

Desires of Community Participation in Tourism Development Decision Making Process: A Case Study of Barabarani, Mto Wa Mbu, Tanzania

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Over the last decade, tourism in Tanzania has recorded significant growth, with the industry's contribution to the country's steadily growing GDP. However, poverty and unemployment rate in the country is still very high, which raises questions regarding local community participation in decision making. Participation in the decision-making process is a crucial determinant in ensuring that the benefits accrued by local communities from tourism are guaranteed, and that their lifestyles and values are respected. This paper examines the nature of community participation expected by local people in tourism development decision-making process in Tanzania using a case study of Barabarani village, Mto wa Mbu, Arusha. The paper incorporates a questionnaire in a mixed method (qualitative and quantitative) approach in data collection. The findings showed that local people, regardless of the location they came from, their gender, occupation, and education, wish to have a voice and actively take part in the decision-making process, to ensure that their needs, priorities and interests are well considered when decisions about tourism development are made in their areas. The paper contributes to the wider scientific discussion on community participation in tourism industry, and uncovers vital information for tourism managers, planners, policy makers and academicians.

Keywords: Local communities, tourism development, decision making process

Introduction

Over the last decade, tourism in Tanzania has recorded significant growth, with the industry's contribution to the country's steadily growing GDP rate. The industry contribution to national output (GDP) has shown a steady increase from 7.5% in 1995 to 17.2% in 2007 (URT, 2007). Today the tourism industry is the number one foreign exchange earner for Tanzania, overtaking agriculture-which used to be the country's leading exporter (URT, 2010). Although these figures are appealing, Tanzania remains one of the countries that suffer from widespread poverty and a high rate of unemployment (Kweka & Ngowi, 2007; Nelson, 2012). Widespread poverty and a high rate of unemployment raises some fundamental questions of whether local communities participate in decision making regarding development in their areas and to what extent and in what form if they do and whether local people are satisfied with the existing form of decision making.

Participation is a process through which stakeholders, among them, the local communities, influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them (Havel, 1996). Participation, seeks collaboration or partnerships and the commitment necessary to ensure sustainability of tourism development initiatives. The outcomes of participation are usually a

reflection of a certain level of involvement of relevant stakeholders in the decision-making process which in turn enables people to make informed commitments to a particular project (Havel, 1996). Today, many development initiatives solicit the participation of all concerned stakeholders to address the inefficiency of highly centralized development approaches particularly in developing countries. This is not only for the sake of efficiency and equity of the programmes, leverage of donors and demands of local communities, but also for the sustainability of these initiatives (Baral & Heinen, 2007; Okazaki, 2008; Tosun, 2000).

The Tanzania National Tourism Policy of 1999 acknowledges the fact that most tourism attractions lie within local communities or in their vicinities and in most cases co-exist with the communities (URT, 1999). Some of these tourism attractions are the sources of their livelihood while others have greater spiritual significance to the community. For such reasons, the policy not only stresses the need to fully involve such communities when making decisions regarding development and management of these resources and attractions but also show that local community deserve to get a share of the income generated from such tourist activities within their areas (URT, 1999). However, the policy does not stipulate clearly how communities should be involved in making such decisions, and to what extent. Consequently, little is known about local

communities' participation in decisions making. Existing literatures show that in Tanzania, community participation is virtually non-existent (Dill, 2010; Shivji, 2006; Wade et al., 2001). Community participation in Tanzania is still a top-down approach and its history can be traced back to Tanzania's early years of independence and a socialist mode of economy where all decisions were centrally made (Dill, 2010). The subsequent adoption of a multiparty political system and the introduction of decentralization have opened new spaces for public participation, providing citizens greater opportunities to organize or to pursue other collective goals (Dill, 2010). This form of participation however, needs an appropriate mechanism on how it can be operationalized. Using a case study of the Barabarani village, in Mto wa Mbu, Arusha, this paper explores how local communities desire to participate in making decisions regarding tourism development in their area.

Community Decision Making: An Interactional Approach

Decision making is a process of defining problems and selecting a course of action from the generated alternatives. Decisions are made upon collecting and using information. In a group (like local community), decision making is one of the most important but complex processes. The major advantages of group decision-making are the use of more information and knowledge, and a greater acceptance and legitimacy of the decision via the interaction process as defined in interaction theory (Kaufman, 1959; Wilkinson, 1991). Major disadvantages are a longer time period required for decision-making and the risk of group thinking. Decision-making in a group is normally based on the: Authority rule, where the leader decides most of the times; Minority rule, where two or three people are able to dominate the group into making a mutually agreeable decision; Majority rule, where formal voting may take place or members may be polled to find the majority viewpoint; Consensus or unanimity, where discussion leads to one alternative being favoured by all members (unanimity) or most members (Schermerhorn, 1999). The difference between individual and group-decision making is the immediate interaction between participants in group decision-making. This interaction is usually very complex because participants have different motivations, perceptions, experiences, interests, knowledge and power. According to interactional theory, the decision making process in a community is well managed through the process of social interaction. Interaction theory views a community as a process where community is not given but is developed, created and recreated through social interaction allowing its adaptability to change (Matarrita-Cascante, 2010). In this pro-

cess, the collection of diverse individuals is considered to be very important as it creates an entity whose whole is greater than the sum of its parts (Wilkinson, 1991).

