Contribution of tourism FDI to poverty alleviation: A selected Case from hunting safaris in Tanzania

Wineaster Anderson¹ and Grace Nicodemus²

Abstract

This study assesses the contribution of tourism-based foreign direct investment to poverty alleviation using the single case-study method. It focuses on income generation, natural resources and environmental conservation, technology transfer to the local community, human capital development, and access to health and water services, job creation and economic empowerment for conservation as its contribution to poverty alleviation. Forty-four (44) companies were granted hunting licences in 2014. Of the companies, Tanzania Game Trackers Safari (TGTS) operates in 125 villages in Tanzania—a wider coverage than that of other companies. Therefore, this study took TGTS as the case and conducted in-depth interviews in 45 villages in areas where this company operates. For representativeness, the villages were picked from five different wards, namely, Moyowozi Game Reserve, Mwiba Wildlife Reserve, Lake Natron Game Controlled Area, Ugalla Game Reserve and Maswa Game Reserve. The respondents constituted two government officials from the Wildlife Division of Tanzania, the project coordinator, two field officers and one representative from nearby villages. The study results show that some of TGTS' profits go to the communities in or adjacent to the protected areas, as it engages rural communities in conserving and preserving the protected areas, and contributes to poverty alleviation through village banks, student sponsorship, library support, construction of dispensaries and school dormitories, environmental education and tree nursery programmes. On the basis of these findings, it can be concluded that well supervised and managed inflow of FDI into strategic sectors can have a positive impact on livelihoods of individual communities.

Keywords: tourism, foreign direct investment, poverty alleviation, Tanzania

Introduction

The question of whether foreign direct investment (FDI) has a positive impact on the welfare of host countries has been a subject of great debate. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that FDI is one of the initiatives from which both developed and developing countries can potentially benefit. UNCTAD (2003) defines 'FDI' as the net inflow of investment to acquire a lasting management interest of at least 10 percent of voting stock in an enterprise operating in an economy other than that of the investor. These

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benefits arise from firms and individuals demonstrating new technology and skills, providing technological assistance, imparting skills among their local suppliers and customers and training workers who may subsequently move to local firms. The presence of foreign-owned firms in an economy may increase competition in the domestic market, and local firms can even acquire and adopt skills and new technology for efficient production. It is presumed that FDI is good because it may have a spill-over effect on the rest of the economy through technology transfer, raising the amount of foreign funds, and creating employment and a market for local resources (Multinational Investment Guarantee Agency [MIGA], 2005).

Tanzania's economy is largely driven by its natural resource base, which is necessary for the development

of key sectors of the economy such as tourism, The tourism sector has mining and agriculture. shown impressive growth over the past few years and, increasingly, the sector is becoming an effective means for macro-economic diversification from the traditional over-reliance on agriculture. Over the past ten years the sector has grown at an average annual rate of 12% (Anderson, 2015; refer to key tourism figures in Tanzania). The investor outreach programme for Investment in Sub-Saharan Africa (MSP) has witnessed an inflow of FDI in Sub-Saharan Africa. In fact, in recent years, Tanzania has experienced massive inflows of FDI in various economic sectors (Figure 1) such as agriculture and livestock, natural resources, tourism, manufacturing, construction, transportation, financial institutions, telecommunications, human resources, economic infrastructure and broadcasting. According to the World Investment Report by UNCTAD (2012), Tanzania occupies a leadership position in the East

Tourism Key figures in Tanzania:

- Inbound tourists 1,095,000 (2013)
- 18% of GDP in Tanzania
- 27% of Zanzibar's GDP
- 30% of export earnings
- 80% of Zanzibar's foreign earnings
- 10.9% of total employment in Tanzania
- Y2014 1,200,000 jobs (direct, indirect and induced), 500,000 direct jobs
- 1 tourist in, 1 job (direct, indirect and induced)
- 2 tourists in, 1 direct job
- 9.5% of total investments

Source: Anderson (2015)

African region as it attracts about 47 percent of all the FDI in the region. Accordingly, FDI in the tourism industry is increasingly considered to be important in ensuring sustainable development, especially in developing countries. Sustainable development, according to the World Commission on the Environment and Development (1987), includes the triple goal of economic growth, social justice and environmental protection to meet the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own.

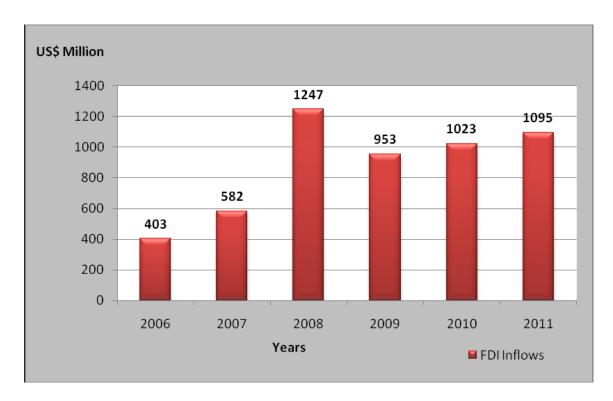


Figure 1 FDI Inflows into Tanzania from 2006 – 2011

Source: Tanzania Investment Centre (2006-2011) databases

The environmental dimension of sustainable development has received substantial and often critical attention in the context of international tourism, for example, tourism is thought to deplete natural resources and to contribute to pollution and congestion (Cavlek, 2002). However, it is primarily the social and economic realm, in the form of local linkages, where the potential contribution of FDI to tourism is most frequently acknowledged (Cukier, 2002; ILO, 2001). The tourism sector had been given a key role in achieving the Millennium Development Goals (UNWTO, 2005) by 2015, and the job opportunities offered by tourism are highly valued by local residents (Sinclair, 1998). In emerging destinations, FDI inflows into tourism have contributed to a sustained increase in the number of arrivals and revenue from international tourism by enhancing service quality and supply capacity (Anderson, 2011; Anderson, 2013). Thus, many agree that FDI inflows may contribute to raising the sector's productivity and competitiveness, especially in countries that are relatively new to tourism (UNCTAD, 2007).

