



International Journal of Current Research and Academic Review

ISSN: 2347-3215 Volume 2 Number 6 (June-2014) pp. 240-259

www.ijcrar.com



Wildlife Safari Tourist Destinations in Tanzania: Experiences from Colonial to Post-Colonial Era

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KEYWORDS

Wildlife tourism, safari, Tanzania, tourism development

A B S T R A C T

Tanzania is currently one of the world's most visited countries for wildlife tourism, but its main destinations are at risk from changes in climate and local land-use. The consequences of these changes on tourism demand are, however, unclear. Despite Tanzania's two centuries of experience with wildlife tourism, the trends in Tanzania's wildlife tourism demand are poorly understood. Insights into past, current and future tourists' motivations and preferences are thus vitally important to successfully manage wildlife safari tourist destinations and tourism. This study aims to document and explain the developments in tourist motivations and preferences since the early 19th century. Changes in motivation and preferences, and the consequent wildlife resource utilization are analysed. These study recapitulates two centuries of wildlife resources governance. Wildlife resource uses in Tanzanian protected areas vary historically from exploration and discovery, ivory collection, hunting for trophies, safaris and nature conservation. These different purposes in different periods are summarised in an annotated map of the evolution and distribution of Tanzanian tourist destinations. The results are relevant for spatial planning and wildlife conservation in relation to tourism. Additionally, the map provides building blocks to develop exploratory scenarios to cope with the current climate and land-use change risks.

Introduction

Inbound tourism in Tanzania performed very strongly over the last three decades. According to UNWTO (2012), Wade (2001) and Tairo (2013).

Tanzanian tourists arrivals increased from 0.06 million tourists in 1982 to over 1.1 million in 2012 (i.e. an 18.3-times increase). In 2006, tourism accounted for

17% of the country's GDP (United Republic of Tanzania, 2007, p.4) and the revenues accrued has increased substantially in 2011 (UNWTO, 2012). A growing number of Tanzanians depends on tourism for their livelihoods either directly or indirectly.

According to various studies (e.g. Curry, 1990; Kweka, 2003), scenic beauty, mega-fauna and other natural features are among Tanzania's main tourist attractions. The biodiversity in protected areas, especially wildlife, account for most of the country's tourist attractions (Kweka et al, 2003). These protected areas (i.e. tourists destinations), including the well-known snow-covered Mt. Kilimanjaro, Ngorongoro Crater and the endless plains of the Serengeti, acted as tourist charms well before the country's independence 1961 and still do today. These defining features of Tanzanian tourism are under pressure from a range of factors, including climate change, biodiversity loss and land grabbing. These factors likely alter the spatial and temporal distribution of wildlife tourist attractions. For example, herds of animals may change their migratory behaviour, migrating in different seasons or following different routes (Gereta, 2009). Ice sheets on Mt Kilimanjaro are projected to disappear within decades (Thompson, 2002; Agrawala et al., 2003; Hemp, 2005). The implications of these anticipated changes to wildlife tourist destinations in Tanzania are unknown. The actual implications vary depending on the size and distribution of the Protected Area, tourist motives and tourist preferences over time (e.g. supply and demand). This study does not only consider the actual environmental trends and projections but also trends in tourism demand. Therefore, sufficient insight into the motives tourists that visit Tanzania, and into their preferences with

respect to particular attractions that they like to visit, is vital. Beach tourists, for example, are not affected by changing wildlife migratory patterns of wildebeests. Hence, a detailed history of tourism and tourist destinations in Tanzania helps to understand the tourists' motives and preferences, and the consequent changes or shifts in resource management.

Few studies compile historical information on tourism and most of available studies focus mainly on the number of tourist arrivals in economic and market analysis (Cater, 1987; Curry, 1990; Gössling, 2001; Wade et al., 2001; Kweka et al., 2003; Lindsey et al., 2007). Such economic analyses only explain the income accrued from tourist expenditures, but do not cover the motives and tourist preferences over destinations or even the nature of the destination visited. Salazar (2008), for example, described the general characteristics of tourism in Tanzania, but focused only on a small part of the country '*the Northern Circuit*' reviewing governance issues and ignored the changing role of the attractions of the early nineteenth century to contemporary periods. Chachage (1999) focused mainly on the functions of Big International Non-Governmental Organisations (BINGOs), like the IMF and World Bank, in stimulating tourist arrivals since the early 1980s. Wildlife safari destinations in Tanzania actually already have a history of more than two centuries and we have shown through our analysis that tourist motives and preferences have changed over time. Limited details and analysis is, however, available on the processes behind these changes. Yet, this historical details and analysis are necessary to understand Tanzanian wildlife tourism's current state-of-affairs as well as its coping capacity to manage risks. Our analysis therefore can

help to define management possibilities to guarantee a sustainable future for Tanzanian tourism.

This paper aims to profile international tourist arrivals in Tanzania in terms of their motives and preferred activities. We have identified the factors that contribute to the proliferation of protected areas and created a visual interactive map of the distribution and evolution of tourist destinations covering a period of two centuries, starting immediately before the colonial era (i.e. early nineteenth century) and ending today.

Two hundred years ago, tourism was not well defined. Although several tourism definitions exist we adopted the broad definition by UNWTO and UNSTAT (1994) to cater for various tourism motives and preferences over two centuries. Tourism is defined as those activities deployed by tourists during the course of their journey and their stay in places situated outside their usual environment. Hence, we considered wildlife discovery, scenic beauty explorations, wildlife hunting (for either trophy or sport), and game viewing as forms of tourism. In addition, we adopted Leiper (1979) definition of tourist destination as locations or places, which attract tourists to stay temporarily to conduct tourism activities. In our study, hunting and game reserves, national parks and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area are all tourist destinations.

We first discuss tourism in the colonial era followed by an in-depth discussion of tourism in the post-colonial era. These discussions show how motives and preferences have changed considerably over time and are then used to annotate a map with the evolution and distribution of Tanzanian wildlife tourists' destinations. Finally, this paper concludes on the utility

of this comprehensive history and the map of wildlife safari tourists' destinations in Tanzania.

