourism Organization of Southern Africa (RETOSA); and the EAC Treaty of 1999 includes joint tourism and wildlife management. Economic partnerships within such organisations can actively contribute to mutual economic development through facilitation of trade, common customs procedures and monetary union, as the EAC just recently agreed upon (EAC 2013), all of which have direct influence on tourism itself. On the continental level, Tanzania further belongs to the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), to the African

[40] Hereinafter, the Tourism Act is referred to and quoted as TTA 2008. See chapter 1.4. (Page 7) for explanation.

Economic Community (AEC) and the New Partnership for Africa´s Development (NEPAD), all of which pay attention to African tourism. On the global level, Tanzania is a member of the United Nations World Tourism Organization. (Salazar 2009: 265)

The last chapter again revealed the complexity of tourism and tourism planning for a country´s economic, political and social fabric. In this context, the Tanzanian example is both one of a kind as well as one of many. Due to the unsurpassed landscape and wildlife, Tanzania´s future touristic potential is unique. However, the country, just like other developing countries, has to deal with the "legacy" of its history, again in economic, political and social terms. The advantageous combination of a sustainable exploitation of tourism´s potential and a sensible approach towards economic development will remain the biggest challenge for the future.

5. Analysis of Tourism Policy Papers – Sustainable Tourism?

In the previous chapter, I have already introduced the three policy papers with regard to their history, development and predecessors. There are, however, other Tanzanian tourism-related policies and regulations closely connected to the tourism industry, e.g. the aforementioned Hotels Act of 1963 or the Wildlife Conservation Act of 2008, amongst many others. Furthermore, there are regulations and guidelines of parastatal organisations like the Tanzania National Parks Authority (TANAPA) and private organisations. In order to attain the most comprehensive results possible, I chose the three concerning policy papers for three reasons. First, all three, the National Tourism Policy, the Master Plan and the Tourism Act, are governmental policies, i.e. they were enacted, commissioned and endorsed by the government of the United Republic of Tanzania. As my focus is entirely on the governmental planning process, it is therefore both logical and consistent to use governmental policies only. Second, the three policies provide the most comprehensive approach towards tourism planning as they cover three different but very interconnected structural levels of tourism: the national tourism-related policy making process; the development and implementation of an integrated tourism product; and the legislative and regulatory level. And last but not least, all three documents are relatively recent, in comparison to some other tourism-related policies mentioned above, and, self-evidently, the latest versions of its kind. The National Tourism Policy has not been renewed since 1999; according to some sources, the Tourism Master Plan should have been updated in 2012 to cover the period until 2016, however it has not yet been published (Nuhu 2012); and the Tourism Act has also not been renewed since its enactment in 2008.

The following subchapter will discuss the indicators and the methodology of the analysis. In the ongoing process of the analysis, every planning document will be analysed in an own subchapter. At the beginning of each chapter I will give a short introduction to the formation, the structure and the overall objectives of each policy paper before analysing its content on basis of the indicators presented below. At the end of this fifth chapter I will unite the findings, draw conclusions and make recommendations. Throughout the analysis I will highlight the key strategies to improve readability.

5.1. Indicators

The indicators listed in the table below (Table 10) provide the framework for the upcoming analysis. The underlying basis for this strategy is derived from the Pro Poor Tourism approach, described in chapter 2.5. To recap: Pro Poor Tourism is defined as "tourism that generates net benefits for the poor" (Roe/Urquhart 2001: 5); these benefits can be of economic, social, environmental and cultural nature. The main goal is to "unlock opportunities" for the poor within the tourism industry of a destination. The analysis of the three documents is conducted with the help of three key strategies to identify the possible benefits of tourism and at the same time the linkages between poverty, environment (both ecological and socio-cultural) and economic development.

Key Strategies		
Focus on economic benefits	Focus on non-economic benefits	Focus on policy/process reform
Expanding business opportunities	**Capacity building, training and empowerment**	**A supportive policy and planning framework**
Expanding employment opportunities	**Mitigating the environmental impact of tourism on the poor**	**Promoting participation**
Enhancing collective benefits	**Addressing social and cultural impacts of tourism**	**Bringing the private sector into pro poor partnerships**

Table 10: Indicators for the analysis of policy papers (based on Roe/Urquhart 2001: 5f.)

Focus on economic benefits

The first key strategy focuses on economic benefits from tourism for the poor. Due to the character of the tourism product itself, tourism has the ability to **expand business opportunities** for the poor. As the consumption of tourism happens on site and comprises a bundle of experiences, business opportunities of different kinds present themselves along the value chain in the destination. Tourism can serve as a catalyst for entrepreneurial activities due to the wide range of products (e.g. food, handicraft, construction material) and services (e.g. tour guides, transportation, translators) that can be offered to cater the needs and demands of tourists. The informal sector often provides the biggest business opportunities, as the formal market´s barriers are often impossible to surmount. Additionally, the informal sector is not confined to metropolitan tourism centres and offers participation in remote, rural and marginal areas. This applies especially to developing countries, where natural area tourism accounts for the biggest share of visitors. Another trend further contributes to an increase in business opportunities: sustainable tourism and the often corresponding increased demand for locally produced goods and supplies contribute to local agricultural and artisan production. The same is true for the second economic benefit: **expansion of employment opportunities**. Tourism is a very labour-intensive sector and offers employment opportunities for the poor, who are often unskilled and poorly educated due to the lack of access to quality and affordable education. The tourism industry further offers more possibilities for employment of women and youths compared to other sectors (Christie 2013: 24f.). In combination with the strong orientation towards natural area tourism, such employment opportunities are an alternative that could reduce the increasing migration into cities, a risk not unfamiliar to developed countries. Due to its complex character, the tourism sector has linkages to all economic sectors, the primary sector for agricultural, forest, and meat production, the secondary sector for industrial and manufactured goods as well as to other services of the tertiary sector like transportation, translation and communication and can therefore not only contribute to direct but also to indirect employment. **Enhancing collective benefits** is probably the most difficult benefit to unlock as communities in developing countries often lack a basic infrastructure, much less the economic capital to start and operate a profitable tourism enterprise. However, collective community income does "include profits from community-run [tourism related] enterprises, dividends from private sector partnerships and land rentals paid by an investor" (Ashley et al. 2000: 4). Shares of entry fees for national parks are also often redistributed to neighbouring communities, even though the community might not be an official shareholder or owner. Some forms of community-based tourism could also provide a basis for economic collective benefits. The above-mentioned Cultural Tourism Programmes[41] are a good example for tourism activities that generate collective income.

[41] See chapter 4.3. for more information on the Cultural Tourism Programmes.

Focus on non-economic benefits

Capacity building, training and empowerment are one of the most important non-economic key strategies to directly contribute to the advancement of the poor. This strategy also reveals the necessary linkages between the public and private sector, as vocational education for tourism has to focus on practical experiences, beside fundamental theoretical knowledge and language skills, in order for tourism enterprises and ventures to be successful. Many developing countries cannot provide for adequate primary and secondary education, much less for higher or tourism-related vocational education. The private sector, in contrast, has the ability and responsibility to provide training possibilities and thus contribute to both capacity building of the poor and sector development. Environmental benefits are only to be unlocked if the **environmental impact of tourism on the poor is mitigated**. Environmental dimensions of poverty include displacement and degradation of natural resources on which the poor depend (Roe/Urquhart 2001: 6). The assessment of environmental sustainability has to be an integral part of the tourism planning process and, again, should bring both the private and the public sector to the scene. The former depends on the environmental base, especially when focusing on natural area and wildlife tourism, and the latter has to provide the regulatory and legislative framework for sustainable environment management. Thus, when carefully planned and managed, tourism has the potential to contribute to environmental conservation and raise awareness for environmental protection among tourists and locals. Again, the same applies to **social and cultural impacts of tourism** that **have to be addressed** in order to unlock non-economic benefits for the poor. Cultural tourism is becoming more important for tourists and hence destinations are increasingly promoting cultural activities. Tourism, for example, can generate revenue for the preservation of historical sites, or contribute to the strengthening of cultural identity and the revival of local traditions. However, an increase in tourists – bringing along their foreign and "western" perceptions and behaviour – has long been regarded as cultural intrusion and even as a modern form of imperialism, damaging traditional social structures and contributing to the disruption of local cultural traditions. Christie (2013: 28) argues however, that this "fear […] arose in the early days of mass tourism and package holidays. In today´s globalized world, tourists are far less responsible for introducing local people to different cultures and preferences than are the Internet, movies, DVDs, CDs, and so forth".

