

**TOURISM IN ZANZIBAR:
A FOOL'S PARADISE ?**

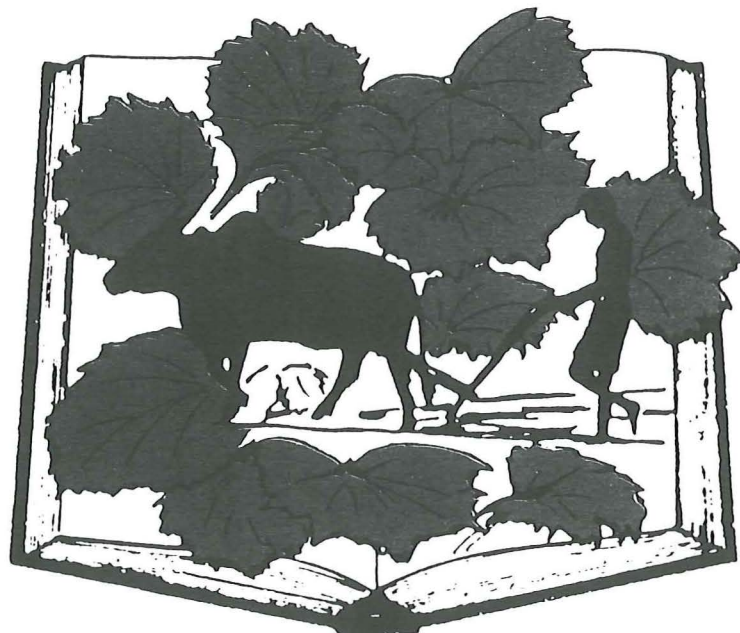
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Declaration

We, the undersigned, do hereby declare to the Senate of the Agricultural University of Norway that this thesis has not been submitted for any degree award to any other University and that it is our own original work.

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To Zanzibar and its people

Preface and acknowledgements

This thesis deals with tourism and rural livelihoods in Zanzibar. It looks into how and to what extent tourism affects the material and moral well-being of villagers by looking at linkages between the tourist industry and the local communities where tourism development takes place. It focuses on issues perceived important by villagers themselves when talking about impacts of tourism on their livelihoods; like changing rules, norms and traditions of villagers, change in access to and use of resources, new income opportunities and improvement in infrastructure.

To protect the anonymity of local informants their real names are not used.

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*Grete Benjaminsen and Hege Bergljot Wallevik
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Chapter one

INTRODUCTION

This thesis deals with the phenomenon of tourism in Zanzibar. More specifically it deals with the relationship between tourism and rural livelihoods where the focus is on the impacts of tourism on rural villagers' material and moral well-being. In many countries international tourism has been given increasing attention as an important sector for growth. As many other developing countries Zanzibar has identified tourism to be one of the major investment areas. Traditionally, Zanzibar has depended on cloves as its major export product, and access to foreign exchange earnings. In their struggle to find a new economic foundation, after the decline in clove prices on the world market, tourism was viewed as the possible economic solution to increased access to foreign exchange earnings and to promote local employment. Consequently, tourism is now becoming an increasingly important part of Zanzibar's economy.

During recent years the number of tourists coming to Zanzibar, and especially to the largest island Unguja, has increased rapidly. This has led to the establishment of hotels, both small guest houses and international high-class hotels, together with other tourist facilities all around the island, especially along the east and north coast and in Zanzibar Town. Hence, the presence of tourism has become an important feature in the everyday life of many Zanzibaris, in both rural and urban areas. As mentioned above, our focus is on rural areas.

In developing countries people in rural areas, more than in urban areas, depend on the local natural resource base for their livelihood. At the same time the population growth rates in most of these countries have outstripped the carrying capacity of the area. According to Frankenberger (1996) this leads to environmental degradation and less sustainable livelihoods. Since rural livelihoods to a greater extent depend on natural resources, it is possible to say that this effect especially applies to rural areas. Zanzibar is also threatened by this process of environmental degradation. Parallel to this is the on-going tourism development. More tourists coming to the islands, and especially staying in hotel resorts in

rural areas, imply an additional number of people depending on and using the same natural resource base. Introduction of tourism might in addition to competition for natural resources, threaten the continuation of local people's traditional activities and ways of life. On the other hand, Cukier (1996) points out, that many critics of tourism related development are particularly impressed by its potential to generate employment. Hence, tourism might have positive effects on the livelihood of the rural people if it brings opportunities for new income generating activities. At the same time tourism development also requires an effective infrastructure. Accordingly, introduction of tourism to a rural area can have a positive effect on the livelihood of people inhabiting the area by becoming an area which is a focus of the island's development.

Our main interest lies in these linkages between tourism and rural livelihoods in the south east coast, a part of the so-called Coral rag area, of Unguja. This area is a major tourism zone of the island. Here, both local guest houses and high-class hotels are present. Hence, this area was seen appropriate for understanding these linkages. Furthermore, due to the infertile soil in the area village people rely very much on coastal resources for their livelihood, such as the beach, the tidal flats and the coral reefs. These are the very same resources which tourists come to enjoy. We are focusing on the villagers' own perception of how and to what extent tourism is affecting their livelihood. Since there are both local guest houses and high-class hotels in the area, it is necessary to distinguish between the two. First of all, the tourists coming to these different types of resorts have different characteristics. Tourists visiting the local guest houses are mainly low budget travellers, while the one's coming to the high-class hotels are often charter tourists who travel on a more expensive budget. Secondly, the different types of hotels have different facilities to offer the tourists. The high-class hotels have more on-site activities to offer their tourists than the local guest houses. Due to the different characteristics the two types represent, we found it interesting to compare the impacts these different types of hotel establishments have on material and moral well-being of villagers.

International tourism and the study of the phenomenon

Tourism is a rapidly growing phenomenon and is one of the largest industries in the world. It is argued that tourism is the third largest industry, after oil and motor vehicle production. In

terms of both volume and expenditures, international tourism has risen dramatically over the past four decades, and the trend toward further rapid growth seems to be continuing (Brohman, 1996). It is expected that 600 million tourists will cross international boundaries by the year 2000 (Brohman, 1996), compared to the number in 1950 which was 25,3 mill. The majority of tourism receipts go to developed countries, but the developing countries share has been rising steadily since the late 1960s (World Tourism Organisation, 1993).

There is no doubt that such an industry receives attention from various angles. Cater (1995) states that there is probably no other economic activity that transacts so many sectors, levels and interests as tourism. As tourism has become an increasingly important industry, tourism research has increased accordingly. The phenomenon of tourism has come to the attention of various scholars and researchers from a number of disciplines among them geography, economy, sociology, development studies and anthropology. They have in recent years looked into the phenomenon of tourism. It is not our intention to present the totality of the many approaches towards an understanding of tourism. We will dwell on some issues important for this thesis.

In the study of tourism some researchers centre primarily on the phenomenon of tourism itself. They look into the cause, the nature, different types and the background of tourism and tourists. Others have been more occupied with theories and models. Lately the concept of sustainability has also reached the field of tourism research and it has resulted in a focus on sustainable tourism development, where alternative tourism as opposed to mass tourism has been introduced as a field. Furthermore, a major field within tourism research is the case study approach which is concerned with the impacts of tourism on host societies. This thesis, which deals with the impacts of tourism on rural livelihoods, will be enclosed by the latter group of studies. The case studies focus on different aspects such as social, cultural, environmental, or economic impacts of tourism on host populations. It is these studies that are of relevance to this presentation. However, it is necessary, before we say something about the different studies conducted on impacts concerning rural peoples livelihoods, such as impacts on natural resources, impacts on income-generating activities and the general quality of life for the host population, that we take some time to define what we mean by rural livelihoods.

The concept of livelihoods

Many authors have contributed to the discussion of expanding and elaborating on the concept of livelihood. We do not intend to give a full and detailed review of what the different authors include in this concept. We will, however, give a short assessment of how some central authors conceive this concept, stressing its relevance to our problem statement.

Livelihood in its simplest sense can be described as a means of gaining a living (Chambers and Conway, 1992). With their livelihood, people aim to satisfy their needs. The World Commission for Environment and Development (WCED) (1987) defines livelihoods as adequate stocks and flows of food and cash to meet basic needs. Frankenberger (1996) points out, that livelihoods consist of a range of on-farm and off-farm activities which together provide a variety of procurement strategies for food and cash. As already mentioned, at the south east coast of Unguja, the villagers mainly depend on coastal resources. Hence, these coastal resources enable them to carry out off-farm and on-farm activities to meet their basic needs.

Furthermore, livelihoods are secure if one has secure ownership of, or access to, resources and income-earning activities, including reserves and assets to offset risks, ease shocks and meet contingencies (WCED, 1987). The livelihoods of the people in the Coral rag area have always been vulnerable due to the natural resource base given. We believe that the introduction of tourism can challenge villagers' access to natural resources they depend on. At the same time tourism can bring new income earning activities.

While WCED (1987) refers to basic needs only, Ahmed and Lipton write that «a livelihood should be sufficient to avoid poverty and, preferably, increase well-being...» (Ahmed and Lipton, 1997: 7). Thus, in this sense the concept of livelihood is somehow broader, referring to factors not necessarily included in the basic needs, as basic needs are generally understood as food, water and shelter. Squire refers to well-being as «the product of a range of factors, including adequate consumption of goods and services, health, status, achievements, and security» (Squire, 1991: 178). Presenting and discussing our data we distinguish between materiality and morality within the concept of well-being. Here, materiality will include consumption of goods and services in addition to having assets, be it tangible assets such as

resources and stores, or intangible assets, such as access and claims. On the other hand morality will refer to rules, norms and traditions, all of which are believed to influence a person's quality of life. How people define their well-being will presumably vary in time and space.

Furthermore, one often talks about the sustainability of livelihoods. This usually includes a maintenance of resource productivity on a long-term basis, securing the needs for the future generations (WCED, 1987, Chambers and Conway, 1992, Ahmed and Lipton, 1997). Chambers and Conway (1992) divide sustainability of livelihoods into two types; environmental sustainability and social sustainability. The former refers to the livelihoods which should be sustainable in their effects on local and global resources and other assets. Accordingly, livelihoods are not environmentally sustainable when they result in deforestation, desertification, soil erosion, declining water tables or salinisation. All these symptoms of environmentally unsustainable livelihoods are tangible. There are also intangible effects. These are net effects on the claims and access needed by people to sustain their livelihoods. Socially sustainable livelihoods imply that the people are able to cope with stress and shocks and retain their ability to continue and improve their lives.

Lastly, it is important to point out that the definition of livelihood can be viewed at different hierarchical levels. According to Chambers and Conway (1992), the most commonly used descriptively is the household, usually meaning the human group which shares the same hearth for cooking. A broader definition will imply the extended family, the social group and the community. It is also important to recognise that there is an individual or intra-household level, in which the well-being and access of some household members, usually women and children, may be inferior to that of others. In this study we refer to livelihoods at all levels.

Studies of impacts of tourism

Much has been written about impacts of tourism on host populations. Various authors from different disciplines stress different aspects, ranging from those who focus on the beneficial effects of tourism, seeing it as a part of a modernisation and development process, to those who focus on acculturation and degradation of the culture of host populations. Economists and developers usually see tourism as an industry with economic benefits. For countries in the

third world they particularly see tourism as development and an economic solution. This view is rejected by many sociologists and anthropologists who generally claim that money does not reach the local and most impoverished population but primarily the country's elite and large international hotel chains. Hence, the tourism development will not benefit the local population. It is limiting, however, to only focus on negative aspects as if tourism can bring nothing but negative impacts on host societies. Nunez warns us that: «Prudence should require, however, that the anthropological community resist the temptation to condemn tourism as unnecessary intrusive, as exploitative, as de-culturative. Who are we to say that improved roads, water purification projects, and rural electrification, as spin-offs from tourism development, are not as beneficial to, let us say, rural peasants and craftsmen as they are to their governments and to tourists?» (Nunez, 1978:215). However, one should not assume that tourism is only positive to the host society. Looking at impacts of tourism on host populations it is important to look at both positive and negative impacts at a time. We will now in short present some of the views different authors have developed when looking at impacts of tourism.

Socio-cultural impacts of tourism

«Tourism is a powerful medium affecting cultural change, and central to its anthropological study is the impact between hosts and guests» (Smith, 1977: 3). As millions of tourist trips are made every year many authors focus on the consequences of such a vast temporary migration for tourist receiving societies. Dogan (1989) states that there is not much agreement among social scientists when it comes to the socio-cultural consequences of tourism. Many focus on negative impacts on host cultures and stress that the introduction of tourism affects peoples traditions and their social life when it comes to habits, daily routines, beliefs and values. One example frequently referred to is the relationship between generations (Brown, 1992, Farver, 1984, Peake, 1989). In many societies in developing countries the elderly hold authority and respect over the younger generation. Case studies on the impacts of the relationship between the elderly and the young stress that this tradition has been affected by the introduction of tourism in the host culture since introduced western norms and values often contradict with the traditional norms for relationship between generations. Harrisson (1992a) argues that tourism facilitates the spread of western norms and values, sometimes in direct contrast to «tradition». However, it depends on the intensity of contact between hosts and guests

regarding to what extent the host culture take on these introduced values. Still many are afraid that host cultures will be severely threatened when tourism is introduced and that the culture has to be preserved. As a response to this Harrison claims that «there is something quite patronising in the view that the cultures of tourist-receiving societies are weak and need protection from outside» (Harrison, 1992a: 31). One also has to remember that changes can be welcomed, and that changes are often a result of a two-way process.

Indeed one should include both positive and negative aspects when talking about socio-cultural impacts of tourism because as Smith suggests: «the effects of tourism can be assessed along a continuum from a highly positive relationship that benefits all, to a highly disruptive, negative interaction fraught with conflict» (Smith, 1977: 4). According to Smith (1977) the tourist trade does not have to be culturally damaging. She writes: «Many tourists genuinely want to «get to know the people», and given the ideal circumstances of infrequent visitors who share mutual interests and a common language, tourism can be a bridge to an appreciation of cultural relativity and international understanding» (Smith, 1977: 6). Indeed in our case, as will be revealed, we found that the villagers living with tourists in their vicinity saw both negative and positive aspects of their presence.

Environmental impacts of tourism

The less developed world has an undeniable comparative advantage in terms of the variation and extent of unspoiled natural environments, among other things palm fringed sandy beaches, coral reefs and wild life. This attracts tourists from the western countries and with an increased demand for such environments tourism development takes place. Much has been said about the impacts of tourism on the environment. Pollution, coral reef damage or the spoiling of the beauty of a palm fringed beach has been laid at tourism's door (Cater, 1995). Harrison (1992a) says that the most obvious effect of tourism can be seen in the physical landscape, especially with the construction of hotels in areas which used to be open to all. Furthermore, when discussing impacts of tourism on the environment it is quite usual to talk about competition for land use between the host population and the tourism industry. For example, construction of hotels or guest houses very often takes place in areas traditionally used by locals. A typical example of competition for land use is when the local population is denied access to areas now set aside for tourism be it parks or hotel construction (Cater,

1995). Local people are often excluded from land allocated to an investor (Sulaiman, 1996). In such cases utilisation pressure on the areas allocated will diminish which is an environmental benefit, but clearly a social cost is involved. However, the other side of the coin is that utilisation will intensify in areas not set aside for tourism (Sulaiman, 1996). Besides the competition for land and natural resources, another stressed issue is degradation of the environment due to introduction of tourism. Cater states that «the relationship between tourism development, socio-economic development and the environment is circular and cumulative» (Cater, 1995: 21). Most tourism activity places additional pressures on the environmental resources upon which it is based. Talking about destruction of the environment a prime example is the destruction of coral reefs. Destruction of the coral reefs not only has an opportunity cost in terms of loss of the very resource which attracted tourists in the first place, but also results in loss of the protective barrier against coastal erosion. Ironically, therefore it may result in the erosion of the sandy beaches which were also part of the tourism attraction as has been evident along the coasts of Tanzania, Bali and Barbados (Cater, 1995). It is believed that if tourism is not properly planned it will lead to a competition for use of natural resources and put stress on the environment so that it eventually leads to degradation of the environment. Tourism development may also place additional stress on the society through influx of non-local migrants to the area (Cukier, 1996). As mentioned earlier many people in the developing world depend on the natural resource base given for their livelihood. Therefore for them it is important that the natural resources are sustained over time. We are focusing on the competition for the natural resources between the tourists and the rural villagers. Access to and use of the natural resources is important.

Economic impacts of tourism

The economic impacts of tourism have been discussed by several authors. It is not necessary to review them all here, but in general they focus on the contribution tourism makes to foreign exchange earnings, as a stimulant to investment, an improvement to the balance of payments, and to employment (Harrison, 1992a, Farver, 1984, Cukier, 1996, De Kadt, 1979). We are occupied with the latter. Farver (1984) states that the contribution tourism makes to the balance of payments is the most apparent and frequently discussed economic benefit for any developing country. However, many critics of tourism related development are particularly impressed by its potential to generate employment (Farver, 1984). In the analysis of impacts

of tourism one of the only aspects that was consistently judged positively was employment (Cukier, 1996). According to De Kadt (1979) the most obvious and immediate benefit of tourism is the creation of jobs and the opportunity for people to increase their income and standard of living. Cukier (1996) asserts that it is the increase in employment opportunities which may be of prime economic importance to local populations. Furthermore, she says that employment is usually analysed in terms of economic benefits only and claims that the social implication of tourism employment must also be considered. «Through the creation of jobs, tourism can provide an opportunity for the native population to increase their income and improve their standard of living, and can also positively affect the quality of life through increases in social status, empowerment and the creation of new occupational opportunities for youth and women» (Cukier, 1996: 51).

When talking about employment opportunities it is usual to distinguish between direct, indirect and induced employment (Harrison, 1992a). Direct employment means employment which arises directly from tourism e.g. in hotels. Indirect employment includes jobs created in other sectors of the economy. This sector does not depend on tourism for their existence though the tourist industry may be crucial to the sector. Induced employment refers to those jobs that arise from an increased general demand for goods and services. When we in this thesis talk about employment opportunities as a consequence of tourism we use the terms formal and informal sector employment. Formal sector employment will encompass all activities which are registered by the government, hence it will correspond to the terms direct and indirect employment. Informal sector employment which is not registered, will correspond to induced employment. Rodenburg (1980) argues that whilst large international hotels create more jobs than smaller hotels and guest houses, paying higher wages and bringing in more foreign exchange, they also import more, have fewer linkages with the local economy, and provide few entrepreneurial opportunities for the local population. Therefore, it is important to look at the different types of hotels when it comes to employment opportunities.

Discussing socio-economic impacts of tourism one also include impacts on the infrastructure in a given society. It is widely recognised that tourism development requires an efficient infrastructure. This applies whether we talk about roads, electricity supplies, water supplies,

appropriate waste disposal and sewage systems, or telecommunication. It is believed that improvements in such systems due to tourism will greatly affect peoples livelihoods.

Introduction of tourism in an area can greatly affect rural livelihoods in both positive and negative ways. Thus, it is important to look into the linkages between tourism and rural livelihoods and this is precisely what this thesis aims to do.

Organisation of the thesis

In the next chapter, namely chapter 2, we elaborate on how we collected the data on which this thesis is based. We explain how we were introduced to the communities under study, and we discuss the various qualitative methods used in order to obtain the data needed.

Chapter 3 is divided into two parts. First, we briefly introduce Zanzibar, its history and the characteristics which make the islands such a suitable tourist destination. We also briefly present the development of tourism in Zanzibar, and governmental policies on tourism from the mid-1980s until now. In the second part of the chapter we provide an introduction of the villages where the study was undertaken. We describe how the villagers traditionally have organised their life and gained a living, before the advent of tourism.

Chapter 4 is about the moral well-being of villagers. We discuss how tourism influences the everyday life of the villagers. We focus on the impact of tourism on the rules, norms and traditions in the local communities, and especially how the new behavioural patterns introduced by tourism challenge these rules, norms and traditions.

Chapter 5 discusses the material well-being of the villagers. We elaborate on the changes caused by tourism in villagers' access and use of natural resources. We illustrate how competition for and degradation of natural resources is exacerbated by the excessive establishment of tourist projects in the rural communities.

In Chapter 6 we assess how and to what extent tourism brings about new income opportunities. Our interest lies in how villagers are involved in both the formal and informal

sectors. We discuss how new income-generating activities can increase the material well-being of villagers.

In chapter 7 we discuss what kind of effects tourism has had on the material well-being of villagers when it comes to infrastructure. We also discuss villagers' access to and use of social services, and how this has changed after the introduction of tourism.

Finally, the main conclusions are discussed in Chapter 8

Chapter two

METHODOLOGY

As we wanted to generate data which could give answers on questions on how tourism influences the local communities and why this occurs, we decided to use qualitative methods in this study. Throughout our field work different qualitative methods were used in the data collection. Participant observation, informal conversations, qualitative interviews and document reviews were all employed in order to obtain the data needed. The study was undertaken for a period of about 4 months, from the beginning of August until the beginning of December 1997. Three different villages were chosen for our study, all situated at the south east coast of Unguja.

During recent years we have spent quite some time in Zanzibar, and in the particular study area, as students of Swahili. In total we had stayed about 6 months each in Zanzibar before the field study was conducted. The advantage of these stays was not only that we had got to know the language, but we also became familiar with the Swahili society and the way of life in these villages.

Participant observation; living in the field communities

During the first period in the field, we stayed in a household in Paje, one of the field villages. In this house we shared the everyday life with a family; a husband and his wife and their 7 children. We were introduced to the head of this particular household by our local supervisor who is working at the Institute of Marine Science (IMS) in Zanzibar Town. IMS had several times approached the head of this household. Being the manager of the local seaweed office in Paje, he was a village contact person for IMS, when doing research in this community. Although being the head of an ordinary village family in Paje, he had a central position in the village. Additionally, he and his family, had become used to having researchers staying with them. We regarded this as advantageous for us, especially in the initial part of our study. As Marshall and Rossman write «immersion in the setting allows the researcher to hear, see and begin to experience reality as the participants do» (Marshall and Rossman, 1995: 79). Having

this in mind we wanted to improve our understanding of household structures and human relations within the villages. Being resident in the researched community gave us the opportunity to observe details of daily life and activities. Subsequently, this gave us detailed insight into the village life and its characteristics.

Later on in the field study we stayed in different local guest houses. One of the reasons for this was that we, in addition to learning how the general villagers perceived the impacts of tourism on their livelihood, wanted to understand how the villagers directly involved in tourism looked upon these issues. However, during our first day in the field the importance of starting our stay in the village in a private household was emphasised by some villagers. The reason for this was that we would then more easily become accepted and looked upon as a temporarily part of the village community. When we later moved into a local guest house, the villagers already knew us, and particularly important, we were not perceived as tourists.

Living with a local family from the start was the entrance to a fruitful continuation. The *sheha*¹ of Paje introduced us to the man who became our field assistant. Later on when continuing the study in the two neighbouring villages, Bwejuu and Michamvi, the field assistant, being the village *mzale*², introduced us to the villagers through the *sheha*. The introduction we got was seen as an important contribution to the fact that both people in the villages and at the hotels were generally willing to talk to us.

Staying in the local household included among other things, that we ate every meal with the family members, and especially in the evenings, all of us gathered together outside the house with other villagers to relax, watch television and to chat about daily issues. By just being present and participating in daily life we also tried to create contacts and confidence with the villagers. With the help of our field family we were introduced to several other village

¹ The *sheha* is the village headman. He is appointed by the Regional Government for five years. His main tasks is being the mediator in internal village conflicts. After the introduction of tourism he also mediates between tourism investors and villagers. The *sheha* also register inhabitants and keep records of the inhabitants in the village. To assist the *sheha* there is also a village council, known as *watu wanne* (the four men) (Middleton, 1992).

² The *mzale* is one of the officials in the village. He is working in close association with the *sheha*. He described himself to us as the secretary of the *sheha*. Traditionally, the *mzale's* duty, in *Hadimu* settlements, have been related to witchcraft and to treat sickness with traditional medicine (Middleton, 1992).

members. We were also invited to village happenings, which would have been very difficult to get access to without having the specific relation to a particular family. These happenings included meeting in one of the woman organisations in the village and attendance at the *Taarab* music festival in Bwejuu. These experiences gave us further information on village life, relationships between sexes and how decision making processes in the village takes place. We also spent some time just walking around in the village on our own, whereby we, with the help of our skills in Swahili, got to know people without being formally introduced to them by others. Some of them became key informants to us during our fieldwork. While walking around in the village or while participating in local happenings we endeavoured to have «open eyes» and to observe and interpret aspects of the life and the environs which could be relevant to our study. This part of the study entailed a systematic noting and recording of events, behaviour and other things. Knowledge of language and central cultural aspects enabled us to participate spontaneously in and to grasp informal discussions and comments among the villagers. The insight into village life gained through participant observation combined with several informal conversations was believed to contribute to an increased understanding of people's own perception of how tourism affects their lives.

