Norwegian University of Life Sciences

Master's Thesis 2018 30 ECTS

The Faculty of Landscape and Society
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Potentials and challenges of ecotourism for conservation and community development: A case study of Mafia Island Marine Park

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DECLARATION

I, Tone Elisabeth Holme Støylen, hereby declare that this thesis is a result of my original research work and findings. All sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and referenced. This thesis has not been submitted to any other University than the Norwegian University of Life Science (NMBU) for award of any type of academic degree.

Tone Elisabeth Holme Støylen, August 2018

Signature: _____

Date: _____

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I want to dedicate my sincerely gratitude to the people who contributed and supported me in one or the other way to complete this thesis.

First of all, I want to deeply thank my supervisor, Ian Bryceson, for giving me the opportunity and guidance to do research in beautiful Mafia Island in Tanzania. Your support and comments have been invaluable during the course of this work, and you have always created time to assist me no matter what. Further on, I must thank the Norwegian University Life Science (NMBU) for accepting me in the master program of International Environmental Science, and to encouraging me to follow my dream of working with conservation and ecotourism in Africa.

Sincere thanks to the staff and management of Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) to welcoming me and granting my research permit. I am very grateful to my two translaters, Hassan Bakari and Hassan Mjosi, for their work in assisting me in data collection and introducing me to the local community.

Last but not least, a sincere thanks to my friends, family and partner for their moral support when I have struggled to see the light in the end of the tunnel. I would not have made this through without them.

Thank you to everyone who has participated or contributed to the completion of this thesis.
Asante Sana

ABSTRACT

Ecotourism is one of the fastest growing segment within tourism, and are often used as a strategy in protected areas to generate revenues for conservation and management of the protected areas. As coral reefs and marine life are facing increasing pressure from destructive harvesting methods and global warming, marine parks have been established to protect and conserve sensitive ecosystems. However, such areas are often a home for local communities where they are depended on the natural resources. The establishment of protected areas where local communities resides are often complicated and requires broad involvement of all local residents. This study examines the relationship between the Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP), tourism and the local community, by utilizing the framework of Ross and Wall (1999a) to conceptualize and evaluate ecotourism, and determine the current level of ecotourism within the marine park. MIMP was created in 1995 after much protesting from community leaders about increased destructive fishing methods by residents outside of Mafia. The park was the first marine protected area in Tanzania, and had the intention to be a *premier* example of community-based conservation and development project. However, the objectives of community involvement were eventually not fulfilled in the further development of the park. This study focused on the core area of tourism in MIMP, more specifically, Utende and Utende Village. The local authorities, the tourism industry and the local community of Utende were identified, and in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted to investigate their previous experiences and future prospects of tourism and conservation in MIMP. The relationship between local community and MIMP were assessed by looking at the resource use natural resources, local attitudes towards conservation and relations between park staff and residents. The relationship between local community and tourism were exploring the local attitudes towards tourism, economic benefits from tourism, negative impacts from tourism, economic leakage, benefits from tourism, and intercultural exchanges opportunities. Assessing the relationship between MIMP and tourism were including factors such as revenues generated for conservation, environmental education opportunities, Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA), and management and policies. This study reveals that MIMP have created limited involvement of the local community in decision-making concerning both tourism development and conservation. However, the local community have positive attitude towards tourism development with the hope of more job opportunities and community development, and recognizes the importance of conservation of the park as tourism is dependent on the natural areas.

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List of acronyms

DC - District Commissioner

MIMP - Mafia Island Marine Park

EIA - Environmental Impact Assessment

GMP - General Management Plan

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

Tourism is one of the largest industries in the world, and Africa is one of the fastest growing tourism regions globally. Tourism on the continent has grown from 14.7 million visitors in 1990, to 26 million in 2000 and 56 million international tourists in 2014. Tanzania is one of the countries in Africa who has experienced incredible growth in tourism development and the total contribution from tourism to Tanzania's GDP was 9.0% in 2017 (WTTC, 2018). Tourism has the ability to create opportunities for millions of host communities in Africa and can further on create revenues for cultural and environmental preservation (UNWTO, 2015).

Tourism as a tool for economic development has played a significant role in small island developing states (SIDS) in the latter half of the 20th century. In many cases tourism has resulted in economic dependence on tourism as well as related environmental and socio-cultural impacts (Sharpley & Ussi, 2014). Moreover, tourism is largely built on the marketing of nature and natural resources and allows the use of natural areas which are otherwise of less economic value for developing countries (such as remote beaches). The increased demand for remote nature and landscape is seen as a major advantage for these developing countries (Gössling, 2002).

Ecotourism is, within the framework of sustainable tourism, a cross-cutting activity able to enhance job creation and education, with the potential to improve livelihoods in local communities as well as contributing to sustainable development and protection of biodiversity. Ecotourism can contribute to encourage communities and tourists to preserve natural and cultural heritage (UNWTO, 2002). There are different types of ecotourism, including community-based ecotourism which have a development perspective. It considers social, environmental and economic goals and how ecotourism can improve living standards for the host populations for both the short and long term (Scheyvens, 1999). Further on, Wearing & Neil (1999, p.xv) state that *"ecotourism has the potential to create support for conservation objectives in both the host community and in the visitor alike, through establishing and sustaining links between the tourism industry, local communities and protected areas"..."and lead us into understanding the central issues of conservation and sustainability of natural and social environments".*

1.1 Tourism in Tanzania

Widely considered to be the world's largest enterprise, tourism involves tens of millions of employees and hundreds of millions of customers worldwide. Tanzania has experienced an

incredible growth in nature-based tourism in the last decades, after the country undertook major transformations in its tourism policies in the 1980s. Containing some of the world's last wild nature and natural wonders, tourism has become the nation's second leading foreign exchange earner after agriculture (Wade, Mwasaga & Eagles, 2001). In 2016 global international tourism grew by 3.9% to 1,235 million (UNWTO, 2017), and in Tanzania, the growth of international arrivals had a double-digit growth of 16% in the same year. Moreover, Africa is estimated to more than double their number of arrivals within year 2030 (UNWTO, 2017). Continuously, the growth and demand for nature-tourism has been increasing, and the areas visited are often remote and pristine with highly sensitive ecosystems which therefore can have potential to be destructive tourism such as mass tourism to other areas (Grössling, 1999: Lindberg, 1991).

1.2 Mafia Island

It has been argued that the particular name *"Mafia"* derives from the KiSwahili *"Ma-afya"*, which refers to a *healthy place*, the alleged healing properties of waters on the islands, others link the name to the visiting Arabs and the medieval town of Kisimani Mafia, that was popularized as *"Monfia"* by the Arabs (Baumann, 1957; Saadi, 194, as cited in Walley, 2010). Mafia Island is located in the Indian Ocean, 21 km of the southern coast of Tanzania. It is the largest island in the Rufiji delta and stretches approximately 50 km long and 15 km wide. The island is surrounded by a barrier reef with incredible marine life with over 50 genera of corals, 460 species of fish and five different species of turtles. The Tanzanian Government established an area of 822km2 as Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) in 1995. This was declared as Tanzania's first marine protected area (MPA) that contains a diverse range of habitats including coral reefs, seagrass beds, mangroves and a lowland coastal forest (Hemsworth, Jensen & Gill, 2015). The island has a population of approximately 50,000, where 23,000 of them live within the Marine Park boundaries, and the majority of its inhabitants are Muslim and Christian. Due to its remoteness, with no direct sea links with Dar es Salaam and expensive air fares for most islanders, it is one of Tanzania's poorest districts. Kilindoni is the capital where the local government headquarters is located together with the only bank, post office, police station, hospital and airport on the island (Caplan, 2011).The local communities on Mafia Island are mostly small villages located along the coast and on the other islands nearby (Chole, Juani, Jibondo and Banja) where the economy is heavily concentrated around fishing and crop farming

such as pineapples, rice, cashew and mango. Although Mafia Island is less developed than neighboring Zanzibar, the island is experiencing a steady increase in tourism.

1.3 Mafia Island Marine Park

Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) was established in 1995 by the Parliament and was Tanzania's first national park to focus on marine conservation. The creation of the park started in the late 1980s and early 1990s when local communities in Mafia Island experienced outsiders more frequently entering Mafia Island using destructive fishing practices such as dynamite explosives, destroying coral reefs and fish stocks. After much protesting from community leaders, several government agencies, donors and conservationists advocated for the need for coastal conservation, which eventually led to the formation of a marine park (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012). MIMP was formed under the 'Marine Parks and Reserves Act No. 29' of 1994, which is currently consisting of three marine parks and fifteen marine reserves. MIMP initiated to be the first marine park to legally incorporate the local communities who lived there and was designed to be a *premier* example of an integrated community-based conservation and development project (Walley, 2004). Despite successfully combating destructive fishing in collaboration with villagers, the following years showed that the realization of a community-based conservation were absent and had become *"mainly rhetorical as well as authoritarian in its implementations"* (Benjaminsen & Bryceson, 2012, p. 346).

The Marine Parks and Reserves Act No. 29 of 1994 provides general purposes for all established marine parks and reserves in Tanzania, and same purposes are adopted for MIMP General Management Plan (GMP, 2001):

- *to protect, conserve, and restore the species and genetic diversity of living and non-living marine resources and the ecosystem processes of the marine and coastal area.*
- *to manage the marine and coastal area so as to promote sustainability of existing resource use; the recovery of areas and resources that have been over exploited or otherwise damaged and to rehabilitate damaged ecosystems.*

- ❖ *to ensure that villagers and other park residents are involved in all phases of planning, development and management of the marine park, and have priority in the resource use and economic opportunities.*
- ❖ *to stimulate the rational development of under-utilized natural resources.*
- ❖ *to promote community orientated education and dissemination of information concerning conservation and sustainable use of resources in the marine park; and*
- ❖ *to facilitate research and monitor resource conditions and uses within the marine park.*

Additionally, two specific purposes of MIMP were added from a participatory planning workshop in September 1999:

- ❖ *to conserve and protect the historic monuments, ruins and other cultural resources that have been identified as of significance to the history of Mafia Island; and*
- ❖ *to facilitate the development of appropriate eco-tourism.*

The purpose of ecotourism development is further presented with three objectives:

- *Sustainable and environmentally sound tourism is successfully developed and maintained within the marine park.*
- *Local communities share in the benefits that accrue from tourism within the marine park.*
- *The impact of tourism development on the integrity of the physical and cultural environment is minimised.*

MIMP emphasizes the importance of regulating further tourism development as visitor numbers are likely to increase in the future, following government initiatives to advance sea and air transportation to the island. The issue of increased population in Utende due to influx of staff at existing lodges, families and employment seekers is also of concern if more lodges are accommodated (GMP, 2011).

The General Management Plan (2011) presents several achieved goals and challenges for the marine park, and in terms of tourism development these main concerns include:

- *over-exploitation of local fresh water supplies*
- *improper disposal of solid wastes, wastewater and sewage*

- *habitat damage, especially mangrove clearance to create beach fronts*
- *over-crowding in snorkeling, SCUBA diving areas and anchors damage coral reefs*
- *disturbance of the coastline from construction too close to the shore*
- *visual pollution from anesthetic construction*
- *friction with local residents over land acquisition and access rights*
- *overcrowding in tourism areas by local homes for prospects for employment in tourism hotels*
- *cultural erosion, unwanted behavior including prostitution and drug abuse.*

Currently, there are 13 villages wholly or partly within the MIMP boundaries, with a total population of 23,069, nearly half of Mafias population (48,689), according to the MIMP General Management Plan (2011). In regulations from the 'Marine Park and Reserves Act', each village is represented under formed Village Liaison Committees to be fully involved in all aspect of the development, the regulations, zoning and a general management plan for the marine park. MIMP consist of a multiple-use area with three types of use-zones. The *Core zone* is entirely prohibited from extractive resource use, with only controlled tourism and scientific research permitted. In the *Specific-use zone*, only local residents are allowed to fish, and with certain types of fishing gear such as hand-lines and traps. The *General-use zone* is the remaining areas and allows for net fishing with restrictions on mesh-sizes.