Focus on policy and process reform

The third key strategy emphasises the need for policy and process reform in order for tourism to contribute to poverty alleviation. **Building a more supportive policy and planning framework** is the underlying base of this concept as it has the ability to (re)shape tourism as a sector conducive to the poor. Moreover, a supportive framework can bring together all relevant stakeholders – governments, regulatory and planning bodies, the private sector and, first and foremost, the poor – and align all three key strategies by influencing the tourism-related economic sphere, e.g. by improving market access of the poor, fostering entrepreneurial spirit, encouraging public-private partnerships or empowering communities; and the non-economic sphere through providing access to training and vocational education, establishing regulations for environmental conservation and promoting sustainable cultural tourism. The imperative necessity however, is to address poverty within the whole tourism policy framework rather than concentrating solely on the economic benefits of tourism. In order to put poverty at the centre of the tourism agenda, the poor have to be included in the decision-making process through **promoting participation**. Participation of the poor should be a precondition, as they are often the most directly influenced by tourism-related activities and by changes in the tourism-related policy environment. Until now, they are mostly left out of the tourism planning processes and therefore, for a certain extent, deprived from possible economic and non-economic benefits. Participation in the planning process can contribute to poverty alleviation in two different ways: by involving the poor in the decision-making progress they can establish their needs and priorities themselves, making the success of tourism development in a region or community much more probable. And, on the other hand, the inclusion of the poor might positively contribute to capacity building and empowerment, giving them a new status, voice and practical skills. The third relevant stakeholder in the policy process is the private sector, the main driving force behind tourism development. **Bringing the private sector into pro poor partnerships,** might add the required professional component to the planning process and the operative business. The private sector combines marketing and commercial expertise with the essential financial means (and thus power) to successfully develop a tourism product. Within a pro poor partnership the private sector could significantly contribute to both capacity building and economic participation of the poor by providing, for example, vocational training to the local poor or making use of local products and suppliers.

In order to successful implement a Pro Poor Tourism approach, the key strategies have to be aligned within a "multi-stakeholder dialogue process" (Roe/Urquhart 2001: 6). The leading role in the planning process, however, remains in the hands of the government. In the following subchapters I will attempt to analyse if Tanzania´s tourism planning documents are designed in a way to establish a basis to harness tourism for poverty alleviation.

5.2. The National Tourism Policy of 1999

The National Tourism Policy of 1999 is a reviewed version of the first Tourism Policy, drafted in 1991. The review had become necessary on account of both internal changes in policy, economic and social developments and of external developments in the international tourism sector and its increasing recognition as a possible means for poverty alleviation within the development discourse. Technical innovations – first and foremost the rapid expansion of the Internet providing independent information – have changed the channels of communication between the tourist and the destination, making tourism as such much more competitive. Another reason for the revision of the Policy was the shift in the development discourse towards environmental sustainability, proclaimed at the Earth Summit in Rio des Janeiro in 1992. One chapter of its Agenda 21 action plan focused on the travel and tourism industry with the intention of steering it towards more environmentally sustainable tourism development. Consequently, the National Tourism Policy had been revised and newly drafted through workshops conducted between 1994 and 1998, which involved various stakeholders within the Tanzanian tourism sector to aptly address these fundamental changes. (NTP 1999: iii)

The general objectives of the National Tourism Policy refer to three overall goals, of which the first one defines the intended future development of the sector itself.

> *"The National Tourism Policy seeks to assist in effort to promote the economy and livelihood of the people, essentially* ***poverty alleviation****, through encouraging the development of sustainable and quality tourism that is culturally and socially acceptable, ecologically friendly, environmentally sustainable, and economically viable."* (NTP 1999:5, emphasis added)

The second general objective anticipates the number of tourists and the average growth rate of the sector. Both goals – reaching one million arrivals by the year 2010 and an average growth rate of 10 per cent by 2005 (ibid.: 5) – have been reached, even though slightly belated due to the recent world economic crisis. The third goal refers to the general configuration of the industry, in particular the increasing importance of the private sector in the tourism industry, with the government "playing the catalytic role of providing and improving the infrastructure as well as providing a conducive climate for investment" (ibid.: 5). The Policy further mentions four specific objectives relating to the comprehensive sphere of influence of tourism: economic, social, environmental and cultural objectives. In order to achieve these objectives, specific policy strategies have been developed to facilitate their operative implementation. Altogether, these strategies cover fourteen areas, which are: Product Development and Marketing, Eco-Tourism, The Cultural Aspect of Tourism, to Domestic Tourism, International and Regional Co-operation, Land for Tourism, to Infrastructure Development, Employment and Human Resource Development, Community Participation, to Investment, Financing, Competition and Legislation, Environmental Protection and Institutional Participation. (NTP 1999)

Focus on economic benefits

Although poverty alleviation is mentioned as an overall objective of the Policy, there is no specific poverty-orientation within the strategies and the poor are not mentioned as a target group of beneficiaries. Nevertheless, the Policy and its strategies approach this objective on various accounts. Regarding the **expansion of business opportunities** for the local population, the Policy acknowledges the importance of private entrepreneurship and local small businesses. One of the specific economic objectives is to "promote human resource development and investment opportunities through the development of private entrepreneurship" (NTP 1999: 6). In order to facilitate the access to the industry, mechanisms for micro-financing and guiding technical assistance to small businesses and entrepreneurs should be provided, preferably to locally owned and managed enterprises, women and youths (ibid.: 20). With this goal in mind, the government recognises its role as a regulator and places the duty of providing "competitive fiscal and non-fiscal incentives to promote the development of private entrepreneurship" (ibid.: 23) on itself. Even though this strategy is not concentrated on improving market access of the poor explicitly, it offers potential benefits to micro and small entrepreneurs, often engaged in the informal market exclusively.

