# COVID-19 Impact and Tourism Recovery Geopolitics: A Paradox in Tanzania

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### **Abstract**

Responses to recover from the first wave of COVID-19 crisis created a divide globally partly as some countries interpreted the pandemic defiantly, aptly to rescue their tourism, among other sectors. A lasting tragedy of the pandemic impact continues to particularly frustrate global tourism mobility unless strategic consensus is found. The strategy that Tanzania adopted to restore tourism early amidst the pandemic is examined in this article. It draws from headlines, surveys, tourist arrival statistics and interviews with industry actors. Findings revealed that from 16th March 2020, Tanzania reported coronavirus infections and few associated COVID-19 deaths for nearly three months after the pandemic outbreak. Airspace and border closures from 20th March halted tourist arrivals resulting to business closures, unemployment and severe revenue loss. Reopening of international gateways from May 2020, through adopting standard operating procedures, reverted a sharp decline of arrivals experienced in April-May to a gradual increase of arrivals from June onwards. Despite the early reopening, the number of international tourist arrivals were far below the pre-crisis levels, implying that the country's efforts were hardly resolving the tourism post-pandemic recovery paradox. Consensus is vital in restarting and sustaining post-pandemic tourism. This article contributes to the geopolitics of COVID-19, tourism recovery and resilience in Tanzania and globally, calling for continued collaboration among national and international tourism actors to chart out a post-pandemic sustainable tourism recovery strategy, as a policy response.

**Keywords:** COVID-19 pandemic, tourism, recovery strategy, geopolitics, Tanzania

## 1. Introduction

Tourism is essentially a global mobility industry rooted from the beginning of the history of humankind in ancient travels (Harrison, 2001; Lwoga, 2011). It developed from nomadism into commercial, exploratory, and religious pilgrimage in Egypt and Messopotamia, and into leisure in the Greco-Roman period. Scholars trace the development of tourism from ancient Greeks and Romans (9th century BC to 6th century AD): wealthy citizens vacationed at thermal baths and explored exotic places in Europe and the Mediterranean Sea. The discovery of airplanes after WWII (1948) allowed mass international tourism.

Additionally, the 1948 UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights announced paid holidays as a right of every one. Consequently, in the mid-1970s, 8% of

tourists travelled from developed to developing countries. By 1980s, the number had surged to 17%, and by 1990s it was 20%. The number of international tourists nearly doubled between 1992 and 2004—i.e., from 463m to 763m—and it was projected to reach 1.56bn by 2020 (Hall, 2007). However, due to COVID-19, international tourism declined by 70% in 2020, back to the levels reached 30 years earlier. The world has experienced massive fall of international demand amid global travel restrictions, including closure of borders, to try and contain the virus, thus resulting to low traveller confidence. Some restrictions on travel are still in place, making tourism the hardest hit sector by the COVID-19 pandemic (UNWTO, 2020a, 2021). As Sharma et al. (2021) note, tourism is one industry that cannot hold its ground without the mobility of tourists. The 22% fall in tourist numbers in the first quarter of 2020 (compared to the same quarter of 2019), and the threat of 60% to 80% fall throughout 2020 (compared to 2019), are some indications of the havoc that the COVID-19 pandemic pose on the global tourism industry (UNWTO, 2020).

The tourism sector used to generate over US\$2.557bn in foreign exchange earnings in Tanzania (UNDP, 2020), which is equivalent to 25.79% of all goods and service exports. From March 2020, however, the COVID-19 pandemic outbreak has continued to severely impact the tourism sector in Tanzania, leaving many business operations at risk (ibid.). In Zanzibar, 5,000 people lost their jobs during the first wave of COVID-19 (Xinhua, 2020). The drop in tourism earnings severely affected the overall economy, private enterprises and conservation institutions. Government and tourism industry actors are struggling to put in place strategies aimed at saving the sector from further deterioration (Anderson et al., 2020).

The UNWTO's (2021) extended scenarios for 2021-2024 predicted that it could take between two and a half and four years for international tourism to return to the 2019 levels, although Haggins-Desbiolles (2020) thinks the pandemic is meant to socialise tourism and transform growth oriented trajectories to a sustainable future (Gössling et al., 2020; Hall et al., 2020; Hanscom, 2020; Ioannides & Gyimóthy, 2020). Sigala (2020) directs COVID-19 research to challenge growth paradigms to reset tourism (Gretzel et al., 2020). Few studies focus on tourism resilience (Hall et al., 2017) and how to create a better post-COVID-19 world (Lew, 2020); while others warn that over-reaction to infectious diseases may shatter tourism (McKercher & Chon, 2004). An interesting scenario is that Tanzania relatively experienced late COVID-19 outbreak and avoided lockdown, with only a few cases of infection reported until May 2020. Moreover, there was no sharing of data to the public until July 2021, with the new regime in power. The country has famous tourist safari destinations, with some of the world heritage sites in Arusha-Ngorongoro, Serengeti, Kilimanjaro and Zanzibar. Early responses to reopen borders, but not reporting new cases of infection, attracted criticism worldwide to the fifth government regime (BBC, 2020 June). The criticism heightened geopolitics, seemingly infringing a sustainable recovery of tourism in particular. The process Tanzania went through independently to allow unrestricted international flights landing and departure is seemingly problematic and less published. This article explores Tanzania's strategy in charting out a sustainable tourism recovery strategy amidst the COVID-19 pandemic.

