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Lecture

Cultural Heritage Tourism and the Community in Tanzania

Introduction

This paper explores cultural heritage tourism approaches and practices, putting a special focus on community involvement issues with reference from cultural heritage sites in Tanzania. The paper uses the analysis of documents and empirical insights to enlighten our understanding of how cultural heritage tourism operates, and is being approached, in Tanzania. Cultural heritage tourism is considered as a form of tourism, involving people visiting cultural heritage sites away from their usual residences for not more than one consecutive year, for the purposes of leisure and education, and others that do not include the practice of an activity remunerated from within the place visited (Lwoga, 2011).

Cultural heritage tourism is a growing segment of tourism all over the world, accounting for about 37% of all tourist trips in the world (WTO, 2015). However, its contribution to the development of the place partly depends on the involvement of community members. Thus, as this paper highlights, it is important to put a special focus on the community involvement issues when exploring the approaches and practices of the cultural heritage tourism industry. This is particularly important in broadening our understanding of the complexity of the management of cultural heritage, which is often preoccupied with, and overwhelmed by, the protection of cultural heritage objects while marginalizing the community and their perspectives. The paper begins by defining key terms such as heritage, culture, and cultural heritage tourism with reference to Tanzanian cases. Finally, there is an exploration of community involvement and management practices in cultural heritage tourism in Tanzania.

Heritage, Culture, and Cultural Heritage

Heritage refers to our legacy "inheritance" from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations, including the natural and cultural, tangible as well as intangible assets with significance/value (ICOMOS, 1999). Culture comprises of processes including the ideas and ways of life of people and the outcomes of those processes including

buildings, art, artefacts, customs, beliefs, traditions, habits and values (Richards, 2013). Cultural heritage involves aspects of culture that are considered as inheritance and resulting from humanity's interaction with or intervention in the physical world, including tangible and intangible assets that have cultural significance. In Tanzania, cultural heritage sites include the famous Olduvai Gorge in Arusha, Isimila in Iringa, Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara World Heritage Site, Zanzibar Stone Town World Heritage Site, Bagamoyo Historic Town, and many others (see Figure 1). Cultural heritage tourism, as defined earlier, makes use of tangible and intangible cultural heritage as the core tourism resources that form basic reasons or attractions for tourists' visits.