When we later moved out of the private house, to stay in different local guest houses in the area, we continued to visit the household, and other villagers known to us, frequently for informal conversations and social interaction. Establishing long term relationships, gave us the opportunity to create confidence between ourselves and our acquaintances among the villagers. This is again thought to add up to our knowledge and understanding of how the social life in these villages works. It is important to point out that the observation and recording of what we saw and experienced continued also in the phase of the fieldwork when we were staying in local guest houses. Hence, we ended up with having a considerable amount of information on different aspects of village life at the end of the field study.

Some of our acquaintances developed into key informants. As Pelto and Pelto express «humans differ in the willingness as well as their capabilities for verbally expressing cultural information» (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 72). Our key informants got the role because they were more talkative and familiar with the topics concerned than others. An important factor also taken into account when selecting key informants were their positions and relevance to our

study, through, for instance, participation in the tourism sector. Pelto and Pelto (1978) note that key informant interviews are appropriate for recovering information about the past and about ways of living that have ceased to exist or have been sharply modified by the time the researcher enters the scene. Many of our discussions with the key informants also concerned questions of how village life was before the introduction of tourism. In these cases the key informants were not necessarily involved in tourism. In general most of our key informants were from Paje, which was a natural consequence of the fact that it was in this village that we spent most of the time throughout the whole period of the fieldwork and thus got most information on village life.

Being two researchers was regarded as positive and beneficial. We could obtain more information by sometimes talking to different people or participating in different activities. Pelto and Pelto write that «every individual has areas of special interest and expertise that affects habits of observation» (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 70). This became evident to us when we started to read each other's field note books. We had recorded different kinds of information. Hence, our data were supplementary and we were able to compare our different interpretations.

Another thing which became apparent was that we not only recorded different things, but we recorded events and situations differently. This brings us to the discussion about objectivity vs. subjectivity, and about the relationship between the researcher and the researched. Some scholars state that there is no such thing as objective truth, that it is the researcher who with his or hers categories and concepts creates the reality and that the reality first exists with these categories and concepts (Enerstvedt, 1989, Sass, 1988). Subsequently, the reality differs according to the researcher's interpretation. Our main point is to stress the importance that the researcher is conscious about the interpretation of the reality he or she is presenting when writing about it using terms and concepts which he or she consider descriptive for the observed situation. We do not intend to go into a detailed discussion about this essential issue in qualitative research. However, it is meaningful to point out that the discussion of objectivity is relevant in all modes of qualitative research, since interpretation is taking place during participant observation, qualitative interviewing as well as while doing document revision.

Qualitative interviews; interviewing villagers individually and in groups

As mentioned earlier qualitative interviews were conducted. As Weiss (1994) puts it qualitative interviews give the researcher a possibility to integrate multiple perspectives. In our case it was hard to imagine that one single person could have observed the totality of the phenomenon of tourism. Subsequently, standardised questions would be less appropriate, because every respondent would have different observations to contribute. Additionally, qualitative interviews are appropriate to develop a holistic description of a phenomenon. The main complication with this approach is that one can not understand one part of a society without knowing something about other parts of it. We tried to achieve a holistic view by putting together process reports, which included a detailed description, from people whose behaviours interrelate. Accordingly, qualitative interviews enabled us to learn about perceptions and reactions on tourism known only to those to whom they occurred.

The use of qualitative interviews includes some methodological limitations (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). Co-operation by the interviewee is essential. The interviewees may for some reason or another be unwilling to talk or they may feel uncomfortable with the setting of the interview. Other limitations focus on the skill of the interviewer, who may not be able to ask questions that evoke long narratives from participants either because of a lack of expertise and familiarity with the local language or due to lack of skill on the topic. Also the responses to the questions or elements of the conversation may not be properly comprehended by the interviewer due to the factors mentioned above. Lastly, the interviewee may have a reason not to be truthful.

During our field study we had these limitations in mind, and we consequently tried to find suitable means for minimising them. Both in the village and at the hotels people were generally willing to talk to us. Our field assistant was very important in introducing us to villagers. We were using people's time, but we tried to hold the interviews at a time which minimised the interference in the daily activities of villagers. The most suitable time suited was after the day's work and before supper time, between 4 p.m. and 6 p.m. When choosing the setting for the interviews, non-disturbance from others was emphasised. We also stressed the importance of finding a place where the respondents felt comfortable. In this sense their home or working place was regarded appropriate, as these places were known to them. Here

we could also be with people in their own setting and it was easier for the respondents to explain things by showing and pointing at things.

Nevertheless, there were problematic circumstances. An interview with an old woman in the village contributed little to enhance our understanding in the sense that she definitely felt uncomfortable being the single interviewee. Her answers and contributions were scarce. She had agreed on participating, believing that she was not the only one. This situation was considered very unfortunate. Another example was when interviewing construction workers. One of the interviewees turned out to be a very conservative Muslim; he preferred the tourists to leave. A young man, who we later understood was very positive to tourism, did not contribute a lot to the interview, probably out of respect for the elder man. In relation to this it is important to point out that we have tried to take advantage of these type of observations and consider them as important background information when analysing the data.

Pelto and Pelto (1978) emphasise that qualitative interviews should not be the sole way of collecting data due to constraints like those mentioned above. In our case as we have tried to combine different methods. In this sense the period of staying in a local household was essential for preparing the questions for the qualitative interviews. This was due to the fact that a lot of valuable information about, and familiarity with, village life was obtained. This was thought to increase our capability to prepare relevant questions for the interviews.

Two types of interviews were conducted during our stay in the field. These were group interviews and individual interviews. The size of the groups varied from 3 to 7 interviewees. They were selected because they shared certain characteristics that were relevant to the topic of the study. Through the use of group interviews we encouraged the participants to express opinions, feelings and perceptions about tourism. The characteristics used as variables in choosing the interviewees were for instance occupation, age and sex. For instance, we had interviews with groups of fishermen, seaweed farmers, agricultural farmers and construction workers. In addition we interviewed groups of old men, old women, young men and young women. Brandth (1996) claims that group interviews might have a synergetic effect. As the researcher asks one question the interaction among the respondents stimulates ideas, thoughts and memories. When one respondent hears others talk it clears his or her conceptions and tests

his or her memory. During our group interviews we encouraged discussions and the exchange of ideas among the interviewees. Some group interviews developed into discussions and we got the impression that we witnessed a village meeting and that the participants were indifferent to our presence.

Marshall and Rossman (1995) term this method «socially oriented», in that the researcher is studying the participants in a natural, real-life atmosphere, unlike for instance an artificial one-on-one interview. They also claim that the results have high face validity, because the method is readily understood, the findings appear believable. An important drawback of this method might be the possibility of lost time, as dead-end or irrelevant discussions arise, as it is considered more demanding to lead a group interview than an individual one. Our belief is that it is difficult for the researcher to know exactly what is relevant for the problem statement and what is not. Our experience is that sometimes when the group interviews developed in unintended ways we still ended up getting valuable information.

The individual interviews were conducted first and foremost to obtain facts and background information about aspects and processes related to tourism. Additionally, we were presented with opinions and perceptions which could add up to the amount of data generated through group interviews. The interviewees in these cases were often directly related to the tourism industry, for instance, hoteliers or employees at hotels, or they had a significant position in the villages, such as village headmen, teachers and Koran teachers. During the group interviews our field assistant acted as an interpreter in order to make sure that all comments were grasped. For the individual interviews our skills in Swahili (and sometimes English) were regarded as sufficient.

During the different interviews we asked questions which gave us answers indicating feelings, opinions and purposes and we asked questions on facts. We asked about the effects of tourism on land, forest, beach, water and marine resources as well as prices of goods, rules, norms and traditions, and opinions on tourism. As mentioned earlier, the group interviews mainly generated data on opinions and perceptions, and the individual interviews on facts. We asked different supplementary questions to different groups on the basis of sex, age, occupation and

social status. We also use followed up questions in order to delve into more specific details of the respondent's perceptions and to obtain more concrete information.

Some major questions were repeated for all respondents and some questions varied according to if it was considered appropriate or not for the respondents. Repstad (1987) claims that there is no problem in changing the stimuli of the respondents during a fieldwork, since all respondents will interpret the questions in different ways. An effort was made to avoid the interviews to be directed by our interview schedule rather than by the interviewees' associations to the questions we asked or comments which were made. We tried to encourage the respondents freely to answer the questions and to convey their thoughts and feelings without being forced into a stance of waiting for the next question. (Weiss, 1994). This was done by allowing a high degree of flexibility throughout, which enabled us to explore more and different issues as they arose during the interview. Weiss (1994) states that without comparison there is no way to be sure of the validity of the information you are getting. Therefore, we had in mind that asking the same question to several respondents and getting similar answers should increase the validity.

Some of the panel respondents were chosen by ourselves, because we looked upon them as important and relevant in relation to our study. Others were chosen with the help of our field assistant or contact persons in the respective villages. To enrich or broaden our understanding, we wanted to include as respondents people who viewed our topic from different perspectives or who knew about different aspects of it. Consequently, while choosing the panel of respondents, an effort was made to reach people of different age, sex and occupation, since there was reason to believe that these variables could influence an informant's opinion on tourism and its consequences. We also stressed the importance of getting some respondents who were directly involved in the tourism sector and some who were not. We talked to several people from different occupations, such as fishermen, farmers, souvenir sellers, restaurant owners, handicraft makers and shopkeepers. Some villagers had multiple jobs, and hence were engaged in several activities. We had the background of the respondents in mind when analysing the data. For instance, it was considered more likely that a successful participant in the tourism sector was more positive to its impacts than one who had no relation to it.

Validity and reliability of the data collected

We regard both the validity and the reliability of the fieldwork to be improved as the number of informants and issues raised increases. This will of course also be linked to time spent in the field. Due to time constraint our guideline throughout the fieldwork has been what Weiss (1994) calls «diminishing returns», which means that you discover that a subject has been dwelled on for a long enough time by realising that you get the same answers over and over again. Repstad (1987) states that the longer the fieldwork is the less is the possibility that you have recorded an atypical situation. As already stated our fieldwork lasted for 4 months. Although this might be considered a limited amount of time for conducting a qualitative research, we feel that the period was sufficient among other things because we got the opportunity to see seasonal changes, first of all within the tourism sector, but also within fishing and cultivation, which again is thought to have given us a better understanding and overview of how life is in the villages.

As is very often the case in qualitative research we experienced the need for a shift in the focus of our research during our fieldwork. Usually a field study begins by regarding the sample of respondents, then the researcher moves to data collection, and finally concludes with the data analysis. Weiss (1994) states that starting the analysis of the data during the data collection can increase the reliability of the questions asked and people interviewed, because new information is revealed. Thus, during our fieldwork we emphasised flexibility in our research, which included a constant reassessment of our focus and methodology. Our plans changed during the fieldwork as we discovered new issues which were important and relevant to our problem statement, and which again inspired us to ask new and different questions.

Being young, white and female researchers, as well as being perceived as rich, we probably suffered from the fact that some essential information about our topic was not accessible to us. As women working in a sex-segregated society it might have been more appropriate to spend time mostly with women. Our topic forced us also to spend time with men, because they are often more involved in tourism. Several earlier stays in Zanzibar have taught us about appropriate and common codes for female behaviour and dressing. During our meetings with male informants we strove to comply with these codes. Another factor is that we repeatedly

returned to the villages during the whole period of 4 months, and became a part of the village life. We believe that these facts minimise the amount and effect of data inaccessible to us.

Literature review and discussion with officials; searching for background information

Our field study also included searching for secondary data. These data mainly have the role as background information. We were particularly looking for general information on our study area which would allow us not to collect all data ourselves in order to save time and to be able to focus more on the specific problem statement of the relation between tourism and rural livelihoods. Besides data on the study area, we wanted facts on the rules and regulations for investors in the tourism sector e.g. for purchase of land, use of natural resources, employment etc. Several interviews and informal discussions were held with people working within the central administration. The purpose for this was to learn about the tourism development policies and plans in Zanzibar and to get information from the authorities involved in the tourism development of the islands. During our stays in Zanzibar Town, lasting approximately one month, literature describing the future goals concerning tourism development in Zanzibar was gathered. Written reports and statistics on recorded and assumed impacts from tourism on the natural, cultural and socio-economic environment were also collected. Using already existing data is seen as appropriate and beneficial in order to save time due to time constraints by not collecting these data ourselves. Obtaining up-to-date information was a challenge since things are changing very quickly in Zanzibar these days.

Chapter three

INTRODUCING ZANZIBAR AND THE SOUTH EAST COAST

«There is no such place to take the last journey»

David Livingstone

Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous polity in the United Republic of Tanzania and consists of the two islands Unguja and Pemba and some smaller islands. These islands are located in the Indian Ocean about 35 kilometres from mainland Tanzania (Appendix 1). About 750,000 people inhabit the islands, although the largest concentration of people is found on Unguja (Appendix 2) which is also the biggest island and where Zanzibar Town is also situated. Coming to Zanzibar, and especially Zanzibar Town, one soon realises that the islands have been a melting pot for different people and cultures for a long time. Here people from African, Arab and Asian countries have lived together for centuries and form the multi-ethnic society that comprises contemporary Zanzibar. Furthermore, when it comes to religion one can also see the complexity of the Zanzibari society. Almost the entire population are Muslims (97%), although Hindus and Christians (together 3 %) live side-by-side with Muslims. In Stone Town there are mosques, churches and Hindu temples situated close to each other. One minute the Muslims are called for prayers from the minaret, and the next one hears are the church bells ringing. Lately, the Islands have also received attention from travellers, and the Islands are now discovered by tourists who come to explore the fascinating culture and nature of the Islands. As always when outsiders come to the Islands the Zanzibari people welcome them. Tourism in Zanzibar has grown quickly. A rapidly increasing number of tourists have come to the islands, with an average growth rate of 18.5 % per annum from 1982 to 1992 (Commission for Land and Environment (COLE) and Commission for Tourism (CoT), 1994). The total number of tourist arrivals has increased from 22,846 in 1986 to 69,159 in 1996 (CoT, 1996).

Zanzibar has been an important trading centre in the Indian Ocean for many centuries. Therefore hosting outsiders has been a common feature of Zanzibari society, and taking care

of visitors is a part of their history. Only for a short period of about 20 years, after the Revolution in 1964, this was different. Due to political reasons the islands were more isolated in this period, and the society was characterised by limited contact with other countries. Zanzibar has, during the past 10 years, liberalised the economy and contact with outsiders again characterises Zanzibar. Today trade and foreign investments are rapidly accelerating.

A view of the past

As mentioned the presence of outsiders in Zanzibar have a long history. Being a part of the wider Swahili coast of East Africa, Zanzibar started to host visiting traders from Arabia as early as the 10th century. Gradually, a unique lifestyle began to emerge, distinctly Afro-Arabic, Islamic and (for Zanzibar town) urban (Larsen, 1995). Together with the increasing trade a mercantile society, characterised as a middleman society (Middleton, 1992), developed. The term middleman society refers first of all to the island's position in regard to the East African slave and ivory trade. The Swahili were responsible for supplying the goods and providing facilities for the trade of these goods, and very often they played the role as brokers, taking their commissions and profits along with risks involved in providing complex and often difficult services (Middleton, 1992).

During the 19th century, when this trade was at its most active, Europeans came to Zanzibar in increasing numbers. Additionally, around 1840 the Sultan of Oman moved his capital to Zanzibar Town and established the Zanzibari Sultanate. In 1890 the Zanzibari Sultanate became a British protectorate, but the Sultan continued to be recognised as the legitimate ruler of the Arab state. During this period the Sultan encouraged outsiders to come to Zanzibar. Extensive immigration from India, Yemen and other parts of Asia in addition to the Comoro Islands and Madagascar took place (Shariff, 1987). Simultaneously, a large number of mainland Africans slaves were brought to the Islands, after the definitive abolition of slave trade in 1897 many of them settled there.

Zanzibar's historical background has made it into a highly plural and multi-ethnic society. Even though people from different cultures have lived together for centuries and emphasise their Zanzibariness, they stress at the same time that they are different from each other because they originate from different places outside Zanzibar (Larsen, 1995). Larsen says:

«Living with a cosmopolitan and socially stratified society, people are very much aware of different ways of life. They continuously participate in discussions on how other tribes and people in other places organise and live their lives in ways different from their own» (1995: 59). Larsen (1995) further points out that intermingling between Zanzibaris having different ethnic background is common, be it as friends, neighbours, school mates, employers or employees.

Tourism development in the Islands

It is in this society tourism has been introduced. The fact that people seem to have experience in receiving and caring for people coming from outside constitutes one part of Zanzibar's potential for tourism. The Zanzibari government believe that the warmth and friendliness of the Zanzibari people accompanied by the rich and diverse culture, reflecting the many people who over centuries have settled in the islands, attracts tourists to Zanzibar (COLE and CoT, 1994). Another endowment that make the Islands suitable for tourism according to the Government is the exotic nature. The beautiful and largely unspoilt natural environment is just what tourists want (COLE and CoT, 1994). Among other things Zanzibar have coral reefs rich in marine life and white sandy natural palm fringed beaches lapped by the Indian Ocean.

Until 1984 all tourism projects were managed by the government. After the revolution in 1964 the national policy restricted foreign investments in the islands. As mentioned, at that time Zanzibar was heavily economically dependent on the export of cloves. During the 1980's the price in clove fell. This alarmed politicians and economists alike. Zanzibar began its move towards a free market economy policy. The Trade Liberalisation Policy which was introduced consequently in 1985, advocated the diversification of the economy and increased private sector participation. One year after, the Investment Act of 1986 was approved. This act gave incentives and protection for investments and set out guidelines and obligations for investors. In 1989 the act was amended and the Zanzibar Investment Committee (ZIC) was established. Tourism was now officially recognised as an export sector. In 1992, the Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency (ZIPA) was established to facilitate investments. Furthermore, the ZIC was changed into the Commission for Tourism (CoT) and its role is to promote Zanzibar as a tourism destination and regulate and monitor the tourism industry.

Zanzibar is determined to develop high-class tourism which is compatible with the island's ecosystem and culture, and which is fully integrated with the overall development policy and strategies (COLE and CoT, 1994). It aims to avoid low spending tourists coming to the island for a cheap price made possible by heavy concessions provided by tour operators. In the Zanzibari context, high-class tourism means tourism that attracts tourists who are capable of spending more money in the destination, and so make a very positive contribution to the economy and those who appreciate the history, culture, environment and way of life of the residents (COLE and CoT, 1994). Nevertheless, the policy is far from the current reality. Zanzibar has up to now received mostly mid and low-spending tourists and a very small number of high-spending tourists.

As large-scale tourist development needs heavy investments for hotel construction and infrastructure and a large area, Zanzibar aims to develop small-scale tourism, which needs a relatively limited land area, and at the same time restricting the growth rate. In doing so, the number of tourists will be within the limits of a reasonable carrying capacity of land (COLE and CoT, 1994).

In the initial phase of tourism development in Zanzibar most of the applications for investments, both from foreign and Zanzibari investors, were dealt with in an ad hoc manner. The consequence of this has been that tourism development initiatives are scattered across Unguja Island. Applications for investments have been approved by ZIPA, but through time a general recognition about the need for tourism development zones has developed, due to the problems evolving to effectively manage and control business of widely separated projects. The ad hoc manner of hotel establishments was also believed to threaten the attractiveness of the very areas, its resources and the adjacent marine environments (Tourism Zoning Plan, 1993).

The Tourism Zoning Plan of 1993 developed ahead of the completion of the comprehensive general National Land Use Plan, because the need for land use guidance in the tourism sector was impossible to postpone to a later date. The plan includes the designation of areas potential for tourism development, a framework for the regulatory mechanisms for this development, guidelines for all tourism areas, a framework for co-ordination of infrastructure development

and a framework for detailed physical planning level. It also considers the planned use, the planned capacity as well as the restrictions or specific conditions of use and the specific considerations.

The South East coast - one of the tourism zones

One of the existing tourism zones is situated at the south east coast of Unguja (Appendix 3), and this is where we conducted our study. In the late 1980s tourism in this area accelerated and currently this region is experiencing the most aggressive tourism development on the island.

The northern boundary of the tourism zone is the tip of Ras Michamvi and its southern boundary is the southern border of the village of Paje. The southern part of the area is reserved for local guest house projects while the northern part is set aside for construction of high-class hotels. Since the late 1980s there has been hotel development in the area in the form of small local guest houses. In the last few years the construction of high-class international hotels has also started. Today, there are 15 small guest houses operating in the area, 7 in Paje and 8 in Bwejuu, and 4 high-class hotels, 3 in Bwejuu and 1 in Michamvi. The only high-class hotel operating at the time of our research was the one in Michamvi. Additionally, all three villages have a locally owned restaurant aiming to attract tourists coming to the area. More guest houses, hotels and restaurants are under construction, and almost all land close to the beach, and hence suitable for hotel establishments, is by now occupied. Some few open spaces are still there. The hotels and guest houses are situated along the beach while the restaurants have been built inside the adjacent villages. Along the beach are also a handful of villas, and still some are under construction. These villas are privately owned by wealthy Zanzibar's. The villas are concentrated in Paje and Michamvi. In Michamvi no villas have yet been built. Hence both Zanzibaris from town and tourists are coming to the area for relaxation.

The villages; Paje, Bwejuu and Michamvi

The population of the area is scattered amongst the three villages Paje, Bwejuu and Michamvi. These villages are situated behind the hotels and guest houses a little further into the landscape. Paje has 1800 inhabitants, Bwejuu 2990 and Michamvi 660. The latter village

is comprised of two settlements. Michamvi Pingwe and Michamvi Kae. The distance from Zanzibar Town to Paje is 45 km. Michamvi is situated about 10 km North of Paje, with Bwejuu situated in between.

Entering the villages one will immediately realise that there is little difference between the settlements except for size. The villages are divided into wards or quarters, locally known as *mitaa*. Earlier, a ward was occupied by a single kinship cluster (Middelton, 1992). These days, however, influenced by population growth and shortage of free areas for building of houses, these boundaries do not seem so strict anymore. The houses made of coral and mud walls with *makuti* (palm leaf matting) as roofing, are arranged in clusters with sandy streets in between them. Among the houses there are small shops, coffee houses, meeting halls, wells and washing places. In each village there is also a mosque or two, a primary school and a dispensary. In Paje and Michamvi there is also a nursery school, although the one in Michamvi which is a *makuti* construction only, is in a poor condition. Electricity came to Paje and Bwejuu 4-5 years ago. Few villagers have electricity in their houses. The electricity supply has not yet reached Michamvi. Local people at the south east coast generally depend on water from shallow wells and caves.

The villagers and their traditional livelihood

The south east coast has been occupied for as long as it is known by the people who perceive themselves as the *Hadimu*. Middelton (1992) refers to the *Hadimus* as the indigenous Zanzibaris together with the Tumbatus. The people in the area depend very much on the natural resources available for their livelihood. The *Hadimus* are mainly subsistence farmers and fishermen, but exchange has also been important for their livelihood for generations with the export of cash crops and the import of staple food such as rice. Together with trade, construction work, limestone processing and firewood collection have also been important sources of income. For women, additional activities such as petty trade and handicrafts have been a part of their income. Lately, since 1989, cultivation of seaweed for export has also become an important part of women's work and the villagers material well being. Since the area is relatively poor when it comes to arable land, the people depend more on coastal resources for their livelihood. They depend on access to beaches, tidal flats and coral reefs; the same areas as tourists use, but with a different motivation.

A sandy beach extends all the way from, in the south, to Ras Michamvi in the north. The beach itself is a major highway when the tide is out. Here the villagers carry out many of their activities. Women do their coconut husking at the beach. The husks are dug down in the sand to rot, and after some months, the coconut-fibres are soft and strong and ready to be twinned to coir ropes. Fishermen use the beach area for storage and maintenance of their boats and fishing equipment. Beyond the shoreline there is a shallow tidal flat, mainly covered by sand and sea grasses. Here seaweed is grown by women. In 1989 when seaweed farming was introduced Paje was one of the pilot-villages starting with the cultivation. Today this activity is also carried out in Bwejuu and Michamvi. Seaweed farming provides the women with a regular cash income, thus it has had a relatively important positive effect on household economies (Eklund and Petersson, 1992). The beaches are associated with broad fringing reefs which often are exposed at low tide. The reefs contain a colourful and diverse marine life. The existing artisan fishing activities in this area are varied and largely reef-dependent. Some fishermen use boats, others wade in the water with nets or spears. The common practice is to sell the fish locally, but the commercial market is expanding. The artisan fishing also includes collection of shellfish, crabs, lobsters and octopus. Women are also involved in this collection, and indeed hunting for octopus is a traditional task for women. These activities are carried out parallel to other activities at the tidal flats. The villagers use these areas extensively. The same places where villagers carry out their daily work are attractive to the tourists. They come to the coast to lay in the sun, swim in the sea and dive in the coral reefs.