# 2. Contesting COVID-19 Impacts and Tourism Actors' Policy Responses

At the outset, COVID-19 poses a mix of positive and negative impacts, and complicates any consensus regarding all-inclusive recovery strategy during and after the pandemic. At first, environmentalists praised COVID-19 arguing that air pollution and CO2 decrease rapidly as the virus spreads (McGrath, 2020 March). Watts and Kommenda (2020, 23 March) reported a huge drop in air pollution resulting from limited mobility globally due to the coronavirus. This was a critique to the prestigious travel industry blamed for infringing global carbon footprint. To the contrary, like with the airlines, Tanzania's conservation authority and national parks lost substantially as international arrivals decreased drastically due to the COVID-19 outbreak (MNRT, 2020). Reich (2020, 22 March) alerted about the problem of social structure arising from the pandemic, as corporations were exploiting the crisis, making workers suffer. Communication awakened tourism actors to rethink how to overcome the crisis (see Glusac 2020, 15 April). For example, on 15th April, 2020, the BBC reported that US airlines were to receive a US\$25bn rescue package, as a strategy to recover from the pandemic. Announcements like 'Take care of people, not airlines' (Stay Grounded, 2020a) or 'save people not planes' (Stay Grounded, 2020b) were some of the reactions to the scourge.

Institutional actors perceived tourism as the cause and victim of COVID-19, emphasizing the negative impacts of the pandemic on tourist arrivals, receipts, revenue, and employment (World Bank, 2020; UNWTO, 2020b; Adam, 2020). Scholars (Gössling et al., 2020; Harvey, 2020; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020; Ioannides & Gyimóthy, 2020; Miles & Shipway 2020; Sigala, 2020) are increasingly advocating change to justice and sustainable future, using COVID-19 as a transformative platform. As more pandemics are expected to unfold in the future, and which may lead to policies reflecting selfish nationalism of some countries (Gössling et al., 2020), it is pertinent to differentiate immediate responses to the COVID-19 disaster from recovery strategies, over time. Immediate responses are likely to be reactive and detrimental in nature, unlike the unfolding recovery strategy. Due to extreme fear, some of the early responses to contain the pandemic were outright travel restrictions, ban of public events, school closures, quarantine, isolation, border closures and countries calling back their citizens from different parts of the world: all in an effort to limit infections (URT, 2020a). With time, countries are moving beyond immediate—often economy-wide—support measures to adopt recovery strategies for the tourism sector, including lifting travel restrictions, restoring travel confidence, and planning for vaccine passports (Schengen, 2021). The vulnerability of tourism to the pandemic is recognised but the sector has become resilient in bouncing back from various crises and outbreaks, including terrorism, earthquakes, Ebola, SARS and Zika (Hall et al., 2020). However, the devastating COVID-19 impacts are novel. Amidst uncertainties, a new wave of infection cases and controversies on COVID-19 vaccines and UNWTO recovery prospects are increasingly worsening.

The pandemic is threatening mobility due to fear of getting infected, deaths or spreading the contagion to others. Treisman (2011) claims that fearfulness relates to countries' religious traditions, partly as fear tends to be higher in countries where more people believe in hell, and where fewer believe in heaven. Aptly, the initial phase of the pandemic stripped tourism tragically of the source market, transit and destination instantaneously: a situation observed in March, April and May 2020. With time, impacts and responses are arguably being negotiated and contested with varied interests and power relations. For instance, when the EU President backed some countries' (Denmark, Greece, Iceland and Spain) plan for vaccine passports to recover their tourism sector, the World Health Organisation (WHO) opposed the move, noting that countries should not impose such requirements as the efficacy of the vaccines in reducing transmission was not yet known (Schengen, 2021). With these uncertainties, some governments have taken advantage, a situation which Gossling et al. (2020) consider as selfish nationalism, citing an example of Donald Trump's (the then US President) withdrawal of funding from WHO amidst the pandemic.

Tanzania reported infections, deaths and recovery rate of COVID-19 patients for a few months, and took risks amidst uncertainties to rescue tourism, among other sectors. Responses and recovery strategies to restart tourism vary in different phases of the pandemic, with mixed fear and hope. The focus of this article is on the first wave of COVID-19: to understand the impact, immediate response, and unfolding recovery strategy. The aim is to draw lessons on how some global south government actors, relying on tourism revenue, interpreted the pandemic, seemingly defiantly: an issue hardly debated in the existing literature. The gap in the reviewed literature is evident as little consensus has been reached on which specific countries in the global south have immediately adopted to rescue their tourism sector from total collapse. This article attempts to bridge the knowledge gap by reflecting on the early initiatives of the government of Tanzania to recover tourism amidst the pandemic, drawing lessons for sustaining the future of tourism.