Most of the FDI in tourism is in acquiring land from residents in villages or areas around wildlife protected areas to build tourist enterprises such as hotels, lodges and hunting blocks. Hunting tourism has attracted a significant number of investors in Tanzania and there is strong evidence that the hunting industry brings in more revenue per person than other segments of tourism through a combination of

hunting block fees, hunting permits, and a considerable number of licences payable by the hunting organisation (similar to those payable by tour operators). More specifically, the trophy fee hunters pay paid ranges from \$2,000 for a lion to \$4000 for an elephant, and the hunting permit allows the killing of one each of several species. The length of stay varies according to the number of animals the hunter wishes to hunt and ranges from 7 to 14 to 16 to 21 days. The size of each group is normally 1 or 2 people, with one professional hunter per group. On the other hand, there is a widespread perception that FDI destroys local capabilities and natural resources without adequately compensating poor countries (Ngowi, 2012; Anderson, 2013). For example, Ngowi (2012) asserts that, to a large extent, FDI has not benefited local people in Tanzania as expected. Likewise, Anderson (2013) found that FDI dominates the tourism sector in Zanzibar with more than 84 percent of the requirements sourced from outside the economy.

Thus regulatory and policy frameworks are aimed at ensuring that the benefits from tourism trickle down to the grassroots. These frameworks include the Wildlife Policy of Tanzania of 1998 and the Wildlife Management Area Regulations which fall under the Wildlife Conservation Act of 1974, which create opportunities for community investment, joint ventures, leases, wildlife management and other forms of community involvement. Nevertheless, the presence of the regulatory and policy frameworks is one thing, and their enforcement is another. In fact, as the wildlife management system in Tanzania is centralised, revenue flows into the central treasury rather than into that of the stakeholder communities, which means it will always be a challenge and a burden for both foreign investors and local communities. Firstly, if the ongoing activities are not regulated and well managed, the communities end up being losers and the surrounding villages may never benefit from the emerging tourism industry. Secondly, foreign investors, as profit seekers, may end up accumulating profits for their own benefit, with local communities remaining mere bystanders. Generally, this area has not received enough attention in developing economies literature. Hunting safaris is a growing segment in the Tanzania tourism sector (see Annex 1) with a total of 44 registered companies and 131 established hunting blocks, 70 of which are in Game reserves, 26 in Game Controlled Areas, 27 in Open Areas and 8 in Wildlife Management Areas (URT-MNRT, 2014). Therefore, there is a need to find out what effect this tourism activity has on the livelihoods of local communities.

This study assesses the contribution of tourism-based FDI to alleviating the poverty of communities around controlled and protected areas in Tanzania, using the Tanzania Game Trackers Safaris (TGTS) as a case study. TGTS operates hunting safaris in 125 villages in the country and is currently allocated the highest number of blocks (i.e. 9 hunting blocks). More specifically, the study evaluates its impact on income generation, the utilisation and conservation of natural resources, technology transfer and human capital development. Since tourism-based FDI in developing economies is under-explored, this study fills the gap in that knowledge. The rest of the paper is arranged as follows. The literature review comes next, followed by the methodology of the study, the research findings and finally the conclusion.

Literature Review

Conceptualisation of Poverty Alleviation

The term poverty has been described in many different ways. It has, for example, since the nineteenth century been related to income, which remains the core of the concept today. The mid-twentieth century conceptualisation of poverty as the lack of 'basic needs' was extended from basic facilities and services, such as healthcare, sanitation and education, to the 'relative deprivation' of income, resources and social conditions (Ludi and Bird, 2007). Poverty has been defined in Mascarenhas (2007) as a situation in which a person's livelihood falls below acceptable minimum standards of wellbeing using indicators such as hunger, sickness, lack of information, powerlessness and marginalisation. Anderson and Saidi (2011) prefer to associate poverty with the lack of command over commodities and basic goods, such as food, clothing and shelter. Poverty results from the competitive environment, in which a significant number of people are unable to gain access to life-supporting assets, be they productive, environmental or cultural, whereas others secure the conditions for stable and productive lives (Reed, 2001; Anderson and Saidi, 2011). All these definitions point to poverty as a status in which a reasonable standard of living is not achieved, and that is the meaning communicated in this particular study. Therefore, poverty alleviation can be defined as lifting people out of poverty by providing them with basic needs or necessary goods and services.

There are two approaches to poverty alleviation: alleviation through redistribution and alleviation through growth (Bagachwa, 1994). Various processes of perfect and imperfect targeting or through special projects achieve alleviation through redistribution. Other initiatives are public works programmes and community-based social action programmes, especially in areas where extreme poverty is associated with social problems (Mugoya, 2000). Poverty alleviation through growth is based on the theory that the government and others should concentrate on growth policies. The result of growth will "trickle down" to the poor through both primary and secondary income, thus alleviating poverty (Shirima, 2004). Some societies have found that one of the easiest ways to combat poverty is for weaker individuals and groups to engage in operating small and simple but lawful businesses, which, in the long run, help them to "walk" out of poverty, hence fighting poverty.

The Swiss Agency for Development and Co-operation (SDC, 2004) defines poverty alleviation as empowering the disadvantaged and enhancing their capacity to mitigate disparities and to stop the advance of impoverishment; building the capacity and developing the potential of the disadvantaged; and establishing priorities in favour of the poor and the disadvantaged. The main belief is that the poverty alleviation entails recognising their point of view and respecting their priorities; fostering organisations operating in the interests of the poor; working at all levels, national and multinational, to bring about a change in the structures and framework conditions leading to discrimination, impoverishment and the exclusion of individuals and social groups; encouraging effective poverty reduction policies; advocating for the poor in defence of their rights and in denouncing the misuse of power; and confronting the conflicts which may emerge in aligning ourselves with the poor and disadvantaged, and helping to deal with them by peaceful means in the interests of the disadvantaged (SDC, 2004). Because FDI has been

widely recognised as an important resource for economic development, this study has chosen to focus on this as a tool of poverty alleviation.

Foreign Direct Investment

The term 'foreign direct investment' or 'FDI' has been defined by UNCTAD (2003) and OECD (2008) as the net inflows of investment to acquire a lasting management interest of at least 10 percent of the voting stock in an enterprise operating in an economy other than that of the investor. Investment can be in the form of equity capital, the reinvestment of earnings and the provision of long-term and short-term intracompany loans (between parent and affiliate enterprises). When it comes to a specific investment, for example, in tourism, the term has not received enough attention. In this regard, UNCTAD (2003) proffers that FDI in tourism remains lower than in other economic activities, in both developed and developing countries. In fact, in the tourism sector FDI is concentrated in just a few industrial activities, mostly accommodation and transportation services. In 2005, UNCTAD analysed the broad trends that characterise tourism-related FDI in developing countries and economies in transition. The study used the cross-country approach compare domestic and foreign-owned hotels and enterprises and established that, although tourism is one of the largest industries in these countries, they remain poor (UNCTAD, 2007).