To further back this strategy, the Policy argues against increasing vertical integration[42] (ibid.: 19) as it minimises chances of market participation of local entrepreneurs. The reference to women and youths further targets groups often marginalised from formal economic participation. The creation and **expansion of employment opportunities** is another specific economic objective of the Policy and closely linked to capacity building and empowerment, which will be analysed in the next paragraph. Employment is one of the NTP´s specific policy strategies emphasising the high employment potential of the sector and the need for human resource development. However, the Policy subjects this strategy rather to the quality and quantity of the sector – "ensure that costumers obtain good value for their money" (ibid.: 16) and "enhancing the national capacity to manage and develop Tanzania´s tourism sector" (ibid.: 16) – than to its potential for poverty alleviation. Naturally, quality is an absolute prerequisite for the success of the sector in the first place, but the Policy fails to acknowledge the potential for direct and indirect employment opportunities through the strong back- and forward linkages of the sector, of which the poor arguably could benefit from. The reference to vertical integration and the emphasis on the "development of local industries that produce goods and services for the tourism sector" (ibid.: 6) go in this direction, but have no relation to employment opportunities and, again, concentrate first and foremost on the quality and quantity of the sector. **Enhancing collective benefits** can be achieved through promoting community participation; the Policy appreciates communities as an important stakeholder as most of Tanzania´s tourist attractions "lie within local communities or in their vicinities" (ibid.: 17) and acknowledges "that it is imperative for [those] communities […] to be fully involved in the development and management of these attractions and in addition, to get a share of the income generated from tourist activities within their areas" (ibid.: 17). As explained above, collective benefits can refer to revenues from community-run enterprises, partnerships with the private sector and from lease of land. The Policy relates to all of these possibilities and refers to legal mechanisms in terms of "Land for Tourism" (ibid.: 14) and to the promotion of community-based tourism programmes. However, it acknowledges the "limited indigenous and community participation in investment activities" (ibid.: 4) and the "inadequacy of

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[42] The National Tourism Policy defines vertical integration in its Annex 2: "This is where a company merges or takes over other companies in the same supply chain. In hotel business, for example, *forward intergration* [sic!] occurs when a hotel enters the businesses of its customers, moving it closer to the ultimate consumer. *Backward integration* occurs when a hotel enters the business of its suppliers or creating new businesses that provide the same goods or services as suppliers." (NTP 1999: 40)

awareness and appreciation […] of local communities, of tourism and the importance of setting aside and preserving tourist attractions" (ibid.: 4) as constraints to tourism. Especially the last quote reflects the limitations of the Policy in regard to poverty alleviation. In order to enhance collective benefits for poverty reduction, the future challenge will lie in the empowerment of communities, not only financially but also by ensuring that they have a strong voice in the tourism development process.

Focus on non-economic benefits

The National Tourism Policy has a very strong focus on **capacity building, training and empowerment** and lists the "shortage of appropriate and specialised core and skilled personnel" (NTP 1999: 4) as a limitation to tourism development. A specific policy strategy targets Employment and Human Resource Development and emphasises the need for "developing and investing in the training of qualified local personnel at all levels […] and developing comprehensive skills and training programmes" (ibid.: 16) through an increased number of training facilities, quality-control mechanisms to maintain the required professional and academic quality; and provision of and access to formal training (ibid.: 16). To reach this target, the Policy acknowledges the different stakeholders within the capacity building framework – ministries, the education system as well as the private sector – and the necessary linkages between them. The Ministry for Natural Resources and Tourism shall provide the necessary curriculum development (ibid.: 26); the Ministry for Education shall introduce and incorporate these tourism-related curricula within the secondary and higher education level (ibid.: 17); and the private sector shall contribute "to the upgrading of the skills of the work force by continuously providing training and re-training" (ibid.: 28). Although not mentioned explicitly, this policy strategy has a very strong pro poor orientation and potential as it not only appreciates the importance of general and sector-specific education, but also highlights the interconnectedness of the relevant stakeholders. In order to harness this approach for poverty alleviation, it has to ensure that the poor have access to such institutions. The **environmental impact** of tourism and its **mitigation** is another emphasis of the Policy and environmental sustainability of tourism is highlighted in the general as well as in the specific objectives and the dependence of the tourism industry "on the proper conservation and sustainable management of the environment" (ibid.: 10) is fully acknowledged. Two of the specific policy strategies are fully dedicated to environmental protection and ecotourism[43], respectively, and almost every other strategy touches the issue. Special importance is given on the instrument of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) and the Policy states, “that tourism development activities are subjected to EIA” (ibid.: 10), including land designated for tourism (ibid.: 14) and infrastructure development such as the “transport system of surface (road and rail), marine and air transport” (ibid.: 15). It is an imperative that the assessment of the environmental impact of tourism is, again, conducted on a multi-stakeholder level in order to ensure environmental sustainability. The Policy recognises the government´s role as a regulator in this context as it is upon the state to “put into place mechanisms to ensure adherence to the environmental protection standards set up as well as appropriate mechanisms for evaluating and approving feasibility studies and EIAs” (ibid.: 23); moreover, it is also up to conservation institutes such as TANAPA “to enhance conservation and awarenes [sic!] activities [and] ensure proper management of the natural resources” (ibid.: 27). However, the Policy fails to give adequate responsibility to the private sector, which should indeed contribute to “developing and promoting the kind of tourism that is socially, culturally and environmentally sound” (ibid.: 29), but whose main responsibility is the provision of “value-for-money experiences” (ibid.: 28) and provide for “sustainable economic growth” (ibid.: 28). With **addressing social and cultural impacts of tourism** the policy strives to reverse the “prevailing low cultural gratitude that pervades local communities” (ibid.: 4). As tourists are increasingly interested in cultural activities, the tourism sector is highly dependent on cultural attractions of which Tanzania has a lot to offer. The Policy acknowledges the important role of cross-cultural exchange and places value on the development and promotion of cultural values, awareness, national identity and pride in the local culture (ibid.: 7). The Cultural Aspects of Tourism policy strategy focuses on a comprehensive approach towards cross-cultural exchange by promoting cultural activities such as “festivals, exhibitions, theatrical and dance performances” (ibid.: 11), supporting cultural institutions, and “educating and sensitising individuals, public and private institutions to identify, understand, value, protect and develop the national´s cultural heritage” (ibid.: 18). Thus, the Policy encourages true cross-cultural exchange and empowers the population to take ownership of their cultural heritage.

[43] In the NTP (1999: 40), ecotourism is defined as „purposeful travel to natural areas to understand the culture and natural history of the environment taking care not to alter the integrity of the ecosystem, while producing economic opportunities that make the conservation of natural resources beneficial to the local people“.

Focus on policy and process reform

A supportive policy and planning framework has the ability to change the configurations of the tourism sector towards poverty alleviation. A multi-stakeholder approach is an underlying prerequisite to harness tourism for poverty alleviation. The Policy however, mentions "the poor institutional […] capabilities and co-ordination among various ministries, the private sector, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and other organisations involved in tourism development" (ibid.: 4) as a constraint to tourism development and therefore specifies the support of these institutions and the encouragement of cooperation as a specific objective (ibid.: 6). Despite the fact that local communities should be "involved in the development and management of […] attractions" (ibid.: 17), the overall planning process seems to be in the sole responsibility of the sector and tourism-related institutions. By stronger **promotion** of **participation** of affected individuals and communities, "whose livelihoods depend upon or are affected by tourist activities" (ibid.: 21), tourism development could be closely interlinked with human development and thus contribute to poverty reduction. As mentioned above, the Policy does indeed emphasise community involvement and both capacity building and empowerment of the population, but rather for the benefit of the tourism sector than for the affected population. Again, the success and quality of the sector is a prerequisite for harnessing tourism for poverty alleviation, but the active participation of the poor at the very core of tourism planning processes can be much more advantageous than the expected trickle-down effects. **Bringing in the private sector into pro poor partnerships** could further contribute to poverty alleviation, as financial potential is first and foremost found within the private sector than in the budget of a developing country. The Policy acknowledges the "profit maximisation motive" (ibid.: 28) of the private sector and its vital interest "to engage itself fully into further development, promotion and marketing of tourist products, the construction of accommodation facilities; and the provision of […] tourist-related services for the sector´s development" (ibid.: 28). In order to increasingly engage the private sector in pro poor partnerships, both the state actor and the private sector have to be aware of the mutual benefits: the poor can benefit from contributions of the private sector through economic benefits, capacity building and empowerment, whereas the private sector benefits from an economically, environmentally and socio-culturally sustainable location with attractive natural and cultural attractions, a well-educated and trained workforce and local products and supplies.

