

Acknowledgments

This Paper was made possible by the support and assistance of a number of people whom I would like to personally thank. At my home University “ein herzliches Dankeschön” to my supervisor Dr. B. Sponholz for embarking on new territory; and to Dr. H. Vogel, who supported the idea for this paper in its embryonic stage during the Orient Excursion of 2001. At the Commission for Tourism, Zanzibar, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the Director, Dr. A. Khatib for data and other useful material on tourism in Zanzibar, and for facilitating my research with his covering letter; and M. Ussi for „hard to get material“ on tourism on the Isles. *Shukran* to Haji H. Hamdan and Ronny Bender of Eco & Culture Tours/Zanzibar for their cooperation, support and facilitation of research in Jambiani Village: I hope the contents of this paper can contribute to the work being done there. My most genuine indebtedness is owed to Dr. S. Gößling (University of Freiburg) for sharing his knowledge, enthusiasm and resources on the subject.

On behalf of my family and myself, I would like to express my gratitude to Shinuna and Abeid Karume for making our stay in Stone Town so pleasurable, homely and affordable; and the people at Oasis Beach Inn in Jambiani for the same.

This paper is dedicated to the villagers of Jambiani, Southeast Coast, Zanzibar, whose issue it is. *None* of this would have been possible without *them*.

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1. Introduction

The islands of Zanzibar are located about 40 kilometers from the African continent, in the shallow coastal waters of the Indian Ocean. As the remnant of an economic center of the Omani Empire, which attained its climax in the middle of the 19th century, Zanzibar today boasts a culture and history closely linked with its historic events: Shirazi, Persian and Omani settlers, Indian and Arabian architecture, spicy dishes, slave caves, and historical figures such as Speke, Livingston and Tipu Tipp have all left their marks. Everywhere on the island, mementos of this past can be seen and are recounted in tales of myth and reality passed down from one generation to the next. Furthermore, the abundance of unique marine and terrestrial fauna and flora make Zanzibar an ideal destination for enthusiasts of tropical island ecosystems. It is perhaps the clove tree, which was introduced to the Zanzibar islands in the 1820s and culminated into a rapidly expanding trade that won Zanzibar its ultimate economic power and popularity. Until today, the name "Spice Islands" refers to this capital of Swahili culture which is observed along the coast of East Africa. The distinguished mixture of cultures, professions and religions have in the course of time contributed to the metropolitan characteristic typical to this region, and is especially vivid on the islands of Lamu, Mafia and Zanzibar.

Much has changed for Zanzibar since then: the island state is no longer a wealthy trade center but instead composes one of the poorest countries in the world: Tanzania. Like many Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries, Tanzania was characterized by a short period of economic growth and social and political stability shortly after independence (disregarding the Zanzibar Revolution, which took place four days after independence from British rule), followed by economic crisis attributed to both internal and external factors associated with the global events of the latter half of the 1970s (Mongula, 1994). Rapid population growth, unemployment, growing social and spatial disparities and increased debt towards donor nations further contributed to a fast decline and poverty, forcing these countries to turn to all available resources in order to secure their livelihoods (Vorlauffer, 1996: 1). The explosion of the tourism industry in the western industrial nations during the 1960s sent waves of hope to those developing countries which possessed the qualities (warm climates, sandy beaches, exotic cultures etc.) desired by enthusiastic middle class travelers, encouraging them to take up tourism as a means of securing foreign exchange and stimulating economic growth (Kadt, 1979: ix). Zanzibar joined the band-wagon of the tourism industry relatively late, with tentative steps taken towards integration of tourism into the economy in the late 1980s. The island state found itself adopting a highly disputable tool, yet one which was undergoing transitions towards more sustainable approaches. Adhering to this trend, Zanzibar adopted „Ecotourism“ as the national strategy towards diversifying the land's monocrop (clove) economy (Khatib, 2000). Today, tourism already contributes significantly towards foreign exchange earnings in the state, surpassing the export of raw materials. In the relatively short period since first

integrating the activity into the state's economy, tourism is considered a significant tool for development. However, taking into account the negative impacts arising from tourism activities world-wide and the current global stance towards „sustainable development“, Zanzibar faces the challenge of balancing the need to fight poverty with the will to conserve those resources which contribute towards its attractiveness as a tourist destination and which are the means of survival and identity of its people. Furthermore, by opting for the path of ecotourism rather than conventional mass tourism, Zanzibar commits itself to specific guidelines which are, due to a number of reasons which shall be discussed in the course of this paper, not always adhered to.

1.1 Thesis

Like most African nations, Zanzibar is characterized by a predominantly agricultural economy: agricultural activities in Zanzibar contribute to nearly 40% of GDP (BoT, 2000). Other significant contributors to the economy include trade and public administration services. Since its introduction in the late 1980s, tourism has rapidly become the largest foreign income earner, replacing the export of cloves, copra and fish and can be termed the “new export good”. Increasingly more inhabitants of Zanzibar Islands are taking up income generating activities that are directly or indirectly linked to tourism as a means of existence. The growing number of tourist accommodations, travel agencies, tour operators, souvenir shops and restaurants confirm an expanding tourism industry. Parallel to the developments taking place in the old capital Stone Town, an increasing number of beach resorts, guesthouses and hotel complexes can be seen emerging in almost any of the coastal villages of Unguja. Whereas many of these white sand beaches were inaccessible and economically insignificant ten to 15 years ago, today they offer the visitor a good alternative to the cultural-historical sight-seeing tours offered in the capital. This opening up of rural areas to tourism business contributes towards rapid changes that may not be deemed as positively developmental in all cases.

1.1.1 Thesis Objectives

The aim of this paper is to explore the official tourism development guidelines available on Unguja Island, as provided by the Government of Zanzibar (GOZ) in its attempt at exploiting tourism as a tool for sustainable (economic) development. Studies (e.g. Gößling, Honey) show that large-scale, investment intensive tourism projects have been prioritized, thus contradicting in part the government's objectives of tourism in the first place. Furthermore, Zanzibaris are diminished to mere providers of low-paid services within the tourism industry and experience relatively little real benefits from this business. This combination of contra-policy developments and lack of community participation in the tourism industry culminates in a development that is far from “sustainable”.

Focus has been made on the bodies controlling investment in the tourism industry and responsible for its promotion. The challenges in policy implementation, as faced by both the people and government of Zanzibar, are presented through a case study. This field study manifests the conflicts in government visions and its future plans for the tourism industry. As a tool widely applied to Third World Development, the question of the role to be played by tourism in sustainable development has been farther explored and applied to the case of Zanzibar. Throughout, emphasis has been made to study the situation from the point of view of local community members, especially in rural communities directly affected by tourism, taking into account the political, economic and social conditions existing on the island in an attempt to provide local answers.

1.2 Structure of the Paper

Chapter One contains a brief introduction to the paper and the discussion in question, followed by a dedication to definitions of key terms as understood within the scope of this thesis. This section also includes the methodology and literature review, which outlines the study of tourism, especially from a geographical perspective with emphasis on human geography.

Chapter Two familiarizes the reader with the region. Here, the geographical characteristics of the Island of Unguja are outlined: the island's physical features, economic and political background and current situations, and its cultural and social make-up. The introduction of tourism to the economy of the Island and some conflicts which have occurred since then are briefly discussed.

Chapter Three provides a detailed account of the present tourism activities in Zanzibar, especially with regard to developments in visitor arrivals, tourism and methods applied by the government to collect income from this trade. The island's official bodies concerned with, and responsible for, tourism development are introduced and their tasks explained. The Tourism Policy and the government's vision of the future of the tourism industry are also discussed, and light is shed on some of the problems that Zanzibar is facing with respect to development of - and through - tourism.

The purpose of the case study in **Chapter Four** is to provide one example of how tourism is currently developing in Zanzibar. The disadvantages and benefits involved, especially with regard to local participation are highlighted here. The paradox arising out of contra-policy developments and individual initiatives, which never-the-less result in sustainable methods, is sketched. This example draws attention to the weaknesses of the tourism industry in Zanzibar at various levels.

Chapter Five resumes the questions of the role of tourism in the process of development and points out weaknesses and strengths in Zanzibar's approach. This chapter also includes personal recommendations and possible solutions to the problems in Zanzibar. As well as a concluding remark. The Appendices include raw data collected in field research and from bodies visited in Zanzibar, and sample interview sheets.

1.3 Methodology

This thesis and the questions discussed within its context were approached from a variety of angles and the research can be broken down into two main parts, namely Procedure and Methods.

1.2.1 Procedure

Preparation for the theme primarily included the search for publications on the subject of tourism in Zanzibar, with emphasis made on English, Swahili and German language literature. The economic, social and political situation in Zanzibar was studied, and largely consisted researching the official website of the Tanzanian and Zanzibar Governments (available at www.tanzania.go.tz) which provides a good up-to-date insight into general information on the country, the current political and economic situation and official development plans. Little published material was found in the German and Swahili languages, in fact a single article on the specific topic was discovered in the *Geographische Rundschau*, namely a recent study by Dr. S. Gößling: "Tourism Development in the Village of Kiwengwa, Zanzibar" (1999). Due to the general lack of current literature on Zanzibar at the Würzburg University Library, it was necessary to turn to outside sources such as the Bayerische Bibliotheksverbund, and rely on personal contacts, which proved richer in resources.

The second stage of information gathering was conducted in Zanzibar Town: various offices and institutions concerned with tourism on the islands were visited. The most significant bodies approached were the **Commission for Tourism Zanzibar (CTZ)** and the **Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency (ZIPA)**, whose roles will be discussed in more detail later. Briefly, the former has a good record of data regarding tourist arrivals, tourist accommodations and services developed for the business; as well as unpublished drafts and statements contributing to the tourism policy. Other printed material such as tour pamphlets, accommodation and tour operators' directories and promotion material were also kindly provided by the director of this institution. Gathering information from ZIPA proved less successful, hindered by ongoing activities involving the latest amendments to the Zanzibar Investment Development Policy (ZIDP). Apart from the provision of (partially out- and undated) material detailing the investment statements and containing some tourism investment-related statistics, further information was provided by e-mail contact after the period of field research. Other bodies approached with positive results included:

Zanzibar Revenue Bank (ZRB); Eco & Culture Zanzibar (member of Zanzibar Development Group for Ecology and Culture); the **Conservation Department of Commercial Crops, Fruits and Forestry of Zanzibar**; the **Jozani Forest Conservation Project** and numerous local individuals directly involved in the tourism industry.

The third step taken was to allocate a field study area. In order to tackle the question of “development through tourism” at its roots and observe the interaction between government and local communities concerning tourism development, it was decided that this could best be studied in a rural area. The relative small size and simplified community structures found in rural villages were more adequate for the scale of the present study. The village of Jambiani was chosen for a variety of reasons:

- The relatively high proportion of local citizens involved in tourism there (as reported by the CTZ);
- Contacts with a Zanzibar based NGO (Eco & Culture Zanzibar) which is concerned with sustainable methods of tourism and is currently studying possibilities for community based tourism development in the village;
- General skepticism amongst government officials (for example the Director of CTZ and others within this body) about the ongoing activities in the village;
- The author’s familiarity with the village.

1.2.2 Methods

To accomplish the aim of the research, it was necessary to study two practical aspects of the tourism industry on the major island of Zanzibar, Unguja. These were

- a) the relevance of tourism to the local population and especially its contribution to development as perceived by villagers; and
- b) the local understanding and evaluation of development through tourism. Overall, methods from both physical and human geography have been applied.

To achieve aim (a), **standardized questionnaires** were applied in two different kinds of **doorstep interviews** conducted in the village of Jambiani. First, all hotels in the village were visited. Information revealing their capacity (i.e. number of rooms, beds, unit size, facilities), price range, number of employees (differentiated between men/women and Jambiani/non-Jambiani) and their salaries/wages, unit ownership and management and period of operation was requested (Appendix B). All hotels approached were cooperative in this research and information was gathered directly from managers or owners. The second type of doorstep interviews was

conducted in order to obtain data on the contribution of tourism to income and employment. In this case, a sample of individual households was visited and members were requested for information on household size, age, gender composition, occupations and income sources (Appendix C). In order to establish the size and population of the village of Jambiani and to determine the sample size to be interviewed, it was necessary to visit the *sheha*, who, as village leaders, conduct an annual village census and thus best understand the size, structure and composition of their village. Information obtained from them included the current number of village inhabitants, demography, number of houses/households, village structure and number of village sub-divisions (*vitongoji*).

Aim (b) was achieved through a combination of various qualitative methods. **Narrative interviews** were conducted with residents and hotel/guest house employees. In all cases, the purpose of the research was made clear and anonymity was assured. All interviews were conducted in Swahili, thus facilitating information gathering. In the case of **semi-structured interviews**, a “check list” was kept (Appendix C) in order to assure that narrations would reveal information required by the researcher. Although no tape recorder was applied, note-taking during interviews was accepted and generally practiced. **Observations** of the life of villagers and the role played by tourism on a daily basis were also conducted. Moreover, a **field diary** was maintained, wherein events, observations, narrations and all information gathered during the day, with sketches and other forms of graphical presentation, were recorded.

In order to cover as wide a range of interviewees as possible and get an insight into the village structure and topography, the study area was covered extensively on foot. **Unguided excursions** allowed for an observation of ongoing activities conducted by the local population and tourists. This also allowed for recording the spatial distribution of tourists and tourist centers (hotels, guesthouses, restaurants, gift shops) with relation to village land use. A sketch of the village was produced out of this (see 4.1.2). Similarly, **guided tours** to the coral rag and thorn bush beyond the settlement boundaries permitted an observation of cultivating methods and traditional land use practices, with elaborations provided by indigenous farmers. Similarly, the low tide plains along the coast were explored to villagers’ and tourists’ activities on the beach. In general, the method of observation was applied to analyze the study area in terms of land use patterns, village lifestyle and structure, architecture, tourist-locals interaction, tourist activities, daily activities of community members etc. Visual characteristics were recorded by photography and sketches. These observations were in most cases backed up by explanations from local villagers.

1.3 Definitions

In order to clarify some of the terms used within the scope of this paper, the author sees it necessary to focus on defining some of the frequently used terms and to explain their use in the literature reviewed.

1.2.1 “Zanzibar“

The name Zanzibar goes back to a remote unknown period during which the coast of East Africa was being colonized by Asiatic nations, notably Persians and Arabs, who intermingled with the native Sub-Saharan Africans to produce the race known today as the *Waswahili* (Arabic: *Sahel* = Coast). The term “Zanzibar” is derived from the Persian words *Zendj*, meaning “blacks”, and *bara* meaning “country”. The old Arabic writers spoke of *Zendjibar*, “the country of the Blacks” in the same way as they called the land across the ocean *Hindubar* (India), the country of the Hindus (Reichard, 1892). Although today Zanzibar refers solely to the Island state in the Indian Ocean, in former times it was applied to the entire East African coast stretching from Cape Delgado (Mozambique) in the south to the mouth of the Vumbo (Juba) River in Somalia to the north (Burton 1860: 35-36). Today, the name Zanzibar is used to refer to the archipelago located in the shallow waters of the Indian Ocean, between the ports of Dar es Salaam and Tanga. This consists of the islands of Unguja and Pemba, which combine historically and politically to form the autonomous region of Zanzibar, under the Zanzibar Revolutionary Government. Very often, the island of Unguja is referred to by the name of Zanzibar rather than by its local synonym, and the capital city and historic port is known as Zanzibar Town. To avoid confusion, the term Zanzibar in this paper will refer to the island state, while Unguja will refer to the larger of the two islands. Stone Town will mean the historically Arab dominated capital, unless otherwise stated. The term “Zanzibari(s)” as applied in this work should be understood to mean “of Zanzibar” and refers to both the people of these islands as well as their methods and ways.

1.3.2 “Tourism“

The World Tourism Organization (WTO), of which Zanzibar has been a member since 1979 recommends the following concept:

“Tourism comprises of the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside of their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes”

(WTO, 2002).

This definition is rather broad and does not distinguish between the purposes for the journey, which ultimately determine which resources and services will be used at the destination.

Furthermore, it fails to take the human factor and its related social and cultural aspects - which are an inevitable part of the confrontation between indigenous and foreign peoples - into consideration. A disregard for the impacts on nature and man at tourist destinations farther weakens the author's acceptance of this definition. As an alternative, Poser's definition of tourism should be considered:

"Tourism comprises the spatial or regional agglomeration of strangers, who at any given time practice a transitory residence in a certain locality, which results in an overall reciprocal action between the strangers on the one hand and the indigenous population, the location, and the landscape on the other,"

(Sited in Freyer, 1993)¹

which the author regards all encompassing for a geographic study due to its consideration of nature, man, culture and the interaction of these components with one another in a given spatial context. The purpose of travel determines the type of tourism conducted by the visitor at his/her destination. Such terms as Cultural Tourism, Ecotourism, Wildlife Safari, Pilgrimage, Spa Holiday and Adventure Tourism are common. In addition, "Reality Tourism" is on the increase, in which enthusiasts venture on close encounters with Third World countries in particular. Popular destinations for such travels include Cuba, Northern Ireland and South Africa, although not all tours are necessarily of political intent. Reality-tour sponsors boast of building a "new grass-roots internationalism" (Times, 09/2002).

Mass tourism is nothing other than that form of travel which applies modern economic sales methods (standardization of destinations, establishment of important sites, mass production of group trips and package tours etc.) in which the destination is "produced", that is, researched, constructed, promoted and marketed (Freyer, 1993). In this way, tourism is integrated into the overall market economy of a country, becoming closely linked with other economic factors such as investment, generation of jobs, use and management of resources, situational costs, transport and infrastructure.

Ecotourism as defined by the International Ecotourism Society in 1991 is "**responsible travel to natural areas, which conserves the environment and improves the welfare of local people**" (United Nations Ecological Program – UNEP - 2002) and implies that visitors travel with

¹ as translated by the author from German : „**die lokale oder gebietliche Häufung von Fremden mit jeweils vorübergehenden Aufenthalt, der die Summe von Wechselwirkungen zwischen den Fremden einerseits und der ortsansässigen Bevölkerung, dem Orte und der Landschaft anderseits zum Inhalt hat**“.

the aim of engaging in close encounters with the nature of the destination, and contribute directly to the development of local communities. Ecotourism is a component of the field of sustainable tourism and aspires in all cases to achieve sustainable development results with minimal negative impacts on man and nature at the destination. Its basic principles are to:

- contribute to the conservation of biologic diversity;
- sustain the well-being of local people;
- facilitate learning experiences;
- involve responsible action on the part of tourists and the tourism industry;
- limit its demand and supply to small groups, and maintain small-scaled activities;
- strive to maintain lowest possible consumption of non-renewable resources;
- stress local participation, ownership and business opportunities, particularly in rural areas.

(UNEP-Ecotourism, 2002).

It should be noted however that other definitions exist, such as „***nature-based tourism that involves education and interpretation and is managed to be ecologically sustainable***“ (Valentine 1992, cited by Mwangotya in WILDLIFE 2002). The lack of an internationally acceptable definition makes it difficult to draw the limits and determine the actual quantitative increase in the practice of ecotourism worldwide. In the case of Zanzibar, this lack allows for individual interpretations which hinder concrete development plans.

1.3.3 “Development“

According to the United Nations “Agenda for Development” of 1997, “***Development is a multi-dimensional undertaking to achieve a higher quality of life for all people***”, (Wiman 1999: 26). Simply put, development is improvement, or “***change toward an agreed good***”; or a “***movement to higher steps on the ladders of the material standard of living***”, (Wiman 1999: 27).

On an individual level, many Tanzanians understand development first and foremost in financial terms, that is: “***a higher income***” which consequently allows one to purchase a better quality of life (demonstrated in the quality of one’s house, school, food, general health) and higher standard of living which is often expressed – especially in urban areas - in a display of material possessions such as automobile, television, modern clothes and other (western induced) trends. Some youths defined the term as the “***progress of the common man to raise his standard of living***” (author’s field study, 2002), again using the indicators education, house, mobility, and food (quality more than quantity) to measure this. In the past, economic aspects have been prioritized over social; however it has become more common for governments and development bodies to take the human factor into consideration. Investment in the improvement of these human

resources through provision of education facilities, health services and social welfare has become an important strategy in the overall development plans of Tanzania and Zanzibar (Government of Tanzania – GOT -, 2002).

The complexity and dynamism of the term development requires further elaboration. A variety of models, ideologies and theories for development have been passed through since the Development Policy was first brought to being in the post-colonial period of Africa during the 1960s. This can be summarized as follows (based on Hydén, 1994):

1. The first model, “**Modernization**”, rested on the events of the general economic boom that took place in Europe and America after the Second World War, with a climax in the 1960s. Based on the ideology of a centralized organization (government/state) playing the leading role in national development, it focused on modernization of production methods aimed at economic growth. Participants believed that the model was universally applicable, without regard to culture, society, or historical background of the region in question. Taking the “up-down” approach, this ideology believed that wealth and modernity would “trickle down” to the masses from upper levels. This period is characterized by the introduction of large industrial projects, the construction of major infrastructure such as roadways, factories and hydroelectric dams, and a high level of bureaucracy.
2. The disillusionment of the first phase and failure of the wealth to reach the lower levels of society lead to a decentralization shift and a focus on “**Attending to Basic Needs**”, these being largely health, nutrition, housing and education. The main aim here was “Poverty Eradication” and an ideology directed towards equal distribution (equity) and social development. This phase saw the introduction of investment in education and health facilities on a large scale, and administrative reform, with authority coming to rest in the hands of government-appointed officials at rural, province and district levels, as was the case for Tanzania.
3. While both the first and second phases of development ideologies were characterized by government as the key institutional actors, the break between the second and third phases was more pronounced. Growing disillusionment with reliance on government, western oriented modernization, and the management abilities of the state were being questioned by ordinary people, who were experiencing little of the promised benefits. There followed a turn to “**self-help**” initiatives, with problems tackled at “**grassroots**” levels through voluntary cooperation of participants in communities. A search for alternative economic activities and

changes in political and economic structures as imposed by the World Bank/IMF in many African nations also characterizes this phase.

4. The 1990s turned to the criticism of the western industrial model of development in which it appeared that the limits of material growth had already been attained. High on the agenda were issues regarding the environment and continued growth of the Industrialized World at the cost of developing nations. The question of **sustainability** was raised and attention given to more careful use of natural resources. At the same time, concern for the erosion of tradition and indigenous cultures has also been discussed. In Tanzania, this phase of economic development is characterized by privatization of most productive sectors and the generation of jobs, which have led to economic growth and an expanding middle class with higher spending power. However, this development is largely “cosmetic” and still limited to relatively few.