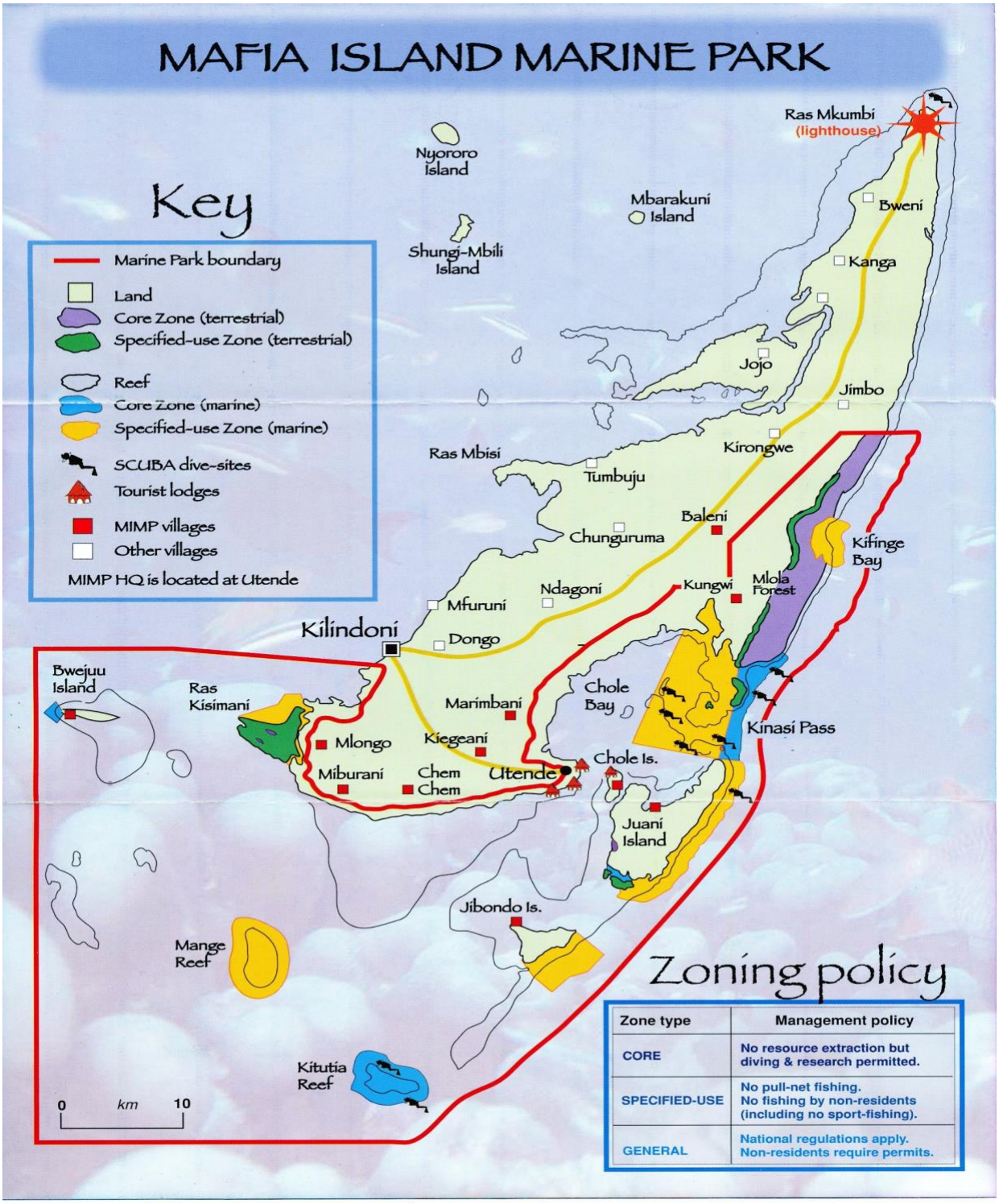

Figure 1. Map of Mafia Island and MIMP, Tanzania.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

Protected areas in developing countries are often facing challenges and conflicts with local communities located within and around the areas. Communities are often prevented from traditional livelihood activities, such as fishing, forestry, and coral harvesting, and often have limited livelihood alternatives. Their traditional livelihood activities are typically labelled as degrading use of natural resources and communities may be forced to stop their traditional ways and find other alternatives of livelihood. Protected areas are established to protect pristine nature and wildlife and with that, tourism is often introduced as a tool to conserve the area from destructive activities and as a livelihood strategy for local communities and creation of revenues for conservation and local development. One of the most important elements for a protected area with tourism to be successful, is the involvement of communities and that generated benefits reach the communities. Ecotourism is a strategy that is increasingly popular in developing countries due to environmental concerns, tourists that require more responsible and authentic experiences, and the need to involve and contribute to local communities livelihoods. Nevertheless, it is argued that ecotourism often looks good on paper, though in practice it does not live up to its promises and that the local communities are often neglected in some way. This research aims to assess the current level of ecotourism within Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) based on an evaluation of the present relationships between tourism, community and the park, and its impacts.

1.4.1 Objectives and Research Question

Since the establishment of Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP), tourism has slowly continued to develop as more tourists are arriving for the unique and pristine marine life. The overall objective of this study is to evaluate the current level of tourism in Mafia Island Marine Park and assess what impacts it has for conservation and the local community. The main research question is:

> *"What are the key past experiences with and future prospects for ecotourism development in Mafia Island in relation to the livelihoods and interests of different actors?"*

More specifically, the following objectives to answer the main research question are:

- to determine whether sustainable ecotourism contributes to environmental conservation; and
- to determine whether sustainable ecotourism brings socioeconomic benefits to the receiving community without also causing cultural disruption.
- To examine the social acceptability of tourism and conservation in the eyes of the local community, and their relations with the park authorities.
- To describe the current level of tourism in MIMP in terms of visitor number, number of lodges and other facilities, and types of tourism activities.
- Explore key actors' views on possible future scenarios for the development of tourism within Mafia Island Marine Park

2.0 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Protected Areas, Ecotourism and Host Communities

Tourism is often an important income source for many developing countries in the tropics, and at coastlines in particular. The presence of large number of tourists in such areas often causes unsustainable use of the available resources, like freshwater. As tourism is expected to increase, the pressure on these resources will correspondingly increase too (Gössling, 2001). Although studies on tourism and its development on Mafia Island are almost non-existing, there has been several studies on the topic in neighboring island Zanzibar. Gössling (2001) studied this particular topic in Zanzibar, which is an island that examplifies a destination that have experienced rapid increase of tourists and therefore experienced increased scarcity of natural resources that has affected the local communities negatively. Moreover, Scheyvens & Momsen (2008) argue that much of the research on sustainable tourism on small island states fails to bring issues of social sustainability and psychological or cultural dimensions. Caplan (2016) found that the beach properties in many of the villages in Zanzibar had already been sold to foreign developers for hotels. Villagers had only agreed to sell their land (coconut trees) because of desperation of money as the price of coconuts had dropped dramatically.

2.1.1 Ecotourism

Ecotourism is a widely discussed and questioned concept. The term derived as a result of the world's acknowledgment and reaction to global and sustainable ecological practices in the late 1980s, where consumers were seeking more individualistic and enriching natural experiences (Diamantis, 1999). Furthermore, Hawkins (1994) implied that the boom of ecotourism was caused by the international awareness of global ecological challenges, a rapidly growing segment of tourist desiring to experience wild nature, and the developing world's recognition and conviction that the natural resources are bounded and needs to be conserved and sustained for future generations (as cited in Page & Dowling, 2002). Today, there is still no consensus surrounding the definition of ecotourism, and is still a term subjected to intense debate, scrutiny and controversy (Page & Dowling, 2002). The concept itself has gained worldwide recognition in the tourism industry and has according to Diamantis (1999, p. 95) created "the most important tourism buzzword of this decade". Another aspect is the appearance of "greenwashing", more specific, tourist operators that are promoting themselves as 'ecotourism' to attract tourists and recognition, when the objectives and criteria of ecotourism concerning conservation, development and sustainability are not fulfilled.

Ecotourism has been defined in numerous ways, although most of them recognize that ecotourism is more than travelling and appreciation of nature. Ecotourism more importantly involves minimization of environmental and cultural impacts, contributions to host communities and conservation, and environmental education (Page & Dowling, 2002).

Honey (2008) explain ecotourism as a travel to natural destinations with minimal impact on nature and communities, that creates environmental awareness, contributes to direct economic benefits for both conservation and social communities, as well as empowerment and respect for local people and culture, and support human rights and democratic movements. The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) defines ecotourism as: *"Environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features - both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations"* IUCN (2016). Further on, ecotourism should contribute direct economic benefits to local people and provide opportunities for local people to enjoy natural areas too (Chiutsi, 2011). Different evaluation frameworks have been developed to assess the

sustainability of ecotourism. Diamantis and Westlake's (2001, as cited in Baral, 2014) criteria for ecotourism focus on whether a site is a protected area (tourism area), training programs and interpretation level (education), and the level of social, economic and ecological disciplines (sustainability). The classification of ecotourism projects is scaled from very strong to very weak. Ross and Wall (1999a) has developed a four-component framework to evaluate ecotourism consisting of its impact on biodiversity, the local community, the tourism industry and management involved.

2.1.2 Local Communities and Protected Areas

Critiques have argued about the common assumption that economic and social benefits that are given to the local communities, will result in local support for conservation. However, this strategy is highly complex because characteristics of communities and variable interests in issues related to development and conservation affect how different groups of communities value the same incentives or benefits (Lai & Nepal, 2006). Creating an effective relationship between protected areas (PA) and local communities is of great importance for the activity and sustainability of the PAs. Scherl (2005) presents some of the issues that must be considered for effective management of a PA and its relationship with local communities:

- Equality of cost and benefit distribution
- Governance systems that facilitate meaningful and effective participation and power sharing among PA management and local communities
- Rights and knowledge of indigenous locals that are not fully recognized
- Lack of compensation for loss of livelihood, opportunities, land and resource rights.
- Unsustainable poaching and illegal harvesting inside PAs, because policies for sustainable harvesting are lacking in many places

(as cited in Staiff & Bushell, 2004, p.73)

Other critical issues facing PAs includes lack of funding and low visitation number and therefore insufficient income to cover management costs and community development.

2.1.3 Marine Parks and Local Communities

Wildlife is a natural resource of biological, social, economic, educational, recreational, environmental and nutritional value to both the present and future generations, which should be protected and conserved (Sifuna, 2006). Marine Parks (MPs) are a mechanism to establish and achieve conservation and management of protected areas by controlling or excluding consumptive uses of marine resources, and further advocating for non-consumptive uses like ecotourism and scuba diving tourism (Fabinyi, 2008). Moreover, MPAs can benefit local communities and lead to empowerment, alternative livelihoods, social education and improved governance (Bennett & Dearden, 2014). Previous studies have shown both positive outcomes from MPAs leading to improved governance, poverty reduction through creation of employment in the tourism sector, health improvement etc, and more negative outcomes from MPAs concerning limited participation from local communities and unequal sharing of economic benefits between local communities and tourist operators (Leisher et al., 2007; Christie, 2004). The establishment of protected areas can trigger negative social impacts on local communities through disrupting their traditional ways of living and limiting their access and control of natural resources (Andrade & Rhodes, 2012). Park management of protected areas are often labeling the local communities´ traditional ways of exploiting natural resources as unsustainable, whereas the local communities often struggle to find other alternative livelihoods. The lack of participation in management, benefits and compensations from protected areas are often the cause of local people's negative attitude towards protected areas and conservation (Andrade & Rhodes, 2012; Anthony, 2007). A MPA is not successful without proper monitoring, surveillance and enforcement of the ecosystem, and active involvement and engagement of all stakeholders in order to minimise opposition to the park management for those people who are affected by the creation of the park (Pascoe et al., 2014).

2.1.4 Tourism and Local Communities

In the last couple of decades there has been conducted several studies on tourism and its impact on host communities. Several studies have found that local residents that are benefiting from tourism report more positive impacts and have a higher level of support for tourism development (Husbands, 1989; Madrigal, 1993; Lankford and Howard, 1994). However, Dogan's (1989) study on sociocultural impacts of tourism indicates that tourism from developed countries has

negative sociocultural impacts on host communities in the developing world, such as meratialization, decline in traditions, social conflicts, increase in crime, environmental degradation and economic dependency on tourism. Another factor described in previous studies is the intimacy between tourism and residents. Some studies have reported that locals living further away from where tourism are practices, and were not associated with it, had more negative perceptions on the impacts from tourism, while locals living in the core-area of tourism and who often are more engaged in the tourist sector, have higher tolerance of possible negative social impacts (Mansfeld, 1992; Sheldon & Var, 1984).

