Representations of paradise

A closer look at tourism on Zanzibar and its cultural consequences

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Date: August 2011

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"In the name of tourism, capital and modernized peoples have been deployed to the most remote regions of the world, farther than any army was ever sent."

MacCannell (1992: 1)

Preface

In this preface I would like to thank everyone who helped or supported me in writing this thesis. First I want to thank prof. dr. Strijker, who guided me to the entire process. He helped me to point the parts that needed fine tuning and rough trimming and provided me with objective support to keep my focus on this study's subject. This was needed as the academic roadmap of tourism contains many sideways and dark alleys, which are easy to get lost in. Like the streets of Zanzibar, it was easy to get fascinated by everything one might see there, while completely forgetting what the purpose of walk was to begin with. Next I want to thank my parents who not only provided me with the financial support to make it possible for me to visit Zanzibar, but who have also been patient with me for the eight years that my career as a student lasted. Of course I also need to thank Jolien de Lange, for being such a wonderful girlfriend and her emotional support and hour-long chats at times when homesickness struck me. Also I want to thank my good friend Gysbert van der Heide here who kept reminding me to enjoy every day of my stay on Zanzibar and appreciate everything I saw and experienced even more. Special thanks I owe to Anneloes Roelandschap, who is the owner of the Zenji Hotel in Stone Town and provided me with a very affordable room in her hotel. The rooftop terrace with cold drinks and Wi-Fi provided me a very pleasant headquarters while doing my research on Zanzibar. Finally I want to thank everyone who helped me with gathering information for this study: Ken Wood from VSO, Mohammed Omar from ZIToD, Mlingoti Issa on behalf of the government of Zanzibar and the ZCT, Mohammed Mugheiry from ZSTHS, Laurens Coeveld who worked as an consultant of Accenture on a tourism linkage project, Julia Bishop as director of ZATI and again Anneloes Roelandschap who was able to help me understand what it is like being an entrepreneur in tourism in Zanzibar.

Writing this thesis was a process which took more time than I originally thought. After a half year of reading and writing I simple lost focus and motivation, because I was also writing my master thesis in Business Administration. But after a break of a month, I found new energy and a new approach to write the things I found important to write about. Third World tourism really is a very interesting topic, in which so many wonderful practices of Cultural Geography come together. This is also the reason why I took the freedom to explore a lot of those subjects in the early chapters of this study, before actually taking the reader to Zanzibar. Still, I hope this trip appeals to everything reading it.

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1. Introduction

Tourism is a phenomenon of all times. Even in the glory days of ancient Rome and Athens, people occasionally left the crowded city to relax in the countryside (Leiper, 2003). Due to the increase in communication and transportation technologies, in the last few decades tourism has come to be one of the biggest industries in the world (Cartier & Lew, 2005). As an export category, it ranks fourth after fuels, chemicals and automotive products and furthermore it is one of the fastest growing economic sectors worldwide (UNWTO, 2011). More and more places are becoming accessible for tourists, and more and more places are getting reached by outsiders. Through this process a great amount of regions, early deprived of foreign visitors, are learning about the economic possibilities global tourism could provide them with. In several countries tourism already has come to be the most important means of external income, placing a huge emphasis on attracting tourists. Also, developing countries are receiving their share of outside visitors, looking for unknown and unspoiled cultures and landscapes (Williams, 2009) for which they are willing to pay generously.

At the same time though, the arrival of tourists also creates the need for making adjustments to local structure, nature and culture to satisfy them. The main motive is to give these visitors an experience that matches their expectations prior to coming, which does not per se resemble the actual reality for the places visited. Also modifications are made to make foreigners feel at home and provide them with a level of comfort most of them are used to or expecting (Smith, 2003). Regional, national and international Destination Marketing Organizations (DMOs), along with local governments, are creating attractive and positive images of places to attract new tourists, sometimes totally ignoring the real situation of local inhabitants or cultural consequences for the region. These representations are the result of global and local power relations between those who are and those who are not capable of contributing to the projected image and benefiting from it.

In the light of growing global tourism, places are becoming commodities, which can be created, shaped, marketed and sold according to international demand. These 'place products' form an industry in which several actors are active in a constant process of representation, with one goal in mind: to come across as the perfect tourist destination. Local culture, nature and heritage are used as resources in this commoditization process to attract and satisfy tourists.