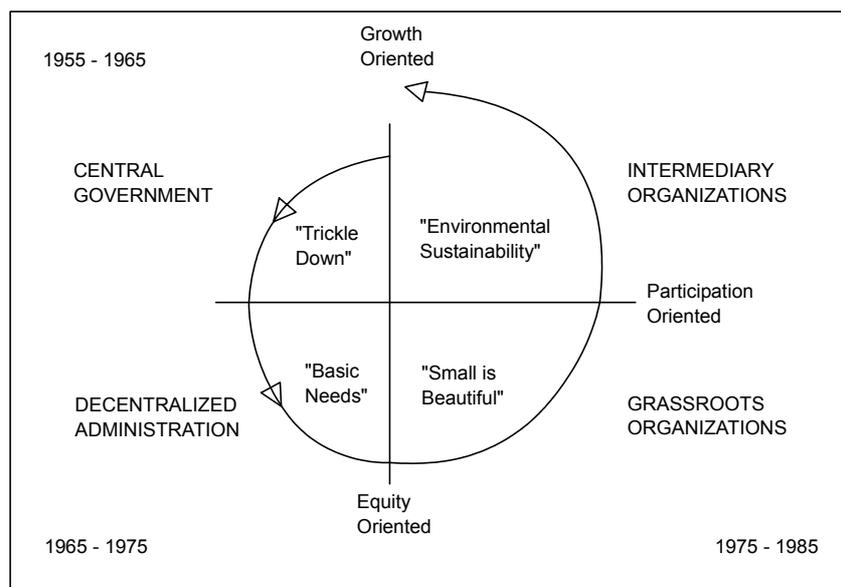


Figure 1: Shifts in ideological perspectives on development 1955 - 90
(Adapted from Hydén, 1994)

A common problem for many “developing” or “under-developed” nations is that they are measured up against the industrialized nations and depend on these for farther progress. Thus far, most solutions for combating poverty in SSA are based on recommendations and impositions from external authorities, mainly international donor institutions and nations. The Structural Adjustment Programs (SAT) and Economic Recovery Programs (ERP) imposed by the World Bank/IMF have in many cases worsened the economic and social situations for the countries that adopted them as

part of their development strategies, with Tanzania being one of the most popular examples cited (Mongula, 1994). It is clear that other, new approaches towards development must be considered, with more impetus from the people of the developing nations involved. This new paradigm must take Africa's historical background and current political and social structures into consideration, and detach itself from the western influence that has so far done more damage than good.

1.3.4 "Sustainability"

The Brundland Report of 1987 first put the term "sustainable" into circulation with regard to development. In the meantime, "sustainability" has become the catchword in many political and economic discussions concerning development and is often applied in an attempt at creating a vision that reflects environmental and social awareness and concerns. To this effect, Sustainable Tourism Development, as aimed by the Government of Zanzibar, can be understood as one that

"meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, and biological diversity and life support systems."

(WTO, 2002).

The Finish Government, in its Program for Sustainable Development of 1998 farther outlines Ecological Sustainability, Economic Sustainability and Social and Cultural Sustainability as paramount conditions for sustainable development (in Wiman, 1999; 29). Agenda 21 farther imposes sustainable tourism as the path towards all present and future development. Since the early 1990s, sustainability has been closely linked with tourism, especially with regard to conservation of natural resources and small-scale development projects. As shall be demonstrated in the course of this paper, the approach to sustainable development through tourism, as pledged and partially practiced by the Zanzibar Government, is currently imbalanced and proves unsustainable in many cases.

1.4. The Geography of Tourism

1.4.1 Classification

Human Geography provides an interface between the human and natural worlds. It is a critical component of social, economic and natural processes. While it classically predominantly *described* the spatial manifestation of economy and society (e.g. Christaller's models of spatial distribution),

in postmodernist times the shift has been towards *explaining* how space helps shape economies, societies and social processes (Daniels *et al* 2001: 2). With increasing significance placed on the roles played by the individualistic aspects defining space (determined by culture, politics, natural and human resources), the diversity and uniqueness of places is increasingly being applied to attract economic investment and stake a claim to the local resources. Recently, geography has experienced increased interaction between various disciplines: politics, economics, religion, sociology, and engineering. All the while, it has borrowed from the synthetic and the applied sciences to develop new fields of study, or to provide scientists with new approaches to old fields: Oceanography, Regional Planning, Medical Geography and Geography of Natural Resources are just a few of these.

According to our working definition by Poser (see 1.3.2), tourism comprises of interactions between people and nature, people and culture, people and space, and one group of people interacting with another. At the same time, tourism can contribute significantly to the economy, will in most cases be controlled by politics, and may have favourable or detrimental impacts on culture and natural environment. The attraction of a particular tourist destination is determined by its natural, historical and/or cultural heritage, while the type of tourism conducted there is largely shaped by marketing strategies, resource management approaches, as well as attitude, interest and spending power of the tourists themselves. This goes to show that tourism is a phenomenon which spreads out to (or arises out of) a number of different fields and thus cannot be allocated a specific classification. A study of tourism can thus be approached from the economic, the political, the social as well as the geographical point of view, and borrows methods from all of these disciplines, depending on the particular aspect of tourism being studied. It should be noted however, that geographical study and research in tourism has only been systematically conducted since the turn of the last century (Wolf & Jurczek 1986: 22) thus making it a relatively young scientific field. The early phases of the study of tourism focused on the aesthetic aspects of travel and recreational centers (spas, baths, sports, nature parks etc.) which resulted thereof, and disregarded the geographical linkages of this development. It was only later, with the evolution of the field of Geography that tourism began to be integrated more and more into this respective field.

Benthien (1997: 167) demonstrates “very close links and relationships“ existing between the Geography of Recreation and Tourism (GRT) and the Economic, Physical, and Social Geographies. On the other hand “lose links and relationships“ exist between GRT and Political, Urban, and Population Geography. At the same time, he demonstrates that GRT addresses issues covered by some other branches of geography, such as Regional Science, Geographical Anthropology, Spatial Planning, Geopolitics and Research on Developing Nations. As the effects of tourism are becoming increasingly known, and as the human relationships involved and social

boundaries crossed are becoming more significant, tourism has become an interestingly interesting study for sociologists too. Churches, in their attempts at creating favourable conditions for cultural and social exchange through tourism, have also become involved in the field.

Generally, the study of tourism can be conducted using different disciplines and approached from a variety of scientific and humanistic fields. For the purpose of this paper, with its emphasis on economic and social development through the sustainable use of available natural and human resources in a limited physical and political space, it is the geographical classification which is to be considered, with emphasis on qualitative rather than quantitative methods and analysis.

1.4.2 Evolution of Tourism

Prahl and Steinecke in 1981 outlined four stages of the development of tourism to its present state:

1. the travel of Medieval Aristocrats and literary scholars, especially from Great Britain to the health centers of Central Europe;
2. lake and seaside recreation (19th century);
3. the challenge and winter sports activities provided by the Alps; and
4. domestic and overseas mass tourism of the (late) 20th century

(Sited in Wolf & Jurczek, 1986: 22).

Throughout its evolution, tourism has been characterized by various changes contributing to its new forms and perceptions, these being:

1. Industrial organization;
2. Advanced technology;
3. Changes in tourist attitudes;
4. Changes in the tourist attractions;
5. Increased awareness of impacts of tourism on the destinations; and
6. Increased involvement of governments in control of tourism developments.

(Johnston *et al*, 1994)

The 1960s saw increased spending power and elevated life-styles for the working classes of the industrialized nations, and parallel advancements in air technology, which allowed for comfortable and affordable mass transportation of passengers. For the first time, far-off destinations became accessible to a large number of eager Europeans and Americans enticed by romanticised destinations from literature and film. At the same time, there was an increasing

awareness of international and regional politics, especially regarding the Less Developed Nations (LDCs) in Africa, Asia and South America, which resulted in tourists demanding more information regarding their holiday destinations (BMWZE 1993: 48)². This combination of increased travel to developing countries and the tourists' increased awareness of the economic gap between the industrialized „First World“ and poverty stricken „Third World“ resulted in a revolutionizing of the tourism industry during the 1970s, with participation from various development aid institutions, churches, educational bodies and private individuals. In 1977 in Basel, Switzerland, for example, the „Arbeitskreis Tourismus und Entwicklung“ was founded, with the aims of educating and informing tourists to LDCs about the economic, social and cultural reality of these countries and preparing them for the „culture shock“ awaiting them there. At the same time, attempts were made to reduce ignorance, prejudices and clichés about these destinations. This period saw the rise in questions regarding the effects of tourism on the host countries: whereas tourism had formerly been regarded as a development tool purely along beneficial terms (creation of jobs, injection of foreign currency, economic diversification, cultural exchange etc.), there arose the tendency to see beyond this. Negative impacts of tourism, such as low wages, job insecurity, environmental degradation and pollution, erosion of traditional values, prostitution, invasion of a foreign „mass culture“ etc., were brought to light and discussed. In an attempt to reduce these negative effects and lower the impact of a largely western culture enforced on the hosting countries, a world-wide „Code of Ethics for Tourists“ was made and distributed. But these efforts were powerless against the rapid increase in the tourism industry, and the lucrative economic gains which continued to be placed above the negative influences.

In 1980, the **Third World Tourism Conference** held in Manila, Philippines, deliberately addressed the negative effects of tourism. It became increasingly clear that this industry was exploiting the natural and human resources of the hosting nations, with few real gains (economic or otherwise) for the majority of the local population. In many cases, tourism was contributing to negative developments within the host countries. At about the same time, the World Tourism Organization (WTO) announced the „Manila Declaration on World Tourism“ which declared tourism as „a living force towards world peace“, with capacity to offer a moral and intellectual basis for international understanding (BMWZE 1993: 52). It became necessary to create new structures for and attitudes towards tourism so as to give the industry a chance to contribute positively towards development and well-being for all people. In order to ensure that the plans would be carried out, a number of organizations were established to carry out the strategies set by these and previous conferences. Some of these bodies included the **Third World Tourism European Ecumenical Net** (1981), **Ecumenical Coalition on World Tourism** (1982), and the **Coordination Center for Responsible Tourism – North American Net** (1984). These bodies' overall aims were:

²Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung,

- To monitor the effects of tourism on hosting populations and conduct research on the issues involved in tourism to LDCs;
- To create awareness of the ways in which tourism contributes towards development in LDCs and promote the positive contributions towards development through tourism;
- To obtain the opinion of local populations regarding the „invasion“ of tourists to their lands and property, especially on the social and cultural levels, and create mutual respect and understanding between tourists and hosts;

(BMWZE, 1993);

In 1984, the beginnings of a global shift towards an „alternative tourism“ were made, in which this form was defined as following:

„Alternative Tourism is a process which promotes a just form of travel between different communities. It seeks to achieve mutual understanding, solidarity and equality among participants“

(as cited in BMWZE 1993).

On a practical level however, a pilot project in Casamance, Senegal had already seen the construction of simple tourist accommodations in village guesthouses (until this point tourist accommodation took the shape of large hotels and resorts), built to model the local architectural style and reflect the simple use of local materials, furniture and foods (Kadt 1979: 55). This new idea, introduced in the late 1970s, had the aim of reducing the „standard-of-living gap“ which was observed to exist and which separated tourists from the local hosting population. Many opportunities were created to encourage a more authentic interaction between tourists and locals, with tourists participating in village activities and gaining an insight into the true life-style of their hosts. As can be expected, the Senegalese government authorities were initially not ready to accept this method. They believed that tourists were being exposed to the country's poverty and a primitive way of life, which the elite classes had rejected or detached themselves from. However, after observing the benefits and empowerment of the villages involved, this hurdle was overcome. As shall be demonstrated later, similar activities are taking place in Zanzibar, in villages such as Jambiani, Pete and Menai Bay, in which a community-based tourism approach is being applied in an attempt at reaping the benefits of tourism at the grass roots level. At the same time, control of the invasion of tourists into community life while practicing conservation methods are also important. Today's ideology of „Ecotourism“ has found world-wide acceptance, with some of the most successful examples found in Costa Rica, Ecuador and Belize (see Honey 1999; Mowforth & Munt, 1998). However, Africa too has some examples of small-scale tourism development projects, such as can be found in South Africa (Honey, 1999), Namibia (Ashley, 1995) and northern

Tanzania (Mowforth & Munt, 1998). Maintaining a close link between man, nature and culture, most of the hurdles faced by these projects are no longer due to reluctance of participants, but rather are attributed to national and international politics. Zanzibar is no exception.

It should be noted that progress in tourism has evolved parallel to changes in development theory and ideologies. As the latter shifted from large-scale, energy intensive projects towards more sustainable developments with focus on small-scale projects supported by local participation, so too did tourism begin to adopt low-impact attitudes towards environment, people and culture.

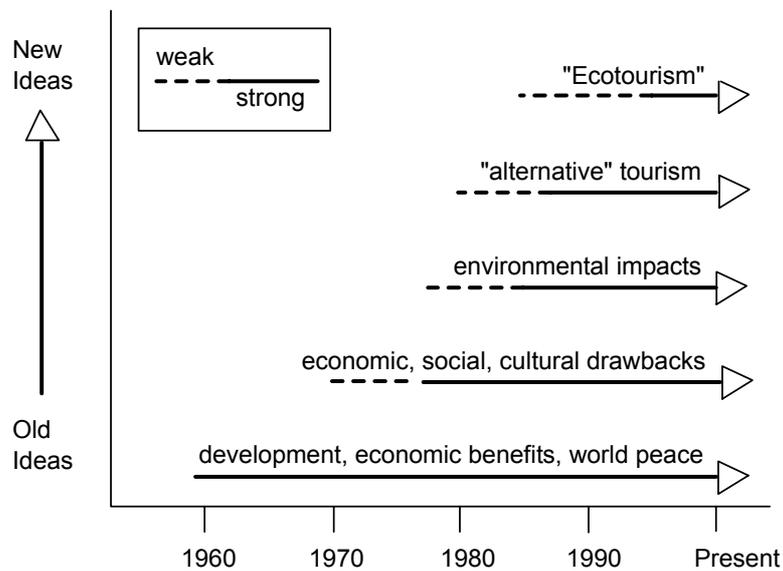


Figure 2: Phases of evolution of tourism
(adapted by author from Vorlauffer, 1996)

2. An Introduction to the Region

2.1 Physical Conditions

2.1.1 Situation

„Zanzibar” is understood as the archipelago situated in the shallow waters of the Indian Ocean, just 37 km east of Mainland Tanzania across the Zanzibar Channel, and consists of the major islands **Unguja** and **Pemba**. Unguja is located approximately at latitude 6° south of the Equator and longitude 39° east of the Greenwich Meridian. Physically, it forms an extension of the mainland sitting on the edge of one of the areas of continental shelf surrounding the African continent (Morgan, 1979: 205). The channel is shallow, less than 100 meters in most places, with protrusions of sand and coral banks and a number of smaller islets, which are also included in this archipelago. The largest of these is Tumbatu Island, which is located north-west of Unguja, and is the only one of the minor islands in the archipelago that is being permanently inhabited by the local community. The other islets are mainly used by anglers as fishing grounds, or as landing places for repairing fishing nets, cleaning the day’s catches and resting.

To-date, many of these islets, especially those located directly opposite the historic capital of Unguja, Stone Town, are important tourist destinations for daily excursions where visitors can participate in typical seaside leisure activities. Because these islands are uninhabited, they have become popular retreats for tourists who are discouraged from swimming on public beaches due to impositions by the conservative Zanzibari culture. The most popular of these islands include Changuu (also called Prison Island and recently declared Conservation Area for endangered Sea Turtles) and Chapwani. Although these are open to all tourists and the public, and can be reached within 20 minutes by motor boat, the Islands of Mnemba (in the northeast of Unguja) and Chumbe (south of Stone Town) are privately owned and are the only two of the islets offering tourist accommodation. Chumbe Island has been established as Tanzania's first Marine Park and “is designed to fully protect the fragile nature” of the coral park. Its emphasis on low impact tourism and careful use of resources is a model example of Ecotourism that has won it a reputation worldwide (Chumbe Island Information brochure). Mnemba Island, which was granted a generous 99-year lease, is owned and operated by Conservation Corporation, a leading ecotourism company based in South-Africa (Honey, 1999: 274).

The capital of Unguja and the most important historical site there, “Stone Town” or “Zanzibar Town”, is situated 73 km north-east of the Tanzanian metropolis, Dar-es-Salaam, an hour’s journey by hovercraft. Other means of transport include modern catamarans, speedboats as

well as local dhows which commute regularly between Zanzibar and the Mainland. A range of international airlines with scheduled flights between Unguja and the USA, Italy, London, Switzerland and important airports on the mainland provide an alternative. All external official traffic, tourist or otherwise, is channeled through the capital. Cargo and passengers arriving to the island of Unguja from Pemba, the Mainland or abroad find a wide range of both public and private road transport to other destinations on the island from here.

Unguja's sister island Pemba is located about 40 km northeast of it (at 5°S and 40°E) and is the smaller and less popular tourist destination of the two. Together they form the **Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar**, an autonomous part of the United Republic of Tanzania.



Figure 3: Zanzibar Islands/Tanzania
(modified by author from Encarta 1997)

2.1.2 Topography, Climate and Vegetation

Unguja is 86 km long and 39 km wide at her extreme points, and constitutes an area of approximately 3400 square kilometers. Its topography is generally divided into two distinct regions: on the east is the Pleistocene coral platform with only limited areas ranging above 30 meters. This

region is widely covered by a thin soil layer supporting a thick tangle of bushy vegetation with some patches of more luxurious vegetation, *msitu* (Swahili: forest, jungle) appearing on pockets of deeper soil. The limestone surface results in the absence of surface water, however, this is widely available below the surface and easily accessible by digging shallow wells. Where a combination of water availability and deeper patches of soil appear, villages have been established, practicing a predominantly sustainable agriculture. This is generally the drier region on the island and agriculture is dependent on rainfall and its collection in natural reservoirs. Crops here consist mainly of coconut palms, citrus and mango trees, sorghum, maize, cassava and potatoes (both the sweet and Irish variety). The more humid north-west is characterized by lush forest vegetation, which originally might have consisted of a high forest similar to today's Jozani Forest Reserve. This region, situated on an older Miocene limestone, is slightly more ridged and elevations range mostly between 60 and 80 meters above sea level, the highest point reaching an altitude of 120 meters. The physical properties of the region, as well as the availability of more rainfall make it more humid, with a number of small rivers and swamp grounds. It was here that the Oman lords established their plantations of spice, coconut and fruit trees. Until today, this is by far the most productive region of Unguja and produces a significant amount of both food and cash crops (Morgan, 1997: 208).

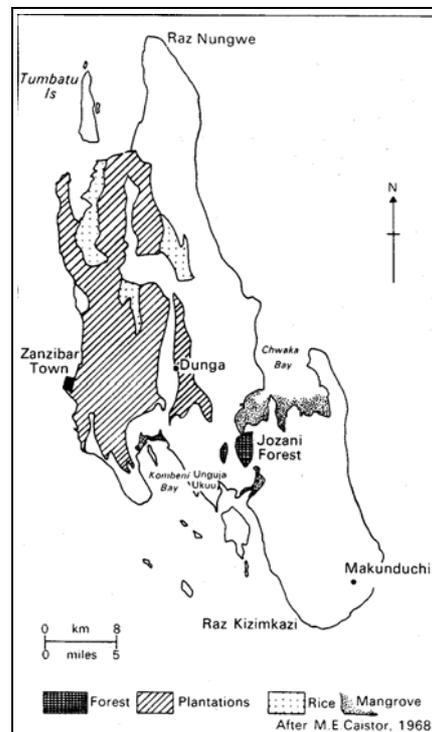


Figure 4: Unguja Island - Vegetation
(Source: Morgan, 1973)

The average annual air temperature is 26°C, with approximately 4°C variability, characterizing a tropical climate. Seasonality is clearly marked by rainfall: the months March to May mark the long monsoon season (*masika*) just before the dry period, which stretches from June to October. On the other hand, November and December are characterized by the short intense rains (*vuli*) and mark a hot and humid period ahead (December through to February), which is broken by the onset of the next monsoon.

2.2 Anthropological Conditions

2.2.3 Population

The human population of Unguja is strongly characterized by historical events on the isles, which began taking place an indefinite period ago. The earliest evidence of habitation can be seen at the Mosque in Kizimkazi, in the southwest tip of Unguja Island. Dated 1107, the mosque suggests very early visits from Omani or Persian Arabs. This was the foundation of a community and culture that today consists of Omani, Persian, Indian, Somali, Banyan and Chinese blood intermingled with each other as well as with the indigenous African island peoples and former mainland slaves. These culminations of races lead to the creation of the Swahili people and culture that is the main characteristic of the island today.

The provisional results of the national population census conducted in August of 2002, reveal that the current population for the state of Zanzibar is 984,531 inhabitants, with a growth rate of 3.1% between the years 1988 and 2002. 63.2 % of the total inhabitants in Zanzibar live on Unguja Island alone (Table 1). However, due to a number of factors (largely attributed to immigration) the population growth of Unguja is more rapid than that of her sister island. The overall population is one of urban characteristic: the 1958 census showed 165,000 people inhabiting the island of Unguja, a third of whom were living in Zanzibar Stone Town, and 19,000 others in the suburban western belt immediately bordering the city (Morgan 1979: 207). By 1967, the city numbered 68,500 out of a total of 190,000 Unguja inhabitants, and today this number has increased to almost 400,000. Women make up the majority (55%), and about 50% of the total population falls below the age of 15 years, while 6% reflects people above 60 years of age (PPU, 2002). The population density of the Isles is close to 400 inhabitants per square kilometer (PPU, 2003).

The distribution of Unguja's inhabitants is largely determined by the physical conditions rainfall and soil fertility: the lush and fertile agriculture intensive northwestern region of Unguja is more densely populated than the partially semi-arid coral rag of the southeast (see table 1).

However, historical events, in this case the plantation economy of the 19th century and the effects of British colonial rule, which lasted well into the latter half of the 20th century, also contributed to the population distribution (see Sheriff & Ferguson, 1991).

Region	Population	Growth Rate 1988-2002	% of total
North Unguja	136953	2,5	13,9
South Unguja	94504	2,1	9,6
Urban West	391002	4,5	39,7
Total Unguja	622459	3	63,2
North Pemba	186013	2,2	18,9
South Pemba	176153	2,3	17,9
Total Pemba	362166	2,3	36,8
Total Zanzibar	984,63	3,1	100

Table 1: Zanzibar Population Distribution 2002

(Source: National Population Planning Unit, 2003 at www.tanzania.go.tz)

The Isles of Zanzibar are dominated by Islam, which is manifested not only as a religion but also as a life philosophy on the island. This is clearly apparent in the conservative *baibui* (the black overcoat) of the women and the *kofia* (the cap) worn by men, abundant mosques in Stone Town alone, and the conservative nature of island inhabitants. However, religions represented in smaller numbers (Christianity and Hindu for example) are tolerated. Traces of the earliest forms of spiritualism and folklore still exist, in many cases intermingling with Islam. Religious holidays form the basis for some public events in Zanzibar, such as the *Eid El Fitr* (marking the end of the holy month of *Ramadhan*), and *Mwaka Kongwa* (originating from an ancient Persian belief), which is celebrated mainly in the south of Unguja. While these public religious festivities are being accommodated into the tourist industry, the people and government of Zanzibar do require utmost respect and a conserved nature on the part of all visitors (Zanzibar Travel and Trade Directory 2002).