2.1.5 Tourism for Achieving Conservation and Development goals

In order for PAs to be successful, local residents support is imporatant. To foster positive attitudes and initiatives for conservation, local residents must be able to involve and feel a sense of ownership and control over development planning involving resource uses and tourism (Brandon, 1993). Lindberg and Enriquez (1994) argue that when these objectives fail and local communities feel they are not receiving enough benefits from ecotourism, if they perceive most benefits to be collected by outsiders, and experience resource restrictions as a result of tourism, then this is likely to create negative attitudes towards conservation (as cited in Ross & Wall, 1999b). Another aspect of tourism in protected areas is to make sure there exist an efficient mechanism for channeling revenues that is generated, as tourism can have a great impact in contribution to the cost of conservation of protected areas. Although, more than often, national and regional policies can hinder these possible contributions from tourism revenues. Furthermore, earmark revenues are often not possible as revenues must be transferred to central governments and are often not returned back to the protected area which generated the revenue (Ross & Wall, 1999a).

In PAs where local communities have been restricted or excluded from natural resources, the presence of tourism and scientists have conventionally always been tolerated and has widely been treated different than other human activities (Adams & Hutton, 2007). The balance of rights and wrongs with PAs in developing countries are often problematic, and Brockington describes (as cited in Adams & Hutton, 2007, p. 160) that the use of force has apparently become an achievable long-term conservation strategy where conservation interests are more powerful than

local oppositions. In the defense of PAs, use of force by the state is only one example of the deeper issue of conservation and governance in developing countries.

On the positive side, PAs can of course bring benefits to the local people and surrounding areas. Most fundamentally, people can benefit through different ecosystem services such as food, clean water, flood control, forest production and other natural resources (Adams & Hutton, 2007). Moreover, PAs usually contain great biodiversity and landscape, and this can provide for a tourism industry, which can create revenues from tourist fees and related tourism activities for both conservation and local communities. A tourism industry in PAs can create direct employment, land leasing, profit-share schemes, and independent locally owned commercial activities, such as food, accommodation or guiding (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

However, some studies have found that economic benefits from tourism are not necessarily increasing positive attitude towards conservation (Stem, Lassoie, Lee, Deshler & Schelhas, 2003; Walpole & Goodwin, 2001), while other studies found that indirectly benefits, or non-economic benefits, such as education opportunities, developing of skills, expanding social contacts, ideas exchange and empowerment had an impact on locals attitudes towards PAs and tourism (Stem et al., 2003; Stronza & Pégas, 2008).

2.1.6 NGO/Private/Government-run Protected Area Tourism model

One of the most common and traditional management models for PA-based tourism is the private sector/NGO/Government model where they are considered external to communities, unlike the community-based management model where communities hold complete, or nearly complete, ownership. This model is often being used in National Parks where the government is building and maintaining much of the tourism infrastructure, but also in private reserves or NGO reserves which are set aside as reserves financed by tourism (Bushell & Eagles, 2007).

The operators in a private sector/NGO/government model may have tremendous interests in conserving PAs and can create a positive impact providing employment and training for the local communities. Nevertheless, regarding community participation in a shared governance of a tourism enterprise owned and operated by the private sector, government and/or NGO(s), this is often limited as broad participation is often perceived as costly in both money and time. A shared governance in this particular management model for PA-based tourism does often not go beyond consultation and information exchange (Bushell & Eagles, 2007).

As mentioned above, this tourism model has the ability to create economic benefits for the often impoverished local communities, such as direct and indirect employment and subsidies. Nonetheless, generally most of the economic revenue and benefits remain with the private sector, NGO or government. The livelihood security of the local communities can indeed be affected if they don't hold a major sharing in the benefits, and as Scherl & Edwards (2007, p. 83; Bushell & Eagles, 2007) points out *"if members or the community as a whole do not have (or feel) ownership of the natural resources in the park and its vicinity, they may decide there is nothing to lose by not managing and protecting resources sustainably"*.
Further on, local communities lack of power and authority over management decisions also affects their position to even protect the natural resources. Livelihood security can be at risk by community members that feel resentment because they experience little or no direct benefits for the use or protection of resources they may consider to be theirs by inherent right (Bushell & Eagles, 2007).

2.2 Framework for Evaluation of Ecotourism

Ecotourism is an alternative to traditional mass tourism and is closely associated with nature and areas that are environmentally and culturally sensitive (Lu, Gursoy & Del Chiappa, 2016). This form of tourism is known as a minimal impact tourism with emphasis on conservation, understanding and appreciation of the visited cultures and environment (Wearing & Neil, 2009). Ecotourism is one of the fastest growing segments of the tourism industry, and Ross and Wall (1999a) discuss how ecotourism is usually viewed as a potential strategy for promoting conservation of natural ecosystems and supporting sustainable development for local communities. A successful site is depended on to which extent *"it is able to protect natural resources and biodiversity, generate money to finance conservation and contribute to the local economy, educate visitors and members of the local communities and thereby, encourage environmental advocacy and involve local people in conservation and development issues"* (Ross & Wall, 1999a, p. 126). However, the theoretical benefits to host communities and conservation projects are often not reached in practice (Ross & Wall, 1999a).

While literature on ecotourism is continuing to grow, Ross and Wall (1999a, 129) developed a framework for the development and evaluation of ecotourism, which is *"based on the assumption that true ecotourism should develop synergistic relationship between tourism,*

biodiversity and local communities, facilitated by appropriate management strategies".

Ecotourism development includes a vast amount of environmental and socioeconomic aspects, and with Ross and Wall's (1999a) framework it is possible to both evaluate the status of ecotourism at a specific site and contribute to future planning of further ecotourism development. The framework make us of several indicators to evaluate the conditions and status of ecotourism at a site, and determine if the balance between conservation and development are existing with a synergistic relationship between tourism, natural areas and local population (Table 1.).

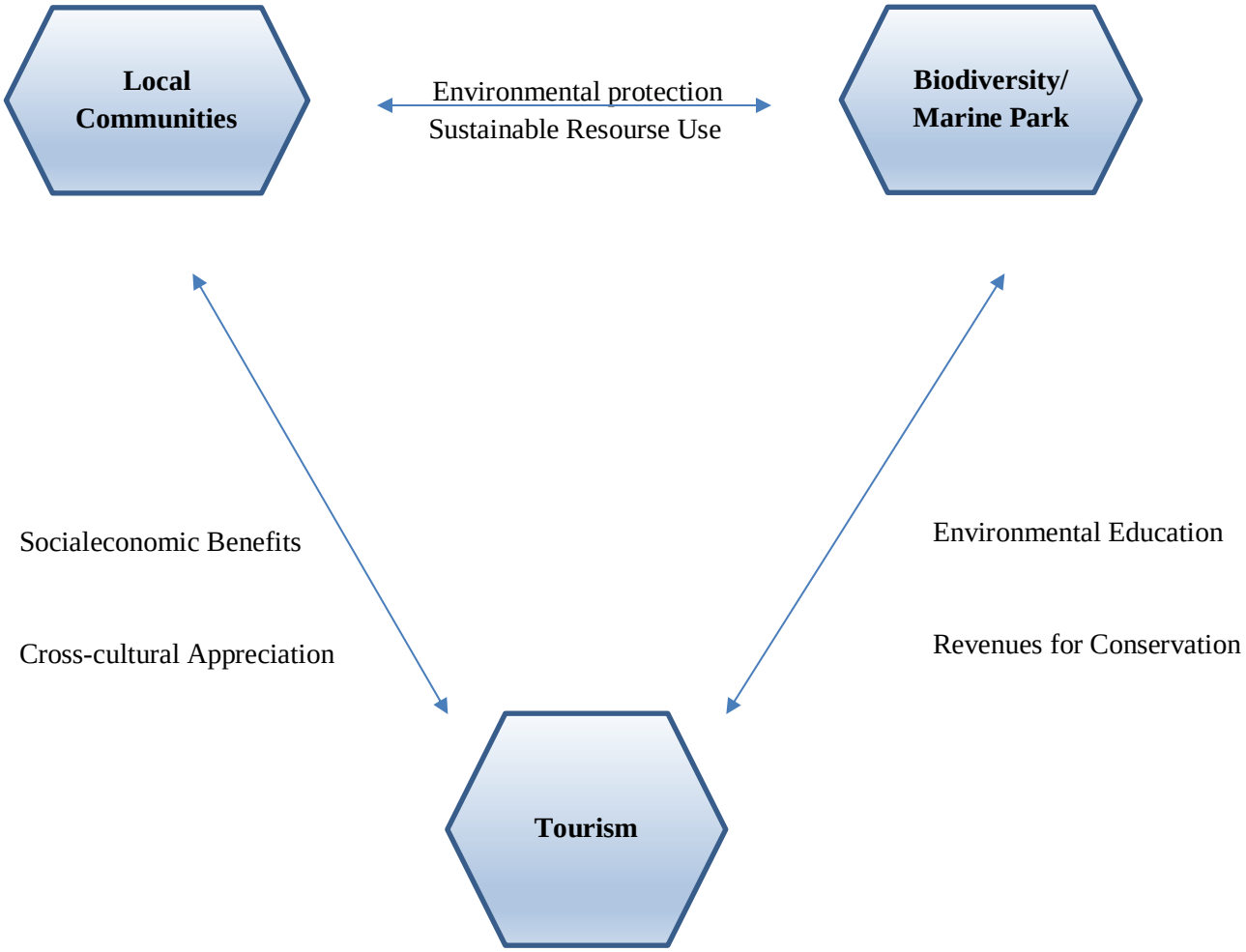

Figure 2: A Framework for Conceptualizing and Evaluating Ecotourism

Source: Adopted from Ross and Wall (1999a)

Ross and Wall (1999a, p.126) states that *"the success of a site reflects the extent to which it is able to protect natural resources and biodiversity, generate money to finance conservation and contribution to the local economy, educate visitors and members of local communities and, thereby, encourage environmental advocacy and involve local people in conservation and development issues"*. The ideal situation for an ecotourism site is that tourism, local residents and protected resources will benefit each other in an interrelated and synergetic relationship.

Table 1. Possible indicators to assess the relationships at an Ecotourism Destination

Relationship Between	Possible Indicators
Communities &Protected Areas (PA)	• Degree of dependence on PA resources • Local attitude towards conservation • Extent of local participation in conservation/planning • Natura of relationship between locals and PA staff • Presence of integrated use zones • Local benefits from resource protection
Communities & Ecotourism	• Number of locals employed in tourism • Number of tourism-related entrepreneurs • Local attitudes towards tourism's impact and tourists • Local health and education levels • Quality of roads, transport and other infrastructure • Nature of local-tourist interactions and opportunities
Protected Areas & Ecotourism	• Entrance fee charged • Tourism revenue contribution to conservation • Passive and active interpretive opportunities available • Quality of PA infrastructure and interpretive services • Tourist support for conservation (transformative values)

Source: Adopted from Ross and Wall (1999a)

Nevertheless, Ross and Wall (1999a) emphasize how ecotourism will not be successful without proper management strategies, effective policies and involvement of organizations, including NGOs and conservation and development assistance agencies. These agencies can assist with necessary knowledge, skills and training, and provide education and local capacity building for the local people. Considering the proposed research, the framework from Ross and Wall (1999a) is considered suitable to achieve the objectives of this study and is therefore adopted in this research. Not all indicators presented in the table (Table 2.) will be evaluated in this research due to limited time of the research.

3.0 METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Research Design

The study gathered data which could help answering questions about past experiences and future prospects for tourism development and conservation in Mafia Island, I decided to use qualitative methods in this study. Qualitative research allows the researcher to understand how individuals interpret their social world and this method emphasizes words, and attitudes, rather than quantification in the collected data and the analysis of it (Bryman, 2016). The study was conducted for approximately two and a half months, from mid-October to end of December in 2017. The study took place on the east-southern part of Mafia Island, in Utende, were most of the hotels and several villages are located. The study largely focused on Utende village, but both participant observations and interviews were conducted in all Utende. The fieldwork and research approach intended to explore the level of ecotourism in MIMP, and the perception of tourism, development and conservation of the locals and key actors.