Community Participation in Tourism Development Process

A critical review of tourism literature reveals that community participation in tourism development can be examined from two angles: participation of the local community in the decision-making process and in the sharing of tourism benefits (Chok & Macbeth, 2007; Li, 2005; Marzuki et al., 2012; Nault & Stapleton, 2011; Tosun, 2000; Timothy, 1999; Havel 1996, 2008; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). Similarly, literature shows that evaluations of public participation programs typically fall into two types. The first type assesses the quality of the participatory process rather than its outcomes and is measured by whether; (1) participants are representatives of the wider community, (2) membership is balanced, (3) participation comes early in the decision making process, (4) face to face discussion between the public and agency representatives occur and (5) the agency is committed to the participatory process and responsive to public input. The second common types of evaluations are those that are interest-oriented. These measure the extent to which particular parties have achieved their own specific goals in participatory decision making (Beierle & Konisky, 2000). This paper focuses mainly on one component: community participation in tourism decision-making process.

Community participation in the decision-making process is a crucial determinant to ensure that the benefits local communities get from tourism are partly guaranteed, and their lifestyles and values are respected (Chok & Macbeth, 2007; Li, 2005; Tosun, 2000; Timothy, 1999). Community participation not only leads to getting local community support for the industry but also acts as a crucial component to achieving sustainable development of the industry (Cole, 2006; Okazaki, 2008). This is also reflected in one of the key underlying principles of pro-poor tourism, which clearly asserts that local communities "must participate in tourism decision making if their livelihood priorities are to be reflected in the way tourism is developed" (Chok & Macbeth, 2007, p. 147). It is also important to note that through participation process actual negative impacts as well as negative perception of tourism can be lessened and the overall quality of life, perceived and actual, of all stakeholders can be increased (Byrd et al., 2009).

There are various ways through which local communities can participate in the decision-making process, ranging from passive to active, from participating to no participation, and from being represented to holding a referendum. It is however, im-

portant to note that the difference between each level of participation is determined by the varying degree of inclusion in the decision-making process to be exercised by local communities (Li, 2005; Timothy, 1999; Tosun, 1999). One approach to achieve community participation can be through engaging local communities as members in the public and tourism related decision making bodies (Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). Participation can also be achieved through engaging a committee elected by local communities or through joint decision-making by both appointed and elected local government agencies or by consultation with the local community residents, who could in addition hold a referendum (Tosun, 2006).

Various researchers (Tosun, 2006; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007) have examined community participation and identified a number of inter-related barriers that prevent effective local communities' participation in the tourism industry in developing countries. Such barriers include; centralization of public administration, lack of co-ordination, lack of information, insufficient data and poor dissemination of information (Tosun, 2000). There is also a low level of interest by residents in taking part in matters beyond their immediate family domain (apathy) and a low level of awareness in the local community as people are generally not well-informed. In addition, lack of ownership, capital, skills, knowledge, resources, elitism, empowerment and involvement, leakage of revenue, partnerships, access to tourists, transparency in benefit-sharing, and lack of an appropriate policy framework to support community participation all constrain the ability of communities to fully control their participation in tourism development (Cole, 2006; Manjara & Jones, 2007).

Typologies of Community participation in decision-making process

Various scholars have attempted to develop useful models that conceptualize community participation in the context of development studies in general, but are not related particularly to any economic sector (Pretty, 1995; Tosun, 1999). However, Tosun (1999) examined community participation in the tourism industry and designed a model that can be applied specifically to the tourism industry.

Tosun's model suggested three forms (typologies) of participation which "contextualizes community participation as a categorical term that allows participation of people, citizens or a host community in their affairs at different levels: local, regional or national" (p.494). These are: *spontaneous community participation* - an ideal model of community participation which emphasizes provision of full managerial responsibility and authority to the host community; *coercive community participation* - in which the host community is not as

fully involved in the decision-making process as it is in spontaneous community participation though some decisions are made specifically "to meet basic needs of host communities so as to avoid potential socio-political risks for tourists and tourism development" (Tosun, 2006, p.495); and *induced community participation* - in which the host community has a voice regarding the tourism development process through an opportunity to hear and to be heard, but has no power to ensure that their views are considered for implementation, especially by other powerful interest groups such as government bodies, multinational companies, and international tour operators, among others (Tosun, 2006). Induced community participation is basically a top-down approach, a passive and indirect form of community participation most commonly found in developing countries in which host communities only endorse and may participate in implementation of tourism development issues or decisions made for them rather than by them