Generally, the potential of FDI for the host and home economies has been widely acknowledged (Blomstr^{*}m and Kokko, 2003; Klein <u>et al.</u>, 2003; OECD, 2009). FDI has an important role to play in promoting economic growth through raising a host country's technological level and creating new employment opportunities there (Magnus and Ari, 2003; Klein et al., 2003), while generating income and sending the profits back to the home countries (Dunning, 1993; Narula, 2005). FDI works as a means for integrating developing countries into the global marketplace and increasing the amount of capital available for investment, hence leading to the economic growth needed to reduce poverty and raise the living standards (Rutihinda, 2007; Dupasquier and Osakwe, 2005; Dollar and Kraay, 2000). According to Magnus and Ari (2003), the contribution of FDI to the development of a country is widely recognised as filling the gap between desired investment and domestically mobilised savings, increasing tax revenue, and improving management, technology and skills in host countries. All these help the country to fight its way out of poverty, as described in the subsequent section.

How foreign direct investment contributes to poverty alleviation

As mentioned earlier, the environmental dimension of sustainable development has received a lot of critical attention in the context of tourism (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987; Reed, 2002; Gastorn, 2003). Explicitly, tourism is thought to deplete natural resources and to contribute to pollution and congestion (Cavlek, 2002). In emerging destinations, FDI inflows into tourism have contributed to a sustained increase in the number of tourist arrivals and revenue from international tourism by enhancing service quality and supply capacity (Anderson, 2011; Anderson, 2013). Thus, many

agree that FDI inflows may contribute to raising the sector's productivity and competitiveness, especially in countries that are relatively new to tourism (UNCTAD, 2007). This study attempts to link the empirical findings with the conceptual framework purposely developed for the study (Figure 2). The focus is on the FDI's contribution to poverty alleviation. More precisely, FDI may bring about financial and human resources, knowledge and expertise, equipment and machines, and grants in the form of corporate social responsibility. Local communities would then benefit from the income generated through employment or selling of goods and providing of services to the investors, gaining access to education, health and water services, as well as from economic empowerment, which would then motivate them to conserve the environment.

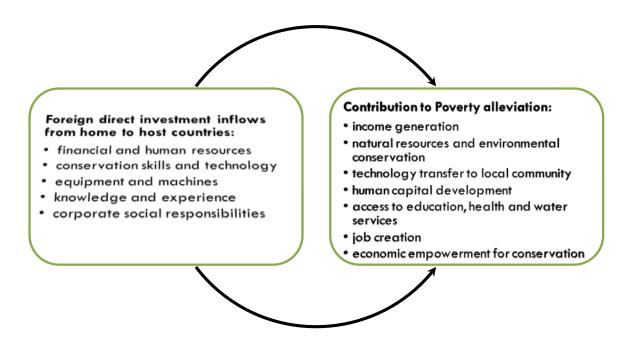


Figure 2: Conceptual framework

Foreign investment in the tourism industry is important in achieving sustainable development in least developed countries or LDCs despite empirical evidence to that effect remaining scant and ambiguous (Dunning, 1993; ILO, 2001; Cukier, 2002; Cavlek, 2002; Magnus and Ari, 2003; Narula and Marin, 2005; Ngowi, 2012; UNCTAD, 2012). Focusing on the social dimension of sustainable development, Kweka and Ngowi (2007) analysed how foreign firms in the hotel industry influence the quantity of local employment and its quality. Using interview data with managers of 123 foreign and locally-owned hotels in Mozambique, Tanzania and Ethiopia, they found that the simple scale effects of foreign hotels in LDCs are positive. Therefore, they concluded that well-managed FDI can create quality jobs and generate

incomes for the local community. Likewise, Mabugu and Mugoya (2001) provided information on alternative revenue-sharing formulas between investors and local communities, which would provide adequate incentives for conservation and land use, and financial gains for all the stakeholders involved. In their study, they outlined the stakeholders who were likely to win or lose as a result of changing the revenue-sharing formula, the current tax structure and the type and level of taxes to ensure that all stakeholders benefited from tourism income. They also highlighted the best source(s) of revenue for the provision of supportive public services in conjunction with the establishment of Wildlife Management Areas. Along similar lines, the authors established how the financial resources can be shared to create a win-win situation between the investors and the local community.

Akunaay (2003) analysed the prospects of community-based tourist investment inside and outside Wildlife Management Areas and underscored the fact that for tourism to be an effective rural development and poverty alleviation tool, rural communities should benefit financially directly from tourism. They observed that in northern Tanzania, community-based tourism (CBT) is currently realising some of these objectives and is one of the main sub-sectors of growth in regional tourism enterprises. On the other hand, they affirmed that CBT is hindered by local conflicts between land users, confusing or contradictory policies and limited local capacity for managing tourism, coupled with weak resource rights. Gastorn (2003) analysed the legislative framework governing the allocation of and investment in village land and identified weaknesses. More significantly, he established how to curb the ongoing acquisition of village land, which does not benefit local communities around wildlife protected areas, such as conservation and protected areas and game reserves.

Research Methods

This study assessed the contribution of tourism-based FDI to poverty alleviation. In 2014, Tanzania issued hunting licences to 44 companies (refer to Annex). Of the companies, the Tanzania Game Trackers Safari (TGTS) covers more than 120 villages in the country, the widest coverage compared with that of the other hunting companies. Therefore, TGTS was appropriate for achieving the study's objective. The study adopted the qualitative method for data collection due to its ability to capture the feelings of respondents that could otherwise not be realised through numerical data and statistical analysis when a quantitative study is employed. Also the technique was a flexible method for collecting and analysing the data, and subsequently for interpreting the results. The method increased the value of and justification for the study because of its ability to interact with the respondents using their own language and cultural terms (Kirk and Miller, 1986).

In 2014, forty-four (44) companies were granted hunting licences by the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism (refer to Annex). TGTS was used as a case study, with in-depth interviews being conducted in 45 villages where it operates. For representativeness, the villages were picked from five different wards, namely, Moyowozi Game Reserve, Mwiba Wildlife Reserve, Lake Natron Game Controlled Area,

Ugalla Game Reserve and Maswa Game Reserve. The respondents comprised two government officials from the Tanzania Wildlife Division, the project co-ordinator, two field officers and one village representative from the local community. Secondary data was also considered vital to enrich the understanding of the problem and ensure the reliability of the study results and findings. As such, the secondary sources of data involved consulting the TGTS and FCF annual reports from 2008 to 2011 (see Table 1).