3.2 Sampling Methods

As this study is focusing on tourism development in Mafia Island and its effect on local community and conservation, the selected site for interviewing local residents was based on relevance to the research topic. Utende village was chosen as it is the village currently closest and most involved with tourism in this area. The headquarter of the Marine Park is also situated here. The target population for this study includes also Mafia Island marine park managers,

hotels, local authorities, NGO representatives and tourists. These stakeholders were chosen due to their role in this environment and because they have the potential to together provide a more holistic perspective on my research topic. Nevertheless, most of my interviews were conducted with local residents from the village. This study drew from a nonprobability sampling design, and the sampling strategy involved using both purposive and snowball sampling methods. Purposive sampling approach aims to selects relevant participants that have knowledge about the experience or situation being studied to gain relevant data to answer the research questions (Schutt, 2015). Snowball sampling includes that the participant being interviewed identifies other potential participant for the study (Schutt, 2015). By looked into all the different hotels in Utende, five of them were selected with different characteristics, including some luxury eco-lodges, a large conventional lodge and a local entrepreneur lodge. Additionally, a diving center was interviewed. These were selected on the basis of their knowledge about the tourism industry in Mafia that could provide insight to the previous and current situation and give recommendations for solutions. A purposive sampling approach was also used for the local authorities, the marine park managers and NGO's. Snowball sampling was mostly applied for interviewing local people in the village with the help from my interpreter to identify other potential participant (Schutt, 2015). Although, an effort was made to systematic select participants to increase the sample's diversity in terms of gender, age and livelihood. As this sample strategy relies on social contacts between the participants, it cannot produce a statistically representative sample that can generalize the results (Bryman, 2016).

3.3 Data Collection Methods

The different methods used to obtain information included both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources used throughout the fieldwork included participant observation, in-depth interviews and informal conversations. The secondary sources included document and literature review and analysis.

3.3.1 Participant Observation - Living in the Local Village

Before my travel to Mafia Island I booked a tent for a couple of weeks at one of the smaller lodges in Utende, with the intent to find more local options during my stay there. This lodge was located near the beach and was also a diving center. This was my first time in Mafia Island and could not speaking Swahili, this was a logic choice so I could get to know people and the place. Being inside the lodge, I observed first-hand the relations between staff and employers and tourists and their habits. Further on, I got to know the staff and joined them on a regular basis to their village to eat local food and meet their friends and families. This eventually lead to me moving out of the lodge and into Utende village, because being seen as a tourists at a lodge was not an ideal situation for my study. Nevertheless, this choice gave me the opportunity to experience the tourism life here from the inside and having many interesting informal conversations with both staff and managers about their view on tourism here in Mafia and their livelihood. The obtaining of information and experiencing how life and the society is working in Mafia evolved my study approach a lot during my first part in Mafia, and Taylor, Bogdan and Devalt discuss this; *"until we enter the field, we do not know what questions to ask or how to ask them...the preconceived image we have of the setting and people we intend to study may be naive, misleading, or downright false"* (2015, 29-30).

In the village I spent a lot of time walking around making observations, buying some snacks and making conversations with people to establish my presence. This was important to establish an acceptance from the locals and create a good relationship with them. Nevertheless, without the language barrier this process would be much easier. I rented a room in the village with the family of one of the locals I got to know during the first period of my stay. I shared the house with him, his wife and their two year old daughter. They were used to having guests staying in their two extra rooms for short periods and this was an extra source of income to the family, housing students and researchers. Although, the wife, and women in general in the village, were somewhat reluctant and passive to interact and talk with me in the beginning, mostly because they didn't speak English and I did not speak Swahili. Moreover, also because I was observed talking mostly with men since some of them spoke fluent English and were often working more publicly than women. Living in and with the researched community gave me the opportunity to be involved and observe the details of the village's daily life and activities, and Marshall and

Rossman expressed this; “immersion in the setting allows the researcher to hear, see and begin to experience reality as the participant do” (1995, p. 79). The head of this household was also involved in tourism, running a small bungalow lodge by the sea, and gave me great insight to local entrepreneurship in Utende. The community in Utende is small and most people know each other, which was both an advantage and sometimes challenging.

3.3.2 In-depth Semi-structured Interviews

Although mentioned before, qualitative in-depth interviews were conducted with all stakeholders. As Taylor, Bogdan and DeVault (2015, p. 7) pointed out, “qualitative researchers are concerned with the meaning people attach to things in their life...and empathize and identify with the people they study in order to understand how those people see things”, this data collection method was used because I wanted to learn about people’s personal reaction and perception on events concerning tourism and conservation in Mafia Island. As Marshall and Rossman (2011, p.146) explains the importance of in-depth interviews in qualitative research, “the subjective view is what matter”. I used a semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions, where the specific content and order of questions can vary from one participant to another (Appendix A,B,C). The goal is to develop a comprehensive picture of the participants background, attitudes, and actions in their own words (Schutt, 2015). I conducted semi-structured interviews with 18 men and 12 women from the village (n=30), five lodges with either owner or manager (n=5), local authorities (n=3) and other key actors (n=2). The interviews with locals lasted between 20 to 50 minutes each, while the interviews held with the lodges and authorities lasted from one hour to two hours.

3.3.3 Secondary Data

Secondary data, such as books, documents, academic articles and previous studies in this field, is used in order to construct the theoretical part of this study to help answering the research questions and the main question. Additionally, secondary data is needed to gather further information about Mafia Island, the marine park and tourism development on the island. Most of the secondary data was collected in advance of the fieldwork, such as the Mafia Island Marine Park Management Plan and other published literature in order to gain broader knowledge on Mafia’s history. Additionally, other similar studies concerning conservation, PAs, tourism and

livelihood was utilized. Other data was collected during the fieldwork, mostly reports from the Marine Park which provided me with specific data on their tourism. All secondary data obtained were being used to compliment and compare the collected primary data during the fieldwork.

3.4 Ethical Considerations and Limitations to the Research

Qualitative researchers, especially in the social science, encounter unique ethical challenges which must be taken seriously to avoid harming the participants (Bryman, 2016). It was understood that this research was being conducted in a foreign country, with a different culture and language than the researcher own background, and it was important to ensure the respondents understood the purpose of this research and that all data would remain confidential. The importance of being honest of your identity as a researcher. Ethical concerns regarding informed consent, harm to participant, invasion of privacy and deception are important (Bryman, 2016).

This research have some limitations. One limitation of the study was the duration of my fieldwork. Staying only 11 weeks in Mafia Island, and the fact that I had never been there before, was not enough to develop a solid relationship with the local community. A researcher returning to the same site more than one time has some distinct advantages where culture shock is minimized and re-entry is easier. (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004). The most significant limitation of the study was the language barriers between me and the local community, regarding both data collection and daily life. Although I learned some Kiswahili during my stay, this was far from enough to be able to communicate with the participants from the communities. Due to my low skills in Kiswahili, I ended up interacting mostly with locals who spoke English or foreigners in my spare time. This could be negatively looked upon by other locals, who might feel neglected or see me as a tourist. Moreover, I had to use a translator for my interviews with local villagers which also has limitations. The essential problem in translation is the transferring of concepts and meaning from one language to another, and cultural references that get lost in translation (Goodson & Phillimore, 2004). Furthermore, because of the interviewer's lack of fluency in or familiarity with the local language, the interviewer may not ask the right questions that evoke long narratives from the participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

Before every interview I explained the topic of my study and asked of permission to audio-record the interview, informing about complete confidentiality and anonymity. For many of the female participants I had to explain the importance of recording the interview and also that this was completely anonymous, as they were often sceptic of this, mostly because they did not like their own voice. A few women refused to be interviewed with audio record.
As mentioned before, I had to hire an interpreter to assist with translating the interviews conducted in Swahili. This ended up more difficult than I assumed, considering you have to find a person who speaks adequate English and has good relationships with the local community. My first interpreter was helpful, but unfortunately, we found very limited time to work due to his working hours at one of the lodges. That contributed to lost time in my research, as finding a new interpreter and establish a good relationship between us proved challenging.

4.0 RESULTS

This chapter presents the major findings from the research conducted in Utende and MIMP. The intention of this case study is to examine the impact of ecotourism development on the local community-level, and how previous experiences and future prospects are perceived by the locals and the tourism industry. This includes an assessment of the current status of ecotourism in MIMP. The research used the framework of Ross and Wall (1999a) and its correlated indicators (Figure.2.0) to direct the evaluation of the results. Accordingly, the presented sections discuss the relationship between MIMP and the local community, tourism and the local community, and tourism and MIMP. The findings were obtained through semi-structured interviews with five lodges, 30 interviews with local residents of Utende Village, interviews with MIMP (Head of Tourism and the Warden in Charge) and Mafia District Council, and several informal/semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders. During the data collection from these sources, my own personal and participatory observations has influenced and strengthened the information.

Socio-demographic characteristics of local residents interviewed

The 30 local participant involved in this study were aged between 17 and 75 years old, and consisted of 11 females and 19 men. The majority of the participants had only primary education, 20 out of 30. Three participants had secondary school education, one had a college

degree, while six of the participants had no education. Their work profession varied as well as presented in Table 2. Self-employed small-scale farming and traders were the most common form for employment of the community respondents. Table 1. shows the different categories of employment of the interview participants (N=30). Most of the participants are from Mafia Island, whereas a few of them have moved to Mafia from other places in Tanzania.

Table 2. Work Professions of Local Residents Interviewed

Farmer	5
Fisher	5
Farmer & fisher	2
Local housekeeper/cleaner	1
Small shop owner	5
Sell fish & coconut leaf weaving (makoti)	1
Construction/carpenter	3
Carpenter & fisherman	1
Tourism	6
Student	1

4.1 Site Description - Utende

Island is a captivating tropical island with its unique and pristine biodiversity and can therefore provide tourists a high-quality experience of nature. The marine life here is one of the most diverse in southern Indian-ocean, and in the boundaries of the marine park the world's largest fish, Whale shark, and whales are presence in different seasons of the year. The coral reef is considered healthy and in good condition in contrast to other reef ecosystems in Tanzania and neighbouring countries. Utende Village is located in short distance from the lodges in Utende,

overlooking Mafia Lodge and Big Blu in the bay of Utende. The community's population size is approximately between 2500 to 3000 residents and is continuing to grow. Utende village is recognized as the community most involved with tourism within the MIMP.

Utende Village

Source: Personal pictures

Utende Village

Source: Personal pictures.

4.1.1 Flora, Fauna and Climate

Mafia Island is a captivating tropical island with its unique and pristine biodiversity and can therefore provide tourists a high-quality experience of nature. The marine life here is one of the most diverse in the southern Indian Ocean, and in the boundaries of the marine park the world's largest fish, Whale shark, and whales are presence in different seasons of the year. The coral reef is considered healthy and in good condition in contrast to other reef ecosystems in Tanzania and neighboring countries. The MIMP is covering an area of 822 km2 and has one of the richest marine biodiversity in the western Indian Ocean and is a world known area for conservation and biodiversity (Benjaminsen and Bryceson, 2012). The park is located in the southern part of Mafia Island and consist of four inhabited islands of Chole, Juani, Jibondo and Bwejuu and several other uninhabited islands. The tidal range is large throughout the year, approximately 3 to 4 meters, and in the associated water, more than half of the marine area of the park is less than 20 meters depth between tide levels. The expansive area is shallow and sheltered, and provides conditions for highly productive fisheries. Mafia Island consist of mainly sandy loam soil with

coral rags covered or uncovered. The climate is mainly stable throughout the year with temperatures usually between 33 and 20 degrees but is influenced by two Monsoons (wind) from November-March and from April-August. Mafia Island also experience two rainy seasons with an average rainfall of 2000mm a year, with short rains from March to May, and long rains from November to December. In terms of fauna, Mafia Island has a diverse coral reef with 48 genera of corals and some 380 species of fish. The Green turtle and the Hawksbill turtle are of great importance to this area, and have significant breeding populations. Nesting sites are found along the east coast of Mafia, particularly along the sandy beaches of Juani where a conservation project is implemented to protect the nesting of turtle eggs. Large colonies of fruit bat are located within the MIMP, mainly on Chole Island and on mainland near Utende. The coastline is mainly covered with mangroves and different species of seagrass, and on land you find lowland coastal forests with relative high biodiversity (GMP, 2011).

Mangroves and cut mangroves

Source: personal pictures.

Utende beach

Source: Personal pictures.

