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Protected Areas and Rural Livelihood: An Overview of the Mediating Role of Wildlife Tourism in Sub-Saharan Africa

Abstract. The present article deals with problem of the conservation of protected areas, in particular the role of nature-based tourism in strengthening the relationship between protected areas and rural communities. The article draws largely on the Sustainable Livelihood Framework developed by the UK's Department for International Development in 1999. The study is mainly based on a review of the literature and documents published by major international and national organisations. It can be concluded that benefits arising from protected areas in the form of revenues from nature-based tourism tend to accrue largely to the international community, national governments and the private sector, while a large amount of conservation costs are borne by local communities living in the vicinity of these areas. If a significant part of revenues from tourism is not returned to local communities, they will continue to view wildlife as a threat to their livelihoods and develop resentments against conservation of protected areas.

Keywords: tourism, protected areas, rural livelihoods, Sub-Saharan Africa

Introduction

Recognizing the connections between rural livelihoods and conservation of natural resources in protected areas (PAs) in developing countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, is becoming increasingly important (Mbaiwa, 2021; Spenceley et al., 2010; Turner, 2013). With approximately 70% of the world's PAs inhabited by poor rural communities, and many others threatened by encroachment across their borders, issues surrounding rural livelihoods and conservation of PAs cannot be ignored (Terborgh & Peres, 2002). In some areas, PA authorities have created buffer zones as a way of reducing human-wildlife conflict and PA encroachment problems. However, buffer zones have failed to be sustainable solutions owing to

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many factors such as growing populations, climate change, land use change, etc. (Oliver & Morecroft, 2014).

In many parts of the world, where governments have been more involved in nature conservation, people have been driven (e.g. in Kenya, Uganda, Namibia, Botswana, Ethiopia, South Africa, Argentina, Chile and Ecuador) out of their ancestral lands to create room for protected areas (Mukasa, 2014; Vidal, 2016). Traditional user rights of local populations, such as firewood collecting and hunting, have often been severely restricted by conservation laws and tourism interests. A forceful movement of people has been always associated with a lot of conflicts between local communities and governments. For example, Neumann (1992) shows that relocation of Maasai from the Serengeti National Park (SENAPA) triggered retaliatory response that involved spearing of rhinos and setting fire to the park area. Eviction of ethnic tribes from their ancestral land shows that the global interest in conservation has worked against the interests of local people, who were evicted without meaningful compensation (Domínguez & Luoma, 2020). In most cases, a top-down management approach has been employed in such areas, neglecting local community participation, particularly in the decision making process regarding their resources and their livelihoods (McCabe, 2003). For example, Kaltenborn et al. (2008) show that through the entire period between the First World War and the UN's Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted on 14 December 1960, all nature management in Tanzania was strictly top down, often including forced translocation of groups of people who happened to be in the way of hunting and conservation interests. Clearly, early conservation practices in Sub-Saharan Africa seem to have neglected the fact that effective protection of threatened areas needed the cooperation of local communities. A high level of poaching activities in many PAs in Sub-Saharan Africa was a clear indication of the lack of local community support for conservation initiatives (Duffy, 2001). More recent studies indicate that in most PAs in Sub-Saharan Africa poaching has always been one of the major conservation challenges (Assogba & Zhang, 2022; Knapp, 2012; Kideghesho, 2016a; Ramesh et al., 2017).

Over the years, there have been conflicts between local communities and PAs management over the use of resources from PAs. In an attempt to resolve these conflicts, PAs managers and planners have been attempting to achieve conservation objectives by soliciting support from local communities, especially those residing next to PAs (Rylance & Spenceley, 2013). Park managers have been supporting local communities directly or indirectly by providing them with socio-economic support including direct provision of funds generated from tourism (Rylance, Snyman & Spenceley, 2017; TANAPA, 2012). The goal has been to increase local communities' support for conservation by addressing their needs and spreading benefits to