The Colonial period

Long before the advent of European explorers in the second half of the nineteenth century, Arab traders travelled through the African Great Lakes region, including Tanganyika, Pemba and Unguja (which together formed Tanzania in 1964), in search of ivory and slaves. The promise of abundant resources also attracted the attention of European explorers. Famous explorers, including Mungo Park, David Burton, and David Livingston, travelled through various parts of Africa for explorations and discoveries. Their travelling aimed to gather information on resources, particularly ivory, and places with scenic beauty. Lured by the abundance of resources that explorers discovered, European powers became interested in the region and started colonisation. Britain and Germany divided East Africa among themselves in 1880s. Tanganyika became a German colony. An Arab sultanate settled in Unguja and Pemba (since 1964 Zanzibar) already in 1698 and stayed for over 190 years (i.e. 1698-1892).

In 1890, the Arab Sultanate governance ended with the signing of the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty, in which Germany agreed to recognize the British protectorate over the islands of Unguja and Pemba (German Treaty, 1890). In Zanzibar, European governance ended slave trade. As slave trade is outside the scope of this historical review, the remaining part of the review focuses on the developments of Tanganyika (i.e. mainland Tanzania) and its wildlife resources. The next section of the historical developments in tourist destinations therefore covers tourism

developments under German and British rule, and ends with tourism during World War II and subsequent struggle for independence.

Under German control (1884-1918)

According to Mackenzie (1988), East Africa (i.e. Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika) was the world's greatest source of Ivory in German colonial era and exports exceeded those of any other countries. East Africa harboured large groups of elephants and throughout East Africa, ivory was the vital constituent of pre-colonial white freebooting. From an economic point of view, the international attention for the area now known as Tanzania centred on trophy hunting, especially for the ivory trophy trade. This hunting tourism reached its climax when demand for ivory expanded in response to the growing demand for cutlery, billiard balls and pianos in the United States and Britain.

Ivory, however, was not the only product 'exported' from Tanganyika to Europe. Animal hides (e.g. like lion, leopard, cheetah, and crocodile), rhino horns and minerals were also exported and explorers returned with stories of landscapes of 'magnificent beauty'. In those days, many Europeans saw Africa as a "dark continent", "the world's last great wilderness", "exotic jungles filled with animals", "paradise and a place of spectacular but savage beauty" (Adams & McShane, 1996). Since only a few Europeans had visited Africa, the main sources of information were books and art. Among the best-known examples are the paintings by the Frenchman Henri Rousseau who, surprisingly enough never set foot on the African continent but his artistic representations of African

landscapes and wildlife were inspired by stories told by explorers and travellers. Rousseau's paintings became a major information source about African wildlife and wilderness.

The German missionary Johannes Rebmann 'discovered' Mt. Kilimanjaro and its snow cover in 1858. Thirty-three years later, this area of magnificent beauty was protected and in 1910, a National Park was established. The existence of snow close to the equator attracted many explorers and many publications came out as a result. Among the publications were the "Globus Magazine" and "Brehm's Illustriertes Tierleben" (i.e. Globe Magazine and Brehm's illustrated animal life) authored by Alfred Edmund Brehm, both of which appeared in the 1860s. In 1889, a German geographer, Hans Meyer, was the first to reach Mt. Kilimanjaro's highest summit, called Kibo (5895m ASL). His father owned a publishing house, which picked-up on the Meyer's adventures and printed a number of magazines and books on Tanzania's natural beauty. These books became famous on the German market. Meyer also founded the series "Allgemeine Länderkunde" (i.e. General geography) and "Meyers Reisebücher" (i.e. Meyer's travel books), which were used as early tourist guidebooks.

In 1909, he published a comprehensive two-volume compendium entitled "*Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*" (i.e. the German Colonial Empire) (CRIA, 2009; Etnográfica, 2009). This compendium described, among other things, key tourist attractions within its territory. Meyer also authored a number of other books, including volumes on the ascent of Kilimanjaro: "*Ostafrikanische Glestcherfahrten*" in 1980 (across the East African Glaciers as translated by E.H.S

Calder), “*zum schneedom des Kilimandscharo*” in 1888 (to the snow dome of Kilimanjaro), “*De Kilima-Ndscharo*” in 1900- the Kilimanjaro (Stewart, 2004). These publications spread the news of the Tanganyika attractions within Europe and the world. Meyer turned thus out to be highly instrumental in informing the European public about Africa's natural beauty, and in inciting demand for tourism in the region.

In the late 19th Century, opposition against the excessive destruction of animal stocks grew and the massive tourist hunting for elephant trophies and other big game (e.g. lion, giraffe, and, leopard) was condemned. Calls for preservation measures to promote the survival of the species started to emerge under the influence of natural history studies. The paradigm shifted from tourist hunting for trophy to sport (leisure) hunting tourism, triggering the development of science-informed regulations for wildlife conservation (i.e. the General Wildlife Ordinance of 1896). Non-use activities, such as sightseeing tours and safaris, were advocated. This in turn, reinforced and accelerated the establishment and expansion of many protected areas.

Tourism was considered a lucrative business and therefore strategies to improve tourism earnings were put in place. In the 1890s, leisure and tourism had become important motives for implementing conservation measures in the form of game reserves and sanctuaries. Hermann von Wissman, who was the first Governor of the Moshi and Kilimanjaro districts, introduced stringent conservation measures for Mt. Kilimanjaro in 1891. West Kilimanjaro was declared a game reserve in 1896 (Chachage, 1999). This example was copied all over the country and by 1908, eight reserves were demarcated. From

1910, the German colonial rulers created a series of Game Reserves (e.g. the Saba River Game Reserve, which is since 1964 the Ruaha National Park, and the Rufiji River (now Selous Game Reserve). The number of reserves increased to ten by 1918 to attract especially German tourist expeditions (Mtahiko, 2004). Alongside these efforts, wildlife-marketing activities started. These activities aimed at selling Kilimanjaro and other demarcated reserves as tourist destinations. In multimedia platforms (e.g. newspapers and magazines), East African tourist destinations, particularly Tanganyika and Kenya (by that time Germany East Africa-1880-1918), were the primary focus.

At the end of German rule, the Tanzanian tourism industry was still in its infancy with low numbers of tourists, mainly explorers and adventurers. German control over tourism resources lasted until World War I ended in 1918 and the British took over the mandate.