Table 1: Indicators captured from Secondary sources of Data

Objectives	Indicator(s)	Source of data
Income	 Sources 	FCF report 2008-2011
	 Employment 	
	 Investment 	
Spill-over effect	Human capital development	FCF report 2008-2011
	status	
	 Technology transfer 	
Natural resources and Environmental conservation	 Scholarships/funding for various studies relating to the objective Activities relating to the objective 	FCF report 2008-2012

Findings

Description of the Case Study

This study assesses the contribution of tourism-based FDI to poverty alleviation using TGTS as a case study. TGTS operates under Ker & Downey, which also runs Wengert Windrose Safaris (WWS), Ker & Downey Photographics, Friedkin Conservation Fund (FCF) and Northern Air. Ker & Downey manages 13 hunting blocks, which cover an area of over 32,000 sq km. TGTS operates exclusive trophy hunting safaris in 14 private concessions and photographic safaris in the Tanzania's national parks. Also, TGTS operates in five different areas/wards surrounding game reserves and one controlled area: Ugalla Game Reserve, Muyowozi Game Reserve, Lake Natron Game Controlled area Mwiba game reserve and Maswa Game Reserve. TGTS has nine hunting blocks. In its operations it interacts with the communities surrounding the blocks through FCF.

FCF operates as two separate but related entities—one in Texas in the United States and the other in Tanzania. FCF was established in Tanzania in 1994 and currently operates in 125 villages (see Figure 2).

In 2003, the association was extended to include Wengert Windrose Safaris (WWS) when the holding company Ker & Downey Tanzania acquired it. FCF's mission as stated in the FCF Reports (2008-2011) is "to assist the government and people of Tanzania in their efforts to conserve and protect the indigenous flora and fauna of the country".



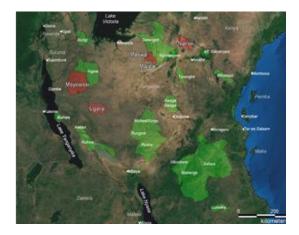


Figure 2: Friedkin Conservation Fund (FCF) locations in Tanzania

Impact on Community livelihoods

Community support is part of the partnership between TGTS through FCF and the villages to conserve the natural resources and ensure that they receive tangible benefits from the sustainable use of wildlife in the protected areas. It was established during the study that FCF works closely with the Tanzania Wildlife Division through its anti-poaching operations, innovative community development projects, its GIS mapping and research. The Wildlife Department is responsible for anti-poaching activities, with FCF providing transportation, staff and all logistical backup. The hunting company has also established a fund that contributes to community development. The proceeds from trophy hunting—20 percent of each trophy animal shot—go to FCF for anti-poaching activities, research and community development. From the perspective of hunting management, the resources that flow to the community are important in rewarding people for protecting animals' habitats.

In fact, it was observed that, like any other profit-making organisation, Ker & Downey has several business needs, which would be met by a more systematic and effective partnership with communities. On the whole, a win-win situation is being sought for the company and the local community. To achieve this, FCF actively involves local people in sustainable conservation practices to improve their economic conditions. To have a lasting impact, the company focuses on enabling villagers to help themselves through projects that provide sustainable livelihoods. For instance, the company has been a catalyst for community projects such as the Village Community Bank (VICOBA), beekeeping, fish farming, hunting,

employment and agriculture. Through income-generating projects, FCF focuses on building and improving villagers' capacity to be self-reliant in the long-term. Table 2 shows the income-generating activities that the company has initiated for local communities:

Table 2: FCF financial support for community Activities from 2008 to 2011 in US Dollars (\$)

S/N	Supported Activity	2008	2009	2010	2011
1.	Trophy Fee Allocations	82,242.70	121,859.21	126,642.45	85,304.94
2.	Student Sponsorships	9,668.00	10,367.30	19,635.92	24,804.84
3.	Health Clinic Projects in Mfereji, (Monduli) and Uvinza (Kigoma)	30,459.03	,	10,762.58	,
4.	Water project: drilling boreholes	5,000	\$5000		16,196,350
5.	Olosiva School Lunches, Rocket Stoves, Organic Gardens and Sports Programme	21,127.34		11,346.11	
6.	Environmental education films and reforestation in villages	1000	33,464.30	3,238.62	6,304.56
7.	Contributions to community projects	185,911.50	147,813.53	147,813.22	174,058.79
8.	Olosiva School Lunches, Sports Programme, Entrance Gate Construction, Tree Planting Programme		19,324,000	,	25,000
9.	Library Support		6,474.68	1,500	
10.	VICOBA support			474.68	
11.	Tanzania wildlife protection fund				35,000

Economic Empowerment for Conservation

Economic empowerment here refers to the means by which an individual or society is economically enabled by providing financial resources and equipping him or her with capacity to take an active role in economic activities. FCF builds capacity through training and provision of seed capital to local communities. In fact, FCF recognises that the current arrangements between FCF and the communities are inadequate for creating linkages, which may provide opportunities that will result in better resource management rather than just rewards as an incentive for conservation. The VICOBA project has been successful in bringing about positive change at the individual and household level. In late 2009, the company started its endeavour in this regard by training the trainers. Each of 12 FCF trainers returned to their respective villages and began establishing groups. According to the project coordinator:

...This has resulted into 20 currently active groups each with 20-80 members and each with 2-14 million shillings in circulation. This has been a great success and has had a significant impact on the lives of individuals.

It was also found that VICOBA has been the project most preferred by the villagers. VICOBA has been a good source of finance for the community, whereby individuals can get funds for conducting other business activities such as agriculture and running small businesses and for paying school fees. The responses from individual villagers through interviews revealed that the low incomes before FCF projects their monthly income grew significantly after the introduction of VICOBA. Apart from VICOBA, the company has trained members of the community in modern beekeeping methods, which has led to increased productivity and efficiency. It has also served as a good source of finance for economic growth in addition to improving the living standards of people. The VICOBA-induced projects have been instrumental in empowering people, motivating communities and allowing them to enjoy the presence of TGTS as an investor in tourism. The income increase in the aftermath of the VICOBA in the area was recorded at 73%, a rise from around Tsh. 50,000/= per person per month to around Tsh. 187,500/= per person per month (i.e. US \$1 is equivalent to Tsh. 1,580/=)

Job creation and Technology transfer

The company has been a good source of employment for the local community. Currently, the company employs 170 people from the local community who are distributed to each campsite. The beneficiaries have experienced and improvement in their standard of living as a result of the company's provision of gainful employment. Moreover, the employees get on-the-job training and different opportunities within the company.