2.2 Historical study of the city state of Zanzibar

2.2.1 Commercial Background: From Trade to Production

The Christian era saw an increase in demand for such essentials as food grains, wood for building materials, and for luxury goods, such as gold and ivory in Europe and Asia. Whereas these goods were formerly obtained from Northern Africa, this region could no longer supply the growing market

and it became necessary to explore new fields. The regularity of the Indian Ocean monsoon winds, whose sphere of influence expanded as far south as the Mozambique Channel, helped the Arab and Indian merchants - in particular - to first explore and later exploit the coast of East Africa. This trade, which began as early as the first century A.D. quickly gained significance and contributed to the establishment of such renown city states as Mogadishu, Pate, Kilwa, Mombasa and Zanzibar, and provided the base for the emergence of a merchant class (Sheriff, 1987). While this international trade was responsible for creating the metropolitan atmosphere common to trading centers and resulted in the establishment of the hybrid Swahili culture, it may have also contributed significantly to the emergence of a "class society" in these market towns. Zanzibar Town, the entrepôt capital which served not only the island state but also oversaw economic activities on the Continent, was characterized by distinctive classes and groups of people based on religion and ethnicity, which in turn determined one's occupation, status and to some extent, political power (Sheriff, 1995b). To-date, these differences within the island community contribute to social and political conflicts.

As early as the late 16th century, a settlement had been established next to this natural harbor, probably initiated by the Portuguese, who were masters of the Indian Ocean and conquerors of the East African Coast at the time. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, Portuguese rule gave way to Oman invasion, with the final stroke dealt through the capture of Fort Jesus at Mombasa in 1698. Thus, Omani influence began to play a dominant role in the political and economic development of the western limits of the Indian Ocean. A commercial Empire was founded, with the island of Unguja acting as a base for the Omani merchants and a major point of transit for all trade between Arabs, Indians, Chinese, North Africans and later French, British and American traders (Sheriff 1987, 1995a). Zanzibar Town, the capital of a large Omani commercial empire which stretched for almost 2000 kilometers along the East African coast, was founded on a peninsula "... which was formerly separated from the main island of Unguja by a creek on its eastern side, and connected to it only by a neck of land at the southern end," (Sheriff 1995a: 47). Meanwhile, this creek has been filled and it forms the dividing line between Stone Town and *Ng'ambo* ("the other side", referring to the working class quarters of Zanzibar Town) along what is today called Creek Road.

Goods traded during the early phase of the establishment of Zanzibar included ivory, grains, rubber, animal skins and slaves. The lucrative slave trade, which was boosted by the expansion of French influence in the Indian Ocean and introduction of agricultural activities to islands south of Zanzibar, increased her popularity as a slave market, as well as the economic power of her merchants. Although the island's economy thrived, it was highly reliant on, and based upon the consumption of specialized goods and services by influential societies beyond its geographic and political limits. The Industrial Revolution in Europe dramatically effected Zanzibar's

supply of certain goods, and the abolition of slave trade in the early 19th century threatened its economic welfare. Significant changes took place after about 1812, when clove trees were introduced to the island of Unguja for the first time. Ten years later small quantities of cloves were already exported from here and by the mid-1830s, "... *almost everybody on the island [was] now clearing away the coconuts to make way for [cloves]*" (anonymous writer cited in Sheriff 1987: 51), with gradual spread to Pemba. One might hold the cultivation of cloves responsible for opening up land in the rural regions beyond the capital town to commercial use. Until this point, only an indigeneous peasant population lived in small villages on the ridges of northern Unguja. The "clove mania" diversified the island's economy, resulting in a shift from trade to production and a new system of land ownership and tenure-ship. Furthermore, the labor-intensive cultivation of cloves meant that slave labor was required on the islands, thus reducing and finally halting their export beyond Zanzibar territory. The trade in this spice proved to be so profitable that by 1840, significant food crops began to be displaced by clove trees, culminating in a risky monoculture and rapid fall in market prices caused by overproduction. With gradually falling prices for slaves and cloves on the world market, Zanzibar had to look for alternative means of revamping her economy; by the third quarter of the 19th century, coconut, sugar cane, sesame and grains (especially rice) were re-discovered. The labor-intensive cultivation of these food crops, partially for export, contributed to the agricultural basis of the economy, as we know it today.

2.2.2 Political Background: The Democratization Process

Today, Zanzibar is a semi autonomous part of the United Republic of Tanzania, a union established on 24 April, 1964. Prior to that however, political contacts between the Isles and the Mainland were based purely on trade and was expressed in the autonomous power of the Arabs over commercial activities on the East African coast and deep into the interior as far as central Congo (Sheriff, 1987: 186). It was with the introduction of European colonial dominance over the African and Asian continents in the early 19th century that Arabs lost power over their empire and their influence became restricted to the islands. Zanzibar's continued economic dependence on international trade resulted in various trade treaties with India and the British Empire, providing a convenient path for the penetration of British influence over East Africa (Sheriff 1987: 201). This was a prelude to British supremacy over Zanzibar and the end of an already weakened Omani Sultanate.

During the earlier part of the 20th century, Zanzibar politics was shaped by the rivalry existing between two controversial political powers based on social and economic differences within the mixed island community: the ***Afro-Shirazi Party*** (ASP) which represented the „black-African” working class, and a coalition between the ***Zanzibar National Party*** (ZNP) and ***Zanzibar and Pemba's People's Party*** (ZPPP) backed by the Arabian land owners and upper-class Swahili

population. Shortly after independence, in January of 1964, a short and bloody *coup d'état* resulted in a revolutionary takeover of the government through the ASP, which until then had never participated in government. Many supporters of the governing „Sultanese-British Regime“ were exiled (to the Mainland, Mombasa, the Arabian world), and Abeid Karume became the head of the Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Zanzibar, installing a revolutionary Marxist regime which intensified links with Russia, Cuba, East Germany and other „East Block“ nations. This mirrored the political goals of the TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) liberation movement active in Tanganyika under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, and encouraged cooperation between the two leaders. In April 1964, Zanzibar and Tanganyika united to form the United Republic of Tanzania, with Nyerere as president of the union and Karume taking the roles of deputy to the union and president of a semi-autonomous Zanzibar. ***Chama Cha Mapinduzi*** (CCM – „the Revolutionary Party“) emerged out of the union between TANU and ASP, resulting in a single party system and becoming the dominating political party for the United Republic of Tanzania (governed by the Union Government). To date, Union matters include Foreign Affairs, Defence, Commerce and Trade. Zanzibar has since maintained its own Zanzibar Revolutionary Government which oversees issues concerning Land Legislation and Ownership, Natural Resources, Development and Tourism, which are regarded as non-union matters and therefore independent of the Union Government.

Cleavages in the union began to appear during the 1980s when Nyerere recognized the failure of the socialistic *Ujamaa* system which had tried to build a self-reliant economy based on African communal values. In response to pressure from the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and USAID to undertake „more liberal trade and investment policies“, (Honey, 1999: 256), Zanzibar shifted from a state-run to a free-market economy. Simultaneously, political reform took place with a return to the pre-independence multi-party system, a step undertaken in an attempt to achieve democracy. The popularity and political dominance of the CCM, however, ensured that the democratization process would not be easy: the first multiparty elections held in 1995 - represented on the islands by the two rivals CCM and CUF (Civic United Front) - were marred by complaints of lack of transparency and accusations of deliberate rigging of the votes on the part of CCM, which was striving to maintain its dominance. The elections held in 2000 were no different and political tensions have since risen to new dimensions (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2001).

Presently, the Zanzibar Islands continue to be governed by the CCM political party, with the son of the first president, Aman Abeid Karume, as president of the Revolutionary Government. Although the Union faced a rough period at the end of the last decade (after practicing confrontational politics for almost six years), the rulers of the two sister states have decided to

maintain political ties, however, with clearly defined structures within the union (New Africa, 2002: 16).

2.3 The Modern Economic Reform

In 1986, Tanzania embarked on a dramatic economic and social reform that was set in motion by the World Bank/IMF. This measure was taken in response to the economic crisis that had persisted in the country and the world at large since the early 1980's. In addition to this, the Union Government had realized that earlier development strategies and policies were not in consonance with the global principles of a market-led economy and technological development. The then presidents Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Salmin Amour (presidential term 1985 –1990) formed an alliance with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) which ensured Tanzania financial aid on the conditions that the country would undergo serious reform plans. These included the *Structural Adjustment Program* (SAP) and *Economic Recovery Programs* (ERP) which underlined a market-based economy. These programs encouraged privatization in the economy and liberalized politics, resulting in social changes that have not always been for the better (Hartmann, 1994; Lugalla 1997).

2.3.1 Trade Liberalization - “Ruksa”

The nationwide political and economic reform of the late 1980s and early 1990s resulted in economic and political liberalization. In 1985, the **Trade Liberalization Policy** - *Ruksa* (Swahili for “permission”) - advocated diversification of the economy and encouraged the establishment of the private sector. This and other liberalizations meant that industries (factories, farms and fisheries, transport, hotels, etc.) which were formerly owned and run by the state, and which were being forced to close down due to mismanagement, lack of funding and raw materials, inefficiency, falling market prices etc., were now being sold to private investors, both local and foreign. The **Investment Act** approved in 1986 provides incentives, procedures and formalities for, and facilitates investment in, designated areas opened to investment (Khatib, 2000). These areas included *inter alia* agriculture, transport, the manufacturing industry, the public media and trade. For Zanzibar especially, falling clove prices - from US\$9,000 per ton in the 1980s to US\$600 in the mid-1990s (Honey 1999: 265) - meant that a significant part of its foreign exchange had to be replaced by other more rewarding export products. It was the **Zanzibar Economic Recovery Program** of 1987 which stressed for the first time that tourism was an important component in the state's economic development. Since then, the tourism sector has responded with the highest growth rate, averaging 18.5% per year from 1982 to 1992 (Honey 1999: 266).

2.3.2 Private Investment and the „Tourism Investment Act”

Under the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania, Zanzibar maintains its own Government, with a separate President, Chief Minister, Cabinet, Parliament and Judiciary. This Government of Zanzibar is responsible for aspects of socio-economic development of its people and formulates and implements its own development plans, runs its own budget and maintains and controls its own foreign exchange reserves. All investment incentives and protection thus fall within the scope of the Zanzibar Government and are considered non-union matters. In Zanzibar this led to the introduction of the „**Zanzibar Investment Act No. 2 of 1986**“, which was based on the overall Tanzanian Investment Act of 1986, with amendments and expansions specifically suited for the island environment. Through this policy, the Government of Zanzibar (GOZ) *“intends to encourage private sector investment locally and externally so as to open up genuine opportunities for the sector to participate and contribute actively towards the economic development of the country”*, (Statement by former President Hon. Dr. Salmin Amour 1990 – 2000, cited in ZIPA, 199?).

This liberalization process in Zanzibar meant that apart from the **Zanzibar Tourist Corporation** - a government body responsible for tourism activities (mainly hotels, tours and transport) on the Islands - there was the need to create more capacity to deal with the booming tourist industry of the 1990s. The most significant of these new institutions are the **Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency (ZIPA)** and the **Commission for Tourism Zanzibar (CTZ)**.

2.3.3 Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency - ZIPA

In its commitment to fostering development and sustainable growth in the economy of Zanzibar, the GOZ first introduced the **Investment Act** in 1986 and in 1991 created the **Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency (ZIPA)**. This agency operates under the Ministry of Finance and Economic Affairs, currently responsible for investment policy guidance and direction. ZIPA makes up the core of the institutional framework for investment promotion in Zanzibar, and its main responsibility is to execute all matters related to the issue of approval of private investment projects. The main objectives of the investment policy have been:

1. to offer more employment opportunities to Zanzibaris;
2. to improve balance of payments, especially through encouraging production of export goods to earn foreign exchange;
3. to enable the transfer of technology;
4. to exploit and develop natural resources; and
5. to develop human resources.

(ZIPA, 199?).

With this motive, high priority has been given to private enterprises with the highest potential for foreign exchange earnings. The government recognizes these initiatives as inevitable in the development process, and continues to tap resources in all possible sectors that have potential for expansion in Zanzibar. These include:

1. Agriculture, livestock, fisheries;
2. Tourism and related services;
3. Manufacturing Industries;
4. Transport and communication;
5. Construction;
6. Services sectors; and
7. Free trade zones.

ZIPA has facilitated numerous investment projects since the Investment Act was first implemented in 1986, as summarized in Table 2 below. It is clear that tourism and related services are the front runners of all investments for the Isles, with the categories "Hotel & Tourism" and "Tour Operators" representing 57.5% of the overall 261 projects by 2002.

Year	Agriculture & Fisheries	Business Services	Hotel & Tourism	Tour Operator	Industry	Transport (Air & Sea)
1987	1	0	0	0	0	0
1988	0	0	2	1	0	1
1989	2	0	7	0	1	1
1990	0	0	6	0	2	3
1991	3	2	15	2	1	0
1992	3	2	15	0	2	2
1993	1	3	13	4	2	1
1994	3	1	5	2	7	2
1995	2	7	6	4	2	0
1996	3	3	4	1	3	0
1997	2	1	11	4	1	2
1998	1	3	4	0	0	2
1999	2	4	11	2	1	3
2000	0	2	13	1	5	3
2001	0	2	2	4	0	2
2002	0	3	6	7	3	1
Total	23	33	120	32	30	23

Table 2: Approved and existing projects from 1986 to present
(source ZIPA, 2002)

For the purpose of this paper, the tourism sector has been expanded below. The Government of Zanzibar sees immense potential and welcomes private investment to help develop this sector.

The prioritized areas for farther development within the tourism sector have been set by ZIPA, and include the following:

1. Construction and operation of high class (at least three-star) hotels;
2. Provision of tourism related services such as duty-free shops, modern laundry facilities, information and culture centers;
3. Development of tourist centers (not specified);
4. Undertaking tour operators (restricted to Tanzanian nationals only); and
5. Providing facilities for game fishing.

Realizing the negative impacts of conventional (mass) tourism experienced elsewhere in the world, the GOZ aims at fostering an exclusive and high quality tourist industry, choosing the path of ecotourism for the isles. ZIPA has already been able to attract investors from all parts of the world (Figure 5).

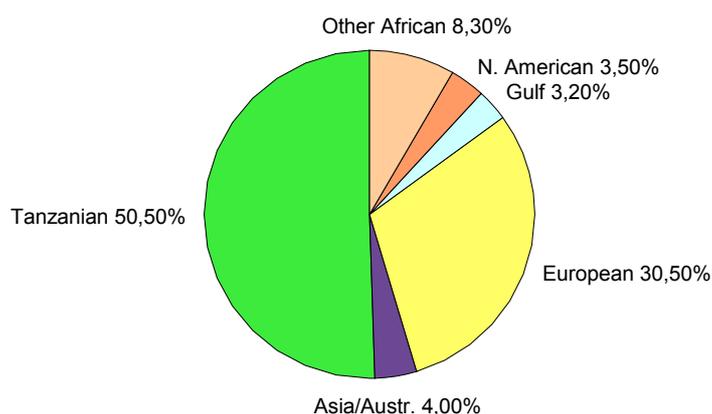


Figure 5: Profile of Investors in Zanzibar
(source: ZIPA, 199?)

2.3.4 Commission for Tourism Zanzibar – CTZ

The Commission for Tourism Zanzibar was created in 1992 as a public institution and authorized to keep track of the development of Zanzibar's tourism industry. Under the **Tourism Promotion Act No. 9**, which was enacted in 1996, the responsibilities of the Commission for Tourism have explicitly been the general promotion of Zanzibar as a tourist destination world-wide, and to deal with the following issues in particular :

1. Licensing of all tourist undertakings;
2. Product development, grading and classification;

3. Monitoring and supervising the industry;
4. Public education program;
5. Assisting potential investors;
6. Keeping records and data on tourism;
7. Training of manpower;
8. Production and distribution of promotion materials;

The CTZ is encompassed under the Ministry of Information, Culture, Tourism and Youth, and works closely with ZIPA in leading the investment process for hotels, transportation, marine sports and gastronomy. Unfortunately, the CTZ has not been awarded its own budget within government spending and is thus under-funded and ill fitted to control the explosive tourism industry in Zanzibar, especially as observed on Unguja island (Dr. Khatib, Director of CTZ, 2002, pers.com).

Over the last few years, the CTZ has been very active in providing services to assist the local population in gaining access to the tourism industry. Five years ago, the CTZ introduced a license for tour guides as a tourism auxiliary policy aimed at controlling the number of guides in operation on the island. For an annual fee of US\$ 30, a thorough interview and a clear police record, followed by preliminary courses in the English language and history and culture of Zanzibar, potential tour guides receive a basic education that allows them to conduct their job in a competent manner (Dr. Khatib, 2002, pers. com.). In this way, these “trained” guides are officially recognized as such amongst the tourist community as well as by the police and other government controlling bodies. In return, they are liable to paying taxes for conducting their business. Official tour guides’ activities and contributions are monitored rigorously. The CTZ furthermore monitors daily tourist transport by providing “Daily Road Permits” for which drivers of the collective tourist taxis must apply for and pay a fee of 1000 TSh. (equivalent to ca. US\$ 1.00) for transporting tourists to and from various locations on Unguja. Apart from promoting and facilitating tourism activities on the islands, CTZ also attends international tourism trade fairs in order to advertise the island as a holiday destination worldwide.

In an effort to create a competent work force for the hotel industry, the government of Zanzibar opened the **Maruhubi Hotel & Tourism Training Center** (MHTTC), which has been in operation since 1992. The center focuses on four major areas of basic hotel skills requirements (cooking, service, house keeping and reception), and has a capacity to train up to 80 students annually (64 of 79 total trainees originated from Zanzibar in 2002). It works closely with up-market hotels in Unguja to create skilled employees within a one-year training program (information from director of MHTTC, 2002).

3. The Current Tourism Situation for Unguja

3.1 The Tourism Policy

The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) is currently optimistic about the prospects for tourism growth in Africa. WTTC forecasted that tourism and travel would contribute to over 11% of GDP in SSA in 2000, a number considerably higher than the forecast for the rest of the world (Christie & Crompton, 2001). The Government of Zanzibar is aware of this trend and the significance of tourism in assisting the country to attain its economic growth targets. For this reason, it strives to develop the sector and since the early 1980s has conducted surveys to monitor the situation at home. The Zanzibar Islands, Unguja in particular, currently find themselves in an intermediate stage of tourism development, a phase characterized by rapid change, increased foreign investment and control, and rising international recognition. These traits are reflected in expanding transport facilities, large-scale hotels, and liberal hotel investment incentives. This mixture of developments paves the way towards Zanzibar's potential to eventually becoming a mass tourism destination in which the tourism sector completely dominates the economy, and the capacity for a standardized volume of visitors annually has been attained (Tourism Policy Statement, 2001, unpublished copy). However, the GOZ and tourism development bodies of Zanzibar are aware of the negative impacts attributed to mass tourism and intend to curb them on their islands before they take on irreversible effects. Already, a number of environmental, social and cultural problems are being felt on the islands, ranging from degraded sea-water quality as a result of improper sewage disposal, to the displacement of fishermen and seaweed farmers from their traditional grounds by hotel developers (Gössling 2000, 2001, 2002), to name but a few. Some resistance to tourism has been expressed by rural coastal peoples and even town residents have been impacted by tourists' violations of cultural norms. It is the task of the CTZ to plan and control these developments while promoting tourism at the same time.

With the help of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), an intensive study of the tourism potentials for Zanzibar was conducted in 1983 and a Tourism Master Plan was created. Nevertheless, this was not fully implemented at the time, although elements and recommendations that were still useful and valid for Zanzibar have been accommodated into the Tourism Policy currently being prepared (Khatib, 2000). Present tourism developments are based on "Tourism Policy Statements", however, no copy of these are available to the public. This policy is being designed to increase productivity while preserving the close relationships between man, nature and culture on the islands. The policy's vision attempts to prevent a too-rapid growth, which in other places is often succeeded by sudden stagnation or even a drop in profitability. This idea is in line with the principles of ecotourism. Yet it remains unclear what strategies will be applied in

Zanzibar to achieve this aim. Methods that will encourage a slow and sustainable growth of the industry, allowing all sub-sectors to gain and stabilize themselves within the lucrative trade sector of the economy are being devised. This is in tune with Zanzibar's early attempts at encouraging ecotourism rather than conventional mass tourism development for the islands. An international workshop on Environmental Conservation and Ecotourism held in Unguja in 1994 emphasized the government's intentions to develop "*high-class environmentally sensitive tourism that benefits both the nation and the local community*". Furthermore, ecotourism, with its "*emphasis on the shared benefits and mutual responsibility between the local community, the environment and the tourists themselves*" promises success (Khatib, 2000). This relatively young and popular form of tourism then has become the basis upon which all future tourism development is to take place. In reality, this vision is overshadowed by interest conflicts between the various parties involved.

Unfortunately, due to lack or ignorance of guidelines, tourism development on the islands is often mismanaged, unplanned and *impromptu*. The drafted document made available to the author are deficient of policy direction and lack an integrated multi-sectoral links. At the same time, there is poor co-ordination and inadequate land management for the development of tourism, with land having been allocated to construction of hotels and lodges before the existence of a land use plan or tourism zoning plan in the 1980s and early 1990s (MWECL, 1993). Despite the current existence of a Tourism Zoning Plan, hotels and guest houses continue to be constructed in areas not designated for such purposes, for example within village settlements. The case study in chapter four is partially dedicated to this issue.

3.2 Tourist Structure

Zanzibar has always maintained a marginal role in the tourism industry of East Africa. During and after the Colonial Period, the number of tourists visiting the Isles was a minute fraction of the overall number of visitors to the nature reserves, national parks and beaches of Tanganyika and Kenya. Data from 1960/61 revealed that only 1% of the 38,000 tourists who had filled departure forms in the region had spent their time in Zanzibar (Ouma 1970: 19).

For the purpose of this paper, tourism in Zanzibar can be differentiated between „Urban Tourism“ and „Rural Tourism“. The former restricts visitors to the Old Stone Town and offers tours to historical sights and buildings, cultural activities, shopping excursions – generally, a colorful and vivid experience of the Swahili merchant town. The Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA), whose task it has been to conserve major historical buildings and sites in the capital, has contributed to revamping its attractiveness, while UNICEF's declaration of the Old Stone Town as a World Cultural Heritage in 1994 might have promoted the town as a holiday

destination. With 65 registered hotels, guesthouses and resorts, representing 38% of overall tourist accommodations on Unguja Island (CTZ, 2002), the capital of Zanzibar takes the lion's share of earnings in tourism on the island. The growing number in souvenir shops, restaurants, bars, night clubs and inter-net cafés provides visitors (and the local urban population) with a wide range of leisure services. Small islets and sand banks within easy reach of the town allow for the „sea-sand-sun“ activities typical of any tropical island tourist destination world-wide.