Under British control (1918 – 1939)

Tanganyika became a British territory in 1918 following the fall of the German Empire in World War I. This marks the inclusion of Tanganyika in East Africa. In East Africa, Kenya was the central region but it also included Uganda. Tanganyika by then had become famously known as ‘Safariland’ due to all its natural resources and wildlife safari tourism (Chachage, 1999). Holidaying tourists started to appear by the 1920s although the country's wildlife was not yet adequately protected (Chachage, 1999). Following in the footsteps of the Germans, the British continued to establish protected areas for tourism. In this era, game viewing tourism in protected areas gained popularity in a period when motorcars and the photo

camera became popular (early 20th century). For example the "Big game massacres" and "Biserk drives" were colonial safari/travel agents (Dundas, 1924; Reid, 1934), which specialized in both hunting and leisure tourism safaris in Tanganyika. Tourists' organisation of Biserk drives were old yet, facilitated the wildlife safaris in Tanganyika. The scientific/educational and game hunting tourism remained the most lucrative and dominant form of tourism.

Nevertheless, the British extended the number of game reserves from ten to thirteen, still covering only 5% of the land in the early 1920s. The three added game reserves (i.e. the Selous, Ngorongoro, and Serengeti) were confirmed under the Game Preservation Ordinance of 1921. Later, in 1933, the Lake Rukwa and Usambara reserves were added. The extension of these hunting reserves coincided with the realization by the British government that tourism was a potential income generator. Game viewing tours became an increasingly important aspect of wildlife conservation, rivalling or even surpassing sport hunting as a source of government revenues. The change in tourists' preferences from hunting tourism to game viewing forced the re-categorisation of some of the game reserve into national parks. Hence, the paradigm shift marked the era of national parks creation in Tanganyika.

The era of game reserves specifically designed for game viewing tourism in Tanganyika, began in 1933. The advocacy of game viewing or park tourism was a response to the world economic depression of the 1930s (Ouma, 1970), which it sought to counter. To accelerate the growth of tourism, certified travel organizations were created all over the world. In East Africa,

the East African Publicity Association (EAPA) was formed in 1938 (Ouma, 1970; Curtin, 2010). More tourist and hospitality supportive infrastructure; including airports, roads and accommodations were built. This development focused on Kenya, the Head Quarters of the British territory, where the majority of European settlers resided. In Tanganyika, the poorly developed infrastructure did not match its abundant tourism resources, in particular its game reserves. What is more, tourists visiting Tanganyika first had to register in Kenya, marking Kenya's superior position in the region's tourism development.

World War II (1939 – 1945) and the struggle for independence (1945 – 1961)

World War II provided Tanganyika with little opportunity to develop its tourism since much of the earnings were committed to territorial protection. Nevertheless, an increasing number of tourists with a 'special interest' in Tanganyika's flora and fauna were recorded (Ofcansky, 1997). Acknowledging the role of tourism as a source of revenue, East African Governors organized a tourism conference in Nairobi in 1947 (Sindiga, 1999). This conference led to the formation of a representative committee of the East African High Commission (EAHC) to oversee tourism and its issues. In addition, an interim office of the East African Tourist Travel Association (EATTA) was established in 1949 headquartered in Nairobi. EATTA's aim was to market all tourist attractions in East Africa. EATTA launched various publicity campaigns that mainly focused on the region's tourism and its wildlife resources.

Following these publicity campaigns in the early 1950s, the potential of natural areas as a basis for tourism was widely recognized.

For instance, Foran (1950) stated, "all East African territories were fully aware of the necessity for creating national parks and game reserves for the preservation of an immense heritage of fauna and flora which nature so excessively granted upon these regions". East Africa, and in particular Tanganyika experienced a tourist boom in this period (Hyma, 1980). The growing number of tourists was paralleled by an increase in studies of tourism ranging from promotional literature in magazines and journals to penetrating research articles and books. Well-produced guidebooks were developed for East Africa as a whole and for each of the countries (Cox, 1970; Hyma, 1980). In addition, film and photography emerged as important new media. For example, Grzimek's 1959 film "*Serengeti darf nicht sterben*" (i.e. Serengeti shall not die) received much attention. The film's aim was to promote the conservation of Serengeti's spectacular wildlife resources for sustainable use tourism and research. The film became an excellent medium for tourism promotion and indeed stimulated many conservation activities.

The Post-colonial Period (1961-date)

In the early 1960s, explorers from Europe and the Middle and Far East already had a long tradition of holidaying in search of exotic features and scenic wonders but only a few of them reached Tanzania, in small groups and expeditions. It was not until the 1960s that the first ripples of mass tourism began to develop. As argued by Chambua (2007), the expansion of mass tourism from the 1960s onwards was an outgrowth of the tourist patterns initiated in the 1940s and 1950s. Mass tourism became a significant industry in Tanzania. Policy changes, technological advancement, and the diversity of destinations also enhanced

tourist arrivals. Tourists had different motives and preferences. Unlike in the colonial era, where Kenya was the superior and dominant tourist destination in East Africa, the post-colonial era gave hope to Tanzania to govern its tourist attractions independently as a sovereign state and not as 'common resources' for the East African territory.

With respect to tourism development in the period after independence, four eras can be discerned based on political and technological developments: the modernization era, the post Arusha Declaration era, the liberalization era and the internet-based tourism era.

Tourism in the modernization era (1961-1967)

In the 1960s, tourism expanded in response to increasing demand of certain types of leisure activities, namely indulgence in fun, food, frolic and exotica (Salazar, 2008). During this time tourists travelled for the sun, sand and sex (the 3-Ss) adventures mostly practiced in coastal parts of Tanzania (e.g. Dar es Salaam Bagamoyo and Zanzibar) as well as close to wildlife tourist destinations (e.g. Mto wa Mbu village close to Lake Manyara National Park). After independence, tourism became a key industry in all development plans. This was encouraged by the rapid growth of international tourist arrivals. The Establishment of the Tanzania National Tourist Board (TNTB) in 1962 soon after independence was a major step ahead to accommodate the increased number of tourist arrivals. The TNTB was structured as an institution to oversee tourism issues in the country and it replaced the East African Tourist Travel Association of 1949. The country invested much in the tourism industry, though opportunities for its

citizens were restricted because the industry still hinged on colonial capitalists. Europeans and to a lesser extent Asians dominated the industry. In the mid-1960s Tanzania created state owned hospitality enterprises, including hotels and game lodges in major tourist destinations and cities, like Dar es Salaam and Arusha (Salazar, 2008).