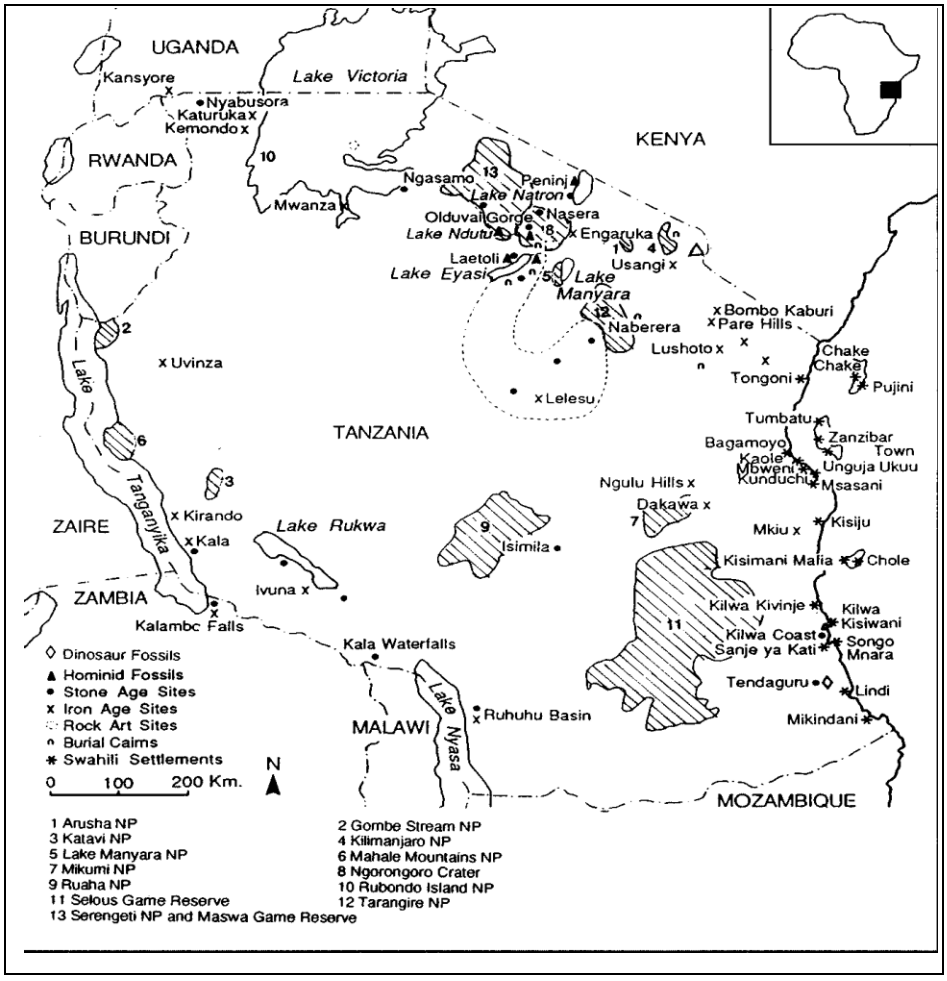


Figure 1. Cultural Heritage Sites in Tanzania

Source: Mabulla (2000)

In the past three decades, cultural heritage tourism focused overwhelmingly on the patrimony of the privileged (e.g., castles, cathedrals, stately homes, see Figure 1), but there is now widespread acknowledgment of everyday landscapes that depict the lives of ordinary people (Figures 2 and 3) (Timothy and Boyd, 2003). These include music, dance, language,

religion, cuisine, artistic traditions, and festivals. UNWTO and UNESCO have singled out cultural heritage tourism as one of the most suitable forms of community development for developing countries.



Figure 2. Visiting a monument

Lwoga (2015)



Figure 3. Experiencing the preparation of foods

http://tanzaniaculturaltourism.go.tz/

Community approach in cultural heritage tourism: A theoretical insight

Community is a contested and multifaceted term that is defined differently depending on the perspective used to define it. This paper adopts the definition by MacQueen et al. (2001) who consider community as a group of people with diverse characteristics, but linked by social ties, and share common perspectives and engage in joint actions in particular geographical locations or settings. Although they are generally linked by social ties and share common perspectives, people or members in a community may differ in terms of their attitudes, interests, perceptions, behaviours and beliefs (Chirikure et al., 2010). They are thus a heterogeneous rather than a homogenous entity. Community members are responsible for producing and giving meaning to the cultural heritage of the past and present. Thus, they may have some sort of attachment, ownership or usership with the heritage, and various degrees of concerns and interests.

We know that, for instance, people in Tanzania, before the coming of the colonialists, managed and conserved their cultural heritage (Ichumbaki, 2017). This trend and, especially the natural link between the community and their cultural heritage, was ignored by the colonialists who, through their institutional and legal frameworks, marginalized the community in the processes of managing the cultural heritage. With the recognition of the importance of the cultural heritage to the community, after independence, most developing

countries adopted community development as a developmental approach. It was, however, found to have flaws, and in the late 1960s, this approach was seen as being hindered by top–down methods. The adoption of an approach that calls for a more active involvement of community in development issues was then promoted. The World Bank and the United Nations started promoting community involvement in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This approach emphasized the involvement of community members in decision-making, implementation, sharing the benefits of development projects and in evaluating the projects, including those related to the cultural heritage.

In cultural heritage tourism, community involvement was regarded as one of the most essential tools if tourism was to make a substantial contribution to the national development. It was believed that to ensure the achievement of sustainable development goals, including better opportunities for the community to benefit from tourism in their locality, the conservation of local resources as well as the maintenance of the cultural integrity of places and the community was necessary. Community involvement was further emphasized through the adoption of the sustainable development agenda. The concept of sustainable development promoted community involvement as an appropriate tool to achieve the goal of sustainability, including economic, environmental and socio-cultural sustainability of places. Thus, it was necessary to involve destination communities in planning and development of tourism, and in enjoying its benefits, in order to have a viable and sustainable tourism industry (Salazer, 2012).

Why would community get involved in cultural heritage tourism?