Contrary to this, „Urban Tourism“ refers to tourism which takes visitors into little-developed rural areas, some of these close to or within local villages. This type of tourism is rapidly increasing on Unguja, with the most popular destinations found at Nungwi in the north, and various settlements along the East Coast, and includes the villages of Kiwengwa, Pongwe, Bwejuu, Paje and Jambiani, amongst others. In fact, growth of the tourism industry in Unguja has been so aggressive that Nungwi has established itself as a popular „tourist village“, adopting urban qualities (discos, bars, restaurants etc.), with often detrimental effects.

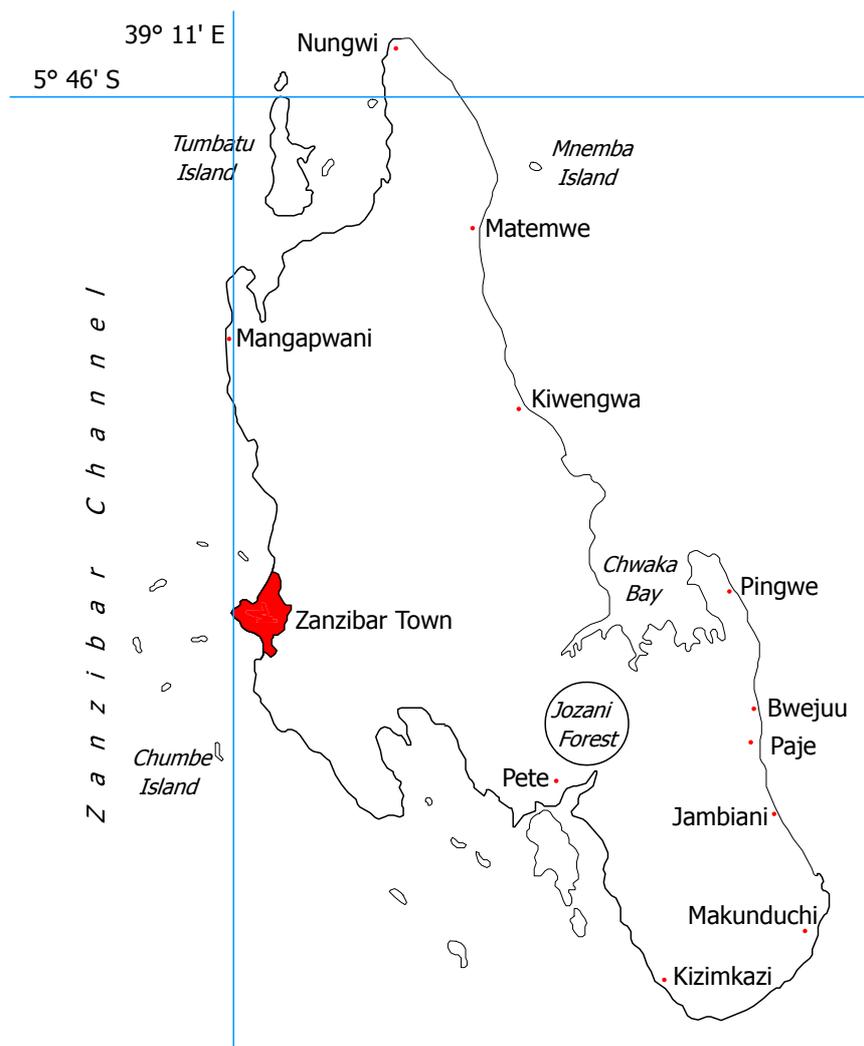


Figure 6: Unguja Island – important tourist sites
(own drawing based on Zanzibar Tourist Map, Harms 1999)

To-date, many travellers to Zanzibar continue to arrive on the island as part of a journey to Mainland Tanzania and/or Kenya, making a short stay of one to four days on Unguja (and to a limited extent Pemba). Although not available on record, preliminary observations show that the quality of visitors varies dramatically. The cheaper category consists of back-packers travelling individually or in groups as part of the popular Overland Safaris and other low budget travellers. This group is locally termed *vishuka* (Swahili for „bed-sheets“, referring to their minimal needs and low spending power) and make up a significant proportion of the total tourist arrivals to the island. This assumption is supported by the relatively large number of low-budget accommodations found on Unguja: of 173 registered accommodations, 123 were listed as „ungraded“ by the Commission for Tourism in 2001 (CTZ, 2002a). It is important to note that the GOZ would like to reduce (possibly eliminate?) this category of visitors to the Isles for reasons based on these visitors' low spending power and subsequent encouragement of low-budget hotels, which contradict the government's vision of the island's future up-market tourism industry. Furthermore, it is believed that such visitors are casual “passers-by”, with little interest and regard for the human, cultural and ecological resources of Zanzibar. However, this is a controversial argument that requires further study.

Expatriate families from the Mainland and upper-class citizens who can afford to travel make up a second category of visitors who are hosted in the more up-market accommodations (hotels and private guesthouses) available here. This group contributes significantly to the limited domestic tourism observed in the region. Unfortunately, domestic tourism in Unguja is not monitored and it remains difficult to estimate its size.

A third group consists of tourists exclusively visiting the island. This standardized package tourism began to establish itself with the introduction of direct charter flights from Europe (mainly Italy) in the early 1990s. Since then, it has increased significantly; however, seeing that no distinction is made between „direct“ tourists and those arriving via the Mainland, it remains difficult to establish their numbers. Generally, most direct visitors are accommodated in foreign owned resort hotels falling in the „enclave“ or „tourist ghetto“ category, in which visitors spend the largest part of their stay within all-inclusive tourist facilities designed to meet all their needs. In Unguja, such facilities are found mainly along the northeast coast, on Mnema and Chumbe Islands, and are commonly termed „Club“, „Village“, or „Resort“. Typically, they cater to tourists taking part in a pre-paid, full-board, exclusive holiday to Unguja booked abroad, privately or through foreign travel agencies. This group typically contributes to the longest stay on the island (internet research on various Italian and German tour operators and hotel web-sites show package tours to Zanzibar ranging from one to two weeks). Direct spending of tourists in this category is limited to purchase of souvenirs and small articles. The Zanzibar Revenue Board (ZRB) reported “immense leakages

of earnings” characteristic to facilities in this category. Because payments are made abroad, officials in Zanzibar have little insight into - and control of - hotel rates, and have little experience with the components of package tours (ZRB official, pers. com. 2002)

The small size of the island and limited standardized attractions ensures that most visitors – regardless of category - participate in guided city tours, visits to cultural and historic sites (Mangapwani Slave Caves, Bububu Persian Baths, off-shore islets, clove plantations etc.), and participate in the popular „Spice Tours“. Few visitors leave the capital to visit the Jozani Forest, the only existing area of mature forest left on the island and home to the endemic and endangered Red Colobus Monkey. Although not particularly encouraged in Zanzibar, beach tourism does exist, and is limited mainly to the resort beach hotels and the small islets.

3.3 Arrival Trends

The Zanzibar Tourism Development Plan prepared by the UNDP in 1983 showed that only ten unclassified accommodation units, with a capacity of 215 rooms or a total of 467 beds, were available on the islands in that year. By 1990, this number had increased to 45 accommodation units and 1063 beds, showing an average increase of 40% for that period. By the year 2000, this number had surged to 6000 beds marking an increase of more than 80% (CTZ, 2002a).

The CTZ keeps close records of monthly tourist arrivals, which are recorded at all official points of entry to and departure from the Zanzibar Islands. In Unguja, these points are the Marine Port Customs Office at the harbor in Zanzibar Town, which all boat passengers must pass through on arrival from the Mainland or Pemba Island, and the Customs Office at the International Airport, located to the south of Zanzibar Town. These tourist arrivals have also showed growth trends which support the rapid increase in construction of accommodations and other tourism services in Unguja. Whereas in the year 1985 only 19,368 tourists were recorded, the number had increased to 97,065 by the year 2000 (Figure 7).

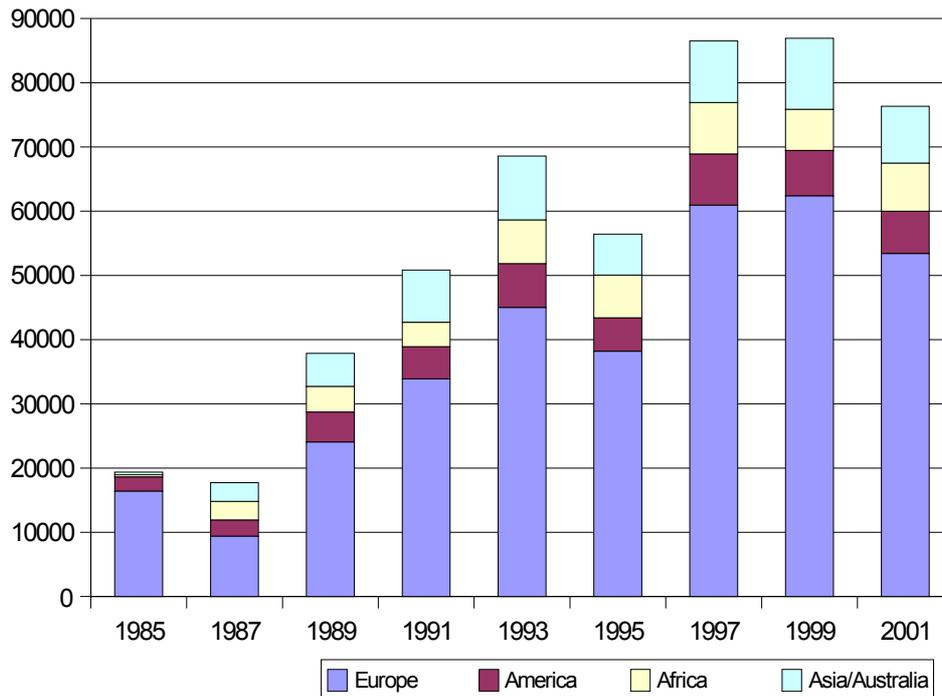


Figure 7: Visitor's arrival 1985 – 2001
(source: CTZ, 2002b)

A breakdown of these statistics show that Europeans make up the bulk of arrivals, attributed with the largest overall increase during the period 1985 to 2001. Especially Italians are very popular visitors to the island, contributing to 19% of the overall 76,329 recorded visitors for the year 2001. Visitors from the United Kingdom rank second after Italians, while the French, Scandinavians and Germans make up the smallest groups. South Africans began to arrive in significant numbers in 1995, dramatically spurring intra-continental tourism.

<i>Year</i>	<i>European</i>	<i>American</i>	<i>African</i>	<i>Asian</i>	<i>Aus/NZ</i>	<i>Total</i>
1990	27327	5173	2836	3253	3552	42141
1995	38195	5173	6680	2874	3493	56415
2000	71439	8048	8718	4028	4932	97165

Table 3: Zanzibar Visitor's Profile
(source: CTZ 2002)

Zanzibar is a year-round destination, however, some degree of seasonality in tourist arrivals is observed, with the highest visitor arrivals recorded from July to September, marking the “high season” for Unguja. Most hotels may increase their prices during this period, although smaller establishments and local guesthouses keep their prices constant throughout the year

(Zanzibar Travel and Trade Directory, 2002). The tourist season coincides inversely with annual rainfall on the islands and has adverse ecological effects, as shall be discussed in the case study.

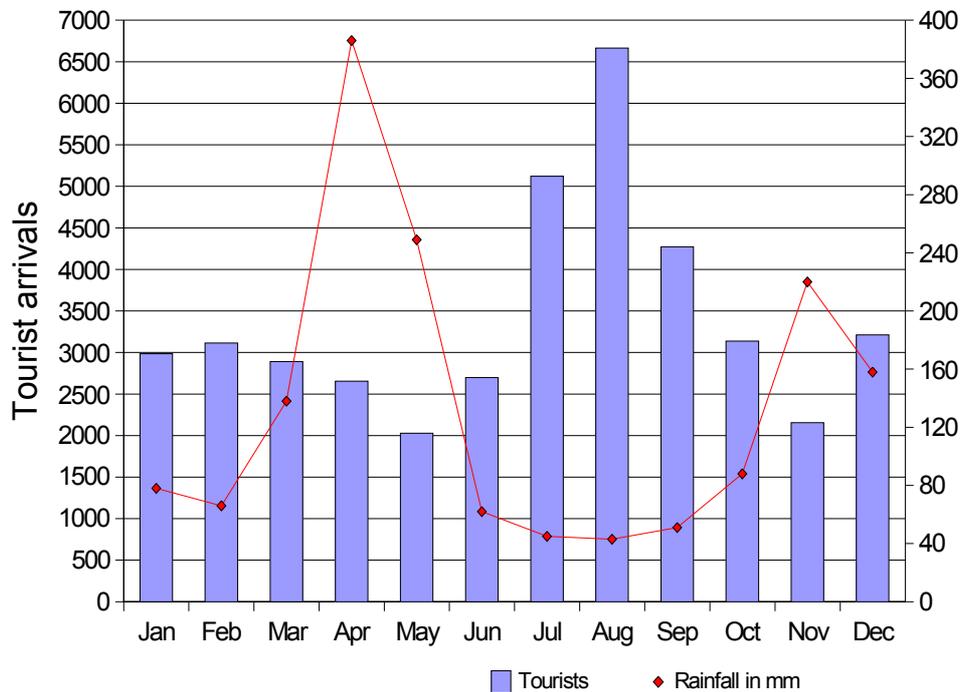


Figure 8: Tourist and rainfall seasonality in Zanzibar 2000
(Sources: CTZ, Directorate of Meteorology, Zanzibar)

3.4 Tourism Income

It is assumed that for any country involved in the tourism business, income generation and financial gain are the main targets and priorities. In its attempt at making the tourism industry an important component of, and contributor to, the overall economy of the islands, the GOZ employs various methods to secure direct cash gains. Tourism income here can generally be divided into two groups: direct income and indirect income. On the side of direct income from tourism, Zanzibar collects visa fees, airport and seaport taxes, residence permits and investment licenses - implemented through official government bodies such as the Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency (ZIPA), the Zanzibar Ports Corporation, the Board of Migration, and the Commission for Tourism Zanzibar (CTZ). Collection of hotel, restaurant, and tour operator's levies and income tax make up part of the indirect income, which is diverted to government treasury. It is largely the duty of the ZRB to secure these finances.

3.3.1 Direct Income

- ENTRY VISA FEES: Visitors who arrive to the islands from or through the Mainland, making Zanzibar part of a continental tour, may already be in possession of a Tanzanian visa and thus have automatic entry to Unguja, Pemba and Mafia islands. However, many tourists arrive directly to Zanzibar and must apply for an entry permit. Visa fees range between US\$ 20 and US\$ 50, depending on nationality. The Board of Migration claims to have collected about US\$ 600,000 in visa fees alone in the year 2000, however, it is believed that a loss of about US\$ 1 million is attributed to corruption at entry ports, thus significantly decreasing income through this method (CTZ, 2001). A further US\$ 218,220 was collected as residents' permits from investors in various fields, largely tourism, in that year. Since 1999, 30 % of this income is directly reinvested into the Board of Migration, while the rest is allocated to the government account.
- INVESTMENT PERMITS: The umbrella investment body ZIPA charges a fee of US\$ 200 per investment application permit, a down payment to be made regardless of approval or rejection of any investment project on the islands of Unguja and Pemba. A single investment license costs the investor between US\$ 500 and US\$ 1000, depending on project size and initial capital invested. Whereas in 1995, a sum of US\$ 13,800 was collected in foreign investment licenses alone, the number had more than doubled by the year 2000 (US\$ 28,314). On the part of local investments, about TSh. 4.91 million was collected in 1995, and TSh. 6.74 million in 2000, representing a 37% increase only (ZIPA 199?). This suggests that there is in fact limited participation from local investors in tourism, probably in response to the government's control and restriction of low-budget projects.
- LAND LEASE: A large part of investments in Zanzibar involve a significant use of land, especially the tourism industry, in which a single new hotel or guesthouse in a rural location requires a minimum of one hectare of land. While land acquisition for local investors is straightforward, simplified by local land using rights granted to indigenous peoples, the procedure for foreign investors is more complicated. Foreigners can never fully *own* land and must, parallel to buying a plot from indigenous families, lease this from the government for a definite period. ZIPA guarantees a lower limit of 49 years, with possibilities for extension. This method of land acquisition, while beneficial to the government, means that local families are trading off a long-term resource and basis for their livelihood for short-term financial gains. While rates for purchase of land depend on landowner-investor negotiations, land lease rates are fixed with the only variations depending on fertility and vicinity to public infrastructure services (water, electricity, roads), and on intended use of the plot (whether for private use or for business). Table 3 below provides a summary of the

breakdown of leasing prices. Note that rates for local investors are significantly lower than those for foreign investors, a selective tool applied to create favorable investment conditions for the former.

Rates for local investors		Rates for foreign investors	
Urban Land	Rural Land	Urban Land	Rural Land
TSh. 60/m ²	TSh.60/m ² (fertile)	US\$ 0.30/m ² *	US\$ 0.35/m ² * (fertile)
	TSh. 45/m ² (barren)		US\$ 0.20/m ² * (barren)
* 2002 Exchange Rates: 1 US\$ = TSh.960			

Table 4: Land Lease Rates 2002

(Source: ZIPA, 2002)

For the construction of hotels, for example, annual land lease rates for foreigners fall within the range of US\$ 2000 and US\$ 3000 per hectare, dependent on location (urban/rural) and land quality (barren/fertile). Fees for local investors for the same land vary between TSh. 450,000 and TSh. 600,000 (equivalent to ca. US\$ 450 to US\$ 600) demonstrating the “preferable conditions” adopted to encourage local investors. Current disparities between ZIPA and MWECLC are looking to divert fees collected from land lease, which are presently directed to the former, into the budget of the latter. This is due to the fact that MWECLC is allocated the responsibility of controlling development of land and other natural resources.

3.3.2 Indirect Income

To collect indirect income from the tourism industry, the GOZ applies its main tool, the ZRB, which collects taxes imposed on all profits made by tourism undertakings, especially by way of Hotel, Restaurant and Tour Operation Levies. In addition, the CTZ, whose principal responsibility is to provide for, and charge, all licensed tourist undertakings, collects indirect tourism earnings made through tour guide licenses, road licenses and related fees. A survey conducted by the CTZ and the Bank of Tanzania/Zanzibar showed that the ZRB had collected a total of about TSh. 3,569 mil. (equivalent to US\$ 2.65 mil. at 1998 exchange rates). Hotel and Restaurant Levies contributed to 97.3 % of these earnings. The rest was collected from Tour and Travel Agents, which form the second most significant group in the sector (CTZ, 2001). Generally, major earnings from the

tourism sector in Zanzibar are attributed to hotels and restaurants, which make up the significant part of all investments in this industry and are the easiest to monitor.

- ZANZIBAR REVENUE BOARD: A close look at the values between the years 1994/95 and 2000/01 show a significant increase in revenue collected by this body, reflecting the rising number of tourist arrivals, as well as the increased investments in tourism projects made during that period. However, the introduction of VAT (Value Added Tax) in 1999, and constant inflation should be taken into consideration when analyzing this data.

Source	1994/95 (in Tsh.)	2000/01 (in TSh.)
Hotel Levy	200,337,669	2,394,147,369
Restaurant Levy	7,476,104	84,747,466
Tour Operator	9,004,878	99,384,707
Total	216,858,651	2,578,279,542

Table 5: Zanzibar Tourism Earnings
(Source: ZRB, 2002)

4. Case Study: Jambiani Village

In order to study and observe the implementation of tourism development policies in Unguja, a field study was conducted in the rural village of Jambiani, which is located on the southeast coast of Unguja. The tourism investment found in Jambiani differs from that found elsewhere in that it is largely characterized by local ownership. Furthermore, developments taking place here are to a great extent contrary to government plans and oppose the policy vision with regard to the type of tourism industry it sees as appropriate for the Isles. Yet in spite of this, tourism businesses in this village are on the increase; Jambiani is gaining popularity amongst visitors and more hotels and guesthouses are being constructed. Considering Jambiani's relatively difficult accessibility until recently (due to bad road conditions), this phenomenon may prove a number of situations in the changing face of tourism in Zanzibar:

1. Increasingly more remote communities realize the (financial) benefits to be made from tourism and are simply "jumping on the bandwagon";
2. increasing costs for accommodation, food, recreation activities and other tourist demands are pushing a certain category of visitors to the less developed and therefore cheaper locations on the island;
3. The increasing numbers of visitors requires for expansion of tourist facilities (is Zanzibar attaining its carrying capacity?);
4. Opening up new areas to tourism might imply a shift in resources use (from cultural to natural).

This chapter will first describe in detail the natural characteristics of the study area, followed by a structure of the village, its people, and their means of existence independent of the tourism industry. Thereafter, a detailed study of the current tourism activities will give an insight into the changes that man and environment have had to undergo in order to encompass this new income earner into the existing structures. An evaluation of the tourism activities taking place in the village will conclude this section.

All data, information and comments quoted are based on material and information collected by the author while researching in the village in August and September 2002 and originates from reliable sources and interviews conducted in the village. Sources include a wide range of role players such as teachers, village leaders (*shehas*), owners and/or managers of tourist centers, as well as individual villagers involved in the tourism business either as investors or as employees. Both participatory and detached observations of the villagers were conducted to enable an insight into their lives and daily activities. A number of narrative interviews were conducted with villagers of all age groups and of both genders, in which interviewees were asked to respond to specific

questions regarding their lives and work both before and after the introduction to tourism to the region (Appendix A).

4.1 Introduction to Jambiani Village

4.1.1 Situation and Accessibility

The village of Jambiani is situated on a narrow strip of coastal zone (possibly created by marine regression processes during the past 6000 years) on the southeast coast of Unguja island. Located between the villages of Paje (in the north) and Makunduchi (in the south), it lays some 55 km from Zanzibar Town. Since the beginning of the year 2002, this distance can be covered in about 2 hours by the local bus service (*Dala-Dala*) or in just over an hour by collective taxis, which are the conventional means of transporting tourists from one place to another on the island. Jambiani Village is part of the so-called „Southeast Unguja Region”, which was one of the first rural areas opened to tourism and given priority in farther tourism development (MWECLC, 1993). Three daily departures by local bus ensure that the village is well connected to other settlements, especially the capital. These buses transport not only passengers but also local products, especially firewood, and locally cultivated crops (cassava, potatoes and bananas) to the market in town. Consumer goods (bicycles, rice, fabric, soap, salt and other products) are brought in from the city for local use.