Even though the Coral rag area is relatively poor in terms of arable land and mainly constitutes coastal thickets the villagers still practise agriculture. The Swahili name for the land is *maweni*, which literally means «in the stones». This term describes a soil with coral reef limestone parent material and where no soil or very little soil has formed on the top. The villagers grow agricultural crops in soil pockets, often called *mabonde*, where the soil layer is relatively deeper. The soil is only suitable for annual crops, and a slash-and-burn shifting cultivation is practised. Under this system crops like maize, millet, cassava, pigeon peas, paw paws and tomatoes are grown. The cultivation is small-scale and basically for subsistence. Cassava is the most common subsistence crop. However, some crops are grown as cash crops, such as millet. The cash crops are sold to middlemen in the village, who transport it to Zanzibar Town. Both men and women are involved in agriculture. At present quite a lot of

men, especially after the introduction of seaweed farming, are cultivating alone. However, some women, especially elder women, are still engaged in agriculture. A difference between men and women is that men are more likely to cultivate for sale. In addition to agriculture the coastal thickets are important for other off-farm activities such as collection of firewood and extraction of limestone. The agricultural land and the forests are more indirectly effected by tourism. Increased demand for limestone and firewood are examples as to how the inland can be effected.

The villagers also depend on coconut trees for their livelihood. These trees are situated along the beach where the construction of hotels and guest houses take place. Besides that the coconuts are a considerable important ingredient in local food. The coconut trees supply the villagers with husks for coir rope making and *makuti*, the main roofing material for the local houses. The residues from the palms are also important sources for fuel for cooking.

The organisation of everyday life

The widest *Hadimu* kinship group is the *ukoo*. The *ukoo* consist of all the descendants through both men and women of a common great-grandfather. The *Hadimu* usually define it by saying that all the members of an *ukoo* recognise common decent as far as a great grandchild. According to Middleton (1992), relying on data from before the revolution, the villages strictly limit the immigration of stone town and non-Swahili strangers and disapprove of intermarriage with people in these categories to ensure control of the enjoyment of land and water rights and any possible inheritance outside the local ethnic group.

The villagers are all Muslims and structure their days according to the regular five prayers. The day starts at 5 o'clock in the morning. Just after the prayers they eat their breakfast and start their daily tasks. At lunch time the villagers come back from work for eating and praying and then return to their work. The afternoons and evenings are for socialising and smaller jobs. Being a sex segregated society (Larsen, 1990 and 1995) men and women will not gather together in the same public places during this time of the day. Walking around in the villages in the afternoon, one will soon notice that women gather together around the houses. They sit on the *baraza* (a stone bench out side the houses) doing small things like sewing *kofia* (a traditional Muslim hat) and plaiting *mikeka* (mats) or preparing the equipment needed for

seaweed farming, while talking about daily matters. Men often gather together in coffee shops or restaurants or in the CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the ruling political party in Zanzibar) branch office for relaxation, talking or playing *bao* (local table game). Children, when coming home from school, are left to play in the streets or at the beach or they gather together in the more open fields playing football. Cows, goats, ducks and chickens are left to wander freely around the village. After six o'clock the villagers eat their dinner and very soon after the meal the sun sets. People will still gather together outside. A very popular activity is to watch television. The villagers who have a television place it outside the house so that the neighbours, both women and men, can come and watch together with them. Around ten o'clock the villagers withdraw into their houses and prepare themselves for the next day. By half past ten in the night the villagers are already sleeping.

Chapter four

VILLAGERS' EVERYDAY LIFE INFLUENCED BY TOURISM

«Tourism is essentially about people and places, the places that one group of people leave, visit and pass through, the other group who make their trip possible and those they encounter along the way»

(Pearce, 1995:1)

Since tourism is about people and places, the introduction of tourism in a given area also implies contact between what Smith (1977) refers to as hosts and guests. The degree of contact will vary according to type of hotel establishments (Sambrook et al, 1992), but in most cases there will be contact between tourists and the people of the places they visit. Tourism can affect change, be it positive or negative (Smith, 1977). This chapter focuses on the impacts of tourism on the rules, norms and traditions in the local communities. Smith says that «the effect of tourism upon the lives and the world view of an indigenous population are subtle and usually recognised only by the people themselves» (Smith, 1977: 6). Following Smith, emphasis will be put on what the villagers themselves perceive and express to us as effects of tourism on the quality of life when it comes to their moral well-being.

Contradicting ways of behaviour and dressing

The villagers in the three communities voiced several issues as effects of tourism on the field of morality. However, according to the villagers, the most evident impact was the effect on codes for behaviour and dressing. The villagers first response when talking about consequences from tourism with respect to moral issues was the dressing and behaviour of tourists. Villagers express concern about the new behavioural trends introduced with tourism. This applies whether we talk about impacts from high-class international hotels or local guest houses. The villagers at the south east coast of Zanzibar are not the only host culture claiming that tourists impose negative impacts when it comes to dressing and behaviour. Already in 1963 Nunez (1963) revealed that tourists unsuitable clothing was discouraged, and that near-nakedness was seen as offensive to the host population. Additionally, in Malawi tourists

introduced jeans as a new type of fashion, and the youth tended to follow this new trend. This was inappropriate according to the Malawi dress code, and Malawians expressed anger and frustration over these changes. Hence the Malawi government responded with banning tourists if they dressed in jeans or similar clothing (Harrisson, 1992b). In Maldives the worries about the negative effects of tourism resulted in tourist enclaves being created on uninhabited islands where the tourists could enjoy the sun and sand in isolation. The local Maldivians could, on the other hand, continue with their traditional way of living undisturbed (Child, 1990). Further examples of this can be found in countries like Egypt and Tunisia which have also attempted to isolate tourism from the ordinary lives of the citizens to limit the impacts (Sindiga, 1996). Consequently tourist behaviour and dressing should not be looked upon as trivial. It is rather as Pettersson says «a delicate issue to balance the rights of the tourists to enjoy their vacations ... and the community members rights to defend their way of living» (Pettersson-Løfquist, 1995: 10).

Making the private public

When it comes to impacts of tourism on behaviour and dressing it is important to keep in mind that Zanzibar is a Muslim society. According to Muslim rules, strict codes for dressing are exercised. One should wear clothes that cover the knees and shoulders and wearing transparent clothes are not accepted. If parts of the body are seen, that person is considered to be naked. Hence the Zanzibaris cover themselves. Especially women cover themselves wearing clothes from head to toe. On the other hand, tourists who come to the coast to enjoy the sun and sandy beaches have a quite opposite view of nakedness. For them wearing a bikini is considered to be acceptable. However, we are dealing with a society where the locals look upon nakedness as something strictly reserved for the private sphere, or in the words of one of the local girls; «*sisi ni watu wa siri*», meaning «we are people of secrets». Having that in mind, it does not seem strange that reactions on the way tourists dress in swimming costumes or transparent clothes, is an important issue. Having half naked tourists in their vicinity is seen as offensive and reduces the quality of life. The villagers see no reason for public nakedness and give that as a reason for why they dress the way they do, and react the way they do towards tourists dressing codes.

Having said this locals have in a way got used to tourists dressed in swimming costumes and scantily dressed while at the beach. Even though the beach is the villagers working place, they seem to understand that tourists come to their villages to sunbathe. The villagers explain tourists' behaviour with culture and religion. This tendency, to explain differences with differences in culture or religion goes further than explaining tourists way of behaving. A good example to illustrate this point was the occurrence of an Indian celebration held in one of the villages. Hundreds of Zanzibaris of Indian origin came to the village from Zanzibar Town. They were eating and drinking and playing loud music until midnight. In addition, they sent up vast amounts of fireworks which kept the villagers awake into the late hours. Talking to one of the villagers he said that he could not understand why the *Wahindi* (Zanzibaris of Indian origin) behaved that way, but that he accepted that they were there celebrating. It was, as he said, according to *Wahindi* cultural tradition. Similarly, the fact that tourists come from various cultures and very often have different religions will be the explanation for why they behave differently. This indicates that the villagers accept differences. It is most likely that the reason for this acceptance must be traced back to the fact that Zanzibar is and has been for a long time, a multi-ethnic society. Since, in Zanzibar people from various places, with different cultural backgrounds and different religions, have co-existed for centuries (Larsen, 1990 and 1995, Middleton, 1992). Sindiga (1996) adds, that to understand or help explain the tolerance Waswahili³ have of western tourism it is important to recognise that Waswahili are culturally a gentle, resilient and tolerant people due to the plural societies they live in.

Reactions against the nakedness

As long as the nakedness is in the «tourism belt⁴», the villagers seem to handle it, but they certainly do not like it. As the beach is a working place for both sexes one can actually meet half naked tourists being together with someone who you respect e.g. your mother, and that is considered to be almost intolerable. But the most stressed issue, however, is that the villagers do not want the half naked tourists inside their village. Pettersson-Løfquist (1995) argues that the villagers, being Muslims do not allow tourists wearing only shorts or bathing suits inside the village. Tourists entering the village without appropriate clothing, walking around among

³ Many scholars have discussed the identity of the *Waswahili* (Allen, 1993, Mazrui, 1993, Middleton, 1992). In this thesis we refer to the *Waswahili* as the population inhabiting the coastal areas of East Africa.

⁴ The «tourism belt» refers to the areas where tourists are, the beach and the tidal flats.

he villagers young as well as old, are seen as offensive. Efforts to prevent tourists coming into the villages without proper clothing have been made, especially in the villages nearby small guest houses. This is also where the issue is most emphasised. This is because there is a tendency for tourists staying in small local guest houses to more likely enter the village compared to those staying at high-class international hotels. Sambrook et al (1992) claims that this is due to the fact that the high-class international hotels are usually self contained enclaves, meaning that efforts are made to satisfy all of the guests physical, social and recreational needs within the complex itself. By providing the tourists with swimming pools, tennis courts, diving possibilities, guided trips and the like, it is more likely that the tourists remain at the resort. Nevertheless, sometimes also these tourists do take a walk outside the enclave and therefore they might take a walk in a nearby village. In our case, villagers living close to the high-class international hotel also reported incidents where tourists came into the village scantily dressed. However, it was not as pronounced as in the villages surrounded by small local guest houses.

Pettersson-Løfquist (1995) explains, that in Paje if tourists come inside the village scantily dressed or even swimming costumes they are soon told to go and put on trousers, and they will become subject to annoyance and nuisance among the villagers. Due to the villagers reactions to the tourists inside the village, guest houses in the area, often run by locals, stress the importance of being properly dressed when tourists want to walk in the village. In Lamu in Kenya, one has approached such problems with putting up posters to inform tourists about proper dressing and behaviour (Scholtz, 1990, Appendix 4). Also in the local guest houses it is quite common to put up posters to inform the tourists about dressing codes. Even so, tourists still come into the village without proper clothes. The information on the importance of proper dressing might not have been stated clear enough. As a result the villagers themselves sometimes send them back to change their clothes, or sometimes offer to sell them *khangas* (a traditional piece of cloth to wrap around the waist). This seems to depend on who among the villagers first meets the tourists. Mostly people engaged in tourism-related business will approach the tourists either with sending them back or asking them to buy *khangas*. Others will keep quiet and just wait patiently until the tourists leave. The villagers react to the tourists entering the villages without proper clothing in different ways depending

on age, but also on sex. Adult men tend to laugh at tourist behaviour when it comes to dressing.

There is a local shop in Paje situated some 200 metres from the beach inside the village just next to the seaweed company. In the lengthening of this small shop there is a space for people to sit, and here men usually meet sitting talking under the roof which provide shade from the burning sun. One day while waiting to meet someone working at the seaweed company we seek shade from the sun in this particular shop. As usual we were dressed in long skirts with underskirts underneath and with T-shirts covering the shoulders. As we were considered outsiders we had the ability to be present in settings where village women would not have access. By that time the villagers also knew us, so sitting there waiting was somehow approved by the village men gathered together for talking. There were also some children playing just outside the shop. The men were talking about daily matters, when two tourists, a couple, arrived on their bicycles. She was dressed in swimming costume with a transparent piece of cloth wrapped around her waist, on her head she had a *kofia*, the traditional Muslim hat. He wore short pants, but no T-shirt. The couple soon became the centre of attention. The minute they entered the shop the men stopped talking, and remained looking at the couple. The tourists greeted us and went to buy a soda. They sat down on the *baraza* and didn't really pay notice to the village men, who at that time had already started their discussion again, though still looking at the tourists secretly to follow their actions. Not a single word was said concerning the tourists. Some of the children commented on their dressing, but were soon told to keep quiet. The couple had finished half a bottle when they decided to leave, taking the bottle along. As the bottles always are to be returned to the shop this resulted in the shopkeeper shouting to the men «*wanaondoka na chupa*», («they are leaving with the bottle»). All village men's attention were now headed towards the couple trying to tell the tourists that it was not allowed to take the bottle. After some discussion between the two tourists they left the bottle and left the shop. While leaving the woman raised her arms, shook her head as if surprised by the message they got, and said «*Jambo Jambo*⁵». Then they disappeared on their bikes. The village men including the shopkeeper were left confused. After a short while they started laughing and commenting upon the tourists. They talked about

⁵ *Jambo* is a simplified use of *Hujambo* which is a greeting in Swahili meaning «how are you?»

*wazungus*⁶ way of behaviour and especially dressing. The *kofia* was also commented upon by the men while shaking their heads just as surprised as the tourist was. We heard that the two of us were used as an example of how one should dress while being inside the village.

While men react upon tourist behaviour with laughter the adult women, sitting outside their houses with their mothers, elder sisters and so on, react quite differently. In the afternoon women gather outside the houses to talk. We often joined them in their discussions. Tourist behaviour and dressing were frequently discussed.

«*Mmewaona watalii*», «have you seen the tourists», said Bi Asha, a woman in her 40's, eagerly while looking at us. We were sitting on the baraza outside a house, together with women, talking when two tourists, both in short pants, passed us some 10 metres away. «*Mmewaona watalii mmewaona*», Bi Asha continued. We said that we had already seen them. The women while looking at the tourists all talked at the same time, and it was difficult to get what they all said. Bi Asha was talking about how she couldn't understand why the tourists had to dress like that, she said «we dress nicely (referring to all of us) why don't they?» She emphasised that she felt bad, her mother sitting just next to her nodded her head in agreement. They were looking at each other, and Bi Asha looked down while saying «*Kweli wanatukera*», «really they annoy us».

Tourists dressing codes and the effect on traditional values

An important issue stressed by both women and men is the impact that the tourist code of dressing has on children and young. Growing up seeing nakedness is considered harmful for the children's «development» into an adult person. This is especially so when it comes to women's nakedness. Traditionally, children do not see naked women and being exposed to that results in an expressed fear of how they will look upon women in the future. Rules and norms with regard to behaviour stand strong in these communities, and the villagers stress the importance of transferring these to the next generation. Adults are considered to be able to withstand the influence from tourists. They explain their behaviour with differences in culture and religion, but will still cling to their rules and norms.

⁶ *Wazungu* is plural for *Mzungu*, it is Swahili for European, but will in a broader sense refer to all white people.

Children and young people, on the other hand, are believed to be easily influenced by the tourists, hence the fear of an «acquisition of an improper image of women» is emphatic. (Pettersson-Löfquist, 1995: 11)

The trend is that young villagers will respond to tourists behaviour with curiosity. Behaviour of tourists is, among other things, to lay down at the beach enjoying the sun. Young girls, finding this strange, were often observed walking on the beach, coming home with firewood or returning from their seaweed plots. They often come in groups of 3-4 girls. Seeing the tourists laying at the beach in their swimming costumes they often pass them deliberately. They stick their heads together talking about the tourists and giggle. Young boys will, however, not be satisfied with looking at the tourists while passing. Tourists are also found walking along the beach wearing nothing but swimming costumes. One afternoon we were seated outside a guest house talking to some small girls selling cookies. Further away there were two young boys who were selling batik from their mobile store. Many tourists were passing. We particularly noticed a couple walking hand in hand towards Michamvi. Only after they passed us we noticed that the woman was wearing a string-bikini. From behind it looked like she was walking completely naked. It was not only us who noticed this couple, as soon as they had passed the young boys started to shout to a boy standing down at the beach with a bicycle. One of the boys selling batik ran down to him and the next thing we know is that they were bicycling after this couple to have another good look at this girl who practically showed everything considered to be kept in the private sphere. Minutes after they came back eagerly talking about the world of the tourists.

Having said this, the villagers want to be involved in tourism. In general, tourism is seen as beneficial to the community so they also emphasise that they do want the tourists to come into the village as long as they are properly dressed. This is to secure the income of the restaurants depending on tourists for survival, and to improve also the small shops' and handicraft makers' benefits from tourism. All this will be elaborated on in chapter six.

New norms for behaviour challenging the tradition

Another important issue when it comes to tourist behaviour apart from dressing, is such behaviour as open affection between the sexes, kissing in public, and while at the beach

kissing each other half naked. In a sex-segregated society with rules governing the behaviour of the sexes, and where you find different spheres for women and men (Larsen, 1990 and 1995), open affection is never shown in public spheres and this behaviour is interpreted as offending the local traditions and culture. In addition to this villagers talk about drug and alcohol consumption as a consequence of tourism. They do not, as Muslims, allow alcohol in their vicinity, and the tourists demand for cigarettes from the local shops resulted in a shopkeeper writing in big letters in English on the wall of the shop «don't ask for cigarettes here». In Swaziland, Harrison (1992b) says, it is commonly felt that foreign influence tends to corrupt the young, and alcoholic drinks and drugs are seen as being encouraged by tourism. This view is not restricted to Swaziland. The Zanzibari villagers expressed the same fear. They are afraid that, as with dressing, the youngsters will follow the tourists way of behaviour, and imagining their young sons or daughters drinking beer or smoking *bangi* (marihuana) is unbearable. In line with Bachmann (1988), they are afraid that young people eventually will imitate not only western clothing but also the behaviour and lifestyle of visitors, including their moral codes.

Mr. Mohammed is a fisherman about 30 years old. He is perceived, and also perceives himself as a traditional villager. He strictly follows the traditional rules and norms for behaviour. Over and over again he stressed the importance of transferring the traditions to the younger generation. Mr. Mohammed is easily seen when coming wearing his *kofia*, long sleeved shirt and trousers. Short pants for him is considered to be exclusively for tourists to use. It is not a part of our culture to dress like that he said several times. Furthermore drinking alcohol and kissing in public is also not appreciated according to Mr. Mohammed. His standard comment is that young village boys and girls can't cope with it. Tourist behaviour was for him seen as destructive to the villagers quality of life. Nevertheless, he also wants to take advantage of tourism. Being a fisherman he takes tourists for snorkelling. Taking tourists for snorkelling implies that he has to be with the tourists wearing practically nothing for as long as it takes to take the tourists out to the reef, let them snorkel, and then return. We were somehow curious about how this traditional villager was able to cope with this until we realised that he has a strategy which enables him to cope with tourists behaviour. While out on the reef he use to look in another direction when the tourists take of their clothes for swimming. He finds something out in the horizon to look at and this keeps him busy until the tourists are ready to

go back. If by chance there is nothing out there to look at Mr. Mohammed puts his head in his hands as if he is tired and need a rest. Asking him about tourists influence on him Mr. Mohammed replies «There is no way that tourist behaviour can influence me. I am already a grown up traditional villager. My concern is for the younger generation».

Transference of western values and patterns of behaviour to members of host societies is a form of acculturation, often subsumed under the term «demonstration effects» (Harrison, 1992a). Some villagers talked about increased exposure to television and video as additional means of influencing youngsters, especially when it comes to dressing. Isaak noted already in 1986 that there had been a change in dressing for youngsters in Zanzibar Town. According to him Michael Jackson's videos had reached Zanzibar and influenced the youngsters way of dressing (Issak, 1986). So changes are clearly not entirely due to the tourism development alone. Bird (1989) states that new norms and values are frequently introduced by domestic tourists, and also people returning from abroad, who have had a much longer and more complex exposure to westernisation. So also in Zanzibar, and domestic tourists and people returning from abroad communicate easily, and interact more closely with local people. Hence, demonstration effects do not rise from tourism alone.

Papasi as Culture-brokers

It is likely in all societies to find a small number of people who are «marginal» to the community, who differ from some cultural norm or norms (Nunez, 1989). Some marginal individuals may be more adaptable to the changes and stresses brought about by tourism than other members of the community. The culture broker found in all cross-cultural situations (Brown, 1992) is an example of a marginal individual. They often appear in a tourist resort where they play a major role in social and cultural change patterns. They act as mediators between tourists and the resident population and can also play the role of innovator in a host community (Brown, 1992). Young people, being more open for changes, often play the role as culture brokers. Farver (1984) says that culture brokers in The Gambia often act as professional friends and says that they are usually semi-educated young men who are unable, or, in some cases, unwilling, to find reasonable work in the developing tourist industry. They have instead turned to pursuing European tourists for economic advantage by selling their «friendship» and providing various services. The professional friends meet the tourists and

offer their services to those who are interested. Friends may act as guides, interpreters, or sometimes as sexual partners. Payments are often quite generous in the form of money, gifts and sometimes an airline ticket to Europe. Brown (1992) says that tourism development in The Gambia attracts large numbers of youths to the town of Bakau. Since they are not able to find formal employment they turn to alternative ways of earning money. They are engaged in specific activities in the informal sector in culture-broking positions trying to make money on tourism.

In Zanzibar, the so-called beach boys are often young men. The locals call them *papasi*, a local name for a type of insect which once found you never leaves you alone. When tourism started to develop in Zanzibar many young boys started in the *papasi* business. Consequently, in Zanzibar Town you find young people who for a long time has been exposed to tourists and find it desirable to mingle with them. Hence, they have taken some of the characteristics from the western way of living. These young *papasi* have a system of bringing tourists to the different coasts of Unguja, so also to the east coast. The so called «sharing car» system will take the tourist to a guest house where the *papasi* get commission for bringing them there. This is the *papasi* livelihood, in addition to being the tourists' «friends». Since high-class hotels usually get their customers directly from Europe these *papasi* are not found near high-class hotels. Subsequently, the villages surrounded by small guest houses will have the *papasi* coming to their village. As already mentioned, being exposed to tourists for a longer period of time the *papasi* have often gone through changes when it comes to dressing and behaviour. Wearing western types of clothes gives status. It is important for them to be in possession of expensive and fashionable clothing. They have also put effort into becoming bi-lingual in order to be able to communicate with the tourists. All this is desired by other youngsters, also in the villages, and some youngsters copy them, hence the *papasi* innovate in terms of introducing new behavioural traits, new ideas and fashions into the communities.

This means that youths in the local communities surrounded by local guest houses, are not only exposed to tourists behaviour, but also to the *papasis* behaviour. *Papasis* and employees at guest houses were several times observed sitting drinking beer together. The *papasi* being locals themselves are believed to have a greater power to influence the youths in the communities. There is a reason to believe that, the youths feel closer to the *papasi* from town

than to the tourists, and it is easier to follow a local in his behaviour than a foreigner. This results in young people picking up tourist behaviour by wearing short pants, growing rasta hair, drinking alcohol and show affection to girls in public. Some youngsters, however, would never dream of doing these things, explaining it with the respect they have for the elders.

Change comes via young

Harrison (1992a) claims that tourism facilitates the spread of western norms and values. Having the tourists in their vicinity results in a real fear for the villagers about how tourism may affect their lives. The worries concern especially youths. In Kenya, Peake (1989) found that the elders were worried about the effects of tourism on the values of the young. This fear came due to the fact that young people did not follow the traditional Muslim way after tourism arrived. Similarly, there is a fear among elders or grown ups in the communities that the young generation will through time adopt the codes for dressing and behaviour from tourists. This fear originates from the changes seen in the way some young people dress. Wearing of short pants and singlets for boys and the willingness to take off the veil for girls are seen as a starting point for further changes. Additionally, the adult villagers express that for boys to grow rasta hair and wear earrings and chains were unacceptable according to their culture.

Young people themselves don't say much about tourists behaviour. As opposed to adults the young rather find tourists' codes for behaviour and dressing exiting and, as mentioned above, they like to watch the tourists. This might be because youths often find changes desirable. The youngsters talked about the tourists culture as something exiting. Comments heard from young people about tourists like «They are the best people» or «*Labda nzuri tabia yao*» («maybe their habits are nice») underpins this. It seemed to us that they liked to be exposed to the difference the tourists represent. Even so, several of the youngsters underlined that it was not their intention to follow the tourists behaviour. They said that tourists dressing does not affect them, while simultaneously wearing a scarf of the American flag on their head instead of the traditional *khanga*.

Young people in almost every society have a desire for changes. Brown (1992) states that youths in The Gambia felt marginalised by the world of the elders. They saw it as irrelevant to

their own needs and wants and regarded traditional pursuits as meaningless. Their endeavours were nowadays directed outwards from their community towards Europe. Similarly, Peake (1989) reports from Malindi in Kenya that «beach boys» rejected the traditional way of living in favour of the tourist scene by disregarding the elders, turning their backs on their families, and refusing to attend mosques. Although we must bear in mind that young people, most likely, for a period of time exclude themselves from the world of the elder generation and do exactly the opposite of what they suggest. But as Peake emphasise «the separation of the beach boys was not necessarily permanent. Those who profited from tourism could later redeem themselves by taking an active role in the community, even to the extent of becoming elders themselves» (Peake, 1989: 27).