Research questions

In this study the processes mentioned above will be examined in the case of Zanzibar. Being an exotic archipelago in the heart of the developing world, it makes an interesting example of the development of Third World tourism. It has a fascinating history of centuries of colonization, which led to a vibrant mix of the local population. Tourism is growing rapidly and new and expensive beach resorts are erected year after year to accommodate the growing flow of tourists. But what does this mean for the local people of Zanzibar?

The main research question in this study is how Zanzibar is presented as a touristic commodity and who is responsible for it? And this study also focuses on the question what the impact tourism has on the local culture of Zanzibar.

These questions will be answered using the following sub questions:

- What is Third World tourism?
- How do tourism representations work?
- Which actors are active in the Zanzibari tourism industry?
  - What are the motives of these actors?
- What kinds of representations are used in the case of Zanzibar?
  - What are the motives behind these representations?
- What kind of tourists is served at Zanzibar?
- What consequences does tourism have for Zanzibari people and identity?

The rest of this paper will answer these questions, using academic literature, a visual content analysis of websites of actors involved in the tourism industry on Zanzibar and interviews held with people having to do with this industry. The first sections however will introduce some important concepts and notions about tourism, its development and Third World tourism in particular. Also the concept of representation will be thoroughly discussed, before starting the case study of Zanzibar. The paper will be concluded then report the results of a visual analysis of images of Zanzibar and will try to describe some impacts tourism has on local culture. The final chapter will present a discussion about this study's implications.

2. Tourism

This section will provide some general information about international tourism. First, a definition of tourism will be given. Next the development of international tourism will be summarized and also some general figures regarding international tourism are presented. Furthermore a short overview of motives for tourism will be given and finally a brief classification of the types of tourists will be discussed.

Definition and figures

Tourism is a very broad subject. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), one of the world's leading tourism institutions, defines it as:

"…the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited."

(UNWTO, 2010: p10)

This definition includes leisure tourism (holiday, family visits), as well as business visits and other purposes which are related to the places visited like pilgrimages and travel for educational purposes. Several forms of tourism exist, ranging from domestic to inbound and outbound tourism. Also there are several purposes for tourism, and many types of holidays celebrated by different types of tourists. Later on, this chapter will take a closer look at these types of tourism and tourists when assessing the case of Zanzibar. First, a brief summary of the development of tourism will be given, along with some general figures about international tourism will be provided.

Development of tourism

Early travel began when mankind started to search the globe for commercial opportunities in trade. Out of this ambition, exploration evolved as a means to increase wealth, commerce and power (Khatib, 2000). Although tourism was a small scale industry until the 19th century, sailing ships and inns were glad to provide travelers with the facilities they needed. Back then, tourism was something only the very wealthy elite could afford in terms of both money and time. When industrialization hit Western Europe and North America by the end of the 19th century, it allowed also for the working class to take days off work and have free time (Lea, 1988; Leiper, 2003). Due to improvements in communication, technology, living standards and transport facilities that followed in the next hundred years, people had the possibility to travel for purposes of leisure and relaxation. Trains and ships fueled by diesel replaced the ones that ran on steam and the introduction of airplanes in public transportation created the possibility of long distance trips in short periods of time. In 1970 a massive event changed international tourism forever, as the first commercial flight with a Boeing 747 took place (Leiper, 2003).

With this the age of mass tourism began. This form of tourism is characterized by package deals which provide tourists with all-inclusive vacations, mainly to sunny (beach) resorts and hotels, where all activities have been planned beforehand. With the facilities, also the hospitality and education of people working in tourism increased. Language became less of a barrier for travelling (Williams, 2009) and procedures became friendlier. Since the mid-nineties a shift has been noted in the offer of mass tourism packages. But

not only have the tourist products changed over the last years. Especially the perceptions and feelings tourists get when consuming their holidays have become of enormous importance in the tourism industry. As Khatib (2000) puts it, the age of pure leisure tourism is ending. Modern tourists want to enrich themselves, appreciate natural and cultural sites and learn about other people. Led by the rising social status of travelling and anxiety of tourists to experience more unique places and events, the amount of visitors of mass tourism destinations declined. Consequently the demand for specialized and customized holidays grew and the tourism industry evolved into several fragmented niche markets (Meethan, 2001; Williams, 2009). One important development here is the awareness of cultural and environmental problems. Fueled by the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, which identified tourism as one of the vital industries to conserve natural environments and local cultures, sustainability entered as a key aspect of travelling (Khatib, 2000). Ecotourism and heritage and cultural tourism are therefore claimed to be the magic words in modern tourism (Cartier and Lew, 2005). In these new forms of tourism, the particular emphasis is on shared benefits for both tourists and local communities and mutual responsibilities for maintaining the visited destinations. This also enhances the participation of local people in tourism and their control of cultural and environmental resources (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Nonetheless we must not forget that most people go on holidays just to relax and/or enjoy a different scenery or climate.