The findings also show that the company has expanded linkages with the local economy. Intermediate products from FDI projects are often sold as inputs in the country. The company also purchases inputs from local firms. For example, the company takes visitors to the beekeepers to buy their honey. In this regard, the beekeepers said during interviews that they were grateful to the company for providing them with technical skills, which have boosted their productivity and efficiency, and broadened their customer

base. The increase in the number of customers was also attributable to their producing good quality well-packed honey for international customers. The villagers were proud of using modern beekeeping methods and/or technology. They are using machines after learning how to operate them by doing. These machines have helped to improve the quality of the packaging and labelling of their products. One of the respondents said:

Currently the company is supporting 15 beekeeping groups in Kibondo, Manyoni Maswa and Tabora.

Natural resources and environmental Conservation

The mission and vision of TGTS reflect the need to protect natural resources and the environment. More specifically, FCF has continued with its efforts of providing environmental and conservation education in local schools and communities. Using a Mobile Film Screening Unit with a projector and speakers for showing environmental films and documentaries in Kiswahili and Maasai, FCF reaches a wide audience in the community. According to a Project Manager of the Game Reserves:

This programme has made a difference in creating awareness on the need to conserve natural resources and the environment as a prerequisite for achieving the millennium goals with regard to the environment. Moreover, the programme emphasises the sustainable utilisation of natural resources and the benefits to the local community. FCF is also engaged in planting and distributing indigenous tree seedlings from its tree nursery. For example, in 2008, with the support of the Mzuri Wildlife Foundation, several hundred tree seedlings were distributed to primary and secondary schools in Natron and Monduli.

In addition, to support the government's programme of planting trees all over the country the project manager said that FCF has taken necessary steps:

Tree nurseries have been established in schools in Moyowosi, Ugalla and Maswa. Through this project, FCF is supporting 30 different Malihai environmental groups in schools and villages to strengthen tree nurseries. This support is in response to the increasing deforestation of Tanzania's forests and protected areas in the past years.

The increased threat to the forests is primarily due to the greater demand for firewood, charcoal and timber as well as the slash-and-burn agricultural practice. The programme focuses on raising awareness on environmental degradation through environmental education workshops with student groups in each school, followed by hands-on establishment of indigenous tree nurseries run by the student groups. It was noted that FCF is working with the Malihai Clubs of Tanzania network under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism through the Wildlife Division to help disseminate conservation education and strengthen conservation initiatives in Tanzania schools. According to the Project Manager of the Game Reserves:

The company is focusing on sustainability of the natural resources, which in the long run will benefit the local community in terms of their enjoying their natural heritage.

Access to health services and water

The study findings also show that FCF has developed innovative community development programmes and projects aimed at providing basic services, and educating Tanzanians to promote sustainable livelihoods. More precisely, the company has assisted communities in the area to gain access to health services and water. This service has come as a relief because many isolated communities found access to vital health services rather limited. In this regard, FCF works towards alleviating these everyday struggles in a bid to make a difference in the lives and livelihoods of villagers. The following statements by the coordinator of the project made during interview attest to the value of the FCF intervention:

We are offering health services whereby many Tanzanians from neighbouring areas now have shorter distances to travel to receive basic medical treatment, which can mean the difference between life and death. For example, with support from FCF, the dispensary in Uvinza village is now equipped with solar-powered lighting, a fridge for medicines and vaccines, microscopes, delivery kits, a suction machine, centrifuge and nebulizers.

... FCF has provided five beds and mattresses for the dispensary, which has allowed 24-hour medical care for patients and newborns and their mothers. Also, the installation of a high quality UV water purification device has provided clean potable water for patients and medical procedures.

Likewise, a three-room micro-dispensary, which accommodates a Medical Attendant and Clinical Officer, at Mfereji village in Monduli District has benefited from FCF's assistance, the simple dispensary had been rehabilitated by the Monduli District Council in 2005/2006 and was now equipped with a solar-powered electricity and a storage tank for more reliable clean water, thanks to the FCF's aid. During the interviews, the head of Mfereji Village said:

...Thanks to the efforts of SCI-Foundation and FCF we have received the same testing, treatment and water purification technology as the town dispensary. These projects have made a real difference as regards the social needs of individuals and the community as a whole.

However, many places surrounding the wildlife reserves and protected areas are very dry for much of the year and villagers are forced to travel over long distances to obtain fresh water, which is often of poor quality. To deal with that problem, FCF has been committed to drilling boreholes and digging wells in suitable areas. With the support of generous individual donors, FCF has provided a reliable water source in villages in and around the wildlife areas. Indeed, many villages in which the firm operates have access to clean water from boreholes and wells.

Human Capital Development

Society is transformed through the development of human resources. In 2011, FCF sponsored 33 secondary school students, seven students at various Teacher Training Colleges and Vocational Centres, five students at MWEKA Wildlife College and four students at the undergraduate University level. Also in 2011, in collaboration with the Mzuri Wildlife Foundation, FCF enabled Olosiva Primary School to provide a free lunch daily for at least 950 students. Through the direct support of donors, FCF also supported the school with the construction of a new pre-school classroom and provided the materials for students and teachers to drill a borehole there. Several students have been supported by this sponsor since joining secondary school. During the study it was noted by the project manager:

...Community support is part of the partnership between FCF and the villages to conserve the natural resources and ensure that they receive benefits from the sustainable use of wildlife in the protected areas. The support through education includes student sponsorship, library support, construction of a girls' dormitory, environmental education and tree nursery programmes. The company has been doing this to reduce illiteracy numbers. This brings about changes in the lives of people because through education their living standards have improved.

...the company is extremely proud of its achievements and hopes to continue to enable students to realise their dreams. This exciting support is not only a contribution to the future of individuals but is an investment in the future of the country and communities and in the management of wildlife in Tanzania. In addition, the company expanded its support for higher education in 2012.

FCF recognises the value of education and, therefore, has a Student Sponsorship Programme targeting secondary school students who demonstrate scholastic merit but come from poor family backgrounds who would otherwise not afford schooling. The Student Sponsorship Programme has grown significantly over the past few years. In this regard, the community development co-ordinator said during the interview:

...Currently the company is providing scholarships for about 60 students from individual Student Sponsors. The sponsored students receive a scholarship which covers all tuition and school-related expenses for a whole year.