In the colonial era, Tanzania had only game reserves, but this changed soon after independence. The Serengeti was the first national park gazetted. This park caters for the changing tourist demand from game hunting to game viewing. The number of national parks rose to seven in 1970 and thirteen in 1995. Creation of more national parks was in line with the country's policy to conserve its biological resources for different purposes, including tourism. Tanzania was ready to protect her natural resources in collaboration with international organizations. In this context, the Tanzanian first president, Mwl. J.K. Nyerere, stated this: *"The survival of our wildlife is a matter of grave concern to all of us in Africa. These wild creatures in wild places are not only important as a source of wonder and inspiration; they are also an integral part of our natural resources and our future livelihood and well-being. We solemnly declare that we will do everything in our power to make sure that our children's grandchildren will be able to enjoy this rich precious inheritance"* (extract from his speech for the symposium on the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, September 1961). This statement later became the Arusha declaration (*Azimio la Arusha in Swahili*) in 1967. This thus drove Tanzania to establish and conserve as many national parks so that the 'grandchildren' of the world' could enjoy the resources during wildlife safaris and other tourist trips.

In the above statement, *"we declare..."* indicates that soon after independence natural attractions (i.e. wildlife) should contribute to tourism. The Socio-economic contribution of tourism to the national economy, immediately after independence transformed Mwl. Nyerere's notion to run the tourism industry with Tanzanians without depending much on Westerners (mostly Europeans) as was in the colonial era. The expansion of the hospitality industry, the acquisition of the ministerial position for tourism in 1964 (i.e. the Ministry of Information and Tourism), and later the creation of the Tanzania National Tourist Board (TNTB) obviously drove Tanzania to abandon the East African base of tourism during the 1960s. The TNTB was established in 1962 to replace the EATTA of 1949, and opened offices in London. The offices were fully equipped to oversee the international promotion of Tanzania's tourist attractions. According to Chambua (2007), during the 1967- 1968 lodges were constructed and expanded at the Ngorongoro Crater, the Lobo Lodge in Serengeti, the Seronera Wildlife Lodge, the Mikumi Lodge, the Mafia Island Fishing Lodge, the Bahari Beach, the Kunduchi Beach and the New Africa Hotels. The Tanzania Wild Safaris Ltd was established. The Arusha Declaration, which was enacted on February 5 in 1967, hinged on socialism and self-reliance, which marked a new era of African Socialism as well as a new era of tourism development in Tanzania.

Post Arusha Declaration (1967-1985)

The importance of wildlife tourism development for national parks and the people living in and around them was strongly echoed in the Arusha Declaration. This declaration led to massive efforts in marketing the tourism and hospitality

industry. Tourist statistics recording systems, hotel constructions and other infrastructures were improved. The number of tourist arrivals substantially increased between 1968 and 1973. Tourism was extremely profitable in these years, and the hotels and sales of game hunting licence contributed a lot to the export earnings (Shivji, 1975; Chachage, 2003; Chambua, 2007). Wildlife safari tourism further expanded in the 1970s. In mid-1970's tourism had become the seventh important foreign exchange earner in Tanzania (Green, 1979).

Tourist numbers continued to grow until 1973 after which Tanzania started to experience decreases in tourist arrivals (Figure.1). This decrease was associated with the self-reliance policy of African socialism and the Arusha Declaration. Many of the associated policies and regulations weakened the tourism industry, although this was not their original intention. During this period, the tourism and hospitality industry was run by the state and the involved government officials performed extremely poorly due to their incompetence on tourism issues. This was worsened by lack of specialized personnel in the tourism related industry, the state monopoly in the banking system, the overnight ban of all hunting and photographic safaris and the subsequent closure of all business including state owned wildlife safaris in the country in 1973 (Herne, 1999; Wade et al., 2001; Salazar, 2008). The declining tourism development was considered inhumane and demoralizing by tourism entrepreneurs and tourists.

The situation was further degraded by the official disintegration of the East African Community and sudden closure of the Tanzania-Kenya border in 1977. This resulted in a drastic fall of tourism two

years later in 1979-1980 (Figure.1), which clearly indicated that the majority of tourists in Tanzania were crossing the border from Kenya to Tanzania especially to the northern circuit (i.e. the Arusha, the Manyara, the Tarangire, the Kilimanjaro, Serengeti National Parks and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area). The border closure and the Idi Amin war between Tanzania and Uganda in 1978 and 1979 also contributed to the fall in tourist arrivals in the country.

The worst tourism performance of Tanzania was from 1979-1983 (Figure.1) when the country recorded the lowest numbers of tourist arrivals since its independence. A new wave of international environmental conservation policies in the 1980s, imposed by several BINGOs, aggravated the situation. As argued in Chachage (1999), these policies prohibited mass tourism and favoured environmental friendly tourism practices like eco-tourism. Unlike mass tourism, where travel costs were reduced through sheer numbers, environmental concern tourism encouraged travel in small groups to avoid environmental damage. This also increased travel costs and consequently resulted in fewer tourist arrivals. Apart from the prohibition of mass tourism, the BINGOs imposed conditions, such as collaboration of state tourism industry and private sectors. These conditions meant that the government had the obligation to ensure the stability for private sector entrepreneurs and possible foreign capitalists. The BINGOs' conditions were defined strategically to favour the countries where tourist originated, and, hence these countries controlled the tourist markets. These conditions were a cold sanction resulting into the strong political dynamics (i.e. change in policies) that contributed to reducing tourist arrivals in Tanzania.