It should be noted that the involvement considered here is not in terms of visiting cultural heritage sites as tourists, but, rather, in tourism planning, development and benefiting. There are several frameworks that guide researchers in discussion of factors of community involvement in cultural heritage tourism. They can be categorized as being internal and external. Internal frameworks explain factors that emanate from within the individuals or people in the community, and push individuals to engage in tourism. Motivation theories propose factors such as intrinsic interests and personal needs to be important. Arguing from the point of view of the social exchange theory, people would engage in cultural heritage tourism if they perceived that the benefits of engaging in cultural heritage tourism outweigh the costs, and trust in managers and authorities responsible for cultural heritage tourism planning and development. Arguing from the point of view of the theory of planned

behaviour, people would engage in cultural heritage tourism depending on their attitudes (degree of favour or disfavour) towards cultural heritage tourism, perceived social pressure to engage in tourism, and perceived control (affordability and ability to) in terms of their ability to engage in cultural heritage tourism. Using the deficit model, one can argue that people would engage in cultural heritage tourism if they have knowledge and awareness about the cultural heritage tourism opportunities and the required know-how. People's engagement in cultural heritage tourism can also be explained based on their demographic characteristics. For instance, people who are educated, earn higher incomes, and the youth are more likely to engage in cultural heritage tourism than those who are less educated, earn relatively little income and children or elders – though this can be debatable

External frameworks explain factors that emanate from outside the person, and are likely to attract an individual to engage in tourism. From the point of view of an incentive theory, one would argue that people can be attracted to engage in tourism because of its incentives such as income, employment and other economic opportunities. The destination policies and strategies can also play an important role in fostering community engagement in tourism. Public participation policies and participatory programs, such as community-based tourism projects, are implemented in tourism destinations to foster collective actions and ensure community members engage in tourism. This also explains the importance of the political will of the government at national or local levels and the importance of the tourism sector's authority and management in specific.

How can the community be involved in cultural heritage tourism?

Several other models such as that of Selman (2004) and Van der Duim (2011) highlight the complexity of community involvement in terms of the options or levels of the institutional arrangements. Community participation possibilities by Selman (2004) categorize involvement in four levels. The first is where involvement by community is passive, and community members are only informed unilaterally and consulted by the tourism authorities for cultural heritage tourism planning and development. The second level is community involvement for material incentives where community members are involved in cultural heritage tourism development by providing resources such as labour and access in return for incentives such as employment and income. The third level is interactive involvement, where community members are involved in the development of cultural heritage tourism through joint-venture arrangements, and have some powers in decision-

making through their local committees. The fourth level is self-mobilization where community members are involved in the development of cultural heritage tourism by taking initiatives such as forming community tourism and conservation groups and NGOs independent of external institutions. With this regard, however, the community needs to be enabled by cultural heritage tourism authorities and agencies including the government and NGOs to undertake their own initiatives.

Van der Duim (2011) stretched the participation possibilities into seven categories. These include the arrangement where the state owns and manages the cultural heritage site, and there are some forms of cultural heritage tourism revenue-sharing schemes for the benefit of the community. This is the most common configuration in Tanzania, especially in the national parks, but is limited in the cultural heritage sites. Another arrangement is where the state owns the site, but the community partners with private tourism actors or NGOs to manage cultural heritage resources and tourism. There is another where the state owns the cultural heritage site, and the community manages the site and tourism. In another, the community owns and manages the cultural heritage site and tourism activities. A further arrangement involves the community owning the cultural heritage site, as partners with the private sector and/or NGOs to manage resources and tourism. Another arrangement is where the private sector owns and manages the cultural heritage site, resources and tourism, and the community provides basic resources such as labour. In addition, the final arrangement is where a multi-stakeholder partnership, involving community members, tourism private sector and NGOs as well as government agencies, owns and manages the cultural heritage site, resources and tourism.

The most difficult question here is what is the most appropriate community involvement model? Research has pondered this question and is coming to the conclusion that the nature and structures (arrangements) of community involvement in cultural heritage tourism should be determined by local conditions and priorities. This is because one model can be successful in one context, but not successful in another context. For instance, due to lack of interest and motivation, the multi-stakeholder partnership, involving community members partnering with the private sector and the government agency, may fail, but it can be successful in a site where community members are highly interested in and are attached to the site (Chirikure et al., 2010). There is thus no single superior involvement structure, but the best one is the one that suits the local conditions and priorities.

Cultural Heritage Tourism and the Community in Tanzania

Tanzania is one of the oldest known inhabited areas on earth with fossil remains of humans and pre-human hominids dating back over two million years. It is located in eastern Africa and covers 947,300 km². In terms of population, today (in 2017), there is more than 50 million people with more than 100 different ethnic groups with diverse cultures. The country has a tropical climate with two major rainfall regions. One is uni-modal (December–April) and the other is bimodal (October–December and March–May). Because the country lies close to the Equator, the climate is generally hot and humid and the easterlies winds cause rainfall in the eastern coastal region. The country is endowed with unique and diverse natural and cultural tourist attractions. These include 16 national parks, natural and cultural world heritage sites such as the Zanzibar Stone Town, Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara, Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA), the Serengeti National Park, the Kilimanjaro Mountain National Park, and many others. While in 2006, the country received about 644,124 tourists and US$ 950 Million, in 2016, the country received 1,284,279 tourists and US$ 2,131.57 Million (URT, 2017).