"We have established various development projects, for example, Olosiva Primary School in Arumeru District was built with the support of FCF and the Mzuri Wildlife Foundation in 2003. FCF has continued to provide support to Olosiva to ensure that the students get a quality education. The trend in student sponsorship and supporting education has been good. In 2008, the company sponsored 60 students, and in 2009 75 secondary school students, two undergraduate university students and five students studying at MWEKA Wildlife College, and gave lunch to 950+ students.

This concerted support demonstrates how FDI in developing economies can engage in community development as FCF continues to concentrate on projects that are a priority for local communities. From

the interviews, it emerged that the company has been implementing projects by taking into account the villagers' priorities. The company always sets the budget, according to the local community's priorities, and together they make plans to implement the project. The project manager said:

A lot of support has been given; in 2010 the company donated to Mwanhuzi secondary school Olevel and A-level textbooks and reference books. FCF provided a lockable bookcase for the school filled with textbooks, reference books, study materials and teacher guides according to the Tanzania secondary school syllabus.

Anti-Poaching initiatives

Tanzania faces a gloomy prospect of losing its natural heritage due to rampant poaching of animals such giraffes, elephants and lions, which are among the tourist attractions in national parks. Indeed, poaching threatens wildlife tourism in Tanzania. The elephant-poaching problem is ongoing, as it is reported regularly in Ugalla GR, Kizigo GR, Muhesi GR, Moyowosi GR and Maswa GR. FCF has come to the aid of the tourism sector through its anti-poaching programme. In this regard, FCF Community Development co-ordinator said;

Between 2005 and 2010, FCF teams seized a variety of items including illegal rifles, automatic weapons, poisoned arrows, elephant ivory, bush meat, other animal parts and hides, illegally produced bags of charcoal, planks of illegally logged hardwood, thousands of illegally grazing livestock, and other poaching-related paraphernalia.

FCF combats poaching through the use of innovative programmes, professional training, the best equipment and the latest technology. The company trains, equips and employs eighty full-time field-based private rangers, and conducts an extensive anti-poaching programme to counteract this threat in wildlife sanctuaries. FCF uses Mobile Anti-Poaching Teams in collaboration with Government Game Scouts. These efforts have resulted into the confiscation of a lot of equipment (Tables 3 and 4). As the Mobile Team co-ordinator explained:

The Mobile Teams continued to be a great asset in 2008 and consisted of 10 rangers and one or two patrolled with the team in each area. The teams are managed by the Mobile Team Co-ordinator who oversees and manages the day-to-day plans of the mobile team and reports to the Anti-Poaching Co-ordinator and Manager in Arusha. The Mobile Team Co-ordinator also ensures that an ongoing training programme is carried out, enabling the team to function well so that the natural resources and endangered species are conserved for the benefit of the community and sustainable utilisation of the natural resources.

Table 3: FCF confiscated weapons and equipment during the 2008-2011 period

ITEM	QUANTITY			
	2008	2009	2010	2011
Muzzle Loaders	85	34	64	36
Rifles	7		6	2
Shotguns	3	2	2	4
Automatic Weapons	39	8	12	10
Spears	125	177	55	48
Arrows	637	435	107	1134
Vehicles	22	36	47	8
Livestock	15644	35175	20380	11354
Bicycles	474	684	504	391
Axes	700	399		
Pangas	592	329	1078	
Snares	5583	2767	627	543
Saws	449	247	44	50
Timber Planks	5442	5566	2843	6204
Timber Poles	72			27
Vigogo	356		976	
Charcoal Bags	1354	1541	1078	72
Charcoal Ovens	1430	749	627	21
Canoes	18	6	44	16
Fishing Nets	161	98		
Ammo rounds			2245	1127

However, it emerged during interviews that a decrease in poaching had not been felt despite the antipoaching efforts of FCF and the increased contributions of the local communities. Many factors
contribute to this situation. In particular, elephant deaths in Tanzania have risen dramatically since the
government abandoned the shoot-to-kill policy against poachers. In fact, the scale of the poaching
problem is much greater than the company can tackle through its community-based development
contributions. Population pressure also adds to the problem and those engaging in poaching do not
appreciate the benefits of conserving wildlife, for they do not see it having a tangible impact on their
lives. The pressure to engage in poaching stretches far beyond the boundaries of the game reserves where
TGTS works, as it is a national, international and global problem.

Table 4: Number of items FCF confiscated during the 2008-2011

	2008	2009	2010	2011
Meat	361	210	217	145
Ivory	82	13	15	24
Timber	685	619	360	205
Honey	38	17	5	6
Fish	194	64	97	86
Illegal Entry	21	102	65	163
Cattle	315	505	423	294
Miners	5	1	0	0
Charcoal	210	331	210	22
Res. Hunt.	8	4	7	0

Other contributions to the communities in or adjacent to the protected areas through FCF from 2008 to 2011 include:

	Provision of water by trailer to Kiserian Primary school during the dry season
	Contribution to Girls' Dormitory Construction through the Meatu District – KISESA
	Development Fund
	 Provision of Footballs for Longido Division IV Football League
	Ilkisongo Pastoralists Initiative travel assistance to Dar es Salaam on behalf of Noondoto
	village for following up donors for Noondoto Water Development project
	Contribution to Monduli District for new DED
	Engarenaibor Education Fund contribution
	• Les Mundarara Primary School Classroom Construction costing Tsh 7,233,440 (pending
∞	village decision)
007	Construction of a dam at Gelai Merugoi
Year 2008	Donation of Laptop Computer to Orphanage in Manyoni
Ye	Road Construction and maintenance for several villages in Natron and Monduli
	Tractor for gathering rocks to clear Makat landing strip for Flying Medical Service
	Assistance to Flying Medical Service in Magadini in terms of vaccinations and child
	treatment campaign
	Ilkisongo Pastoralist Initiative transport assistance to Nairobi
	Lending tents for Londigo Secondary School graduation
	Transport for various village leaders for meetings and invigilators during National
	Examinations – Longido and Monduli
	Gelai Lumbwa water pipe line rehabilitation after elephant damage
	Uhuru Torch Contribution to Monduli and Longido
	Provision of water by trailer to Kiserian Primary school during the dry season
	Road Construction and maintenance for several villages in Natron and Monduli
	Tractor for gathering rocks to clear Makat landing strip for Flying Medical Service in
	Natron
60	Assistance to Flying Medical Service at Magadini in terms of vaccinations and child
Year 2009	treatment campaign
ear	Lending tents for Londigo Secondary School graduation
X	Transport for various village leaders for meetings and invigilators during National
	Examinations
	Transport from Lumbwa to Wosiwosi once a month for child vaccination campaign
	Periodic emergency transport for pregnant mothers and critically ill patients
	- Torrodic emergency transport for pregnant motions and efficiently in patients