The Study Area

Barabarani is a famous village in Mto wa Mbu-Arusha - Tanzania. It is located 130 kilometres (a 2-hour drive) west of the regional capital of Arusha Region (Figure 1). It is located on Tanzania's famous northern tourism circuit between the key attractions of Ngorongoro Crater and the Serengeti National Park. Consequently, Mto wa Mbu is a common stop for many nature tourism operators. "Mto wa Mbu", is a ward comprising three villages, namely Migombani, Majengo and Barabarani. Most tourism activities are concentrated in the Barabarani village. The area is situated under the Great East African Rift Valley escarpment (Muganda et al., 2010). It is the host town at an entry-point and close to the entrance gate to the Lake Manyara National Park which contributes significantly to making this study area also popular for wildlife-based tourism. The area is also conveniently located on the way to two world-renowned tourism attractions: the Ngorongoro Crater and the Serengeti National Park, which together make Mto wa Mbu an ideal stopping place for most safari travellers. It is a common stop for many safari operators who visit this area to enable tourists experience local products, food and drinks and to visit the area's huge curio market located in the Barabarani village. Official data from the village indicated that in 2007, Mto wa Mbu ward had a population of 28,000. Out of this population, Barabarani village alone (1544 hectares) served as home to more than (58%) 15,969 people. The other two villages, Majengo and Migombani, constituted about 19% and 23% respectively. Similarly, the ward has a number of tourism establishments such as tourist hotels, lodges, and tourist campsites.

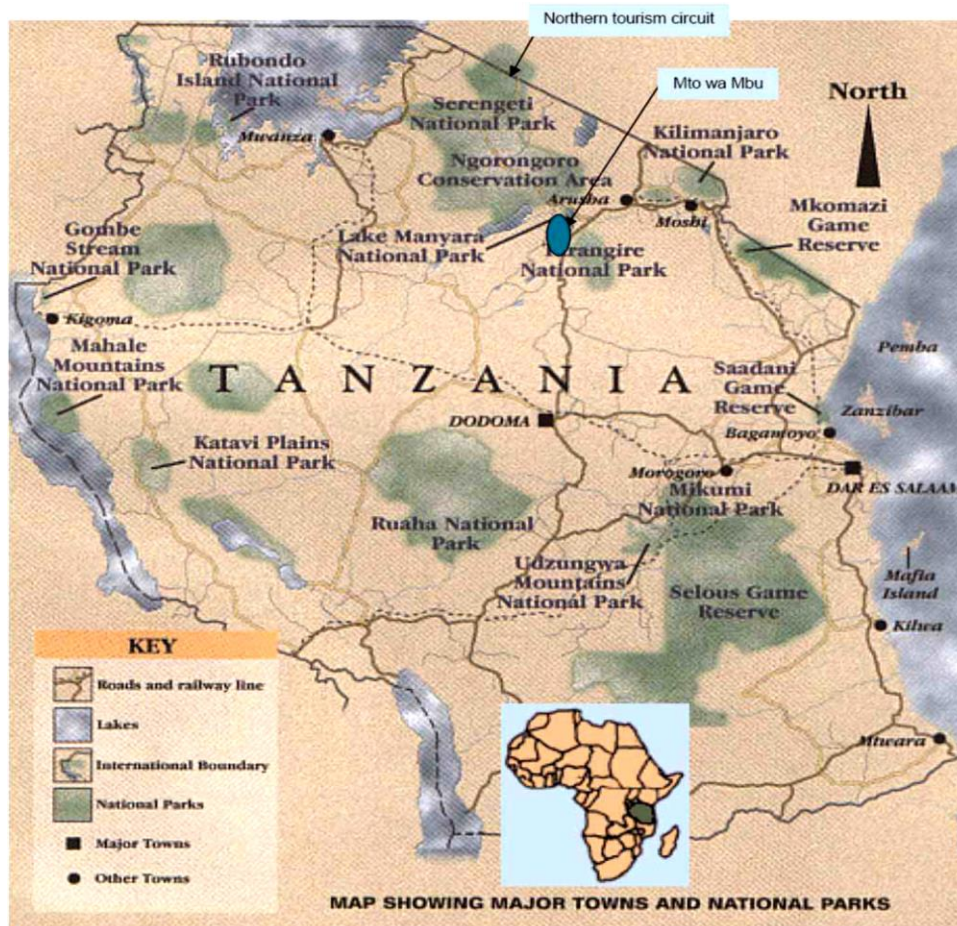


Figure 1: Map of Tanzania showing the location of Mto wa Mbu within the northern circuit. Source: Tanzania National Parks Authority (TANAPA) (2009).