The collective taxis are solely for transporting tourists and operate under private co-operations between car owners, drivers and tour guides. The organizational and price differences between these two means of transport reflect the overall regulation techniques common to the tourist industry in Zanzibar: while the bus fare by *dala-dala* for the Jambiani - Zanzibar Town route is TSh. 600 per person, the same distance by collective tourist taxi costs each passenger TSh. 4000 (August 2002 exchange rates: US\$1=TSh. 970). This differentiation is also common in park fees, prices of particular consumer goods and in some cases hotel/guesthouse accommodation fees and is designed to favor the low income of locals.

The recent improvements to the road connecting the east coast to the rest of the island might contribute to the expansion of tourism in this region. A five-kilometer coastal stretch of sandy road between Paje and Jambiani, however, remain to be constructed, an improvement which will reduce the journey by another 15 to 20 minutes and increase vehicle longevity. This might open the region to farther visitations and connect Jambiani to Makunduchi in the south, thus making this center of Swahili culture on the island a more attractive year-round tourist destination.

4.1.2 Village Structure

The village of Jambiani is situated on a narrow sandy-coral stretch between the shoreline to the east and the limits of bushy thorn vegetation (*pori*) to the west. This narrow zone is characteristic of long stretches of Zanzibar's coastline and is interrupted frequently by mangrove vegetation. Typically, a thin layer of sand surface covers the underlying coral rag dominated by coconut palm plantations. Somewhat untypical for Zanzibar, Jambiani village has a linear structure, running parallel to the coast, with village houses built close together and arranged along the main road, which cuts through the village in a north-south axis, parallel to the coastline. This throughway plays an important role in the daily life of the village inhabitants. All public buildings (school, health center, shops, local restaurants, village leader's homes and political party offices) are located along it. The daily life of the villagers takes place within the vicinity of the road, which is also the main route for all traffic to the village. The flat sand beach, which is bordered by tourist accommodation and private homes (built and owned by foreigners) is the second most important "roadway". The tidal cycle of the Indian Ocean determines the pattern of activity on the beach. The beach's natural flat and uninterrupted characteristics make it a popular cycling path at low tide both for the local population as well as tourists. A common feature is the daily activity of women attending to their seaweed farms on the low tide plains, and fishermen repairing boats and nets. At high tide, the beach remains impassable because the high water mark reaches the lowest limits of village construction and land use. The western limits of the constructed part of the village are marked by a clear transition from coconut palm to thorn-bush vegetation, and a difference in surface characteristic (from sand to coral surface, with patches of humus). Beyond this line are found the *shambas* (agricultural fields), which are located within the thorn-bush, and are accessible by narrow paths that have established themselves through decades of use by generations of Jambiani peasants.

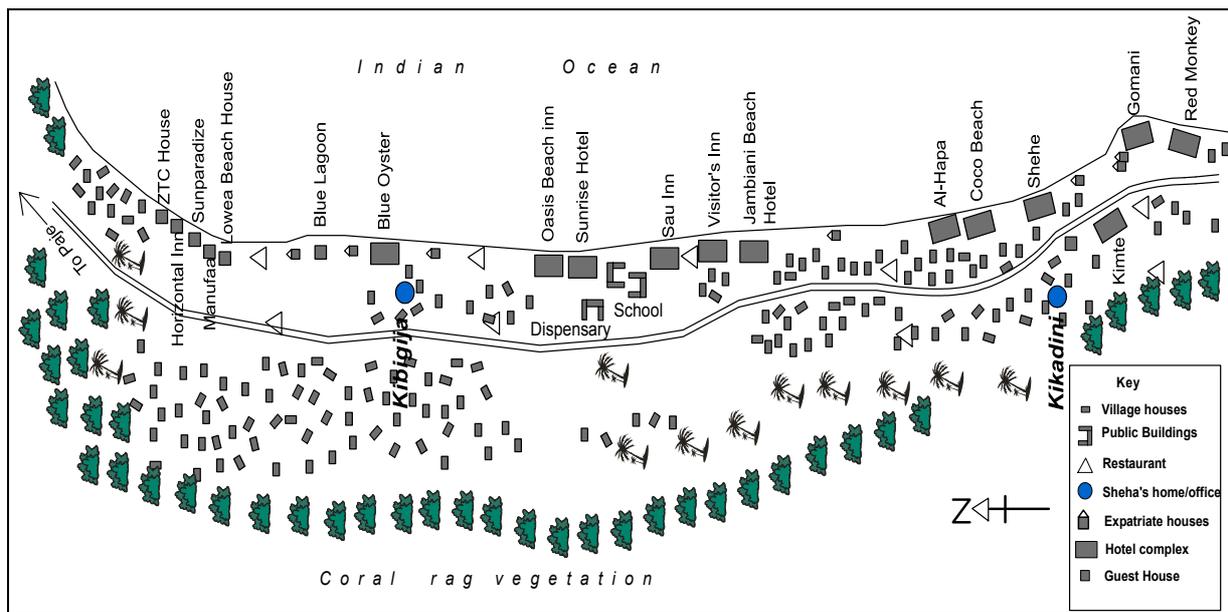


Figure 9: Topographical structure of Jambiani village
(own sketch, 2002)

The center of the village is located near the village school and medical center. These most important public facilities are located half way between the most northern and southern ends of the village. It is between these two buildings that the dividing line between the northern and southern *shehia* (village administrative units) runs: Jambiani Kibigija in the north and Jambiani Kikadini in the south. Each *shehia* is further divided into *vitongoji*, which are small subdivisions consisting between ten and 15 houses placed under the supervision of a locally elected supervisor who oversees the environmental harmony and sanitation of his designated area. Jambiani consists of 13 such *vitongoji* making a total of about 200 houses in the village. Each *shehia* is under the supervision of a *sheha*, who is an appointed social and administrative leader. He represents the government at the village level, and is responsible for all matters concerning the village community and its individual members. The *sheha* monitors the movement of people to and within his *shehia*, keeps track of village statistics, specifically births, deaths, marriages and migrations, and maintains an annual record of village events. Questions regarding land ownership, sale and purchase of property, marriage and separation are also directed to him, and often he acts as social and religious counselor for community members.

A typical house in Jambiani village is a modest square building with small windows on the outer walls, constructed of locally available limestone and chalk mortar, with *makuti* (thatching made of coconut palm fronds) roof. The chalk mortar, mined in small scales from the coral rag is pulverized and diluted with water to form a brilliant whitewash with which all stone houses are

coated. All houses conforming to the traditional architecture consist of a single ground floor, with the main entrance to an inner courtyard that doubles as cooking and storage area. Depending on the financial capacity of the owner, the wooden door to this main entrance might be adorned with elaborate carvings, providing a sample of the famous “Zanzibar Door”. A narrow *baraza* (Arabic: “meeting place”), an elevated extension along the outer wall on either side of the main entrance provides a sitting area in the open and is the meeting place for family members and neighbors. Visitors are mainly received in the inner courtyard. This structure is typical of the Arab merchant house (see Sheriff, 1987) and can be found all along the East African coast. The construction boom triggered by the tourism industry has led to new architectural forms (especially larger windows and rooms) in the village and the use of more modern materials such as cement, concrete and corrugated iron sheets. The introduction of electric cables to the hotels has enabled those members of the village community with the financial capacity to tap into the national grid and benefit from its services. However, the majority of the village homes are lit by kerosene lamps, meals are cooked by firewood and transistor radios powered by batteries.



Plate 1: Jambiani beach at low tide with hotel structures in background

4.1.3 Population

Unlike the urban areas of Zanzibar, where the population is marked by metropolitan characteristics, the majority of the inhabitants of Jambiani are of indigenous African origin. According to the data provided by the *sheha* of Jambiani, drawn from the village census of early 2002, 4000 villagers inhabit this settlement. Women outnumber the male population by about 30%, a ratio that is repeated in the statistics of pupils registered at the local school and in general national census. 12 foreign “Jambianis” (European settlers, or long-term tourists) and a small

number of Tanzanian hotel employees from the Mainland and other island regions are not included in this number.

The average Jambiani family is a relatively large unity compared to that found in central Europe, but this conforms to the norm for the nation at large. Due to the extended family units, which might be dispersed amongst a number of houses and locations within the village, households, which comprise of an of average, six members ranging in age from infancy to old age, are the units to consider here. Although these households bring together husband and wife (in some cases *wives*) bonded by Muslim marriage, residence is not limited to the married couple alone but in many cases includes siblings and parents of either partner. Generally, a man's first wife assimilates in his parent's household, resulting in a typical household consisting of three generations: parents, children and grandparents. Second wives might join such a household, or continue to live in parents' home, or establish her own house. This practice results in a single man attending to and providing for more than one household, a fact which may encourage women to work in cash based economies in order to meet basic expenses. Children grow up mainly in their mother's houses. A wide range of households were observed in Jambiani, ranging from the smallest - a two person household consisting of divorced mother with daughter - to a 13 person household occupied by four generations.

In the year 2002, as many as 1240 pupils (representing 31% of the total village population) between the ages of seven and 18 years, had enrolled in the local school. This educational facility opened for the first time in 1953, with a total of 86 male pupils and two teachers. Ten years later, this was officially changed into a mixed-gender school which also accepted pupils from the neighboring village of Paje (about five km. north of Jambiani). Since 1968, its capacity has increased to the ninth year of school, and effort is presently being made to extend this in order to avoid sending children to Zanzibar Town to complete a full secondary education there. It must be noted that the Jambiani school is a relatively wealthy and well equipped institution, having profited significantly through donations from visitors (source: Mr. M. Suleiman, principal, Jambiani School, 2002). Tourists concerned with community well-being and the improvement of public services have contributed towards a well-stocked English language library (books were donated from Scotland, furniture from Stuttgart, Germany), and a computer room with the only inter-net access facilities in the village. The Public Health Center has also received beds and medical equipment through visitors' contributions.



Plate 2: Jambiani school library

Recent developments in the public services sector for the village include the introduction of day-care centers. Construction and administration for such facilities was encouraged by an Austrian development aid organization. For a price, mothers can leave their children here while they work (either in tourist centers or in the seaweed plantations). This trend reflects the increasing spending power of villagers on the one hand, and the positive encouragement within the community for women's participation in income generating activities. However, it is unclear whether this trend is a result of higher costs of living and a consequence of the necessity to work to meet the financial demands on families, or whether it is part of the trend in liberalization of the womenfolk and their changing function within the family and society. Whether this phenomenon does or does not evolve directly out of the growing tourism industry and its impact on society in Jambiani and Zanzibar in general requires further study.

4.1.4 Micro-economy

Rural existential activities can be distinguished between subsistence and cash economies. As observed in Jambiani, the most significant occupation is subsistence agriculture, whereby the main crops grown are cassava, potatoes, bananas and a variety of green vegetables. All cultivating activities, apart from seaweed farming, take place in the *shambas* on the coral rag beyond the village boundary to the west. Accounts by senior villagers claim that the ancestors of present day villagers occupied these areas of deeper soils where cultivation is favorable. Today, small plots of cultivated land, the boundaries of each marked by a wall of coral rock or stick fence about one meter high, are found among the thorn bush vegetation. These plots have been passed down from one generation to the next over an indefinite period, and a system of crop rotation continues to be practiced. The *shamba* closer to the coastline are mainly cultivated with cassava and bananas;

here, cuttings are simply placed in pockets of soil, which have evolved out of humus gathered in the larger pores of the coral rock surface. Maize, potatoes and a millet variety (*ulezi*) are farmed farther inland, five to ten kilometers from the coast and village, where patches of deeper soils are available. In almost all households interviewed, at least one member practices full-time crop cultivation, mainly for family consumption, making this activity largely self-sufficient. It was determined that amongst the male population at least, the main occupation is predominantly agriculture; many households practice a combination of both agriculture and fishing. Occasionally, part of the harvest (whether fish or crops) is sold to secure cash income, which is used to purchase other consumer goods (salt, kerosene, clothing, soap, furniture etc.) available in the local stores, or other foods not produced locally (especially rice and wheat).

Fishing is widely practiced by the majority of the male population, contributing significantly to the protein diet of these coastal people. Crustaceans (mainly crabs) and bivalves (jellyfish and octopus) collected from the beach and low tide zones supplement this diet. Villagers' accounts claim that originally, fishermen were the only members of the community who went to sea, spending time on the coast to repair nets and clean fish catches before returning inland. The establishment of villages directly on the coast is, according to these accounts, a relatively new phenomenon, perhaps between 60 and 70 years old and probably related to increased fishing for market consumption.

Animal husbandry consists of goats, ducks, chicken and pigeons in small numbers, which are only slaughtered on special occasions. Some small herds of cows are kept in the coral rag hinterland where grass patches and sweet water sources are available, however, the animals appeared under-sized and malnourished. Goats fare better and appear in small numbers all over the village. The sale of milk and eggs was not observed anywhere in the village, suggesting individual consumption and/or limited production.



Plate 3: Shamba in coral rag of Jambiani

The second most important activity after fishing and food crop cultivation in Jambiani is seaweed farming, as practiced by the majority of women in this and other east coast villages. Seaweed farming was introduced to this village for the first time in 1989 through a pilot project set up by a Danish group whose aim was to increase seaweed production to meet the needs of Copenhagen Pectin. The species grown here - *Eucheuma Spinosum* - was introduced from the Philippines and it soon proved a successful occupation for the villagers of Jambiani, quickly spreading to Paje, Kiwengwa and others (Eklund & Petterson, 1992). Today, this industry employs more than 75% of the female population in Jambiani (own data), providing an income which ranges from TSh. 3,000 - 25,000 a month, depending on the size of the “plantation” and the intensity with which it is cultivated (in terms of labor and time invested). Weather conditions and natural marine activities (i.e. intensity of ocean currents and tides) influence these “cash crops”, resulting in unpredictable harvests and degraded crop quality. This factor and falling market prices have reduced the profitability of seaweed farming, however, it continues to employ large numbers of coastal womenfolk, for whom it is the most important cash-earner.

Generally, men conduct a wider range of cash-based activities than women do. While women’s jobs are to a large extent restricted to seaweed farming and/or food crop cultivation in combination with housework, the men’s job market has more to offer. Some official occupations observed for both genders in Jambiani include:

- Shop keeping (about 10 grocery stores were counted in the village)
- Construction

- Employment in hotels/guesthouses
- Teaching (Jambiani school employs 39 teachers altogether, 18 female)
- Owner/Manager/Clerk of café, restaurant or souvenir shop
- Tailoring
- Doctor, Nurse in village health center
- Bus/Truck driver

The informal sector too occupies a significant part of the population and includes such traditional and functional professions as mat weaving, charcoal burning, woodcutting, rope making and boat construction.

4.2 Tourism in Jambiani

According to the Tourism Zoning Plan (1993), the south-east coast of Unguja, which includes the villages of and Bwejuu, Paje, Jambiani and Makunduchi, was set aside as a prioritized Tourism Development Zone since the beginnings of the tourism industry in Zanzibar. In fact, this region was already experiencing “*a most aggressive development, with a concentration of guesthouses and bungalows being constructed without approval through the formal application procedures*” (MWEACLE, 1993). A cluster of private guesthouses was being established along a 12-kilometer stretch of beach, and contrary to plans, tourist facilities were evolving within the village settlements, with ever more investors applying for permission to develop the area (MWEACLE, 1993). Factors working in favor of the success of this region were mainly:

- A relatively short drive from the entrepôt Stone Town;
- Long stretches of pristine beaches appealing to sun bathers, with abundant high-quality coral areas ideal for snorkeling;
- The road leading to this region passes through Jozani Forest, a major tourist attraction.

4.2.1 Historical Development of Tourism

Today, a mixture of investors characterizes the southeast tourism zone, with a high degree of control by Zanzibar nationals rather than foreigners. This contrasts the situation along the north-east coast, where almost all hotels, mainly up-market and graded beach accommodations (e.g. Vera Club, Mapenzi Beach Resort, Blue Bay Beach Resort, Venta Karibu Club Village etc.) are controlled by foreign investors. This appears to have been the aim of the tourism development bodies concerned with the development of this economic sector at the earliest stages: it was seen that potential Zanzibari entrepreneurs needed to gain experience in the tourism business and so the east coast provided an example. Emphasis for development in this region was put in the

Pongwe to Paje area north of Jambiani. However Jambiani itself, although an integral part of this zone, was refused farther development under the argument that the Pongwe to Paje stretch provided a large enough area with which to work (MWECL, 1993). Never-the-less, tourism centers were established within the village, the oldest of these being the Zanzibar Tourism Corporation (ZTC) Guesthouse and the Jambiani Beach Hotel, both in operation since 1981. It is unclear to what extent this new infrastructure encouraged tourism to the village, in any case no more investment proposals were made during the 1980s. The 1990s however appear to have been a time of greatest development, most probably connected with the passing of *Ruksa*, i.e. the implementation of the Investment Act of 1986. Between 1990 and 2000, 11 new tourism accommodations were constructed and put in operation along the village coastline. This increasing trend of an average of one unit a year has continued into the new millennium.

The earliest developments appear to have centered close to the old ZTC Guesthouse. Here, a conglomeration of simple structures located immediately next to each other represent the most dense tourist facility concentration in the village and include the ZTC Guesthouse, Sunparadize, Manufaa Guesthouse, and Lowea Beach House. There are suggestions that these houses were initially constructed as private weekend abodes for elite Zanzibari families residing in the capital, and were later turned into guesthouses to cater to foreign tourists. Today, these facilities provide the simplest services and make up the lowest price category (excluding Lowea Beach House) available in Jambiani. Backpackers and low-budget tourists make up the bulk of visitors residing here³. Further construction of hotels later extended to the south of this center, occupying more stretches of the beach and village land. The complexes have also grown in size and changed in structure, adopting the typical Bungalow style.

4.2.2 Current Situation: Accommodation Structure

Presently, there are 20 accommodation units in Jambiani, two of which were still under construction at the time of conducting the fieldwork. One can distinguish mainly between two types of accommodation in Jambiani, namely the “Guesthouse” variety and the more recent “Bungalow” type, whose architectural features are gaining popularity.

The simpler guesthouse accommodation takes on the shape of a spacious square building, entailing a central living/dining room surrounded by visitor’s bedrooms. Guesthouses typically have no self-contained bedrooms and a limited capacity (on average, a maximum of 8 beds); provide simple bed-and-breakfast services and a kitchen, which allows self-catering of visitors. In Jambiani,

³ It is important to note that it is exactly this type of visitor and associated tourism centers which the GOZ, ZIPA and CTZ aim at eliminating in the future. For details, see 4.2.4 The Jambiani Paradox.

the price for a room in such units ranges between US\$ 5 and US\$ 10 and requires no formal booking procedures. Accommodations falling in this category include the **ZTC House**, **Sunparadize**, **Manufaa Guesthouse**, and **Lowea Beach House** (with a different price range). Some guesthouses have expanded with time to include two or more bungalows, thus increasing their capacity and upgrading themselves by providing a higher level of comfort. Examples in Jambiani include **Oasis Beach Inn** and **Al-Hapa Guest House and Bungalow**.

The second and most popular type of accommodation units available in Jambiani is the “Bungalow” type, which conforms to a “cottage” structure. All bungalows are self-contained (i.e. have private bathroom facilities). Principally, a typical “bungalow hotel” will consist of several such cottages arranged in a “village” scene bordered by an idealized garden landscape. Due to the relatively big rooms, individual furnishing and private bathroom facilities, bungalow accommodations are up-scale from guesthouses, with prices ranging between US\$ 30 and US\$ 80, depending on accessories (swimming pool, diving, tours, laundry etc.). The visitor's reception area, hotel offices and an open restaurant commonly occupy a larger separate building. In Jambiani **Villa de Coco**, **Mount Zion Long Beach Bungalows**, **The Rising Sun Hotel**, **Sau Inn**, **Visitor’s Inn**, **Shehe Bungalows**, **Gomani Bungalows** and **Red Monkey Bungalows** fall under this category.

Price Range	No. of Units in this range	Jambiani Employees	Non-Jambiani Employees	Rooms	Beds
Below US\$ 25	9	46	5	59	119
US\$ 25 - 50	6	80	13	100	180
Above US\$ 50	3	57	7	40	76
Total	18	183	25	199	375

Table 6: Tourist accommodation in Jambiani 2002 - Price range, unit size and employees
(own field study, 2002)

A village type landscape in which bushy vegetation and decorative flowerbeds separate bungalows from one another is the standard for Zanzibar. Although this creates a friendly atmosphere and more privacy for the visitors, such resorts use up more space. Furthermore, natural vegetation is often cleared and replaced by luxurious gardens and concrete paving. Presently, only Sau Inn offers a swimming pool, but Villa de Coco and Mount Zion (the newest and largest complexes in Jambiani) are planning pools in the future. This facility sets the highest standard for hotels on the east coast and is a rare luxury on beaches, which do not favor water activities (swimming, water skiing etc.) due to their flat and shallow characters and use for seaweed farming at low tide.



Plate 4: Stylized gardens and bungalows of Sau Inn, Jambiani
– high fresh-water consumption.

Almost all tourism centers in Jambiani are fenced off from the rest of the village, either by a wall or by *makuti* (palm fronds) fencing. This has the purpose of marking the limits of the hotel complex, but is especially constructed to create a barrier between the hotel and the village. However, it seems that villagers disregard these restrictions, especially on the beachfront, and cross them to make contact with tourists. This suggests a harmonious co-existence and loose formality between the village community and tourist centers, and by far differs from the situation on the northeast coast where foreign owned hotel complexes strictly exclude unemployed villagers (Gößling, 1999). A number of hotels have constructed a sunbathing zone furnished with deck chairs improvised out of local materials where tourists can sunbathe discreetly without causing offense to the native population. This device helps to avoid cross-cultural conflicts and discomfort to tourists and the local community regarding tourist behavior.

As mentioned earlier, tourist facilities in Jambiani are characterized by a variety of owners, foreign and local, with the majority being indigenous Jambiani residents. Figure 10 below summarizes the current situation (September 2002). Although most of these facilities do not meet policy standards (that is, they do not fall under the up-market category) and are not graded, the Jambiani monopoly fulfills the initial intentions of the government to create possibilities for the local Zanzibaris to engage in the business. All tourist centers are privately owned and so far, no communally owned and managed facilities were found.

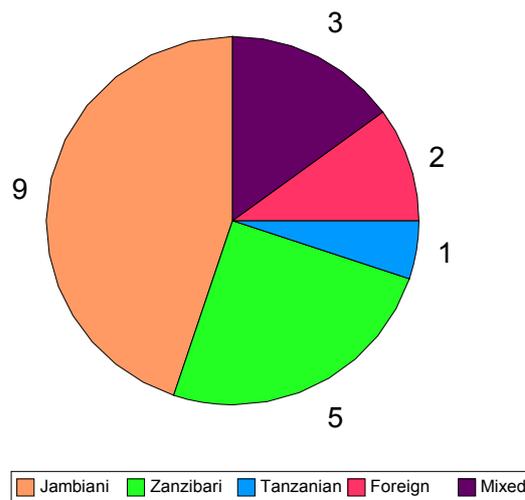


Figure 10: Tourist accommodation ownership in Jambiani 2002
(source: own field study, 2002)

4.2.3 Tourism related Employment

The current hotel industry in Jambiani employs 210 people, 175 (or 83%) of whom are local villagers. The rest come from Zanzibar Town, Mafia Island and the Mainland. The majority (79%) of the native employees are male. In Jambiani, less than 5% of the total female population is involved in tourism. For those women working in hotels, employment is generally limited to low- or non-skilled labor such as housekeeping and kitchen work, and are consequently the least paid. In cases where women are employed at higher levels, such as at the reception desk, in the office or hotel restaurants, it was observed that these came from the Mainland, where training in hotel and restaurant skills is more popular and widely available.