	Provision of water by trailer to Kiserian Primary school during the dry season
	Road Construction and maintenance for several villages in Natron and Monduli
	Assistance to Flying Medical Service in Magadini in terms of vaccinations and child
•	treatment campaign
201	Lending tents for Engarenaibor and Londigo Secondary School graduation
Year 2010	Transport for various village leaders for meetings and invigilators during National
X X	Examinations
	Transport from Lumbwa to Wosiwosi once a month for child vaccination campaign
	Periodic emergency transport for pregnant mothers and critically ill patients
	Support for the Merugoi Women's Group
	Provision of water by trailer to Kiserian Primary school during the dry season
	Road Construction and maintenance for several villages in Natron
	Assistance to Flying Medical Service in Magadini in terms of vaccinations and child
	treatment campaign
	Lending tents for Engarenaibor and Londigo Secondary School graduation
11	Transport for various village leaders for meetings and invigilators during National
Year 2011	Examinations
ear	Transport from Lumbwa to Wosiwosi once a month for child vaccination campaign
X	Transport for the National Vaccination Campaign for children under 5 years.
	Periodic emergency transport for pregnant mothers and critically ill patients
	250 Tree Seedlings supplied to Alaililai village for Gelai water catchment
	Construction of Gelai Primary School Toilet Block

Sources: Friedkin Conservation Fund Reports (2008-2011): for Tanzania Game Tracker Safaris

Conclusion

This study assessed the contribution of tourism-based Foreign Direct Investment to poverty alleviation. Specifically, the study used the Tanzania Game Trackers Safaris (TGTS) as the case study and evaluated the impact of its activities on income generation, the utilisation and conservation of natural resources, technology transfer and human capital development. The findings revealed various community-based activities and services rendered in the area where the company operates.

The community development projects impact positively on the lives of community members. However, it is important to put this into perspective. FCF is working in over 100 villages, whose population can be between a couple thousand to over 10,000 people, whereas the protected areas cover more than 6.1 million acres of Tanzania. Thus, it is an insurmountable task for one small organisation such as FCF to bring about a change in perception and livelihoods, to stop the poaching of wildlife, and to protect the wildlife even with the willing support of the local communities. This is a huge target area and the impact of the work cannot easily be measured at the community level, let alone at the regional and national level.

Something which was also noted in this study is that the wildlife management system in Tanzania is centralised and the way in which revenue flows to the central treasury rather than to the stakeholder community's means that the modus operandi will always present a challenge and will constitute a burden, which any foreign investor in tourism cannot be expected to bear singularly in terms of community resource mobilization and management.

Nevertheless, there has been a significant impact on the 40 or so VICOBA members, 15 beekeepers or five students in the study areas whose lives have been touched (maybe even transformed) by the FCF development programme in their community. We talk about "community development" but in actual fact, FCF's influence could perhaps be seen at the individual livelihood level where it has been meaningful. Obviously, public recognition of TGTS as a socially active company is important and the appreciation of the communities does have value in addition to its efforts to bring about a real change in conservation behaviour and transformative development.

Generally, the results from this study indicate that the introduction of foreign direct investors in strategic sectors may play an important and positive role in alleviating the poverty of local communities. Thus, appropriate policies should be developed to guide tourism-based FDI in how it could encourage local communities to engage in conservation and gain benefits through income generation, transfer of technology and other spill-over effects. It is also pertinent to identify systematically mechanisms and channels through which the spill-over effects from FDI can benefit local communities. And yet, there are policy issues that need to be addressed if the sector is to make an effective contribution to that goal. More specifically, tourism and its related activities should be promoted, as the fragile nature of the tourism sector undermines the stability of the standard of living of those dependent upon it. Thus it is important to encourage participants in the tourism sector, both at the national and local level, to diversify their investment portfolios. Indeed, for the sustainability of poverty reduction strategies, diversification of sources for livelihood requirements needs to be encouraged. Moreover, to increase the impact of FDI on tourism, there is need to institute training programmes that would ultimately give the locals an opportunity to be employed in a high position with good pay.

As this study deployed the case study approach, any generalisation of the findings, for example, by assuming that all investors in tourism have a positive impact on poverty alleviation, could be misleading, which in a way ignores Britton's (1991) caution regarding tourism stakeholders that tourism enterprises are not in the business of community development, but rather in the business of accumulating resources for themselves. As such, future research should examine the global value chains in tourism to estimate the economic impact of tourism-based FDI at the macro-economic level. This research orientation may lead to a measurement of the magnitude of leakages from tourism, the size and implications of employment and income multipliers in tourism and the potential avenues for economic diversification, whereby countries can promote tourism-based foreign direct investment.

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Annex: The list of companies and respective hunting blocks

SN	NAME OF COMPANY	NAME OF HUNTING BLOCK
1.	AFRICAN BUSH COMPANY LTD.	Selous Game Reserve Block U1
		Selous Game Reserve Block U2
2.	AFRICAN TROPHY HUNTING SAFARIS	Selous Game Reserve Block K4
	LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block R1
3.	BARLETTE SAFARI CORPORATION LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block MT2
		Selous Game Reserve Block LL2
		Selous Game Reserve Block LL1
		Liwale Open Area (North)
		Liwale Open Area (South)
		Kitwai Game Controlled Area (South)
4.	BRIGHT TOURS AND SAFARIS LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block L1
5.	BUSHMAN HUNTING SAFARIS (T) LTD	Mwatisi Open Area (S)
6.	COASTAL WILDERNESS (T) LIMITED	Kilwa Open Area (N)
		Kilwa Open Area (C)
		Kilwa Open Area (S) Nakiu
7.	ECO HUNTING SAFARIS LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block R2
		Selous Game Reserve Block R4
8.	FOA ADVENTURES SAFARIS LTD	Rungwa Rungwa Game Reserve
		Lunda Nkwambi Game Controlled Area
		(North)
		Rungwa Mwamagembe Game Reserve
9.	GAME FRONTIERS OF TANZANIA LTD	Mbarang'andu Open Area
		Tapika/Ngarambwe O. Area
10.	GERALD PASANIS SAFARI	Selous Game Reserve Block N2
	CORPORATION LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block MT1
		Selous Game Reserve Block MH1
		Selous Game Reserve Block ML1
		Selous Game Reserve Block MJ1
		Selous Game Reserve Block MB3
		Ruvu Masai Game Controlled Area
		Kitwai Game Controlled Area (North)
11.	INTERCON ADVENTURE SAFARIS LTD	Gonabisi/Kidunda Open Area
		Selous Game Reserve Block MK1
		Mto wa Mbu Game Controlled Area
12.	KIBOKO HUNTING SAFARIS LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block K1
		Selous Game Reserve Block K2
13.	KILIMANJARO GAME TRAILS LTD	Burigi Game Reserve (W)