Methodology

Data collection

Data for this study was collected through a closed and open-ended household questionnaire survey. The quantitative responses were measured on a Likert scale with (1=strongly disagree, 3=neutral and 5=strongly agree). The qualitative responses were tape recorded and notes were taken during each interview. The household survey was chosen because; first, it is generally representative of the community; second, it is one of the most appropriate research methods designed to provide information from the community as a whole; and third, it generally represents a complete geographical area (Veal, 1997). The data was collected through a structured researcher-completed questionnaire survey due to the fact that many people in this area have low level of education. This kind of questionnaire administering was chosen because it is arguably more accurate, generates higher response rates and provides fuller and more complete answers than the respondent-completed questionnaire (Veal, 2006). This approach allows 'room for manoeuvre' in ensuring respondents clearly understand the questions (Long, 2007). Data collection from each respondent last-

ed between 50 and 80 minutes and was conducted in Kiswahili (native language). During analysis, these responses were translated into English.

The study area had eight sub-villages as of August 2008 (the time of data collection), thus, in order to ensure that each sub-village and household has an equal chance of being selected, a random sampling techniques was used in data collection. Each household was given a unique code written on a piece of paper and mixed in a box and then 5% of the pieces of paper, each containing a house code, were randomly drawn from the box. The same procedure was utilized in each sub-village to obtain a 5% of its households which all together formed a study population.

Barabarani village had 2480 households at the time of the research and 139 (5.6%) were surveyed, a representative sample of the research population (Moser & Kalton, 1993). Initially a total of 149 (6%) households were determined as sample size. However, only 139 participated in the final survey (93.2% response rate). Ten households could not participate due to various reasons beyond the control of the researchers. In Tanzania, each local jurisdiction has a directory containing full postal addresses of all households in their constituencies.

The researchers used this directory to get the list of households. The survey was carried out with adult family members who were community residents (defined as any household member 18 years or older who has lived in the community for more than six months). Respondents were surveyed in their home during evenings and an adult family member represented each household.

Data analysis and presentation

The completed questionnaires were coded and the quantitative data was analysed by using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) to produce frequencies, percentages, means and standard deviation. Such responses were also categorized, analyzed, and examined across various respondent groups (gender, occupation, education, and the location). In presenting the quantitative data, the paper adopted two approaches: the use of means and standard deviations - indices of central tendency; and the use of frequencies and percentages - indices of response patterns (Rogelberg, 2002). Whereas means and standard deviations have useful statistical properties and are simple yet powerful measures, frequencies and percentages are thought to simplify and improve communicability of the data results (Rogelberg, 2002). These two approaches have been used separately or in combination depending on the nature of the question asked and the key point the paper aims to stress.

Qualitative data obtained from open-ended questions were coded into a set of categories developed from identified commonalities. In other words, repeated themes were recorded together and categories of themes identified as they emerged. Two approaches were used to display the qualitative data: paraphrasing while remaining faithful to the original meaning as it was given by the respondent; and selecting illustrative quotes that have been applied in a particular context.

Results and Discussion

Profiles of respondents

The respondents were generally well spread across age, gender and places of residence (Table 1). They had varying periods of living and experience with the tourism industry in the study area. The majority of them, 59%, had lived in their current village since they were born while 32.4% had lived there longer than 10 years. Only 8.6% had lived in that area for less than 10 years. Of all the respondents, 64% were peasants while 6.5% were employed full-time in the formal sector and 21.6% were doing small-scale business activities. The rest, 7.9%, were unemployed, which partly gives an indication of the quality of life of Tanzanians given the country's high rate of unemployment (Kweka & Ngowi, 2007).

Table 1: Profiles of survey respondents (N=139).

Respondent characteristics		Number of respondents	Percentage
Gender	Male	76	54.7
	Female	63	45.3
Education	Primary school	82	59
	Secondary school	41	29.5
	College/university	2	1.4
	Without formal	14	10.1
Age (Years)	16-24	14	9.4
	25-34	38	27.3
	35-44	38	27.3
	45-59	38	27.3
	60 +	11	7.9
Residence duration	less than 10 years	12	8.6
	longer than 10 years	45	32.4
Occupation	Born in the study area	82	59
	Peasants	89	64
	Business	30	21.6
	Employed full-time	9	6.5
	Unemployed	11	7.9
Sub-village	Kisutu (R)	21	15.1
	Korea (R)	16	11.5
	National Housing (R)	16	11.5
	Magadini (F)	19	13.7
	Jangwani (F)	16	11.5
	Migungani 'A'	19	13.7
	Migungani 'B' (F)	12	8.6
Location	Kigongoni (R)	20	14.4
	Zone (R) sub-villages	92	66.2
	Zone (F) sub-villages	47	33.8