## 2.1 Resilience, Geopolitics and Political Ecology of COVID-19 Tourism

The resilience theory suggests a rebound or recovery trajectory during and after the pandemic; while political ecology postulates a de-growth trajectory as COVID-19 propagates change from over- to under-tourism (POLLEN, 2020) and towards undergrowth transition with fewer, slower and only necessary trips away from the usual environment. The pandemic is affecting tourism the most due to cancellation of flights and fear of infections (Brouder, 2020; Couto et al., 2020). Public fear resulting from the coronavirus is expected to keep haunting tourism recovery even after the pandemic is over (Zheng et al., 2021). So, fear of pandemic diseases, the protection motivation theory, coping with fear, resilience, and post-pandemic travel behaviour are the existing theoretical lenses explaining the trend of tourism, given the crisis.

Pandemic diseases increase fear and panic, and they can spread throughout a population and stay for a long time; as such, restarting tourism requires a psychological strategy to overcome fear (Zheng et al., 2021). The protection motivation theory helps to explain perceived threats and efficacy of coping. Coping manners can be adaptive or maladaptive. The former reflect actions intended to protect people against threats, while the latter point to avoidance or deviant behaviour. Protection motivation may involve adapting health lifestyles, vaccination uptakes, and disease prevention, or even postponing travels or cancellations (Zheng et al., 2021). People may seek different coping strategies based on their emotions. Resilience explains the response of destinations and organizations to the crisis and disasters informing post-pandemic travel behaviour, e.g. travel avoidance as people with high levels of psychological resilience may exhibit caution rather than avoidant behaviours (Zheng et al., 2021). Although literature explains the relevance of the resilience theory to study destinations' and organisations' responses to disasters, geopolitics surrounding border closures and reopening (Seyfi et al., 2020), and the existing literature (Sharma et al., 2021) have insufficiently captured complex government policy responses to the pandemic from the global south context. As Seyfi et al. (2020) note, central to geopolitics, the COVID-19 pandemic is first and foremost a health crisis, but its implications are economically and geo-politically far-reaching with corresponding implications for the framing of travel and tourism within humanitarian and political contexts (see, also, Richey et al., 2021). In this article, geopolitics is blended with political ecology of COVID-19 tourism, to understand the multi-layered array of actors interacting to recover and/or dismantle tourism trajectories as a result of the pandemic.

## 3. Methodology

The study integrates media headlines, monthly arrival statistics, surveys and interview data to expose impacts, responses, and strategies influencing tourism amidst the pandemic. The analysis of media headlines adopted the life cycle assessment (Sigala, 2020), as the critical theory reiterates, (Bianchi, 2009) to

understand how tourism actors behaved over time in resolving the COVID-19 crisis. A dialectical relationship between the pandemic and responses (borders closure, restricted mobility resulting from travel ban) and institution(s) (system of government) and social structure(s) (employers-employees-tourists relationships) were investigated. The headlines represented patterns and commonalities of knowledge and structures in interpreting and responding to the COVID-19 crisis among varied tourism actors. As Hannam and Knox (2015:19) note, post-structuralist discourse analysis blends construction, display and ascription of identities, social relations and knowledge production; as well as a construction of the context in which action can occur. Headlines were extracted, translated to English and displayed. Also, the 2018-2020 monthly statistics of tourist arrivals were used to analyse changes from the pre-crisis situation. A survey of 158 respondents, aggregated hotels, tour guides, tour operators, travel agents, airlines, art gallery shops, conservations, real estates, conference venues, porters' experiences, and interviews of key informants were employed to obtain valid data.

# 4. COVID-19 Impacts, Response, Recovery, Restart: Discursive Events and Dominant Discourses in Tanzania

The March-June 2020 media headlines life cycle is navigated first as a reflection of public disclosure of discursive events and dominant discourse overwhelming the health and economic impacts of COVID-19; and the influence of tourism actors to overcome the crisis. The rest of the section analyses and discusses the pre- and post-pandemic tourism trends.

# 4.1 Navigating March-June 2020 Media Headlines Life Cycle

The crisis management life cycle operated before, during and after the crisis. The three stages represent response, recovery, and restart from the pandemic (Sigala, 2020). The media headlines that were analysed replicated the three phases in the first wave of COVID-19 outbreak in Tanzania, as Table 1 displays.

## 4.1.1 Earlier Fear of COVID-19 Outbreak and Immediate Responses

In early March 2020, COVID-19 appeared in headlines as an international issue, pointing to the elderly as being at high risk of infection and deaths due to their deteriorated immunity. The opposition wing in the parliament cautioned of the impacts of COVID-19, urging the government to assess the situation and inform the public accordingly. Later, headlines featured a health emergency notice urging the public to take necessary precautions, and by 12th March, COVID-19 prevented 30 foreign companies from participating in the Dar Business Forum. With time, the pandemic had impact on the economy, particularly on tourism. The government earmarked zonal hospitals to combat the pandemic, and declared the first case of coronavirus infection which featured on headlines on 17th March, urging the public to take precautions.