The Policy concludes with the recognition of the industry´s “great wealth creation potential” (ibid.: 31) and its potential “significant role in the alleviation of poverty” (ibid.: 31). Although mentioned as an overall objective, the National Tourism Policy´s orientation towards poverty reduction is rather weak. There are some vital and conducive elements such as the mitigation of environmental impacts, the focus on capacity building and the inclusion of communities in the development and management of tourism facilities. However, the development of the sector for the benefit of itself seems to be the central focus. This is a justified approach as the quality of the sector and its product is a prerequisite for harnessing tourism for poverty alleviation, as already mentioned above. Nevertheless, a coexistence of commercial success and benefit for the poor is possible, as pro poor best practises have proved. The challenges lie in an integrated and holistic approach to both tourism and human development in order to harness tourism for human development. The National Tourism Policy has predefined the framework for the implementation of its policies and objectives and in order to effect these implementations, the Tourism Master Plan has been established.

5.3. The Tourism Master Plan of 2002

The first integrated Tourism Master Plan for Tanzania was drawn up in 1996 to cover the period from 1996 until 2005. The process of implementation of the compiled Action Programmes was set out in different phases within this period. The Master Plan has been approved by the Government and delivered to relevant stakeholders within the tourism sector such as ministries and other government bodies concerned with tourism, the private sector and potential investors, and donor agencies. Since its publication in 1996, several strategic components of the Plan have been implemented: there has been significant investment in tourism facilities of all kinds; the National Tourism Policy has been reviewed and renewed as requested in the original Master Plan; closer ties with the private sector have been established through institutional reorganisation and opening of the Tourism Confederation of Tanzania (TCF) and the Tanzania Investment Centre; strategies to foster development planning and conservation have been enforced; groundwork has been undertaken to improve human resource development and training; and marketing activities have been upgraded. (TMP 2002: 1, 99f.)

The Master Plan has been updated in 2002 on account of the internal changes and developments within the domestic tourism sector and of external changes in the international tourism market. The new core strategy of the Master Plan is “to develop an integrated tourism product that is capable of attracting a low volume, high yield segment of the international tourism market to spend their entire holiday in Tanzania [which] would be seen as a `single destination´ and tourists would not need to include another country in their holiday plans” (ibid.: 4). In order to achieve this goal, special interest products of high standard, activities and soft adventure products, a beach resort product and a cultural and historic tourism product has to be developed (ibid.: 4).

The last paragraph already depicts the overall orientation of the Master Plan. First and foremost it is a comprehensive and professional approach to the Tanzanian tourism market in general, its product, its strengths and weaknesses, its marketing and its future challenges. The Plan understands tourism as a sector embedded in and with possible contributions to the economy of the country. Poverty alleviation or reduction is not mentioned as such in the Tourism Master Plan, nevertheless it will be possible to deduce poverty and pro poor-related aspects. The updated Master Plan comprises of four parts: the first part gives a general overview of tourism in Tanzania today, describes the structure of the sector and presents Tanzania´s performance in the international market place; the second part relates to the tourism product and its strengths and weaknesses; development policies and strategic guidelines are the central focus of the third part; and the forth part presents the actual action plan, its programmes and implementation strategy. (TMP 2002)

Focus on economic benefits

The Master Plan acknowledges the significant contribution tourism has on generating tax revenues for the government, its job-creation potential, its impact on regional economic activity and its attractiveness “for small and medium sized enterprises [which] consequently can foster an enterprise economy” (TMP 2002: 7). Thus, the Plan recognises the potential for **expanding business opportunities** and calls for measures to facilitate market access of local entrepreneurs and start-up businesses such as “financing arrangements for […] start-ups and existing small and medium enterprises [that] would encourage greater involvement by indigenous Tanzanians as entrepreneurs” (ibid.: 75). In order to further attract capital investment, the Plan suggests assessing financing needs, rationalising the tax regime for the industry, creating a positive climate for investment and encouraging entrepreneurship (ibid. 74f.). The Plan also draws attention on banking facilities, which "generally do not offer longer-term financing for tourism projects [and have] no mechanism to support local entrepreneurs" (ibid.: 36) and calls upon the public sector to actively shape the business environment to attract investment and foster entrepreneurship. If assessed from a poverty-oriented focus, the poor could definitely benefit from such recommendations as they have the potential to facilitate access to the formal tourism market by e.g. offering special tax incentives for micro start-ups or encouraging the banking system to introduce micro-credit systems for the poor. Interestingly enough, the Master Plan presents numbers on employment within the tourism sector, but fails to acknowledge its potential for **expanding employment opportunities** for the local work force or the poor. Similar to the National Policy, the Master Plan subjects employment to service standards "required if Tanzania is to compete successfully in the market for international tourism" (ibid.: 22) and fails to acknowledge the strong economic linkages between tourism and other economic sectors in terms of indirect employment opportunities. In terms of **enhancing collective benefits**, the Master Plan has a rather ambivalent approach towards benefits for communities. On the one hand, it recognises that "tourism has principally drawn upon the spectacular wildlife areas of the country and, in consequence, there has been an impact on those communities with whom these resources have to be shared" (ibid.: 77) and that empowerment of local communities and a more sensitive approaches would contribute to the "harmonious development of Tanzania´s tourism product" (ibid.: 77). On the other hand, it almost urges communities to allocate land for tourism projects. The strategic assumption is that "for tourism to operate successfully it is essential that there are service centres (normally towns or cities) where tourists can find restaurants, take taxis to go sightseeing, make shopping trips and so on" (ibid.: 67) and as such centres are absent, local communities have to be encouraged to support tourism and recreational activities (ibid.: 35). The issue of "non-consumptive versus consumptive use of Community lands" has yet to be resolved (ibid.: 91). Nevertheless, the Master Plan advocates community-based approaches such as the Cultural Tourism Programmes, already mentioned above. In order to really empower local communities and provide benefits from tourism, a stronger orientation towards such initiatives would be advisable.

Focus on non-economic benefits

As already mentioned, the Tourism Master Plan subjects **capacity building, training and empowerment** to the development of service standards, which are definitely a prerequisite for the success of the sector but could also contribute to actual capacity building and empowerment of the poor. The Master Plan lists inadequate customer service and the poor quality of tour and safari guides as product weaknesses and thus as a constraint to the development of the sector (TMP 2002: 20). An assessment of the training needs has been conducted and seven priority areas have been identified, among others, training of existing managers, of middle management in supervisory skills, retraining of existing staff to improve attitudes and customer relations, training for tour and safari guides and management training for tourism sector officials in the Tourism Division of the MNRT, TANAPA and TTB (ibid.: 23). The Master Plan acknowledges the necessary multi-stakeholder approach to capacity development and gives responsibility to public stakeholders within the sector, especially the Tourism Division to set up a training section and establish a Board for Curricula Development "to meet all the tourism training needs of the industry from within Tanzania" (ibid.: 69). The private sector however, does not play a role within the capacity building framework of the Master Plan apart from expressing "criticism of private training schools which offer skills training in a classroom environment with no practical training or suitable equipment" (ibid.: 24). Theoretically, the strong emphasis on training needs and capacity building to the advantage of the tourism product has a vital pro poor orientation as it has the potential to empower the low-educated work force which, in turn, contributes to income generation and overall human development. Nevertheless, the public institutions have to consider possibilities on how the poor can actually participate; additionally, the private sector has to take responsibility for sector-specific education and training of which it, first and foremost, benefits from. The Master Plan appreciates the "abundance, diversity, reliability and visibility of wildlife [and the] unspoiled environment and beautiful scenery" (ibid.: 17) as the main competitive strengths of the Tanzanian tourist product. Therefore, **mitigating the environmental impact of tourism on the poor** should be an imperative. Ironically, the Master Plan deals with the protection of the environment within its Action Programme "Enhancing and Expanding the Tourist Product" (ibid.: 77), which I would consider contradictory. The strategy also provides an insight into the existing strains on the environment, especially in the Northern Circuit, which is already overcrowded and overused (ibid.: 3, 20). Similar to the