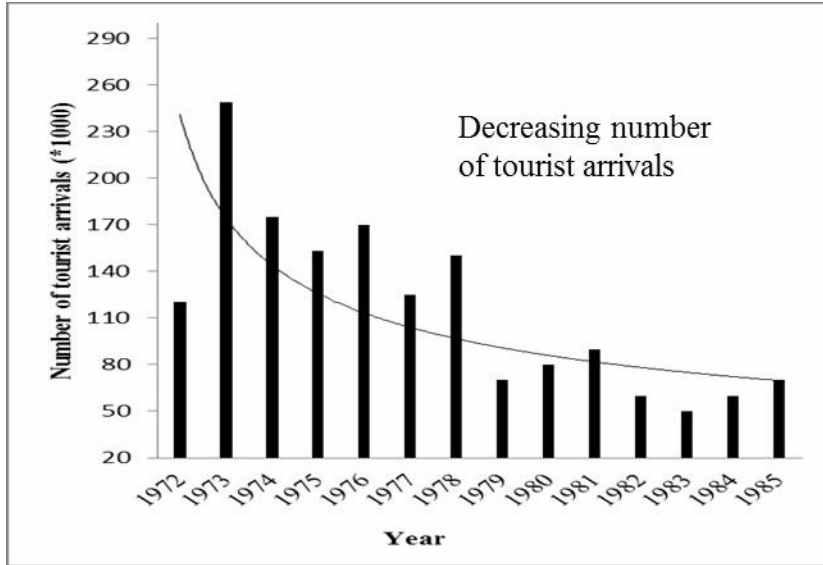


Figure.1 Trends in tourist arrivals since 1972-1985 (data source Wade *et al.*, 2001)

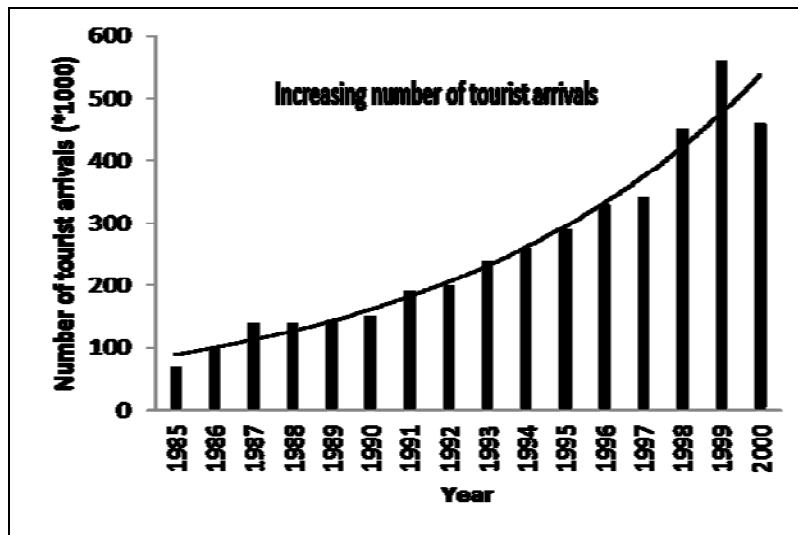


Figure.2 Trends in Tourists arrivals since 1985-2000 (Data source from Wade *et al.*, 2001; UNWTO, 2011)

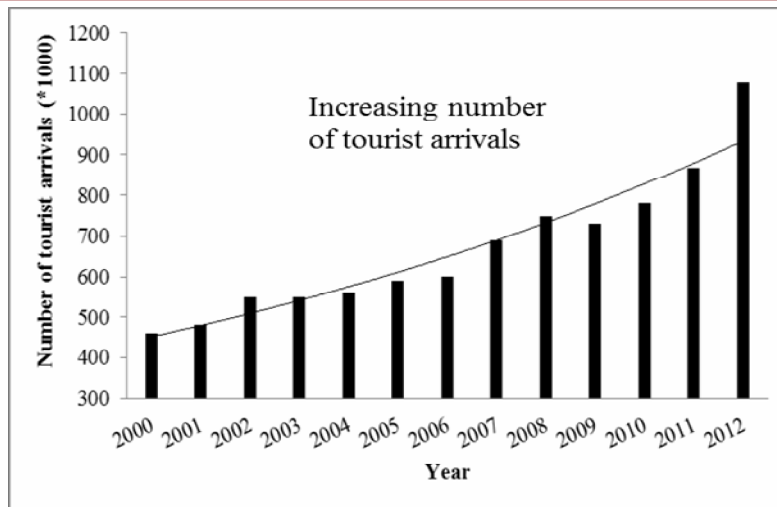


Figure.3 Trends in tourist’s arrivals since 2000-2012
(data source from UNWTO, 2011; Tairo, 2013)

Liberalization (1985-2000)

After the so-called “cold war” of tourism that persisted for almost five years (i.e. from 1979 to 1983), tourism increased again in the mid-1980s due to new economic liberalization policies. The new liberal policies such as cheap and fair travels were introduced to lower the travel costs, so that tourists could travel more easily. These new liberalization policies together with the removal of trade restrictions that forced developing countries to open up their economy for imports from the developed world, triggered the growth of tourism (Kulindwa, 2001; Luvanga, 2003; Ranja, 2003; Chambua, 2007). Many foreign tour companies were able to open offices in Tanzania, especially in Moshi and Arusha. This marked the development of tourism in the Northern Circuit (Arusha, Kilimanjaro and Manyara regions). The re-

opening of the Tanzania-Kenya border in 1984 also resulted in an exponential increase in the number of tourist arrivals (Figure 1). Tourism gradually turned into a well-endowed and multinational, well-financed and technologically advanced industry soon after the mid-1980s.

Massive privatization of state owned tourism assets in the liberalization era allowed the private sector to run much of the tourism industry. These private sectors consist mainly of elite and foreign interests. Although the country receives the highest number of tourists in this period, the situation suggests a return of tourism to the colonial period, where few rich Europeans owned the tourism industry and determined the number of tourist arrivals in the country. This can be seen from the new liberalization polices introduced by the IMF and the World Bank in the 1980s.