# Table 1: March-June, 2020 Media Headlines Life Cycle on corona in Tanzania

Date/ Month 2020	National Headlines	International Headlines
2/3		Elderly are at high risks to COVID-19
3/3	ACT warn COVID-19 impact; government should inform public	
11/3	Health emergence notice  COVID-10 halted 30 foresign communics from norticinating in Dor Business Romm	
16/3	Government set aside zonal hospitals to combat COVID-19	
17/3		
!	the Uhuru Torch, Speaker barred parliamentarians not travel abroad	
18/3	Corona: All schools closed, contact tracing of the 1st COVID-19 victim's taxi driver	
19/3		
20/3	recovered, unee more cases of colonavirus infection, universities also crosed COVID-19 War. Instice ordered hail to avoid crowding: I ATRA ordered level seat in mildic	
) 	transports to curb infection	
23/3	President: Visitors from COVID-19 affected countries should be quarantined for 14 days, new	
	COVID-19 cases increased, Revealed: the first COVID-19 victim recovered	
24/3	Employers: Don't use corona as an excuse	
25/3	COVID-19 War: Why should Tanzania unite to fight corona?	
26/3	FCC warn dishonesties on COVID-19 kits trade	
30/3	Parliament session to start with COVID-19 precautions	
	Experts explained instant measures to combat COVID-19	
1/4	How COVID-19 victim who died, strived to rescue his life?	
	Corona, new sitting arrangement raised hot debate in the house of parliament	
6/4	Coronavirus challenges are opportunities	
8/4	SADC strategies to fight COVID-19 exposed	UK Prime Minister in ICU due to
14/4	Business donated medical equipment to combat corona; two more healed	COVID-19
14/1	COVID-19 patients increased to 49, 17 more new cases announced Schools and universities closure extended after 30 days of observation in lookdowns	
t /CT	President cancelled 1st May Workers Day Celebration	
16/4	Dar lead in COVID-19 test centres; patients increased	

	China reported: No more any COVID- 19 patient in Wuhan		
Automated hand washing equipment invented and fixed in public places to fight corona; President announced three days prayers for God to rescue the nation from coronavirus Confusion in the house of parliament as COVID-19 victim MP revealed More 84 new cases of infection reported; three more died Lawyers discussing COVID-19 crisis issued 21 strategies to rescue businesses; Economist advised fund set aside for infrastructure to be reallocated to people to help fight coronavirus President: Dar will never lockdown; More 30 cases of new infections reported; Private sector plan to control COVID-19 impacts Ramadhani Fasting: Pray to eliminate corona; Group <i>futari</i> is not allowed Coronavirus infection more dangerous places: Large markets, leisure centres, restaurants, snorts stadiums, saloon, emests public transport transit stations	Government: Don't disconnect water to curb corona Government: Don't disconnect water to curb corona Drivers stranded in borders due to traffic control measures to combat corona Mbowe: Government should set aside budget to curb corona; 10 day of grief in the parliament: 2 MPs lost lives due to corona; COVID-19 cases 480; 167 recovered President: There is a problem in coronavirus infections testing; results are misleading; pawpaw, goats samples had infections; people who test positive may die out of fear, while in	Mhile in que Speaker: MI Minister der thousands of BOT release mini budget	Tourism ministry issued strategies to rescue the sector  BoT relieved loans repayment to curb corona; How corona is shaking Tanzania  Border restrictions hijack foreign affairs budget debate; Insurance to rescue tourism sector  Tracks drivers to be tested of coronavirus infection  President: Corona cases decreased; He plans reopening universities, sports; allowed tourists flights landing; own child got infection and recovered by lemon and steaming; Tanzania is independent, it is not to be told what to do; Health Minister remains hero of the corona battle Government reopened landing of international flights giving guidelines to visitors  Corona not to fringe Tanzania Kenya relations
21/4 22/4 23/4 24/4 25/4	29/4 30/4 4/5	5/5 7/5 8/5 11/5	13/5 14/5 15/5 18/5 19/5 20/5

21/5	Magufuli, Kenyatta directed settlement of borders disputes; Hotels owners have evaluated the market, TTB is read to receive tourists University repen debate is warming; measures to combat corona criticised	
6 / <del>1</del>	Tanzania COVID-19 vicum drivers neld in Kenyan border; Expert to resolve Tanzania Kenya border conflicts	
8/6 12/6	Measures implemented to rescue tourism explained  Budget to recover COVID-19 affected sectors	
16/6 17/6	Budget: COVID-19 fear reduces GDP growth from 7.8 to 3-5 in Zanzibar All schools reopen by 29/6/2020	
18/6		ne
7766	Research	
9/77	Physicians left boycotts in Nigeria amidst second wave of corona	Па
23/6	WHO: new wave of coronavirus; We	Ve
	will not overcome the crisis while the	he
	world is divided	

Source: Translated to English from various issues of Mwananchi Newspaper

Subsequently, the President cancelled the Uhuru Torch celebrations. Equally, the Speaker of the National Assembly bared parliamentarians from travelling, and citizens were also discouraged to travel abroad. On 19th March, analysts captured a headline telling the truth about COVID-19 to relieve citizens of fear. It was revealed that many infected persons were recovering, although cases of new infections were increasing. Universities were also closed. The period featured both fear of more infections and mixed hope for recovery. Courts were ordered to bail out individuals to reduce crowding, and transport authorities instructed all public transit buses to ferry only the permitted number of people, to reduce infections. On 23rd March, a 14-day quarantine was instituted for visitors arriving from COVID-19 affected countries. Cases of new infections were dominating headlines, and it was revealed that the first COVID-19 victim had recovered. Employers were warned against using corona as an excuse for not reporting for duty. The Fair Competition Commission warned about individuals being dishonest regarding medical equipment because of COVID-19.