4.1.2 Infrastructure, Accommodations and Attractions

Tourism development started as early as 1950s, with only a Game Fishing Club at Utende beach. Later the previous Government-owned hotel Mafia Lodge was established in 1971, and since then, several lodges have been constructed in Utende. There are currently eight high-cost and "budget" lodges inside the marine park (Table 3):

Table 3. Lodges within MIMP

No.	Lodge	No.of beds
1.	Mafia Island Lodge	78
2.	Big Blu	Approx. 32
3.	Kinasi Lodge	28
4.	Pole Pole	18

5.	Chole Mjini Lodge	16
6.	Shamba Kilole Lodge	12
7.	Meremete Lodge (“Budget” & locally owned)	Approx. 20
8.	Mafia Beach Bungalows (“Budget & locally owned)	10

	TOTAL	**214**

Additionally, a few small homestays and guesthouses are located within Utende and Chole island. The high-cost lodges usually offer full- and half board and range from 230$ to 400$ per night for a double room, while the “budget” lodges offer prices from 50$ to 120$ per night for a double room. Mafia Lodge is the largest lodge within the MIMP and is privately owned facility situated right behind Utende beach with its own beach bar and sunbeds. The beach is a public area and the facilities can be used by guests from other lodges. Mafia Lodge provides 32 double rooms and two larger family rooms. The lodge facilities include a large and open restaurant, bar and lounge with a view towards the sea, a souvenir shop and a spa. Mafia Lodge also collaborates with Mafia Island Diving Centre which is located on the beach next to their beach bar. They offer a variety of activities such as scuba diving, snorkeling and boat excursions.
Big Blu is a “budget” lodge located right on the beach in Utende offering “glamping”-tents and bungalows right on the beach. The tents are furnished with two beds, carpets, a night table, light and a fan. These tents share a large outdoor bathroom area with showers and toilets. The bungalows offer double beds, private bathrooms, air condition and outdoor seating. Big Blu is also a private PADI diving center offering all the activities in the bay themselves. Kinasi Lodge is a luxury lodge and one of the first lodges built in Utende situated between Pole Pole and Shamba Kilole along the southern part of Utende beach. They offer large bungalows with their own outdoor area, and the lodge has a large property with a lounge and dining area on the top of the hill with seaview and a swimming pool an private beach.
Kinasi also have their own diving center, although quite small with only one diving instructor. Pole Pole is a luxury Ecolodge owned by an Italian investor with seven bungalows close to the beach. The lodge was established 20 years ago as one small bungalow and have since developed

to a larger high-end lodge. Within Pole Pole you find a large outdoor lounge and dining area by the beach with different sections, and a swimming pool on a higher level in their backyard. Chole Mjini is a lodge on Chole Island owned by a South African couple and is built within the mangroves by the shore. The lodge is promoted as an eco-lodge and provides private treehouses with their completely private beach. This lodge is excluded from the public and have a fenced property. Shamba Kilole is an eco-lodge situated by the shore, right next to Kinasi lodge and Mafia Beach Bungalows, and is the only lodge in Utende with a completed EIA. This lodge is owned by an Italian couple and opened in 2009 with six bungalows. They hold a large property with lounge, dining area and a swimming pool, and in their backyard, they grow fruits and vegetables for their guests. The lodge is completely running on solar power, which also powers all the bungalows . The owner is a diving instructor with his own boat, and offer private scuba diving activities for their guests. Meremete Lodge is located by the main road a few hundred meters before the Park entrance, approximately five minutes' drive from Utende beach. The lodge was established in 2011 and is owned and run by a local Mafian, and have today seven bungalows with balcony, nine rooms in total. Meremete Lodge have a large garden growing his own fruits and is also working as a dining area in the evening. The lodge offer free biking for the guests during their stay and have one boat for use of different activities and excursions. They are also cooperating with Mafia Diving Centre for offering scuba diving for their guests. Mafia Beach Bungalow is a smaller lodge with five bungalows and are owned by a local Mafian.

4.1.3 Future Developments

Presently, a number of local initiatives are under development in Utende and Chole. Many locals expressed their interest in taking part in tourism, and a few new guests-houses and hostels were under constructions at the time of the research. A bird-watching operator were established by to young locals during the research and built an office next to the road by the beachfront.
According to the marine park staff and many informal conversations, an extensive amount of the coast within the southern part of the MIMP and in north of Mafia has been allocated to foreign investors. The MIMP added some concern to this:

"These people are most of the time just waiting for the right time to move in, with all the infrastructure in place. They don't want to take the risk now. When time is right, everybody will

rush in, so how we gonna do this? We have to think about that in the future coming, we cannot stop it, but we have to manage it well".

4.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MIMP AND THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

4.2.1 Park Resource Use

Local residents within the MIMP are mostly fishermen and small crop farmers. The communities in Mafia Island have always been very depended on the marine resources, which they still are today. Families often have to rely on both fishing and farming, due to fishing being strongly regulated by the MIMP, and fishermen must apply for fishing permit to do so. Even though the other villages in the MIMP such as Juani and Jibondo are reported to be more hostile towards the management of the park, participants from Utende village expressed concern and disappointment in the regulation and management of resource use in the MIMP. Since the establishment of the MIMP in 1995, when assumable all the local communities agreed upon and approved the establishment of the park, the conditions and restrictions put on fishermen have expanded. Fishermen, and friends and families of fishermen, interviewed revealed that the use zones in the park is highly unclear for the locals, and they feel that the MIMP has expanded the zones without informing the locals. One old fisherman, now farmer, said: *"Especially the small islands of Chole, Juani and Jibondo, the marine park is stopping them to fish and making it very difficult for them to continue their livelihood. It would be very good if the marine park would only be focusing on conserving the area of breeding to be fisher, but the marine park stops people from fishing many places. Earlier only in core zone, but now they stop people everywhere. They used sea bend to show this area is reserved, but now they go even where they don't have one. Now they don't know where they can fish".* This type of arguments are expressed by several of the participants, and a major trend in the interviews of locals are the changes of rules within the MIM, where there are unclear borders of where it is legal to fish. Another participant expressed that *"MIMP and local communities agreed on (in the early stages) stopping all illegal fishing and fishermen, and stop unsustainable fishing, and was very happy with that. But I was also promised that they (referring to MIMP) would reserve some areas where nobody are allowed to fish at all, but that they will keep some areas open for fishing. Now, the marine park is doing patrol all over the sea".*

4.2.2 Local Attitudes Towards Conservation

The questions regarding importance of conservation, most of the respondents would agree that it is important to preserve the marine life. However, not everyone knew the definition of conservation, although it was quite clear that for those who did not know the definition understood it was what the marine park worked for. Out of the 30 locals interviewed, 29 of them revealed positive attitudes towards conservation of the park. In fact, many of the participants stated similar thoughts that conservation was *"very important"* and linked the importance of conservation to keep sustaining and increasing tourism and marine life at the island. Through interviews and informal conversations with local residents, there is an extensive understanding and support of why MIMP was established. However, there was a clear understanding that locals were feeling more resentful towards MIMP than in the early stages, as they felt the management of MIMP was not sharing important information to the public or properly advocated or educated local residents about conservation and the environment. One participant expressed the lack of involvement in conservation: *"Yes very important (conservation). Marine park is very good unit to have, but they should involve the locals in every step they take. So, locals can understand and support conservation".* Others were hoping to learn more about their environments, and one participant said: *"Community is lacking exposure to realize what is more important to their living or daily life...it would be good if the community would be able to know their surroundings, like going out on a glass boat to know the beauty of it. But it is not like that".* Many locals mentioned similar thoughts, on and off records, and observations revealed that very few locals could swim, and most were even afraid of the water for those reasons. The locals employed in hotels or diving centers had far more understanding and appreciation of the environment and conservation as they had been more exposed to tourists and environmental education.

4.2.3 Park Staff and Local Resident Relations

According to the local community, most of the participants feel that they are not included in any decision-making in development of either the marine park or tourism. When asked if they perceive that the community in general has been involved in the decision-making, the majority of the locals expressed negative views. They articulated that in different ways as *"totally not true that people are involved, no fully involvement, hotels are being built"*, *"not at all informed", "no proper involvement of the community"* and *"despite the local authority (village leaders) that*

is involved, the community entirely is not involved". Furthermore, most locals interviewed acknowledged that meetings were held between the park and village leaders or village Council, but they feel left out and that information is not reaching the community. According to the MIMP, when asked if the local communities are participating in decision-making, they hold meetings with Village Committee's with representatives from MIMP, and further with the Village Council. The Head of Tourism in MIMP stated that: *"anything that comes from the park goes to the village, and they have to communicate this to the rest (population of the villages), and vice versa".* He also mentions that they hold two meetings every year with the local communities, tourism stakeholders and researchers to discuss issues and share difficult experiences. This reveals that proper communication between the MIMP, Village committees, and the community itself is lacking, and that transparency is absence in terms of information sharing and decision-making in many cases.

Table 4. Summary of the Relationship Between MIMP and the Community

Indicator	Assesment
Local Residents Dependency on Natural Resources	High
Access to Park Resources	Restricted; Some areas Prohibited
Illegal Resource Use	Minimal
Enforcement Capacity	Limited; Economic shortage
Attitudes towards Conservation	Positive; Important for Tourism
Relations between Park Staff and Local Community	Poor
Participation in Decision-making	Very limited; Some information Provided

4.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOURISM AND THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

4.3.1 Attitudes Towards Tourism

A major trend by all respondents on questions regarding how they first reacted to tourism in Mafia Island was positive. Most respondents expressed that they were happy with tourism

coming to Mafia and many had the impression that life would improve, and the community would develop. Only one respondent expressed differently to the question: " *At first people were crying, because they didn't like white people…(he laughs) but now they have got education, and they now know that you are not coming here to do something bad you know...you come here just to visit our country and also maybe to learn something that you don't know and to get to know each other...it's better for you and me that we get to know each other".* The respondent was one of the oldest residents interviewed who grew up in Mafia and had worked in one of the lodges for more than ten years. Nevertheless, the majority of the respondents seemed to embrace tourism coming to Mafia and was hopeful that this would increase employment opportunities and economic flow in the market. In other words, Mafia residents had high expectations that tourism in Mafia would benefit them in one or the other way. On the follow-up questions about how they perceive tourism at present time, all the same respondents expressed disappointment and frustration. The reasons were many including a lack of jobs, low salary at the lodges, poor working contracts or no contract at all and that the community is not involved enough with tourism and decision-making of its development. Some of the respondents highlighted the difference between the present and earlier stages of tourism. They explained that in the beginning locals had more opportunities to get involved with tourism, stating that it was the locals who rented out their boats to the hotels, taking their guests out on guided tours or joined as a captain. One respondent emphasized further on that *"tourism was benefiting community a lot. Vessels like boats were coming from the locals to the tourists, it was very good...but now investors are more benefiting than communities".* However, when asked about how they felt regarding a potential increase or decrease in tourism to Mafia, all respondents expressed that they wished that tourism would increase and that more tourists came. On questions regarding how they perceived tourists and their interaction with them, all respondents reported that they only had positive experiences with tourists. Many expressed that they wanted more tourists to come visiting their village, but some were afraid that the hotels are telling their guests not to.

4.3.2 Economic Benefit

Tourism in MIMP has developed slowly over the last two decades, but the area has much potential for further development. The economic benefits from tourism is somewhat difficult to estimate due to poor monitoring of tourists by the local authorities, and corruption at different

levels of the economic chain. In meetings with MIMP officials, they presented records of visitor numbers from year 2000 until 2016 (Table 4):

Table 5. Visitor numbers in MIMP (2000-2016)

Year	Tanzanian	Non-Tanzanian
March-June 2000	82	218
2000/2001	431	445
2001/2002	408	813
2002/2003	408	513
2003/2004	141	1727
2004/2005	130	2171
2005/2006	139	3047
2006/2007	151	2973
2007/2008	131	3205
2008/2009	148	2857
2009/2010	202	3265
2010/2011	178	3968
2011/2012	NA	4620
2012/2013	NA	4442
2013/2014	NA	3821
2014/2015	NA	4783
2015/2016	NA	4617

These numbers are obtained from the marine park entrance gate, where tourists and visitors need to sign in with name, length of stay and which hotel they are staying in. The MIMP requires an entrance fee of 20$ +18% VAT per person per day. According to MIMP and the lodges, the average length of stay with accommodation within the marine park is between three and seven nights, with some visiting only as a day trip for those staying outside of the MIMP boundaries.

Given the estimated length of stay and the provided numbers from MIMP, an estimated revenue from the entrance fee in 2015/2016 would be between 326.884$ and 762.728$. However, the durations of stays are not properly monitored in the park, and MIMP officials were aware of this problem explaining that hotel managers do not always provide correct numbers of guests or nights to avoid taxing, and also the difficulties of tourists moving from one hotel to another which often creates miscommunications. The different hotels interviewed were not able to give an exact number of guests during a year, but several of them stated that the last few years have been very unpredictable with some good years and some bad ones. The season of 2017 had been slow, with low visitor numbers. An estimated 50 % occupancy level was reported from many of the high-end lodges, while the locally owned lodges could not report back any valid estimation of how many guests during a year.

The lodges in Utende provide employment for local residents, although the number is relatively small and most of the locals are still dependent on fishing and farming. The larger lodges such as Mafia Lodge, Pole Pole, Big Blu, Chole Mjini, Kinasi and Shamba Kilole employ between 30 and 60 employees each, depending on the seasons. The locally owned lodges like Meremete Lodge and Mafia Beach Bungalows have about ten employees. Moreover, an estimated 200 to 500 people are directly employed in tourism during the different seasons. From interviews and informal conversations, most of the people employed are local residents from Mafia Island, although there are some employees coming from the mainland.