Cultural heritage tourism management: Institutions, Policy and Legislations

In Tanzania, tourism and management of cultural heritage developed in the period before the coming of the colonialists (see Lwoga, 2011; 2013). During the pre-colonial period, people in Africa, including Tanzania, visited sacred sites for ritual and religious purposes. They also visited towns for trade and leisure purposes (Lwoga, 2011). There were procedures in the form of traditions and customs, which included the protection of cultural heritage sites. Cultural heritage sites were managed by respected people or clans in the communities, who passed on the practices from one generation to another. However, the institutional, policy and legislative frameworks related to cultural heritage tourism today, to a large extent, reflect the colonialist structures. The German colonial administration designated several areas in Tanzania as game reserves, and formalized the conservation of natural and cultural heritage. According to Ouma (1970), the German administration stipulated game ordinances in their official Gazette Numbers 3 and 25 of 1912 and established a long list of game reserves. They also made the first collection of movable cultural heritage assets while constructing the central railway line in early 1900, and initiated the management of the collected heritage assets in Tanzania (Lwoga, 2011).

At the end of World War I, the Germans relinquished control over Tanzania and handed it over to the British administration that governed by a system of indirect rule. The British mandate, which was effective from 13th December 1921, made provision for the preservation of game under preservation proclamation number 41 of 1921. In the context of cultural heritage, the British promulgated the Colonial Monuments Preservation Ordinance to protect earlier settlements and other cultural heritage assets in 1937. To continue the efforts initiated by Germans of conserving movable cultural heritage, the British constructed the King George V Memorial Museum (today's Dar es Salaam National Museum). However, such formal centralized conservation efforts in the form of a written legal system ignored and undermined local community participation and their spiritual and social concerns over the heritage. To a greater extent, such efforts were harmful to local traditions and culture (see Lwoga, 2011). Moreover, such developments in tourism which catered for the interests of the colonialists undermined the local community values and participation (Salazar, 2009). No wonder that the protection model created land-use conflicts, antagonisms, and a deep-seated resistance to conservation strategies within the hearts of the Tanzanian community members.

Tanzania, after independence, made efforts to promote tourism including reviewing the colonial-based institutions, policies and regulations. In order to formalize and promote tourism investment and development in the country, the Tanzania National Tourist Board (TNTB) was established in 1962 (Salazar, 2009). However, it was still biased towards Europeans and Asians who were already experienced in the sector. The *Arusha manifesto* encouraged the government monopoly, ownership and management of the tourism industry. It continued the extension of the protected areas, which resulted in attracting more visitors for nature, hunting and adventure tourism (for details on the impacts of the Arusha manifesto and after-independence politics on tourism development kindly read Lwoga, 2011).

In 1991, the monopoly of government operations in tourism business was completely transferred to the private sector through the adoption of the first National Tourism Policy of Tanzania. The policy provided objectives and strategies to achieve sustainable tourism development, and emphasized improvement of private sector participation, and led to the approval of many tourism projects (Anderson, 2014). In 1998, the country reviewed the 1991 National Tourism Policy through the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. The

review was influenced by significant global and national political, economic and social changes such as the rapid development of technology and increased competition in the tourism industry. In the same vein, the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and Agenda 21, related to sustainable development, influenced the review of the 1991 tourism policy. The new tourism policy, which was adopted in 1999, emphasized the promotion of the economy, poverty alleviation, sustainable and quality tourism that is culturally and socially acceptable, ecologically friendly, environmentally sustainable, and economically viable (URT, 1999). It, thus, intended to place the local community and their concerns at the centre of tourism development in the country.

Despite the review of the tourism institutions and policies, relatively few local Tanzanians owned international class tourism facilities. The few noted genuine local community participation examples are in areas where cultural tourism programmes, community-based conservation approaches and small and medium enterprises are promoted (see the next section on cultural tourism practices). Furthermore, problems of resource competition between tourism and other community activities (Luvanga and Shitundu, 2003) and conservation activities still persist in areas where the local population is growing at a fast rate. The growing population has continued to conflict with management of protected areas, particularly when the rising needs of people conflict with the management needs to expand or create buffer zones. This is happening in such areas as the Ngorongoro Conservation Area, Kilwa Kisiwani, and other protected areas. In addition, poverty, low income, poor infrastructure and social services still persist in most rural areas where such popular heritage tourism attractions of national and world class are located. In general, the achievement of sustainable tourism development, that is tourism which is culturally and socially acceptable, ecologically friendly, environmentally sustainable and economically viable, is still debatable.