## 4.1.2 Coping With Fear to Reset the Recovery Phase

April started with grief as one headline featured a storyline on how the first patient who had died of COVID-19 struggled to rescue his life. In the parliament, due to the fear of COVID-19, a new sitting arrangement was introduced although it raised debate. On 8th April, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) unveiled business strategies to fight COVID-19, and the business community donated medical equipment to support the fight against coronavirus. The UNDP commissioned the ESRF to undertake a study, titled *Rapid socio-economic impact assessment of COVID-19 in Tanzania*. The report was later published, drawing inputs from the World Bank, UNICEF, UN Women, ILO, FAO, WFP and WHO. Drawing on the International Monetary Fund (IMF) projection, GDP was to fall to -3% in 2020, making it the worst recession since the great depression, and much worse than during the 2008-09 financial crisis (UNDP, 2020). Pointing out tourism as the hardest hit, the study pleaded with development partners in Tanzania to provide immediate response to the pandemic and rally efforts for early recovery.

The Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism published the *Rapid assessment of the impact of COVID-19 on Tanzania's tourism sector* report on 8<sup>th</sup> April, noting that by the end of March tourism in the country had basically grounded to a halt (URT, 2020a). Actually, an example was cited from TANAPA whose 22 national parks were now collecting only TZS5m a day compared to TZS500m it used to collect prior to the crisis. A similar crisis was facing the Ngorongoro Conservation Area Authority, where paying salaries required cash injection from the Treasury (URT, 2020a). In an interview, one of the leaders in July 2020 admitted that the problem was real. The ministry was urged to work with all stakeholders to prepare a recovery plan, including sending signals to the world that Tanzania will be ready to receive tourists without hiccups once the situation was normalized.

Two more people who had healed from COVID-19 featured on the headlines to cement messages of hope for recovery. Nevertheless, headlines reported an increase of 17 new cases of infection, with the total number of reported infection cases reaching 49 after 30 days of closure of schools and universities. Schools and universities remained closed until such time that a reopening notice would be given. The President called off the annual celebrations of the Workers' Day. Dar es Salaam was known as the epicentre of infection and testing, and preventive measures to curb the spread of coronavirus were invented, including automated hand-washing equipment, which were installed in public places. Hand-washing machines, sanitizers, and locally made masks were believed to be more suitable and safer compared to imported ones. Subsequently, the President declared three days of prayers asking God to rescue the nation. In the parliament, distress surfaced as news spread of an MP who was infected with the coronavirus, 84 new cases of infection, and that three more people had died of COVID-19, countrywide. April end was an assessment phase to reset recovery, as lawyers issued strategies to rescue business; while economists advised that a fund be set aside for infrastructure reallocation to help people fight the virus.

Despite the fluid COVID-19 situation in the country, the President declared that Dar er Salaam would not lock down:

"Dar would never lock down. We have to understand. The population is over six million in Dar es Salaam City; if you lock them down, will you also lock Mwanza and Mbeya if we have a similar outbreak? How many regions would we put on lockdown? (Mwananchi Newspaper, Thursday April 23, 2020 headline).

It is possible that the president's statement made people take for granted issues of lockdown and social distancing. Similarly, interviews in Arusha downplayed social distancing as inappropriate in the African context. Soon after, 30 new cases of infection were announced, along with private sector plans to address COVID-19 impacts. Muslims were asked to pray so that God would eliminate coronavirus, and the conventional group meals were banned. Places more prone to coronavirus infection included large markets, leisure centres, restaurants, sports stadia, saloons, guesthouses, public transport, and transit stations. Having realised the importance of water in fighting corona, the government directed that water should be made available even to bill defaulters.

However, Tanzania travellers needing to cross borders was an issue of concern as neighbouring Kenya and Uganda, unlike Tanzania, had adopted a lockdown protocol. Consequently, Tanzanian drivers were stranded on the borders due to control measures to curb cross-border coronavirus spread. In the midst of the crisis, came good news from China that there were no more COVID-19 patients in Wuhan. Nevertheless, the end of April saw the death of two MPs

allegedly due to COVID-19. The opposition wing urged the government to set aside a budget to curb the spread of corona. At the time, COVID-19 infection cases had reached 480, with 167 recoveries. By 29th April, the total number of infection cases reported were 509, and 21 deaths (BBC, 2020 June).

## 4.1.3 Resetting a New Normal and Restarting Tourism

Resetting a new normal to restart tourism amidst the pandemic took place in May. The President said there might be a problem in the test of coronavirus infection, having sent spies to investigate the adequacy of the ongoing tests and results of new infections. He claimed that the results of infections were misleading as the disguised samples of pawpaw and goat were found to be infected with coronavirus. As such, those who tested positive could have died out of fear. On 8th May, the National Institute for Medical Research (NMRI) was directed to conduct a research on COVID-19 symptoms. In its 2020/2021 budget speech, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism warned that thousands of employees in the tourism sector were in danger. On the other hand, the Bank of Tanzania (BoT) issued TZS15.49bn to assist the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar (an island destination that relies on tourism economy) to recover. This resulted in reopening of international gateways in the country, removal of the 14-day quarantine for visitors, and setting a budget to curb corona. The BoT further relieved loans repayment, suggesting that corona was shaking Tanzania. The relief was to rescue tourism businesses as they were facing collapse (URT, 2020a).