National Tourism Policy, the Master Plan recognises the government's role as a regulator to "establish licensing procedures which require users to take into account environmental impacts in sensitive zones, including environmental impact assessments for all major projects" (ibid.: 79), but fails again in giving responsibility on the private sector. Furthermore, the NTP´s rather strong focus on sustainable ecotourism practices is not reflected in the Master Plan. In terms of **addressing social and cultural impacts of tourism**, it provides a very good overview on Tanzania´s rich cultural heritage and tourist product and calls for an increased promotion of cultural special interest programmes in order to further diversify the existing tourist product (ibid.: 68, 77). The corresponding Action Programme proposes two strategies to develop the cultural component of the tourism product, first the "identification of restoration/conservation needs of historic and cultural sites in priority development zones and the implementation of restoration/conservation measures for selected sites" (ibid.: 77) and second, the "establishment of interpretive/exhibition centres for a number of themes […] in certain strategic locations" (ibid.: 77). The first approach has the ability to provide benefits for the poor as conservation measures are recommended, but not unless they are located in so-called priority zones, which are presumably defined by the tourism sector. Instead of fostering cross-cultural exchange, this approach might even reinforce inequalities and re-marginalise people at the rural periphery.

Focus on policy and process reform

The Master Plan has probably the most comprehensive planning framework of all three papers analysed, as it includes a multitude of stakeholders within the tourism sector and dedicates a whole chapter to an "Enabling Environment" (TMP 2002: 26), including institutional arrangements, the legal framework and the environment for enterprise development. On the planning level, the Master Plan argues in favour of a more transparent planning system, which might empower local authorities "to enforce the regulations concerning environmental impact assessments and to take greater note of the concerns of local communities" (ibid.: 78). On the institutional level, the Master Plan recommends the establishment of a National Tourism Council "which would represent the `voice´ of the tourist industry at national level and at private sector level, oversee the coordination of tourism developments at both the community and regional level" (ibid.: 100). Additionally, the Master Plan calls for the introduction of a Programme Coordination Section within the Tourism

Division "to be responsible for co-ordination of technical assistance programmes established by various support agencies to assist" (ibid.: 100). In order to become an actual **supportive policy and planning framework** and **promote participation of the poor** and **the private sector**, further representatives advocating poverty alleviation should be included in the policy and planning framework to ensure a comprehensive and coordinated approach.

The Tourism Master Plan is, by far, the most comprehensive approach to tourism in Tanzania and provides a professional insight into the whole sector, from the extensive tourism product, to numbers, data and statistics, to actual implementation and Action Programmes. The approach towards tourism is a very marketing-orientated one, which has been necessary at the time of its commission, when numbers of tourists' increased and quality standards remained relatively low. Tanzania acknowledges the economic importance of the sector and its possible contribution to the development of the country; thus, a professional approach towards tourism has been and still is an imperative in order to benefit from the sector without endangering the economy, the environment and socio-cultural structures. However, the obvious linkages of tourism and poverty alleviation have not been included into the updated Master Plan at all, which is quite surprising as the National Tourism Policy definitely puts an emphasis on this topic. Nevertheless, the Master Plan touches the issue, if only indirectly, and provides strategies that have the ability to benefit the poor. Now, twelve years later it is definitely time for a new update on the Master Plan as the number of tourists has reached the one million-milestone[44] and poverty alleviation is still a pressing issue.

5.4. The Tourism Act of 2008

Before the enactment of the Tourism Act in 2008, the legal framework was based on a variety of tourism-related legal acts and regulations, such as the Tanzania Tourist Board Act of 1992, the Hotels Act of 1963, the Hotel Levy Act of 1972, the Tourist Agents Licensing Act of 1969, and the Hotel Regulations of 1982 (TMP 2002: 106). With the update of the National Tourism Policy and the implementation of the Tourism Master Plan, a reform, review and consolidation of all tourism-related legal acts and regulations was recommended. Whereas

[44] See Table 9 (chapter 4.3.) for data on the performance of the tourism sector in Tanzania.

the National Tourism Policy called for the enforcement of a Tourism Act "to guide the development of the tourism sector" (NTP 1999: 21), the Master Plan came to the conclusion "that, in the immediate term, these acts, as they currently stand, are adequate" (TMP 2002: 34). Six years later, in 2008, the Tourism Act was enacted by the Tanzanian Parliament "to provide for an institutional framework, administration, regulation, registration and licensing of tourism facilities and activities, and for related matters" (TTA 2008: 5).

The Tourism Act consists of nine parts of which three – Preliminary Provisions, Institutional Arrangement and Administration, and Establishment of the Board – regulate the configuration of the tourism industry, two – Offences and Penalties and Miscellaneous Provisions – provide regulations on overall procedures, and four – Designation, Registration and Grading of Tourism Facilities and Activities, Licensing of Tourism Facilities and Activities, Licensing of Tourism Operators, and Registration of Tour Guides – regulate actual tourism-related provisions. As the Tourism Act provides the overall legal framework for the tourism industry, there is no room for economic or social objectives regarding the development of the industry or for targets in terms of human development and poverty alleviation. However, it relates to the objectives and goals of the National Tourism Policy by declaring, "all persons exercising powers or discharging any duties under this act shall strive to promote […] the National Tourism Policy" (TTA 2008: 7) as a preliminary provision. I am confident, that it will be possible to deduce findings that have potential impacts on both human development and poverty alleviation. (TTA 2008)

Focus on economic benefits

As mentioned above, the Tourism Act as a legal framework does not include decisive objectives regarding economic benefits for the poor. However, as the Act regulates licensing and registrations for tourism facilities and activities, it is possible that is has an impact on **business** and **employment opportunities**. The promotion of "forms of tourism that provides [sic!] better sectoral linkages, create employment and foster sustainable development" (TTA 2008: 7) is a central policy of the Act and "no person who is not a Tanzanian citizen shall engage himself in a business of: (a) save for foreign air lines [sic!], travel agency; (b) mountain climbing or trekking; (c) tour guide; (d) car rental; or (e) any other activity the Minister may […] specify" (ibid.: 28). In an international industry, such as the tourism sector is, this restriction on nationality is rather rare. However, in theory, it also minimises the risk for local Tanzanian entrepreneurs to be driven out of the domestic market. In order to harness the domestic tourism market for poverty alleviation, the market barriers have to meet the qualifications of the often low-educated poor as well as micro and small entrepreneurs. Otherwise, they can only engage themselves in the informal market without advancement opportunities. However, the Act fails to acknowledge this aspect by imposing rather strict conditions on the registration of tour guides. The profession does require certain knowledge of and education on the cultural, historic and ecological environment as well as rhetoric and personal skills. However, it does not demand land tenure, real estate and large financial assets and is therefore an important profession in terms of empowering the local population of a developing country to participate in the tourism sector. However, the Act requires all registered tour guides to have at least secondary education, a professional certificate and experience of at least five years, a first aid certificate and annual medical examinations (ibid.: 21). According to the chairman of the Tanzania Tour Guide Association this regulation "will render 80 per cent of the tour guiding workforce redundant because they will not meet the qualifications" (Ihucha 2012) as many tour guides did not attend formal tour guide training at an institution recognised by the government or cannot officially prove to have five years of experience. People who contravene with these regulations commit an offence and can "be liable to a fine of not less than one million shillings or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months or to both" (TTA 2008: 22). Presumably, the aim is to ensure a certain quality standard and execute quality control, however this strategy clearly contravenes with possible pro poor benefits. The **enhancement of collective benefits** is not part of the Tourism Act, but it states that the "Minister may specify facilities and activities which can only be operated by Tanzanian citizens, and put in place mechanism on how tourism facilities and activities can benefit local communities" (ibid.: 28). Similar to the Policy, the focus on possible benefits for communities is promising, but the sole mentioning of communities leaves an ample scope for their inclusion and empowerment.

