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**GLOBALIZATION AND TRANSITIONS IN  
TOURISM IN TANZANIA**

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# GLOBALIZATION AND TRANSITIONS IN TOURISM IN TANZANIA<sup>1</sup>

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## **Introduction**

Transformations taking place in Tanzania and Africa in general are taking place against a series of new international conditions. These include: the collapse of *bureaucratic state socialism* in Eastern and Central Europe; a severe economic crisis; and, the implementation of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) sponsored Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs). SAPs have insisted on the liberalization of the economy, reliance on market forces and less state intervention as a means to overcome the crisis. Adam Smith's illusion of a Robinson Crusoe has gained a new breath of life. The assumptions behind the prescriptions are: the state is supposed to maintain law, order, defense and public goods while at the same time providing an enabling environment<sup>1</sup> for efficient functioning of entrepreneurs and market forces.

J.M. Keynes' dream of generation of full employment and recovery through state direction is no more. The result of this has been in the tying of aid with some political reforms--multipartyism as a form of democratic rule (simply, from one-party state dictatorship to multi-party state dictatorship). The developmentalist models of accumulation and accelerated development of the first decades of independence, which were premised on state intervention as a means to achieve industrialization, a high degree of economic control and a high level of unified political loyalty have increasingly been discredited.

The same period has witnessed attempts by the *people* to restructure and reshape power relations. This process, as Kothari (1984:14) aptly described it in the early 1980s, has been accompanied by a "growing critique of the role of the state and its role in human liberation". There has been increasingly a "reconsideration of the relationship between the state and the civil society", as an autonomous expression of human social will: the whole process of decentralization and rediscovery of identities. The rediscovery of the civil society has meant some form of a redefinition of how our societies are socially and politically organized. Civil society as a concept has been recast from the original meaning of private sphere of

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society (outside the domain of the state, the family, property, industry, etc.) to embrace social and political movements and the whole question of empowering people. It has meant a redefinition of the content of politics, in such a way that instead of the state being seen as the dominant factor in the moulding of society, the tendency has been to view society as a self-creative entity. The process has been marked by democratic protests, which have entailed a creation of a *social capacity* to challenge the state monopolization of politics and decision making.

This work, which is a synthesis of a larger study (Chachage 1998), seeks to examine and establish the consequences of such processes and policy reforms in the context of Tanzania. It also attempts to critically consider the appropriateness of the assumptions underlying the shift in the policies of the World Bank. The shift in the policies of the World Bank in regard to tourism sector is a recent one and therefore its consequences have remained unexplored. Nor, incidentally, have the previous policies which supported certain forms of state ownership or stood for 'equal partnership' between governments and foreign companies--and which are now held responsible for the decline in private investment and production--been critically appraised in a balanced manner.

### **Nimrods,<sup>2</sup> Thomas Cooks<sup>3</sup> and Globetrotters**

An overview of mining and tourism in this section is intended to shed some light on the particular forms of accumulation, which have been taking place under SAPs. The main activities in this sector are related to wild life and natural attractions. There was only one national park (Serengeti) at the time of independence in 1961, the number rose to seven in 1970 and 13 by 1995. By 1995, (there were 69 game conservation areas including these national parks. The creation of more national parks, game reserves and protected areas after independence was in response to 1960 U.N. Visiting Mission which recommended development and maintenance of extensive game reserves and national parks. The same mission had also recommended further development of tourist facilities so as to develop the industry as one of the possible big foreign exchange earners in the future.

The total area under game conservation is 239,065 sq. km or 26 per cent of the total area of the country--945,166 sq. km. National parks (41,131 sq. km) are for non-consumptive tourist utilization only. There are also 17 game reserves (88,805 sq. km with Selous Game reserve alone covering 55,000 sq. km) which are used for consumptive utilization, mainly tourist hunting for sport. Fifty game controlled areas exist in the country and cover a very large area. Unlike the two above, where there is control of land-use activities that may endanger wildlife, it is only control of wildlife utilization, which is exercised here. There are also conservation areas and marine parks. Beyond these, there are open areas where wildlife is protected, even if the area is not gazetted. Forestry covers about 43 per cent (some of them are forest reserves).

The evolution of modern tourism in Tanzania, has its pedigree in the precolonial period. It was related to exploration and hunting expeditions of the 19th century, associated with the whole process of colonial conquest. The first type of tourism, which was to develop in Tanzania and else where in Africa

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<sup>2</sup> Nimrod refers to hunters. Genesis 9: 6-9 states "...Nimrod...was the first on earth to be a mighty man. He was a mighty hunter before the lord; therefore it is said, "Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the LORD."

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Cook was the first person to organize a Grand Tour and charter a train from Leisester to Loughborough. He was to organize a trip to Egypt and the Holy Land in 1869.

was hunting. And this early form of hunting was closely associated with the study of natural history. Within this context, natural history as a central scientific debate resulted into nature being subject to various legislations, in the form of property rights in land and natural resources in general.

Hunting played an important social and economic function, and therefore notions of conservation were to develop in the colonies, which deep down, were an expression of ethnic and racial relations.

Wildlife and natural resources in general have historically been among the major cites of accumulation in Tanzania since the pre-colonial period (in the form of export of e.g. ivory, mangroves, etc.). Travelers of this period were mainly traders and conquerors. Ivory trade in East Africa has a history of more than 2,000 years. Starting from the middle ages, a complex network of African hunters and traders, Arab middlemen and shippers and Asian merchants had supplied the Asian and later the European markets with ivory. Intense penetration of European hunters and traders was to take place from mid- 19th century, often on the pretext of attacking slave trade to commercial advantage. By this time, there arrived missionaries, explorers, prospectors, naturalists, big-game hunters, traders and adventurers in big numbers to seek excitement in the 'Dark Continent'.

It was at a time when European and American demand for ivory had expanded due to the growth in the manufacture of cutlery, pianos, billiard balls, combs and ornaments. Growth in demand for ivory is illustrated by the expansion of the output of pianos in the United States of America and Britain. The output rose from approximately 10,000 in 1850 to 370,000 in 1910 in the United States; and from approximately 23,000 to 75,000 in the same period in Britain (MacKenzie 1988:148). It is estimated that about two million pounds of ivory (60,000 to 100,000 elephant's worth) were annually coming out of Africa in the 1880s. A large share of this was coming from East Africa, since most of South African elephant population had been wiped out by early 1800 and Ivory Coast had hardly any ivory left by 1900.

Animal products (meat, skins and horns) underpinned the transition period until farms could become productive. Most early developments (town and railway building, establishment of farms, etc.) were accomplished through the use of animal resources. Meat, for example, constituted an important part or substitute for wages, and ivory and skins produced a direct subsidy for conquest and settlement. It was with the decline of the need for subsidy that the colonial rulers began to restrict access to game even within the European community in the interest of 'sport' (ibid: 298).

Thus, sportsmen began to agitate against excessive destruction of animal stocks and called for preservation measures "to promote the survival of species and continued hunting for sport". It was mostly Africans who were being condemned for much of the destruction of animal stocks, and therefore, as it turned out, many of the legislations, which were to be introduced aimed at restricting Africans from hunting. The justification for wild life preservation was also on the basis of science: "The natural history establishment, many of its members hunters, gave full support to pressure groups and imperial authorities concerned with this process.... The true sportsman was a natural historian and a scientist.... The hunter had become a member of an exclusive club, its rules defined by western technology and science (ibid: 300). The rules which were being introduced as far as conservation was concerned were directly associated with the natural history studies of the 19th century in general and the influence of the Romantics.

Germans were already accelerating conservation measures in the form of 'game preserves and 'sanctuaries' by the 1890s in Tanzania (German East Africa between 1884-1917) which were more or less fashioned in the manner of those at home. They were introduced by Governor Hermann von Wissmann first in Moshi and Kilimanjaro districts in 1891, and finally extended to cover the whole colony by 1896. Two areas were declared as game reserves in 1896, namely, Rufiji (which is now part of Selous Game reserve) and the west of Kilimanjaro area. There were about eight reserves, which were demarcated by 1908 as reserves. Their number reached 11 by the end of World War I. Germans had introduced licenses for Africans and Europeans and prohibited certain types of hunting technology (nets, fire and other forms of driving game). These licenses were a sure source of money for the government, besides the export of trophies and other animal products. New regulations were introduced in 1898, which excluded African hunters, since Europeans were blaming Africans for the destruction of game. More emphasis henceforth was on 'elite' hunting.