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs strived to resolve the border restriction crisis, and on 18th May the President gave a directive to reset the new normal because, as he believed, coronavirus had been subdued. The evidence for the decreasing number of cases of coronavirus infection was based on the argument that 'only a few patients were in hospitals'. Plans of reopening universities, sports and tourists flights landing in Tanzania went into gear. The President informed the public that his own child had contracted the corona virus, but he had recovered by ingesting lemon juice, garlic, ginger and inhaling steam. He stressed that as long as Tanzania remained independent, it was not going to be told what to do.

The Health Minister featured in a headline as a coronavirus battle hero, reporting that the Deputy Minister had been fired amidst the battle. The presidents of Tanzania and Kenya directed that the border crisis be settled. Hotel owners gathered to evaluate the market, and the Tanzania Tourist Board said it was ready to receive tourists. Measures implemented to reopen tourism included publishing *National Standard Operating Procedures for the Management of COVID-19 in the Tourism Business Operations* (URT, 2020b). The standard operating procedures were prepared in collaboration with the tourism private sector, with guidance from the Ministry of Health, Community Development,

Gender, Elderly and Children, and the WHO. Zanzibar also published standard operating protocols for COVID-19 in the tourism industry (RGZ, 2020) to guide business operators to resume tourism while protecting the health and safety of guests and staff. In late June, the Foreign Affairs Minister informed foreign mission diplomats about a strategy the government was intending to employ to recover tourism. The country was ready to receive tourists from China, India and other nations that had allowed their citizens to travel abroad.

# 4.2 Pre- and Post-pandemic Tourism Trend in Tanzania: De-growth or Growth of Geopolitical Trajectory?

International tourist arrivals declined to 616,491 in 2020 from 1,527,230 visitors recorded in the year ending December 2019 (BoT, 2021). Equally, revenues fell to US\$1,061.6m in 2020 from US\$2,604.5m in 2019: a drop of 59.2% (Figure 1).

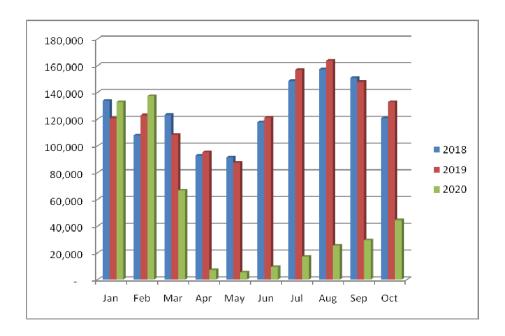


Figure 1: Comparison of 2018, 2019 and 2020 International Tourist Monthly Arrivals in Tanzania

Source: Bank of Tanzania

Amidst the pandemic, tourist arrivals dropped extremely far below the precrisis low season level. Zanzibar's pre-crisis January and February 2020 show higher arrivals surpassing the 2019 level in the same months. After the outbreak of COVID-19, the number of arrivals subsequently began falling from March, with the lowest being in May (Figure 2).

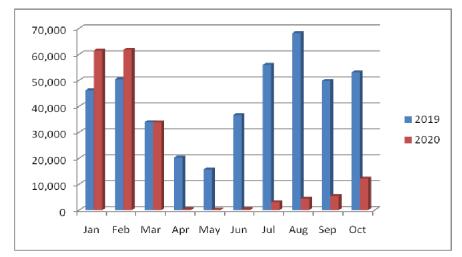
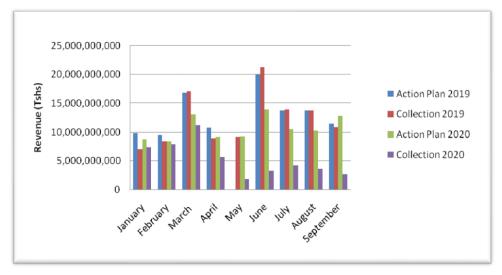


Figure 2: Comparison of 2019 and 2020 International Tourist Arrivals in Zanzibar

Source: Office of Chief Government Statistician, Zanzibar

After international gateways had reopened, arrivals increased gradually from June to October. Similarly, seven months amidst the pandemic, international tourists arrivals totalled 25,908, which was lower than arrivals in March 2020, which were 33,801. In Arusha, the tourist hub of Mainland Tanzania, revenue declined rapidly in May (Figure 3).



**Figure 3:** *Comparison of 2019 and 2020 Revenue in Arusha Tax Region* **Source:** Tanzania Revenue Authority Arusha Tax Region

The UNDP (2020) also predicted harsh effects of COVID-19 to primarily confine the northern region, which used to receive around 80% of international tourists in the country. Revenue declined from April, with the lowest in May and September. When the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) was interviewed, it revealed that a total of 243 businesses had submitted notification letters to close down due to COVID-19. The quote from TRA below shows how severely COVID-19 had impacted the Arusha Region, even after the reopening of tourism.