In the late 1990s, attempts were made to diversify the tourism offering, to shift the focus from natural sites to cultural tourism, in order to reduce pressure on the natural environment. The tangible results of this policy for cultural tourism began to appear in the early 2000s. A number of cultural tour operators and cultural tourism enterprises or programmes grew and practised in the context of community-based tourism. Apart from the cultural tourism programmes, museums and historical and archaeological areas, such as Bagamoyo, Olduvai Gorge and Laetoli, Isimila Stone Age site, Kilwa Kisiwani and Songo Mnara World Heritage Site, are developed for tourism purposes, under the Antiquities

Division of the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. However, the development of the cultural heritage sites by the division is still limited. The country is estimated to have about 3,000 heritage sites (Mapunda, 2007), but only about 500 have been identified and about 20 have been developed, managed and promoted for cultural heritage tourism.

The government has also attempted to support and provide a positive environment for private, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and local communities to initiate and promote cultural tourism. Cultural tourism has included the involvement, participation and empowerment of local communities, and most of the programs are located in villages. However, as Chachage (2003) pointed out, such community-based tourism projects will only be beneficial to the local community if communities are given some form of tenure over land and tourism resources and power in decision-making. Some African countries such as Namibia have successfully delegated wildlife resource use rights to local communities who may either use it or sub-lease to the private sector.

Today, in the institutional framework, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism is the leading governmental institution concerned with the formulation and implementation of tourism development policy strategies and plans of action, and the stimulation and promotion of private investment activities. It also regulates, promotes and facilitates tourist service provision in the country. There are conservation institutions such as the Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA), responsible for all national parks in the country; Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA), responsible for conserving the Ngorongoro area; Tanzania Wildlife Research Institute (TAWIRI) and others. Their roles are to ensure high-quality product development, to enhance marketing and promotion, conservation and awareness of the products, and to ensure proper management of the resources (URT, 1999). There are tourism business owners who are clustered in what is known as the private sector. The sector has the role of developing, investing, promoting and marketing tourist products such as accommodation facilities, provision of attractive tour packages, and many other products. Today, the private sector is well organized in numerous trade associations such as the Tanzania Association of Tour Operators (TATO), Tanzania Association of Travel Agents (TASOTA) and Hotel Association of Tanzania (HAT), among others These associations are the constituent members of the umbrella organization known as the Tourism Confederation of Tanzania (TCT) which acts as a representative of the private sector tourism interests.

In terms of policy, the National Tourism Policy of 1999 is the main policy document that provides directives on how tourism in general and cultural heritage tourism in specific should be run in the country. The policy recognizes the following: culture is underdeveloped as a resource to attract tourists (URT, 1999: section 2, ii), there is inadequacy of community awareness and appreciation of tourism and importance of setting aside/preserving attractions (URT, 1999: section 2, vi), and there is a deficiency in investment opportunities and limited community participation in investment activities within the tourism sector (URT, 1999: section 2, vii). The policy encourages stakeholders to create awareness about cultural heritage resources and tourism (URT, 1999: section 4.4), promote community participation as a form of product diversification in the tourism industry (URT, 1999: section 4.4), and provide an opportunity for sustainable cross-cultural exchange between communities and tourists (URT, 1999: section 4.4). It also provides specific strategies for cultural heritage tourism (URT, 1999: section 5.3) that intend to enhance visits to museums, monuments, archaeological and historical sites, encourage individuals, local authorities and other organizations to support and promote cultural attractions, and incorporate, develop and market villages and their local culture for tourism purposes.

Another key policy is the cultural heritage policy of 2008. The policy has an overall objective of increasing the cultural heritage sector contribution to the economy through tourism, by conserving and developing cultural heritage resources. It provides important guidelines in the form of policy statements regarding research, conservation, documentation, statistics, stakeholder participation, investment in cultural tourism, professionalism, training and employment, working facilities, cultural heritage sites, and international cooperation. It is the statement regarding stakeholder participation which emphasizes community involvement issues. The statement encourages: (i) various groups and institutions among the community to establish and manage conserved areas in villages and towns, (ii) the clarification of the rights and responsibilities of the central government, local government and community members in cultural heritage conservation, protection, development and benefit sharing, and (iii) the establishment of museums by private sector and various institutions in the country (URT, 2008a: section 4.5).