residents (see e.g. Okumu & Muchapondwa, 2020; Rylance, Snyman & Spenceley, 2017). Theoretically, PA authorities support local community livelihoods in various ways through revenues generated from tourism, which eventually can make local community aware of the economic benefits of wildlife and conservation in general (see e.g. Rylance & Spenceley, 2013, 2016; Snyman & Bricker, 2019). Studies suggests that the receipt of benefits from PAs can make communities more open to conservation (Goodman, 2002; Sekhar, 2003), However, the link between PAs, tourism and rural livelihoods is always contentious and unclear. While there are many policies and strategies in Sub-Saharan Africa aiming to support the sustainability of tourism development, the relationships between the tourism industry and local communities are often complex, requiring more inclusive approaches to support more resilient tourism and tourism-dependent communities in the region (Saarinen, Moswete & Lubbe, 2022; Snyman & Spenceley, 2019). While local communities acknowledge the contribution of tourism in their livelihoods, they feel that the costs they incur due to conservation is higher than the benefits they receive (Bwalya & Kapembwa, 2020; Kideghesho, 2008a, 2008b).

Given the aforementioned background of tourism in Sub-Saharan Africa, this article reviews the concepts of PA conservation and rural livelihood and explores the mediating role of wildlife tourism in enhancing both PA conservation and rural livelihood. The author identifies factors that prevent conservation from contributing to sustainable rural livelihoods in Sub-Saharan Africa and recommends ways in which these problems could be solved.

Research Method

This article presents an analysis of theoretical, conceptual and empirical knowledge in the literature on Sub-Saharan Africa in order to put the past and recent discussions on the topic within the broader context of sustainable development. It largely draws on the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF), which is a holistic approach that tries to provide a means of understanding the fundamental causes and dimensions of rural livelihood and poverty without collapsing the focus onto just a few factors (Conroy & Litvinoff, 2013; DFID, 1999; Kunjuraman, 2022). In addition to analysing articles on topics related to tourism, natural resources conservation, PA conservation and rural livelihood, which are stored in electronic databases such as Google Scholar, SAGE Journals online, JSTOR, Elsevier Publishing and CABI, the review included documents published by major international and national organisations focusing on tourism, natural resources conservation

and other issues related to PAs and rural livelihood, including the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), the UK's Department for International Development (DFID), the African Development Bank (AFDB), the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Tanzania National Parks Authority (TANAPA) and the World Bank.

Rural Livelihood and the Dependence on Natural Resources

According to an old adage, "a problem well defined is half solved", so the first step in examining the concept of rural livelihood and natural resources conservation is to define these terms from the perspective of developing countries. This is important, first of all, because the degree of dependence on natural resources in developed countries is different from that of developing countries (Thomas & Twyman, 2005). Secondly, with issues such as climate change, population pressure or land use change affecting and disrupting the development process and calling for adaptation processes will only exacerbate inequalities in well-being between winners and losers (Kates, 2000), the majority of losers are again likely to be among developing countries. High levels of natural-resource use and dependence observed in many countries in Sub-Saharan Africa create vulnerability to climate change (World Bank, 2000). Although many development partners around the world have pledged resources and efforts to minimize factors contributing to climate change, its effects continue to exert pressure on livelihoods of many rural communities, thus, jeopardizing natural resources conservation (Amoah & Simatele, 2021).

According to Ellis (2000, p.10) rural livelihood can be defined as "a process by which households construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities for survival in order to improve their standard of living". Therefore, "a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and the activities required for a living" (Chambers & Conway, 1992, p. 6). SLF treats rural livelihood as a means to an end, rather than an outcome. In this context, poverty is viewed as a typical outcome of livelihood strategy. In supporting this view, Sen (1999) shows that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon that arises when people lack adequate income, access to resources and education, suffer from poor health, insecurity, low self-confidence, a sense of powerlessness and the absence of rights, such as freedom of speech and development.

The SLF is a poverty alleviation approach aiming at improving stakeholders' understanding of the livelihoods of the poor. The importance of this approach is that it shows the relationship between factors that constrain community livelihood

opportunities. When the SLF is appropriately used, it can be useful for planning rural development activities and assessing the contribution that existing activities have made to sustaining livelihoods (Serrat & Serrat, 2017). According to the SLF, "a livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of living. It is deemed sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities, assets, and activities both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base" (Ellis, 2000, p.10). The SLF has been widely applied to inform the design of policy and development interventions aimed at reducing poverty in less developed countries (Allison, 2005). At a practical level, the SLF starts with the community livelihoods assessment and how they have been changed over time. The SLF is people centred, and "fully respects their views, and it takes into consideration the influence of policies and institutions upon decisions of people or households" (DFID, 2001, p. 7).