Khamis is a typical example of a young village boy who move between the «tourist world» and the «traditional» way of life. Khamis is 21 years old. He is, as many other young, partly influenced by the western way of behaviour. This influence comes not only from tourists, but by *papasi* and also television. The long sleeved shirt and trousers which Mr. Mohammed clings to, have on Khamis been replaced by short pants and singlet, and on his head there is a cap instead of the traditional *kofia*. Khamis has been living in town for some years. After returning to the village he is engaged in tourism related business working at a guest house. He enjoys the tourists' company and very often engages in conversations with tourists, because he likes, as he says, to practise his English. His interest for tourists resulted in that some time ago he had an European girlfriend. This was according to him, approved by his family, however the two of them broke up due to misunderstandings. Khamis argues that he like being around tourists, and he adds that behaving and dressing like them appeals to him. He smokes cigarettes, but his father doesn't know that and in order to prevent him knowing he always carry chewing gum, and washes his hands thoroughly. Khamis would never contradict his fathers' wishes. Whatever his father tells him to do is accepted. Khamis is now engaged to be married with a young woman from the neighbouring village. He knows who she is, but has never met her. Their parents arranged for the marriage. He himself is quite happy with getting married in this traditional way. He agrees with his father, that it is much easier and more practical to get married to someone you don't know, than getting married to someone you are in love with; the latter results in quarrelling only. Having said this, it is evident that traditions still stand strong in the local communities despite the introduction of new behavioural trends.

Peake's study (1989) from Kenya shows that new job opportunities in tourism have ramifications for family organisation. It removes power from the traditional elders and influenced the political structure and status system of the society. In The Gambia, according to Brown (1992), tourism is said to have worsened the relationship between the young and the elderly. The elderly say that the young who follow tourists demonstrate a lack of respect, disobedience and a disregard for the Islamic faith and a failure to look for formal paid work. Ideologically, the elderly as a group held both authority and power over others. They controlled the teaching of social norms and values. Respect towards elders was inculcated from an early age. Changes in social structure resulted in an evident loss of the elders power and prestige. In Zanzibar, as in The Gambia, traditionally elders hold authority and power over the younger generation. Young in the local communities still show respect to the elderly, but there is a fear that the young may come to disregard the tradition they are brought up in and that it will develop as in the case from Gambia Brown (1992) refers to. The elderly disapprove of the way in which the young imitate tourists in terms of dress, drinking alcohol and a general lack of morals. Khamis, referred to above, said: «Some young people do not, these days, have the same fear for their parents as they used to in the past». He himself would not dream about adopting a behaviour contradictory to the wishes of his parents. He told us that his father disapproved him working at a high-class hotel in the neighbouring village so he resigned. In his family the father still holds authority.

However, the elderly are not naive traditionalists trapped in a world of the past. They acknowledge that change must happen and they are happy to take advantage of the changes to better their lives in material terms. This is so with tourism as it was with seaweed farming when it was introduced 10 years ago. The elderly also realised that change must come via the young. Working in the tourism business was considered as work for the younger generation, even though the elder villagers also expressed the view that working in hotels would be preferable to the hard work in the field, be it agriculture, seaweed farming or fishing.

Hotels as «free zones»

Harrison (1992a) talks about alterations in the value system and says that tourism facilitates the spread of western norms and values. Wood (1984) says that hotels may come to symbolise «modernity» (Wood, 1984), as centres of entertainment they are attractive, especially to the

young. Given the role of hotels and other tourist establishments as centres of entertainment, their attraction for the young is not surprising. The result is that young people are exposed to those foreign influences which prevail in tourist establishments. Indeed acculturation is undoubtedly occurring (Harrison, 1992a).

The fear of changes caused by dressing codes and behaviour codes, such as public affection or consumption of alcohol makes a lot of the elder villagers reluctant to let their unmarried children work in a hotel, especially the girls. They feel that their rules and norms for behaviour are not respected and followed in the hotel areas. The employees background will have an implication on how the staff dress and behave. Influenced by western ideas, people from outside come to work in the hotels. Especially in the high-class hotels where the workforce often is imported either from big cities, in this case Dar Es Salaam or other countries, the background matters. The most important thing being the fact that they might as well be Christians as Muslims, since Christians do not follow the same code of behaviour as Muslims when it comes to dressing and also other behaviour. In addition other employees are from Zanzibar Town and they might have been exposed to tourists and western influence for a longer period of time and taken some of their characteristics. This together with the interaction with tourists is seen as a threat to the young girls. In small guest houses the young girls will get in contact with the tourists, the employees and in addition the *papasi*.

The fear of influence from tourist behaviour goes side by side with the fear of loose relations with other young of the opposite sex among the locals or those coming from town. When it comes to girls an often expressed fear is that if they had contact with the hotels or guest houses they might get pregnant. The villagers did not, on the other hand, say anything about the relationships formed among youths outside the hotel sites. We were told that it was quite common for young unmarried village boys and girls to have relationships before they were married. Though, it happened very secretly and was not officially accepted. We were told stories about young girls who got pregnant after having a relationship with a village boy. It was acceptable if the village boy took responsibility and married the girl. The adult villagers saw it as less likely that a *papasi* or a even a tourist would feel the same responsibility for the girl. Hence the *papasi* and tourists represented a greater danger to girls.

Allowing their young children to work in a hotel seemed to depend on how hard life is. Some respondents, both men and women, claimed that they would let their daughter, even if unmarried, work in a hotel because the job was considered as easy compared to the cultivation of crops or seaweed. Experiences from a hard working life made them decide that it would be better for their children to work in a hotel than to follow in their parents footsteps. As mentioned above, the hardship of traditional work also resulted in a desire for elder people to join the workforce in a hotel. Even though many of them said that they were either too old for that kind of work or that it did not suit them due to the behaviour at these sites. Some also mentioned that they did not like to have regular working hours. The villagers plan their day according to the prayers, this is one of the reasons why they like to work with traditional occupations. One respondent also said that those who have read the Koran were not fit to work in a hotel.

The opinion among adults and elders is that tourist sites may be seen as «free zones», where the spheres are not exercised as in the village context and where normal rules and norms for behaviour are absent. Lack of spheres in the hotels is according to many villagers due to the tourists influencing the locals. Contact with tourists leads to a contact between the sexes which is completely different from the way the locals behave in the village. In the village the different sexes will move in different «space». During the working hours some of this «space» is common, such as the tidal flats or the *shamba* (cultivated field). After working hours the male sphere will be more public than the women sphere e.g. women will never gather together in a local restaurant or at the CCM branch office. They will stay around the house and the nearby surroundings talking to other women. However, the employees from both the village and outside, together with the tourists themselves, form this new «space» where the traditional rules and norms seem to be threatened. In one of the villages the *sheha* and *watu wanne* (his assistants) decided to forbid the *waris* (unmarried girls) to work in a hotel due to lack of respect for traditional rules and norms in these places. However, the villagers do work in hotels, and this will be elaborated on in chapter six.

Contact with tourists resulting in language skills

The villagers are concerned about the younger generation due to the contact they have through the introduction of tourism with western values. However, the degree to which locals adopt

the values of tourists varies. Much depend on the degree of interaction between tourists and locals. The villagers have contact with tourists, but the contact varies according to the type of resort. Contact between the villagers and the tourists occurs mostly between the villagers employed in the tourism business, in both the formal and informal sector, and tourists. Contact with people working in the formal sector is present in both the high-class hotels and the small guest houses, such as restaurant owners and hotel employees. When it comes to contact between tourists and those engaged in the informal sector it varies. Sambrook et al. states that «A luxury class enclave is highly restrictive, tolerating practically no participation by the informal sector. Foreign guests are physically isolated from interpersonal contact with local inhabitants or meaningful exposure to traditional folk culture» (Sambrook et al, 1992: 66). Small guest houses usually put no restrictions on the informal sector's operations. Consequently, the interaction is greater around small guest houses than high-class hotels. In and around small guest houses both interpersonal relationships and contact with domestic culture are maximised according to Sambrook et al (1992). The small guest houses are characterised by a high degree of interaction among foreign guests, domestic vacationers and local residents.

In the villages surrounded by small guest houses the villagers and the tourists both use the beach area frequently. Villagers use the beach as their work place, while tourists use the beach for recreation. In the village with the high-class hotel there is also contact, but at a lower frequency than in the guest houses. The fact that the high class hotel provides many facilities also reduces the likelihood of frequent contact. Talking about contact with the tourists the villagers also emphasised positive impacts from tourism. As Smith (1977) says, contact between hosts and guests can result in broader understandings among people from different places. Some tourists seek contact with the villagers and many villagers express that they like that contact as long as the tourists behave according to their traditional rules and norms. However, limited skills in English is a bottle-neck. The contact is limited to greetings, tourists taking photos, buying something from or giving something to the villagers. Both young and old, women and men are interested to talk to the tourists and mentioned the lack of a common language as a constraining factor. This has resulted in a desire to learn English. We were told, and we also experienced that children and young people are now very much interested in communicating with tourists for the purpose of learning English. Several times children came

to us and other foreigners to greet us and communicate some few words. Young people are very much eager to talk English, as they say, they need to practice. Teachers told us that a positive consequence of tourism definitely was the effect it had on the desire to learn another language for children and young. Along with this the eagerness to learn the English language also comes the desire and eagerness for the villagers to move, to learn from tourists and to take more education. All these factors are important when it comes to exploitation of the new opportunities for income introduced by tourism, as will be dealt with in chapter six.

Village children asking for gifts from tourists

Several times during our stay in Zanzibar we talked to *wazungu*. Talking to *wazungu*, be it tourists or people living in Zanzibar, a frequently heard comment was that the impact of tourism could easily be summarised in the three words «pen, school, money». Furthermore, they would say, that nowadays all children in Zanzibar, and especially around the tourist sites situated at the various beaches, know the meaning of these words, and use them persistently.

In his study from Swaziland Harrison writes that «Swazis have increasingly interacted with whites who, by most standards, are relatively affluent» (Harrison, 1992b: 149). However, not all such interactions may be considered beneficial. Other literature on impacts of tourism often concludes that begging along with prostitution and stealing are impacts of tourism. Increases in begging, prostitution and other forms of «immoral» activity have all been laid at the tourist door. As the villagers themselves did not talk about prostitution, we will not go into that debate here, although we do not totally exclude it as a possible consequence. Begging, however, was mentioned. Child (1990) writes that in Egypt the elderly worry about the growth in the begging trade since children will grow up expecting alms from foreigners as a right. In the villages children often walk at the beaches seeking tourists. They know that they might get something from them. Such as small money, pens or sweets and sometimes bigger gifts like T-shirts, shoes and the like. Tourists themselves call this begging. As opposed to the tourists the villagers do not talk about this as begging and they do not see this as negative. This has to be understood in the context of Zanzibari traditions when it comes to expecting gifts. In Zanzibar there is a tradition that guests should bring gifts to their hosts, and it is also accepted to ask for things from each other. Tourists coming to the area are seen to be guests of the villagers. Therefore when children are asking for things from tourists it is only considered

as fair, and also expected, that they get something from the guests visiting the area. A few people, however, felt that this was a negative consequence, especially those dealing with tourists. This was because they had had complaints from tourists about the children asking for things. But the general trend was that the villagers do not see this as a negative impact from tourism, but rather a continuation of their traditions, and hence positive for them. Literature on this matters states that this is seen as negative in the sense of morality, for the villagers it is not seen as a problem in the field of morality. It is rather seen as positive in terms of material well being.

Sacred areas for money

Another issue voiced by the villagers was the sacred areas. In the sea outside every village there are areas which the villagers perceive as sacred. These areas are not supposed to be used by the villagers unless there is a special occasion. Fishermen, for instance, are not allowed to fish in these areas. Unless there is a celebration in the village they are not supposed to harvest resources from the sacred areas. These areas may be high in bio-diversity due to the local conservation of the areas, hence also popular for snorkelling. Tourists, however, do not know about the sacred nature of these places and use these areas for their activities. The villagers say that they do not approve that tourists use the sacred areas.

In addition there is a lagoon situated in Dongwe between Bwejuu and Michamvi. The lagoon is very rich in marine life, and many fishermen have this area as their prime fishing site. The lagoon is also an area with a special meaning for the villagers, even though here fishermen use it for fishing. Adjacent to the lagoon there are two high-class hotels and tourists staying at these hotels use the lagoon. Additionally, tourists come from hotels and guest houses situated further away to enjoy the excellent diving and snorkelling opportunities in the lagoon. The coral reefs surrounding the lagoon are easily accessible for the tourists. The fishermen do not like the tourists activity in the lagoon, and expressed the view that the presence of tourists annoys them. They claim that the lagoon belongs to them and not to the tourists. The villagers understand that they can not totally exclude the tourists from snorkelling in the lagoon. However, a group of fishermen that we talked to, claimed that the tourists use of the lagoon would have been more acceptable if they had paid a fee to the village as compensation for using the sacred lagoon which also is an important fishing site.

The introduction of tourism in the area has had, according to the villagers themselves, both negative and positive consequences for their quality of life regarding their moral well-being. The introduction of new behavioural trends contradicting their traditions roused most passion. However, having tourists in their surroundings also leads to competition for use of areas, as mentioned above. The competition for the use of the lagoon shows that this is not only a matter of tourists using the areas that the villagers perceives as sacred. It is also a question of competition for access to natural resources, which the villagers depend on for their livelihood. This leads us to the links between tourism and rural peoples material well-being, which among other things deals with tourism and local peoples access to natural resources

Chapter five

TOURISM AND VILLAGERS' ACCESS TO AND USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES

The material well-being of the villagers depend very much on natural resources. Therefore access to these resources is vital for the villagers to maintain and possibly improve their livelihoods. When tourism projects start to operate in such an environment both the use and the access of resources is likely to be challenged. Competition for natural resources does not apply to the lagoon and the sacred areas only. The villagers pointed to several other situations where access and use of resources has changed after the introduction of tourism, be it in the tidal flats, beach area, forest or in the reefs.

Competition for access to the tidal flats and beaches

Before the construction of the high-class hotel, Karafuu Hotel, situated in Michamvi Pingwe, local seaweed farmers used to have plots for cultivation at the tidal flats, just outside the shoreline where one can find the hotel today. Just before Karafuu Hotel started operating, the seaweed farmers were asked to move their activities, because the management at the hotel wanted the area to exclusively be used by their tourists. They wanted to provide the tourists with what they advertise, namely an untouched and clean beach. The seaweed farming was believed to disturb that picture. Particularly, the management at Karafuu Hotel disliked seaweed plots which left wooden sticks and strings at the tidal flats which disturbed the appearance of the tidal flats and made it difficult for tourists to pass. Additionally, heavy waves or currents might wash away seaweed from the plot and result in it floating around in the water. This spoils the picture of clean beaches and water. The seaweed farmers in Michamvi did not complain about being asked to move. The compensation given to them was, however, a precondition for them accepting to move. As long as they had other places to cultivate this was not seen as a problem. They moved their plots and continued cultivation of seaweed elsewhere in the *shehia*⁷. Even though seaweed farmers do not perceive this as a

⁷ *Shehia* is the local name for a village's administrative boundaries.

problem today, the problem will worsen, if the tourist industry develops as planned. When large parts of the village shoreline become occupied by hotels in return for compensation as with the case at Karafuu Hotel. Similar cases of compensation to seaweed farmers have been reported in other coastal villages in Unguja (Haji, 1994, Dahlin and Stridh, 1996). Thus, this is not the only example. Bearing in mind that seaweed farming is a highly profitable activity which has had positive effects with regard to livelihood strategies and has also led to a decline in the risk of deprivation (Eklund and Pettersson, 1992) access to land for continuation of this activity is an important issue.

There are plans for a new high class hotel project, similar to Karafuu Hotel, at the beach in Michamvi Kae. The villagers several times emphasised this project as something positive and beneficial for the village, since the investors have promised to assist in the future village development. The beach in Kae is situated 1-2 km from the village. At present, the shoreline is used for storage of fishing equipment and drying of seaweed. In the tidal flats there is a fish trap and several seaweed plots, just in front of the suggested hotel site. Even though villagers are practising their traditional activities, the beach gives an impression of being an ideal site for hotel establishments. The villagers seem to forget that if plans for this hotel project are implemented, the local seaweed farmers have to start drying their seaweed inside the village instead of doing it where they do today, at the plot where the hotel is planned to be built. In addition to disturbing the present working pattern, it will also make the work harder since the seaweed farmers have to carry the wet seaweed, 1-2 km into the village, which is a relatively long distance, since wet seaweed is much heavier than when it is dry. The extra work load put on the women doing seaweed farming, which is already a labour intensive activity, might negatively decrease their well-being and their ability to do other important work. In addition, the fish trap has to be moved to another place if the hotel is built. According to the *sheha* who uses the trap, this is absolutely no problem. Here, the villagers also claim that there are areas still available to put the fish trap.

Seaweed farming is also practised around local guest houses. We never heard about incidents where local guest house management used similar strategies as at Karafuu Hotel. Our general impression is that the strategy at local guest houses is to explain to their guests about the local activities going on in the tidal flats, in stead of compensating the seaweed farmers to

move. Tourists at local guest houses seem to enjoy watching the villagers doing their work tasks, and assisting them in their work. This has become an activity for some tourists staying in the local guest houses. There seems to be a very clear pattern in that it is only foreign-owned high-class hotels who prefer to evict villagers from the use of areas adjacent to the hotel site.

According to the land tenure regulations in Zanzibar the villagers can not be excluded from using the beach outside a hotel plot, since this area is owned by the state, and everyone is freely allowed to use it. Nevertheless, there might become a space problem at the beach and in the tidal flats. Most villagers want to continue using the beach for the traditional activities, such as fish landing sites and coconut husking. On the other hand, tourists require an open beach for sun bathing and other recreational activities. Also, in term of access to the tidal flats there might be a conflict between the locals who want to continue cultivating seaweed, or doing other traditional work tasks, and tourists who are swimming, sailing and snorkelling. In our area, especially near guest houses, a pattern of sharing the use of the beach and tidal flat among villagers and tourists seems to have emerged. The villagers use the areas when the tide is out, while the tourists enter the scene at high tide. According to the government guidelines for investors in the tourism industry (Smith, 1994), local people's traditional economic activities should always co-exist with the tourist activities wherever this is possible. If this is deemed to be impossible, the reallocation of local activities should only be done by agreement with the local people and the investors concerned. This type of agreement often includes compensation as in the case with the seaweed farmers in Michamvi.

The villagers express a concern that hotel sites are fenced in. It is a fact that most hotel projects are fencing their area. This has affected the villagers' movement and working patterns. In most cases the villagers are not legally, but physically, excluded from the site. This leads to a longer walking distance to their seaweed plot, fishing spot etc. Also Pettersson-Løvquist (1995) identified an expressed fear that the villagers route to the beach might become closed as more hotel projects are established.

The degree of fencing varies between different hotel projects. All guest houses but two, have put fences around their plot. Some allow villagers to pass, some do not. Even if they are allowed to enter, there is often only one entrance and hence it becomes physical impossible to pass. Some projects have several entrances, whereby the possibility for passage increases. Those guest houses which have put restrictions on villager's movement within the hotel site, explain this by stating that it is their intention to protect their guests both from disturbance from souvenir sellers and from thieves. All high-class hotels have security guards who strictly control who is entering the area. The tendency is that the more formal and «foreign» the project is, the stricter the rules for villagers' passage are.

Intensified utilisation of forest resources

Three different types of consequences of tourism on the forests were voiced by the villagers. These were the increased demand for firewood, the increased out-take of limestone, and the increased cutting of mangrove trees to be used in building and construction work. Since forest resources in the area mainly consist of natural bush and mangrove forests which constitute the main resources for local energy resources, such as firewood, and construction material, such as poles, free access to these vital resources is essential for the maintenance of rural livelihoods. The forest resources are among those resources which the local population expressed are severely threatened by the evolving tourist industry.

Most guest houses actually use firewood or charcoal as the only energy source. High class hotels are also supplied with electricity through generators. This might lead to the assumption that there is a difference between small local guest houses and high-class hotels in terms of demand for firewood. Nevertheless, the villagers in Michamvi, where there is only a high class hotel, also complained about the effect of tourism on the increased demand for firewood. This was connected to the fact that the employees, accommodated at the hotel sites, use firewood for cooking their daily meals. Additionally, they were accused of cutting firewood in the forest in Michamvi and bringing it to their homes in town every time they went home. Sulaiman (1996) also expressed a fear about the increased utilisation of forest resources as hotel construction will entail a huge influx of workers from outside into these villages, who require resources such as firewood and building materials. This fear contradicts the official guidelines (Smith, 1994) which state that if any use of firewood or charcoal is expected as a

result of establishment of hotels, it should be stated in the proposals what provisions are being made to obtain them from plantations rather than from natural bush or forests. We have not been informed and neither are we aware of any attempt from the hotel's side to reduce their consumption of firewood or to provide alternative energy resources for their employees.

Another effect on forests was said to be the increased out-take of limestone. As the soil contains a significant amount of stones, the vegetation is cut to get access to those stones. These stones are pure limestones. To extract the lime-chalk, the limestone is burnt. The powder, *chokaa*, is used as cement for building and as white paint for houses. We were told by the villagers in Michamvi that Karafuu Hotel, during construction used special machines to extract stones from the forest for use as building materials in the construction of the hotel. This extraction led to soil erosion, since the *maweni* soils in the Coral rag area easily erode after vegetation cover is removed (COLE, 1994a). Also, the establishments of guest houses increased the extraction of stones from the forest both for use as building materials and for *chokaa*, but the extraction is of course on a more limited scale using manual labour only. Still, the villagers in Paje claimed that before tourism came to Paje 100 bags of limestone were taken from the forest per month, this has now increased to 1000 bags per month.

Many villagers complained about an increasing amount of cleared forest adjacent to the villages, because the trees have to be cut in order to find and extract the stones. Consequently, deforestation would most likely be the result of this process. This is likely to severely affect the livelihood of the villagers, because they are being forced to purchase firewood while they are struggling for survival. Although this process was mentioned in all villages, it was especially emphasised in Michamvi.

Another important issue is the impact of tourism on mangrove forests (Wilkinson, 1990). The largest mangrove forests in Unguja is situated on the western side of the Michamvi peninsula, in Chwaka Bay. Another, though small, mangrove forest is situated close to Michamvi Kae. The main human uses of the mangrove forests include wood cutting for poles and firewood, crabbing and bee keeping. Mangroves poles are said to be excellent construction materials. According to the Integrated Coastal Area Management-report (ICAM) the government has tried to restrict the cutting of wood through open and closed seasons and making the use of

mangrove fuel wood illegal (ICAM, 1996). Due to their appropriate characteristics poles from mangroves are cut for the use in hotel constructions by both local guest houses and high-class hotels.

According to the ICAM-report (1996) villagers from Bwejuu have traditionally used the western part of the Chwaka Bay mangrove forest. Also Michamvi has access to this forest in addition to the small mangrove forest south of Michamvi Kae. Paje has no access to any mangrove forest. The official regulations (Smith, 1994) clearly state that no mangroves should be cleared. An excessive use of natural resources for construction has happened in spite the fact that there are regulations on the maximum use of local building materials for hotel construction. We have, however, no detailed information on where the different hotel projects obtain poles for construction.

Increased cutting of trees is assumed to endanger the local current possibilities for villagers to secure their livelihoods. However, some young men from Michamvi claimed that the increased cutting of trees also had positive effects for agriculture. One important constraint for farmers is wildlife, which is considered as pests, like monkeys and wild pigs, which destroy their plots. Quite a few villagers have put up traps in order to catch the animals. Other strategies chosen for diminishing this hazard is fencing of the plots, either using wooden fences or stone walls or planting bushes to protect the fields from pests. According to these young men, the cutting of the forest has resulted in a decline in the population of monkeys and consequently has also reduced destruction of their crops. This example illustrates a classic conflict.

Increased stress on water resources

Occasionally, we saw trucks passing Paje and going towards Michamvi. After spending some time in the field we came to realise that these trucks came every day on a regular basis. These trucks are supplying Karafuu Hotel with water. The main problem at Karafuu Hotel is access to water. In Michamvi Kae the villagers draw water from a well, while the villagers of Michamvi Pingwe bring water from the adjacent caves. When Karafuu Hotel was established the management tried to get access to the same water resources, but the villagers refused. Karafuu Hotel then tried to construct wells on the hotel site, but after eight unsuccessful

attempts, they gave up. It is stated in the guidelines (Smith, 1994) that because of water scarcity projects should get water through desalination systems. Karafuu Hotel has followed these guidelines and today the hotel has two such systems which, however, only cover 25% of Karafuu Hotel's total water consumption. Therefore, 30-60 trucks, with 15000 litres of water each, arrive at Karafuu Hotel every week. This water is brought free of charge from the caves in Paje. According to the manager, if Karafuu Hotel is fully booked, it uses, 50-60 000 litres of water per day.

Normally, Zanzibar is endowed with a good supply of ground water. These resources rely, however, on an annual recharge from rainfall in order to maintain their potential. Thus, they are very sensitive to over-exploitation, saline intrusion, and changes in groundwater and soil conditions (COLE, 1994b). Consequently, this ground water is not evenly distributed in terms of quantity and quality. The east coast of Unguja suffers from a water deficiency. Here, the most common water source is shallow wells.