"There has been a significant reduction in revenue collections after COVID-19 pandemic that has not only affected tourism and the hospitality industry but rather has had a multiplier effect on other businesses such as motor vehicle spare parts, wholesalers of consumables, car rentals, tents and canvas and other service providers. The effect on collection has been observed in both current taxes including normal flow taxes and tax in arrears despite several collection initiatives undertaken to ensure optimal collection is achieved" (TRA Regional Manager, Arusha Region, Correspondence 19th October 2020).

By the end of 2020, a total of 917 businesses had closed in Arusha due to COVID-19, leading to revenue loss to TZS162.8bn out of estimated TZS237bn. Revenue estimates were reduced by 50% from TZS20.6bn to 10.6bn (*The Guardian*, 2021).

Uncertainties and low arrivals below the pre-crisis low seasons levels forced authorities to make a comparison within the pandemic period. It is reported that Ngorongoro Conservation Area (NCA) received 1,972 tourists in July which was an increment of 89.8% compared to 202 tourists who were received in April, 2020. The Tanzania National Parks (TANAPA) received 3,666 tourists, which was an increment of 85.9% compared to 517 tourists in April (MNRT, 2020). For the first time in history, as a result of COVID-19, domestic arrivals outnumbered international arrivals in NCA and TANAPA in the 2020/2021 fiscal year (URT, 2021). Given that the traditional markets of Western Europe and America's having gradual confrontations with conflicting travel advisories, this made Russia, Poland, and Ukraine emerge as the new markets driving the slow recovery (URT, 2021). The reopening of international gateways without reporting cases of new infections raised conflicting reactions worldwide, and posed more challenges and a more uncertain future due to the lack of a regionally harmonized approach to promptly facilitate interventions for international travel restrictions, along with vaccine passports controversies (The African Report, 2020; The Guardian, 2021).

Most tourism actors interviewed in Kilimanjaro and Dar es Salaam were hopeful that tourism was recovering (Table 2 & 3). In Zanzibar, all respondents admitted that the sector was recovering. A de-growth trajectory and uncertainty exist because many tourist facilities are still closed due to COVID-19, particularly in Arusha. Many respondents in Arusha and Dar es Salaam—with a few in Kilimanjaro and Zanzibar—still do not know when recovery will resume the pre-crisis level.

Table 2: Is Tourism Recovering from COVID-19?

Region	Yes		No		Don't Know		Total	
_	n	0/0	n	%	n	%	n	%
Arusha	36	54.5	20	30.3	10	15.2	66	<b>100</b>
Dar es Salaam	30	94	2	6	0	0	32	100
Kilimanjaro	24	96	1	4	0	0	25	100
Zanzibar	35	100	0	0	0	0	35	100
Total	125	79.1	23	14.6	10	6.3	158	100

Source: Fieldwork data, 2020

Table 3: When Tourism Will Recovery to the Pre-crisis 2019 Level?

Region	6 Months		1 Year		2 Years		Don't Know		Total	
	n	%	n	0/0	n	%	n	%	n	%
Arusha	4	6.1	23	34.8	2	3	37	56.1	66	100
Dar es Salaam	4	12.5	11	34.4	4	12.5	13	40.6	32	100
Kilimanjaro	9	36	11	44	3	12	2	8	25	100
Zanzibar	1	2.9	30	85.7	2	5.7	2	5.7	35	100
Total	18	11.4	75	47.5	11	7	54	34.1	158	100

Source: Fieldwork data, 2020

# 5. Discursive Tourism Paradox Amid and Post-pandemic

As Sigala (2020) notes, paradox helps thinking creatively out-of-the-box, because contradictions provoke established certainties and tempts untapped creativity. Equally important, exposed media headlines life cycle, rapid socioeconomic impact assessment, international tourist arrivals statistics and respondents' perceptions on recovery timing to resume pre-crisis 2019 levels reveal a paradox resulting from the pandemic. A paradox implies that emerging difficulties to understand an appropriate recovery strategy due to existence of two opposite facts as responses to recover tourism amidst pandemic are complex and contradicting. This is inevitable because tourism is configured and operates a highly-interconnected, fast-paced, and complex world (Sigala, 2020). As Seyfi et al. (2020) cautions, the inconsistent application of border controls and travel restrictions by states raises questions as to the politics of pandemics and how they fulfil international health regulations.

## 5.1 Media Headlines and Rapid Socio-Economic Assessment

Unfolding media discourse demonstrates Tanzania reporting coronavirus infection paradoxically to recover tourism. Responses to life cycle show extreme fear of the pandemic in March resulting into closure of schools and universities. The assessment phase in April reveal a mixed fear and hope to recover, while May and June reflect a resetting of a new normal to restart tourism. The government and private sector advocated tourism recovery (URT, 2020c) such

that international COVID-19 news was tactically filtered out of headlines from March to June. Some of the COVID-19 news headlines featured were as follows: 'the elderly are at high risk', 'UK PM in ICU due to COVID-19', 'no more COVID-19 patient in Wuhan', 'UK COVID-19 vaccine researched', 'second wave of COVID-19 in Nigeria', 'WHO: We will not overcome the crisis while the world is divided'. The filtering tactically provided space for a unique recovery strategy internally. April and May featured regular COVID-19 national headlines that gradually disappeared from 19th June, being consistently replaced with international headlines.