Due to their limited capacity and low prices, units in the guesthouse category do not provide significant employment opportunities. In most cases, such facilities employ a single (male) person whose job is to oversee all needs in the house and visitors. It is the bigger hotels which express a significant demand for employees, this demand growing proportionally with size and price category of the unit. Larger hotels were associated with the biggest working fleets and offered the widest range of jobs. For example, Sau Inn, which is by far the most complex accommodation center and the only officially graded (two stars) unit in Jambiani, provides the following employment possibilities:

- Hotel manager and assistant
- Head receptionist and assistants

- Waiters
- Head cook and assistant cook, plus other kitchen staff
- Head of housekeeping and other housekeepers
- Gardeners and swimming pool expert
- Electrician and plumber
- Dive master and assistant
- Porters
- Gate keepers and security guards

This unit alone employs 49 people, only six of whom are not natives of the village. Common to Jambiani and other places, non-locals tend to occupy senior positions (management, administration etc.). These are in many cases Mainlanders, or Zanzibar Town residents who have obtained managerial skills either through practical experience or have qualified at an official training institution.

Apart from those employed in hotels, Jambiani also hosts a number of people who have created “informal” jobs for themselves in the profitable tourism business within the village. In Jambiani this is limited to a simplified form of tour guiding, which includes taking tourists to snorkeling and swimming spots, showing them around the village and making transport and excursion arrangement, facilitating bicycle or motorbike rental, etc. Many simply accompany tourists in the hope of acquiring some material benefit, however this is perceived as annoying by tourists. This confrontation does often break the barrier between tourists and locals, resulting in some cultural and personal exchange. Youth practicing this occupation are termed “beach boys” and due to job insecurity their profession ranks lowest in the tourism business. However, it is used by most to gain the first experience in the tourism industry. It was noticed that men focus more on investment-related activities such as restaurants or gift/curio shops; bicycle and/or motorbike rentals; and transport services to and from Zanzibar Town, and a variety of tours.

For women, self-employment in tourism is limited to two main activities in Jambiani, these being massaging henna painting, and/or cooking local dishes for tourists in their own homes. The job of masseurs/henna painters involves walking from one hotel to the next in search of customers. From mid-morning every day, these women are observed confronting tourists on the beach or entering hotel grounds in an attempt at winning customers. A half-hour body massage with homemade coconut oil costs the tourists TSh. 4000, while an elaborate henna (a natural coloring) design painted on the body is available for just TSh. 2000. Women must *randa* (“roam the streets”) all day in order to ensure a significant income. Depending on the availability of tourists and a great deal of luck, one can earn up to Tsh. 20,000 on a good day. Most women work in pairs to increase

productivity in times of high demand, but particularly in solidarity against the scorn from fellow villagers: especially the elder generation regard women involved in tourism related employment with suspicion, due to their exposure to liberal western attitudes and the confrontational nature of this particular occupation, which is often associated with prostitution. By far the less time consuming and more respectful job for women within this industry is the cooking of traditional meals for tourists. This involves either the woman herself talking directly to tourists (due to language barriers this is less often the case), or sending her children or other relations to advertise her trade. Commonly, tourists make appointments for evening meals, and prices and menus are negotiable. For many tourists, this provides a cheap alternative to the European oriented food available in hotels. More importantly, this visit to local homes is an interesting cultural experience: for many tourists, it is the first real encounter with Zanzibari families, homes and lifestyles.

In this way the in-official tourism sector allows for a more equal distribution of tourism earnings within local communities in that it diverts financial resources from the big hotels.



Plate 5: Women masseurs and henna painters at work
(compare bare hotel grounds to natural vegetation on adjacent plot)

4.3 Sustainable Tourism in Jambiani

According to our working definition of sustainable development, factors other than economic benefits must be considered. Above all, community participation, sharing in tourism gains and contributing towards decisions regarding tourism development are most significant. An organization born out of such individual efforts at village level is **Eco & Culture NGO/Zanzibar**, which evolved out of the common interests of a village tourism investor and an Austrian aid worker. Along with conducting conservative and ecologically friendly tourism activities (e.g. village tours,

viewing of seaweed farms, excursions to local *shambas* etc.), there is continued search for new possibilities to be incorporated into the existing tourism program.

4.3.1 The methods of Eco & Culture Tours/NGO

Eco & Culture/Zanzibar is a local non-governmental organization (NGO), which fosters sustainable economic development through principles of community-based tourism on the island of Unguja. The aim is to “*encourage local micro entrepreneurs to enter into environmentally and culturally friendly income generating activities that cater for the growing tourism industry on the isles*” (Eco & Culture, 2002). While other “conservation” projects in Zanzibar (e.g. Jozani Forest-Chwaka Bay Conservation Area, Chumbe Island Coral Park, Mnemba Island Marine Conservation Area) focus on human-nature relationships, the Eco & Culture organization takes into consideration other important linkages that work towards a complete “sustainable development”: human-culture, culture-nature as well as human-nature relationships. This reflects their philosophy and is practiced in the tours offered. Many of their trips are similar to those offered by other tour operators, however with more consideration for the environment and communities visited. For example: quiet, low-impact dhows are preferably used for boat trips and care is taken to reach maximum capacity of cars to avoid many trips; emphasis is put on employing local guides, herbalists and medicine men in spice and nature tours. The Jambiani village tour has the goal of reducing the gap between locals and tourists and allowing the latter an insight into authentic village life. The objective of Eco & Culture Tours is to “*promote culturally and ecologically friendly tourism activities*” which encourage the protection of both environment and culture, and foster respect for the traditions of Zanzibar's people (Eco & Culture official website, 2002). By working closely with the local people, it ensures that the local community is directly involved in tourism matters and can directly benefit from tour and other fees. The predominantly financial gains achieved through tourism and invested in grassroots projects (e.g. local school, dispensaries and other public services) has found the best acceptance amongst local communities. Proper reinvestment of such benefits encourage farther conservations, especially of natural/ecological value (Khatib, 2002). In addition, an awakening of pride and identity in one's culture can be encouraged through such activities.

4.3.2 Future Plans

Despite little support and limited participation, the efforts of Eco & Culture have not been exhausted. Presently, a systematic study of the village is being carried out to expand the activities of the tour organization. A small-capacity guesthouse in Jambiani, specifically aimed at attracting ecotourists to the village is being prepared, with operation planned to commence in early 2003. While this house has the aim of creating a platform for “alternative tourism” in the region, its purpose is also to provide employment and generate income for the NGO. A team of foreign community-based development experts working together with local community members is

studying the locally available natural and cultural resources with potential market value. It is hoped that more villagers will be incorporated into local programs designed to enable them to benefit directly from tourism activities. Educational programs aimed at creating awareness for how negative impacts of tourism towards nature and culture can be minimized is also being considered. In this way, it is hoped that a platform for a community-based tourism can be achieved in the village within the near future.



Plate 6: Eco & Culture/Zanzibar in Jambiani

4.4 Evaluation of the Tourism Industry in Jambiani

The members of the Jambiani community are well aware of changes – positive and negative – that tourism has brought to their village. Many see the positive aspects of tourism (specifically employment) as contributing towards their development through increased spending power stimulated by higher income, and consequently leading to elevated standards of living. Many have profited from land sale; others have found employment in hotels, in both cases securing comparatively high financial resources within a short period. This has allowed them to afford financial savings and play a more active role in the cash economy. Earnings might be invested in long-term gains, e.g. children's education, or temporary material assets such as improved homes, furniture, bicycles, clothes or television set. Other reinvest in other income generating projects such as retail shops, restaurants/cafés or others. In any case, the majority of villagers perceive economic and social progress taking place either through personal experience or by observing the accomplishments achieved by neighbors and fellow villagers. What follows is an analysis of the negative and positive impacts that tourism has had on the community of Jambiani village since adopting tourism.

4.4.1 Economic

The most welcomed changes brought to Jambiani by tourism are the wide palette of tourism-related income generating activities, which contribute to a significantly higher source of income. Compared to traditional occupational practices, hotel employment is generally associated with regular incomes that are independent of individual work performance, climatic conditions and market prices - unlike agriculture, fishing or seaweed farming. A small degree of seasonality characterizes tourism in Zanzibar, and those employed in the tourism industry can guarantee a steady income for a good part (nine months on average) of the year. Commonly, hotel employees are released from full-time employment during the low tourist season, in which they receive only half their standard salaries. This is based on cost reduction principles that hotels take up during periods of tourist scarcity. It is generally understood that during the months of September, October, and again between February and May, hotels have a limited number of employees working full-time, to carry out maintenance, repair work, and cater to the thin trickle of visitors. Many villagers return to working in the fields and to fishing, or resume seaweed farming during this period. Due to the fact that rainfall coincides with high tourist seasons, it would require further study in order to learn to what extent tourism intervenes with agricultural practices, and what effects this might have on the ability of rural communities to sustain their self-sufficiency in food production. The variable nature of tourist arrivals, which in turn determines salaries and wages for those directly or indirectly involved in the tourism business, creates a certain degree of income variability. However, villagers presently feel that this is compensated for by the fact that tourism related income allows for savings that can be tapped during low season. In this light, tourism is still regarded as seasonal employment, practiced in alternation with other income generating activities. Never the less, the steady increase in hotel construction in the village is perceived as potential future employment opportunities for community members.

Contrary to cultivation and fishing, jobs in tourism are regarded as "relatively easy" and rewarded with comparatively high wages. For example, the unskilled job of a hotel gardener or housekeeper is considered far less labor intensive than seaweed farming or crop cultivation. While the former jobs are rewarded with a monthly salary of TSh. 50,000, the latter secures only about TSh. 20,000 in the same period. Table 7 summarizes the comparison between selected professions and their respective incomes as available on the job market in Jambinai village, with jobs in both markets listed in order of "professionalism".

Non-tourism income		Tourism related income	
Profession	Income range (TSh.)	Profession	Income range (TSh.)
Doctor	50000	Manager	80000 - 100000
Teacher	45000 - 70000	Cook	50000 - 70000
Truck/Bus Driver	60000 - 90000	Receptionist	50000 - 90000
Tailor	10000 - 20000	Waiter	20000 - 60000
Constructor	40000 - 60000	Gardner	30000 - 50000
Fisherman	ca. 50000	Housekeeper	30000 - 50000
Seaweed farming	6000 - 20000	Guide	35000

Table 7: Occupations and Income ranges in Jambiani
(Own field study data, 2002)

Also important to the economic aspect of tourism in Jambiani has been the increased need for traditional professions, especially fishery, construction and preparation of construction materials, e.g. limestone, poles and coconut-frond roofing material. The use of these skills by the tourism industry has allowed workers to push prices up and demand higher wages. The growth of the construction industry has resulted from the efforts to create a local architectural style which uses naturally available materials found on the island: mangrove poles, sand, coral rocks etc. (this has a downside: extra pressure has been put on the ecosystems providing these materials) and construction techniques. Moreover, all hotels visited claimed that they turn to the local fishermen for their daily fish requirements, thus creating a good market for village anglers whose only other alternative for a cash based exchange were markets beyond the village. Although the majority of women employed in the cash economy are involved in seaweed cultivation, an increasing number are turning to the more profitable jobs available in tourism.

Inevitably, there is another side to the economic changes experienced. Many villagers have expressed their concern about the dramatic increase in prices of consumer goods in local shops. In their attempt to benefit from the tourism industry, retailers have begun to stock up on merchandise preferred by the tourist population (e.g. bottled mineral water, post-cards, sweet snacks, soft drinks, cigarettes, etc.). Although this broadens supply for all, it has increased prices of many consumer goods, to the disadvantage of the local population. This problem was previously solved by a two-price system (a lower for the local customers and a significantly higher for the tourists), but tourists expressing criticism of this discriminatory behavior have forced shop-owners to adopt the higher price so as to attain a higher profit margin. This trend can be observed in other sectors as well, especially in construction and on the fish market. Traders at all levels are aware of the financial power of the tourism industry and of the profit that can be made by creating a product or service for the tourism business rather than the non-tourist market.

4.4.2 Social

The question of how tourism has contributed to social benefits is regarded with much scepticism in Zanzibar at large. On the surface, society has profited mainly through economic gains, as discussed above. Opening Jambiani as a tourist destination might have increased the village's significance, which in turn may have led to improved infrastructure, especially roads, electricity, water, health and education. Jambiani now participates more actively in the island's cash economy and those community members who have claimed a stake in the tourism industry have increased their spending power and standard of living. To some extent, tourism has increased awareness within the local community to add value to the unique culture and environment that has drawn tourists' attraction. Interaction between tourists and locals encourages a certain degree of cultural exchange that fosters mutual understanding and broadens the perspectives of both parties. In addition, employees from the Mainland provide the locals with a different life-styles, and Jambianis are beginning to appreciate the wealth (of food, culture, security due to community ties, etc.) they have at home. The appreciation of the resources available to them at home is important in curbing migrating to Zanzibar Town in search of jobs. This awareness of, and pride in, the community's heritage is an important tool for securing motivation for conservation, and forms the basis for ecotourism and sustainable development. Increased participation of women in income generation means the empowerment of a disadvantaged group of Zanzibar's society, a significant strategy for future development plans of the island (ZPRP, 2002).

However, along with these benefits, there are trade-offs to be made, some of which are not immediately obvious. Cleavages between those gaining from tourism and those not partaking in the profits are beginning to appear. Tension between community members caused by rivalry and competition for customers, as well as conflicts based on varying view-points between generations has already been expressed. While most of these are of a subdued nature, others are more serious.

Relatively young investors and workforce dominate the tourism industry in Zanzibar. One of the contributing factors observed for this characteristic is the skepticism associated with the tourism industry, especially as perceived within the older generation. Young men and women working in hotels and restaurants are often scorned by parents, relatives and neighbors, and accused of defying traditional values by coming into close contact with foreigners who encourage "*haramu*" ("illegal" or "forbidden" in that it contradicts Muslim law) behavior, including consumption of alcohol, smoking and liberal sexual relationships. This belief is to some extent legitimate, especially when observing the situation in Stone Town, where bars and nightclubs opened to meet tourist demands have created markets for drugs and sex. This negative aspect of tourism is not restricted to the metropolis; tourism development in the last years has brought not only tourists to

rural communities, but also their offensive culture. Youth involved in the tourism industry were interviewed about the matter and many claim that “the *wazee – old people* - are ignorant” and are expressing their fears for the changes that society is undergoing in this phase of rapid modernization. Young Zanzibaris claim that they value their culture, are proud of their Swahili and Islam identity and see a possibility for both tradition and modernity to co-exist peacefully. Jambiani women say that they cannot jeopardize their reputation within the community by practicing prostitution within their own village and attribute this practice to “women coming from the Mainland”.

Adults have expressed their concern at the increased habit of children begging tourists for money or material favors. Community members regard this habit as a lack of dignity, and the children's behavior puts role players (teachers, parents etc.) to shame. Many parents prefer to send their children out to earn the money from tourists by selling them homemade pastries and fruits, or advertising the home-cooked meals that local women are happy to prepare as a means of securing an alternative income.

4.4.3 Ecological

High on the list of Jambiani villagers' concern for the ecological environment of their area is the increase in solid wastes, which is attributed to hotels. Although producers of soft drinks and Tanzanian beer deliver their products in reusable glass bottles, tinned beverages, imported beer, and various brands of mineral water available in plastic containers, contribute to a large part of the non-degradable garbage disposed of in the village. Packaging materials and containers of tin, glass and plastic disposed of by tourists also contribute to un-ecological solid wastes. An area on the western edge of Jambiani has been cleared for this purpose, and regular firing of the garbage reduces its bulk and prevents the outbreak of diseases. However, this dumping ground is too close to the village and unprotected in any way, which facilitates garbage spread through wind, animals and surface run-off during heavy rains. Dr. Jako Vuua, a local villager and medic employed at the community health center, is attempting to create some awareness of garbage disposal and control, but efforts are slow and lack support from motivated participants.

A less obvious ecological problem of the tourism industry in Jambiani (and the east coast of Zanzibar in general) is the high consumption of fresh water by tourist accommodations. The village of Jambiani gets its supply of fresh water by a pipe system whose sources are located in the interior of the island (from natural caves and wells). Some shallow open wells exist in the village but these already give salty water unfit for human consumption, a sign that salt-water intrusion has begun to take place. In his extensive study of water use by the tourism industry on Zanzibar's east coast, Gößling (2001b) has demonstrated that the developments of this industry in the last decade

is putting immense pressure on the natural water resources available in this region. Zanzibar, a carbonate tropical island, contains fresh groundwater fed purely by seasonal rainfall. On the east coast, rainfall is low (1000 - 1500mm/yr compared to 2000mm/yr in the west) and evapo-transpiration high. The geology consists of cavernous and fissured limestone stratification, which causes high transmission of freshwater to the ocean, resulting in a high sub-surface drainage and low water tables. The study also shows that on average, tourists use up to 15 times more water per day than locals (685 liters per tourist per day in the high season, with guest houses, at 100 l/t/d using significantly less than resort hotels, which reach levels of up to 2000 l/t/d). The diverse uses for water in tourist accommodation facilities (ranging from laundry, showers, toilets, cleaning, kitchen and restaurant use, as well as gardens and pools in some cases) are more luxury oriented than the simple and careful uses by the local population for basic needs: cooking, drinking, washing and minimal cleaning. Because the highest pressure is put on the water sources during the dry season, aquifers have little or no chance to refill. The consequences can be long term, with drastic impacts on the life of coastal peoples, and ecosystems of Zanzibar long after tourists have left.

No improper sewage disposal was observed in the village of Jambiani; however, this does not debar any doubt as to whether it is being dealt with in a satisfactory manner. All hotels and houses with modern toilet facilities have on their grounds septic tanks for storage of sewage, which may or may not be built of fortified concrete. Due to the high porosity of the coral rock ground, there is a high risk for untreated sewage to leak into the groundwater, thus contaminating it. Especially sewage from hotels, which is polluted with washing detergents, hygienic soaps, bathing liquids, sun-lotions and other impurities, can have adverse effects on the balance of ground water. Although Environmental Impact Assessment Studies (EIAS) are prescribed for any land use developments, they are often overlooked in this region. Further study into the real effects of sewage on the ecosystem of Jambiani is recommended.

Clearing natural vegetation from the shoreline can result in large amounts of sand being eroded into the ocean. Land clearance is spurred by construction of beachfront houses and tourist accommodations directly on the coast. Increased levels of particles in ocean water are known to have damaging effects on fragile coral reefs. According to information gathered from the local diving center (Great Ocean Divers, at Sau Inn) and village snorkeling guides, the coral gardens of Jambaini lack the wide variety of marine flora and fauna that are found elsewhere. Local small-scale fishermen, who report reduced availability of fish at the reef, attribute this damage to large-scale fishermen who apply destructive fishing techniques in order to increase fish harvests. This might also be seen as an attempt of local fishermen to meet high fish and seafood demands made by hotels. An extensive sand bank in the shallow waters of Jambiani was observed, which villagers

claim is expanding, in some cases covering former seaweed farms, which they have had to abandoned. Whether these problems are directly linked with the clearing of coastal vegetation for construction of tourism (and private) infrastructure requires further study.

4.4.3 Potentials

A significant aspect characterizing the tourism industry in Jambiani is the purely intuitive management style of the stakeholders. Many entrepreneurs enter the business with little or no experience of tourism in general, often lack administrative skills, and are ignorant of any policies or guidelines. For many it is an occupation based on trial and error and largely dependent on “learning by doing”. Above all, many participants regard tourism as a means of earning relatively much money within a short period. The small size of the island, and the ease of movement from one place to another, facilitated by a good transport network, allows tourists to participate in almost all of the standardized activities offered on the island. The fact that especially profitable activities are simply duplicated by amateur investors encouraged by the potential of financial gains to be made, results in a market saturation and consequent devaluation of the activity. This also reduces the ability to sell attractions as a “unique experience” and jeopardizes Zanzibar's attractiveness due to exploitation of resources and creation of standard attractions.

Because little or no market surveys are conducted to gain some insight into tourists' demands and to gather suggestions for improvement, there is little material to work with as a means of creating new alternatives or improving existing ones. The author conducted an investigation into genuine activities that have a potential for marketing within the tourism industry of Jambiani village. These are based on locally available natural and cultural resources and skills. Focus is placed on harmonious tourist-local interaction and improved cross-cultural exchange. Effort has been made to select non-consumptive activities to reduce use of natural resources. Some of these are briefly discussed below:

- **Marketing traditional economic practices**, with tourist participation. This might include such manual activities as traditional coconut oil production; preparing local dishes in cooking classes; weaving mats, baskets and other desirable objects using palm fronds and coconut husk fibers; learning about farming and fishing methods, etc.
- **Biking and hiking tours** to neighbouring villages and sites of natural and cultural heritage. This might include journeys to the local cultivation fields, coral caves, sites of historic villages etc., or day-trips to neighbouring beach villages such as Paje and Bwejuu or more traditional settlements like Kizimkazi and Makunduchi, which are of cultural and historic significance.

- **Swimming and snorkelling excursions leading** to undeveloped and uninhabited stretches of the coast, which are found to north or south of the village settlement. This would allow tourists to indulge in typical sunbathing activities without interfering into villagers' activities (seaweed farming, fishing, boat and net repair work) taking place on the village beach. Local investors might profit by providing mobile food and beverages.
- **Demonstration of traditional fishing methods.** This activity could be combined with lessons in traditional conservation methods which were formerly practiced to ensure regeneration of marine ecosystem. **Construction of local fishing boats and dhow sailing methods** are also potential tourist attractions.
- Advertising **local festivals and community events**, and encouraging tourist participation where possible/appropriate. **Promoting sport and dance activities** (e.g. Football) with competition between locals and tourists.

These activities can be initiated within the limits of the village (point 2 and 3 go beyond village boundaries) and would apply the indigenous skills and expertise of local villagers. Because they can only be enjoyed within the boundaries of the host community rather than exported, these activities can pose as unique tourist attractions. Involvement of community members in such programs might help to encourage preservation of traditional economic activities, which are presently proving unprofitable and therefore losing their significance. This type of community based tourism development (CBTD) has already been experimented with elsewhere, e.g. on Mainland Tanzania, where it was observed to have positive impacts on national objectives of promoting welfare, income and empowerment in rural areas, as well as limiting the gap between tourists and locals (Newsletter of the Cultural Tourism Program/Tanzania, 2001). These kind of tourism activities are more in line with the methods and principles of ecotourism as defined at the beginning of this paper and would be an important alternative for the GOZ and development authorities to consider in place of or parallel to the large-scale resort hotel projects that it is presently prioritizing and which it envisions for the future.