The British took over these reserves and extended them to 13 (16,300 sq. miles) in early 1920s (ibid). Game reserves such as the Selous, Ngorongoro, Serengeti, etc. were to be confirmed under the Game Preservation Ordinance of 1921. Lake Rukwa and Usambara reserves were added in 1933. Serengeti and Ngorongoro were to be further extended in 1936. The posts of game warden and game ranger were introduced in 1929 in an amendment of the 1921 Ordinance. At the same time, more regulations relating to the management of reserves were issued in 1937. The Southern Highlands areas (Idodi, Usagara and Iringa), Tabora and others were to be declared in 1938 and 1939.

The creation of the game reserves more or less coincided with the new developments in tourism, whereby game viewing was increasingly becoming an important aspect. It was in the 1930s that regulations for setting up national parks were introduced. It had become clear that game-viewing tourism promised more revenue for the government than sport hunting. Although the fauna and flora of the country were not yet adequately protected in the 1920s, there were already holidaying visitors by this time. There were also scientific expeditions, but game-hunting expeditions remained the most dominant. "Big game massacres and biserk drives" according to some of the colonial agents, was one of life's greatest sports (Reid 1934: 69). It was the "...old fashioned *safari* of whitemen in Tanganyika--that is, a leisure affair of porters, tents, and chops of boxes, where one covered a dozen or fifteen miles a day for weeks at a (Dundas 1924: 221).

Tanganyika by then was famously known as Bunduland or Safariland. It had drawn famous hunters such as Frederick Selous, W. Churchill, Theodore Roosevelt, Baron Lionel Rothschild, Ernest Hemmingway and many others. Hemmingway was to recount his experiences of the one-month big game hunting in Tanganyika in his autobiographical novel, *The Green Hills of Africa*. In this novel and other short stories he wrote, Hemmingway portrayed the love of the unspoiled natural beauty of Tanganyika, the cool nights and the wonders of game hunting (Hemmingway 1935; 1975). In the green hills of Tanganyika one could forget the cities and their neurotic inhabitants and instead plunge into the world of greater kudu hunting, camp-fires, books and lots of booze. This was a symbol of masculinity and purity.

These were years when the hunting and safari industry was mainly concentrated in Nairobi with a few in Tanganyika and Kampala, as the industry grew as an East African one. Some of the companies (all

European) which existed by then were genuine, but there were also impostors, with no experience, who simply cashed in because of the profits out of the industry. While white hunters in Rhodesia charged STG 50 per month to lead six or twelve month safaris, "in East Africa 'white hunters' not fit to be gun bearers" extorted (STG) 200- (STG) 300 per month to secure trophies.... (MacKenzie op cit: 161).

It was noted that in the East African British territories, besides the professional hunters, game wardens were responsible in the destruction of most animals under the pretext of 'control operations' ("good farming and safety of human life") (Sommer op cit: 42). Poaching started in this way. Colonial officials and the hunters were doing it themselves, although it was mostly Africans who were blamed for it. Taxes and licenses, instead of slowing down the rate to kill, had simply made ivory and other trophies a more important source of revenue of the colonial government and its officials. The rangers had become hunters rather than keepers.

The Game Department shot 602 elephants in 1932, 2,000 in 1933 and 2,594 in 1935 officially. The latter figure was to be maintained as the average through out the later 1930s. According to MacKenzie (op cit: 253), "The ivory resulting from these kills produced a great deal of revenue. Between 1926 and 1935 government sales of ivory in the three East African colonies (...) raised £ 665,400, while expenditure on game departments totaled £ 292,290. The surplus of £ 373,000 was no mean sum for struggling colonial economies". In these years:

...the sale of ivory by East African administrators had become a not inconsiderable part of their exiguous income. In the 1930s, when culling had become necessary, ivory sales helped to tide colonial revenues, particularly those of Uganda and Tanganyika, through the difficulties of the depression period. Thus the ivory subsidy was important to chartered companies, the campaigns of 'pacification', the personal finances of the *conquistadores* who became imperial officials, and the revenues of relatively impecunious colonies (ibid: 152).

The creation of national parks in Tanganyika began after 1930s. These were being designed at an era when motorcars and the camera had become common, and therefore the age of viewing tourism. National parks were to exclude hunting tourism, which still remained the attribute of game reserves. While game reserved represented the demarcation of land use between rural dwellers and fauna, national parks were designed for an urban society from within and without the territory. They were designed for "middle-class national and international tourism promoted by comfortable steamships, railways, motor vehicles and hotels in newly opened regions of the globe" (ibid: 265).

Tourism in general in Tanzania after 1920s had developed as part of East African industry. Even when touring began to develop in the 1940s, it was mainly facilitated from Nairobi and Mombasa, which had more developed tourist infrastructure than Tanganyika. Tourism business interests were quite developed in Kenya by the 1930s, the result of which it became the headquarters of the East African Publicity Association, which was formed in 1938. It was to be succeeded by the East African Tourist Travel Association (EATTA) in 1948, a body, which was formed as a result of an interterritorial conference, which was held in 1947 to examine ways on how to improve future tourism. This body had the objectives to promote, foster, and maintain tourist traffic within East African territories, besides making East Africa known to the world holiday makers.

As it turned out, most tour and hunting companies were to be stationed in Nairobi and Mombassa. The majority of tourists visiting East Africa were to stay mostly in Kenya for its facilities, then finally come to Tanganyika. By 1948, there were five airlines landing in East Africa from Europe. Four of them were landing in Nairobi (including British Overseas Airways Corporation) and one in Mombassa (Air France). 70 percent of international tourists in East Africa entered through Kenya by 1956. It is estimated that by the same year, 79 percent of tourist time and 75 percent of tourist earnings were spent in Kenya (Ouma 1970: 11). Essentially, this was the formative period of mass tourism in East Africa, whose characteristic pattern was for the relatively poor tourists to visit the beaches. It was only Kenya which had developed facilities for this type of tourism, given the dominance of settlers who had been using the beaches of Mombassa and Malindi for many years as their holiday resorts. Wealthy tourists still continued to spend their time in game viewing, photographic safaris and hunting safaris.

As a result of the operations of EATTA, common visa for East Africa was introduced in 1953. By 1955, there were already four joint information offices operating in other countries. There were also established common trade associations for hoteliers, game hunters and tour operators. Since the relations were unequal within the East African territories, Uganda decided to form a separate tourist advisory board, a step that was to be followed by Tanganyika in 1962 with the formation of Tanzania National Tourist Board (TNTB). Within six months, the Board had helped to finance local tourist associations in Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Kilimanjaro or promote and improve tourist facilities in the areas.

The concept of national parks became even more popular in the post World War II period. There were plans by 1947 to turn Serengeti National Park (including Ngorongoro Crater) into a national park. The boundaries for this national park were not agreed upon until 1950, and it was in 1951 that Serengeti National Park was proclaimed. This was after the passing of the 1951 Fauna Preservation Ordinance. Serengeti was to remain the only national park at the time of independence in 1961. The number of national parks increased to seven by 1970. Up to the time of independence, game hunting was unfettered, although game viewing was also on the offer. By this time, game reserves and controlled areas covered 70,000 sq. miles or 19.6 percent of Tanganyika's total land area.

The creation of more national parks after independence was in response to 1960 U.N. Visiting Mission which recommended development and maintenance of extensive game reserves and national parks. The same mission had also recommended further development of tourist facilities so as to develop the industry as one of the possible big foreign exchange earners in the future. Given the recommendations of most studies in the 1960s, beach tourism was more or less rejected in the policies. This is because it had become clear that Tanzania could not compete with Mombassa and Malindi in Kenya or Laurencos Marques (now Maputo) in terms of the nature of the beaches themselves and the kind of amenities which were already established in those countries.

By early 1960s, the tourist industry was the fourth largest after coffee, cotton and sisal. Still, it was in its infancy stage given the mass character of tourism, which was developing then. Moreover, since Tanzania had decided to extricate itself from the common facilitation of tourism in East Africa, and expand its own independent tourism so as to get the full benefits, it hardly had enough accommodation facilities. The policy was to encourage investments by the government and the private enterprise to invest in the industry. Tour agents from America, Europe and Central Africa gave this encouragement from abroad and the visits.

Tanzania's number of tourists was smaller compared to Kenya because up to the time of independence all tourist facilities had been concentrated in Kenya. Tanzania began to develop these vigorously after independence under the Tourist Corporation. The high increase of the number of tourists by 1968 was more or less a reflection of the increased number of facilities. According to the government (Shivji 1973), the industry was extremely profitable in these years and the hotels were contributing a lot to the exchequer (besides the money accrued from game hunting licenses). It was for this matter that it was expected to expand farther in the 1970s. Tourism had become the seventh important foreign exchange earner by mid- 1 970s (Green 1979: 82).