	Ituru Forest Open Area		
14.	KILOMBERO NORTH SAFARIS LT	Kilombero G. C. A. (N) - Mlimba	
15.	LUKE SAMARAS SAFARIS LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block MS1	
		Selous Game Reserve Block U4	
		Selous Game Reserve Block LL3	
		Selous Game Reserve Block RU1	
		Landanai Game Controlled Area	
		Simanjiro/Kitiangare Game Controlled Area	
		(South)	
16.	MALAGARASI HUNTING SAFARIS	Kigosi Game Reserve (Central)	
		Selous Game Reserve M1	
		Kigosi Game Reserve (South)	
17.	MASAILAND HUNTING COMPANY LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block LU2	
		Selous Game Reserve Block IH1	
		Muhuwesi Game Controlled Area	
		Tunduru Open Area	
18.	MIOMBO SAFARIS LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block R3	
		Rungwa Mpera Game Reserve	
		Lukwika Lumesule Game Reserve	
19.	MWANAUTA & COMPANY LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block LU1	
		Rungwa North Open Area	
20.	NORTHERN HUNTING ENTERPRISES	Longido Game Controlled Area	
	LTD	Burunge Game Controlled Area	
		Ugunda Game Controlled Area	
		Burigi Game Reserve (East)	
21.	OLD NYIKA SAFARIS LIMITED	Chunya Open Area (West)	
		Ngaserai Open Area	
		Piti Open Area (West)	
22.	ORTTELO BUSINESS CORPORATION	Loliondo Game Controlled Area	
	LTD		
23.	PORI TRACKERS OF AFRICA LTD	Selous Game Reserve block LA1	
		Selous Game Reserve Block M2	
24.	RANA TOURS AND HUNTING LTD	Mahenge Open Area (S)	
25.	ROBIN HURT SAFARIS (T) LTD	Maswa Makao Game Reserve	
		Burko Open Area	
		Mlele G.C.A (S)/Piti Open Area (E)	
		Rungwa Inyonga Game Reserve	
		Luganzo Game Controlled Area	
		Rungwa Open Area (S)	
26.	ROYAL FRONTIERS OF TANZANIA	Moyowosi Game Reserve (North)	
		in the state of th	

	LIMITED	
27.	RUNGWA GAME SAFARIS (T) LTD	Ruhudji/Ifinga Open Area
		Wembere Game Controlled Area (S)
28.	SAFARI ROYAL HOLDINGS LTD	Lukwati Game Controlled Area (N)
		Lukwati Game Controlled Area (S)
		Chunya Open Area (E)
29.	SAID KAWAWA HUNTING SAFARIS LTD	Gombe Game Controlled Area
		Nkamba Forest Reserve
30.	SAFARI CLUB TANZANIA LTD	Kilwa Open Area South - Mbwemkuru
31.	TANDALA HUNTING SAFARIS LIMITED	Simanjiro Game Controlled Area (W)
		Msima Game Controlled Area (West)
		Mwambesi Game Controlled Area
32.	TANGANYIKA GAME FISHING AND	Selous Game Reserve Block LU5
	PHOTOGRAPHIC SAFARIS LTD	
33.	TANGANYIKA WILDLIFE SAFARI	Selous Game Reserve Block LU6
	CORPORATION	Selous Game Reserve Block LU7
		Selous Game Reserve Block LU8
		Selous Game Reserve Block N1
		Selous Game Reserve Block MB1
		Selous Game Reserve Block MB2
34.	TANZANIA BIG GAME SAFARIS LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block K5
		Ibanda/Rumanyika Game Reserve
		Maswa Game Reserve (North)
		Mlele Game Controlled Area (North)
35.	TANZANIA BUNDU SAFARIS LTD	Lolkisale Game Controlled Area
		Masai Open Area (West)
36.	TANZANIA GAME TRACKER SAFARIS	Monduli juu Open Area
	LTD	Kizigo Game Reserve (West)
		Maswa Kimali Game Reserve
		Makere/Uvinza Forest Reserve
		Maswa Mbono Game Reserve
		Moyowosi/Njingwe (North)
		Moyowosi Game Reserve (Central)
		Ugalla Game Reserve (West)
		Ugalla Game Reserve (East)
37.	TANZANIA SAFARIS AND HUNTING	Inyonga Game Controlled Area (East)
	LTD	Inyonga Game Controlled Area (West)
		Lake Rukwa Game Controlled Area
		Rungwa River Game Controlled Area
		Masai Open Area (East)

38.	TANZANIA WILDLIFE CORPORATION	Rungwa Ikili Game Reserve
	LTD	Selous Game Reserve Block MA1
		Selous Game Reserve Block U3
		Lake Natron Game Controlled Area (S)
39.	TRADITIONAL AFRICAN SAFARIS LTD	Irkishibor Open Area
		Selous Game Reserve LU3
40.	FRANCOLIN SAFARIS LTD	Lwafi Game Reserve
41.	GRUMETI (T) LTD	Fort Ikoma Open Area
		Grumeti Game Reserve
		Ikorongo Game Reserve
42.	WENGERT WINDROSE SAFARIS (T) LTD	Lake Natron Game Controlled Area (N)
		Moyowosi/Njingwe (South)
		Muhesi Game Reserve
		Kizigo Game Reserve (East)
		Kizigo Game Reserve (Central)
43.	WESTERN FRONTIERS TANZANIA LTD	Mkungunero Game Reserve
44.	WILD FOOTPRINTS LTD	Kilombero Game Controlled Area (S) –
		Bomaulanga
		Kilombero Game Controlled Area (S) –
		Maliny

Sources: United Republic of Tanzania, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, Wildlife Division (URT-MNRT, 2014). The list of companies and respective hunting blocks