Aptly, the government prioritised quick recovery while prospects for socialised tourism (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2020) were distant. The UNDP (2020) and URT (2020a) underscored imperatives to reopen tourism amidst the pandemic. The RGZ (2020) and the URT (2020b) protocols and standard operating procedures reduced fear, restored hope and promised to protect the health and safety of both visitors and staff in tourism entities, airports, lake and sea ports, ground-crossing tourists, accommodation facilities, tour operators, protected areas, mountain climbing operators, organised events, as well as public areas and transport. With time, the reopening strategy was moulding a paradox and uncertainties of the future of tourism.

## 5.2 Uncertainties of the Future of Tourism

The impacts of border closures to contain coronavirus infection provoked the decision to restart tourism at the earliest possible as airports, conservation authorities and national parks failed to pay salaries (URT, 2020c). Hotels and tour operator businesses collapsed, while employees lost their jobs, and others went on leave without pay particularly, from April. The decision to restart tourism from May witnessed international airlines -- including Ethiopian Airlines, Qatar Airways, Turkish Airlines, Royal Dutch (KLM), Swiss Air, Rwanda Air, Emirates Airline, Fly Dubai, Oman Air, and Kenya Airways -- resuming flights by October (MNRT, 2020). Business at the Zanzibar Airport relatively recorded a success as Russia and Ukraine routes contributed 40% of flights to the airport with seven new airlines: AZUR Air, KLM, Nord Wind, Royal Flight, Sky Up, Uganda Airlines and UTAir. Statistics showed that aircrafts operating in Zanzibar Airport declined from 13 in March to 5 flights in May due to shutting airspace to fight coronavirus. However, with the reopening of international gateways, flights increased from 9 in June to 24 in October 2020. Relatedly, Tanzania received the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) Safe Travel Stamp on 11th August, 2020 for adhering to the International and National Standard Operating Procedures and other health protocols, in ensuring safety to tourists against COVID-19 (APTA, 2020; URT, 2021).

The reopening of international gateways and marketing of domestic tourism is slowly restarting global tourism amidst uncertainties. After Tanzania had stopped sharing COVID-19 infections statistics publicly, the WHO kept insisting

on resuming reporting new cases, sharing data in the light of reports of COVID-19 cases among travellers, and preparing for vaccination because some countries were reporting that some tourists returning from the country tested positive of COVID-19 after arriving in their home countries (WHO, 2021). The death of the fifth government regime president, which was casually associated to COVID-19, coupled with emerging claims that Tanzanians travelling to neighbouring countries had tested positive for COVID-19 (WHO, 2021) heightened the paradox. However, recently, the new regime has resumed sharing of COVID-19 infection data to the public, and has agreed to observe global health regulations (VoA News, 2021). Nonetheless, as of 14th July 2021, the WHO dashboard recorded old data that stood at 509 cases and 21 deaths in Tanzania. Respondents in this study were of the opinion that it would be vital to facilitate smooth travel, harmonize collective recovery actions and sustainability through reigniting the supply side, stimulating demand of services and solving issues constraining growth (URT, 2020c).

## 6. Conclusion

Tourism declined in Tanzania after WHO had declared COVID-19 a global pandemic. The country reported the first wave of infection cases from 16<sup>th</sup> March until May, with few deaths and high recovery rate, but tourism collapsed resulting to unemployment and loss of revenue. Fear of the pandemic resulted into the closure of schools and universities for a few months to contain the virus, although lockdown seemed inappropriate. Healthcare, worship, business and public services continued as usual, individuals protecting themselves through regular hand-washing with running water and soap, using hand sanitizers, wearing face masks, and trying to boost immunity by consuming lemons, garlic, and ginger. Individuals reverted to steaming and visiting hospitals when necessary.

Politically, there was questioning of the taken-for-granted testing protocol and regular reporting of new infection cases. This reflected the government policy response to suppress fear among the population, seemingly contradicting global health regulations. Headlines tactically filtered international news to revive hope; however, even after universities had reopened from 1st June and schools by 29th June, 2020, tourism still dwindled. The avoidance of lockdown and less reporting of infection cases witnessed a divide, threatening tourism recovery despite the reopening of gateways. Arrivals are still at the lowest, far below the pre-crisis level; albeit paradoxical tourism restart having rescued the industry from total collapse observed in the earlier phase of the outbreak of the pandemic. Implicitly, responses by various actors have influenced tourism trajectories. Geo-politically, escaping the political ecology of COVID-19 tourism de-growth trajectory is a tragedy calling for further research. Regarding policy implications from this study, it is recommended that tourism actors in Tanzania to continue collaborating with actors at regional and global levels to proactively harmonize a lasting recovery

strategy for sustainable post-pandemic tourism. The recommended policy responses include facilitating smooth travel, harmonizing collective recovery actions and sustainability through reigniting supply-side functioning, stimulating demand of services, and solving issues constraining growth.

## Acknowledgement

This paper is a product of a project that was funded by the College of Social Sciences, University of Dar es Salaam, under the COVID-19 Grant (number CoSS-GE20077). That support is highly appreciated.

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