Focus on non-economic benefits

In terms of **capacity building, training and empowerment**, the Act again focuses on the increase in quality and the harmonisation of quality standards and appoints the "division[45] responsible for tourism" (TTA 2008: 6) as the responsible authority. Regarding education for the sector, their task is to "promote high quality tourism through the establishment of standards, training and human resource development" (ibid.: 8), "to monitor curricula of hotel and tourism training institutes" (ibid.: 26) and "encourage and promote the recruitment, training, education and development of persons for the purpose of employment in connection with the tourism industry" (ibid.: 8). As a developing country, Tanzania does not have the means and resources to provide for vocational training for different sectors and has to acknowledge the possible contribution of private institutions and the private sector. The Tourism Act does respond to this challenge, at least to some extent, by appreciating the role of private institutions within the capacity building framework. In theory, this approach has a pro poor orientation as sector-specific vocational training can lead to the empowerment of the poor. By providing and acknowledging formal education and training – in public and private institutions – the chances of participation in the tourism industry are much higher. However, the poor have to have access to such institutions. The possible **environmental, social and cultural impacts of tourism** are appreciated in the Act, at least to some extent, as one of the central policies is "to promote the relevant provisions of the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism[46]; and eco-tourism, cultural tourism […] and foster sustainable development" (ibid.: 7). In order to mitigate the possible negative impacts of tourism, the Act authorises the Division "to undertake studies on cultural, social, environmental and socio-economic impacts of tourism activities and monitor such impacts" (ibid.: 9) and "ensure that the provisions […] relating to Environmental Impact Assessment have been complied with" (ibid.: 10). The EIA is a valuable instrument for minimising the possible negative effects of tourism-related facilities, if however, conducted in a thorough, sustainable and comprehensive manner. The section on the EIAs in the Tourism Act is, however, considerably short and should be given a much higher priority in this context. The same is true for cultural impact assessments, which are mentioned in the Policy (NTP 1999: 11), but have not been adopted in the Tourism Act.

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[45] The division mentioned in the Tourism Act is not specified any further. I suppose the Act refers to the "Division for Tourism" in the Ministry for Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT). See page 83 for more information on the MNRT.

[46] In the Tourism Act, the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (GCET) is not explained any further. However it refers to the GCET, introduced by the UNWTO in 1997, "a comprehensive set of principles whose purpose is to guide stakeholders in tourism development" (UNWTO 2014).

Focus on policy and process reform

Naturally, a legislative act can only provide the legal and regulatory context for a **supportive policy and planning framework**. However, as the Tourism Act is an enacted law its role within this framework is of crucial importance as it has the actual ability to align the configuration of the sector by officially and legally including all responsible and relevant stakeholders. With the introduction of the Tourism Act, a Technical Advisory Committee "responsible for advising the Minister on matters related to the management and regulation of tourism facilities and activities, designated tourism facilities and activities, tourism operators and any other functions assigned to it under this Act" (TTA 2008: 7) has been established. The Committee includes fourteen members of different public and private tourism-related institutions, a representative of the ministry responsible for public safety and security, the Director of Antiquities, the Director of the Wildlife Division, a representative of the TANAPA and the National Environment Management Council, a member from the Tanzania Tourism Board, the Tourism Confederation, and the Tanzania Association of Tour Operators, amongst others (ibid.: 30). Whereas the Tourism Act recognises the importance of environmental, cultural and **private sector** stakeholders within the Technical Advisory Committee, it fails to include institutions concerned with the possible promotion of human development, like education and training institutions, the ministry responsible for labour and employment, social-relations and development or NGOs involved in sustainable tourism development. By inclusion and **promotion of participation** of such organisations and stakeholders, the tourism-related legal framework could indeed contribute to poverty alleviation.

As mentioned above, a supportive legal policy and planning framework has the ability to change the design of the tourism sector towards poverty alleviation. Despite the fact, that sustainable development is mentioned as a central regulation (TTA 2008: 7), the Tourism Act remains very vague on how the legal framework could contribute to such sustainable development and does not react to poverty issues at all. I appreciate the fact, that a legal act pursues other relevant objectives such as the introduction of quality standards and the harmonisation of regulations. However, I am very positive that there are possibilities to incorporate poverty issues into a legal and sector-specific framework, e.g. through a stronger involvement of stakeholders involved in human development and the empowerment of the poor and marginalised groups.

5.5. Analysis

The last chapters provided a comprehensive overview of the Tanzanian tourism planning process from three different viewpoints: the policy level, the implementation level and the legislative level. The analysis of these levels allows for a profound insight, not only because the Policy, Plan and Act are the three most tourism-relevant approaches to the Tanzanian tourism sector, but their interconnectedness also enables a comprehensive analysis of the underlying concept, premise and orientation of the sector. In order to contribute to poverty alleviation, a more holistic approach to the complex tourism system is an imperative, and a diversity of strategies – from micro to the macro level, from planning and policy, to investment and market, to product development and marketing – is required. In order for tourism to provide benefits to the poor, there are additional linkages on a meta level that have to be acknowledged; those between poverty, environment and development. With that in mind, I will now unite the findings above, again by using the three key strategies.

Focus on economic benefits

All three policies acknowledge the possible contribution of tourism to the **expansion of business opportunities**, especially for micro and small business as well as start-ups. In this context, the Tanzanian government actively promotes indigenous entrepreneurs by either limiting market access of foreigners, as the Tourism Act promotes, or by promoting financial assistance to local micro and small business, as the Master Plan suggests. The National Tourism Policy however, is the only policy explicitly acknowledging the possible interconnectedness of business opportunities and human development. The government recognises its role as a regulator within this context, but could strengthen its contribution towards poverty alleviation, by e.g. introducing micro-finance instruments to the informal sector in tourism areas, by waiving licence fees or by offering tax incentives to the poor. Tourism has further the ability to create and **expand employment opportunities** for the poor. Due to its complex structure as a very labour-intensive sector and its strong back- and forward linkages, tourism could contribute to both direct and indirect employment and consequently to human resource development. All three planning policies subject this strategy to the quality of the tourism product itself, which is indeed an absolute prerequisite for the success of the sector in the first place, but considering and actively creating employment opportunities for the poor could contribute immensely to the empowerment of the poor. Moreover, strategies and programmes to foster employment of marginalised groups such as women, youths or people in remote and rural areas could lead to the reduction of structural inequalities, and thus directly improving their economic and socio-cultural situation. In terms of **enhancing collective benefits**, communities are recognised as an important stakeholder by all three policies. As the Tanzanian tourism product focuses almost entirely on natural area and wildlife tourism, communities are at the forefront of the objectives, either in an empowering role as providers of land, supplies, resources or experiences for tourists, or in a more passive context as indirect beneficiaries or victims of tourism activities. Whatever the future of Tanzanian tourism will be, communities will remain in the centre of the attention and in order to enhance collective benefits for poverty reduction, they have to be empowered to actively participate in tourism planning, in the production of tourism products and in supplying the necessary quality standards. Thus, the future challenge will lie in the empowerment of communities, not only financially but also by ensuring that they have a strong voice in the tourism development process.