Since the water resources in the area are already under pressure, the danger of increased deficits of water is likely to occur when more people demand these resources. Furthermore, it is supposed that tourists generally use more water per day compared to the local villagers. Mohammad (1997) agrees with this supposition and states that tourists use ten times as much water per day as a local villager. Similar estimations were provided to us by the villagers. Thus, tourism might cause decreased water levels and hence possibilities for local water scarcity. Additionally, as Sulaiman (1996) points out, workers are needed to staff the hotels, and when these workers are not drawn from the local villages, their presence might result in an increased pressure in the water resources such that these resources become even more uncertain. Especially, in the case of Karafuu Hotel, or other hotels with high numbers of employees, this might be a significant problem.

Several small guest houses in the area also stated that water deficits were a major problem. Here, we were told that sometimes during the day, when the tide was low or if the sun was strong, the wells were almost empty, due to evaporation. There has been a tendency, after the establishment of guest houses in the villages of lower water levels in the wells, particularly in the high seasons. Excessive use of water leads to mixing and salination (Smith, 1994). The

water in all three villages is reported to be saline, both by villagers and guest house management. Secondary data also confirms this. Mohammad (1997) writes that saline intrusion is a problem in many villages in Zanzibar, among them Paje and Michamvi. Bwejuu village is according to the ICAM-report (1996) already experiencing a potable water shortage. Bearing this in mind the guidelines for the investors (Smith, 1994) have laid down regulations on hotel project's use of water. For instance it states that hotels should drill bore holes one or two kilometres inland and to pipe the water to storage tanks at the hotel sites. The guidelines also encourage the hotels to install as much water saving equipment as possible.

Depletion of marine resources

Staying in the household in Paje we often experienced difficulties of getting fish for the daily meals. Through discussions with household members we understood that one explanation could be increased sale of fish to local guest houses, due to higher prices. This implies that fish have become a commercial commodity, and this is a change compared to the past. According to Jiddawi and Muhando (1990) traditionally, lobster is the only crustacean which has been exploited commercially in Zanzibar. This resource has been and still is sold to hotels, some have also been exported. Unlike fish, lobster has never been a common local staple food.

Talking to village women our impression was confirmed it was explained to us that there had been a general decline in access to marine resources for consumption during the last few years. Also in Michamvi some villagers complained about lack of fish, even though most stated that they ate fish every day, as before. It seemed, however, as if there had been a general decline in the amount of fish consumed. We were told that now it was quite common that one village family had to share one fish, which was not common in earlier days. Baring in mind that fish is the main source of protein for the people in these coastal communities, this change in diet implies a detrimental effect on the villagers' nutritional needs.

In addition to a reduction in access to fish, local villagers told us that there has also been a decreased consumption of crabs. Crabs are also a desired seafood at local guest houses. In Michamvi it was stated that there had been a visible decline in crab catches, which was more likely to be caused by tourism. Some fishermen were specialised in crab fishing. This was

primarily done in the adjacent mangrove forests. The catches were sold to Karafuu Hotel which paid much higher prices compared to the villagers. Karafuu Hotel was always willing to buy, and its demand always seemed to be higher than what the local fishermen could supply. This fact might lead to an over-exploitation of the local crab resources.

When it comes to lobster the local fishermen agreed that if they were lucky enough to catch a lobster they would immediately go to the guest houses or hotels to sell it. No villagers were either willing or able of paying the price demanded for the lobster. However, there used to be big lobster catches, which, according to the villagers in Paje, they used to keep it in a small pool in the village and that representatives from the government or fish mongers would come and buy. Currently, there is no such pool in Paje and the catches of lobsters are very rare. We were also told that in the past the villagers had to smoke fish due to surplus. In addition, they could go out on the tidal flats and collect crabs which today is impossible. Mohammad (1997) points out that the demand for fish and other marine products far outstrips the supply. It is clear that during recent years tourism has contributed to this increased demand. One cannot however, lay everything at the tourism's door. As Sulaiman (1996) states periodic shortages of preferred species of fish were felt long before tourism began to increase.

Jiddawi et al (1995) list several reasons for the general decrease in fish stock in Zanzibar over the last few years. Activities such as bad fishing methods, sewage pollution, increased sedimentation, turbidity and siltation might be possible causes for this trend. The villagers concurred with Jiddawi et al (1995) on the reasons for decreased fish stocks in the sense that they generally did not blame it directly on tourism. Many villagers held the view that population increase, be it natural population growth, or increased tourist populations coming to the village, were responsible for these changes in fish catches. The fishermen in Paje, however, emphasised that there had been an increased amount of fishermen in the area. It is likely that a higher fishing pressure has evolved due to a general population growth and to increased prices for these resources. Hence, tourism seems to have had some responsibility for decreased access to fish, since tourists coming to the area contribute to a population growth and therefore an increased demand for these resources. Furthermore, the fishing activities by local fishermen increase because they want to maximise their profits. Therefore, tourism might to some degree have led to a further depletion of the fish stock.

There might however be inter-village differences in fish catches, as the women in Paje told us that they sometimes go to Bwejuu to buy fish. Additionally, it is also reasonable to assume that the buyer's purchasing power might influence his or hers accessibility to these resources. The inter-village differences might be caused by the fact that the guest houses in Paje expressed a greater willingness to purchase fish locally than was the case in Bwejuu.

Intensified stress on the coral reefs

Another consequence of tourism is that it in general is likely to result in an increased stress on the coral reefs. A high pressure on this ecosystem will result in a diminution of the coral as well as in the diversity and quantity of species. The coral reefs are vulnerable to disturbance and crucial for food security of the local people. They are diverse and highly productive ecosystems (Balakhrisnan et al, 1994). Apart from an increased demand for marine resources such as food, tourism often brings with it directly destructive recreational activities such as shell collection, coral mining, spear fishing, anchoring boats when diving and fishing in the coral reefs (Wilkinson, 1990). ICAM-report (1996) claims that this is not yet a significant problem in the area, but as these activities expand the problem is likely to worsen. According to our data, shell collection is about to become a problem. The fishermen in Paje who take the tourists snorkelling, told us that the tourists often touch the corals and collect coral and shells, so did those dealing with such activities in Michamvi.

Jiddawi and Muhando (1990) write that the ornamental shell trade has for several years provided employment for a large number of the coastal people in Zanzibar and that this gives high economical returns. Collection of shells has been an important source of work, also in the past, but is believed to have increased after the introduction of tourism. This was confirmed by the villagers who told us that a lot of shells are collected, in spite of governmental regulations, for sale to the tourists. The fishermen in all villages claimed that these activities were an important part of their work. However, it is important to keep in mind that shell collection often takes place using destructive methods i.e. using spears or iron rods. These methods are likely to result in destruction of the reefs. The shell sellers told us about high profits and explained that the more rare the shells were the more the tourists were willing to pay for them. Furthermore, they told us that the tourists who were most willing to buy most shells were usually from the high-class hotels. They also added eagerly that those tourists

were the ones paying the most for the shells. None of the villagers raised the issue that too much pressure and removal of shells from the coral reefs will disturb the fragile environment and might lead to a depletion of precious resources necessary for securing their livelihoods. In the guidelines for the investors (Smith, 1994) it is stated that it is not allowed for tourists, nor for tourism employees or associates to collect shells. It is uncertain to what extent the villagers are aware of the fact that collecting and purchasing of shells is illegal. It seems however that as long as tourists demand shells, the villagers see this as a means for generating extra income.

Reports like the Investment Act (Government of Zanzibar, 1986) and the guidelines for investors (Smith, 1994) have presented specified regulations for the projects in order to minimise the negative environmental effects of these investments. The problem, however, has been a considerable frustration due to lack of enforcement power of the monitoring system from the governmental side, be it national or local (Mohammad and Issa, 1995). According to the guidelines, the monitoring of the projects is supposed to be the responsibility of the project itself. Department of Environment is involved in enhancing the capability of the rural community to manage their natural resources, and this is thought to increase the possibilities for an efficient monitoring (Mohammad and Issa, 1995).

The campaign - Usiharibu matumbawe!

At the time of our fieldwork there was an on-going campaign on public awareness concerning the conservation of the coral reefs in Zanzibar. This campaign was a part of the Coral Reef Year 1997. In order to create public awareness of the importance of the coral reefs, the campaign focused first and foremost on reaching school children with this message: «usiharibu matumbawe», («don't destroy the coral reef»). The school in Paje was one of the schools selected for this campaign. At the school we could see that the children had made posters with information about the coral reefs. We were also told that the children had been taken out to the coral reef for snorkelling. There was also organised a show in order to reach all villagers with the information.

One day talking to village women the topic of this show was raised. It was especially the cost of the show which was discussed. One woman said that she wanted to attend the show with

her 3 children. The price of attending the show was 100 Tsh. In total she had to pay 400 Tsh. She said that this was the same amount of money she needed for giving her family breakfast. Neither the woman nor her children had gone to the show. The explanation was that they could not go to the show on an empty stomach. It is therefore important to remember that for the villagers money does not come easily, and that 100 Tsh. in this context becomes the price of a morning meal.

Discussing about stress on coral reefs one also has to include coral mining. None of our informants told us that coral mining was practised in the area. This was explained by the fact that there were enough stones for building materials in the forests. However, the ICAM-report (1996) considers coral mining as an increasing problem, especially in Michamvi. This very destructive practise, to utilise the coral for building material, is a familiar practise in many similar tropical tourism areas such as in Sri Lanka (Ishwaran, 1994) and Belize (Cater, 1995). In the Maldives, a quarter of the coral mined from holiday resort islands is used directly for resort construction (Cater, 1995). As the forests become under increasing pressure it is likely that those depending on coral limestone for building will seek alternative resources for building materials. One such alternative might be limestone from the coral reefs.

Tourism construction causing beach erosion

Walking our regular route on the beach from Paje to Bwejuu we noticed that overnight several palm trees had fallen. Walking back to Paje during high-tide we could see how the waves at some places undermined and removed sand from the beach area. From that day the problem of beach erosion became evident to us. Beach erosion may be a natural process speeded up by man-related activities. These man-related activities can be shoreline modifications, such as constructions of piers, sea walls and jetties, removal of vegetation and sand- and coral mining. Many of these activities are carried out in our area.

Beach sand extraction is common for the use in construction works. Compared to other sand in the area this sand is more fine-grained and subsequently more suitable as a building material. The guidelines for investors (Smith, 1994) state that under no circumstances may rock or sand be collected from the sea or the beach or sandy areas adjacent to the beach. We found that this is a rule that neither local guest houses or high-class hotels follow. Going from Bwejuu to Michamvi passing one high class hotel we observed 30-40 local people, supervised

by an investor, occupied with extracting sand from the beach. We were told that also Karafuu Hotel had extracted sand from the beach for construction, the sand was taken from the beach in Michamvi Kae. Such activities have according to the Tourism Development Plan (COLE, 1994a), resulted in the disappearance of trees and palms. Also in Michamvi Kae several trees on the beach have fallen and the *sheha* claimed that the extraction of sand caused the beach erosion. He said that he had tried to stop the investors from collecting the sand, but he was not able. He explained this by stating that at that time he had not yet become a *sheha* and had no formal authority to negotiate with the investors. The management at Karafuu Hotel themselves admitted to us that they had used limestone mixed with beach sand during the building of the hotel.

There was no complaints about the fact that small guest houses used local sand during the construction. Using local beach sand is a common practise when the local population build their houses. This is, despite the fact, that there lately has been established two national sand-pits in Unguja. Small guest houses often owned by locals seem to follow this practise in spite of the regulations. It is obvious, however, that the effect of sand mining is of less significance when small guest houses or local homes are being constructed compared to that of a big high-class hotel. Nevertheless, sand mining is an activity that is illegal because it is seen as a cause of beach erosion and hence destructive to the environment.

In addition to the fallen palm trees is the problem of the cutting down of palm trees to make way for construction. Bryceson (1981) points out that removal of vegetation at the crest of the beach may destabilise it and hence result in excessive erosion. Such problems have occurred several places along the Tanzanian coast, in the vicinities of hotels where there have been ignorant attempts to clean the beach for vegetation (Bryceson and Stoermer, 1980). In our study area some guest houses have, according to the Tourism Development Plan (Smith, 1994), cut trees on their sites within a few metres from the beach. The guidelines for investors states: «Where coconut palms are found at the edge of the beach, Zanzibar aims to preserve this «palm fringe» as a special attraction of Zanzibar's coastline. Therefore, developers are strongly discouraged from cutting any of the coconut palms...unless they are old or dead and are cut specifically for the purpose of planting new trees» (Smith, 1994: 2). Besides being an attraction in themselves the trees are important to bind the soil and hence hinder the beach

erosion. It seems that all hotels, be it high-class hotels or guest houses, established after the guidelines were set, follow these regulations. The question is if these guidelines also are put forward to investors building private villas. Just before leaving the field we saw 10 palm trees lying at the beach near Bwejuu in front of a site where there will be constructed a villa. The site was completely cleared for trees and vegetation. The only thing left in the landscape was a big bull-dozer.

Outside Karafuu Hotel a cement path has been built on the tidal flats for the tourists to walk on when going for a swim in the deep water. In Dongwe, in the *shehia* of Bwejuu, a big pier has been built by one of the nearby high class hotels. This pier enables boats to come and go at all times, also when the tide is low. As mentioned earlier these types of constructions are believed to exacerbate the beach erosion. No such arrangements are built by the local guest houses.

In order to prevent hotel buildings collapsing as the trees do, the government has set a minimum 30 metres zone from the high tide mark which is supposed to be free from hotel construction (Smith, 1994). Some hotel projects have, however, violated these regulations. In general these projects are of the low-budget type. Some of the projects were finalised before the 30 metres mark regulations were introduced; others are believed to violate the rules in order to satisfy tourists who want their bungalows as close as possible to the beach. It is also important to point out that some low-budget projects do operate within these regulations. Some of the hotels which have built closer than 30 metres from the high tide mark are today themselves threatened by erosion.

According to the Tourism Development Plan (COLE, 1994a) the reason for construction of buildings very close to the beach might also be due to the location of the road near these hotels which is very close to the beach. The hotels want to be situated between the beach and the road and hence construction has to be close to the beach. When it comes to high class hotels we did not observe specific violations of these regulations. Thus, it might be likely that due to a relatively greater hotel area tourists do not bother if their bungalows are 15 or 30 metres from the beach.

Some efforts have been made in order to recover some of the damage caused by beach erosion. Several places along the beach in the area we noticed that planting projects have been carried out in order to regain the vegetation and hence stabilise the sand. In front of one of the oldest guest houses in Paje bushes known as «*Mla cassa*» have been planted in order to stop beach erosion. At the guest house site there are no palm trees or other original vegetation cover. It seems as if the guest house is severely threatened by the steadily increasing high-tide mark, hence the need to plant «*Mla cassa*». Another example is a tree planting project managed by the Finnish International Development Agency (FINNIDA) between Paje and Bwejuu. Here trees of the species *Casurinas* have been planted in order to stop the beach erosion. In Jambiani, a neighbouring village to Paje, which also is a part of the tourism zone, the Government has put up a wall to stabilise the ground and to prevent the waves in removing more sand in the beach front and hence this is suppose to prevent further erosion. According to the Tourism Development Plan (COLE, 1994a) for the area it is likely that some such walls might also be constructed in the future in order to achieve this.

Reduced or increased pressure on resources?

As we have already seen, tourism has brought with it increased competition and reduced access to many of the coastal resources which the villagers in the local rural communities depend on. Sulaiman (1996) also mentions an incident in Zanzibar where villagers have been excluded from using resources in areas allocated to investors. He describes the case of Mnemba island at the north east coast of Unguja where the investor has been allocated exclusive use of a near- shore coral reef. In such cases utilisation pressure on the areas allocated will diminish, which might imply an environmental benefit (Sulaiman, 1996), since village activities in these areas now are illegal. It is necessary, however, to consider the social cost to the fishermen concerned. It is also important to point out that if local people are excluded from some areas the utilisation of land not alienated for tourism will intensify (Sulaiman, 1996). In this sense tourism might enhance conservation in the areas subject to tourist activities, while other areas adjacent to the tourist areas become over-exploited because the population has access to a smaller area compared to earlier.

Loss of access through sale of coconut trees

Threatened access does not only apply to competition and depletion of the resources. Talking to the villagers, they also emphasised the negative effects of loss of access to land and resources through sale of coconut trees to investors in tourism. According to the existing land tenure system in Zanzibar all land is owned by the government. The *changasima* area, the area along the seashore and around the coastal villages, where coconut trees are cultivated, seems to have a somehow different system of tenure. The land is still government owned, and can theoretically not be sold. Here, the one who planted the coconut tree, or his descendants, is entitled to use the products from the tree. As already mentioned coconut tree products are used for multiple purposes, such as building materials, coir rope making and cooking. Any villager can plant a tree wherever there is space for it. This is regarded as the best way to establish a claim to the land. Only a few trees have been planted by the current population, the majority of the trees are from their ancestors. One of the reasons for this is that planting of new coconut trees might be difficult due to low survival rates of newly-planted coconut trees, therefore no significant increase in the amount of trees can be expected in the future (Krain et al, 1993). The land itself which is not suitable for agriculture, is freely and commonly used by the villagers, usually as pathways, building ground for houses, graveyards, storing of fishing equipment and drying of seaweed.

After the introduction of tourism there have been some changes. A great many trees, especially on the shoreline close to the beach, have been sold to outsiders who want to invest in tourism. Since the land after all is owned by the state, the investors after purchasing the trees from the owner also have to pay a leasehold fee for the land to the government. Many villagers have sold their coconut trees to hotel investors. Most of them regret this today. In Michamvi we were told that they did not know at the time when villagers sold the trees how lucrative the hotel business was, and that if they had known they would never have been satisfied with what they received for the trees. Initially, the price of one tree could be about 200 Tsh. (today this is equivalent to US \$ 0.3). Pettersson-Løfquist, (1995) predicted that as land became scarcer, that the value of the coconut palms would increase. This has in fact been the case, and today trees are often sold for 60,000 Tsh. (about US \$ 100). Most villagers, however, claim to have sold their trees for about 3,000 Tsh. As sale of coconut trees involves

loosing access since the coconut tree owners have the right to also use the land where the trees are situated, selling these trees will also mean giving up the right to use the land.

In the past there used to be a surplus of trees and hence all villagers had access to coconut tree products. With the introduction of tourism this has somehow changed, since sale of coconut trees also usually implies that the villagers are not anymore entitled to use the products of the trees. Some investors have, however, only bought a certain amount of the coconut trees at their hotel sites. The owners of the trees which have not been purchased can freely enter the site and harvest products from the trees as before. Yet, continuation of the traditional use of the land for e.g. storing and drying seaweed is rare. In this regard, one could clearly see a difference between local guest houses and foreign high-class hotels. Few guest houses owned all the trees on their site, and hence had villagers coming to harvest, while all the high-class hotels had purchased all the trees on their hotel site. Those villagers who don't have access to palm tree products, which they depend on, are today suffering from the high prices of these products at the market. In addition, some villagers have lost their former income-generating activities which were based on these products, such as making and selling like *makuti* and coir-ropes

In his study in Paje, Petterson-Løfquist (1995) raise another possible consequence of tourism in these local communities. He states that « there is a possible future conflict arising between the individual villagers owning coco-palms along the coastal strip and the interest of the community as a whole» (1995: 10) The *ukoo* which first came to the area planted trees at the beach. When other people moved in there was an extension of the area and trees were also planted inside the village. There were enough trees in the area and the villagers traditionally shared the resources. The owner of the trees had the right to harvest, but more important was the right to use the areas whether they owned the trees or not. There were obvious rights for all the community members to continue the traditional use of the *changasima* area.

One can say that the introduction of tourism in the area has confirmed the importance of belonging to the different *ukoos*. Since prices of coconut trees situated at the beach have increased it has become important to identify the tree owners. Now, there is a gap between tree-owning *ukoos* and those who do not own. Those who own trees in the areas suitable for

tourist projects are in a better position than those who have no trees. A society which in the past shared the resources as common property is now about to change, and private ownership of trees has become increasingly important.

As a result of raised awareness that land allocation to hotels might disadvantage local communities, various options are being explored by the government. It has been suggested that local asset owners should receive an annual or monthly payment from the land-lease rent in addition to the initial purchase price of their coconut trees. As Sulaiman (1996) points out this would ensure a reliable income stream to the individuals concerned, but would not benefit other villagers who did not hold specific assets but who still, as members of the village community, benefited in some way or another from access to village land. This will again confirm the importance of belonging to different *ukoos* because, as already mentioned, most coconut trees close to the beach, the areas most suitable for tourism establishments, were planted by the first *ukoos* coming to the areas in the last century.

On the other hand, both the government representatives and the villagers themselves mentioned joint venture agreements between the investors and the villagers as a possible arrangement for securing the maintenance of the livelihood of the villagers. In a joint venture, the investors would contribute the capital and expertise to a hotel project, while the villagers contribute the land. The distribution of benefits from the projects will be determined by the terms of the contract agreement. Sulaiman (1996) raises two pitfalls to this arrangement. These pitfalls are whether the «information gap» between investors and villagers will always ensure that investors take an unreasonable share of the benefits and whether the time, effort and patience required to negotiate such an agreement would not prove too great a disincentive to potential investors. In our study area, many hotels have already been constructed in areas suitable for such establishments. Therefore, it seems that the proposal for joint-venture agreements has come too late for it to make a possible contribution for sustaining and improving the village livelihoods.

As has been shown, the introduction of tourism in an area has ramifications for the villagers traditional way of life when it comes to both moral and material well being. On the other hand, tourism also brings new opportunities for villagers to improve their material well-being.

The following chapters focuses on these opportunities when it comes to employment and also improvements in infrastructure.

Chapter six

TOURISM AND NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR INCOME FOR THE VILLAGERS

Competition for, or loss of access to natural resources, has severe impacts on the material well-being of villagers. New opportunities for income that comes with tourism can, on the other hand, imply increased material well-being for the villagers. Indeed, some villagers in all three villages are to some extent engaged in tourism either in the formal or the informal sector.

When tourists first started to come to the south east coast of Unguja it was in the form of day trips. Since there were no guest houses in the area at that time, tourists were taken by Zanzibaris from town to the coast for a few hours to enjoy the sun and the beach. Even if there were some local restaurants, they were not satisfactory for tourists. Hence the organisers of these trips brought lunch packets for the tourists. Mr. Hassan, a fishmonger living in the village, came to an agreement with the organisers that he should prepare food for the visitors. This arrangement was the starting point for a local villager and his family to enter the tourism business and make tourism their major source of livelihood. He started a restaurant aimed at satisfying the needs of tourists.

Mr. Hassan, together with his family, is totally engaged in working with tourists. Family members are working in the restaurant and his father and two brothers operate three guest houses in Bwejuu. There are also plans for further expansion. Today the whole family depend on tourists for their livelihood. Talking to them they all claim that tourism was a new opportunity for income, not only for their own family, but for the villagers in general. Tourism brought chances for the villagers, not only to work in the hotels and restaurants that were constructed in the area, but also to be engaged in activities related to tourism.

Talking to other villagers our impression is that they all see tourism as a new area for income-generating activities. Although many of them are not directly dealing with tourists they see the advantage of tourism being introduced because it is indeed benefiting some of the

villagers. There were different views on the possibilities for new income opportunities in Paje and Bwejuu which are surrounded by local guest houses and in Michamvi where the international high-class hotel is situated. In Michamvi, the villagers voiced that they would prefer to have local guest houses, in addition to the international hotel, while in the other villages the villagers would like to see more international hotels. This boils down to the fact that the villagers see different and complementary opportunities for work in the different types of hotels and that they would like to have a mixture of both types in order to maximise the advantages of tourism. As mentioned earlier, according to the Tourism Development Plan (COLE, 1994a), however, high-class hotels should be established in the north near Michamvi and in Dongwe in Bwejuu, while the local guest houses should be established in Paje and southern Bwejuu.

Several authors have pointed out that tourism as an industry has great potential to generate much employment. According to Sambrook et al (1992) these opportunities are sharply divided between the formal and informal economic sectors. Hotels and restaurants provide most of the formal sector employment, while the informal sector includes activities such as arranging trips for tourists, sale of souvenirs, sale of food and beverages and handicraft making. There is a great potential for employment in both the formal and informal sectors when it comes to the tourism industry (Cukier, 1996). However, as Sambrook et al (1992) states employment opportunities vary according to the type of resort.

Employment for villagers in the early stages of hotel development

Establishment of hotels implies a need for much labour. When both the small guest houses and the high class hotels were built, local villagers were, to some extent involved in the construction work. In Paje and Bwejuu when the small guest houses were constructed mostly local builders were employed. During construction of Karafuu Hotel many of the local villagers from Michamvi were employed. Both women and men were occupied with carrying sand from the beach for building and cutting down trees to clear the construction site. People from Paje and Bwejuu also helped in this part of the construction work. Builders from Michamvi were employed for construction. No builders from Paje were employed by Karafuu Hotel. In Paje, there was a misunderstanding that the big hotels employed builders only from town or the mainland. Therefore, the villagers would not stand a chance in the competition

with the more skilled outsiders during the construction work. Consequently, the villagers didn't even ask for work at Karafuu Hotel. It is true that the hotel hired people from Zanzibar Town, Dar es Salaam and also from abroad. Kenyan builders were hired on contracts to undertake the construction activity.