Local entrepreneurship related to tourism is not properly estimated in this study, but at least four guest houses were available in Utende, three souvenir shops by the beach, one restaurant, one cafe, and a few new projects were under construction. The projects under construction were one lodge/hostel situated on the bounds of Utende Village next to the main road, another lodge located next to the gate of the park was almost completed at the end of the research and was created to house sport fishing tourists as the local owner is running a sport fishing company together with a South African investor. Further, two local young men were starting up their own bird-watching tour business next to the end road by Utende beach. One of them were already working in one of the hotels and had much experience with tourists and guiding.

According to MIMP, they had earlier given out loans to local residents who applied for funding to start new small businesses, although this was eventually stopped as MIMP experienced that only a few of those projects or businesses were put in place, and a vast amount of the money lent was never returned to the park. MIMP stated that *"more than 360 million TZS has been given to the community, but this did not give us positive response. Only 40 million have been relocated out of 360 million, so it means it has not been good or sustainable".*

4.3.3 Negative Impacts Perceived from Tourism

Insecure jobs and low wages were one of the most mentioned negative impacts by the respondents. All the respondents who either worked in one of the hotels or knew someone who did, expressed a big concern regarding these issues. One respondent explains that *"community is not benefiting, people work a lot, but get less. No benefits, just more people do hard work but get low return*". The respondents who worked in different positions in different hotels had a monthly salary between 160.000Tzs and 200.000Tzs. In US dollars, a monthly salary would be between 70 and 88 USD. One of the respondents who worked as a tour-guide at one of the lodges had just resigned his job after 10 years and said *"my salary was 190.000 tzs per month but was very little for the life. You can work for five six years and the salary is only increased a little".* Another respondent states his frustration with the following "there is not much benefits, just a little money to eat". Further on, the respondents expressed about the difficulties they themselves, friends or family experienced when they tried to confront the hotel owner or manager about this issue. Some were afraid of losing their job if confronting their employer, while one respondent who used to work as a driver at one of the lodges stated that *"I could not afford to work there anymore because my living cost was increasing, and my boss was not able to increase my salary, so I left my job".* The same respondent also claimed that his boss was holding him at work long over his working hours and was commanded to do other work then he was hired for, without any increase in salary. Observations during the research can confirm that many workers often worked much longer than scheduled and sometimes had to work on their day off, which would result in work for seven days straight or more. All the lodges reported they had mostly local residents employed, and only a few were from mainland. They all emphasized how important that was, although some of them stated that there was an issue regarding the lack of working skills and English skills. Extensive training of staff was essential, although time consuming for many of the

lodges. One of the lodges expressed some frustration regarding this: *"Things have to be done in a certain way according to the rule in Tanzania. We can plan everything in the office, but it has to be done by locals, so that means something that could be done in one month had to be done in ten months. That's because you have to teach and explain people what to do, someone start it and stop, and then you have to find someone else. It's a long job. It's complicated".*

4.3.4 Economic Leakage

Currently, six of the seven lodges in Utende are owned and operated by foreign investors, indicating that a significant percentage of the revenue from tourism and tourists' direct expenditures on accommodation and activities are not captured locally. The local shops and food markets are limited in Utende, and all of the lodges provides all meals for their guests, meaning tourists can stay at their lodge without spending any money in the local community. However, some tourists wish to experience the local community and there are several local dining areas in the village, which is usually one "mama" cooking homemade dinner outside their house. In terms of supplies, all the lodges reported that they purchase as much local food as possible, although a significant proportion of the supplies are imported from Dar es Salaam. The food market in Utende is limited, and the lodges are usually purchasing their local food from the market in Kilindoni. Seafood are purchased from the local fishermen both in Utende and in Kilindoni. Some of the lodges also provides with their own souvenir shop where most of the souvenirs are important from mainland or Zanzibar. Through observation and informal conversations with the local souvenir shops at the beach, it was perceived that purchases from tourists were limited and two of them struggled to get enough income. Local entrepreneurship is developing in Utende, however, several sources of economic leakages hinder the community to benefit from tourism related spending.

4.3.5 Infrastructure and Social Welfare Benefits

Transportation and communication infrastructure have had positive changes from tourism development. The road from Kilindoni to Utende has been reconstructed to a concrete road only a few years ago, and what used to take one hour or more, would now take only 20-30 minutes from one side to the other. The previous dirt track was in very bad shape, taking a toll on vehicles, and during rainy season it could be difficult, if not impossible, to travel on. Other

improved infrastructures are improved cell phone connection on the island, which now provides 4G in both Kilindoni and Utende. Electricity in Mafia is scarce, and the main power generator is located in Kilindoni. Power cuts are still frequent in Utende, although this has been improved considering the concentration of tourism in this area, and the community reports that the electricity is more reliable now than before. Water supply is another mentioned benefit for the community, one water tank provides the community with 10.000 litres per day. However, the water can only be collected during a period of the day, and some participants complained about this and the quantity of water.

In terms of quality and access to health care and education, tourism has contributed to improved schools and a health care dispensary in the village. Karibuni, a small Italian non-profit organization, was established in 2005 and is working to implement health and educational projects in the village together with some of the lodges. At the time of this study, they were running a nursery for young children, fundraising for school supplies, and a dispensary with one dentist and an ultrasound machine. One of the Italian founders of Karibuni revealed that they do not have full control of the projects and rely on the local residents to be involved. The local dentist was the only dentist on the entire island, which was working in Utende two times a week. During my fieldwork, a dentist from Switzerland was visiting Utende for the fifth year to supervise the local dentist and deliver more supplies. The ultrasound machine was newly installed at the dispensary, and pregnant women have now the opportunity to check their baby in case of premature problems. The only hospital in Mafia is in Kilindoni with only one ambulance. Karibuni says that *"two or three women are alive because he (ultrasound) could see the baby had died, and otherwise the women could have died".* Although it was mentioned some problems with the nursery concerning reliability of the dentist showing up at the right time, and logging all his work, closing the distance to health services is an important benefit for the local community.

Ultrasound Machine

Source: Personal Pictures

The Local Dentist and Dentist from Switzerland

Source: Personal Pictures

4.3.6 Intercultural Exchanges Opportunities

Based on the interviews with the local community, most residents in Utende are positive to tourism and further development. Participant's thoughts on further tourism development were that *"things will get better"* and *"people will benefit good in ten years".* Most of them thought tourism would only increase in the next ten years, and many were aware of the already reserved areas along the coast of Mafia. When asked about how they perceived and interacted with tourists, all the participants indicated that tourists were *"very nice and good"*, *"normal like us"* and "*behaving good".* However, some of the locals felt that there was not enough interaction with the tourists and wished they would visit the community more often. Some expressed some concern that the lodges were telling their guests not to enter the villages. Interviews from one of the foreign managers at a lodge apparently confirmed some of the locals concerns: *"If the tourists are not local, they don't go to the village because they fear the water and food, if it is fresh or not cooked immediately there might be bacteria...they have no power or generator, and if fish from the same day remains in the sun it is not good. Tourists don't go outside (to eat)".* Further observations would confirm that the management of many lodges would not recommend eating in the village, most likely for the same reasons and to keep tourist-spending for themselves. On a more positive note, those tourists choosing to visit and eat in the village, only positive feedback were perceived from these conversations and these tourists were seeking to explore the "local way" of living.

Learning new languages was also perceived to be a positive impact from tourism. The level of English education at primary schools in Mafia is poor according to local teachers and students. With only one out of nine subjects taught in English at primary school, the students are not well prepared secondary school which have several subjects in English. Thus, international tourism is contributing to cultural and language exchange for the community, especially for those working in tourism.

Table 6. Summary of the Relationship Between Tourism and Community

Indicator	Assesment
Number of Tourists	> 5000 in 2016
Tourism Employment	Limited
Tourism Income for Local Community	Limited
Local Attitudes towards Tourism	Positive; Job creation; But bad wages
Tourism Related Entrepreneurs	Some
Infrastructure and Social Welfare Benefits	New Road; Health services; Water Resources; Improved Electricity
Intercultural Exchange Opportunities	Some

4.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOURISM AND MIMP

4.4.1 Revenues Generated for Conservation

According to the MIMP and Marine Parks and Reserves Unit (MPRU), all profits generated from the entrance fee of the park are required to be remitted to the central government and only a fraction of the revenues are relocated back to the MIMP. The GMP (2011) states that 30% of the total revenue is relocated back to MIMP, where 20% of the net revenue should be allocated to the communities. In regard of generated revenues for conservation, interviews with lodges and several informal conversations with different stakeholders revealed that MIMP is the only marine park and reserve in Tanzania which generates revenues through entrance fee. In fact, the revenue generated by MIMP is divided to many of the other marine parks and reserves, assuming that very little profit is left for MIMP and conservation. Dive centers and lodge owners stated that MIMP was currently struggling financially due to this and other factors. Two or three of the lodges have now collaborated with MIMP to support patrolling the marine park, as MIMP did not have the funds to afford gasoline for their boats. The Head of Tourism in MIMP also indicated that they were experiencing funding shortage, resulting in conservation activities are suffering. He elaborates that *"the money government supported us with has for almost two years now stopped. So we are entirely depended on ourselves. But we have some support from the so called For Fish program by the World Bank, they support several of the activities like fish catch and monitoring, and also we have coral reef monitoring".*

4.4.2 Environmental Educational

Education in the form of active interpretation are present at a certain level in MIMP. Tourists have the opportunity to embark on guided tours around the bay and locals who can speak English are more than open to educate them about the traditional life on Mafia and their environment. Most tours are organized by the lodges themselves, although there are some locals who offer private tours for tourists. Since the marine park was established, the area has received significant research from marine biologists, conservationists and some NGOs such as World Wildlife Fund International (WWF), and Frontier-Tanzania. Despite the much interesting information collected in MIMP, it is not readily available to tourists or local residents. Perceived through participating observations, lodge managers and educated staff work as advocates for conservation and use the opportunities they have to educate their guests about the situation in MIMP and its environment.

As briefly mentioned, the passive interpretive materials and opportunities at MIMP are currently limited for the public. At the entrance of the MIMP office there is one information table with information about the park and different rules, although this was highly unreadable as the sign table seemed old and destroyed by weather. MIMP stated that they have initiated plans for creating an information centre for tourists within the park: *"What we plan is to do a lot of redesign of our website of the marine park and put a lot of information there to be more dynamic. Also, in future we want to put up an information center, not only information, but interacting one, where people can come in and see what we display, but we need some resources to be able"*. The duration for this to take place was not clear. Some of the local residents interviewed said an environment Club, who held classes in Utende village, were operating, although these classes were never observed during the fieldwork and uncertain who was running the club. A majority of the locals interviewed stated that information sharing and environmental education were to some extent present at the early face of MIMP, but were non existing the last years. During the fieldwork, MIMP and Mombasa Marine Park organized an interacting field excursion where selected local residents from both marine parks were visiting each park. The goal for this event was teach locals how different marine parks operate and how they can learn from each other. The selected locals were visiting each park for three days with presentations and excursions to discover the different tourist attractions at each location. This training was intended to create ambassadors for MIMP and conservation, and advocate this further with the

communities. However, there were rumors circulating that MIMP only selected residents that were only *"in favour"* of MIMP, and that it was not a democratic selection as MIMP stated it was.

4.4.3 Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)

The Marine Park and Reserves Unit Act No 29 of 1994 requires in sections 13 and 16 that no land within protected areas and the buffer zone of a marine protected area, may be allocated for, or put to use, without undertaking an EIA first. Additionally, the Environmental Audit Regulations 2005 and specific regulations for MPAs require that EIAs must be carried out on development activities and on-going projects that was established prior to the existence of the park. Through in depth-interviews with the hotels and observations during my research, only one hotel had conducted an extensive EIA audit, which was established in 2009. Another hotel, operating as a dive center as well, had expanded and this new area had to go through some extent of an environmental audit, although it was not clear if they had to go through a full EIA audit for their entire complex. Another study done by The United Republic of Tanzania National Audit Office (2018) found similar results as presented in Table 5.