(R)= sub-villages close to the road; (F) =sub-villages far from the road , Source: Field survey, June-August 2008

The nature of community participation in the tourism development decision-making process expected by local communities

Respondents were asked to respond to six statements on a 5-point Likert scale on how strongly they agree or disagree regarding who should make decisions about tourism development in their area (e.g. establishment of tourist hotels, camp sites, lodges and other tourism related facilities), and who should make decisions in general matters about the Community Conservation Service (CCS) project in their area. Each of these statements had an option for respondent comments to support their level of agreement or disagreement. It is imperative to note here that such tourism establishments and CCS projects were chosen as illustrative examples only since asking respondents about who should make decisions on tourism development using 'Kiswahili' without referring to anything could be too hypothetical and vague and respondents would not understand what was meant by 'tourism development'. Thus, the questions were framed around these examples but responses, particularly comments from respondents, were not limited to these. The quantitative data for the two examples (tourism establishments and CCS project) will be presented separately but the qualitative comments will be

compared and discussed together as they are similar. CCS is an outreach programme developed around all National Parks under the Tanzania National Park Authorities (TANAPA); it is funded by TANAPA via income generated through tourism

Community participation in the decision-making process regarding development of tourism establishments

Table 2 depicts the quantitative findings from the statements that gauged local people's views regarding who should make decisions about tourism development such as the establishment of tourist hotels, camp sites, and lodges in their area. The results of each of these statements are ordered by importance based on mean scores of respondents' levels of agreement to a particular statement. According to the results, the overall mean scores of five out of six statements examined are above 3, indicating that the respondents' level of agreement with the ideas suggested by such statements was overall, above average. The overall mean for one statement, 'market forces should make decisions on tourism development' is 2.84 (overall, below average), suggesting that the respondents tended to disagree with this idea

Table 2: Views about who should make decisions on development of tourism establishments.

In your views, who should make decisions on tourism development in Mto wa Mbu such as establishment of tourist hotels, lodges or camp sites etc?	Mean	SD
Appointed and elected local government agencies should jointly make decisions on tourism development in Mto wa Mbu by consulting local people [Appointed & elected officials by consulting locals]	4.29	1.03
A committee elected by public (local people) for specially developing, managing and controlling tourism should make decisions on tourism development in Mto wa Mbu [An elected committee]	3.70	1.01
Elected local government should make decisions on tourism development in Mto wa Mbu [Elected officials]	3.42	1.24
MNRT/TANAPA should make decisions on tourism development in Mto wa Mbu	3.31	1.06
Appointed local government agencies (who are normally representatives of central government) should make decisions on tourism development in Mto wa Mbu [Appointed officials]	3.14	1.19
Market forces should make decisions on tourism development in Mto wa Mbu [Market forces]	2.84	1.28

When Table 2 is examined based on the ordering of the mean scores of each variable, the results indicate that there was a tendency among the respondents to support the statement that 'appointed and elected local government agencies should jointly make decisions on tourism development by consulting local people' (mean 4.29, SD 1.03). This statement gained the highest mean score. Appointed local government agencies such as the division secretary, ward executive officer, and village executive officers are representatives of central government, whereas the ward councillors, village chairpersons and secretaries, and sub-villages

chairpersons and secretaries are elected by local people from among themselves.

The second choice was 'a committee elected by the local people should decide upon tourism development issues' (mean 3.70, SD 1.01). The statement 'the elected local government should decide on tourism development issues' had the third highest mean score (mean 3.42, SD 1.24). The statement 'the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) or Tanzania National Parks Authority (TANAPA) should make decisions on tourism development issues' had the fourth highest score (mean 3.31, SD 1.06). TANAPA is a Parastatal organization currently managing all 15 national parks in Tanzania and

operates under the MNRT. The statement ‘appointed local government should decide on tourism development issues’ had the fifth highest mean score, and the idea of ‘market forces’ had the lowest mean score (mean 2.84, SD 1.28).

However, the standard deviation scores show that the responses were overall spread far from the mean, with a broader range noted to three statements (SD of 1.19 and above): market forces should make decisions on tourism development; MNRT or TANAPA should make decisions on tourism development; and appointed local government agencies should make decisions on tourism development. This suggests that there were relatively more respondents who favoured the extremities (strongly agree and strongly disagree)

Further analysis of the means across the profile variables suggest that overall the respondents from

Zone (F) sub-villages (sub-villages far from the road) tended to agree with the idea of market forces making the decisions of tourism establishments, which was slightly rejected by those living close to the road. Although, the mean scores of the rest of the variables are above 3, suggesting favourable responses, those of Zone (F) sub-villages are generally lower than those of Zone (R) sub-villages in all five statements. In comparison, this indicates that the respondents from sub-villages far from the road showed a greater degree of overall agreement to such statements than those from sub-villages close to the road. Overall, male and female respondents had similar views about who should make decisions on the development of tourism establishments.