The connection between poverty and biodiversity conservation is highly acknowledged in the literature. A study by Fisher & Christopher (2007) concluded that the overlap between severe multifaceted poverty and key areas of global biodiversity is great and needs to be acknowledged. A study by Sunderlin et al. (2007) found that there was an important overlap between extreme poverty and key areas of global biodiversity. As local communities are severely hit by poverty, their livelihoods are likely to depend on illegal activities (e.g. illegal fishing, poaching, illegal mining) from surrounding PAs.

Most rural livelihood intervention strategies are geared towards attaining sustainable rural development (Lisocka-Jaegermann, 2015), which is defined as "a historical process of social change in which societies are transformed over long periods of time" (Thomas, 2000, p. 29), or a process through which societies change to a better condition. Development may also be viewed more pragmatically as plans, policies and activities of those organizations, voluntary sector agencies that facilitate development or work to support or encourage social change. Studies indicate that most livelihood activities in rural areas are linked to habitat fragmentation and the destruction of biodiversity and ecosystem services (Cobbinah, Black & Thwaites, 2015). For example, rapid expansion and intensification of agriculture in rural areas is considered to be a major driver of biodiversity losses and decrease in ecosystem functionality (Mendenhall, Daily & Ehrlich, 2012).

Given the considerations mentioned above, it is clear that any discussion about conservation in and around PAs, particularly in rural areas, should view challenges facing rural community livelihood from a broader perspective. Harrison (1988) maintains that the prevailing livelihood and development paradigms are Western-centric and have little or no impact upon the developmental challenges faced by developing countries. Such challenges include persistent poverty (relative and ab-

solute), unmet basic needs (food, sanitation, health care and so on), unemployment, low levels of education and literacy, restriction on political and cultural freedom, gender inequalities and environmental problems.

The link between rural livelihood and biodiversity loss has been studied by numerous researchers. For instance, Sharpley (2009) notes that increasing poverty, inequality, lack of opportunities, environmental damage and biodiversity loss in many parts of Africa are generally due to the failure of development as a global project and outcomes of development policies based upon the western economic ideology. While developing and developed countries may be using the same definition of development and livelihood, their implied meanings are in fact different. For developing countries and rural communities in Sub-Saharan Africa in particular, development may mean the ability to meet their daily basic needs such as food, shelter and health care. Any development initiative in rural areas should first address these basic needs because these needs are the main stressors of the ecosystem and tend to hamper conservation initiatives.

Researchers and development organisations demonstrate that the rural poor tend to be disproportionately dependent on natural resources such as forest compared to rich urban communities (World Bank, 2000). A higher proportion of incomes earned by members of rural poor communities comes from forests. Moreover, most inhabitants of poor rural areas maintain diversified livelihood strategies because they cannot obtain sufficient income from any single strategy to survive. This is why most small farmers are not actually solely small agriculturalists, i.e. many depend on forest and wildlife products in their livelihood systems (Sunderlin et al., 2005). Generally, livelihood diversification reflects the precariousness of rural communities to survive in developing countries (Ellis, 2000). The concept of diversified livelihood suggests that any development project that seeks to promote conservation, should conceptualize interventions in terms of their effects on rural livelihood systems in general rather than assessing specific income-generating activities.

In rural settings, natural resources provide a number of benefits (ecosystem services). "Wild resources are known to provide famine foods following crop failure, and money earned from the sale of forest products has been shown to subsidize agricultural incomes" (McSweeney, 2004, p. 39). Studies indicate that many people in Sub-Saharan Africa turn to forest resources as a form of natural insurance (Wunder, 2001). "Overall, the 'natural insurance' concept has led to increasing recognition that even small amounts of forest-derived earnings help to bridge income gaps and so play a critical role in livelihood security (McSweeney, 2004, p. 40)". Other uses of wild resources from ecosystem include, food, fibre, fuel, genetic resources, biochemical, ornamental resources and fresh water (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005).

Sustainability and Resilience of Natural Resources: Why DoesIt Matter for Rural Livelihood?