Table 7. Investments with and without EIA at three different MPAs in Tanzania

MPA	No of investment	Investment with EIA	Investment without EIA
MIMP	11	1	10
TACMP	38	0	38
MBREMP	5	0	5

One of the projects in this research that had undergone EIA was the Hotel at Thanda Island (previous Shungu mbili Island) situated on the northwest side of Mafia Island. Even though this area is outside of my research area, MIMP was collaborating with Thanda Island during the time of this study, and interesting information was revealed about this project which is today established as a luxury private island resort. Through informal conversations, many stories were told about the conflicts concerning the foreign investors "buying" the island from the Tanzanian government, when this island was a traditional fishing ground for local villagers in the north part

of Mafia Island. The conflict has also root in the lack of transparency for the local communities and authorities regarding this project. Shungu mbili Island is one of 15 marine reserves in Tanzania, and according to The Marine Parks and Reserves Unit (MPRU), a marine reserve is considered to be a "protected area that are strictly set aside to protect biodiversity and also is always small area where human residence is not allowed", which contradict the current situation on this island.

Table 8. Summary of the Relationship Between Tourism and MIMP

Indicator	Assesment
Park Entrance Fee	Yes
Tourism Revenues for Conservation	Yes, but limited
Environmental Education Opportunities	Limited
EIA requirements	Yes, but only recently

4.4.4 Management and Policies

Management strategies and policies are essential to develop a symbiotic relationship between tourism, community and parks (Figure..).

The presented results in this section is obtained mainly from interviews with MIMP , a representative from Natural Resources and Environment Office at Mafia District Council, hoteliers, and informal interviews with key stakeholders.

4.4.4.1Tourism Management

Currently, there are no Tourism Management Plan imeplemented in the marine park, although this was discussed in the interviews with MIMP where they stated that they were in the process of planning. The GMP (2011) presents several strategies to the growing development of ecotourism:

- Support tourism operators in the promotion and marketing of tourism attractions.
- Collaborate with tourism operators to develop public tourism facilities.
- Train park staff and local tour operators to interact with visitors in a professional manner.

- Actively assist investors in following correct procedures for new developments and ensure they comply with EIA guidelines and requirements.
- Facilitate dialogue between communities and tour operators to ensure that local communities share in the economic benefits of tourism.
- Develop a system of record and monitor visitors' use of the park.
- Develop regulations for tourism facilities and utilities, including freshwater supply; disposal of solid waste, wastewater and sewage; visual appearance of buildings; watersports; installation of jetties and mooring sites etc.
- Develop a Visitor Management Plan that captures the above issues, and including safety regulations, carrying capacity, codes of conduct for tourists and tourism operators.
- Develop a Land Utilisation Plan for MIMP that identifies areas for potential tourism use.
- Develop a strategy with District authorities, tourism operators and communities to manage and where necessary regulate settlement into villages in the vicinity of tourism development.

The District Council were still in the process of developing a tourism action plan, as monitoring of tourism arrival was not adequate at present. The representative of Natural Resources and Environment stated that The District Council had only recently established a Tourism office, although they were not available at the time of the research and no statistical data could be obtained from them. The relationship between District Office and MIMP seemed to be in poor condition, as both parties mentioned frustrations in proper communications between them. A particular situation at that time was mentioned by the District Office, that MIMP had still failed to provide revenues of 50.000$ to the District Council. This was however not confirmed by MIMP.

In regard to environmental issues, waste management was prominent to be a major problem in MIMP, and Mafia in general. Hoteliers expressed deep concern about managing their waste, as there were no common facilities or collection of solid waste. Lodges have to store waste such as plastic and glass for a long time, and in collaboration ship containers to Dar es Salaam for waste treatment, which were seen as expensive and difficult. Presently, there are no executed regulations from MIMP concerning waste management, although they have presented this as one

of the main concerns in regulation of tourism in the general management plan, and several hoteliers expressed over this. Freshwater was mentioned to not be of concern, although MIMP stated that they needed more research on this.

Further, MIMP states that several surveys have been conducted on the potential attractions on all the islands, however documents on this was not available. The Head of Tourism at MIMP could present a ongoing study on tourists, were questionnaires had been given to tourist on how they perceive Mafia in general, what challenges that appears, duration and number of times they have visit the island, and comments about future prospects.
MIMP elaborates that code of conduct of snorkeling and scuba diving is present and have been briefed and advocated with all hoteliers.

4.4.4.2 Relations with Local Community Strategies

The Warden-in-Charge have responsibility for all matters concerning the park administration, the local communities, District authorities and other stakeholders. This includes to inform all stakeholders in planning efforts and to ensure they have the opportunity to participate in these matters. Furthermore, efforts to involve the local communities in decision-making include the establishment of Village Liaison Committees in each Village Council, and the GMP (p.42, 2011) states that The Marine Parks and Reserves Act No. 29 of 1994 support that *"each Village Council which affects or is affected by the marine park...either directly or through a designated committee shall participate fully in all aspects of the development of the regulations, zoning and general management plan".* However, this seems to have failed according to the local residents interviewed, were people in general feel left out of any information sharing or participation in planning. On the question of how they understand conservation and how it is important in the park, the community leader in Utende village expressed his frustration around community involvement: *"The park is inside the village authorities, but all the income or revenue the marine park collect they don't involve or tell the village authorities, and they do not benefit anyhow...it would be good and fair with the marine park to have if only they involve the village and support the village, but not like now how it is".*

MIMP provides an integrated multiple-use zoning to regulate fishing and tourism activities in the area. The intention with this form of regulation is to provide some areas open for fishing with restricted fishing gears, while the core zones are fully protected from any human activity except scuba diving and research for the sake of conserving the core ecosystems in the marine park. Failing to follow the restrictions in fishing activities will result in confiscating of fishing gear and boats. However, catching fish legally has been hard on local communities and the support for alternative and sustainable livelihood strategies to the community is poor, and the socioeconomic benefits from tourism is still far from enough. MIMP states that they have conducted tour guiding training for some local residents, and that further training should be implemented. However, MIMP expressed some frustration around local residents wanting help from them financially and wanted locals to develop their own projects and "think in a new way" instead of "marine park have to give us".

4.4.4.3 Park Management

According to hoteliers and diving operators, MIMP are currently inadequate of protecting the entire park from illegal fishing. The reasons for this mentioned are mainly concerning inadequate economic resources, and some of the lodges have come together to use their diving boats as watchmen in the bay doing joint patrol with MIMP, and also subsidise MIMP with petrol. Observations done at Utende beach could find that the MIMP patrolling boat were only occasionally used during the duration of this research. However, illegal resource harvesting activities were not perceived to be a major problem in the core zones at that time, but rather in the areas close to the boundaries of the park were some coral reefs exist. Some research and monitoring have been conducted by MIMP, in support by some NGOs such as Sea Sence, Frontier Tanzaniaand individual researchers. No further data was obtained from MIMP regarding this.

5.0 DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As presented in Chapter 2, the definition of ecotourism has been highly debated since the term emerged in the late 1970s, and there still remains a general agreement over its particular contexts. However, ecotourism has been recognized, if managed correctly, to have great potential

to provide socioeconomic development for host communities, promote environmental conservation and awareness, and generate revenues for conservation and resource management. Despite the potentials of ecotourism, the success in all objectives of the concept has more than often failed to be achieved. Recognizing this, an evaluation of the relationships between tourism, the park and community has been conducted to assess the current status of ecotourism in Mafia Island Marine Park, which is based on the indicators presented by Ross and Wall's framework for evaluation of ecotourism. This chapter will discuss the presented results in the form on the community-park-tourism relationships.

5.1 Relationship Between MIMP and the Local Community

MPAs are created to achieve conservation and management of protected marine areas, and advocates for non-consumptive uses such as ecotourism and scuba diving tourism (Favinyi, 2008). However, establishing protected areas can adverse negative social impacts on local communities by limiting control and access of their natural resources (Andrade & Rhodes, 2012). This is the case for MIMP, where the initiative goals for the park of community-based conservation have failed to be achieved. Dependence on natural resources are still high within the MIMP, and with variable opinions on the frequency of illegal fishing, it still occurs in the park. The lack of participation and compensation in park management are likely to create negative attitudes towards the park and conservation (Andrade & Rhodes, 2012; Anthony, 2007), which is evident in the case of MIMP and local fishermen. The hopes for MIMP are that developed ecotourism, and benefits from that, would compensate for the loss off resource harvesting, although it is clear that tourism on its own cannot benefit all in the large park with 13 villages, and other strategies must be considered. More importantly, the revenues from the park that are earmarked (20%) to go towards community development and services are perceived as non-existing in the recent years. The projects developed such as water supply, school and health services from the park has not changed in the last 10 years, as Holberg (2007) describes the same facilities in her study. The local residents who are directly or indirectly involved in tourism have a more positive outlook on conservation, as it is important for them to sustain the natural area and wildlife to continue to attract tourists to the area, thus sustain the jobs in tourism.

The relations between MIMP park staff and local residents are relatively poor, and locals do not feel that they are included in any decision-making or planning of either the park or tourism development. Although Village Liaison Committees are established in each village and meetings are held to discuss information from MIMP, the community itself does not feel they are reaching this information. This is in line with Brandon (1993) views that local residents must be able to be involve and feel a sense of ownership and control over development in planning of resource uses and tourism to foster positive attitude towards the park and its management. Further efforts are needed to establish good relations between the local community and MIMP, and to create more opportunities for the local residents to participate in meetings and overall decision-making. However, Bushell and Eagles (2007) state that the particular private sector and government management model for PA-based tourism does often not go beyond consultation and information exchange, and shared governance is often perceived as costly in both time and money.

5.2 Relationship Between Tourism and the Local Community

Generation of foreign exchange for the country is often one of the reasons for implementing ecotourism in protected areas. However, ecotourism can contribute to the local communities through socioeconomic benefits, improvements in infrastructure, and indirect benefits to foster an additional justification for resource protection (Ross & Wall, 1999a). Tourism within MIMP has developed in the last 20 years, from being only a few lodges in Utende to now eight lodges and several guest houses. The local residents in Utende village are perceived to have positive attitudes towards the existence of tourism in MIMP. Tourism were creating hope for community development and economic opportunities in employment and business development. Improvement of road, water resources and electricity were observed, and some local residents were trying to get involved with tourism in the form of guesthouses, boat trips and small shops by the beach front. However, despite the creation of entrepreneur opportunities and employment in lodges, the economic gain is perceived to be limited as this only includes a small portion of the population.

Furthermore, wages were pointed out to be too small in contrast to the amount of work and time. Employers stated that the income of working in the lodges only covered their basic needs, and expressing their concern for the hoteliers were challenging. The perceived opinions on low

tourist visitation and high expenditures for the lodges can, together with weak regulations of minimum wage, be a reason for *bad* wages to employees. Together with the fact that jobs in tourism are often highly sought by the local residents, as it at least gives a reliable income. However, this can create negative relations and attitude towards tourism and the park, if residents feel that most of the economic revenue and benefits remain with the private sector or government (Bushell & Eagles, 2007). Due to limited monitoring of tourists and tourism in general in the park, and some rumors about incorrect statistical numbers both from MIMP and the lodges, it is difficult to estimate the actual economic tourism revenues generated in the park.

5.3 Relationship Between Tourism and MIMP

Tourism revenue has great potential to make substantial contributions to the costs of managing protected areas (Ross & Wall, 1999a), although the success depends on the level of funding for establishing and managing parks, and incentives for long-term conservation by management agencies, local and central governments, and the local communities (Lindberg, 1991). MIMP requires an entrance fee of almost 24$ per person, per day, and have the opportunity to raise potentially high revenues from tourists when almost 5000 visitors are entering the park each year. However, the statements from MIMP that monitoring correctly all tourists arriving the park and their length of stay, are at times difficult, thus the revenue from tourism could have been substantial higher if proper monitored, and additionally, that correct number of bed nights were accounted for at the lodges. Nevertheless, the entrance fee is an important strategy for collecting revenues in the park, and the fee price is not only securing income for the park, but can also regulate the number of tourists and attract, more specific, tourists that are concern about the environment and conservation of the area.

The main revenues should be captured in MIMP to support conservation activities and the local communities, although, as Ross and Wall (1999a) points out, national and regional policies are often dictating the revenues and in the case of MIMP, all must be remitted to central government for further distribution to other marine reserves, and then, only a portion of the revenues are returned back to MIMP. This is met with much frustration by both locals and the tourism industry, who are depended on the natural resources to be conserved. Possibly, the entrance fee must be increased to gain higher revenues back to the park, and the fact that a great percentage of

the tourist in MIMP are divers or seek experiences with the marine life, may add to the willingness of tourists to pay for conservation. This correlates with Ross and Wall (1999a) statements that appreciation of the natural areas can encourage environmental advocacy, and high-quality experiences in nature can result in tourists to be more willing to pay fees that goes to conservation of protected areas. The survey of tourists performed by MIMP should include to ask their willingness to pay for entering the park, and contributing to conservation. This would help MIMP to determine the applicable level of entrance fee in the future.