Table 3: Views by categories about who should make decisions on the development of tourism establishments.

In your views, who should make decisions on tourism development in Mto wa Mbu e.g. establishment of tourist hotels, lodges or camp sites etc.?	Respondents	FORM OF DECISION-MAKING					
		Appointed & elected officials by consulting locals	An elected committee	MNRT or TANAPA	Elected officials	Appointed officials	Market forces
<i>Variable</i>	Number	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean
Location							
Zone (R) sub-villages	92	4.34	3.72	3.34	3.42	3.20	2.76
Zone (F) sub-villages	47	4.21	3.66	3.26	3.40	3.02	3.00
Gender							
Males	76	4.22	3.68	3.39	3.54	3.13	2.78
Females	63	4.38	3.71	3.21	3.27	3.14	2.92
Occupation							
Peasants	89	4.44	3.69	3.31	3.42	3.00	2.79
Businessmen/women	30	3.90	3.87	3.43	3.43	3.47	2.90
Employed full-time	9	4.78	3.56	3.56	3.33	3.11	3.33
Unemployed	11	3.82	3.45	2.73	3.45	3.36	2.73
Education							
Primary	82	4.32	3.61	3.26	3.28	3.05	2.84
Secondary	41	4.46	4.07	3.51	3.71	3.27	2.90
College/university	2	3.00	2.00	4.00	3.00	3.50	4.00
No formal education	14	3.86	3.36	2.93	3.43	3.21	2.50
Overall mean		4.29	3.70	3.31	3.42	3.14	2.84
Overall score		1	2	4	3	5	6

(R)= sub-villages close to the road; (F) =sub-villages far from the road

In sharp contrast with the other occupations (peasants, businessmen/women, and unemployed), full-time employed respondents were of the view that market forces should make the decisions on tourism development in the study area. In particular, the respondents with college or university education (though few in number) rejected the idea of an elected committee, the second popularly accepted idea based on overall mean scores, but embraced the idea of market forces. In contrast, those with secondary, primary or no formal education sup

ported the former idea and rejected the latter. Furthermore, the results also show that the respondents who had no formal education generally did not like the idea that the MNRT/TANAPA should make decisions on tourism development in the study area.

Community participation in the decision-making process of the community conservation service project

Respondents were also asked to state their views about who should make decisions on general matters about the (CCS) project in their area. The responses

were again examined by assigning ranks based on the mean scores of each variable (Table 4). Similar to the results in Table 2 (about who should decide on tourism establishments), the overall mean scores of five out of six statements examined were above 3, indicating that the respondents' level of agreement

with the ideas suggested was overall, above average. Similarly, the overall mean score for the statement, 'market forces' was below 3, suggesting that the respondents' level of agreement with this idea was, overall, below average. In other words, the idea was not supported by the respondents.

Table 4: Views about who should make decisions in general matters about the Community Conservation Service (CCS) project

In your views, who should make decisions in general matters about the CCS project in Mto wa Mbu?	Mean	SD
Appointed and elected local government agencies should jointly make decisions about the (CCS) project in Mto wa Mbu by consulting local people [Appointed & elected officials by consulting locals]	4.36	0.97
MNRT/TANAPA should make decisions about the (CCS) project in Mto wa Mbu	3.55	1.02
A committee elected by public (local people) for specially developing, managing and controlling tourism should make decisions about the (CCS) project in Mto wa Mbu [An elected committee]	3.45	1.13
Elected local government should make decisions about the (CCS) project in Mto wa Mbu [Elected officials]	3.40	1.05
Appointed local government agencies (who are normally representatives of central government) should make decisions about the (CCS) project in Mto wa Mbu [Appointed officials]	3.06	1.20
Market forces should make decisions about the (CCS) project in Mto wa Mbu [Market forces]	2.54	1.26

Similar to the previous results (Table 3) regarding tourism establishments, the results indicate that there was a tendency among respondents to support the idea of 'appointed and elected officials by consulting locals' (mean 4.36, SD 0.97). This statement again gained the highest mean score. The second was 'the MNRT/TANAPA should decide on CCS programme in the study area' (mean 3.55, SD 1.02). Although the respondents' comments to support their ratings are discussed separately in the section below, it is important to note that this idea had the fourth highest score in the previous results

(table 3, with the mean of 3.31). The third highest scores belonged to the idea of an elected committee (mean 3.45, SD 1.13), which scored second position in the previous results (table 3, with the mean of 3.7). The idea of elected officials had the fourth highest score (mean 3.40, SD 1.05), which is one place down when compared with the previous results (table 3). The ideas of 'appointed officials' (mean 3.06, SD 1.20) and 'market forces' (mean 2.54, SD 1.26) scored fifth and sixth positions respectively, same positions as in previous results (Table 3).