Facilities to the tourists were extremely poor to the extent that hundreds of tourists had to be turned away in 1963 for lack of accommodation (United Republic of Tanzania 1968: 198). It was within this context that a three phase construction programme to bring the total beds to just under 4,000 was designed, with the hope that Tanzania would be catering for over 100,000 tourists by 1970. Most of these facilities were to be operated under the National Development Corporation in co-operation with private investors. Tourism acquired a ministerial position in 1964 with the formation of the Ministry of Information and Tourism. The government owned this. The Tourist Board was to open offices in London a year later.

Kilimanjaro Hotel, the best hotel then, was opened in 1965. The government was also to own Lake Manyara lodge and lease the Ngorongoro Crater Lodge from the Conservation Authority; it participated in the financing of Mikumi Wildlife Lodge; and planned to build lodges in all national parks, besides investing in hotels in some of the major urban centres. During 1967-68, there were construction and expansion activities of the new lodge at Ngorongoro Crater, Lobo Lodge in Serengeti, Seronera Wildlife Lodge, Mikumi Lodge, Mafia Island Fishing Lodge, Bahari Beach Hotel in Dar es Salaam, Kunduchi Beach Hotel in Dar es Salaam, New Africa Hotel in Dar es Salaam and a beach hotel in Zanzibar (ibid). By 1971, several hotels in private sector had been completed or were about to be completed. In Dar es Salaam these were Africana and Skyway, while in Arusha there was Tanzanite Hotel, New Arusha Hotel, Tarangire national Park Hotel and Ikoma Port Lodge.

It was these investments which made it possible for Tanzania to abandon the East African base of tourism in the 1960s. EATTA was disbanded in 1965 and overseas promotion of tourism was fully organized on a national basis by this time. Even during the formation of the East African Community in 1967, tourism was never part of the agreement. The Second Five-Year Development Plan (1969-74) introduced the idea of building a new international airport in the Northern Circuit to attract tourists away from Nairobi, in the hope that this would open up air charter and increase days of stay for tourists.

A licensing system for tour operators was set up in 1968, which was to mark change as far as tourist policies were concerned. The changes were based on the recommendations of the World Bank country mission of 1967, which recommended a state sector tourism corporation. It also proposed that the government should ensure stability for private and foreign capital. The World Bank further recommended that East African Airways should introduce cheap fares so that more tourists can enter the country; and that beach tourism should be introduced because of its spectacular expansion internationally.

As part of the implementation of the 1967 recommendations, TNTB had been disbanded in 1969, instead there was formed the Tanzania Tourist Corporation. The corporation was to oversee the



construction and management of hotels and other state sector enterprises in tourism. The fact was, it had become apparent that "foreign tourists spends only 62,4% in hotels and lodges, the rest is spent on drinks, transport, souvenirs, entrance fees to the national parks, etc. and such goods and services may have far lower foreign exchange cost component than hotel services..." (Popovic 1972: 159).

The new hotels and the new international airport in the Northern Circuit had become fully operational by 1973. The Ten-Year Tourism Master Plan of 1971 had revealed that Tanzania could become a major tourist destination and tourism could become a major industry. Arthur D, Little Inc, prepared the Plan. It was this Plan which sparked the debate in the newspapers on tourism, and what were considered to be the negative effects of the industry. The investment in the sector was viewed by many of those who participated in the debate as simply wasteful, and as part of the fortification of the underdevelopment process (Shivji 1973: op cit).

Despite all the efforts to make Tanzania a direct tourist destination by putting on the ground investment (including the building of an international airport), up to mid 1 970s, most visitors still came to the country via Kenya. The majority of these came only on one-day excursions to the Northern Circuit game parks. With the break-up of the East African Community and the closure of the Tanzania-Kenya boarder in 1977, there was a sharp fall in this type of tourism. The number of foreign tourists in the national parks fell from 235,000 in 1976 to around 80,000 by the end of the decade. It was within this context that hotels, lodges and access roads deteriorated in this period due to severe shortage of foreign exchange for the necessary inputs. Only 84,021 tourists came to the country in 1980. The government was able to earn USD 18.00 million from the sector in this year. In fact the number of tourists was to rise from 1986 onwards.

**TABLE 1: TOURIST ARRIVALS AND REVENUE (in USD million)**  
(1980-1995)

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>REVENUE USD</b>	<b>TOURIST ARRIVALS</b>
1980	18.00	84,021

1981	20.00	92,000
1982	15.00	71,290
1983	16.00	54,000
1984	10.00	64,000
1985	10.00	81,821
1986	27.00	103,363
1987	31.05	130,851
1988	40.40	130,343
1989	60.00	137,889
1990	65.00	153,000
1991	94.73	186,800
1992	120.04	201,744
1993	146.84	230,166
1994	192.10	261,595
1995	258.14	293,834

**Source:** Tanzania, Jamuhuri ya Muungano  
1996:110.

The figures above do not include tourist hunters or fishing tourism. The value of tourism to the national economy has increasingly become significant. By 1995, the sector directly accounted for about 7.5 per cent of the GDP and about 25 per cent of the export earnings. The country received 359,096 tourists and sector earned USD 392.4 million in 1997. The sector recorded an average annual growth rate of 11 per cent.

The sector also directly supports some thousands of jobs in tourism and associated activities. Beyond the number of hotels/lodges and restaurants, there were 27 tented camps with 565 rooms by 1995. There were also between 200 and 250 ground tour operators within the country. More than 80 per cent (who constitute the powerful ones) are foreign owned. With the deregulation of the air services

sector in 1992, there were some 26 licensed charter airline operators with 168 registered aircraft. These are basically foreign owned. Of these, 75 per cent were listed under public transport.

The International Trade Centre and the International Union produced a study of the economic value of the different forms of wildlife utilization in Tanzania in 1989 for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources. By estimating off-takes and volumes, this study suggested that the gross value of wildlife use to Tanzania was USD 128.5 million. Because of difficulty of estimating illegal use, the figures for this were based on very crude estimates. Despite this, it is still noteworthy that illegal uses were estimated to account for USD 60 million, or around half of the total value.

The study showed that certain forms of illegal exploitation of wildlife were not taken into account. At the same time, some of legal forms of wildlife utilization which have illegal elements, for example, under-declarations, false certification, under-invoicing and non-remittance (revenue which does not accrue to Tanzania), tax evasion, etc. were not necessarily taken into account. A particular example here is the live bird trade which featured as an important component of live exports and was believed by study to be the second most valuable form of wildlife utilization. These were and are being exported to Denmark, Italy, Japan, USA, Egypt, Arab Emirates, Sweden, Belgium, France, Greece, Holland, Portugal and Russia. According to the government, revenue from export of exotic birds only was Tshs 4.8 million and 5.3 million in 1991 and 1992 respectively. The government issued 271 and 195 licenses in 1991 and 1992 respectively for this activity. (Tanzania, Janiuhuri ya Muungano 1993:132)

There were 137 hunting blocks devoted to tourist hunting throughout Tanzania by 1995 operated by 39 companies (outfitters). Except for one parastatal (Tanzania Wildlife Corporation) the rest are private companies (85 per cent being basically foreign owned). The total number of tourist hunting blocks are almost equally divided between land under Department of Wildlife control (Game Reserves and Game Controlled Areas) and land under Regional control (Open Areas). The former has no human settlement, while the latter have. The Department of Wildlife charges payable in US dollars a range of fees. These include an annual block fee of USD 7,500, a game fee for each animal shot, a conservation fee charged on a daily basis according to safari length and fees for observers, trophy handling and a hunting permit. Outfitters charge a daily rate to their clients, and they have been banking only 55 per cent of their daily rate since 1989.

It was the re-opening of the border with Kenya in 1984, which resulted into the number of tourists who visited the country to shoot up. The economic liberalization measures, which began to be implemented in the early 1980s also, impacted the industry in that many foreign companies, which were operating or based in Kenya, were able to open offices in Tanzania, especially in Moshi and Arusha towns.

The passing of the IPC represented a major step in the removal of the monopoly of government intervention in tourist operations. As a result of this, there were 63 tourism investment applications in 1992/93 of which 43 were approved by the IPC. This was an increase of 133 per cent compared to 1991/92. Beyond this, there were 23 airline operators who applied to operate within the country and international air lines increased their flights by 24 per cent in the same period (i.e. from 25 flights per week in 1991/92 to 31 flights in 1992/93. 1992/93 also saw 6 per cent increase in the number of tour

operators in the country compared to 1991/92 (ibid: 5). Currently, there are 244 registered hotels and lodges and 212 tour operators in the country.