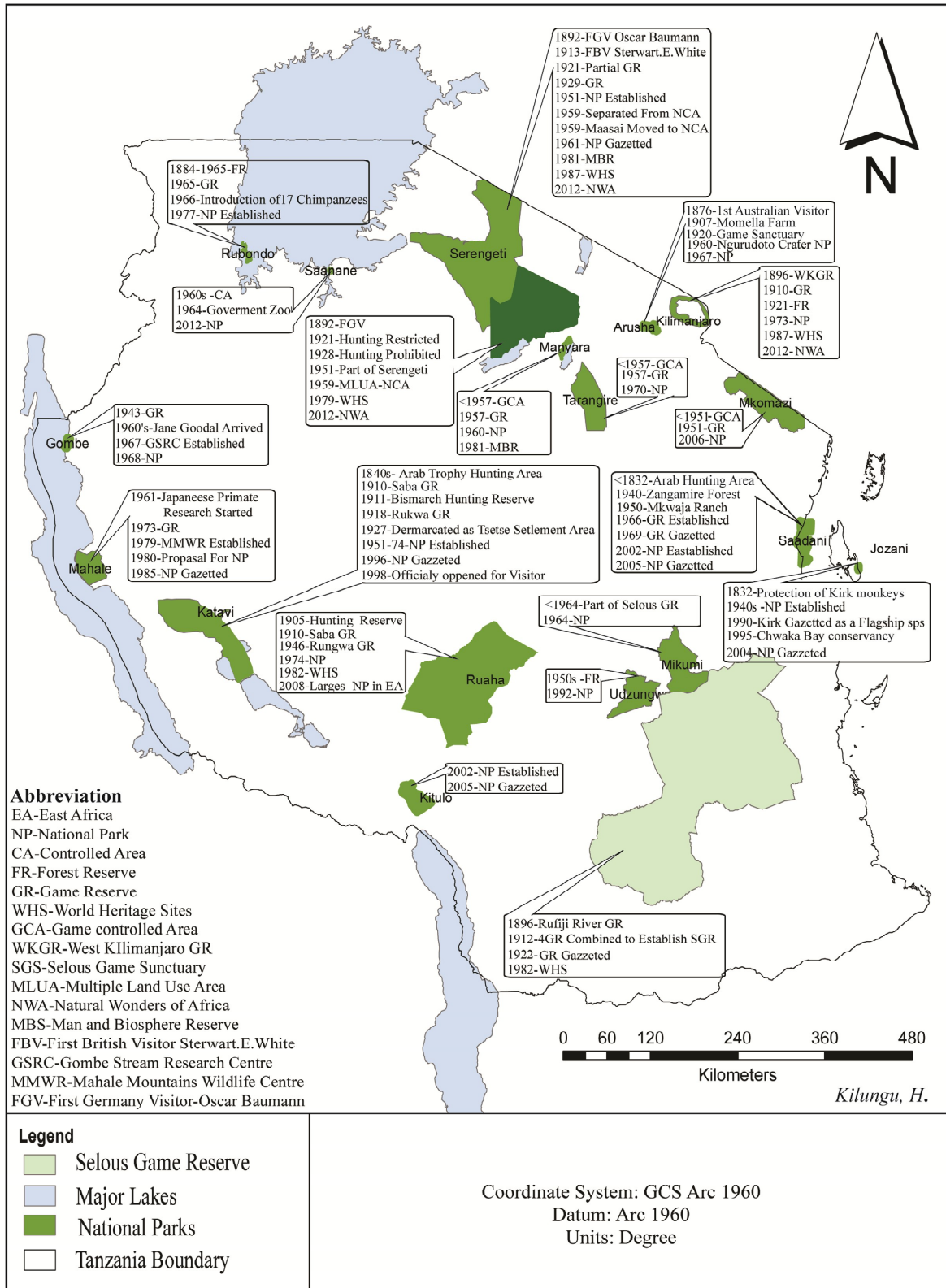


Figure.4 Two hundred years of the evolution and distribution of wildlife tourist destinations in Tanzania

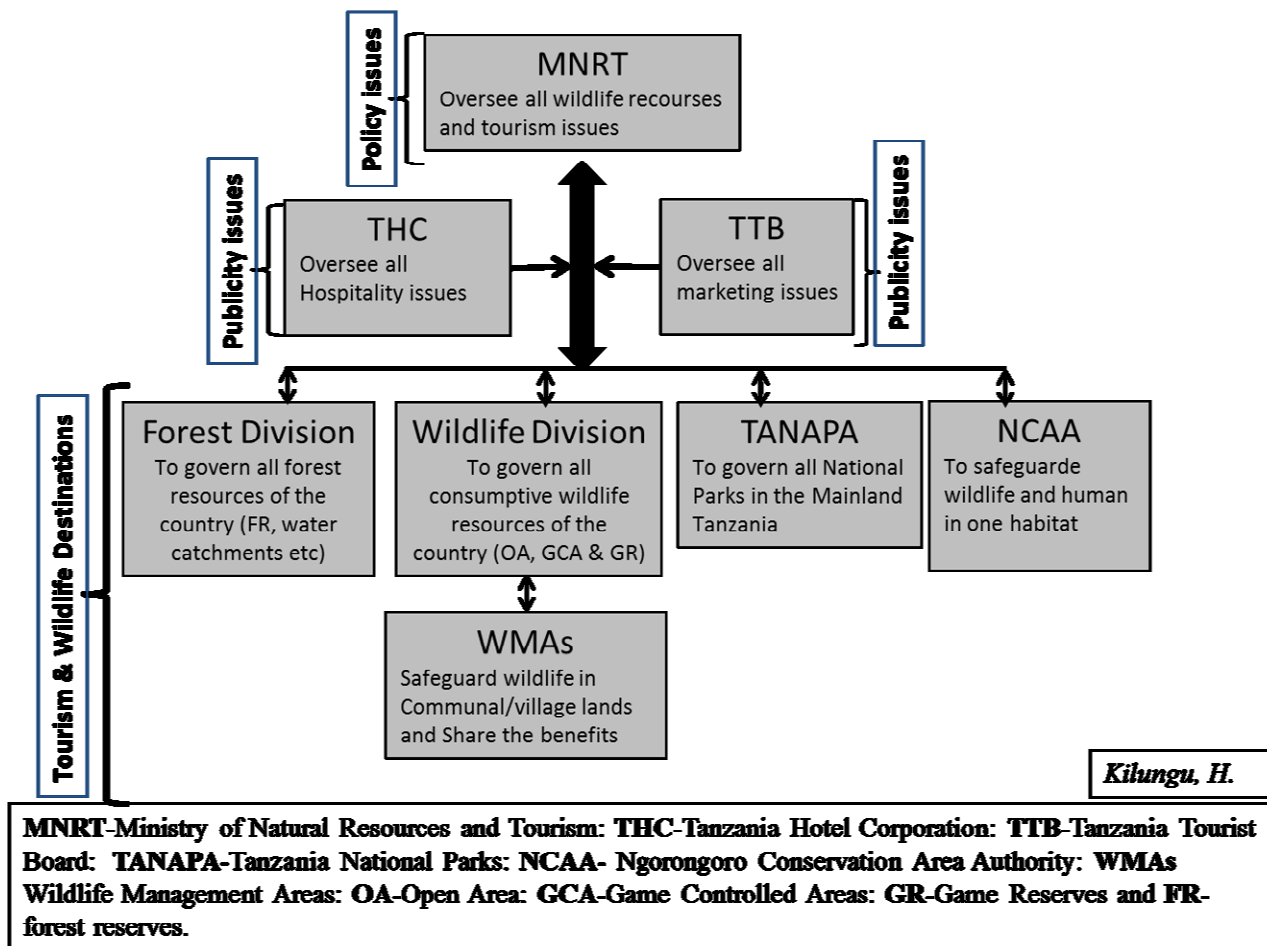


Figure.5 A simplified representation of wildlife resource governance in Tanzania soon after independence