Contemporary debates on conservation have focused on depletion of non-renewable resources as a major obstacle for future development and threat to the existence of humankind. In recent decades, concern has grown globally over threats to natural resources and corresponding rates of species extinction. Studies indicate that changing social and economic conditions, as a result of rapid population growth, technological advancements, poverty, and the pressure to exploit natural resources, have substantial implications on the state of the environment of the developing countries (Spiteri & Nepalz, 2006). The use of natural resources in developing countries is particularly important because immediate livelihoods of many people in these countries depend heavily on the surrounding natural resources. There is an increasing awareness and acceptance that if the natural resource base is to be sustained, this must be done in a productive manner that also benefits local populations. As Gow (1992) put it, respect for natural resources must be accompanied by respect for human resources, failure to do so will always jeopardize the sustainability of natural resources especially in rural poor communities where there are few livelihood options.

Most natural resources are not resilient to anthropogenic activities so they must be conserved in a sustainable manner (Mistry, 2014). Generally, resilience is defined as the ability to return to an equilibrium following a perturbation; it is quantified in terms of return time (Tilman & Downing, 1994). Understanding resilience of natural resources is highly significant because some species (both plants and animals) have very low or even zero resilience. As a result, a number of species have either already become extinct or are at the brink of extinction due to unsustainable anthropogenic activities in and outside PAs. (Verma & Sadguru, 2022). Kaltenborn et al. (2008) show that livelihoods can become sustainable when they are adaptive, resilient and provide sufficient resources for decent living. Therefore, PA outreach programmes need to assess if they somehow contribute to more sustainable rural livelihoods down to the individual level.

Conservation of Natural Resources and Tourism in Sub-Saharan Africa

In the context of livelihood improvement, natural resources conservation can be viewed as an exercise in contradiction because stakeholders are frequently working at cross purposes (Sunderlin et al., 2005). A number of studies have shown that natural resources are central to the survival of all human beings (see e.g. Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005). Natural resources conservation has created significant social, economic and environmental benefits to urban as well as rural communities in different parts of the world (Kideghesho, 2008a; Mbaiwa, Mbaiwa & Siphambe, 2019; Oldekop et al., 2016). Conservation has undeniably supported the survival of populations of many species and habitats (Leverington et al., 2010). Without conservation efforts many visitors to PAs could probably not see many species we see today in many parts of the world (IUCN, 2003). By the same token, future generations will not be able to see many of these species without conservation efforts (UNWTO, n.d.). For example, a report by IUCN shows that black rhino poaching started in East Africa in the 1960s and spread rapidly to the west and south. Poaching pressure escalated during the 1970s and 1980s as a result of the rising demand for rhino horn in Asia and the Middle East. Economic and political instability in a number of rhino range states gave commercial poachers the freedom to hunt rhino with little chance of being caught (Kideghesho, 2016b; 2019; Lopes, 2014). The IUCN report shows further that the population of black rhinos, estimated at 100,000 individuals in 1960s, drastically declined to reach a record low of 2,410 in 1995, but subsequently doubled by the end of 2010 as a result of conservation efforts (IUCN, 2012).

Conservation contributes significantly, both directly and indirectly, to the generation of employment and foreign exchange earnings in many Sub-Sahara African countries through international and domestic tourism (Snyman, 2012; Spenceley & Meyer, 2012; UNWTO, n.d.). Tourism and natural resources conservation activities are frequently linked because nature-based tourism often takes place in protected areas of high biodiversity, which are home to local communities. In other words, nature-based tourism depends on natural resources conservation and vice versa. Scholars like Ulfstrand (2002, p. 71) believe that "tourism is the only hope for African wildlife". This view is supported by many scholars (see e.g. Rylance, 2017; Spenceley, Snyman & Rylance, 2019; Steven, Castley & Buckley, 2013; Whitelaw, King & Tolkach, 2014), who argue that management of many PAs in Sub-Sahara Africa depends on revenues generated from tourism. For instance, the South African National Parks (SANParks), a public entity responsible for managing South Africa's national parks, raises more than 80% of its funding from tourism (Biggs, 2014).

Emphasising the link between tourism and natural resources, Uddhammar

(2006, p. 662) points out that "from a global-local perspective, the 'commodity' in eco-tourism is, on the one hand highly local and thus cannot be exported along any commodity chains other than by bringing the consumers to the actual places where protected natural resources are located". However, the contribution of tourism to livelihood and conservation of natural resource largely depend on proper formulation and implementation of national policies, regulations, strategies and action plan (Rylance, 2012; Spenceley & Rylance, 2019). Therefore, tourism can be both an opportunity for conserving nature and a threat if it is done improperly.