With more number of hotels and lodges coming into stream in recent years, several hotel training institutes have come into operation. This is in response to the increasing number of quality accommodation which is being offered by, for example, Serena and Sopa lodges in the national parks and Sheraton in Dar es Salaam. It is also a response to the growing number of employment opportunities in the industry in the form of waiters, cooks, room attendants, guides, drivers, etc. It is an expansion of those jobs, which are mainly menial and demeaning. Other wise, management, clerical and supervisory jobs are in the hands of foreigners. Actual figures of expansion of employment are hard to come by: estimates are some of the big hotels and lodges employ up to 200 workers (e.g. Mount Meru Novotel, Serena Lodge, etc.).

Since 1969, the Tanzania Hotels Investments Ltd. (TAHI), a subsidiary of the defunct TTC had invested in tourism facilities by building a hotel and five lodges in the northern circuit. It had also built lodges in Mikumi and Mafia and it owned hotels such as New Africa, Kunduchi and Bahari Beach in Dar es Salaam. As a result of the liberalization policies, the government decided to transfer responsibilities to the private sector through partnership. With changed policies TAHI became a co-owned body by Tanzania government and ACCOR Group of Hotels of France. ACCOR, which own and manages over 2,000 hotel units world-wide (including Kenya for many years) became a co-owner of Novotel Mount Meru in Arusha and five lodges in the national parks. ACCOR took over these in recognition of the fast expanding market in hotel industry. The monopoly of TAHI began to be broken by 1993.

Henceforth, a chain of other international hotel investments came into stream starting with Consolidated Tourist and Hotels Investments Ltd. (CTHI) opening Serengeti, Ngorongoro and Tarangire Sopa Lodges between 1992 and 1995. The opening of the Sheraton in 1995 in Dar es Salaam followed it. Tourism Promotion Services, a subsidiary company of the Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development (AKFED), co-financed by the Commonwealth Development Corporation, International Finance Corporation (member of World Bank group) and Tanzania's National Provident Fund, opened three Serena Lodges at Lake Manyara, Central Serengeti and Ngorongoro Crater in 1996 (besides one in Zanzibar). It also opened a luxury camp in Serengeti. There are over 20 camps in the country. According to the government, no more lodges would be erected again in Serengeti and Ngorongoro.

Clearly, the number of large investments, which have come into stream in the past ten years or so, demonstrates that the industry is extremely profitable. By 1996, out of the 102 projects endorsed by Tanzania Investment Centre, 56 were for tourism development.

The rising number of tourists has increased a demand of various kinds of services, which may not necessarily be provided by tour operators (handicrafts, guesthouses, non-formal transport and guides, prostitution, etc.). The various wildlife authorities which administer game viewing charge visitors a range of fees for entry, vehicles, aircraft landing, and for use of their camp sites and huts. Furthermore, most national parks support a number of lodges, tented camps and other visitor facilities that are operated by private enterprise or parastatals in the tourist sector. Beyond new investments in hotels, there have also been attempts to privatize or sell shares of most hotels, which were initially owned by the government.

According to the Tanzania Tourist Board, of recent, Tanzania has become a growth leader in Africa. Tourist arrivals growth rate was three and half times that of Africa as whole, more than twice the world's and just short of twice Kenya's. As far as tourism income for the same year is concerned, the rate of increase exceeded the world over all by four and a half times, Kenya by almost three times and Africa overall by four and a half times. It has involved expansions in the following sectors: 1) Travel: travel agents, tour operators, out-fitters, professional hunters, cruise companies airlines railways taxis, tourist guides, couriers, reservations, sales staff bus and truck companies, etc.; 2) Accommodation, catering and related facilities to tourists: hotels, camping sites, restaurants, lodgings, cafes, etc.; 3) Leisure facilities: theater, museums, galleries, national and game parks, sports centres, etc.; and, 4) Tourism organizations: regional and national tourist organizations, associations, etc., mainly for marketing and monitoring the quality of and development of the industry. Under what global context is this tourism development taking place?

According to World Tourism Organization (1993), world tourism has been growing at the rate of 3.8 per cent annually. From a mere 25,000,000 arrivals of tourists from abroad who spent USD 2,100 million in 1950, it is estimated that there were 475,580,000 travelers in 1992 who spent USD 278,705 million. The number of tourists by 1995 stood at 567 million and the income from tourism totaled at USD 372,000 million. In the latter year, Africa had a share of 18.8 million tourists who spent about seven billion dollars. Arrivals and receipts reached records at close to 592 million in 1996 (4.5 percent increase over the preceding year) and a respective figure for receipts at USD 423 billion (a 7.6 percent growth from 1995). The International Civil Aviation Organization indicated that the number of passengers carried in the same year increased by 8 percent. While it is the advanced countries which have been getting the largest share of tourists for many decades, according to the World tourism Organization, the fastest rates of growth in recent years has been achieved in East Asia and Pacific, followed by Middle East, South East Asia and Africa (*International Tourism Overview. Highlights 1996*).

To understand this rapid growth of tourism industry, it is necessary to go beyond simple economic or environmental considerations. The key issue here is, a tourist is a consumer of leisure. Tourism is a commodity, which is differentiated in time and space. It exists outside of a daily social space, and like all other commodities, it has value as a social sign in the mind of those who produce it (Thurot and Thurot 1983). This manifests itself in the way the commodity is represented as a way to convince the consumers. These representations, especially in advertisements, are a discourse, which gives a certain image as a "sign of belonging to a group and thus a social status" (ibid:176).

Tourism has historically represented particular forms of life style, i.e. a specific way of life of a group of people within society. Sociologists have demonstrated that the economists' assumption that commodities merely satisfy needs is insufficient: they also have a function of social signification. They have the value of an ideological reference. There are hierarchical indications revealed by conspicuous consumption. It is these indications of this phenomenon, which makes possible judgements of social differentiation that would be inconceivable if based solely on income:

This explains the fact that clothing fashion is, above all, a general code of real status: one cannot afford to buy for each special occasion suit by Channel or hand-made shoes from Italy, etc. One goes regularly and exclusively to 'establishment X' for clothes because

one can afford the bill there, and one has to go to a tradesman commensurate with one's means (ibid: 177).

In the case of tourism, unlike clothes, it is possible to escape this notion. You may not have the means, but it is possible to save at the expense of other essentials in order to become a tourist. It is the dominant classes that define for other classes and sub-groups the model of vacation consumption.

The fact that Europe and North America have been getting the largest share of tourists since post World War II demonstrates the nature of historical variation in vacation consumption. In the 1960s and 1970s tourism expanded in response to increasing demand of certain types of leisure activities, namely, indulgence in fun, food, frolic and exotica. It was that tourism, which was premised on traveling for the sun, sand and sex adventures. This explains why the uneven distributions of tourists share world wide and within Africa. Indeed, in those years, North African countries that are closer to Europe used to receive 62 per cent of tourist traffic in Africa. East and Southern Africa used to receive 22 per cent, 11 per cent went to West Africa and Central Africa received only 5 per cent of the traffic. In those years, countries that stood at the top as far as this industry was concerned were Morocco, Tunisia and Kenya.

The tourist expansion of "mass" in the 1960s onwards was an outgrowth of the tourist patterns set in the 1940s and 1950s. This was a model that was based on the myths of Mediterranean tourism, formulated by the youths of the industrial bourgeoisie and intellectuals. The structure of consumption of tourist leisure in those years was essentially aristocratic, that of an idle class that had infiltrated even the lower classes. Thus in the 1960s, the advertisements would focus on the elegance, sophistication, fantastic view, superb cuisine, the sail boat, the big game fishing, the sophisticated beach girls, the sun, etc. African countries that were able to offer these were among those which received a higher number of tourists.

Once this became a "mass" phenomenon with the development of packaged tourism and the decreased price of transportation, this model was increasingly becoming unstable as it tended towards the destruction of the consumerist aristocratic model.

The model remained, but since the social distance had been blurred, of necessity, new destinations had to be sought for the middle classes. The result was the diffusion of tourist markets all over the world and search of new forms of tourist consumption.

The new wave of growth of tourist industry in the 1980s was to coincide with global campaigns for environmental conservation. What was increasingly being revealed was the fact that the Mediterranean is the dirtiest sea in the world, with a huge amount of polluting elements in the sea and air, the result of which many resorts were being polluted. The same was being said of most beach areas in the world. And so, the new tendency was to uphold with high esteem environmental beauty and ecological diversity. It was in this context, as Munt (1994:1) observed, the new middle classes in the Atlantic world began to promote travel to third world countries "as a means of preserving fragile ecological landscapes and providing an 'ethnically' enhancing encounter" (so-called eco-tourism). The old type of mass-packaged tourist holidays which were premised on travel for the sun, sand and sex adventures were and are increasingly being replaced by adventurous forms of tourism within which traveling, trekking, trucking, hunting, fishing, ballooning, mountain climbing, hang gliding, river rafting, etc. are becoming the principal activities. Most of these reflect the exciting and adventurous life style of the new middle class,

at the same time it is a resurrection of another aristocratic model: the old adventurous 'heroic' conquistador.