However, the local villagers were also considered a valuable source of labour. Builders in Michamvi told us that 7 out of 10 builders in Michamvi went to Karafuu Hotel and signed contracts. Talking to the builders from Michamvi they revealed that they were pleased with the opportunity to work at Karafuu Hotel. They liked the job and expressed content concerning the wage which was higher compared to what they could obtain doing other jobs. They also stressed that the job gave them opportunities of being trained by more experienced and trained colleagues from outside. In Paje and Bwejuu the builders explained to us that the wage was only slightly higher than the prevailing rate when working with construction of local guest houses since the owners, being from the area, knew the normal wage for builders and paid them accordingly. Consequently, being involved in the building of guest houses did not give the same opportunities for a higher wage as in the construction of Karafuu Hotel.

Villagers and employment in high class hotels

Involvement in the construction of the hotels is one aspect of formal sector employment. Another new employment opportunity within the formal sector for the villagers is to be employed by hotels or restaurants. There are several local villagers employed in the formal sector in this aspect. Most of them are employed in local guest houses or restaurants. A few are employed in the high-class hotels. This is due to the differences in employment practices and preferences between the high-class hotel and the local guest houses.

Karafuu Hotel has recruited most of their personnel from Zanzibar Town, the mainland and other African countries. To be employed in the high-class hotel it is important to have experience with the tourist industry. Farver (1984) states that in tourism employment when it comes to international hotels, higher level managerial jobs are generally held by foreigners or non-locals. This can be explained by the lack of skilled manpower in the locality. This is in accordance with what Sulaiman (1996) says about employment practises in high class hotels. In international hotels, very few jobs are taken by unskilled labour and proficiency in a

foreign language and reading and writing skills are usually required. In addition, some understanding of the type of services required by tourist is needed. Few rural people have adequate education, language ability or experience outside their own village environment (Sulaiman, 1996). Hence, they will not have a chance in competition with skilled workers from outside for the jobs that require this kind of experience. Despite what Sulaiman (1996) says, international hotels also offer positions that do not require skills at a higher level and here the local villagers have a chance to be employed.

There is a general understanding among the villagers that international hotels, including Karafuu Hotel, employ people according to their qualifications and experience. The personnel manager at Karafuu Hotel also told us that the hotel's practice was to employ people according to skills. The Zanzibari Government has recognised the need for villagers to be employed in tourism-related businesses, but it is also aware of the constraining factors when it comes to employment for villagers (Poulton, 1994). Low level of education and training work against the villagers. The Government states that there is a need for villagers to receive targeted extension and training (Poulton, 1994), but until now this recognition has only reached the written documents, and has not yet been implemented in the communities.

Nevertheless, some villagers have approached Karafuu Hotel and applied for a job. Some of them are now working at the hotel on contracts of 1-2 years. Since they do not know English and have no or little experience with tourists, they are employed in positions that do not necessarily have to do with communicating with tourists. Such positions could, for example be gardening and cleaning.

At Karafuu Hotel there are 140 employees. There were different opinions on how many of these were locals. According to the personnel manager there were 13 villagers employed at the hotel. The *sheha* of Michamvi claimed that there were 10 villagers working at the hotel while some of the villagers mentioned even lower numbers. Depending on how one defines a villager the numbers will differ. There has been immigration to the area due to employment opportunities at Karafuu Hotel. After the hotel opened and started to employ people, several immigrants have come to Michamvi to seek employment. Some of them are now living in the village. By Karafuu Hotel they are considered as villagers, even though they are immigrants.

By villagers they will be looked upon as people coming to the area to exploit the new opportunity for income, unless they marry and settle down in Michamvi.

In discussion with villagers about employment practises they argued that it needed experience to work in a hotel. At the same time, we noticed disappointment among the villagers. Eventually the villagers told us a story of broken promises. The owner, before starting construction of the hotel, promised the villagers that at least 40 of them would get a job at Karafuu Hotel when the hotel started to operate. Today, only about one fourth of that promise has been fulfilled, and the villagers feel that the owner broke her promise. On the other hand, from the hotels point of view, we were told that the villagers themselves rejected jobs offered by Karafuu Hotel and that the hotel could not be blamed. The rejection of jobs was also confirmed when talking to the villagers. They told us that there had been some villagers applying for work and were offered a job, but they rejected this for economic reasons. They thought the salary, at that time 20,000 Tsh. per month, was too low.

In other villages of Unguja there have also been complaints about investors that make attractive promises in order to get village agreement for them to use a piece of land, but then renege on these promises once they have secured a land lease. The Zanzibari Government therefore proposes that, before a land lease is signed, the investors and village representatives sign a written agreement laying down the terms and conditions under which a project will operate in the village in question (Poulton, 1994).

English (1986) states that hotel jobs are often better paid than the traditional alternatives. Consequently, one would assume that hotel jobs are preferred to, say, fishing or agriculture. In our case, however, fishermen in particular argued that the money earned from hotel jobs would be insufficient to support a family. The salary today has increased to match the Zanzibar government minimum wage and is from 30,000 Tsh. per month and upwards. The fishermen still said that the wage-rate was too low and that they would rather continue fishing than take a job in a hotel to support the family. They claimed that no family man could ever survive on 30,000 Tsh. per month. Another explanation is that Zanzibaris like to regulate their own working days. We have already mentioned how important the regular five prayers are to the villagers, although there is a mosque at the hotel site. Another thing of importance is

the mid-day meal where the whole family usually is gathered. At Karafuu Hotel, the workers work in shifts of eight hours. This contradicts with the traditional working patterns. The general trend, however, is that people working at Karafuu Hotel are young people with no family to support, except for those coming from the village. The young workers may help some family members, but are not obliged to.

Women on the other hand, did not complain about the low salary as a constraint to work at Karafuu Hotel. They talked more of lack of skills. This might not seem so strange considering that women have just recently started to make an income and contribute money to the household. Compared to what they can earn from seaweed farming⁸ 30,000 Tsh. per month is not bad.

Bi Sharifa is a village women living in Michamvi together with her husband and 3 children. She is originally from Bwejuu, but moved to Michamvi when she got married. Bi Sharifa is 29 years old and until 2 years ago she was engaged with activities within the household. For the last two years she has been employed at Karafuu Hotel in housekeeping. The job at Karafuu Hotel provides Bi Sharifa with her own income. She gets 33,000 Tsh. per month. This money is her contribution to the household economy and comes in addition to what her husband brings into the household. Bi Sharifa expressed a gratitude towards the hotel, since she is now able to provide her children with clothes, and is also able to spend money on things needed in the house. She also saves money for education for her children. She does not spend money on food, as she said she still has a husband, and he provides the family with the food needed. The additional income coming from her job is still crucial for the well-being of the family and tourism has given Bi Sharifa and her family a new opportunity for getting an income, even though her salary could never support the family with all they need.

⁸ Eklund and Pettersson (1992) found in their study from 1991 that income from seaweed farming in Paje ranged from about 5,000 to 6,500 Tsh. per household per month (with a purchase price of 60 Tsh./kg). According to our data the income varies with the size of the seaweed plot. The average income seems to be between 8,000-10,000 Tsh. (with a purchase price of 100 Tsh./kg).

Employment practices and spin-off effects in the communities

Among the rest of the 130 workers at Karafuu Hotel many are from Zanzibar Town. The management positions are as Farver (1984) says, held by skilled Zanzibaris or people from the mainland and from abroad. Countries such as Kenya and Zambia are represented. The employees have been in tourism business for a long time and know the work through education

and practical experience. According to the personal manager at Karafuu Hotel, the idea is that those holding such positions will train the locals from Zanzibar to take over. The «imported» employees work together with Zanzibaris. This applies to jobs like animation, housekeeping, massage and hairdressing. The general position is that those who are selected to work at Karafuu Hotel from outside are believed to be of great importance and hence will have a higher salary and a greater opportunity for negotiating contracts than the locals.

Grace is a good example of a person who had the opportunity to negotiate on conditions of working at the hotel. Grace works as a masseuse at the hotel. She used to work in Malindi, Kenya, for many years within the same occupation, hence she has good experience with the tourism business, she also knows what kind of money the tourists have. When she was employed in Malindi she was asked by the owner of the hotel to come to Zanzibar to work at Karafuu Hotel. Having the experience and the education she demanded a higher salary than what she received in Malindi. This resulted in the salary being set at US \$ 100 per month, and in addition she also receives 10 % of what every customer pays the hotel for her services. This adds up to, on average, US \$ 300 per month. Compared to Bi Sharifa who does not have any education or experience with the tourism business, Grace has a strong negotiation position and hence ended up with a salary that is much higher than what a local villager could ever earn.

Having 130 employees coming from outside to work at the hotel one might draw the conclusion that this would imply increased benefits for rural livelihoods, in the form of an increased demand for local goods. We found, however, that the spin-off effects in the village are minimal due to the fact that the employees at Karafuu Hotel all live on the hotel campus except for those coming from the village. Additionally, food is provided by the hotel in the canteen for employees. Having all meals provided for them the employees spend little or no

money in the village, hence local shops and restaurants do not experience a great change in their business due to non-locals.

The employees have a day off work once a week. Most of them use that opportunity to go to Zanzibar Town. Most of the money they earn at Karafuu Hotel will be spent in Zanzibar Town. The salary will usually be used for consumption of food and clothes for the workers and their families. Some of the employees also try to save some of the money they earn for future investments, be it in education or housing. The «imported» employees, having a higher salary, have the opportunity to send some of their monthly income back home to their families.

Local guest houses and opportunities for employment

The employment practises are different in the local guest houses. We found that local guest houses offer better employment opportunities for local people compared to Karafuu Hotel. In all the guest houses in Paje and Bwejuu a majority of the employees are locals. Therefore, the presence of local guest houses creates new income opportunities for villagers. Here locals have a chance to start without any special experience from tourism. Many of the employees entered the jobs in local guest houses just after finishing school, though we found that in some guest houses people in high positions had higher education or had been working at hotels or restaurants before. Another clear trend is that close relatives of the guest house owners will be given the opportunity to hold the most important positions. Managerial positions are held by close relatives. Since all the local guest houses, except for two, are owned by locals and often are family run enterprises, it is not surprising that relatives and family members are preferred to outsiders. Moreover, relatives and family members are also preferred to other locals. It is seen important to the local owners to offer jobs to members of the family. It has happened that family members have asked for a job and got one, even if it means that another worker who was a non relative had to leave that job to make room for the relative. This has resulted in that special *ukoos* are favoured when it comes to profit making from tourism. One good example is Mr. Hassan and his family. Today, the family own 3 of the 8 guest houses in Bwejuu, in addition to the restaurant.

Some of the guest houses are fully family run enterprises where there are no employees except for the close family members. No salary is paid to the family workers since the enterprise is considered to be a family business and the earnings will benefit all. At the same time, during low seasons they will all put efforts into getting additional income if the money they made during high seasons is insufficient. There are two small guest houses owned by non-locals. These investors bought coconut trees from villagers, but have no connection to the village by way of relatives. The two guest houses are still seen as beneficial for locals, and the investors, though non-locals, are accepted in the communities. The two guest houses do employ local people, but friends are seen as important for the owners, as family members are to local owners.

Employment in local guest houses is, to a much larger extent, characterised by flexibility compared to the high-class hotel. Tourist seasons do, to a greater extent, make a difference for the employees. It depends on the season how many workers are needed and also how much they will get paid. The salary often changes depending on the tourist seasons. In high seasons, if the guest houses do good business, they provide bonuses for their employees.

As mentioned local guest houses prefer employees from their own *ukoos*. This practise of employing family members is very common in many societies. In our case it results in better opportunities for some villagers as compared to others. All in all, however, looking at rural livelihoods in a broader context than the specific *ukoos* the local guest houses do create new opportunities for the villagers when it comes to formal employment. Disregarding the family run guest houses that only engage close relatives, the people employed in the guest houses in Paje numbers 39, and 30 of them are villagers. In Bwejuu 44 out of 52 employees are villagers. Compared to Karafuu Hotel, employment opportunities for the local villagers seem to be greater in guest houses, even though it in particular benefits certain *ukoos*.

In addition to the guest houses there are also local restaurants in the villages. One of them has already been discussed. The trend is that the restaurants are small and employ few people be it family members or friends. The restaurants still make a difference for some villagers. Two of the three restaurants have been operating for a short period of time, one of these seems to be successful being situated near local guest houses. The owner of this restaurant told us that he

will continue to run the restaurant since this business is more lucrative than other businesses he had been involved in, such as for instance being a fish monger. The owner of the other restaurant near Karafuu Hotel, however, had not yet reached a similar decision since he had not yet experienced many tourists coming to his restaurant. The guests coming to Karafuu Hotel have all their meals included and this might be the explanation for the lower number of guests coming to this local restaurant.

Women in formal employment

According to Harrisson (1994a) women especially carry out many of the lower status jobs in the tourist hierarchy. This is also shown in our study, though we found a difference between the two different types of hotels. As mentioned earlier, at Karafuu Hotel distinctions are made between villagers and outsiders due to different experiences with the tourism business. In the local guest houses we observed a gender based division of labour which was by no means that clear at Karafuu Hotel. Sharpe (1984) argues that women tend to remain concentrated in occupations which are predominantly female. In the guest houses women are typically doing tasks such as cooking and cleaning, while men are more into serving and reception work. The positions held by women have, in general, a lower payment than those held by men. Lack of skills in English is one obvious obstacle for women. One hotel owner told us that she had tried to encourage her female employees to learn English so that the better paid jobs in the hotel business would be accessible for them. Another important fact is that women in the villages should not, to the same extent as men are, be exposed to tourists. In most of the guest houses there are men working in those positions dealing directly with tourists. The case is a little different in one guest house where we found that almost the whole labour force consisted of women. Here the women hold all kinds of positions even those directly dealing with tourists, such as serving. The reason why there are mostly women working at this guest house, according to the owner, is that women are more willing to take low paid jobs. It is important to point out that this particular guest house is the one offering the lowest salaries for its employees.

Harrisson (1992a) further argues that even though women hold lower positions, tourism still brings some benefits for women. His argument is that women through part-time and seasonal work in tourism gain increased independence from male relatives as a result. In our area this

applies more for women engaged in seaweed farming. As a result of the introduction of seaweed farming the women now have their own income and they spend this income the way they want to. Most women will provide clothes for themselves and their children with the income (Eklund and Pettersson, 1992). Many have also built their own houses for security, they say, in case their husband should find another wife. Of course women working in tourism will also have their own income and the opportunity to decide for themselves how this income should be spent, as was the case with Bi Sharifa referred to above.

Bi Fatma is another village woman who has taken the opportunity tourism brings to get an income of her own. She works in the kitchen of a local guest house. Compared to Bi Sharifa who receives 33,000 Tsh. per month, Bi Fatma only gets 17,000 Tsh. per month. Still with this salary she is able to provide herself and her children with clothing, and this helps in the overall household economy. In addition to this, Bi Fatma has been able to buy a sewing machine for the money she earns from her job at the guest house. This gives her an opportunity for additional income. She is sewing clothes for other villagers for small amounts of money. Additionally, Bi Fatma is saving money to finish the construction of her own house, as so many village women are doing these days to secure their lives if their husbands should marry another woman.

Concerning age differences rather than gender differences, Varley (1978) argues that in countries where a large proportion of the population has only primary education, work in tourism can be both appropriate and appealing, especially to the younger generation, who clearly prefer tourism employment over the rigours inherent in traditional sectors such as agriculture. We have already stated that at Karafuu Hotel it is mostly young people who are employed. Also in the guest houses, there are many young people employed. Talking to the villagers most young people revealed a desire to work at a hotel or a guest house. As mentioned earlier, elders also expressed a wish to participate in the tourism business, but thought they were too old. The young generation would much more like to have a job in this new industry than following in their parents footsteps. And this was supported by the elders due to the hard working life.

Villagers participation in the informal sector

Some argue that tourism employment is a seasonal and low paying industry employing few skilled workers. Cukier (1996) on the other hand, argues that in developing countries this does not apply since a large proportion of the labour force is involved in the informal sector. Furthermore, seasonal aspects are minimal or its effect are dampened by multiple employment (Cukier, 1996). Indeed, in the field study area the informal sector is flourishing, but the sector still has potential for expansion. And as Cukier (1996) states many of the villagers engaged in tourism-related businesses will have other income-generating activities in addition, hence the seasonal aspect is less important. Rather, we found that the villagers take advantage of the tourist seasons and temporarily enjoy the benefits of the informal sector related to tourists. Of course, some villagers have left their previous occupations completely and depend solely on tourists. Their strategy will be to accumulate money in the high seasons so that during low seasons they can live on their savings.

The informal sector is characterised by a large number of small scale production and service activities that are individually or family owned and use labour intensive and simple technology. Todaro (1994) states that the usually self-employed workers in this sector have little formal education and often lack access to financial capital. As a result, worker productivity and income tend to be lower in the informal sector than in the formal sector (Todaro, 1994). This is not the case in the study area. We found that locals reject hotel work due to low salaries, but when it comes to the informal sector the picture is more complex. Many local villagers have actually entered the informal sector because this sector gives more opportunities for a higher income. Of course, easy access to the informal sector is also of importance. The informal sector is characterised by ease of entry, and that entrepreneurial flair much more than education is of importance. Local villagers find it more easy to enter the informal sector in order to get an additional income since it can be combined with their traditional work.

The informal sector reveals itself in the villages through the sale of agricultural products and seafood to hotels or guest houses, sale of items directly to tourists, sale of souvenirs, handicraft making, plaiting of hair, painting of *hina* (hand make-up), bike rental, snorkelling and fishing trips. The general trend however is that there is more informal activities around

the small guest houses. This is due to the fact that the villagers are allowed access to the hotel sites, hence there is more scope for the informal sector. Apart from being allowed access to the resort, another explanation for more informal activities around local guest houses is the fact that the high-class hotels do, to a greater extent, provide the tourists with what they need, be it guided tours or souvenirs. Another important consideration is that tourists coming to such types of resorts tend to choose what the hotel offers instead of going to the villagers. Still the informal sector exists in the areas nearby high class hotels. We understood from those operating in these areas that even though accessibility is more difficult the money they obtain in these areas, compared to areas near local guest houses, is much higher.

Links in to the communities

With tourism also comes tourist activities. Even though the tourists come to the south east coast primarily for relaxation and enjoyment of the sun and sea they do, in between the struggle for a tan and swimming in the Indian Ocean, demand other things also. Tourists like to use their time to go on small trips. This means that the villagers have some opportunities to offer their services. Going snorkelling or fishing is one of the attractions at the south east coast. It is usually local fishermen who take tourists out for these activities.

The local guest houses have a connection with a particular fisherman from the nearby village whom they contact if there are tourists interested to go snorkelling or fishing. At the same time fishermen themselves, and especially the younger ones, approach the tourists and ask if they would like to go snorkelling or fishing. We were for example, before they got to know us, asked several times if we were interested to go on such trips. Such opportunities for extra income did not exist before the introduction of tourism and it is warmly welcomed by the local fishermen. They especially like to take the tourists for snorkelling. This is because it is seen as a form of relaxation as it does not involve hard work and long working hours. At the same time the fishermen make good money. Tourists pay 3,000-3,500 Tsh. each to go snorkelling and they normally go in groups, which means that a daily income can be much higher than what a fisherman can get from selling a day's catch. While taking tourists snorkelling is quite common for fishermen today, taking tourists for fishing is more rare. Fewer tourists are interested in going fishing than snorkelling, but still if some are interested to go, it pays well for the local fishermen. Fishermen who have brought tourists for fishing

told us that in addition to the 3,000 Tsh. tourists pay for the trip, they might get the additional money gained from selling the catch.

While local guest houses give opportunities for the fishermen to earn money on tourists, the situation is slightly different in Michamvi. The management at Karafuu Hotel did not like that their guests went with the local fishermen. We were told by villagers that the management even warned their tourist against going with locals. Karafuu Hotel justified their view by talking about the safety factor for their tourists. It is said that the informal sector is considered less safe as compared to the formal sector (Cukier, 1996). As a charter tourist hotel they are responsible for tourists safety and feel more comfortable if the tourists go snorkelling with the hotels own boat and their own instructors.

Karafuu Hotel offers diving and snorkelling trips for their guests. The hotel owns a boat that can take 40-50 people at a time, and consequently the opportunities for the local fishermen are less. Still fishermen told us that they tried to attract tourists. They put their boats near the hotel and approach the tourists the same way as fishermen around local guest houses do, by asking the tourists directly if they want to go on trips with them. This approach is easier for the fishermen operating around the local guest houses because they are allowed access to the sites, hence it is easier for them to contact the tourists. Still, some of the tourists choose to go with locals and when they do so they pay more in this area than the tourists in local guest houses do. We were told that tourists in Michamvi can pay up to US \$ 15 each for a trip, compared to tourists in villagers with local guest houses who pay an amount of money equivalent to US \$ 5.

However, taking tourists snorkelling is an uncertain business, and, no fishermen rely on it as their only source of income. Some days there are no tourists to take snorkelling and then the fishermen have to go fishing instead. All fishermen involved in taking tourists on trips said that, if they knew they were certain that they could get tourists to take on such trips, these activities would be the most attractive jobs for them. It was considered a nice break from the normal hard working life even though it meant being around half naked tourists.

Some of the guest houses have access to or own a car. These guest houses will arrange trips to wherever the tourists would like to go. A popular destination is the south coast. There the tourists can go swimming with dolphins. Other interesting things to do are crab safaris in the mangrove forests. Of course this depends on the maintenance and conservation of the mangroves, as already emphasised. There are also other cars in the villages. One of these car owners specialised in taking tourists on trips to see the dolphins. The guest houses contact him whenever there is a need. The manager of the dolphin car will also approach tourists directly. His livelihood depends solely on tourists and therefore he is actively trying to get customers. He normally take tourists 3-4 times a week. Another means for the villagers around the local guest houses to obtain an additional income is to rent out their bikes. The tourists need bikes to go to the lagoon or to the nearby villages. Even though many hotels do have their own bikes to rent out, in competition with the local villagers, there are still some guest houses who contact villagers for bike rent. The charge is 2,000 Tsh. for the bike for one day.

The situation is completely different around the high-class hotel when it comes to these activities. First of all the hotel has its own bikes for their guests. When it comes to taking tourists on trips the villagers in Michamvi have less chance of taking tourists on tours for two reasons. First of all there are no cars in Michamvi. Secondly, at Karafuu Hotel all such trips are arranged by the animation group. Karafuu Hotel arranges trips to Zanzibar Town to see the Stone Town, go on spice tours, dolphin trips or whatever the tourists wish.

There are two other activities carried out by women around the local guest houses. These are plaiting of hair and painting of *hina*. For these activities the local guest houses also have special contacts in the villages unless there is someone working at the guest house to do these things. At Karafuu Hotel, there is a hair saloon hence these activities are carried out at the hotel.

Entrepreneurial activity in the communities

Entrepreneurial talents are also vital for success in the informal sector. Some villagers saw new possibilities for extra income when tourism was introduced in the area. These villagers have today filled some new niches that came with tourism. Sale of souvenirs is one such

niche that could be filled. Even though tourists first and foremost come to the east coast to relax in the sun, there is also a market for sale of souvenirs.

Being a traditional villager, Mr. Omar used to be a fisherman. In the late 1980s he started to collect seashells for sale as an additional means of income. Traditionally, seashells have been harvested as ornaments for export sale and to foreigners. One day a *mzungu* staying in Bwejuu wanted to purchase seashells, he was told to contact the fisherman in Paje since it was known to the people that he was in possession of these desired items. From that day on Mr. Omar understood that there was a potential market for selling seashells to the increasing numbers of foreigners coming to the area. He started off by selling shells to tourists while still maintaining his occupation as a fisherman. Today his business has expanded. In addition to selling seashells, he also purchases *khangas* and *vikois* (similar to *khangas*, but restricted to be used by men) in town and sells these items to tourists coming to the east coast. He has now given up his former job as a fisherman and now solely depends on tourists for his livelihood. He purchases shells from local fishermen. Lately, Mr. Omar and his *ndugu* (a relative) opened a souvenir shop inside the village of Paje. In addition to seashells and clothes, his shop also sells traditional Zanzibari wood carvings such as caskets as well as wood carvings from the mainland. Mr. Omar puts some of his wares on his bike and cycles around the places where there are tourists. One will always see him at a guest house which at the time has most guests. He has access to some of the guest house sites. Here, he comes with his mobile shop. Otherwise he will operate his business from the beach, approaching tourists himself in order to sell his items.

Mr. Omar accumulates money by selling his goods to tourists during the high seasons. He lives on his savings when there are few tourists. His best customers are those living in the high-class hotels. They pay in dollars and are also willing to pay more for items than low-budget tourists. He told us that after starting his new business, he has built a house and invested in livestock. This would not have been possible with the income he got from fishing. He was pleased with the fact that he can now plan his life in an easier way. Earlier he and his two wives and ten children had to live from day to day only, now with more money coming in, they can plan on a more long term basis. Mr. Omar expressed his happiness that he got the chance to take advantage of tourism in this way. He was also pleased with the fact that he for

a long time had a monopoly on this business in the area. Successful entrepreneurs are usually accompanied by what Kristiansen has termed copyists (Kristiansen, 1997).