Both consumptive (e.g. hunting tourism) and non-consumptive uses (e.g. photographic tourism) of wildlife have the potential to generate significant amounts of economic income and contribute to the livelihoods of rural people (Mbaiwa, 2015). For instance, reports about the development of conservancies in Namibia and Zimbabwe show that wildlife has played a central role in land-use change and income generation. In Namibia, the Community-Based Natural Resource Management programme (CBNRM) comprises a major portion of all communal lands in the country, so that large areas are now allocated to wildlife uses, alongside livestock (Spenceley & Barnes, 2005). In Zimbabwe, revenues generated thanks to the presence of rhino on private land catalysed the change in land use from livestock to wildlife (Spenceley & Barnes, 2005). Nevertheless, many scholars seem to agree that unless major structural reforms of the tourism industry take place, the sector is unlikely to improve rural livelihood, aid poverty reduction or reduce inequality (e.g. Rylance, 2012; Saarinen, Moswete & Lubbe, 2022; Snyman & Spenceley, 2019).

Some tourism scholars (e.g. Duffy, 2001, Wilson, 2017) argue that tourism is frequently seen as a new kind of colonialism, a view that expressed by some African scholars about two decades ago (see e.g. Manyara & Jones, 2007; Mbaiwa, 2005). Some scholars also view tourism as an industry that exploits workers and resources of less economically developed countries (LEDCs), commodifies traditional cultures, entrenches inequality and deepens poverty (Duffy, 2001; Schilcher, 2007).

Despite these criticisms, myths and the view that tourism is not a worthwhile or 'serious' local economic development strategy (Roe et al., 2004), tourism has continued to be one of the pillars of conservation and socio-economic development in many countries in Sub-Saharan African. For instance, a recent study by Rylance, Snyman & Spenceley (2017, p. 139) shows that "park management agencies in many Sub-Saharan Africa do not have sufficient funds to finance their conservation management activities, and that most governments do not fund PAs budgets fully". Another recent study by Spenceley & Snyman (2017, p. 52) shows how "a private luxury safari lodge (Mombo Camp) and its holding company (Okavango Wilderness Safaris) within the Okavango Delta of Botswana" "has influenced the destination's quality standards" and "conservation of endangered species". A more recent

study by Mbaiwa & Mogende (2022, p. 236) in Botswana concluded that "despite the differences between the Global North and South, trophy hunting provides incentives for wildlife conservation and rural communities' development" and that "any policy shifts such as ban on trophy hunting that affect wildlife conservation and rural livelihoods need to be informed by a socio-ecological approach".

Similarly, in many African countries the objective behind establishing national parks was mainly conservation and tourism. For instance, in Tanzania the mandate of national parks as stated in the national park policy is "to manage and regulate the use of areas designated as national parks by such means and measures to preserve the country's heritage, encompassing natural and cultural resources, both tangible and intangible resource values, including the fauna and flora, wildlife habitat, natural processes, wilderness quality, and scenery therein and to provide for human benefit and enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for future generations" (URT, 1994). The Tanzania national park mandate demonstrates clearly that there is a direct relationship between tourism and conservation and that conservation should support livelihood of the people and vice versa as depicted in Figure 1.

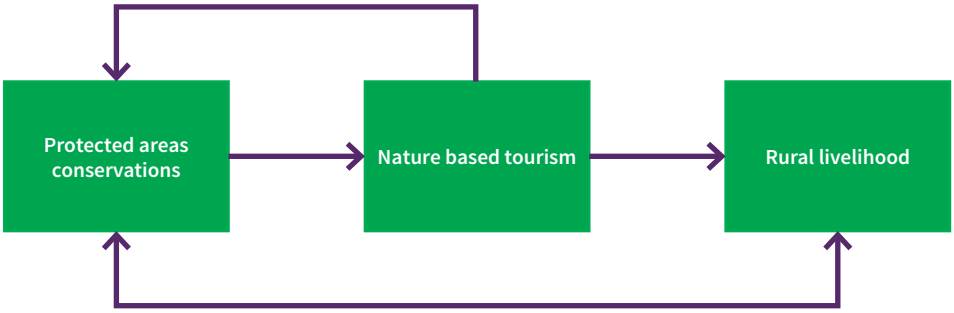

Figure 1: The mediating role of tourism

Protected Areas and Tourism in Sub-Saharan African: the Case of Tanzania

Nature and adventure travel and tourism have emerged as two of the fastest growing sectors in the tourism industry in Sub-Saharan Africa (AFDB, 2012). Despite the ongoing global recession, "tourism has repeatedly shown itself to be an incredibly resilient industry that bounces back quickly" (Sustainable Tourism Concepts (n.d, p. 6). Taking an example of Tanzania, tourism is clearly of great economic