These policies were meant to put Tanzanian attractions in the hands of international ownership evidenced in the on-going move to elevate the status of Tanzanian natural beauty by establishing world heritage sites, man and biosphere reserves and at national level nature reserves being established from Forest Reserves. In recent years, UNESCO added Ngorongoro (1979), Serengeti (1981), Selous game reserve (1982), and Kilimanjaro (1987) to its list of World Heritage Sites. At the same time the Serengeti –Ngorongoro and East Urambara conservation areas were both identified as biosphere reserves in 1981 while many forest reserves especially in the biodiversity hotspots have been declared Nature

Reserves. The massive change in international politics over natural attractions resembles the history where Western countries had much control of African continent’s wildlife tourist resources. The elevated status of tourist destinations contributes into increasing number of tourist arrivals. However, caution must be taken as the future of these tourist destinations could be threatened if any global environmental change may scale back the status of tourist destinations.

National policy reshuffles and/or adjustments and the enactment of the wildlife policy of 1998 (revised in 2007) also consider hunting tourism as a viable

economic and sustainable use of wildlife. Tourist hunting is still widely practiced in several game reserves, game controlled areas, and open areas. Other factors attributed to the Tanzanian tourism development were the development of an integrated tourism master plan in 1996 (revised in 1999). This plan focused on improving, developing and refurbishing existing tourist attractions and facilities to attract more tourists (MNRT, 2002). The first National Tourism Policy of 1999, among others, stipulated the role of tourism in the country, stimulated tourism investment and encouraged public private partnerships. This tourism policy insists on low density or strong environmentally friendly tourism that can contribute to the national economy but simultaneously conserves the environment. On another extreme the communication infrastructure development, such as telecommunication, road networks and other infrastructures in various tourist destinations led to a sharp increase in tourist arrivals from 1985 (Figure 2). This marks substantial developments in the tourism industry though the situation changed when Tanzania experienced a sudden drop of tourist number in 1999/2000 (Figure 2) associated with the terrorist bombing of US embassy offices in Tanzania and Kenya on August 7, 1998.

Internet-based tourism (2000-to present)

A phenomenon that has fundamentally changed tourism in the first years of the 21st centuries is the internet. The internet provides a fundamentally different economic environment for doing tourism business. Rayman-Bacchus and Molina (2001) see the internet as a key differentiator in the tourism industry, as well as a rapidly growing communication facility, accessible globally and at a

negligible cost. Internet-based business is shaping the provision of tourism services even in developing countries, in Tanzania particularly. Internet technologies are complementing rather than undermining the role of personal travel. From the turn of the century, the reliance on the internet and websites for promotion of tourism and tourism resources and their associated attractions have grown. In December 1999, 4.1% of world population had access to the internet worldwide, a leap from 0.4% in 1995 (Internet World Stats, 2013)¹. This is equivalent to a 1% increase of annual internet usage. In March 2013, 38% of the world population had used internet, whereas, 77% of the users were the developed world inhabitants versus 31% in the developing world (International Telecommunications Union, 2013)²

Seeking to understand the development of internet-based or electronic-tourism services in Tanzania, we need to appreciate some of the antecedent conditions, the socio-economic movements, and technological developments within the tourism industry. One is the increasing political and economic integration of large regions of the world (e.g. Europe, America and Asia). At the same time citizens of modern societies who demand tourism services in developing countries are attaching ever greater importance to leisure, travel and tourism (Claval, 2002).

¹ Internet World Stats. (2012). Internet growth statistics-today's road to e-commerce and global trade internet technology reports, Accessed in December 12, 2013, from <http://www.internetworldstats.com/emarketing.htm>
² ITU. (February 27, 2013). International Telecommunication Union-ICT facts and figure: latest global technology development figures [press release] Accessed in December, 25, 2013, from http://www.itu.int/net/pressoffice/press_releases/2013/05.aspx#.UrsAjLRzbD8

Integrating particular leisure interests with individual work schedule has often-increased mobility of people in search of new tourist attraction to suit their desires. Implicated in these movements is the harnessing of ICT to bring about faster and more widespread communication and greater information dissemination, lower transaction costs, the realization of electronic commerce (i.e. electronic momentary transactions with credit cards and electronic money transfers) and increased scope for meeting and promoting individual preferences.

Technological developments in the banking sector have opened up new modes of doing business. Today's tourists can use E-banking services to purchase tourism services for destinations of their choice, while still in the country of origin. This strongly differs from the 1980s, where tourists had to travel with cash to various destinations. The majority of travellers considered the cash-based modes of transaction unsafe, making risk-averse tourists not to travel to less secured destinations. The introduction of mobile money transfer system in Tanzania is a major driver in the rapid growth of the tourism industry. These mobile money transfer systems (e.g. Vodacom M-Pesa, Airtel-Money, Eazy-Pesa and Tigo-Pesa) allow for rapid transactions. These systems allow even local Tanzanians, who have no access to a bank to purchase tourism services using their mobile handsets.

Unlike two centuries ago where marketing was done through simple analogy approaches (c.f. Rousseau and his contemporary paintings of "African wilds"), the 21st century Tanzanian tourism hinges on the use of internet approaches. Tourism authorities in the county like the Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA), the

Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT), the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA), the Tanzania Tourist Board (TTB), and local tour operators and travel agents use their websites to market tourism resources and services. Electronic mail (e-mails) and online booking systems for hotel reservations are now prioritized. Further, the expansion of the international airports (i.e. Dar es Salaam and Kilimanjaro) and reduced bureaucracy at airports and at immigration authorities improved border crossings hence increased tourist arrivals in Tanzania over the last decade (Figure 3).