In all villages there are now people selling souvenirs. In Bwejuu there are no people doing this activity as Mr. Omar does, but here young boys are going around with their bikes selling souvenirs at the beach. In Bwejuu these youngsters are not allowed to enter the tourist areas, due to the risk of theft. As long as they do not bother tourists they are allowed to operate from the beach. They sell *khangas* for the local shops and take the difference between their selling price and the actual price as their profit. In addition, these young boys will sell locally-made traditional fishing hats and also shells. They will, at the same time, ask tourists if they would like their hair plaited or to be painted with *hina*, and if tourists do, this is usually done by their sisters in their homes.

In Michamvi the situation is a little different. First of all Karafuu Hotel has a boutique for selling souvenirs at the hotel. Lately, people from Zanzibar Town have also come to Michamvi to sell souvenirs. They have constructed a hut down at the beach, not far from Karafuu, where they sell to passing tourists. These new-comers teamed up with a local villager for this business and this enabled them to get access to land for building their little shop.

Mr. Omar used to move from Paje all the way up to Michamvi. With these competitors coming to the area, he now mostly remains in Paje and Bwejuu. The young boys also operate in the same area. Since all of them operate from their bikes they are able to move according to where the tourists are. In Michamvi selling souvenirs from the permanent hut is a good business and this hut might eventually attract other competitors as well. Once people discover a new way of making money more people will enter the arena. Today there is room for all of them, especially during the high seasons. Local fisherman were pleased with the souvenir sellers because they got a chance to sell seashells and to get an additional means of income. In Michamvi the souvenir sellers purchase shells from women and children, hence the women in this village benefit from the new income opportunity.

Tourism and purchase of goods from the local communities

In Michamvi we met Mr. Juma, he represents another type of entrepreneur. Instead of entering a totally different business as Mr. Omar did Mr. Juma saw a chance for a new income opportunity with linking his occupation to the hotel business. When Karafuu Hotel started to operate he went to the hotel management and made an agreement for supplying the hotel with seafood and agricultural products. Being a fisherman and a farmer, like most of the men in the area, he took the opportunity to exploit tourism and to get some benefits. Zanzibaris are traditionally known as middlemen. In the village Mr. Juma is known as the middleman. Being a high-class hotel Karafuu Hotel did not want all villagers to have free access to the hotel site to sell their products. Therefore they decided to use the middleman. He himself can enter the hotel. The middleman gets orders for seafood and agricultural products from the hotel and supplies the hotel by purchasing seafood from other fishermen in the village. The agricultural products are primarily supplied from his own *shamba*. Of course, as with Mr. Omar, Mr. Juma also encountered competition. This competition comes from a local guest house owner from Bwejuu. Having a car this man can supply Karafuu Hotel with much larger quantities than Mr. Juma. The guest house owner also brings items that are not available in the village from Zanzibar Town. Competition or not Mr. Juma is still doing his business; after all he could never supply Karafuu Hotel with all they need, so the guest house owner is complementary rather than a competitor.

Telfer and Wall (1995) state that through employment, tourism provides the opportunity for direct and indirect economic linkages with the local community. A way to enhance the benefits of tourism for local people is to expand the backward linkages by increasing the amount of local food used in the tourism industry. It was this way of thinking that made Mr. Juma a middleman. In the tourism sector the importance of food as an input is considerable. Domestic agriculture and fishing have the potential to benefit from increased tourist demand, provided that surplus production is available for sale (Telfer and Wall, 1995). Fishermen and farmers sell their catch and products to the hotel and guest houses. This is done in different ways. While Mr. Juma is operating in Michamvi, the fishermen in the villages surrounded by the local guest houses go themselves to the different guest houses to sell their fish, or the local guest houses approach the fishermen as they come home from fishing.

Karafuu Hotel gets supplies both locally and from Zanzibar Town. Being an international hotel some products are also imported. When it comes to local guest houses the purchase of these products depend on the capacity of the guest house and how they purchase their inputs. Very small family owned guest houses will buy all their goods in the village, both seafood and agricultural products. Some products like paw paw will be purchased locally by all guest houses and restaurants. Owners of bigger guest houses told us that they buy whatever is available in the village, but also emphasised that guest houses and hotels need a steady flow and reliable supply of products and therefore they usually tend to go to town.

When it comes to seafood some larger guest houses will secure their supplies by purchasing from town or other villages where the catches are bigger and more secure. The local guest houses and restaurants depend on a reliable stock because it is often difficult to predict the number of orders. According to the local restaurant owners, it is too risky to sit and wait for the fishermen to return if you have an order for 15 fish dinners. They might return with nothing. The guest houses will, however, also purchase seafood from local fishermen. The same thing applies to agricultural products. Farmers go to the guest houses themselves or they get orders from guest houses. In Michamvi Mr. Juma has monopoly when it comes to selling agricultural products to Karafuu Hotel. Not so many products are sold, partly due to the infertile soil in the area. As a result, some needed agricultural products like cabbage and carrots can not be locally grown. The most important agricultural product that farmers sell to guest houses, restaurants and hotels seems to be paw paws. Farmers also sell their products directly to tourists if they come into the village, but will never approach tourists themselves or seek them out at the beach.

Telfer and Wall (1995) emphasise that it is necessary that surplus production or catch is available if sales to the tourism sector is to take place. We have already argued that the villagers fish catches are low, and explained this by several factors. One factor might be the high demand from tourists for seafood. Even so, the fishermen told us that they would rather sell fish to hotels than to locals. This is explained by the higher price they can get at the guest houses.

In the villages a dual economy has evolved. Fishermen and, to some extent, farmers operate with different prices for the villagers, on one hand, and the hotels and guest houses on the other hand. However, the villagers also said that «price on life» in general had increased, meaning that prices of goods they need in their daily lives had gone up. They expressed a concern about these changes and how it affects their lives. The villagers emphasised population growth as a reason for increased prices. More people leads to an increased demand for goods with a limited supply and this leads to increased prices. Population growth can be due to both natural increase and immigration. Introduction of tourism implies more people coming to the area, be it those looking for employment or the tourists themselves. Moreover, the prices of goods demanded by tourists have increased. This is true for fruit products like paw paws, oranges, mangoes and vegetables such as tomatoes.

The introduction of tourism in the area has not significantly changed the traditional occupations. Most farmers are still farming for subsistence, or sale in town. We did not hear of any farmer who started growing only products that the guest houses and hotels need. Fishermen have, to a greater extent, become more specialised than farmers. Some fishermen are now for instance crab fishing only. Still, the trend is that they combine the opportunities brought by tourism with their traditional occupations.

In addition to agricultural products and fish the tourism business also requires other inputs. Building material is generally purchased locally. As mentioned earlier, out-take of limestone for building has increased after the introduction of tourism. Increased demand has lead to increased prices. Hence limestone production is a good business these days. In this sense tourism seems to be beneficial for those villagers who are engaged in this activity. Even though we have already argued that limestone production leads to erosion and hence has impacted on villager's livelihoods as well as the natural resource base, it has now become a new income generating activity for an increasing number of villagers, and has consequently resulted in enhanced livelihoods.

Purchase of goods by tourists from local shops

On several occasions, we saw tourists inside the villages coming to buy items from the local shops. We also talked to some of them. One argument for buying things inside the village was

due to the lower prices compared to the guest houses. Even though tourists come to buy items, benefits from tourism to local shops are limited. We found that accessibility is the most important thing for the local shops. Those shops which are situated on the main route through the villages are more likely to benefit from tourism. When moving inside the villages, the tourists will keep to the main street and not wander along the small narrow streets of the village. In all the villages there are shops situated on the main street and they do get something out of tourism even though it is not a lot. In all villages there are also shops which are hidden from the view of tourists and consequently are not easily accessible for tourists. The result is that only some shops benefit from tourists coming inside the village. The owners of the shops situated on the main streets told us that they sell typical things tourists demand such as cigarettes, soft drinks, mineral water, toilet paper and biscuits, but at the same time *khangas*, *vikois* and *kofias* are also sold.

The shopkeeper in Paje, who has her shop along the main street told us that she can increase her sales from 40,000 to 60-70,000 Tsh. per day when tourists come to buy. In contrast the shopkeeper in the narrow streets told us that she on a good day could make an extra 3-4,000 Tsh. per day if tourists came. The shopkeeper in Michamvi Kae was very pleased with her shop being situated at the entrance to the village because that resulted in many tourists stopping at her shop to buy, for example, mineral water. She told us that her customers were primarily people coming on bikes from the villages of Bwejuu and Paje. Tourists from Karafuu Hotel did not buy anything from her. They had what they needed at the hotel and came only to look. She hoped for the establishment of a hotel also in her village in order to get access to more tourists, and thereby increase her sales. She believed that the planned hotel in Michamvi Kae would increase her benefits from tourism and she had plans of selling *khangas* and other souvenirs. She told us that there are about 4-5 other shops in Michamvi Kae. But since the tourists can't find them they make no money on tourism. The same goes for the shops in Michamvi Pingwe, but according to her they made money on employees at Karafuu Hotel. This can mean a lot to a small shop, in view of the fact that there are 130 employees from outside working at the hotel. However, the employees do not spend much money in the village except for a soda now and then and other small things. For a local shopkeeper, however, this can make a big difference in terms of overall sales.

Both restaurants and guest houses need some supplies for the running of their businesses that can only be supplied from town. One restaurant owner said that the shopkeepers could benefit from tourism if they teamed up with the local guest houses and the restaurants when it comes to supplies of goods. Today, many of them do their shopping in town or directly buy from fishermen and farmers in the villages and avoid the shops for their supplies, due to high prices because of transport costs. But he believed that the shopkeepers could make money if they made deals with the restaurants and guest houses and hence bought in large quantities. He said that time spent on purchasing inputs was also considered money, so if they could make him a good deal, he would agree. He said 50 Tsh. extra for a commodity was reasonable but not 200 Tsh. extra. It's up to the shopkeepers to give him an offer, but this had not happened so far, and he doubted that it would happen. On the other hand, if he was interested enough, he could contact the shops himself.

Women in the informal sector

Talking to women about the benefits from tourism, they emphasised things like getting 200 Tsh. from tourists taking their picture while doing their daily work such as coconut husking and seaweed farming. In the local context where 400 Tsh. can provide a family with breakfast, it is not strange that this is considered as a significant benefit. Another frequently heard comment is that the villagers benefit from what the children are able to get from the tourists be it a T-shirt or a pen. Again, we have to remember that a small amount of money can make a difference. A pen is the same price as 2 loaves of bread. Women in Michamvi collect shells for souvenir sellers while out collecting octopus. This is the opposite to what happens in the other villages where it is the fishermen who collect shells, hence women in Michamvi get some benefits from tourists demand for shells. They will be paid from 200-500 Tsh. per shell. As with money from tourists taking pictures, income from sales of shells is small but is still valuable additional income in the context of the rural household.

Another means for women to obtain an income through participation in the informal sector, is through sales of cookies at the beach. Together with the sale of fruit and coconuts, children sell home-made cookies to tourists. One day, sitting at the beach outside one of the guest houses, three small girls, aged from 5-10, came to us with a box of cookies and said «Cookies,

sugar, flour, coconut, milk very nice». They sold the cookies for 100 Tsh. These cookies had been made by their older sister.

The fact that women haven't thought of benefits on a larger scale may indicate something about how different the tourist world is to them and how little they know about tourism business. Traditionally, women are involved in handicraft making, such as the sewing of *kofias* and plaiting *mikeka*. There is a great potential for sale of handicrafts to tourists. It seems that village women have not thought of this as an income-generating opportunity. One reason for this was due to the fact that women are not supposed to approach tourists the same way that men may do. The reason why women send children to the beach to sell cookies, or ask tourists to come to their homes to plait their hair is because they, according to their traditions are more restricted to the private sphere. Several women told us that the reason why they did not exploit the opportunity of selling traditional handicrafts was simply because they had no one who could sell their products for them. As we see it another reason could be that handicraft making is a very time consuming activity. Women in the villages already have many responsibilities in addition to their work so it might be difficult to find time for these activities without giving up on other things.

We must say though that many women had not even thought about the idea of selling their products to tourists. This has to be explained with how women perceive work. Traditionally women have worked with household work and handicraft making, as well as with subsistence agriculture and the collecting of octopus. It is only recently that women have had access to their own regular income with the introduction of seaweed farming, and now also tourism. And women do engage in the tourist industry, but this refers more to the formal sector. Since women, after all according to traditions, are restricted to the private sphere the informal sector is not as accessible for them as it is for men.

As has been shown, villagers do take advantage of the new opportunities for income introduced by tourism. This has had consequences for their material well-being. Some villagers do now solely depend on tourism for their livelihood. However, most villagers only take advantage of tourism as an additional means of income, especially in the informal sector. New employment opportunities have, to some extent, compensated for the villagers reduced

access to natural resources. Improvements in infrastructure have also positive effects on rural livelihoods. Tourism development requires an efficient infrastructure. Improvements in this sector also implies improvements in the material well-being of the villagers. These linkages are the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter seven

TOURISM AND EFFECTS ON INFRASTRUCTURE AND SOCIAL SERVICES

The livelihoods of the villagers also depend on infrastructure and social services. Roads and electricity and water supplies are seen as important facilities for the villagers. Proper waste disposal and sewage systems are also crucial, especially after the introduction of tourism since this implies more people coming to the area and hence a greater pressure on the resources. Social services such as health and education are also of great importance for villagers' livelihood. This chapter deals with the effects of tourism on infrastructure, and villagers' access to and use of social services. Since water supply has already been discussed in an earlier chapter this issue requires no further treatment here.

Tourism development on the south east coast depends on an efficient infrastructure (COLE, 1994a). To meet demands from tourists roads have to be built and electricity and water have to be supplied. The tourist industry also needs appropriate sewage and waste disposal systems (COLE, 1994a). The question is if improvements in such facilities only benefit, the hotels and the tourists, or if it at the same time also benefits, the villagers living in the communities. Smith remarks in her study from Boracay that the rural villagers «enjoy having the infrastructure that is needed to support tourism, because it would make their lives easier, pleasanter and safer» (Smith, 1988:15-16). The villagers on the south east coast of Unguja had similar reactions. For example, when improved roads and electricity supplies were stated to be a result of tourism in the area, the villagers were happy about how these improvements made their lives easier and pleasanter.

Improved roads and supply of electricity as a result of tourism

The only road running to the south east coast from Zanzibar Town has been under construction for several years. The last 15 kilometres, from Kitogani to Paje, has not yet been tarmaced, and is in poor condition. Many guest house owners and the management at Karafuu Hotel complained about the road being in such a poor condition. Still the villagers said that the road was even in poorer condition before the introduction of tourism. There had been no

change in the status of the road when we left the area. Newly obtained information, however, indicates that the road to Paje has been reconstructed. It has been widened to six metres and resurfaced, as the Tourism Development Plan suggested (COLE, 1994a). This makes the area more accessible for tourists and it is also seen as beneficial for the villagers. The village men use bicycles to go to their *shamba* and a more even road makes the bicycling easier for them.

Going from Paje towards Bwejuu one has to drive on a sand road for about 5 km. From there two roads lead to Michamvi: one narrow sandy road continuing from Bwejuu inland near the beach, the other going straight from Paje to Michamvi. This road is the main access road within the planning area. Since the road is situated inland behind the villages tourist traffic does not have to pass through the villages. This increases the well-being of the villagers. Both the government and the hotel owners financed this road going northwards from Paje via Bwejuu and Dongwe to Michamvi. Villagers in Michamvi explained to us that the road came as a result of Karafuu Hotel being constructed. Hence tourism has brought about positive impacts on their lives. Due to the construction of the road the villagers are able to cycle between the villages. Earlier Michamvi could only be reached by boat, but now the area is accessible for cars, although the road is uneven and driving is slow.

Having said this, the road leading to Bwejuu and Michamvi is still rather difficult and this has tempted some tourist bus drivers to drive on the beach rather than on the road. This was of great annoyance to the villagers. Because the beach is their working place and also a major pedestrian way when the tide is out, the driving disturbed the villagers and was said to reduce their well-being. Driving on the beach is regarded by the government as an anti-social practice. Attempts to stamp out this practice, however, have not been successful (COLE, 1994a).

Another positive effect of the tourist industry, according to the villagers, was the electricity supply. Electricity was brought to Paje and Bwejuu 4-5 years ago. The installed 33 kw link is, according to the Tourism Development Plan (COLE, 1994a), adequate for all hotel consumption within the planning area. Also according to guest house owners the electricity supply to the area was clearly due to the establishment of guest houses. Most of the guest houses have electricity, but some still depend on oil lamps to beat the darkness. It is quite

usual for local guest houses that are not connected to the electricity grid to have a generator to produce electricity. Also guest houses connected to the grid have back-up generators, in case of power failures. The Tourism Development Plan (COLE, 1994a) states that in Paje 80 houses have been connected to the electricity grid. According to Pettersson-Løfquist (1995), villagers in Paje saved money from seaweed farming so that they could be connected to the electricity system. Still, few houses in Paje and Bwejuu have installed electricity, but all villagers in both villages were happy about the power supply. Having electricity, enables villagers to have deep freezers in their houses which are seen as crucial for the storage of food and also for petty trade, such as selling juice, *malai* (frozen juice) or *barafu* (ice-cubes). Some villagers have also purchased televisions which is greatly appreciated by other villagers. Electricity supplies give villagers the possibility to gather to watch television.

Electricity supplies have not yet reached Michamvi. Here villagers stated that electricity is needed especially when it comes to storage of food. Fishermen told us that due to lack of such facilities they have problems if they are not able to sell all their catch in Michamvi the same day. Then they have to either go to Bwejuu or to take a boat to Chwaka Bay to sell the catch. Villagers of Michamvi believed that because Karafuu Hotel has three big generators sufficient for their own electricity needs, this was the reason why the electricity supply had not yet reached Michamvi. Due to lack of electricity, the settlements of Michamvi Kae and Michamvi Pingwe both have generators, to be commonly used by villagers, for example when watching television.

The need for appropriate sewage treatment facilities

None of the villagers raised the problem of sewage as an impact of tourism on their livelihood. It is obvious however that with construction of hotels and guest houses in the area proper sewage treatment facilities are required to avoid pollution. Traditionally local houses have no pit latrines, let alone soak pits and septic tanks. This lack of toilet facilities means that in some parts of the area people go to the toilet at the beach. While this has been of great annoyance to tourists, more important is beach pollution resulting from this practice (COLE, 1994a). The Government has put effort into changing the practice and in some newly-built houses a latrine or septic tank or soak pit system are now in use. This system is well supported by the soil due to its good drainage characteristics (COLE, 1994a).

According to government regulations, no hotels are allowed to release sewage into the sea water, nor outside of the hotel area. Most guest houses have installed septic tank and soak pit systems, though some have only installed pit latrines. The management at Karafuu Hotel has also installed a septic tank for the sewage. This is in line with the guidelines which require on-site facilities for treatment and disposal of sewage. Mohammad (1997) writes however, that in most cases these are poorly designed and given the coral nature of the land in these areas, there is a possibility of contamination of the ground water sources and the coastal waters through leakage. Because of porous limestone soils, inadequate treated sewage can seep into the ground water and into the sea (Smith, 1994). Pollution of ground and coastal waters will have severe impact on the livelihood of the villagers.

Existing plans for waste disposal in the area

Until now there is no system for waste disposal in the area. Pits are rarely used by villagers. Instead, those living near the beach dump their rubbish on the beach, whilst those towards the inland side of the villages scatter their rubbish at the foot of and on the coral escarpment. Both areas are heavily scavenged by goats. Pits dug within the village for the extraction of sand for construction purposes are also filled with waste. As a result of a lack of a proper waste disposal system the beach is littered with bottles, discarded plastic bags, fish innards and other waste and so is unattractive particularly to tourists.

The issue of waste disposal was raised frequently by the villagers. Among them was Mr. Ali. He is a man in his thirties and has, compared to other villagers, spent much of his time outside the village. He frequently visits Zanzibar Town and has several times travelled to Europe. He claimed that the beaches were more clean in the past and said that tourists were to blame for the dirty beaches. Since he has been to European countries he found it hard to understand why the tourists, being used to dustbins and proper waste disposal systems, threw away waste at the beach. Mr. Ali told us that after a while he came to realise the reason for this and he explained it by referring to the villagers traditional «waste disposal system» as referred to above. Local people are used to throwing their residues in their surroundings and hence also at the beach. Mr. Ali explained this practice by the fact that most of the villagers' residues are organic. When tourists come to the village community they see that villagers cast their rubbish, apparently without caring, and therefore do the same. The difference is that tourists

also discard inorganic materials like plastic bags, tin-cans etc. The littering of the beach was obvious to us. At the beach it is not unusual to see empty beer and mineral water cans, plastic bags etc.

There are plans for a waste disposal system in the area. The Tourism Development Plan (COLE, 1994a) suggests that particularly for the benefit of hotels, and also for use by local residents, two sites each of a maximum size of one hectare should be allocated as dumping sites. These will have to be located on the coral area. The Tourism Development Plan (COLE, 1994a) further states that ideally these sites should be managed in such a way that garbage is separated into food waste, bottles and cans, and other waste, paper, plastics etc. The former can readily be composted and possibly reused on hotel gardens or for local farming. It is anticipated that local residents will make use of some of the bottles and cans, thus reducing the quantity of waste that remains at the site. This practice is already occurring. Some of the discarded items are collected by the villagers to use in their households. In our household in Paje, an additional means of getting an income is through sale of juice, *malai* and *barafu*. We noticed that the *barafu* was made in empty tin-cans. These cans were collected at the beach by the children in the household.

It is believed that with the introduction of such a waste disposal system there is some scope for revenue raising by charging hotels for a garbage collection service. A group of villagers could organise themselves to manage these sites and hence benefit from the system (COLE, 1994a). Before such sites are operational, however, hotels must follow the guidelines on waste disposal which states that waste has to be disposed of on-site or sent to the Municipal sites in Zanzibar Town. As a minimum requirement the hotels are expected to dig pits for solid waste (Smith, 1994).

Introduction of tourism implies an increased amount of waste which has to be disposed of. Tourists also consume more items which contain inorganic materials. Hence, tourism bring increased consumption and consequently increased disposal of inorganic matter. Yet, none of the guest houses have efficient waste treatment facilities today. There are stories of guest houses dumping their rubbish on the beach at night (COLE, 1994a), but it appears that most now bury their waste in specially dug pits. At Karafuu Hotel the problem with waste disposal

has been solved by digging two holes 1/2 mile from the area of the hotel where they put their waste.

Tourism and social services in the communities

Any discussion of rural livelihoods and well-being also includes appropriate health facilities and an educational system. Such social services do exist in each village with a dispensary and a primary school. According to the villagers these services, however, do not satisfy their needs. The villagers talked of lack of medicines in the dispensaries as a problem and also desired improved facilities for pregnant women. Today they have to go to town after 7 months of pregnancy and stay there until they give birth. The villagers also want their children to be able to go to school at least up to Form Four (twelve years of schooling). In Paje and Bwejuu the school offers education up to Form Two (ten years of schooling), and in Michamvi only up to Standard Seven (eight years of schooling).

There can be positive effects from tourism both when it comes to health and education of the villagers, due to the income gained from tourism-related businesses. If a household has insufficient money to meet basic needs, very often education and health care are the first to suffer, because other needs are prioritised, like food and shelter, including clothing. With more money coming into the household it helps in the overall economy and enables the household to allocate money for education and health care for children. Bi Sharifa, referred to above, spends parts of her income gained from her job at Karafuu Hotel on education for her children. Many other villagers do the same.

There are also effects of tourism in these social service sectors in another way. We talk of contributions by tourists and compensation from hotel owners. We were told by teachers that the tourists visiting the villages contribute money to facilitate the building of new class rooms for the village schools. In Paje and Bwejuu we saw that there were boxes in the guest houses encouraging tourists to give money for construction of new school buildings. We never saw tourists give money, but witnessed the manager from one guest house giving money to a teacher. In Michamvi tourists coming to the village on bicycles pass both Michamvi Pingwe and Michamvi Kae. The school being situated in between the settlements is frequently visited by passing tourists. There is also a poster encouraging the tourists to come and have a look.

After visiting the school tourists often leave money for the headmaster to finish on-going projects.

As mentioned earlier, when Karafuu Hotel was built the owner compensated the seaweed farmers for moving their plots elsewhere. She also built a dispensary in Michamvi Pingwe. This was considered to be some kind of compensation for the hotel being constructed in the village surroundings. The investor responsible for the proposed high-class hotel in Michamvi Kae has promised the villagers that he would build a nursery school there if his project was approved. Compensating villagers in this way is mainly done by owners of high class hotels. We heard of no such compensation from local guest house owners.