This trend in tourism is posing new challenges to established holiday destinations in Africa such as Morocco, Tunisia, Kenya, Zimbabwe, etc., since it involves new forms of discrimination. Holidaymakers who are better enlightened in environmental issues and offered a wider choice of destinations, are spurning over-patronised resorts and seeking out new, safer and unspoiled locations. Countries like Kenya have become victims of this trend, its arrival figures, although still high, are dropping steadily. Tanzania, ironically "lucky" to be a back-marker, is increasingly getting more tourists of recent. Kenyan tourism industry, for example, has been on the slump in recent years. Between 1997 and mid-1998, there was a closure of 15 hotels at the coast for lack of business. Officially, the reasons for this have been attributed to the so-called Likoni "tribal clashes" in the areas (although such "clashes have always been persistent in Kenya without necessarily affecting the sector!) (*The East African* 27.07-02.08.1998).

What is on the increase is flexible packaged, individually oriented tourism, which claims environmental and cultural sensitivity (cynically called ego-tourism or eco-terrorism). And thus, for example, there is a growing tendency among countries such as Tanzania to advocate for "quality tourism". It is advocated openly that mass tourism is not necessarily a means to economic well-being; that what is required is a "selected market of more paying tourists as opposed to an uncontrolled influx of clients who could be disastrous to the environment" (*Guardian* 25.01.1996). Mass tourism has attracted trenchant criticism as shallow and degrading experience for the host nations and people. The new forms of tourist practices are viewed benevolently: there is hardly any criticism against them. In other words, the outlooks of the new western middle classes have been internalized even in the host countries. The role of these middle classes in the "new social movements" that have arisen especially around the notion of "other cultures and the environment and ecological issues" is hardly questioned (Munt, op cit: 50).

Exactly how are these new forms of tourist practices advertised? Explorer World-wide Ltd of UK in its 1995/96-brochure put out that it deals with small group exploratory holidays that are mainly adventure type oriented. The company's approach is to arrange travel in small groups, causing as little environmental damage and cultural disturbances as possible. And of course, Explorer supports world-wide Fund for Nature and donates a percentage of its profits to the organization. Their advertisement had the following to say as far as Tanzania is concerned:

Only in Africa can you find the spectacle of wildlife in its rawest exuberance, amid an incredible diversity of landscapes. Here in Tanzania are some of the greatest game lands on earth.... We journey through areas that have witnessed the adventurous footsteps of great 19th century explorers like Livingstone, Stanley, Burton and Speke, as well as the infamous passage of slave caravans from the dark interior to the coast. Over 120 tribes, including hunters and warriors like the Masai and Sonjos, live within Tanzania's borders, and we travel through many of these tribal lands to some of the remotest parts of Tanzania. We explore the vast plains and wild bush country, the great game parks, and the native villages (*Explorer* September 1994).

Even the Tanzania Tourist Board, a government body for promotion of tourism, not to be left behind in this new way of selling tourist products, advertises in the same manner, at times in cruder terms. In one of the 1995 brochures the Board, beyond mentioning the various attractions, proclaimed that these:

evoke images of the early European adventurers through virgin African--David Livingstone, Henry Stanley, and Johannes Rebman and before them the Chinese, Arabs and Persian traders. With a rich cultural heritage of more than 120 tribes and an abundance of wildlife living in natural habitats, Tanzania today is reputed as the last frontier of the enchanting Africa of the last century (*Karibu Tanzania* 1995).

A foreign tourist hunting company in Tanzania, Wengert-Windrose-Safari Ltd, through Dr. Lechner, Jagd International World-Wide Hunting (of Germany) had the following to say in a 1995 brochure: "Best Bongo area in Africa. There is no comparable hunting ground in Africa with a similar diversity or number of species or where such staggering game populations still exist in a wilder, more primitive, and still to a large extent, unspoiled. It is the greatest hunting paradise left on earth."

The new middle class tourists sound like latter-day missionaries or explorers. No wonder that even the spirits of Livingstone and other explorers have to be invoked to "assist in hedonistic discoveries" and attract these tourists. "It is the colonial emphasis on discovery and expropriation that has been rediscovered within a neo-colonial tourism" (Munt op cit: 53). There has been a re-emergence of luxury safaris of the colonial travel and holidaying type such as "Classic Kenya", "Classic Tanzania", etc., which are described by World Wide Journeys & Expeditions (1995: 3), "An escorted private safari in the old-style tradition"; "In the great tradition of 'old-style' camping safaris.... the unforgettable experience of life in the bush under canvas, in this case a series of luxurious appointed mobile tented camps in some of the most spectacular locations...."

Today, it is the mythological attributes of the classic aristocratic adventurous model, which are being upheld: the big game hunting, fishing and photographing and various types of adventures. The rules of the game have changed as a way of maintaining social distance between the new middle classes (who rely on wealth) and the rest of the classes (who have to do a lot of saving before they can attempt to go at least for camera tourism).

Investments in the industry are taking place in the form of privatization of the tourist attractions. Globally, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), a specialized World Bank Group, has recognized tourism as the most dynamic industry for the developing countries. This agency has the mandate to encourage the flows of foreign debt investment in developing countries and transitional economies to fulfill its objectives by providing guarantees to foreign private investors against risks of currency transfer restrictions and expropriations. It is supposed to protect tourist foreign investors against war and civil disturbances in those countries where investments are taking place; and also facilitate public and private partnership.

Tourism has become an avenue through which our "world-views" are shaped and then concretized by multi-media experiences (travel reviews, travel programmes, travel brochures, travel documentaries,



advertisements, etc.). Munt (op cit: 56) noted that: "In many of the brochures representative of the new tour operators, wildlife and natives are synonymous. Passive, they are to be discovered, sighted, viewed and ultimately 'shot'". "Wide-scale repression of human rights, deeply rooted racism and intense class political struggles are null and void in the brave world of adventure travel" (ibid: 57). It is not just the multi-media: even prominent politicians in Africa refer to animals as "our cultural heritage":

The obsessive concern with wildlife leads insidiously to the denigration of the human population. In the eyes of the beholder, the more backward the tribes become more adjuncts to the animals.... Indeed they are often treated, if they are sufficiently exotic and sufficiently primitive, as their equivalents. Side by side with all the lavishly produced books describing the animal population, are the no less lavishly produced books describing the human fauna of the region Naipul 1978:170-71).

The above merely points to the fact that tourism ethos, as developed historically, relate to a long tradition of social relations, to environmental and ecological ideas of the 19th and early twentieth centuries: those colonial notions about settlement patterns and the need for conservation. Tourism is part of a global complex network of economic, social, racial, legal and cultural relationships.

### **Globalisation and the Plunder of Nature**

SAPs are policies that were designed to facilitate the transition from state-led, controlled economy to a free market economy. The main emphasis was in greater integration of African economies into the world market as a basis of any meaningful renewal of economic growth in the crisis ridden economies. The main targets for structural adjustment were institutional reforms, financial reforms, parastatal reforms and liberalization of the economy--both capital and goods markets.

They have been characterized by three principal objectives: attainment of macro economic balance by bringing national expenditures into line with national income; enhanced efficiency in resource allocation by switching resources across economic sectors; and, mobilization of resources for long term goals in order to raise rates of economic growth and living standards of the general populace. The latter objective was premised on the achievement of the former two.

The first objective was aimed at redressing imbalances which, accordingly were precipitated by earlier over-expansionary monetary and public finance policies which resulted into borrowing levels over and above the debt-servicing capacity of the country. This problem was supposed to have been compounded by distortive trade and price policies, which were unfavorable to the production of tradable and the rural sector. The second objective was to be achieved through changes in the structure of economic incentives (in trade and exchange rate regimes, investment incentive scheme and some institutional reforms in marketing) and improving the efficiency of the public sector.

To grasp the essence of these adjustment programmes, it is imperative to discuss them within the context of the process of "Globalisation". This process has resulted in the transformation of the very features of social life, leisure and travel in recent years. Globalisation as a process has increasingly influenced the direction of development of Africa in the past 20 years or so economically, politically, socially and even conceptually, given the significance of the "revolution".

As a central concept in contemporary thinking, its pedigree is traceable to the "civilization analysts"-modernization" and "post-modernist" analyses of transition of human societies. That is those theories, which almost always implied the universalisation process they explain. It is supposed to be a process which is directly a consequence of the expansion of the Atlantic culture, within particular patterns of capitalist accumulation/expansion (Waters 1995). Giddens (1990: 63) defined globalisation as "the intensification of world-wide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.