4.5.4 The Jambiani Paradox

Today, a total of 20 hotels and guest houses, with a capacity of more than 370 beds and employing almost 200 villagers, are found in Jambiani village. So far, only one hotel is graded: the Sau Inn, a two-star facility, partially on account of its swimming pool and diving center. The "local touch", which is popular amongst tourists, is very vivid in this village and can be attributed to the predominantly Jambiani-owned and managed tourism businesses, and the harmonic assimilation

of the tourism industry into village life. In fact, Jambiani appears to be one of the few locations in Unguja where no significant conflicts between villagers and tourist activities and facilities have been reported. Some environmental awareness amongst individual community members in the village, and the beginnings of a village eco-tourism project form the basis for, and demonstrate local initiatives towards, minimizing the negative impacts of tourism. For these and other reasons, it might be safe to say that Jambiani is one of the few communities of Unguja in which tourism based purely on cultural exchange is contributing towards direct benefits for its members and thus fulfilling a significant pre-requisite for sustainable development.

It seems a paradox then, to hear that the government and tourism planning bodies do not support the type of tourism that is going on in this village. On first sight, this may be due to the many contra-plan developments that have taken place over the years. Unlike the villages of Michamvi, Pingwe, Bwejuu and Paje, the village of Jambiani was never included amongst the Tourism Areas of this region, and the cheap guest houses encourage the low-budget tourists which the government is hoping to prevent. Further reason for disapproval of the developments in Jambiani include violation of the „General Guidelines and Conditions“ listed on page 52 of the Tourism Zoning Plan, 1993, the most obvious of which include the following:

- Plot boundaries do not adhere to the 30-meter minimum distance from the high-tide water mark. At high-tide, hotel premises are flooded by the upper limits of the ocean (violation of point 1);
- Clearing of natural vegetation is common in hotel construction (violation of point 2), instead artificial gardens, concrete paving or plain sand substitute the natural vegetation;
- All traffic is directed immediately through the village increasing noise, car fumes, dust pollution and endanger the lives of villagers on a daily basis (violation of point 7);
- Most tourism areas are situated directly within village settlement, instead of adhering to the 500-meter minimum distance from the same (violation of point 16).

(MWEACLE, 1993)

The continued developments and parallel disapproval expressed by state organizations, especially the ZIPA and CTZ, raises a number of questions that have become typical for the uncontrolled tourism developments taking place in Unguja. Taking into consideration that a tourism zoning plan has existed for almost a decade, why does uncontrolled development continue to take place? It is difficult to answer this question without delving into local politics. Contradicting interests of ZIPA and CTZ might be considered. Never-the-less, the local population cannot take the blame for the negative developments observed; on the contrary, the GOZ must finally produce a tourism development plan with which all people involved in the business can work. More rigid control and

penalization of violations must also be practiced. Reflecting on the little to non-existent knowledge of locals about guidelines for tourism development, it is questionable to what extent local communities have been integrated in these plans on the islands. An interview with the director of CTZ revealed that the developments in Jambiani village are so contrary to the vision of tourism development that it “will not be allowed to continue in the future” (Dr. A Khatib, pers. comm. 2002). This has two implications:

- a) Better and more rigorous control of farther developments will take place „in the future“. Should this be the case, it is necessary to ask why monitoring of tourism projects has been inconsistent to-date, and what measures will be taken to improve this (this problem calls for action from sectors beyond tourism); and
- b) that the current situation will be radically eliminated, to suit the vision. In this case, it seems careless of the Zanzibar government, which has impressively expressed a strong commitment towards “sustainable development”.

The present situation indicates that the GOZ is waiting for an indefinite future time before taking necessary action. This vague time-frame further hinders the proper planning that an established tourism sector requires. Meanwhile, there are several aspects to take into consideration. Increasingly more Jambianis are opting for tourism as an alternative to traditional economic activities. Although some school children envision a future as doctors or teachers, because these are respectable and highly regarded professions, high school graduates are disillusioned by the low wages accredited to these professions and the constantly increasing costs of living on the island. Many turn to tourism activities for lack of a better alternative, some turning to this profitable sector temporarily to earn money quickly so as to invest in more secure income generating projects. In this case tourism is establishing itself as a short-term tool for individual human improvement and economic growth for the future of Zanzibar. Any planning that needs to be carried out should be implemented before irreversible levels of resource use have been attained. In addition, alternatives to a European-based market should also be considered to adapt to global events which might result in a downslide to the presently optimistic tourist trends.

4.4.5 SWOT- Analysis

Before a concluding remark, the author would like to summarize the case of Jambiani as a tourist destination and local village striving to establish itself within a growing industry. What follows is an analysis of the tourism phenomenon as observed within the scope of the field study carried out during August-September 2002. This summary rests on the four pillars of the SWOT-Analysis, representing the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats for present and future developments of the tourism related business for the Jambiani community.

Strengths	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intact culture and society, general pride in own identity - General acceptance of tourist industry in local community - Local monopoly of ownership of and employment in tourist facilities - Tourism still regarded as „alternative income source“ - Awareness of opportunities available - Awareness of adverse effects amongst some community members
Weaknesses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited qualified skill in tourism business - Lack of knowledge of how tourism functions, at national and global levels - Lack of guidelines to tourism development from government level - Increased pressure on ecosystem to provide resources - Loss of community land to non-local investors
Opportunities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Abundant untapped potentials within local natural and cultural capacity - Improvement of local public facilities through re-investment of tourism profits - Sustainable community based tourism development
Threats	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tendency to place economic benefits above conservation - Increased pollution and use of natural resources - Changes within traditional community structure (e.g. role of women)

Table 8: SWOT – Analysis for tourism development in Jambiani.

Jambiani deserves recognition for its efforts: government should offer support or approval of the achievements made so far instead of seeing villager's effort purely as counter policy and incompatible to its vision of future tourism in Zanzibar. True, the hotel and restaurant levies collected by ZRB are minimal here due to the predominantly low-budget tourist facilities in the village, especially when compared to other places like Bwejuu or Kiwengwa (where beach resorts and upper class tourism dominate). Nevertheless, in Jambiani, local domination potentially secures local earnings, and prevents leakage common to foreign investments. The GOZ must farther realize that by empowering rural areas like Jambiani, it can reduce its inability to provide the funds which this and similar villages lack to meet their basic needs. True, the government must receive credit for its insisting on a sustainable development which secures the needs of future generations; however, it must take measures to curb the negative developments taking place in such communities presently. It is the government's duty to provide guidelines, monitor and control all adverse developments, treating all investors fairly and according to pre-defined and understood criterion. In addition, a revision of its definition and understanding of “Ecotourism” might be considered.

5. Third World Tourism and Sustainable Development

5.1 Characteristic of Third World Tourism

Zanzibar provides a typical example of „Third World Tourism“, the term popularly applied to the current trend in world leisure travel. Its origins lay in the rapid boom of the tourism industry on a global scale during the 1960s. This trend was seen by the Third World as an opportunity to secure foreign exchange and stimulate economic growth (Kadt 1979: ix). It was inevitable that exactly those qualities (palm fringed beaches, game reserves, historical sights, exotic cultures etc.) in demand by holiday makers could be met by developing and under-developed nations. While rich visitors took pleasure in the use of the pristine resources of the poor nations, the latter could profit financially from marketing their natural and cultural heritage. In this way, the resources relevant to tourism in a particular country became its “new export products”, and, contrary to the pre-independence era, were consumed within the nation. Third World Tourism is thus characterized by the movement of rich tourists to poor destinations (Vorlaufer, 1996), with increasing interest in SSA destinations in recent years. The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) forecasted that tourism and travel would account for over 11% of GDP in SSA countries in the year 2000, and would experience a growth rate of more than 5% in real terms in the present decade (Crompton, 2001: 1). For East Africa alone, an average annual growth rate of 13.6% in tourism earnings was recorded between the years 1995 and 2000. Whereas in 1990, a total of 0.9 million Euros were recorded as tourism receipts, this number had risen to 3.0 million Euros by 2001 (WTO, 2002). Forecasts and actual figures prove that travel and tourism are playing an increasingly significant role in assisting developing countries to attain their economic growth targets. Farther expansion of the industry is taking place through investment (local and international) in more accommodation units and infrastructure to meet the needs of this increasing demand.

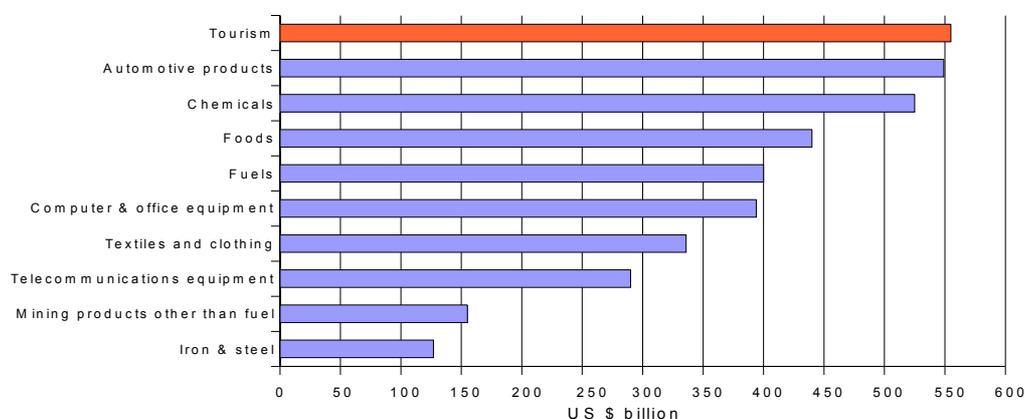


Figure 11: Worldwide export earnings 1999

(Source: WTO, IMF)

However, an expansion in hotels and other accommodations alone will not necessarily result in economic benefits matching the quantities of these investments. In order for tourism to be accepted as a development tool, it must generate economic benefits for a broad spectrum of the population. It must also ensure that this population is included in decision-making about developments and trends in various sectors, and the preservation of the resources on which tourism is based. Although the role of the public is significant, governments must provide a policy that encourages profitable and non-destructive investments, as well as incentives and regulations which conserve the country's cultural and natural heritage. Unfortunately, many examples of tourism projects in Africa involve trade-offs of nature and culture for economic benefits and fail to integrate the local natural and human factors. This often results in tourism being regarded by the local population as an invasion of foreign forces into their territories. Furthermore, given its cross-sectoral nature, tourism can only develop in a sustainable manner if it is integrated into the country's overall policies and economic planning mechanisms, and if linkages are created across the many sectors spanned by tourism. To ensure success, tourism requires coordination between government and the private sector, as well as for these bodies to complement each other within a national framework. Unfortunately, many African countries which are taking up tourism in order to accelerate economic growth and diversify their economies (for which Zanzibar provides a perfect example), do not know where to initiate action nor whom to approach for assistance in getting started. It appears that the World Bank is an experienced source of assistance in this sector, both financially as well as in providing training; however, its standards can often not be met by the governments seeking assistance, leading them to opt for alternatives which may prove ineffective (Cristie & Crompton 2001).

Third World Tourism, although on the increase, is a very sensitive phenomenon. Its dependency on the flow of visitors from industrialized nations to developing nations makes it vulnerable to events beyond the control of destination countries. Economic recessions, changes in tourist interests, and political and social reforms which impinge on spending in tourist generating countries determine the volume and direction of flow of tourists worldwide. For nations greatly dependent on tourism as a means of generating foreign exchange and employment, such trends can have very significant impacts on their economy's stability. Recent events that have had both long- and short-term negative effects on regional tourism include escalations in the Israel-Palestine conflict and the *Al-Qaida* attacks on the USA in September 2001. In addition, terrorist attacks directed specifically towards tourists, and social and political unrest in destination countries help to scare off visitors and significantly reduce the much-needed foreign exchange earnings that the tourism industry can secure. Examples include Egypt (1995), Tunisia (April 2002) and Kenya (December 2002), Zanzibar's national elections (1995 and 2000) and the break-up of the Miss World Competitions in Ghana in late 2002 due to conservative Muslim retaliation against the event.

Never-the-less, updated information gathered by the WTO demonstrates that East Asia and the Pacific (+ 5%) and Africa (+ 4%) finished the year 2001 with positive international tourism arrivals, compared to South Asia (- 24%), the Americas (-20%), and the Middle East (- 11%) (WTO, 2002).

5.2 Development through Tourism in Zanzibar

Since the mid 1980s, when Zanzibar began strengthening its economy by encouraging private investment in various sectors in the country, tourism has demonstrated the most rapid growth. The vision of the government with regard to this sector is to promote an up-market development in both tourist arrivals and tourist facilities and adopt ecotourism as the strategy for further tourism development. The aim is to secure the highest income while maintaining local cultural values and protecting the natural environment. Achieving both goals simultaneously is proving to be a challenge that goes beyond the present capacity of Zanzibar authorities. According to the Zanzibar Investment Development Policy of June 2002 (Draft), sections 2.3.1, the specific objectives of tourism investment are as follows:

1. „Improve tourism investment activities which increase foreign exchange earnings, increase GDP contribution of tourism, strengthen balance of payments, enhance economic and social prosperity and living standard of the people;
2. encourage investment promoting high quality tourism and ensure that the tourism investments concentrate on attracting the type of tourist markets which are compatible with island culture, tradition and resource limits;
3. promote investment which expands capability of the sector to generate employment in Pemba and Unguja;
4. provide training and educational schemes which will prepare Zanzibaris for skilled employment and increase their job opportunities in the tourism industry;
5. promote tourism investments which foster and facilitate growth of strong social-economic linkages between tourism and other sectors of the economy;
6. develop tourism as one among the ways of diversifying the economy in order to reduce dependency on monoculture“.

(ZIPA, 2002)

On the whole, these objectives are clearly geared towards development and sustainability. In an attempt to realize these specific objectives, a number of strategies have been suggested, some of which touch upon increased participation of the local community, improving education and training for the local work force, creating a higher level of interaction between government, investors and the labor market, creating attractive incentive packages for domestic tourism investment, assisting and providing technical and financial support to Zanzibaris to establish small

projects which are in line with tourism demands etc. These strategies also hint at sustainable development as defined at the beginning of this paper and should they be successfully implemented, it is likely (but no guarantee) that a sustainable development of the tourism industry and the Zanzibar community can be achieved. The tourism policies available (in all cases as incomplete drafts) from the CTZ and ZIPA clearly outline the targets in tourism development, see the necessity for local participation and point out where government's action in the right direction has lacked so far. Against the backdrop of sustainable development, the most important weaknesses include constraints which greatly impinge on the ability for local participants to fairly compete in the tourism industry, such as the following:

1. Lack of investment incentives and loans for local investors;
2. Unsatisfactory level of local people's awareness of, and their limited participation and contribution to, tourism development;
3. „Outsiders“ especially Mainlanders are prioritized in hotel employment above local Zanzibaris;
4. Local population's employment in tourism business is often limited to menial positions;

(CTZ, 1999)

This implies that the GOZ and its tourism promotion and development bodies are aware of the deficits in the present situation of tourism development. Seeing the weaknesses in „the theory“ of tourism policy in Zanzibar, it remains to be answered to what extent, and how soon, this framework can be appropriately finalized and implemented. Meanwhile, the tourism sector in Zanzibar continues to develop, but it is doubtful whether all these developments can be deemed sustainable.

On a practical level, the specific objectives of the local Zanzibaris taking up tourism activities remain primarily to „*obtain more income and create self-reliance in employment*“ (Hussein, 30 yrs). Others hope that tourism can contribute to Zanzibar's general situation by „*improving the face of Stone Town and encouraging cleanliness*“ (Maryam, 25) or „*opening up the outside world to Zanzibaris so that we too can expand our professions and reach international levels at large*“ (Mzula, 37). Many see direct participation in tourism as the only way to benefit from it and this drive for economic opportunity encourages both local and foreign investors, with a wide range in the initial capital and varying degrees of competence. In the eagerness to benefit from such investments, few projects have been turned down, and violations of guidelines have been overlooked.

5.4 Conclusion and Recommendations

„Tourism brings bad things and good things with it. The good thing about tourism is that it brings is money - hard currency. We need this. The problem with tourism is ... especially garbage ...also: a foreign culture which is very different from ours. ... We need to find a balance, a way to make it work“

This statement from the Director of the Jambiani based Eco & Culture NGO sums up the challenge of Zanzibar's undertaking of tourism as a tool applied to encouraging development. It is likely that by allowing the tourism industry to continue to develop at the current pace, the above mentioned objectives of Zanzibar's government can be achieved: the present situation indicates an increase in investment, annual increases in visitor arrivals and a variety of jobs for Zanzibaris in tourism related employment. Awareness for conservation of natural and cultural resources has also been achieved to some degree. However, it would be incorrect to claim that this current development is sustainable: the large-scale hotels which the GOZ prioritizes prefers Mainland employees to local Zanzibaris, consume higher levels of fresh water, produce more garbage and interfere in traditional uses of land and marine resources to a larger extent than do small, locally owned facilities. In addition, the diversion of tourism earnings to overseas banks as practiced by foreign owners of the large-scale tourism facilities means less income for Zanzibar.

It has been 20 years since Zanzibar, with the assistance of the UNDP, established its first Tourism Master Plan under the centralized state economy (Khatib, 1999). Since then, the economy has been liberalized, visitor numbers have increased by more than 80% and investment in tourism has experienced most rapid growth compared to other sectors of the economy. Since first proclaiming ecotourism to be the path for future tourism development on the islands, over the past decade, the tourism industry in Zanzibar has developed a characteristic which resembles conventional mass tourism, with limited elements of ecotourism proper. According to Vorlauffer's (1996) paradigm of the evolution of Third World Tourism, one might say that Zanzibar's tourism industry is currently experiencing a transition from Phase I (characterized by euphoria and optimism) to Phase II, in which criticism and disillusionment prevail. The experience gained during this period should contribute towards reflection on a few vital points so as to allow for improvements in the future course of tourism development on the isles. Which developments can be counted as positive? What still lacks? Where should priorities be set, and which visions are beyond the realistic capacity of the islands?

By liberalizing tourism, Zanzibar has attracted investment and diversified its economy, thus improving job opportunities and means of income generation in some sectors. Earnings derived from the tourism sector increased from US\$ 1,971 million in 1995 to US\$ 2,918 million in 1999 (5.5% of GDP), parallel to a 35% increase in tourist arrivals within the same period (GOZ, 1999).

Tourism has contributed towards the revival of conservation of natural resources and cultural heritage both in Stone Town as well as in rural villages, while the facilities (restaurants, internet cafes, recreation centers, travel agencies, transport etc.) created primarily to cater to tourists serve the local population too. On an individual level, locals have benefited from cultural interaction with foreigners and broadened their horizons about the world. The tourism industry has triggered growth in other sectors, especially banks, transport, arts and crafts, construction and gastronomy. Furthermore, by opening Zanzibar up to tourism, the island has begun to regain its popularity world wide, thus reviving its historic identity. Truly, tourism has great potential to contribute positively towards employment, improving standards of living, encouraging conservation, diversifying the economy, and generating foreign exchange - these being the indicators generally used to measure development. However, when mismanaged, tourism has great potential to create immense damage, with negative effects including abrupt regional population growth caused by migration, pressure put on the ecosystem to meet increased human demands, erosion of traditional values and practices, leakages in - and unequal distribution of - profits, to name but a few⁴. The tourism industry in Zanzibar is not without these weaknesses.

Presently, it remains adamant that the GOZ makes it its priority to finalize all tourism policies on the islands so as to provide a firm structure upon which all future tourism development can, and should, be based. Currently, not enough measures have been taken to discourage construction of hotels and tourist centers which do not comply with land use plans, and evolve contra-policy. It remains difficult to judge these contra policy developments, however, due to the fact that a concrete policy is practically non-existent and thus unknown to the public. Considering the small island size and limited resources, it is doubtful to what extent expansion of construction for tourism, intake of temporary sojourners, increased demands for food and water and continued generation of solid waste can continue in Zanzibar without going beyond the island's capacity. At this point, it becomes necessary to ask: what *is* the island's capacity?

The following recommendations serve as a reminder of the basis for sustainable development as defined at the beginning of this paper. At the same time, they summarize some of the weaknesses learned by the author in her attempt to study the contribution of a rapidly expanding tourism industry to an economy and society that is becoming increasingly dependent on the influx of foreigners for its economic existence.

⁴It must be noted however, that these negative impacts cannot be attributed to tourism alone, but to any industry or market based economy geared towards gains, and which prioritizes economic growth over social, cultural and ecological improvements.

First and foremost, it might be time to take an inventory of developments achieved so far in order to determine whether - and how much - further expansion is required. Have foreseen targets been achieved? Data made available by CTZ shows that the target of 6000 beds to be attained by the year 2000 has been achieved (the list of operating hotels and guesthouses in 2001 shows 6212 beds for Unguja alone in that year). Considering present consumption of resources and already obvious stresses on society and ecosystem, is the target of 15,000 beds to be achieved by the year 2015 realistic? At present levels of 4.1% annual growth rate, Zanzibar is expected to have a domestic population of about 1.5 million by that year. Considering the housing, water, land, food and energy requirements of local inhabitants, and the excessively higher needs of increasing tourist numbers, could the islands' capacity meet the demands of both the local and foreign population? Could efforts made to meet these demands still remain sustainable?

Data made available from the CTZ shows that of the 171 registered and operational hotels and guest houses in Unguja, only 49 are graded (only 13 of these facilities fall above the targeted three-star range). So far, development has largely been measured quantitatively rather than qualitatively. More attention should be given to improvement of available facilities rather than to pushing for further expansion and growth, in the tourism industry as well as in other sectors. This example shows once more that targets set by government and tourism development bodies are not always clear.

The Jambiani case study, but also other examples on Unguja, suggest that there exists little coordination and less cooperation between government and investors. This lack of communication between the tourism industry's most significant role players makes it difficult to clarify strategies and properly monitor development. It further hinders the exchange of ideas and suggestions for improvement. Seeing that both parties have valid contributions to make towards tourism development, it is highly recommended that a central body, which encourages investor's participation and interaction with government be formed so as to remove existing barriers.