This research found environmental education opportunities for the local community as limited, and only a few comments about an environmental club in the village were mentioned in different interviews. The local residents still talk about the education or information they received in earlier years, while many are now hoping to learn more and seek more information from MIMP. Despite that the GMP states that: *"In the longer-term, conservation objectives will be best achieved through education and awareness creation among local and business communities as well as tourists",* there are no existing information center in MIMP today, and the tourism industry are more likely to take the role in providing environmental education to tourists, their staff and the community.

The GMP for MIMP states that all land allocated for and buildings within the park requires to undertake an EIA. It also states that lodges established before the implementation of EIA requirements, must be audit in terms of environmental sustainability. Only one of the lodges in MIMP had undergone an EIA, and MIMP have not performed any audit of the remaining lodges to improve their environmental sustainability. Further development of waste management policies and audits of the lodges by MIMP are of great importance to hinder any risk of environmental destruction or pollution within the marine park.

As there is no Tourism management plan in place at MIMP, no further strategic plans are developed for tourism development in the park, other than requiring EIA for new establishments and some strategies for further ecotourism development. The relationship between MIMP and Mafia District Office were perceived to be in poor shape, as the statements from both parties varied when asked about their collaboration in tourism management. Although the priority of the

park is to conserve the marine areas, the need for proper management and development of further ecotourism is necessary in MIMP. However, the limited funding to MIMP and distribution of revenues to the Government contributes to inadequate conservation practices and tourism management of the park. The research done by Holberg (2008) reveals that the management of MIMP has not sufficiently progressed in the last ten years, as she states that MIMP was in the same position of planning to develop a Tourism Management Plan in 2007.

5.4 Future Prospects for Ecotourism in MIMP

Ecotourism within MIMP is still under development, and most of the lodges would not achieve all the objectives of successful ecotourism operators. The management of MIMP and other decision-makers must collaborate to develop a common agreement on what the term of ecotourism means and which objectives must be present to promote its further development. A number of new hotel projects are waiting for the right time to develop, and MIMP have to develop a plan for tourism to be able to monitor and regulate the future tourism development in the park. While the existing lodges are more reluctant to further tourism development due to conservation, the local residents are hoping for further development in the result of more jobs and income, and the local authorities, including MIMP and Mafia District Commission, are financially struggling with limited profit of tourism revenues. This suggests that further development of tourism will likely occur in the future, as Mafia Island is increasingly getting recognized for its pristine nature and marine life which tourists are drawn to.

6.0 CONCLUSION

This study aimed to explore the impacts and relationships between local community, protected area and tourism in Mafia Island Marine Park (MIMP) by applying an evaluative framework from Ross and Wall (1999a) to assess the current status of ecotourism. The framework proposes how ecotourism can successfully operate at a destination and has demonstrated to be an effective tool to conceptualize and guid the data collection at the site. Possible potentials and challanges of the existing relationships between tourism, protected area, and community can be highlighted by the use of this framework, to further evaluate the level of ecotourism at the site. Firstly, ecotourism has the potential to support marine conservation in MIMP through the economic

returns from the entrance fee of the park and the collaboration of tourism businesses to promote environmental education for both visitors and local communities. Many local residents would believe that without protection of the marine life and sites, there would be destroyed coral reefs and consequently no tourism on this side of Mafia Island. The results revealed that locals had positive attitudes towards tourism and expressed support for conservation of the marine park. Secondly, the result showed that many locals recognized that tourism is dependent on the marine life and conservation of the park, and thus had a positive attitude towards expressed support for conservation. However, the locals´ positive attitudes towards conservation were not in correlation with the economic benefits from tourism, as the economic income from the tourism industry is still limited for the local residents, and working conditions are often mentioned to be difficult. This study argues that economic benefits from tourism is not alone enough to contribute to positive attitudes towards tourism development and conservation. The local communities need to feel some sort of ownership over their natural resources, and their role in participating in decision-making is important to create understanding and increase their support for conservation and further development of tourism. Opportunity of employment in tourism seems to have some influence on conservation perspectives, although the direct benefits, involvement in decision-making, and environmental education is more likely to have a stronger influence on conservation support and behavior. The level of ecotourism in MIMP is under development, but further development of new tourism operators and evaluation of the existing lodges should be taken seriously by MIMP in regard to establishing good partnership with the local people. Further management plan for ecotourism development is necessary and all affected stakeholders must be included in planning and decision-making. There are great potentials for Mafia Island in terms of ecotourism development, although to be successful, the park-tourism-community relationship must evolve for the better and functional management and participation are required. The future scenarios for tourism development in MIMP are difficult to predict, but considering the beach areas already purchased by foreign investors, the pristine environment, and the growing tourism industry, Mafia Island will certainly experience an increased pressure from tourism in the future.

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8.0 APPENDICES

Appendix A: Park Manager Interview Guide

Background information

- When was Mafia Island Marine Park established and why?
- How was the process of establishing the park?
- What is the source of funding for management of MIMP?
- What resources does the park have?
- What are the potential tourist attractions in the park?

Ecotourism policy

- What are the specific and general objectives towards ecotourism development in MIMP?
- What strategy or policy on ecotourism has Management put in place for the park?
- What legal documents exist to regulate tourism and ecotourism activities in the park? And what are the specific rules and regulations in these documents for ecotourism activities?
- Has there been any monitoring mechanisms put in place to monitor tourism and ecotourism development policies in the park?

Local community Development & Participation

- What policy have been put in place for community development in the marine park?
- What activities have been developed to support community development in the surrounding areas?
- Have mechanisms been put in place to encourage community participation in tourism?

- How have locals participated in decision-making in terms of tourism development? (policy formulations etc.?)

- For those residents not involved with tourism in the area or for those involved part time, what other kind of activities/employment do they pursue?

- Does the marine park or tourism benefit them indirectly? How?

- What benefits have been realized in terms of tourism revenue (entrance fees, employment, conservation, services etc.) for community development?

- How has the community participated in the distribution of revenue generated from the park?

- What measures have been put in place to ensure that the local heritage is not threatened by the development of tourism in the area?

Conservation

- How is the tourism sector involved in conservation work in the marine park?

- Are some hotels more involved than others?

- In terms of promotion of ecotourism, what conservation policies lies within?

Stakeholder Collaboration and Partnership Formation

- Who are the major stakeholder involved in the management of the park other than MIMP?

- What is your role as a stakeholder in ecotourism development in the area?

- What specific areas of cooperation have been developed between MIMP, the community, Hotels, NGO´s and other stakeholders?

Challanges and Future Plans

- What challenges have been faced with regarding ecotourism development in the marine park? What are the major constraints that inhibit ecotourism development in MIMP?

- What threats to the parks ecology maybe alleviated by successful ecotourism?

- What opportunities exist for ecotourism development in a marine park such as MIMP? And what future plans have MIMP for ecotourism development in the marine park?

- Your opinion i.e. what should be done to improve the contribution of tourism to sustainable local livelihood and conservation of the marine park?

Appendix B: Local Residents Interview Guide

Demographics

Age:

Gender:

From Mafia? If not, where?

Education:

Current occupation:

Past occupation:

Local Community Development, Livelihood and Participation

- What were your thought about tourism when it first started in Mafia?

- What are your thoughts now?

- Why did you decide to become involved tourism (or not)?

- (How) would you like to be involved?

Economic impacts

- Is tourism your primary source of income? If not, what is your primary source of income? Besides tourism, what other ways do you earn money?

- (If employed in tourism):

- Other incomes?

- What is your monthly salary for working in tourism?

- What skills have you improved because of tourism? (Language, interaction, management)

- To what extent have you benefited from tourism? (other benefits from the lodges?)

- Has the community benefited from tourism, to what extent? Is tourism benefitting your community sufficiently?

- Who do you think benefits the most from tourism?

- Does tourism benefit community/you indirectly?

Socio-cultural impacts

- Have there been changes in the local culture or traditional values since the arrival of tourism? If so, what have changed?

- Have there been changes in the behavior of young people since?

Infrastructure

- How has the infrastructure changed with the development of tourism?

- Communication (roads), water supply, healthcare, schools

- What infrastructure in your village needs to be improved?

- What has been the good changes that have occurred because of tourism? And what has been the bad changes? (Economic, cultural, environmental, behavior)

- Have you been negatively affected by tourism, to what extent?

- Has the community been negatively affected by tourism, to what extent?

- Who has experienced the most negative effects from tourism?

- In general - Do you think the community is supportive of tourism?

- Have locals participated in decision-making and been consulted in terms of tourism development?

- If so, how has the community participated? And who participates?

- What benefits have been realized in terms of tourism revenue for community

development? (entrance fees)

The MIMP & Conservation (Attitudes towards tourism and conservation)

- Do you think conservation of the marine park is important here in Mafia?

- Do you feel it is important to protect the wildlife within the Marine park? Why?

- Does the community benefit from MIMP in any way?

- How do the community benefit from conservation?

- Do you support the MIMP? Does the community support the MIMP?

- Has the arrival of tourism increased your environmental awareness?

Future of tourism

- Are you happy with the current levels of tourism or would you like more or less?

- What would happen if tourists stopped coming to Mafia?

- How do you think tourism can be improved in Mafia?

- Do you feel optimistic about the future of tourism here?

- What changes would you like to see for the future?

- And how do you see mafia Island in 10 years?

Appendix C: Lodge Manager Interview Guide

Background information

- When was the hotel established?

- What made you choose to participate in ecotourism?

- What was your vision for your business?

- What are the main reasons for being involved? (Economic profit, provide benefits to locals, conservation, interest in wildlife)

- How many rooms & beds?

- How long do guests usually stay?

Ecotourism

Environmental

- *How would you define ecotourism?*

- What actions is your business taking to minimize environmental impacts?

- What reduction measures are you undertaking for water and energy?

- How is waste and sewage treated? Handled

- What policies were in place regarding ecotourism development when you established your business?

- What policies and regulations are in place today?

- How are you involved in conservation within the marine park? And how important is the conservation of the marine park?

Social

- How is your relationship with the surrounding villages? Has there been any conflict between your and locals regarding your business and its development?

- Follow up - How do you go about to create a good relationship with the local communities?

- How are you involving the local community in your business? (employment, locals)?

- How many employed? (Fulltime, Part time, Seasonal)

- How many locals and local community?

- For which reason do the lodge chose to not employ local people?

- Male/Female?

- Average age?

- Education?

- What roles do the local employees have?

- How much are the employees paid per month?

- Do they receive other benefits by working at the lodge? In what form?

- Do the lodge offer job training for the employees? In what form? (English?)

- Do the employees seem willing to further their education or/and training?

- What are the main issues in regard to training of locals?

- Is environmental education a part of employers training?

Participation

- Did the local community had the opportunity to participate in the lodges initial planning stages?

- If so, how and who?

- What are the main issues involved in terms of local community and employee participation with the lodges planning and operation?

- What policies exist for community development of surrounding areas?

- What activities are there to support community development in the surrounding areas? Community projects?

- Does your business benefit the local community indirectly in some way?

Economic

- What is your current level of guests during an open season? Number of guests in 2016? Average Occupancy rate%?

- How do you invest in the area where your business operates? (Does any profit go back to the local community and help preserve and develop the areas around and where your costumers visit?) Community development projects?

- Do you use local goods and services? (food, boats made, handcraft) If so, what?

- What goods and materials are not able to be sourced locally?

- How have your business changed or developed since first establishment until today in

terms of economic viability?

Stakeholder Collaboration and Partnership Formation

- What is your role as a stakeholder in ecotourism and development in the marine park?

- How is your collaboration and relationship with other lodges in Chole Bay?

- How is your relationship with the public sector on Mafia Island? The park, the district?

- Have there been any challenges with the Public sector, before, during and/or after you engaged in tourism?

- What benefits have been realized in terms of tourism revenue for community development? (e.g entrance fees, employment, conservation, services)

Challenges & Future Plans

- (What challenges have been faced regarding marine conservation in the park?)

- What challenges have been faced regarding community development in the park?

- What is needed to resolve these issues?

- What future plans do you have to further your (ecotourism) business?

- What changes have you seen on Mafia in general and within the marine park regarding tourism in the last 10 years? Positive and negative

- How can tourism in Mafia enhance the distribution of socio-economic benefits to the local/rural community?

- What future opportunities or challenges do you see for ecotourism development in the park?

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