significance to economic growth and development. Tanzania is commended for possessing unmatched biodiversity, wildlife populations and wilderness scenery, with around 30% of the country's total land area set aside in exclusive state-PAs (Nelson, 2012). In total, Tanzania has 22 national parks, 2 marine parks, 44 game-controlled areas, 28 game reserves, several forest reserves, and 1 conservation area (Ngorongoro Conservation Area), hosting the world's renowned biodiversity, wildlife, and unique ecosystems (TANAPA, 2022; Wamboye, Nyaronga & Sergi, 2020), which annually attract many international tourists from all over the world. In general, Tanzania is a fast growing global tourism destination, with approximately one million visitors annually that account for approximately 10.6% of the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (WTTC, 2022). In 2019, the industry created 1,53 million jobs, which is equivalent to 6.1% of the country's total employment (WTTC, 2022). "The tourism sector in Tanzania is also instrumental in the fight against abject poverty through job creation and the development of a market for traditional products" (Kyara, Rahman & Khanam, 2021, p. 1). The tourism industry is also important in the development of other sectors, such as transport, hospitality and agriculture (Wamboye, Nyaronga & Sergi, 2020; World Bank, 2021).

In an attempt to improve rural livelihood through conservation, in 1988 TANAPA initiated a community conservation service (CCS) programme in the Serengeti National Park as a pilot project. In 1992, CCS became a permanent department in TANAPA. CCS has six objectives: (1) improving relations between individual parks and local communities; (2) ensuring that the interests of the national park regarding conservation and community welfare are presented and well known in society; (3) facilitating the sharing of benefits with target communities; (4) assisting local communities in getting access to information, resources and services which are important for promoting sustainable development; (5) strengthening local institutional capacity, including Community Based Organizations (CBOs) in addressing conservation issues, and; (6) developing professional and collaborative linkages with all community conservation stakeholders and to conduct community conservation education programs (URT, 1994, p. 38; Wordpress, n.d).

The COVID-19 pandemic either stopped or suspended most PAs activities, with negative consequences to conservation finances, tourism businesses and the livelihoods of people who supply labour, goods and services to tourists and tourism businesses (Cumming et al., 2021; Spenceley et al., 2021). However, recent studies show that visitor traffic in certain PAs has now almost bounced back to normal (Caetano, 2022; Sharma, Thomas & Paul, 2021)

Conclusion and Way Forward

This paper proposes that the Sustainable Livelihood Framework can be a useful tool in improving policy and decision makers' understanding of the wildlife tourism sector in Sub-Saharan Africa and can provide a sound basis for improved policy design and decision making. The Sustainable Livelihood Framework can help policy and decision makers to build a better understanding of the role of the wildlife tourism sector in enhancing livelihoods of rural communities in Sub-Saharan Africa.

As has been demonstrated, PAs not only support rural livelihoods but also offer opportunities to support other economic activities often linked to private sector businesses including tourism. Therefore, sound conservation of natural resources is necessary to promote long term sustainability for the benefits of all.

The major challenge to conservation in many Sub-Sahara African countries, however, is that, while the benefits of natural resources accrue to all, the conservation costs are mainly paid by few people, mostly poor, local people living adjacent to PAs (see e.g. Kideghesho, 2008b). Moreover, some PAs in Sub-Saharan Africa were established by evicting local populations from their ancestral lands. This raises an important question about who should pay for conservation services (see e.g. Kideghesho, 2008b). Despite the economic importance of wildlife and conservation in general, local communities have arguably not derived enough benefits to offset the costs they have had to sustain. This has greatly diminished incentives for local people to support conservation efforts (see e.g. Kideghesho, 2008b).