The Zanzibari Government says that it will also seek ways to channel a proportion of hotel profits or turnover into local funds to finance village development projects. However, according to the report on Village Benefits from Investment Projects in Rural Areas (Poulton, 1994), this cannot be done before such funds have been formally established with rules and procedures guiding use of the money

Almost all villagers considered both the contribution by tourists and the compensation from hotel owners as benefits. Though some villagers, and especially one of the female guest house owners disagreed with this. She claimed that the villagers were happy with «nothing» and that they considered every small thing as a benefit. She further stated that the villagers did not know how much money there was in the tourist industry and hence what benefits they could derive. According to her, tax revenues from the hotels, guest houses and restaurants in the area, should be refunded in the form of efficient and up-to-date infrastructure in the area. Such improvements could include the health and education sectors with better standards in schools and dispensaries. But even after ten years with tourists present in the area she saw no improvements, especially in the social services.

Other villagers countered her arguments by saying that even though tourism has been in the area for ten years it was only recently that the local guest houses and restaurants had started to pay tax. Many of the local guest house and restaurant owners started out in the informal sector. At the time when they started their businesses there were no registration of the small-

scale enterprises. Recently the guest houses and restaurants have also been registered and subject to tax regulations. Since this only just started the government were excused by the villagers who believed that tax revenues would eventually benefit all villages. One restaurant owner also emphasised that what gained Zanzibar in general also gained villagers at the south east coast. As an example he gave the improved communication with the mainland after the introduction of tourism, although one can argue that for the villagers this is less important for their daily life.

Eklund and Pettersson (1992) state that tourism development can change an area in the periphery of the island to one which becomes a focus for the islands development. Pettersson-Løfquist (1995) states that tourism has led to development of infrastructure in the area. Indeed, improvement in infrastructure due to the tourist industry has occurred. More important is that this development has also benefited rural villagers and thus has had a positive effect on their livelihoods. Also positive effects in the social services have been seen. However, there is still much to improve in order to change the area into an area with sufficient facilities for the villagers, be it schools, dispensaries, waste disposal systems etc. Still, tourism has brought about positive changes in some ways in the villages of Paje, Bwejuu and Michamvi, when it comes to infrastructure and social services. This has contributed to improved livelihoods for the people.

Chapter eight

CONCLUSIONS

To a host population tourism is often a mixed blessing. We have shown that the tourist industry brings about changes in the local communities. These changes are both socio-economic and cultural. Villagers also experience a change in access to and use of natural resources.

The tourist industry creates jobs for the villagers, both in the formal and informal sectors. However, the extent to which the villagers participate depends on the type of hotel. Some villagers have engaged themselves in tourism related businesses, either as their only source of income or as an additional income-generating activity. In this sense, tourism has had positive impacts on the material well-being of villagers. Job opportunities in the tourist industry are seen as beneficial for the livelihood of villagers. However, especially with regard to formal sector employment in local guest houses, this positive consequence applies for the villagers belonging to specific *ukoos*.

Development in infrastructure follows as a result of the establishment of both high-class hotels and local guest houses. Improvements in infrastructure, where villagers also benefit, enhance their material well-being. Additional money gained from tourism-related businesses also enable households to allocate funds for education and health care, which positively affect their material well-being. At the same time, improvements in schools and dispensaries as a consequence of contributions from tourists and compensation from hotel owners also increase material well-being. Both employment in tourism, and improvement in infrastructure and social services, give villagers increased access to goods and services vital for their livelihoods and are seen as positive impacts of tourism.

The tourist industry, including high-class hotels and local guest houses, also depends on the natural environment which the villagers traditionally depend on for their on-farm and off-farm activities. Introduction of tourism in the villages has brought about changes when it comes to access to and use of these vital resources. This is due to competition for and degradation of

the natural resources. Consequently, the material well-being of villagers has been reduced through loss of access. This is perceived to severely threaten their livelihoods, and villagers ask for alternative means of income to meet their needs. If competition for resources and degradation of the environment intensify, villagers will have less sustainable livelihoods, after the introduction of tourism, as compared to the past.

While the tourist industry does create employment, it cannot, however, absorb high numbers of villagers who need an alternative source of income. Additionally, if the environment is degraded to the extent where villagers no longer can depend on it as their source of livelihood, the tourist industry will move on, because it has destroyed the resources which attracted it in the first place. Consequently, villagers will be left with a degraded environment and no tourist industry.

The introduction of tourism in the local communities also affects the traditions and social life of villagers. Here local guest houses, more than high-class hotels, contribute to change. The tourists themselves become a social burden to villagers in the sense of introducing new kinds of behaviour, and thereby challenging traditional codes of behaviour. Tourist activities such as drinking alcohol, dressing scantily and openly showing affection and sexual attraction are certainly at odds with Muslim culture.

After tourism was introduced in the communities, villagers have been engaged in new activities that has resulted in changes in relationships between women and men, and between young and old. Of course when it comes to the relationship between women and men this has also to do with the introduction of seaweed farming since women then got access to their own income. Nevertheless, tourism also contributes to changes in gender relations. Kinnard and Hall argue that «changing gender relations may be evident as women, particularly, move their traditional domestic labour into the public domain» (Kinnard and Hall, 1996: 97) Another factor is that women are not as dependent on their husbands as they used to be, because they have access to their own income. In addition, young people tend to adopt new behaviour resulting from tourism and this is perceived as challenging the traditional relationships between the different generations.

Changes in rules, norms and traditions brought about by tourism are seen to decrease the quality of life of villagers, and reduce their moral well-being. The present processes of changes can eventually result in that the villagers feel that they loose control with regard to the formation of new norms, rules and traditions. On the other hand, contact between villagers and tourists may also result in international understanding and be a source of information on different ways of lives and different values. One positive result is that villagers have shown an eagerness for more education, which again is believed to have positive consequences for their material well-being.

When the rationale for tourism development is discussed within Zanzibari Government circles it is often conceived in macro economic terms: generation of foreign exchange, government revenue and employment. These benefit the whole of Zanzibar. However, we have been more occupied with how tourism affects local communities. It is within the Zanzibari Government also widely acknowledged that tourism development in a given area should specifically benefit the residents of that area, as well as the nation as a whole (Poulton, 1994). Therefore, the Zanzibari Government aims «to promote tourism while ensuring a balance between the tourism activities, the needs of local communities and environmental protection» (Poulton, 1994: 1).

The Government of Zanzibar recognises that tourism activities have to be balanced with protection of the environment. In addition, come the needs of local communities. The Government has recognised a need for villagers to engage in new income-generating activities in the tourist industry in order to reduce their dependency on exploitation of natural resources. This leads us to a discussion as to who defines the needs of local communities. Is it the government, the tourism activities in the area or the villagers themselves? Do we talk of needs for the community as a whole, or the specific households in the communities? And then who within the household defines the needs of the household: Is it men or women, young or old?

Moore (1992) points out that within a household there always is a negotiation on needs between the household members. Women and men perceive needs differently. As was shown, when women get their own income it is spent on things they perceive as needs, be it clothes, a sewing machine or a deep freezer. These things were not given priority before women

themselves had access to income and hence negotiating power on household-needs. This has to be understood, however, in relation to the fact that it is men who provide the household with food. Also, young and elderly people define their needs differently. Young villagers see a need for changes while the elderly want to cling to traditions. The important thing, however, is to recognise that «people's needs are not simply given and unproblematic» (Moore, 1992: 136).

As within the household, needs are also defined differently by different villagers depending on what they see as important for their lives. Villagers and owners of guest houses and hotels also have different opinions on what things are needed. When they express their needs they often disagree. Hotel and guest house owners are generally more preoccupied with the needs of their guests than of the villagers. The important issue, however, is not that they disagree on needs, but who among them is heard when decisions are taken. The Zanzibari Government has recognised that the needs of local communities have to be balanced with those of tourism. The Tourism Development Plan (COLE, 1994a) states that it is important to make the tourism activities and the lives of the villagers co-exist. There are plans for fulfilling villagers' needs, but these plans have not yet been implemented in the communities.

At the same time, The Government of Zanzibar also has its needs, and these do not necessarily concur with the needs of the villagers. High-class hotels which attracts high-class tourists are believed to contribute greatly to government revenue and access to foreign exchange. This is seen by the government to benefit the whole of Zanzibar. On the community level, as has been shown, these high-class hotels do not create the same opportunities for villagers to meet their needs. High-class hotels do not create the same opportunities for entrepreneurial activity, and also have fewer links with the local economy (Rodenburg, 1980). These activities are carried out in the informal sector which has a greater scope around small guest houses.

Todaro (1994) states that the important role that the informal sector plays in providing income opportunities for the poor is no longer open to debate. This finding has been clearly demonstrated by our data. Traditional employment theory states that the informal sector will disappear as a country achieves a certain level of development. The informal sector will eventually graduate to the formal sector, where they become legally registered, licensed and

subject to government labour regulations. Sambrook et al (1992) claim that as greater numbers of individuals seek employment in the expanding tourist industry, it may be inferred that a large share of these will seek work in the informal sector. This is due to the ease of entry, in addition to the fact that in the informal sector entrepreneurial talent is more important than formal education. In our study area the informal sector is a major source of employment and income. Since the scope for the informal sector is much higher around local guest houses, it is also important to point out that these types of hotel projects are necessary for villagers to benefit from tourism activities.

On the other hand, high-class hotels are vital to Zanzibar as a whole. Through the payment of taxes the high-class hotels make important contributions to government revenues. For the communities to benefit, it is important that these incomes become subject to a redistribution system. In reallocating these revenues back to the communities, the villagers impacted by tourism would benefit. Money reallocated to the villagers can be used in village development projects. This can again enhance livelihoods in the rural communities.

Tourism is built upon both the culture and the natural environment in host societies, the very same things that the villagers build their lives on, when it comes to material and moral well-being. Their livelihoods depend on a steady flow of food and cash to meet basic needs. In the context of moral well-being of villagers they need the right to defend their traditional way of living, so that their quality of life does not decrease. On the other hand, tourists should also have the possibility to enjoy their vacations. As has been shown the villagers do accept tourists in the community, behaving as tourists, while in and around the local guest houses and hotels. However, for the tourist sector to co-exist beneficially with the traditional way of life of villagers, the villagers have the right to express their view and control the behaviour of tourists within the village boundaries.

Concerning the natural environment, tourism activities depend on the maintenance of the natural resource base in the area. This applies to whether it is during construction of the hotels and guest houses, or when these are operational. In addition, very often recreational activities of tourists lead to increased pressure on the natural resources which lead to a degradation of the resources upon which the tourist industry is based. Protection of the environment is crucial both for the tourist industry's sustainability, and also for the villagers inhabiting the area.

In order to prevent negative effects of tourism in general, and more specifically competition for and degradation of natural resources, it is important that tourism development is not only properly planned, but also efficiently monitored. Mohammad and Issa (1995) claim however, that the monitoring system in Zanzibar does not work due to the lack of power of enforcement by the monitoring team. Moreover, the needs of villagers are not secured by guidelines which are not followed. Therefore, it seems important to provide the monitoring team with a sanction system. On the other hand, it is recognised that «if excessive legislative control are enacted for (or rather against) tourism, the results can be counter productive and opportunity for its development will be restricted» (Haji, 1994: 96). Bearing this in mind, one can easily understand that government officials are reluctant to put sanctions on investors who do not follow the official guidelines.

The Zanzibari Government recognises all the needs for villagers to maintain their livelihood. Furthermore, the existing plans and guidelines for investors in tourism can provide appropriate security for the villagers' needs as long as they are fulfilled. However, recognition of villagers' needs are not enough. The existing plans and guidelines meant to protect and improve the life of the villagers also have to be implemented. As we have shown, tourism has had positive impacts on villagers livelihoods. At the same time it has also had negative impacts. One also has to bear in mind that tourism might impose irreversible negative impacts on the material and moral well-being of villagers. Therefore, implementation of the existing plans and guidelines to secure villagers' needs is imperative.

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Glossary

Bangi; marihuana

Bao; a local table game

Barafu; Swahili name for ice-cubes

Baraza; a stone bench outside Swahili houses

Changasima; the area along the seashore and around the villages, where coconut trees are cultivated

Chokaa; the lime-chalk powder extracted when the limestone is burnt

Hadimu; one of the original inhabitants of Zanzibar, now living mostly in the south and east of Unguja Island

Hina; Swahili hand make-up

Jambo; a simplified use of Hujambo, a greeting in Swahili meaning «how are you»?

Khanga; a traditional piece of cloth to wrap around the waist

Kofia; a traditional Muslim hat

Mabonde; soil pockets

Malai; frozen juice

Makuti; palm leaf matting

Maweni; the coral rag soil, literally it means «in the stones»

Mikeka; mats, plural for *mkeka*

Mitaa; wards or quarters, plural for *mtaa*

Mwari; an unmarried girl

Mzale; one of the village associates, working in close association with the *sheha*

Mzungu; a European, in a broader sense it refers to all white people

Ndugu; a relative

Papasi; a local name for a type of insect which once found you never leaves you alone;
describing the beach boys in Zanzibar

Shamba; a cultivated field

Sheha; the village headman

Shehia; the local name for a village's administrative boundaries

Taarab; traditional Swahili music

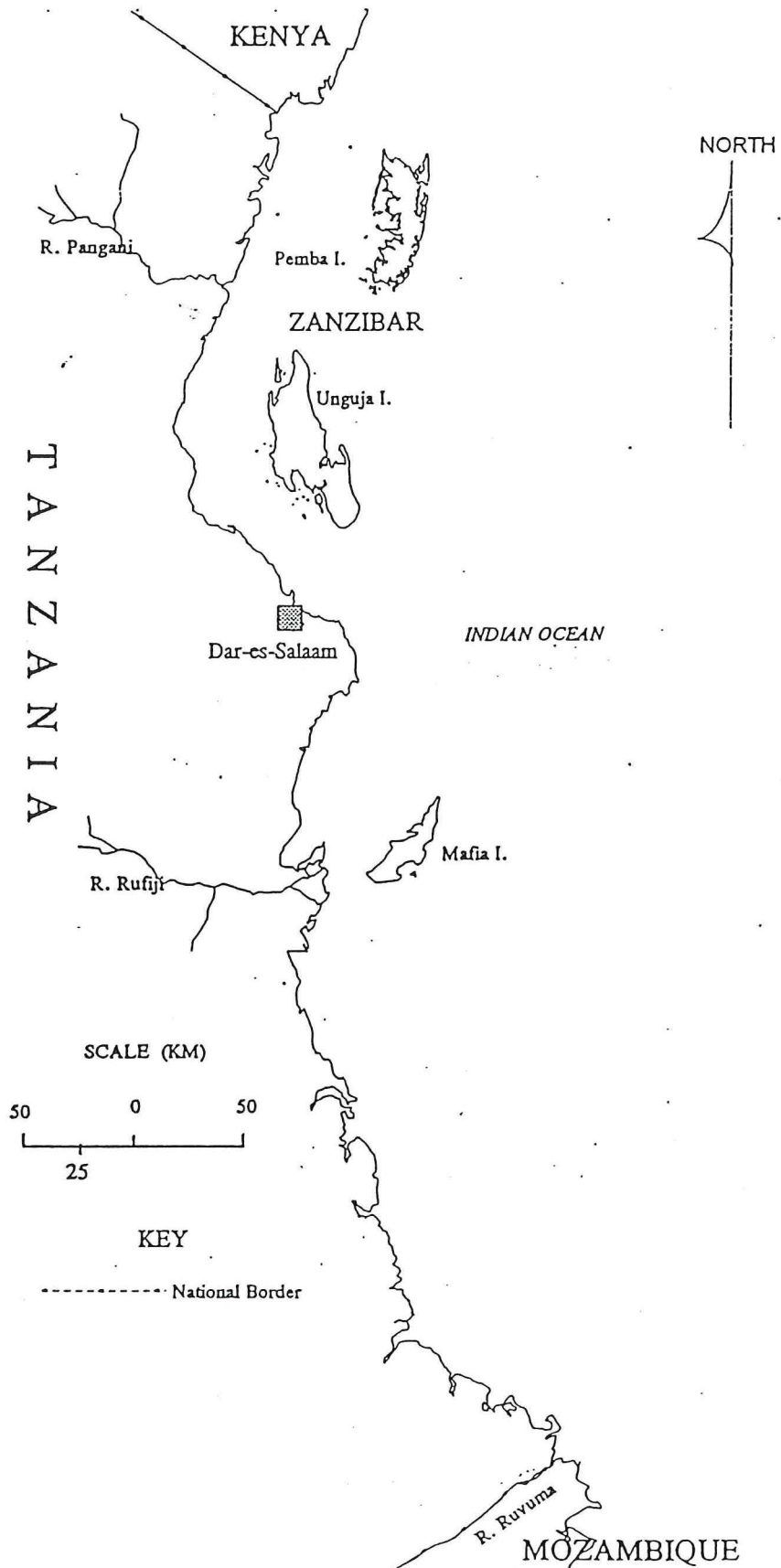
Ukoo; the widest *Hadimu* kinship group

Vikoi; similar to *khangas*, but restricted to be used by men, plural for *kikoi*

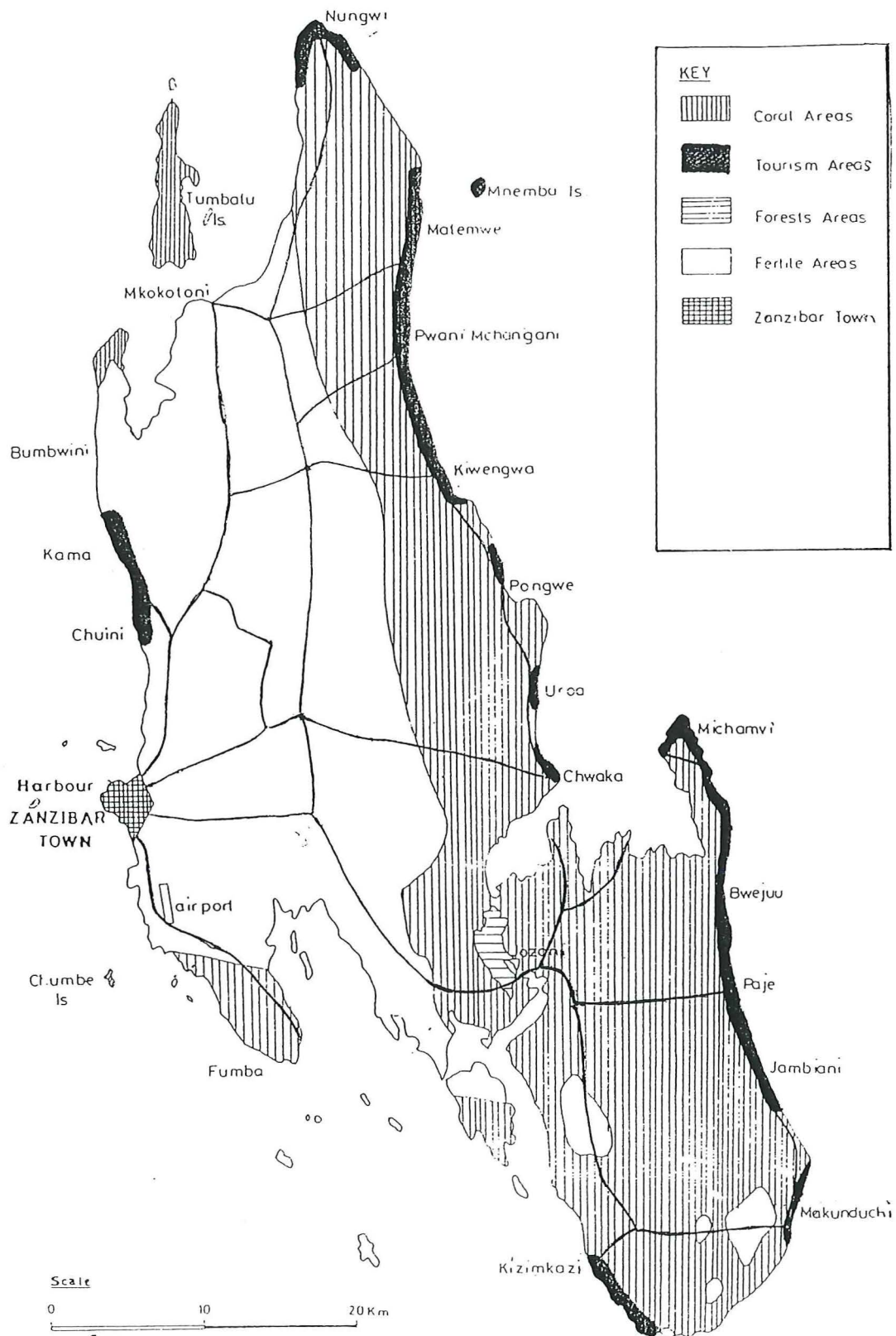
Wahindi; Zanzibaris of Indian origin

Watu wanne; the *sheha*'s four assistants

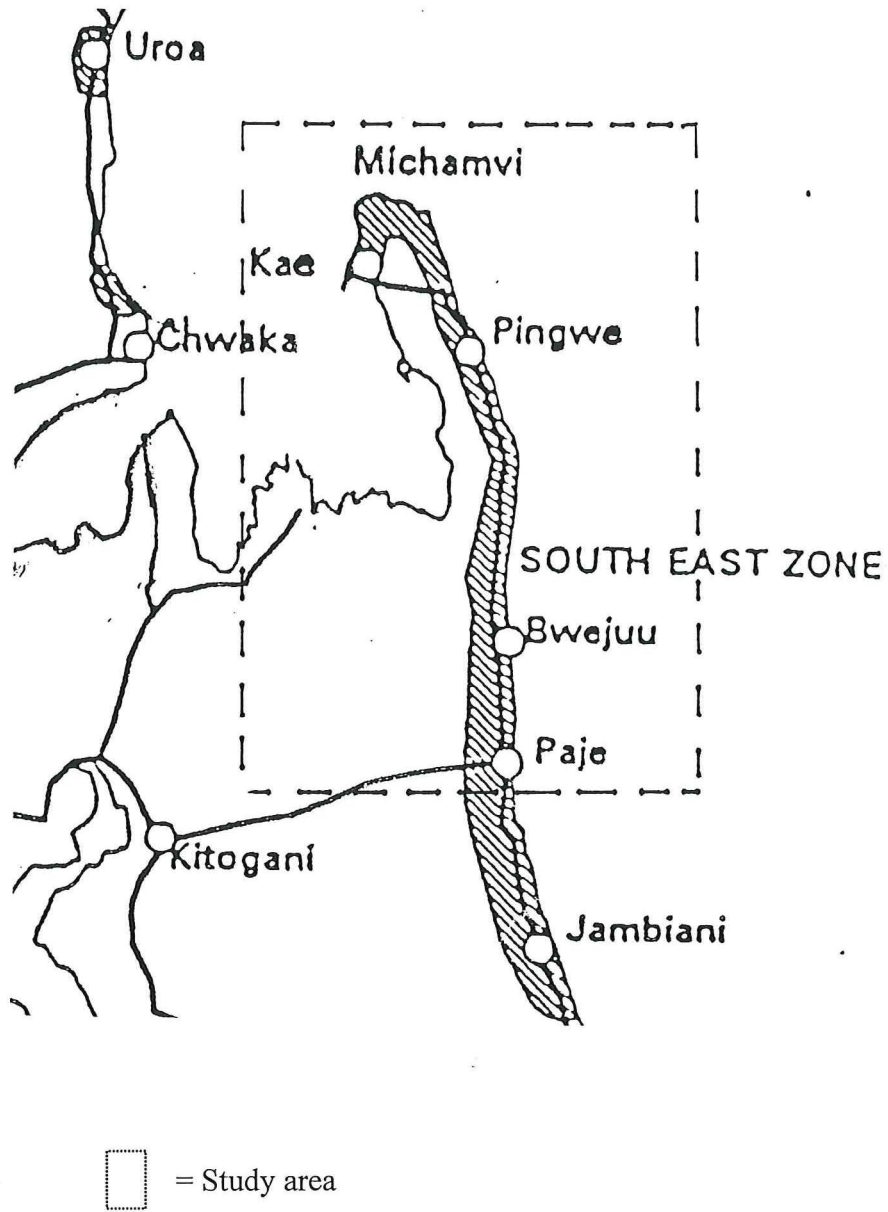
Appendix 1: Map of Zanzibar's location at the coast of East Africa



Appendix 2: Map of Unguja Island



Appendix 3: Map of Study area



Appendix 4: Information to tourists visiting Lamu, Kenya

A MESSAGE TO VISITORS

Welcome to Lamu! We are happy you have chosen to visit our town for your holiday. While you are here, please understand that you are entering a culture very different from your own. We ask that you respect our culture by dressing and behaving in a proper manner. It is very offensive to our people when tourists walk through town in swimwear and women wear skimpy, revealing clothes show a complete disregard for our values. It is possible to look attractive without putting every inch on public display. We do expect tourists to dress modestly in casual clothes and men entering restaurants without shirts is forbidden here, just as it is in your country. There are many beach resorts where the Europeans are topless and nude and all behaviour is tolerated. Lamu however is not in this category. This is a conservative Muslim town with an ancient heritage of peace and goodwill. Please tread gently here, for our children are watching you. This is our home and we hope you will respect it and enjoy the unique atmosphere of this enduring yet fragile culture. Otherwise, the effect of your presence will destroy this rare and very remarkable town.

Adapted from Scholz (1990: 53)