Cultural heritage tourism is also guided by the Tourism Act of 2008 and the Antiquities Act of 1964 (amended in 1979) in terms of legislative framework. The Tourism Act provides the legal basis for the development of key tourism institutions such as the technical advisory

committee, the Director of Tourism, the Tourism Division, tourism board and other institutions (URT, 2008b: Parts II and IV). It also provides legal procedures for the following important activities: designation, registration and grading of tourism facilities and activities in the country (URT, 2008b: Part III); licensing of tourism facilities and activities, tourism operators and tour guides (URT, 2008b: Parts V, VI and VII); and offences and penalties (URT, 2008b: Part VIII). On the other hand, the Antiquities Act provides the legal basis for the activities related to the protection and conservation of cultural heritage in the country (URT, 1964; 1979).

Cultural heritage tourism is specifically being guided by cultural tourism guidelines. The guidelines were prepared by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT) through its tourism division, Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB) and support from Netherlands development organization, the SNV. The guidelines provide the following: principles for cultural tourism in the country; procedures and guidelines for establishing a cultural tourism enterprise; procedures to identify areas of operation; procedures to develop and package cultural heritage attractions; description of available facilities; procedures for safety and security measures; procedures for awareness raising and involvement of community, local government authorities; quality standards assurance, procedures to develop a marketing/promotional plan; and guidelines for regulating and monitoring cultural tourism enterprise operations.

Cultural Heritage Tourism Practices

The practices of cultural heritage tourism in Tanzania can be divided into two major aspects. The first aspect involves tourism activities focused on the cultural heritage sites owned and managed by the state, while the second aspect involves tourism activities practised in villages or sites under the community members' ownership and management. Though not limited to this categorization, the former often involves sites such as state owned and managed museums and historic sites, and the latter often involves the living culture, traditions and lifestyle of people in their settlement settings. The former aspect of cultural heritage tourism has been common since the beginning of the protection and designation of heritage sites by the colonial and post-colonial administrations. It, to a limited extent, involves members of the community. The latter aspect of cultural heritage tourism is developed, run and managed by members of the community in the form of community-based tourism programmes, but with assistance from the government agencies and NGOs.

In Tanzania, this latter aspect of cultural heritage tourism grew rapidly with the development of cultural tourism programmes or enterprises in the late 1990s.

According to Salazar (2011), the cultural tourism programs (CTPs, Figure 4) were first set up as a loose network of five community (Maasai) enterprises in the northern tourism circuit in Tanzania. It was the initiative of a group of young Maasai who approached the Netherlands Development Organization (the SNV) in 1994 to seek help with developing cultural tourism in their villages. The programmes operated independently from each other, offering individually developed tour packages including cultural experiences, traditional dances and ceremonies, sampling of local cuisine, campsites, home-stays, daily homestead chores, handicrafts, community development initiatives, indigenous knowledge, historical heritage, hiking, nature walks, local folklores, traditional healers and artisans. They, thus, provide employment and income generating opportunities to local members of communities, and contribute towards poverty alleviation goals (see Anderson, 2014; Mgonja et al., 2015; Mitchell et al., 2009).



Figure 4. Members of a cultural tourism programme

Source: http://tanzaniaculturaltourism.go.tz/

The cultural tourism programmes are under the stewardship of the Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB) in collaboration with MNRT and The Netherlands Development Organization (SNV), which helped the communities initiate the programmes. Other organizations that support their development include the United National World Tourism Organization: Sustainable Tourism Eliminating Poverty (UNWTO: ST-EP) foundation, Tanzania Private Sector Cluster Competitiveness Programme (TPSCCP), Food and Agricultural Organization of the UN (FAO-UN), and Centre for Development of Enterprises (CDE). Today, there are more than 50

cultural tourism programmes involving the cultural heritage sites in Kilwa Kisiwani, Pangani historic town and Bagamoyo (Figure 5), receiving over 30,000 tourists annually.