Focus on non-economic benefits

To further improve sustainable tourism development, a strong focus on **capacity building, training and empowerment** is another important aspect. Although not mentioned explicitly in one of the policies, this key strategy has a very strong pro poor orientation, as it builds on the empowerment of the often uneducated and low-trained workforce. Capacity building is a prerequisite to a successful tourism destination. Tanzania´s main source markets are visitors from Europe and the United States, who are willing to pay a considerable price for their experience and expect high service quality. In order to reach the Master Plan´s goal of attracting a low volume, high yield segment of the international tourism market and become a single destination, quality standards have to be improved so it can be maintained at a high level. Tanzania, like many other developing countries, lacks financial resources for providing comprehensive and sector-specific education and has to follow a multi-stakeholder approach to improve capacity building. Whereas the National Tourism Policy complies with this strategy and gives adequate responsibility to the private sector, the Master Plan fails to acknowledge this possible contribution, e.g. through the provision of scholarships or by providing access to its infrastructure for vocational schools. The same applies to the **mitigation of the environmental impact** of tourism, which is a necessary precondition to the future development of the sector and which relates to all stakeholders, both public and private. The Tourism Policy and the Master Plan, again, in some way exempts the private sector from this responsibility. Nevertheless, it is upon the government to implement a regulatory and legislative framework in this context to ensure protection of the environment of which its tourism sector is highly dependent. Both the National Tourism Policy and the Tourism Act give special attention and importance to the instrument of Environmental Impact Assessments, which have to be conducted for all major projects possibly effecting the environment. In terms of developing sustainable tourism products, which also **address social and cultural impacts of tourism**, the NTP and TTA promote ecotourism practices as a possible approach towards sustainable tourism. The Master Plan, in contrast, has no direct emphasis on ecotourism and concentrates on (further) diversifying the product away from the overcrowded Northern Circuit. This, however, raises the question, if the possible negative impacts on both the environment and the socio-cultural structures are merely moved to another region or Circuit without tackling the main challenge of how to really ensure sustainability for the local and poor population and how to empower them to take ownership of and control over their cultural heritage.

Focus on policy and process reform

Building a more supportive policy and planning framework is the underlying aim of policy and process reforms in order and to shape tourism as a sector conducive to the poor. The policy and planning framework should bring together all relevant stakeholders and align all three key strategies by actively shaping all spheres of tourism. All three policies acknowledge the importance of a comprehensive policy and planning framework by recommending and introducing regulatory or planning bodies, e.g. the National Tourism Council, as mentioned in the Master Plan, or the Technical Advisory Committee that is to be installed at the legislative level. In order to put poverty at the centre of the tourism agenda, the poor have to be included in the decision-making process through **promoting participation**. All three policies emphasise community involvement within the planning framework, but fail to include representatives or proponents to advocate poverty alleviation or human development within planning bodies. Thus, the supportive element within the policy and planning framework is absent and will have to be acknowledged in the future to ensure a comprehensive and coordinated approach towards poverty alleviation. **Bringing the private sector into pro poor**

partnerships could further contribute to poverty reduction, as the private sector has economic potential and a strong lobby within the tourism sector. The government has to be a strong advocate of such partnerships and governmental or parastatal bodies such as the TIC or the TCF could create instruments to facilitate such cooperations. However, it is upon the government actors to actively promote the mutual benefits: the private sector benefits from a more economically, environmentally and socio-culturally sustainable location as well as a better educated and trained workforce; the poor benefit from contributions of the private sector through direct economic benefits, employment opportunities and capacity building.

In hindsight, the policies first and foremost concentrate on the development of the tourism product, emphasise the need for high quality standards and a more diverse product. This should lay the foundation for the configuration of the industry, strongly building upon a regulatory and legislative framework. Notwithstanding the difficulties set forth by these challenges itself, considering the country´s tense economic situation and high poverty rate, it is alarming that the National Tourism Policy, although the oldest of the analysed policies, is the only one that explicitly addresses the issue of poverty alleviation in relation to tourism. Whilst implementing its policies and strategies, poverty alleviation as an actual objective seems to have get lost along the way somehow as it is not mentioned once in the Tourism Master Plan. Having analysed the current linkages between tourism, poverty, environment and human development throughout the last chapter, I hope to have made it evident that in order for tourism to really benefit the poor, a higher degree of interconnectedness should be incorporated in the future policy and planning framework. The groundwork for the success and quality of the tourism sector has been laid, as increasing numbers of tourists confirm, but future tourism-related policies should actively promote the recognition of poverty issues, foster the inclusion and facilitate the participation of the poor at the very core of tourism planning processes to harness the sector´s possible benefits for poverty alleviation.

6. Conclusion

In the last couple of decades, tourism has become a global phenomenon. It is not only described as one of the biggest and fastest growing economic sectors, but has brought the world closer together – geographically, economically, environmentally and culturally. However, this global phenomenon remains a rather unilateral one. Whereas most people from the industrialised and developed world have the opportunity, financial means and necessary time to travel around the world, people from developing countries mostly find themselves on the receiving end, as tourism in developing countries is hardly ever a reciprocal exchange. The awareness of this determining fact has guided me throughout my studies, travels and, last but not least, throughout this thesis.

The Tanzanian tourism sector developed very quickly after the country gained its independence from Great Britain in 1961. Its abundance of nature, magnificent wildlife, rich culture and history, beautiful location at the Indian Ocean and Mt. Kilimanjaro soon attracted people from all over the world. The tourism sector grew with the increasing number of tourists; the milestone of one million visitors has been reached in 2012 for the very first time. Tourism in developing countries is increasingly viewed as an important instrument promoting economic growth, development and poverty alleviation. This approach is very viable as Tanzania still is one of the poorest countries in the world. Despite many independent and self-reliant approaches to development, poverty levels have remained high and stagnant with one-third of the population considered poor. There has been progress in the macroeconomic sphere, however, this progress has, so far, only had limited impact on the socioeconomic situation of the population and especially rural poverty remains one of the most prevalent problems.

I have argued that tourism has the ability to contribute to poverty alleviation; however, my approach arguably differs from standard economic ones. The relation between tourism and development is mostly discussed from an economic perspective in terms of revenues from foreign exchange earnings, tax revenues, creation of employment and regional development. All these aspects are justified and often have a significant impact on the development of a country. Nevertheless, I argue that an all-inclusive approach towards tourism could further enhance the benefits for developing countries and its population. Tourists increasingly value such approaches and there is a growing demand for sustainable, environmentally and socially sustainable tourism products.

However, tourism and its potentially positive impact on human development and poverty alleviation cannot be generated by applying a standard blueprint and policies always have to be adapted to local circumstances; every country and tourism destination has its own specifications and characteristics regarding history and development, economy and socio-cultural structures as well as ecology and geography. Thus, the thesis moves along the nexus of development theory, tourism as an economic practise and Tanzania as the local reference point of the analysis. This all-inclusive approach towards tourism requires the government to build a supportive framework for tourism development, with all relevant stakeholders included. In my analysis I adopted the Pro Poor Tourism approach to pursue a form of tourism that generates economic, social, environmental and cultural net benefits for the poor. In order to find out if the central Tanzanian tourism planning policies and documents have the ability to establish a basis to harness tourism for poverty alleviation I analysed three tourism-related planning documents: the National Tourism Policy to cover the national tourism-related policy making process; the Tourism Master Plan as the operative implementation tool; and the Tourism Act covering the respective legal framework with regarding institutions and regulations.