Although the process has been taking place for more than 400 years, the recent one which has made the concept gain such a wide currency is more or less related to some major shifts in the world-wide forms of accumulation, related to the geographical reorganization of capitalism (Harvey 1995). The first one was the financial deregulation, which began in the USA in early 1970s. This was a forced response to stagflation and the breakdown of the Bretton Woods system of international trade and exchange (largely caused by the uncontrolled growth of the Eurodollar market).

The other shift was in terms of the media and communications system (the so-called information revolution). This brought significant changes to the organization of production and consumption, as well as the very definition of needs and wants. Like the railroad, the telegraph, the automobile, the radio, the telephone, etc. in the past, this "revolution" changed the way in which the world works. Politically:

The new technology, says Newt Gingrich (advised by Alvin Toffler, whose right-wing utopianism rests entirely on the idea of a "third wave" information revolution) is inherently emancipatory, but in order to liberate this emancipatory force from its political chains it is essential to pursue a political revolution to dismantle all the institutions of the "second wave" industrial society-government regulation, the welfare state, collective institutions of wage bargaining, and the like (ibid: 9).

Over the years, the role of the state has changed: it has lost some of the powers to control the movement of capital (mainly financial and money capital): "State operations have, consequently, been more strongly disciplined by money capital and finance than ever before. Structural adjustment and fiscal austerity have become the name of the game, and the state has to some degree been reduced to the role of finding ways to promote public subventions to capital", and "favorable business climate" (ibid: 10-11). Globalization has become the answer to welfarism, nationalism, socialism, and so on.

As it will be revealed by the case of Tanzania, the paradox of the globalization process, is that the tendency of the state to intervene in economic affairs has tended to increase over the years. This is regardless of the political, economic and ideological rhetoric. This tendency has tended to increase when its effectiveness has been on the decline. These interventions are in terms of adjustments to cope with inflation, trade policies, tax incentives, export subsidies, privatization, sectoral policies (in terms of master plans and integration of activities), research policies, regulations and controls. Part of the reason is, SAPs measures seek to reduce public expenditure, and human development and welfare are in incompatible with democracy and human rights. People tend to resist against some of the measures. This necessitates the expansion of state bureaucracy with a weakening power in the economic sphere.

Tanzania started formulating adjustment programmes to deal with the crisis in 1980. These were the 1981-82 National Economic Survival Programme (NESP); the 1982 Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP); the 1982 National Agricultural Policy (SAP); and the 1986 Economic Recovery Programme (ERP). The latter was implemented with the support of the World Bank and the JMF when President Ali Hassan Mwinyi took over the country and signed the IMF accord and was able to use the standby facility. In 1989, the government introduced a successor three-year Programme called the Economic and Social Action Programme (ESAP). This Programme carried over all the policies introduced by ERP and SAP, and added the dimension of improving the quality and quantity of social services. The government was to introduce ESAP II after 1992.

The period between 1980 and 1986 was more or less a preparatory one for the signing of the IMF accord. By 1986 the government had accepted all the conditionalities and also the philosophy behind it. Over the 16 years or so of the implementation of the SAPs the government has been able to replace welfarism officially by adjustment by liberalization of crops marketing; liberalization of the distribution of inputs; liberalization in land ownership matters; liberalization of the investment policy in favour of private investments (especially foreign ones); deregulation of exchange and interest rates (including the introduction of bureau de change and private banking); reformation of the fiscal and monetary policies; removal of all subsidies for agricultural inputs and food stuffs; reintroduction of school and health fees (so-called cost-sharing); reintroduction of poll tax; restructuring of parastatal policies to allow private shareholders or private ownership; and, finally removing barriers which constrained capitalist tendencies among the leaders.

Deregulation of exchange rates, for example, saw the Tshs. decline from 8 to USD in 1980 to 17 in mid-1985, to 155 in 1989 and to 540 by the end of 1994. There was a time in 1995 when the exchange rate went just above Tshs 600. According to the government, improvements, which are supposed to have occurred under SAPs, are: reduction of inflation rates from 30 percent in the early 1980s to 20 percent in the early 1990s. Inflation levels dropped from a peak of 27 percent in 1995 to 13 per cent by 1998. Tanzania's exports dropped by from USD 798 in 1996 to USD 678 in 1997, while imports increased from USD 1,388 to USD 1,508 for the same years. Despite this, the figure still stands above the average exports of USD 400 of the pre-1995 period. Foreign debt increased from USD 7,793.7 million in December 1996 to USD 7,931.2 in December 1997. The average debt commitment per head in December 1997 stood at about USD 264.4 (Tshs 158,640) while the capita income was at the average of about Tshs 139,505 per year. Debt service amounted to USD 20.4 million (Tshs 912.24 billion) for the same period.

Figures further show that GDP growth reached 4.2 percent in 1996 and slowed down to 3.3 per cent in 1997; Revenue collection for July to December 1997 of the fiscal year 1997/98, according to the Bank of Tanzania, reached Tshs 311.9 billion, an equivalence of 7.7 per cent of the GDP and 92.4 per cent of the targeted level. The government's expenditure for the same period was Tshs 309.6 billion, being 33.4 percent of the budgeted expenditure of Tshs 927.5 billion. There was a saving of Tshs 6.5 billion. During the 1996 period, the budget recorded a surplus of Tshs 7 billion. The growth of GDP at the rate of 4 per cent annually since late 1980s, according to the government, were because of 'increased' food production (although in reality it is the increase in marketed produce due to the disappearance of parallel markets in food).

The dominant paradigm since the late 1970s has been economic liberalization and free markets, and SAPs have their foundation in this liberal economic theory. Looming behind this paradigm is the assumption that state intervention has failed and resulted into the economic decline in economies, rampant corruption and inefficiency of the African states. The assumptions underlying this paradigm have been examined in another study (Chachage 1995). The following is a modified reproduction of the issues that were raised.

The conditionalities (liberalization and operation of the market forces, rather than use of the state to determine the allocation of resources) imposed by the IMF, which were being resisted by the Tanzanian government in the late 1970s on the pretext that they endangered the 'socialist' policies, were being supported by local economists and some sections of the government bureaucracy by early 1980s. This support was justified ideologically in terms of defense of the welfare of the peasants. This justification was further fortified by studies on the operations of the "informal sector" or "second economy".

These studies were conducted to account for the way the poor coped with the crisis. It was observed in these studies that there were a multitude of activities outside official circuits in which people were engaged, which provided them with survival mechanisms as entrepreneurs or low income earners given the failure of the official economy to provide sufficient commodities and income earning opportunities (Bagachwa 1981; 1982). Unrecorded activities were regarded as part of the "second economy". According to these local economists, as the Tanzanian government stubbornly stuck to 'socialism', activities in the "second economy" grew at an annual (nominal) rate of 31 percent between 1978-86 as opposed to the 19 percent annual growth rate for official GDP in nominal terms (Malyamkono & Bagachwa 1990). These studies estimated that the sector was employing 23 percent of the total estimated (10.3 million) labour force by 1991 (Bagachwa 1993: 5).

As has been noted, at the outset of the crisis in 1980, exports covered about 40 percent of import requirements. As can be noted from the above, structural adjustment has seen this position actually worsen and the balance of payments position has deteriorated correspondingly over the years. On the other hand, within this single trend, other important sub-trends should be noted. The first is a general stagnation in traditional as opposed to non-traditional exports (manufactured and semi-processed goods; minerals; forestry and marine products; services such as tourism, etc.). Trends show that there was a rapid rate of diversification of exports from the early 1980s, at the official and unofficial level.

By 1992 it had become evident that the process of (partial) "officialization" of hitherto illicit activities had become accompanied by one of (partial) de-officialization of legal ones. Just as "own funds imports" continued to boom, so it became clear that the "official" importers were flagrantly and on a spectacular scale evading the basic requirements of import support and the open general import license to deposit with Tanzanian banks in local currency 'coverage' for the forex they were obtaining. Simultaneously, evidence suggests that tax evasion--often officially sanctioned--has reached a colossal scale. For example, the government cost Tshs 715 million (USD 1.5 million) through tax evasion by manufacturers of aluminium articles and soft drinks in 1990-91 alone (*Daily News* 7.2.1992) The government has also been sanctioning tax defaulting by giving exemptions against its own regulation. In the same year exemptions of Tshs 406 million were given when regulations prohibited this (*Mzalendo* 6.9.1992).

There is an inextricable linkage between these booming 'new' exports, corporate fraud against the state and the ongoing significance of the 'own funded import scheme. The former two, recorded and unrecorded, fund the last, as well as unknown levels of unregistered and unrecorded imports also. Liberalization has resulted in the expansion of combined legal-illegal import-export trade and conditions whereby previously mainly legally marketed commodities can enter illegal circuits and illegally acquired goods can enter the market legally. What is taking place in Tanzania is an intensification of parasitic forms of capitalist accumulation under the guise of SAPs within international forms of division of labour, based on the plunder of natural resources in general, with the import/export bourgeoisie (container bourgeoisie) increasingly playing the most important role in the economy. According to government sources, five major houses of Asian origin control 90 per cent of import/export trade in the country.