Table 5: Views by categories about who should make decisions in general matters about the (CCS) project

In your views, who should make decisions in general matters about the CCS project in Mto wa Mbu?	Respondents	Form of Decision-Making					
		Appointed & elected officials by consulting locals	An elected committee	MNRT or TANAPA	Elected officials	Appointed officials	Market forces
Variable	Number	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean	Mean
Location							
Zone (R) sub-villages	92	4.32	3.49	3.53	3.39	3.05	2.43
Zone (F) sub-villages	47	4.43	3.36	3.57	3.40	3.06	2.74
Gender							
Males	76	4.36	3.43	3.51	3.36	3.12	2.53
Females	63	4.35	3.47	3.59	3.44	2.98	2.55
Occupation							
Peasants	89	4.44	3.46	3.49	3.36	2.93	2.43
Businessmen/women	30	4.27	3.57	3.77	3.43	3.23	2.80
Employed full-time	9	4.62	3.75	3.67	3.89	3.00	3.12
Unemployed	11	3.73	2.82	3.27	3.18	3.64	2.27
Education							
Primary	82	4.38	3.33	3.48	3.33	3.02	2.51
Secondary	41	4.58	3.75	3.68	3.54	2.98	2.72
College/university	2	3.00	2.00	2.50	2.50	4.50	2.50
No formal education	14	3.79	3.50	3.71	3.50	3.29	2.14
Overall mean		4.36	3.45	3.55	3.40	3.06	2.54

(R)= sub-villages close to the road; (F) =sub-villages far from the road

Digging more into the data, particularly by examining and comparing mean scores of various respondents groups, reveals that there are different views across various forms of decision-making. Table 5 presents the results of responses on each form of decision-making for each of the respondent groups. Overall, there were similar views between respondents in sub-villages far from the road and those in sub-villages close to the road regarding who should make decisions about the CCS project though some slight differences exist between their mean scores. Similarly, in terms of gender, there were similar views between males and females with regard to who should make decisions about CCS projects though some slight differences exist in their mean scores across all variables (table 5). Respondents who described themselves as peasants also rejected this idea, whereas businessmen/women, employed full-time and employed respondents embraced it. Similarly, respondents who had secondary education also opposed this idea of appointed officials while those who had primary education, college or university education and those who had no formal education generally supported it. The results further suggest that unemployed respondents and those who had college or university education did not generally support the idea of an elected committee, which was supported by the rest of the respondent groups.

In addition, holders of college/university educations rejected two more ideas: that of

MNRT/TANAPA; and elected officials. These ideas were supported by other groups of respondents. Only respondents who were employed full-time supported the idea, 'market forces should make decisions about the CCS project'. The rest of respondent groups rejected this idea.

Local people's views about who is best placed to make decisions regarding tourism establishments and the CCS project

By comparing the responses to decision-making for the two examples (tourism establishments and CCS project), based on mean scores, it is clear that respondents supported five out of six options, only rejecting market forces (Tables 2 and 4). Such results however, indicate that local people have multiple choices regarding who should make decisions on tourism development in their area. Furthermore, such results suggest that there is a need to establish which one among the given options was considered by the local people to be the best placed to make decisions on both tourism establishments and the CCS project. To examine this, respondents were asked which option was best placed to make decisions on both tourism establishments and the CCS project, tourism development examples in their area. Their answers were examined by assigning scores based on the percentage scores of each variable with the highest percentage ranked 1 as indicated in table 6.

Table 6: Who should make decisions on tourism development and CCS?

In your view, which of the following is best placed to make decisions on tourism development in Mto wa Mbu such as establishment of tourist hotels, lodges, camp sites etc.?	Tourism establishments		In your view, which of the following is best placed to make decisions about the CCS project in Mto wa Mbu?	CCS project	
	Ranking	Percentage		Ranking	Percentage
Appointed & elected officials by consulting locals	1	74.8	Appointed & elected officials by consulting locals	1	69.1
MNRT/TANAPA	2	17.3	MNRT/TANAPA	2	15.8
Elected officials	4	2.9	Elected officials	3	7.2
An elected committee	3	5.0	An elected committee	4	5.0
Appointed officials	5	0	Appointed officials	5	2.2
Market forces	5	0	Market forces	6	0

Similar to Tosun's study (2006), an overwhelming majority of the respondents stated that appointed and elected local government officials should jointly make decisions on tourism development. About 75% of the respondents chose 'appointed and elected official in consultation with locals' for tourism establishments and 69.1% for the CCS project.