Above all, tourism should not be considered as capable of making only economic contributions to Zanzibar. Already, the ecological role has been demonstrated through various projects aimed at nature conservation, especially as seen at the Jozani Forest & Chwaka Bay Conservation Area and Chumbe Island Marine Park. Preservation of cultural heritage is vivid in the Stone Town Conservation Project, Museums and various cultural and natural heritage tours. There is also strong initiative towards conserving the Swahili culture and identity of the Zanzibar people. However, tourism can interact with other department too, for example education, health, youth, sport and so on. What role does tourism have within the local school curriculum? The Maruhubi Hotel and Tourism Training Center offers training for local youth in the areas of hospitality,

gastronomy and hygiene, at the same time creating awareness of the threat of HIV/AIDS. While this prepares graduates sufficiently for the service sector, it facilitates little or no understanding of the tourism industry as a multi-faceted and complex phenomenon. When taking the example of Jambiani village and the progress made there through integration of tourism into the community, it is clear that education and health institutes, women and families can also benefit significantly.

The ideology of ecotourism contributing towards sustainable development is an excellent starting point for any developing nation incorporating such a controversial activity in its economy, especially when taking into consideration the challenges of balancing financial gains with benefits towards society and ecology; the local population's limited experience and knowledge of the tourism trade; general inter- and intra-sectoral competition and conflicts; and lack of a practicable policy. Zanzibar's tourism industry, whose development is theoretically supervised by government, is presently too profit oriented to prove truly beneficial, least of all to local communities, who feel traded off and excluded. Many cannot account for the gains made by tourism under present circumstances, partially due to lack of transparency in government earnings and spending. In retaliation, they tap into their own meagre resources in order to partake in an industry which continues to prove profitable only to those directly involved. The consequences of such liberal and *ad hoc* undertakings can only be short-lived profitability and exploitation of resources, leading to disregard for conservation and unsustainable developments, in tourism, in nature and society in general.

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Appendix A

Sample Interview Sheet Tourism in Zanzibar

Personal	
Location of interview	
Name of interviewee	
Age	
Gender	
Marital status/family	
Education	
Occupation (if in tourism, specify)	
Place of residence	
Tourism/development	
When did you first become aware of tourism in Zanzibar?	
Has tourism affected your life in any way (positively/negatively)	
What changes have you observed/experienced in your place of residence since tourism?	
What is your personal opinion of tourism?	
What does "development" (<i>maendeleo</i>) mean for you?	
Comment on "development through tourism"	

Appendix B

Tourist accommodation facilities in Jambiani village

Hotel Name	Owner	Manager	No. Room	No. Bed	E	W	M	Jambiani	Other	Price in US \$	Age
Villa de Coco	Jamb	Znz	9	18	10	5	5	9	1	50 - 80	2002
Mount Zion Long Beach Bungalows	Znz.	Znz	Not in operation at time of field study (under construction)								
ZTC House	Gov. Of Znz	Jamb	3	7	1	0	1	1	0	5	1981
Sunparadize	Jamb	Jamb	4	7	2	1	1	2	0	5 - 7	2001
Manufaa Guest House	Jamb	Jamb	6	9	1	0	1	1	0	10	2001
Horizontal Inn	Jamb	Jamb	4	8	4	1	3	4	0	15	1992
Blue Lagoon	Eu	Jamb	4	6	5	2	3	5	0	1000/wk	2000
Lowea Beach House	Znz	Znz	3	12	1	0	1	0	1	50 - 80	?
Blue Oyster Hotel	Eu	Znz	10	25	12	7	5	7	5	20 - 50	1999
The Rising Sun Hotel	Jamb	Jamb	Not in operation at time of field study (under construction)								
Oasis Beach Inn	Jamb	Jamb	8	16	6	2	4	6	0	8 - 25	1997
Sau Inn	Znz	Tnz	27	52	49	7	42	43	6	60 - 80	1996
Visitor's Inn	Znz/Jamb	Znz/Jamb	38	70	32	12	20	31	1	25 - 50	1992
Jambiani Beach Hotel	Znz	Jamb	11	18	12	4	8	12	0	10- 30	1981
Al-Hapa Guest House and Bungalow	Jamb	Jamb	7	16	4	0	4	4	0	6 - 10	1994
Coco Beach Hotel	Pemba	Pemba	8	16	14	2	12	12	2	40	2000
Shehe Bungalows	Jamb	Jamb	37	47	25	10	15	21	4	20 - 45	1990
Kimte Beach Inn	Znz/Eu	Znz/Eu	7	18	12	3	9	7	5	8 - 15	1998
Gomani Bungalows	Jamb	Jamb	9	18	9	3	6	9	0	25	1992
Red Monkey Bungalows	Znz/Jamb	Jamb	5	10	9	5	4	9	0	25 - 30	2000
Total					208	64	144	183	25		

E = employees; W = female employees; M = male employees

Jamb = Jambiani; Znz = Zanzibari; Tnz = Tanzanian; Eu= European

All prices per person per night in US \$, including bed and breakfast

Appendix C

ERKLÄRUNG

Ich erkläre, dass das Thema dieser Arbeit nicht identisch ist mit dem Thema einer von mir bereits für ein anderes Examen eingereichten Arbeit. Ich erkläre weiterhin, dass ich die Arbeit nicht bereits an einer anderen Hochschule zur Erlangung eines akademischen Grades eingereicht habe.

Ich versichere, dass ich die Arbeit selbständig verfasst habe und keine anderen als die angegebenen Grundlagen benutzt habe. Die Stellen der Arbeit, die anderen Werken dem Wortlaut oder dem Sinn nach entnommen sind, habe ich unter Angabe der Quellen der Entlehnung kenntlich gemacht. Dies gilt sinngemäß auch für gelieferte Zeichnungen, Skizzen und bildliche Darstellungen u. Dgl.

CURRIVULUM VITAE

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1983 – 1897	Grundschule, International School of Morogoro, Tanzania
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Sprachen: Englisch, Swahili, Deutsch, (Französisch, Italienisch)

Datum

Unterschrift

Doorstep Interviews: Households.

Kitongoji	Total	M	W	C	Income: 1st Man	Income: 2nd Man	Income: 3rd Man	Income: 1st Woman	Income 2nd Woman	Income: 3rd Woman
1 Baghani	8	1	2	5	Fisherman			Kitchen V1 40,000	Seaweed	
2 Baghani	5	1	1	3	Shamba.s.s			Housekeeping SI 50,000		
3 Bahani	4	1	2	1	Manager Guest House 100,000			Seaweed 25,000		
4 Bahani	9	2	2	5	Sheha/Shamba.s.s	Student of Islam		Seaweed/Shamba.s.s	Seaweed	
5 Bahani	12	1	2	9	Shamba.s.s			Seaweed	Handicapped/Retired	
6 Bahani	8	1	2	5	Constructor 2000/dy			Seaweed	Seaweed	
7 Bahani	9	4	3	2	Religion Teacher	Fisherman/Shamba	Fisherman	Seaweed		
8 Bahani	7	2	1	4	Shamba.s.s	Roof Constructor		Shamba.s.s/Seaweed		
9 Bondeni	7	1	1	5	Driver 3000/dy/Shamba.s.s			Seaweed 20,000		
10 Bondeni	7	1	1	5				Seaweed		
11 Bondeni	4	1	1	2	Tailor 30,000			Seaweed		
12 Bondeni	6	2	1	3	Guard SI 50,000			Shop owner		
13 Bondeni	6	1	1	4				Seaweed 4,000		
14 Bondeni	3	1	1	1	Shamba/Shop 5000/dy			Seaweed/Tailor 3000		
15 Bondeni	3	1	1	1	Garder SI 50,000			Seaweed 2500		
16 Bondeni	4	1	1	2	Teacher 45,000			Seaweed 10,000		
17 Bondeni	5	1	1	3	Motorbike rental 25,000/dy			Shop owner		
18 Dimbuni	2	0	2	0				Seaweed 8000	Tailor 5000	
19 Dimbuni	7	1	1	5	Shamba			Seaweed 20,000		
20 Dimbuni	4	1	1	2	Manager JB 50,000			Seaweed 7,000		
21 Dimbuni	5	1	1	3	Shopkeeper			Seaweed 15,000		
22 Dimbuni	6	1	1	4	Fisherman/Shamba.s.s			Seaweed		
23 Dimbuni	4	1	1	2	Shamba 14,000			Seaweed 6000		
24 Dimbuni	3	1	1	1	Fisherman 1000/dy			Seaweed 10,000		
25 Kibigiga	7	2	0	7	Guard SI 50,000	Seaweed Company in Town				
26 Kibigiga	7	1	1	5	Shamba.s.s			Seaweed		
27 Kibigiga	12	3	3	6	Shamba.s.s	Constructor 2000/dy	Restaurant cook	Shamba.s.s	Seaweed	Tailor
28 Kibigiga	10	3	2	5	Fisherman/Shamba.s.s	Guard AI-Hapa	Restaurant cook	Shamba.s.s/Seaweed/Tailor		
29 Kibigiga	14	1	1	11	Fisherman			Seaweed/shamba.s.s		
30 Kibigiga	6	1	1	4	Fisherman/Shamba.s.s			Seaweed/Tailor		
31 Kibigiga	7	1	1	5	Fisherman/Shamba.s.s			Seaweed/Tailor		
32 Kibigiga	5	2	1	2	Shamba.s.s	Shamba.s.s		Seaweed/shamba.s.s		
33 Kibigiga	5	1	1	3	Seaweed			Shamba.s.s		
34 Kibigiga	5	1	1	3	Constructor 2000/dy			Shamba.s.s/Seaweed		
35 Kichaka Nyuki	4	1	1	2	Electrician SI 50,000			Tailor/Business 15,000		
36 Kichaka Nyuki	6	1	1	4	Fisherman/Shamba.s.s			Seaweed		
37 Kichaka Nyuki	5	1	1	3	Shamba 5000			Seaweed 3000		
38 Kichaka Nyuki	1	1	0	0	Cook in own restaurant			Tailor 16,000		
39 Kichaka Nyuki	6	1	1	4	Shamba.s.s/ woodcutter			Seaweed		
40 Kichaka Nyuki	4	1	1	2	Shamba.s.s/Fisherman			Seaweed		
41 Kichaka Nyuki	7	1	2	5	Shamba.s.s			Seaweed	Seaweed	
42 Kichaka Nyuki	9	1	2	6	Shamba.s.s			Shamba.s.s/Seaweed	Seaweed	
43 Kichaka Nyuki	9	2	1	6	Fisherman 1500/dy	Shamba		Seaweed		
44 Kidenga	4	1	1	2	Fisherman Constructor 7000/dy			Seaweed 20000		
45 Kidenga	7	2	2	3	Waiter SI 50,000			Seaweed 3000		
46 Kidenga	2	0	1	1				Seaweed 6000		
47 Kidenga	5	1	1	3				Seaweed 6000		
48 Kidenga	1	0	1	0				Seaweed 10,000		
49 Kidenga	2	0	1	1				Seaweed 15,000		
50 Kidenga	4	2	2	0	Fisherman 50 - 300000/month			Seaweed 6000		
51 Kidenga	3	1	1	1	Shamba.s.s					
52 Kidenga	4	1	1	2	Shamba.s.s					
53 Kikadini	7	2	1	4	Seaweed	Cook SI		Seaweed		
54 Kikadini	8	3	2	3	Employee Seaweed Co.	Seaweed	Seaweed	Seaweed	Seaweed	Seaweed/Shamba.s.s
55 Kikadini	6	1	2	3	Shop Assistant			Seaweed		

Shamba.s.s = self-sustaining farming

Doorstep Interviews: Households.

	Kitongoji	Total	M	W	C	Income: 1st Man	Income: 2nd Man	Income: 3rd Man	Income: 1st Woman	Income 2nd Woman	Income: 3rd Woman
56	Kikadini	7	2	1	4	Fisherman 30,000	Beach Boy 20,000		Seaweed 8,000		
57	Kikadini	2	1	1	0	Housekeeping SI 50,000			Housekeeping VI 40,000		
58	Kikadini	9	1	2	6	Teacher 40,000			Seaweed	Housekeeping VI 40,000	
59	Kikadini	9	2	2	5	Shamba.s.s	Snorkelling Guide SI		Seaweed	Seaweed	
60	Kikadini	4	0	1	3				Seaweed/Tailor		
61	Kikadini	6	2	1	3	Manager Restaurant JB			Shamba.s.s/Seaweed/Tailor		
62	Kikadini	8	2	2	4	Shop Owner	Electrician		Seaweed	Seaweed	
63	Kikadini	5	1	1	3	Teacher 50,000/Shamba.s.s			Seaweed		
64	Kikadini	3	1	1	1	Fisherman/Wood cutter			Seaweed/Tailor		
65	Mbuyuni	3	1	1	1	Fish vendor			Seaweed/Tailor 7000		
66	Mbuyuni	9	2	2	5	Shamba.s.s/Fisherman	Gardner JB		Shamba.s.s/seaweed	Housewife	
67	Mbuyuni	7	1	1	5	Fisherman/shamba 23,000			Seaweed 15,000		
68	Mbuyuni	4	1	1	2	Doctor 50,000			Shamba/seaweed 5000		
69	Mbuyuni	7	1	2	4	Shamba.s.s			Seaweed 3000		
70	Mbuyuni	3	1	1	1	Fish vendor 30,000/dy			Tailor 10,000		
71	Mbuyuni	4	1	1	2	Doctor 50,000			Seaweed		
72	Mbuyuni	7	1	2	4	Shamba.s.s/Fisherman 3000/dy			Seaweed 10,000	Seaweed 10,000	
73	Mbuyuni	6	2	1	3	Shamba.s.s	Shamba		Seaweed		
74	Mbuyuni	9	1	3	5	Shamba			Seaweed 4,000	Seaweed 4,000	Seaweed 4000
75	Mbuyuni	4	1	1	2	Gardner SI 50,000			Shamba.s.s		
76	Mbuyuni	4	0	1	3				Seaweed/Tailor 14,000		
77	Mbuyuni	6	1	2	3	Fisherman 2000/dy			Gardner OI 20,000	Seaweed 10,000	
78	Mbuyuni	2	1	1	0	Shamba 1000/dy			Seaweed 12,000		
79	Mbuyuni	4	1	1	2	Housekeeping SI 40,000			Tailor		
80	Mbuyuni	5	1	2	3	Shamba.s.s			Housewife	Seaweed	
81	Mbuyuni	6	1	1	4	Shamba.s.s/Constructor 2000/dy			Shamba/Tailor/Seaweed 6000		
82	Mchangani	3	1	1	1	Plumber VI 50,000			Seaweed 20,000		
83	Mchangani	3	2	1	0	Snorkelling Guide VI			Seaweed 18,000		
84	Mchangani	6	1	1	4	Guard SI 50,000			Seaweed 10,000		
85	Mchangani	4	1	1	2	Constructor 2000/dy			Housekeeping SI 50,000		
86	Mchangani	3	1	1	1	Manager Rest./Bar JB 20,000			Seaweed 7,000		
87	Mchangani	5	1	2	2	Shamba.s.s			Shamba.s.s	Seaweed	
88	Mchangani	7	2	1	4	Wood Cutter	Fisherman		Seaweed	Seaweed	
89	Mchangani	10	1	2	7	Shamba.s.s/seaweed			Seaweed	Seaweed	
90	Mchangani	6	2	1	3	Fisherman	Coal Maker		Seaweed		
91	Mchangani	7	1	1	5	Teacher 40,000			Seaweed	Seaweed/Tailor	
92	Mchangani	6	1	2	3	Guard CB			Seaweed	Seaweed/Tailor	
93	Mchangani	9	1	2	6	Kimite Guest House			Seaweed	Seaweed/Tailor	
94	Mchangani	10	1	2	7	Shamba.s.s/Fisherman			Seaweed	Seaweed/Tailor	
95	Mchangani	5	1	1	3	Shamba.s.s/Fisherman/Herder			Seaweed/Tailor		
96	Mfumbwi	12	1	3	9	Shamba.s.s/Seaweed			Seaweed	Seaweed	Seaweed
97	Mfumbwi	6	3	1	2	Fisherman	Fisherman	Chalk burner	Seaweed		
98	Mfumbwi	3	1	1	1	Receptionist SI 60,000			Housewife		
99	Mfumbwi	3	1	1	1	Cook VI 50,000			Seaweed 15,000		
100	Mfumbwi	8	2	2	4	Bus Driver			Seaweed	Seaweed	
101	Mfumbwi	13	2	3	8	Shamba.s.s/Fisherman 5000/dy	Fisherman/Constructor 2000/dy		Housekeeper Oasis 30,000	Seaweed 15,000	Women's Union 25,000
102	Mfumbwi	8	2	2	4	Teacher	Shamba /seaweed		Seaweed	Seaweed	
103	Mfumbwi	7	2	1	4	Shamba.s.s	seaweed		Seaweed		
104	Mfumbwi	6	1	1	4	Shamba.s.s			Seaweed		
105	Mfumbwi	6	1	2	3	Guard SI 50,000			Seaweed 10,000	Housekeeping CB 30,000	
106	Mfumbwi	11	2	1	8		Fisherman		Seaweed/Shamba.s.s		
107	Mfumbwi	5	1	1	3	Fisherman/Shamba.s.s			Seaweed		
108	Mfumbwi	6	1	1	4	Fisherman			Seaweed		
109	Miuli	7	0	3	4				Henna/Massage VI 50,000	Seaweed	Seaweed
110	Miuli	7	2	2	3	Fisherman	Front Desk VI 70,000		Seaweed	Seaweed	

Doorstep Interviews: Households.

	Kitong'oji	Total	M	W	C	Income: 1st Man	Income: 2nd Man	Income: 3rd Man	Income: 1st Woman	Income 2nd Woman	Income: 3rd Woman
111	Miuli	6	3	1	2	Mat Maker	Fisherman	Student of Q'ArAn	Seaweed		
112	Miuli	3	1	1	1	Ass. Manager VI 100,000			Housewife		
113	Miuli	11	2	2	7	Katibu (= Secretary)	Bakery/Café owner		Seaweed		
114	Miuli	9	2	4	3	Constructor 2000/dy	Constructor 2000/dy		Nursery teacher	Seaweed 80,000	Seaweed
115	Miuli	9	1	1	7	Constructor 2000/dy			Nursery School teacher		
116	Miuli	4	1	2	1	Employed Shopkeeper			Shamba.s.s	Seaweed	
117	Miuli	7	1	1	5	Teacher			Housekeeping SI 50,000		
118	Mwenda Wima	5	1	1	3	Shamba.s.s			Seaweed		
119	Mwenda Wima	8	2	1	5	Shamba.s.s	Fisherman		Tailor 6000		
120	Mwenda Wima	6	2	0	4	Shamba.s.s	Gardner SB				
121	Mwenda Wima	7	0	1	6				Seaweed		
122	Mwenda Wima	5	0	1	4				Seaweed	Seaweed	
123	Mwenda Wima	5	1	1	3	Fisherman			Seaweed	Seaweed	
124	Mwenda Wima	9	1	2	6	Shamba.s.s			Seaweed	Seaweed	
125	Mwenda Wima	2	1	1	0	Waiter BO 45,000			Seaweed 10,000		
126	Mwenda Wima	12	2	2	8	Shamba.s.s	Shamba.s.s		Shamba.s.s	Shamba.s.s	
127	Mwenda Wima	7	1	2	4	Shamba.s.s			Seaweed	Seaweed	
128	Mwenda Wima	7	2	2	3	Fisherman			Seaweed	Seaweed/Tailor	
129	Mwendo Ima	4	1	1	2	Driver SI 50,000			Housewife		
130	Mwenyu wa Gogo	4	1	1	2	Housekeeping VI 45,000			Seaweed 20,000		
131	Mwenyu wa Gogo	7	2	1	4	Gift Shop Owner 300,000	Constructor 2000/dy		Tailor		
132	Mwenyu wa Gogo	6	1	1	4	Receptionist SI 70,000			School Librarian 35,000		
133	Mwenyu wa Gogo	3	1	1	1	Bell Boy SI 55,000			Housewife		
134	Mwenyu wa Gogo	5	1	1	3	Manager VI 100,000			Cook SB		
135	Mwenyu wa Gogo	3	1	1	1	Gift Shop Owner 300,000			Seaweed 20,000		
136	Mwenyu wa Gogo	6	1	1	4	Shamba.s.s			Seaweed		
137	Mwenyu wa Gogo	5	1	2	2	Gardner SI 50,000			Seaweed 15,000	Seaweed 10,000	
138	Mwenyu wa Gogo	7	2	3	2	Snorkeling Guide SI 30- 35,000	Shamba		Housekeeping VI 40,000	Cook VI 30,000	Seaweed 10,000
139	Mwenyu wa Gogo	3	1	1	1	Driver 45,000			Henna/Massage VI 50,000		
140	Mwenyu wa Gogo	5	0	3	2				Henna/Massage VI 50,000	Seaweed 3000	Seaweed 3000
	Total	837	175	193	473						
	VI = Visitor's Inn		SI = Sau Inn			JB = Jambiani Beach Hotel		SB = Shehe Bungalows			



East African Home Pages Enterprise

Promoting East African entrepreneurs and artists from Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, The Comoros and other countries

TANZANIA boasts of an army of energetic, creative, skilled and gifted young men. They include journalists, cartoonists, photographers, sports persons, artists, musicians, and other entrepreneurial-minded individuals. One of EAHP's objectives is to make such talents known to the whole world through our website: www.ourtanzania.com, and later also through our sister website www.tanzania.com

From the outset, our company has been engaging in international projects, starting with personnel from Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, and Germany.

Our activities centre around our web site as a means of communication, but encompass other lines of business as well. We are planning to act as a hub for activities related to the Internet and to education in general.

EAHP Directors

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Geographic Location

The company has offices in Dar es salaam / Tanzania and Köln (Cologne) / Germany. Offices in Moshi and other Tanzanian towns are planned.

Partners

- PACT (Popular Association of Cartoonists in Tanzania), Dar es salaam
- Board of External Trade, Dar es salaam
- Horizons Media Network, Nairobi, Kenya
- Uganda Home Pages Ltd., Kampala, Uganda
- many others in East Africa and in Europe

Objectives:

- ♦ Promoting trade between East Africa and Europe. We have profound knowledge of both continents and very experienced personnel in both East Africa and Germany.
- ♦ Publishing news from Tanzania on the website www.ourtanzania.com. This is a summary of news from Swahili language newspapers (Uhuru, Majira, Mtanzania, Mwananchi and others).
- ♦ Commercializing the website by selling cartoons, pictures and features to the international and local markets.
- ♦ Starting various other IT-related activities. These include importing computers into Tanzania, developing the Tanzanian Internet infrastructure (with a special emphasis on Wireless Internet Access), and other media topics (working with journalists, film makers etc.)

Activities and Deliverables.

Promoting start-up or small businesses and their owners/entrepreneurs by providing information about their products or services on the web site.

Organizing training, workshops, forums and study tours for the various categories of persons being promoted in order to raise their skills and standards so they can pass the market test.

For further information, please have a look at

- <http://www.eahp.com>
- <http://www.ourtanzania.com>
- <http://www.tptanzania.com>
- <http://www.bungetz.org>
- <http://www.tptanzania.com/ditf>

This was updated on July 8th, 2004