Evolution and distribution of wildlife safari tourist destinations in Tanzania since 19th century

The wildlife tourism and its associated destinations in the county in the last two centuries evolved in different patterns. The uneven distribution of Tanzanian wildlife resources influenced the distribution of the tourist destinations and hence attributed to the increased inbound tourists because tourists can attain their desire in various varied tourist destinations. The historical wildlife resource governance systems that the country has gone through since the early 1800s (i.e. before Europeans colonizing East Africa and after the independence), has contributed to the change in tourist motives for visiting the country, as well as the preferences of tourist destinations. Before and soon after colonization, the country's wildlife resources were not subjected to any policy or law. The resulting 'No-Mans-Resource' -or as it is referred to in Tanzania "*Shamba la Bibi*"- indicates an early tragedy of the commons that resulted in unregulated hunting. For example, Stewart Edward White, a Brit visiting the Serengeti in 1920, shot fifty lions in a single year (Herne,

1999). Such lion hunting made lions scarce and the British colonial administration made a partial game reserve of just 3.2 km² around the Seronera area in 1921. Additionally the Serengeti became a full game reserve in 1929. These actions were the basis for the Serengeti national park establishment in 1951 and of other national parks.

The establishment of protected areas (i.e. wildlife tourist destinations) in the country hinges on the wealth of the country's wildlife resource potential for tourism. The historical governance issues (i.e. policies, regulations and laws) that changed the status of protected areas are presented in this section in the form of a distribution map. Braat (2013); Maes et al, (2013) view maps as communication tools to initiate discussions on conservation decisions on priority areas and on relevant policy interventions. By understanding, the potential of distribution maps in managing Tanzanian tourist destinations, the evolution, and distribution map of the Tanzanian protected areas was created. This map narrates the historic development (i.e. time and space) of the seventeen national parks, the Selous game reserve, and the Ngorongoro conservation area in an annotated map (Figure 4). The map was created using historical information on the individual protected areas, running from the pre-colonial era to the contemporary era. Some information from the many studies reviewed for this study and other sources (e.g. Wikipedia) were used to create a narrative description of each protected area. ArcGIS was used to create the distribution of protected areas in Tanzania. The narrative text boxes for each protected area were added. National park in this map is the highest rank of non-consumptive wildlife tourist designations. However, all these national parks evolved from either

game reserves or forest reserves. All game reserves evolved from open game controlled areas.

In 2013, Tanzania had seventeen national parks. The Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) manages the sixteen national parks and the Zanzibar Authorities manages the Jozani Chwaka, the only national park in Zanzibar (Figure 5). The Ngorongoro conservation area authority manages the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA). The NCA is managed as a multiple land use where conservation, tourism, and Maasai pastoralists live together harmoniously. Game reserves where hunting tourism is permitted, is another wildlife category. These areas have been purposely located adjacent to national parks to control the wildlife populations within the carrying capacity of the national parks and at the same time to accrue economic benefits of wildlife resources through trophy hunting. The Selous game reserve is both the most famous tourist hunting game reserve in the world, as well as the oldest and the largest African game reserve. The Selous is a special game reserve in the sense that both hunting and photographic tourism are allowed in specific designated areas. Only hunting was allowed during the colonial time. In recent years, a special area designated for photographic tourism was created within the Selous to capture the current development of changing tourist motives.

In the past decades until now, conservation and utilization of wildlife resources in the country are managed under the hierarchy of authorities (Figure 5). The Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (MNRT), which oversees the conservation of wildlife resources and tourism, is responsible for developing and implementing wildlife and tourism policies. The Tanzania Tourist

Body (TTB) and the Tanzania Hotel Corporations (THC) are specifically responsible for actual tourism and hospitality publicity issues. The spatial complexity of wildlife resources, the complicated and varied tourist preferences led the government to delegate its conservation and utilization power to four authorities/divisions namely: the forest division, the wildlife division, the Tanzania National Park Authority (TANAPA), and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority (NCAA) (Figure 5). This complex policy and management structure can nowadays adequately deal with tourism and their ever-changing motives.

Conclusion

Wildlife tourism and their associated tourist destinations in Tanzania have been developed over more than two hundred years. Over this period of their development tourist destinations in the country have changed status from common resources to either game reserves and/or forest reserves and, finally, to national parks to parallel the changing tourists' demands and motives. While the country praised the economic contribution of tourism to the GDP from its onset, all tourism economic studies started their economic interpretations in the 1970s. These studies only associate increase and decrease in the number of tourists with supply and demand model, where price determined the market. Our study concludes that tourist motives and preferences more strongly determine the market than price, and, hence, influence the demand and supply of tourist activities. For example, a change from hunting motives of the late 1890s to sightseeing tourism in the 1930s and the demand for environmental friendly tourism in 1970s as opposed to low cost mass tourism in the 1960s. The

wealthy and uneven distribution of wildlife resources has contributed to assigning 38% of the country's land for the conservation of biological diversity and tourism compared to 5% area protected in the 1920s.

The contemporary conservation strategies did not come over night but were influenced by historic governance issues and the current conservation strategies are clearly rooted in the colonial era. Unlike other African countries, the primary purposes of wildlife management in Tanzania were initially for consumptive wildlife resource use (e.g. massive hunting) until the 1960s. However, ten years later the paradigm shifted to wildlife protection for the conservation of biological diversity and environmental friendly tourism. This shift is also the main reason for Tanzania's abandonment of mass tourism in the 1960s and encouragement of environmentally friendly tourism since in 1970s.

The geographic variations of the country resulted in the unique and spatially distributed pattern of protected areas and this distributes tourist arrivals and caters for varied tourist preferences (e.g. hunting, sightseeing and diving). This study has also profiled the role of technological advancement (e.g. the use of internet) and multimedia platforms in the modern tourism industry. Our analysis elucidates that, books and multimedia platforms played a major role in selling wildlife resources of the country apart from road infrastructures and the hospitality industry development. Much of the information on historical evolution of protected areas is poorly documented or only available in incompatible formats. The time-series development of each protected area in our map makes this historical information more assessable for parks managers, decision

makers, and tourists, and put their decisions into a historical context. Changes in climate, land use and conservation policies affect the protected areas differently. Population increase and economic development in Tanzania will likely make land a more scarce resource which will create trade-offs between protected areas and other economic uses. This will increase the necessity of management. Our detailed historic evolution and distribution in a single map of all protected areas therefore is an important management tool for development of explorative scenarios to cope with the current dynamics in climate and land-use change risks based on past evolution of protected areas in the country.

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