Local people reasons for preferring 'appointed and elected officials in consultation with local people'

Various reasons were given by respondents to support their ratings in the above quantitative results. Many reasons were similar for the tourism establishments and the CCS project for a particular form of decision-making. To avoid unnecessary repetition, such reasons are presented and discussed briefly together in the following paragraph.

The respondents who supported the idea, 'appointed and elected officials in consultation with local people', believed that the presence of elected leaders would help to ensure the protection of

community's interests. They argue that "This would increase transparency and accountability, improve efficiency and wipe out embezzlements and abuse of offices, which are rampant acts amongst decision-makers". In fact, these were also the main reasons why many respondents rejected the idea of appointed officials. This perception arises from the fact that elected officials, as opposed to appointed officials, are usually trustworthy people elected by local people from amongst members of the local community. Indeed, the idea would help to erode corruption while ensuring fair decisions are made. The overall result is that tourism would gain more support from local people as they would be motivated to participate.

Although the quantitative results indicate that there were some respondents (though very few) who disagreed with this idea by choosing other options (see Table 6), analysis of comments suggest that the majority of respondents supported it. Those who seemed to reject it by preferring other options particularly TANAPA thought that TANAPA officials were not included in the category of appointed government agencies when in fact they were. The idea of appointed officials was also rejected on this basis, among other reasons. One survey respondent for example, commented,

"I don't support it, unless TANAPA are involved!"... "Do you see that school out there? They [TANAPA] have built I think one or two classrooms for our children. So I think they have the capacity to do things. I just doubt if others have such capacity, anyway"

It should be noted that in Tanzania, MNRT/TANAPA officials are often considered to be tourism professionals and experts. This is not only because they manage all national parks in the country, where most of the wildlife safari tours are conducted, but also because they have much experience dealing with tourism. In addition, they have been working closely with local communities surrounding the national parks through the CCS project. In fact, this is the main reason why respondents ranked MNRT/TANAPA as the second best placed to make decisions about the development of tourism establishments and the CCS project in the study area (see Table 6).

Conclusion

This paper examined community participation in the tourism development decision-making process in the context of rural area settings. The results suggest that while local people recognize and acknowledge the need to involve tourism professionals and experts when making decisions about tourism development is crucial, they also wish to be involved in the decision-making process. A majority of respondents stated that appointed and

elected local government officials should jointly make decisions on tourism development by consulting local people. However, they don't want appointed officials alone to decide on tourism development issues because of the general feelings that some of them are corrupt. Also they don't want elected officials or the local committee alone to decide because they lack tourism expertise and some of them have little education. Thus, a suitable form of decision-making from their perspective would be one that involves both elected officials (who represent the local people to ensure the community's interests are considered when making decisions) and appointed officials (who would bring in their expertise and knowledge). But before making such decisions, the elected and appointed officials should first consult with the local people so as to collect the public views.

The desired way of involving the local community in tourism development by consulting local people appears to represent "spontaneous participation" in Tosun (2006)'s typology, which advocates bottom-up, active participation by local people. However, the need to be consulted also signals that the desired participation by local people is similar to participation by consultation in Pretty's typology (Pretty, 1995), in which decision-makers have no obligation to take on board people's views. But the difference in this research lies in the fact that local people in this rural ward in Tanzania wish to have actual participation in the decision-making body to involve elected officials, who are representatives elected by the local people themselves. In other words, the local people through their representatives would in essence be among the decision-makers.

The study also noted that overall there is a slight variation in the perception regarding who should make decisions in this area between residents living close to the road and those living far from the road. Residents living far from the road tended to agree more with the idea of market forces driving tourism than those living near the road. The reasons for this could be due to the fact that residents living far from the road are not often involved in business and so have no clear idea of how tourism businesses operate, including a lack of understanding of issues like power relations and competitions, which highly influence decision making process. Businessmen/women are always more likely to make decisions that will favour their interests but not always that of the community. Similarly it was observed that in general the number of female respondents was slightly low 63 (45.3%) compared to that of men 76 (54.7%). This could be due to social-cultural differences existing between men and women in this local community. However, unlike (Tosun, 2006), women who participated in this study were very informed and knowledgeable about tourism industry development.

The paper has also identified a number of obstacles to community participation in tourism development in the study area. Such obstacles are similar to those identified in the literature on community participation in tourism in developing countries (Cole, 2006; Manyara & Jones, 2007; Tosun, 2000). They include: low levels of interest showed by local people in following up issues beyond their immediate family domain (apathy); poor co-ordination between involved parties (ordinary members of the local community and their leaders); low levels of awareness of the whole idea of community involvement coupled with low level of education. The study results though not surprising, they do support previous studies findings that examined community participation in other decision making settings and undeniably contribute to the general body of knowledge regarding community participation.

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