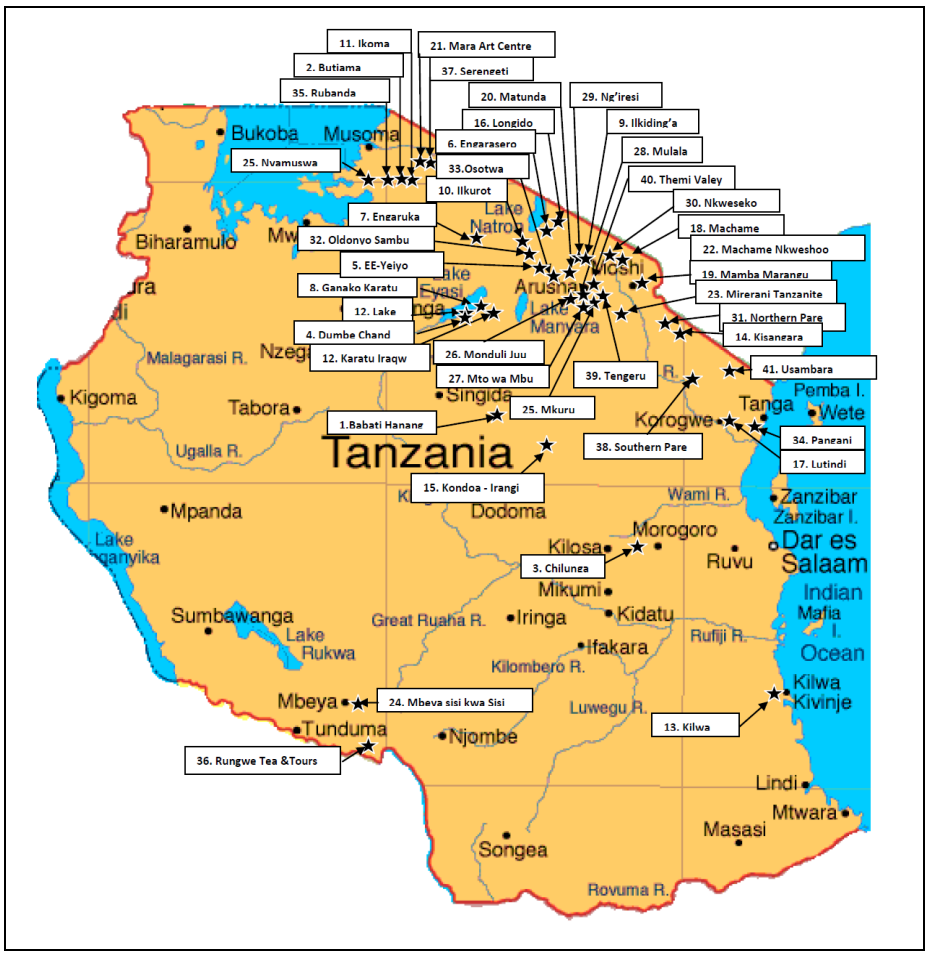


Figure 5. Cultural tourism programs in Tanzania

Source: http://tanzaniaculturaltourism.go.tz/

Apart from the cultural tourism programs, cultural heritage tourism practices are also manifested at the sites through clusters. For instance, in 2006, SIDA assisted in the initiation of the Bagamoyo Cultural Heritage Tourism Cluster (BCHTC). This was made up of groups with different types of businesses of Bagamoyo community members and other stakeholders such as tour guides, artists (Carvers, painters and performers), transporters, food processors, fishers, restaurant and bar owners, hotel and lodge owners, academics and traditional healers. Another example is the Tanga Tourism Network Association (TATONA) founded in 2008. It is concerned with the development of the tourism potential of the natural ecosystems of the land and seascapes, as well as the built heritage and rich and diverse culture of the people of Tanga Region. Its members are tourism service providers

such as hoteliers, tour guides, restaurant owners, transporters and crafts people, as well as local residents.

In addition, cultural heritage tourism practices are manifested at areas and villages surrounding the national parks and the protected cultural heritage sites such as Kaole Ruins in Bagamoyo. These involve the living culture of people living in villages surrounding the national parks as well as other cultural heritage sites within the villages' surroundings. In the national parks in Tanzania for instance, they are normally managed in partnership between villagers and the national parks authorities (TANAPA) in the form of Wildlife Management Areas (WMA) and other arrangements which involve partnership between community and the tour operators (Figure 6. see Lwoga, 2016). The Kaole Ruins Site allows, in a special arrangement, community members to sell their cultural materials to tourists visiting the sites.