All three tourism-related planning documents concentrate first and foremost on the development of the Tanzanian tourism product and touch upon the subject of poverty alleviation only indirectly. However, it was possible to deduce strategies and policies that have the ability to contribute human development and benefit the poor. There is a relatively strong focus on economic benefits, such as business and employment opportunities for indigenous entrepreneurs and micro businesses, which has the ability to facilitate market access for the poor. In terms of non-economic benefits, all documents recognise the importance of instruments such as, for example, Environmental Impact Assessments to mitigate the environmental impacts of tourism on communities and, consequently, on the poor. However, one of the most pressing challenges is to include all relevant stakeholders, first and foremost the poor themselves, in the future planning process. As the National Tourism Policy and the Master Plan are rather outdated, an update is highly recommended.

For the future planning process a strong orientation towards poverty alleviation should be adopted in order to substantially and sustainably harness tourism for poverty alleviation.

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8. Annex

8.1. Abstracts

8.1.1. Abstract (English)

Tourism is often described as the world´s biggest and fastest growing economic sector; one billion tourists travelling the world in a single year bear witness to this development. However, travelling remains a unilateral privilege, as people from developing countries often neither have the means to travel, nor the adequate possibilities to actively participate and benefit from tourism. Tanzania offers some of the world´s greatest natural sights and is a highly demanded destination for wildlife and natural area tourism in Africa, attracting over one million visitors per year. Nevertheless, Tanzania is still one of the poorest countries in the world with one-third of the population considered poor. There is, however, a growing recognition of the potential tourism has for developing countries, regarding economic development, promotion of sustainable development and poverty alleviation. The biggest challenge is to harness tourism to benefit the local population and minimise negative impacts on the economy, environment and socio-cultural structures. The Pro Poor Tourism approach recognises this challenges by putting the poor at the centre of the sustainability debate and by striving to generate both economic and non-economic benefits for the poor. However, in order to attain this goal, thorough planning and the involvement of multiple stakeholders – governments and public planning bodies, the private sector and, first and foremost, the affected poor – is highly required. The Tanzanian tourism planning documents – the National Tourism Policy, the Tourism Master Plan and the Tourism Act – recognise, at least to some extent, the potential tourism has for poverty alleviation and offer strategies, albeit indirectly, that have the ability to contribute to human development and benefit the poor. However, a much stronger poverty orientation within the tourism planning process is highly recommended to harness the tourism industry for poverty alleviation.

8.1.2. Abstract (Deutsch)

Mit über einer Milliarde Reisenden pro Jahr zählt der Tourismus zu den größten und am schnellsten wachsenden Wirtschaftszweigen weltweit. Im globalen Kontext ist das Reisen jedoch immer noch einer Minderheit vorbehalten; Menschen aus Entwicklungsländern fehlt es sowohl an finanziellen Mitteln um zu reisen, als auch an Möglichkeiten um aktiv an diesem Sektor zu partizipieren und von ihm zu profitieren. Ein Drittel der Bevölkerung Tansanias lebt in absoluter Armut und das Land gilt nach wie vor als eines der ärmsten der Welt. Das Land ist mit über einer Million Touristen jährlich aber auch eine der beliebtesten Destinationen Afrikas und bietet eine Fülle an Sehenswürdigkeiten. Der Tourismussektor kann einen Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsentwicklung und Armutsminderung in Tansania leisten und die Förderung einer nachhaltigen Entwicklung ankurbeln. Die größte Herausforderung liegt dabei darin, die Tourismusentwicklung des Landes nachhaltig zu planen und umzusetzen, sodass der Sektor konkrete Vorteile für die armutsbetroffene Bevölkerung bietet und gleichzeitig potentiell negative Einflüsse des Tourismus auf die Wirtschaft, Umwelt und sozio-kulturelle Strukturen minimiert. Der „Pro Poor Tourismus“-Ansatz erkennt diese Herausforderung an und orientiert sich in der Tourismusplanung an Zielen der Armutsminderung und der Schaffung von ökonomischen und strukturellen Vorteilen für die armutsbetroffene Bevölkerung. Um diese Ziele zu erreichen, muss bereits der touristische Planungsprozess stark auf die Armutsminderung ausgerichtet sein und alle relevanten AkteurInnen – Regierungen und staatliche Planungsagenturen, den Privatsektor und vor allem die armutsbetroffene Bevölkerung – in den gesamten Prozess miteinbeziehen. Die staatliche tansanische Tourismuspolitik bezieht sich in ihren Planungsinstrumenten – der National Tourism Policy, dem Tourism Master Plan und dem Tourism Act – nur indirekt auf das Ziel der Armutsminderung, inkludiert jedoch sehr wohl konkrete Strategien um vom Tourismussektor zu profitieren. Ein stärkerer Bezug auf Armutsorientierung im zukünftigen staatlichen Planungsprozess und den Planungsinstrumenten könnte jedoch einen konkreten und nachhaltigen Beitrag zur Armutsbekämpfung durch den Tourismus leisten.

8.2. Curriculum Vitae

	CURRICULUM VITAE
PERSÖNLICHE ANGABEN	
Name	**Mag. (FH) Katharina Maier**
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BILDUNGSWEG	
Seit 10/2004	**Diplomstudiengang Internationale Entwicklung / Universität Wien**
2000–2004	**Fachhochschul-Studiengang für Tourismus-Management MODUL (FHTM) – Abschluss Mag. (FH) Juni 2004** Diplomarbeitsthema: *"Überprüfung der Dienstleistungsqualität mittels Mystery Shopping – Beispiel anhand der Tourismusregionen- und verbände in Niederösterreich"* in Kooperation mit Niederösterreich Werbung GmbH
06/2000	**Matura** am GRG 23 Wien
AUSLANDSERFAHRUNG	
02-03/2009	**Tanzania – Integrierte Regionalentwicklung in Entwicklungsländern, Exkursion und Feldstudie der TU Wien** Businessplan und Feasibility-Studie *„Management of an Eco-Tourism Facility in Karatu/Tanzania"*, Präsentation: Diplomatische Akademie Wien im Juni 2009
09/2008	**UNICA – Student Conference Warsaw 2008** Vertreterin der Universität Wien, Panel „The Contemporary Global Issues"
09/2002-02/2003	**Fachhochschule Stralsund, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern/Deutschland** Erasmus am Studiengang Leisure- and Tourism Management
BERUFSERFAHRUNG	**(Auswahl)**
Seit 11/2013	**Austrian Development Agency (ADA) – Praktikum** Abteilung Programme und Projekte International/Referat Länder & Regionen
03/2007-12/2012	**forum mozartplatz - raum für wirtschaft und kultur (Vollzeit) – Vereinsgeschäftsführung** Interessensvertretung Kreativwirtschaft, Veranstaltungsmanagement
09/2006-02/2007	**FAIRTRADE Österreich (Praktikum) – Trainee** Presse und Öffentlichkeitsarbeit
07-08/2002	**Regency Hotel, Brighton/UK** Buchungsannahme und Service
KOMPETENZEN	**Deutsch** – Muttersprache **Englisch** – verhandlungssicher (Business English Certificate BEC – Cambridge) **Spanisch** – sehr gute Kenntnisse (Diploma Basico Instituto Cervantes) **Swahili** - Grundkenntnisse **MS Office** **Adobe Creative Suite** **Content-Management Systeme** – Typo3, Gentics **Projektmanagement** **Führerschein B**