It is undeniable that there have been some efforts from PAs management (e.g. through initiatives like the community conservation service program) to support rural livelihoods in an attempt to mitigate continuous conflicts and meet conservation objectives in most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. However, it is clear that there is a substantial difference between the benefits provided through PAs outreach programs (e.g. CCS) and what is needed by local communities in terms of livelihood and poverty reduction. The little benefits provided to local communities do little to improve livelihoods of local communities, who bear most of the conservation costs. Generally, local people value community projects that are initiated by PAs management; however, they feel that PAs management should pay more attention to direct services at personal level because poverty level differs from individual to individual within the same community. This suggests that any livelihood improvement strategy designed by PAs management should involve local communities in assessing their pressing needs. Such a strategy should further try to identify community members who are more vulnerable to poverty so as to support them equitably. One of the approaches that can be used to achieve this goal is through joint venture operations, where local

community entities can become formal partners in the business as described by Snyman & Spenceley (2019).

Contemporary studies show that any attempt to gain local community support for conservation programmes is unlikely to succeed if the benefits of conservation cannot exceed the costs. This view is supported by many authors (see e.g. Barnes, Burgess & Pearce, 2019; Mbaiwa, 2018; Snyman, 2017), who show that unless there is a significant domestic economic gain associated with wildlife, there will be insufficient arguments and incentives for conservation and local involvement (see e.g. Butler & Rogerson, 2016; Mbaiwa, (2017). Kideghesho (2008b), Sindiga (2018) and Hariohay et al., (2018) argue that the benefits, which are not focusing on immediate needs for the survival of the people, will rarely change people's hostile attitude towards conservation. Kideghesho also points out that support in the form of social amenities cannot offset the costs incurred by individuals or households and cannot overcome their vulnerability. Any support provided to local communities in their villages (e.g. infrastructure construction) cannot be a substitute for fuel wood or grazing land they had to give up for the sake of conservation. Thus, long-term benefits cannot be appreciated by local communities if pressing problems in their daily lives are not thoroughly addressed.

The studies reviewed in this article indicate that local communities acknowledge the contribution of tourism and PAs conservation to their livelihoods. However, they feel that they are not benefiting enough from tourism, particularly from wildlife tourism, which means the conservation costs exceed the benefits. To change this situation, the following measures should be taken by PAs authorities; improve relationships between PAs and local communities through CCs in order to reduce unnecessary conflicts, improve mechanisms of profit sharing so that financial benefits from PAs can reach the majority, improve a compensation payment rates to lessen the effects caused by wildlife to local communities, find better ways of dealing with human-wildlife conflicts, find better ways of integrating local community in tourism business e.g. building community lodges; provide more employment to local community members living close to PAs and also improve the visibility PAs boundaries so that all rangers are aware of where the boundaries are to avoid harassing local community.

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Obszary chronione i źródła utrzymania na wsi: przegląd literatury na temat pośredniczącej roli turystyki przyrodniczej w Afryce Subsaharyjskiej

Streszczenie. Niniejszy artykuł porusza zagadnienie ochrony obszarów chronionych, a szczególnie roli turystyki przyrodniczej we wzmacnianiu relacji między obszarami chronionymi a społecznościami wiejskimi. Rozważania w dużej mierze bazują na założeniach Sustainable Livelihood Framework, opracowanej przez brytyjskie Ministerstwo ds. Rozwoju Międzynarodowego w 1999 roku. Praca opiera się głównie na przeglądzie literatury i dokumentów opublikowanych przez czołowe organizacje międzynarodowe i krajowe. Można stwierdzić, że beneficjentami korzyści płynących z istnienia obszarów chronionych w postaci dochodów z turystyki przyrodniczej są zazwyczaj przedstawiciele społeczności międzynarodowej, rządy i sektor prywatny, podczas gdy duża część kosztów ochrony ponoszona jest przez społeczności lokalne żyjące w pobliżu tych obszarów. Jeśli znaczna część dochodów z turystyki nie zostanie zwrócona społecznościom lokalnym, nadal będą one postrzegać dziką przyrodę jako zagrożenie dla swoich źródeł utrzymania i przejawiać niechęć do działań mających na celu ochronę tych obszarów.

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka, obszary chronione, źródła utrzymania na wsi, Afryka Subsaharyjska

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