These forms of accumulation have implications as far as the question of land and natural resources control is concerned. The political economy of tourism in Tanzania has become internationalized in that foreign interests are more dominant. It is promoted by large-scale capitalism in conjunction with state authorities and international organizations. Given this situation, Tanzania is at a disadvantage since it tends to lose about two-thirds of its foreign earnings in this industry. It is not the question of ownership of the companies, rather that of control of the activities of those enterprises. Thus, even where there is joint venture between the government and foreign companies, as it is the case with the hotels under ACCOR, management is wholly left to the foreign company.

Local entrepreneurs who are involved in tourism are faced with an uphill task because of the domination of those foreign interests and dependence on foreign tour operators who control overseas marketing of tour products. Moreover, it is the local people who have been displaced from their lands or even prevented from hunting, gathering or even farming. These communities have been driven off their lands for the sake of investments at times forcibly. In countries such as Tanzania land tenure and utilization is of particular importance to the people: it is that human-land relationship which is central and at the heart of the conflicts in most mining and tourism.

Basically, all the policy documents for land and tourism do not say anything about its impact and costs on the people. There is no mention of the question of land and relocation of people. Moreover, besides a policy geared to the encouragement of ecotourism, environmental impacts of tourism are not taken seriously. The fact is tourism brings a number of costs, among which the most detrimental are environmental and economic or subsistence. According to John Urry (1995: 192), "...because of the exceptional environmental dilemmas involved in tourism, ...[i]t is not entirely fanciful to suggest that tourism produces some of the most difficult of contemporary environmental issues." Like in the history of the past, land issues are only raised in so far as arable systems are concerned. There is a complete neglect of non-arable lands. The nature of tenurial relationship between people, forests and other non-arable lands which are already privately or state owned and the erosion of customary controls and common property rights are considered non-issues.

When Tanganyika became independent in 1961, all freeholds were converted into government leases, which were in turn transformed into rights of occupancy in 1969. In other words, land was nationalized after independence without necessarily any legal backing. The fact that all land was public and the radical title was vested in the Presidency meant that the government could move people around when it deemed necessary (for 'public interests' and alienate land without compensation. It was essentially a continuation of the colonial policies, which vested the radical title in the Governor. It was

such land tenure system, which enabled both colonial and post-colonial governments to organize natural resources and forestry control and management in whichever way they deemed, fit without any major hindrances. While classification and distribution of gazetted national parks and game reserves started during German colonial period and was to be intensified during British colonial period, it was from 1959 that human rights were excluded from the national parks.

A land policy Bill was produced in 1995. This land policy was introduced in response to the liberalization of the economy and creation of an enabling environment for investors. Fundamentally, although it encourages individualization and titling of land, it retains the radical title within the presidency as it has been in the past. In other words, the President can grant rights to an investor if he/she deems it to be for the public interest or for development. Often, the so-called "developments" demonstrate the fact that, it is not the public or environmental interests, which dominate, rather it is those of capital

The framework of this, supposedly sustainable tourism development is based on the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, whereby, tourism is supposed to contribute to conservation protection and restoration of the ecosystem. The assumption is tourism development and environmental protections are interdependent. As far as people are concerned, the only thing that is emphasized upon is that of community involvement in the form of their interests being represented by Community Tourism Committees, and their participation in the protection of environment.

What does the Land Policy Paper say about the protection of sensitive areas? It acknowledges that there has been a tendency to allocate sensitive areas to individuals. The policy merely emphasized on the need to protect the areas (including introduction of punitive measures against illegal developments). That is all. Three points and an explanatory paragraph on page 13 and 14. There is nothing about the people, since the land still remains in the hands of the President.

This arrangement has implications as far as allocation of resources and control is concerned. The liberalization policies led town dwellers such as government officials, civil servants, traders businessmen and foreign people/companies (generally people with authority and wealth) to the grabbing of land and natural resources. Alienation and allocation of village lands to the rich and dubious land allocations by government officials had become the norm by 1980s. These land grabbers were doing so for either future security purposes or speculation, and not necessarily for investment purposes. They were speculators who titled their lands, given that it had become easy to strike deals with village leaders who administered village lands. The Land Commission has demonstrated that incidence of deals between village leaders and outsiders who have secured large tracts of village lands are numerous.

Land markets in urban, pen-urban and some of the rural areas were developing very fast. This was despite the fact that the official policy stated that land was public and had no value (a policy, which has absolved both colonial and post-colonial governments from compensating the dispossessed of their lands for "public interests"). There are examples, which demonstrate that the so-called public interests, as far as lands with natural resources are concerned, are in many ways *private* interests at the expense of whole communities. The Wahadzabe, who inhabit the area near Lake Eyasi in Arusha, Shinyanga and Singida regions, are primarily a hunting and gathering community, whose livelihood depend on wildlife and other forest products. *Majira* (18.06.1995) reported that this community is on the verge of extinction, because of denial of rights to own and use land in the area they occupy. The government had displaced

them and granted a hunting license to Tanzania Game trackers (a company formerly owned by Mr Robin Hurt, a Kenyan British, with about 20 hunting blocks in various parts of the country under three companies).

The Wahadzabe were forced to move out of the area and leave the land to professional hunters. According to the 1974 Wildlife Conservation Act, the Wahadzabe, like all other people, could only hunt after obtaining a hunting permit and being allocated their quota. The area had been divided into three blocks. Therefore, for a fee of USD 7,500 per block (and trophy fees) per year to the government, a whole community was being sacrificed. The same paper reported that 20 people had been tortured, beaten persecuted and harassed by the Company owners for trespassing or hunting in the area. There were others who had been jailed under the pressure of the company owners, and allegedly two had died in jail. Others were able to get out of jail after being assisted by an NGO. Under the same Act, other communities which were being affected were:

Wandorobo, Wabahi, Wasianzu and Wakimbu.

Ngorongoro Crater is a homeland of the Wamasai as well as Watatoga and Wahadzabe. When the Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) Ordinance (cap 413) came into effect in 1959, the Wamasai who had been moved to this area from Serengeti National Park a decade after its formation in 1940, struggles started between them and the Conservation Authority (NCAA) which continues to date. As a Conservation Area, the Wamasai were allowed to remain in the area as pastoralists. While being moved from Serengeti, the government had promised them that they would be allowed to cultivate, since their diet (meat, blood and milk) had been greatly altered. About 70 per cent of the Wamasai's food requirements come from cereals. Cultivation was prohibited completely in the area with the amendment in The Game Parks Laws No 14 of 1975 which set the area for conservation and pastoralism purposes only and NCA became NCAA (a parastatal body with autonomous administrative powers). The NCAA moved all those who were cultivating to Loliondo, at the same time it promised to provide cheap foodstuffs to the inhabitants, but this was only possible for a short while.

The Wamasai would like to cultivate small farms for food production in the area Ngorongoro has an area of about 8,292 sq.). This is because their purchasing power of foodstuffs from other communities has diminished due to loss of cattle over the past few years of drought, and also their inability to sell off their stock (for the few who still possess cows). The Wamasai areas in general, including Ngorongoro itself (with its 43,000 inhabitants) have become starvation/ famine areas. It has become difficult for the Wamasai to depend on livestock for survival.

All the Wamasai have been demanding for, is to be allowed to cultivate in peripheral areas of NCA and also some central parts. They would like to see that the areas are surveyed and demarcated and residents are registered so that migrations are avoided; that only hand-hoe cultivation be allowed; and in case of steep hills, then terracing cultivation should be introduced. The Land Commission Report (Tanzania, United Republic 1994: 39) noted that, when 1987 the NCAA launched an 'anti-cultivation' operation in August 1987, 666 people were arrested of whom 9 were jailed for three months and 549 fined a total of Tshs 515,600. These were convicted on a non-existent offence.

While the indigenous people have not been allowed to engage in agricultural cultivation, the Legislation gave NCAA the mandate (among others, such as conservation, etc.) to: construct roads, bridges, aerodromes, buildings, fences, provide water, and carry out any such a work which may be

considered necessary by the Board of Directors for purposes of development or conservation. It was also empowered to do anything and enter into any transactions, which were deemed by the Board to be aimed at facilitating the proper and efficient exercise by the authority (including acquisition of interests in companies and firms engaged in the activities in which NCAA is engaged).