Figure 6. Community members involved in cultural heritage tourism

Source: Lwoga (2016)

The development and management of cultural tourism practices and the involvement of community members in Tanzania are not without challenges. At a basic level, there are the

challenges associated with negative impacts of cultural heritage tourism, ranging from the negative environmental, socio-cultural and economic impacts (see Lwoga, 2011) and potentially extending to the destruction of cultural heritage resources, especially in historic towns and ruins sites in rural areas (Lwoga and Mabulla, 2013; Lwoga, 2010; Mapunda, 2001). Further, cultural heritage tourism requires resources in its planning and implementation, such as funding, time, and manpower, which are often limited. The lack of resources is worsened due to the majority of the community having poor management, marketing/business and entrepreneurial skills. The lack of resources and relatively high levels of poverty can also lead to the community being reliant on donor funding.

A further challenge is the distribution of economic benefits among community residents. It is difficult to satisfy all community members who often have different interests and expectations. Community complexity and heterogeneity and micro-politics also pose a challenge for cultural heritage tourism development and community involvement, and can even lead to conflicts, such as the contestations over heritage interpretation and management systems. Community-based projects in cultural heritage sites often seek to improve relationships between the community and either the state or the private enterprise through trade-offs rather than devolving ownership and management of the protected area or tourism project to the community members (Akunaay et al., 2003; Anderson, 2014; Salazar, 2011; Mitchell et al., 2009; Mgonja et al., 2015). Power imbalances often also act as a significant barrier to successful collaboration between the community and the private sector and the government agencies, and among community members themselves

These challenges are exacerbated by the fact that the economic benefits of cultural heritage tourism may be unevenly distributed to begin with, but the costs, the intrusion, congestion and rising prices (inflation) which often accompanies the increasing tourist flows in a place, will affect all members in the community and the country at large. Addressing these challenges is complicated by the fact that cultural heritage tourism tends to take a functional approach to community involvement, without the transformative intent of community development and not focusing on community empowerment *per se.*

Conclusion

This paper explored cultural heritage tourism approaches and practices with a special emphasis on community involvement issues, taking Tanzania as a reference point. The paper shows that cultural heritage tourism is a growing segment of tourism. A review of its approaches and practices in Tanzania shows that intentional efforts, including the development of institutional, policy and legislative frameworks throughout history, are partly behind its growth. The paper demonstrated how the government, NGOs and development organizations played a role in the development of cultural heritage tourism. Indeed, the government through its agencies, such as the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism and the Tanzania Tourist Board, attempted to set the policy, legislations and guidelines for developing and monitoring the cultural tourism practices in general, and cultural heritage tourism practices specifically. However, placing the community at the centre of the development of cultural heritage tourism in Tanzania, like in other related countries, is still a critical challenge.

From a historical point of view, the paper showed that this problem emerged with the colonialism process. The colonialists either marginalized or erased the traditional systems of managing the cultural heritage sites, and undermined the local processes and activities associated with the sites. Direct ownership, benefits and involvement in the management of their cultural heritage became a dream and has remained so. Indeed, ownership, benefit sharing and involvement have only recently emerged as part of new community-based projects/programs, networks or clusters and partnerships. However, these approaches are accused of not having a transformative intent of community development and ownership, and for not focusing on the community empowerment *per se*.

The community members in Tanzania are generally optimistic. They perceive, and hope for, tourism as a potential source for socio-economic development, and are therefore eager to realise this potential. Tanzania has a well set institutional framework for cultural heritage tourism, led by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism. It also has a well formulated (though old) cultural heritage tourism policy and legislative frameworks that have managed to raise the sector to its current state. However, if linking the community to their heritage for cultural integrity and sustainable development is a true goal of the cultural heritage tourism sector, including the managers and policy makers, the paper advocates that they should do the following: promote community ownership, empowerment and capacity building; engage local cultural heritage tourism products in the mainstream tourism market;

promote community awareness of cultural heritage resources and their associated benefits; foster a sense of values, identity and ownership of cultural heritage resources among the community members; ensure that the development of cultural heritage tourism is guided and directed by local values and identity; have fair and equitable sharing of cultural heritage tourism benefits that are sensible and feasible to the community; promote community involvement arrangements that are feasible to the local settings; and provide the interested community members with the access to the required knowledge and capital (e.g. seed funding) for cultural heritage tourism. In the words of Chachage (2003), tourism will only be beneficial if local members of communities are given some form of tenure over land and tourism resources and power in decision-making.

Though relying on analysis of documents and empirical evaluations, this paper showcased some tourism approaches and practices prevailing in cultural heritage sites in Tanzania. It, therefore, provides important and primary insights regarding the cultural heritage tourism approaches and practices in Tanzania, and related countries in the region of sub-Saharan Africa. The insights, including the cultural heritage tourism practices, the place of the community members, and their involvement challenges, serve as the agenda for further research.

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