It is clear that there is often crowding in the Crater, as there are 16 campsites in the area, a host of murrum, unmaintained tracks and off-road driving is quite common (although prohibited officially since 1992). Moreover, there is overcrowding on the crater rim. There are five luxurious lodges operating on the rim and a sixth one is supposed to be opened in 1996. These lodges, which are foreign owned include such big names as Ngorongoro Sopa Lodge, Ngorongoro Wildlife Lodge, Ngorongoro Crater Lodge, etc. There is even a camp which is near the Olduvai Gorge, within the 5 km exclusion zone around the gorge despite the 1964 Antiquities Act No 10 of 1964).

Some of the reports, including that of the National Environmental Management Council (NEMC 1994) have noted that there are clear signs of air and water pollution and the disposal of solid wastes, and this is mostly from the lodges and the motor vehicles. There are also clear signs of soil erosion in some areas, mainly because of off-road driving. Clearly, these "developments" demonstrate the fact that, it is not the public or environmental interests, which dominate, rather it is those of capital.

Other, examples are such as those the granting of a lease of over 4,000 sq. km of Loliondo game reserve (Arusha) secretly to an Arab hunting Sheik, Brigadier Mohammed Adulrahim Al-Ally of United Arab Emirates for hunting purposes in 1992 through Ortello (a Kenyan based hunting company--presumably with secret powerful interests locally). There was a public outcry against this action the result of which the government was forced to defend the legitimacy of its action to no avail. In this case, 25 Wamasai villages were being affected.

In 1994, the government attempted to grant 381,000 acres of land in Monduli and Kiteto Districts (Arusha) to a foreign investor, Mr. Hermanus Philip Steyn, who had been formerly declared a persona non grata in 1983. This land was being taken from the pastoralists and other communities. The land, which was being granted also covered Simanjiro Game Controlled Area and Tarangire National Park wildlife migration routes. One would have expected that since a major part of the area falls within the Wildlife Department the area should have not been granted. The investor was informed by the government that it expected him to abide by the Wildlife Conservation Act, but he could, of course kill animals within the land under protection of life and property; surrender trophies to the government; and, expel out any animal which would be found in or entering the land under the Right.

Mkomazi Game Reserve with its 3,736 sq. km is in Kilimanjaro region. To the north, it shares a 100-km boundary with Kenya's Tsavo National Park into which herds of elephant, zebra, buffalo, onyx and lions migrate in some seasons. It borders over 30 villages in the western side, which are inhabited by the Wapare and Wamasai. Some part of Mkomazi is also in Tanga Region. There has been a dispute over the boundary between these villages and the Wildlife Department since especially 1990. The Reserve was established in 1951, when most of the villagers were already living there. There was no problem in the area until 1988, when the government embarked on a project to reclaim and protect wildlife and re-introduce the depleted species, mainly the rhinoceros and the African wild dogs.



The initial decision to pay attention to the Game Reserve was made in 1986. The Wamasai were permitted to continue using the land for pasturing. This agreement was rescinded in 1988, with the commencement of the project. People who were within the reserve were directed to move out to other places. The government had begun to demarcate the boundaries for purposes of control. This action angered the people who had settlements of long duration in the area.

The villagers claimed that what was being done was to even incorporate in the reserve an open area which had previously been outside the reserve.<sup>4</sup>

The government invited Tony Fitzjohn from the London based George Adamson Wildlife preservation Trust to run the project. The Foundation was able to establish four airstrips in the area, for patrol purposes against smugglers and poachers.<sup>5</sup>

While the Adamson Foundation project continued, and also efforts were being made to start community assistance to the villages bordering the reserve in the form of schools, dispensaries and other services, the Royal Frontiers Tanzania Ltd was allocated two hunting blocks in Mkomazi. Among the company's directors were the brother of the former Minister of Natural Resources, Tourism and Environment Juma Hamad Omar and former Director of Wildlife Muhiddin Ndolanga's son.<sup>6</sup> There were convoys of hunters by 1994 hunting mainly lions, leopards, oryx and several other endangered species.

The removal of the Wamasai has had an impact on their lives, since the reserve harbours the best grazing grounds, and the rest of the land is already settled by the Wapare agriculturalists. The result is many of the Wamaasai have had to move to neighbouring Kenya and those who remained have become impoverished. There were some Wamaasai families with up to 1,500 heads of cattle in mid-1980s. Today, the richest among them has less than 70. There are those who have been completely ruined. Some of these are moving to the urban areas to join the army of Wamaasai watchmen. Even the weekly markets which used to flourish in the various villages around the reserve have become dull because of the absence of the Wamaasai who used to purchase agricultural products and sell their livestock products. The impact of the action is also felt by even the non-pastoralist communities.

The villagers have continued to protest against their removal. They have even filed a case in the court of law to demand for their rights, with the assistance of the Legal Aid Committee of the University of Dar es Salaam. But the government authorities--district, regional and national which have been involved in the decision making--have remained silent. Their simple view is the Wamaasai are the cause of poaching. The villagers are extremely bitter. They claim that they do not understand why they should be prevented from grazing their cattle in the reserve, when some foreigners are allowed to indulge in

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<sup>4</sup> Villagers allege that the 'grabbing' of the open area or the complete removal of pastoralists was not for purposes of conservation, but for other purposes. They claim that Mkomazi Game Reserve, including the open area which has been included is rich with green and blue gannet and silicon, and that those in the project are engaged in mining.

<sup>5</sup> The Wamasai and other villagers in Gonja, Ndungu, Kisiwani, etc. claim that the plane from the Reserve has often been seen crossing the border to Kenya without passing through Kilimanjaro International Airport, as per aviation requirements. This is what has reinforced their belief that beyond conservation, there are some other activities being conducted secretly.

<sup>6</sup> *The Express* of 12--5.03--995 reports the following: "An American law firm has threatened President Ali Hassan Mwinyi that it will spill the beans in court of law if alleged injustice within the wildlife division continues".... The law firm stated, "I know each of you will agree...that government officials in high places who can influence such things have...an interest in some companies that are for no good reason allocated the best blocks, or such officials have been paid to allocate the best blocks to certain companies."

hunting sprees in the area. What makes them even more furious is the fact that they are often arrested by the game wardens and fined exorbitantly for trespassing in the reserve. In case the game personnel impound cattle, the owner is compelled to pay Tshs 10,000.00 to view whether the cattle is his or not. If the cattle belongs to him, then the fine is Tshs 100,000.00. The Wamaasai are threatened at times by use of gun.

The cult of the 'universal' has become so dominant in the conceptualization of issues on land tenure, just like in the whole debate on liberalization and democracy among policy makers, to the extent that they can be blind on some of these basic facts. The proposed land policy has completely ignored issues of justice, rights and fairness. The proposed land reforms are dealt separately from the question of democracy, since they do not seem to address themselves to the grievances of the large majority of the land users--peasants and pastoral communities. The Land Act itself has been drafted by an Overseas Development Administration Consultant, Professor Patrick MacAuslan, who endorses the notion of identity between sovereignty and property *a la* feudal Europe where it was impossible to conceive of a king without land. And so in Tanzania, the radical title must remain in the Presidency to avoid a situation whereby the President could become a beggar if he/she had to alienate land for "National interests or development".

The land tenure system has been harmful to some land users. The whole land tenure system has been anti-people. It is for this reason that communities, which have been directly affected by some of the processes of accumulation taking place around natural resources, have been using the court or even organizing to demand that land and its resources should be vested in the communities. They are proposing for a real democratic emancipatory control, unlike the so-called peoples' participation. How can one participate in somebody else's property?

This is not democracy as far as land issues are concerned. To cite Mafeje (1995:26), democracy in the present African conditions can only refer to two things:

First, the extent to which the people's will enters decisions which will affect their life chances; and second, the extent to which their means of livelihood are guaranteed. In political terms the first demand does not suggest capture of "state power" by the people (workers and peasants) but it does imply ascendancy to state power by a national democratic alliance in which the popular classes hold the balance of power. The second demand implies equitable (not equal) distribution of resources. Neither liberal democracy, imposed "multi-partyism" nor "market forces" can guarantee these two conditions. It transpires, therefore, that the issue is neither liberal nor "compradorial" democracy but social democracy (ibid).

There is nothing more erroneous than to think that tenurial issues merely involve man/woman's relationship to natural resources (, as it is believed by those who look at natural resources from the point of view of "economic growth"). This type of conceptualization of Land tenure systems does not necessarily address itself to the questions of redressing imbalances, inequalities, relations of domination,

exploitation, etc.: the only interest is in the setting-up of 'land tenure systems' which will protect the small holders, enhance investments, improve productivity, etc.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The 'new' political vocabulary in Tanzania nowadays is devoid of words such as exploitation, class and imperialism. Instead, words like participatory/grassroots development, economic liberalization and donors/partners in development have become so ubiquitous.

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