Table 1 – International Tourist Arrivals 2010

	International Tourist Arrivals (million)							Market share (%)	Change (%)		Average annual growth (%)
	1990	1995	2000	2005	2008	2009	2010*	2010*	09/08	10*/09	'00-'10*
World	435	528	675	798	917	882	940	100	-3.8	6.6	3.4
Advanced economies[1]	296	334	417	453	495	474	498	53.0	-4.3	5.1	1.8
Emerging economies[1]	139	193	257	345	421	408	442	47.0	-3.2	8.3	5.6
By UNWTO regions:											
Europe	261.5	304.1	385.6	439.4	485.2	461.5	476.6	50.7	-4.9	3.3	2.1
Northern Europe	28.6	35.8	43.7	57.3	60.8	57.7	58.1	6.2	-5.1	0.8	2.9
Western Europe	108.6	112.2	139.7	141.7	153.2	148.6	153.7	16.3	-3.0	3.4	1.0
Central/Eastern Europe	33.9	58.1	69.3	8.5	100.0	90.2	95.1	10.1	-9.9	5.4	3.2
Southern/Mediter. Eu.	90.3	98.0	133.0	153.0	171.2	165.1	169.7	18.1	-3.6	2.8	2.5
Asia and the Pacific	55.8	82.0	110.1	153.6	184.1	180.9	203.8	21.7	-1.7	12.7	6.3
North-East Asia	26.4	41.3	58.3	85.9	100.9	98.0	111.6	11.9	-2.9	13.8	6.7
South-East Asia	21.2	28.4	36.1	48.5	61.8	62.1	69.6	7.4	0.5	12.1	6.8
Oceania	5.2	8.1	9.6	11.0	11.1	10.9	11.6	1.2	-1.7	6.1	1.9
South Asia	3.2	4.2	6.1	8.1	10.3	9.9	11.1	1.2	-3.6	11.9	6.2
Americas	92.8	109.0	128.2	133.3	147.8	140.6	149.8	15.9	-4.9	6.4	1.6
Noth America	71.7	80.7	91.5	89.9	97.7	92.2	98.2	10.5	-5.7	6.6	0.7
Caribbean	11.4	14.0	17.1	18.8	20.1	19.5	20.1	2.1	-2.8	3.0	1.6
Central America	1.9	2.6	4.3	6.3	8.2	7.6	7.9	0.8	-7.4	3.8	6.2
South America	7.7	11.7	15.3	18.3	21.8	21.3	23.5	2.5	-2.3	9.7	4.4
Africa	14.8	18.9	26.5	35.4	44.4	46.0	49.4	5.2	3.7	7.3	6.4
North Africa	8.4	7.3	10.2	13.9	17.1	17.6	18.7	2.0	2.5	6.2	6.2
Subsaharan Africa	6.4	11.6	16.2	21.5	27.2	28.4	30.7	3.3	4.4	8.0	6.6
Middle East	9.6	13.7	24.1	36.3	55.2	52.9	60.3	6.4	-4.3	14.1	9.6

Source: World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) June 2011

According to the latest figures (see Table 1) of the UNWTO (2011) the total of international tourist arrivals in 2010 has been estimated to be 940 million. The global export earnings in 2010 generated by international tourism receipts were US$ 919 billion, which makes it one of the largest economic sectors in the world. Although 2009 showed a decline in total international tourist arrivals due to the impacts of worldwide financial crisis, the average growth for the industry since 2000 has been 3.4% (UNWTO, 2011). Moreover, since 1950 international tourist arrivals have been growing virtually uninterrupted, apart from a few occasional shocks like the one in 2009 as a consequence of the worldwide economic crisis. With the growth of the industry, also the offer in touristic supply diversified. While in 1950 the top 15 destinations absorbed 88% of international arrivals, in 1970 the proportion was 75% and decreased to 57% in 2005, reflecting the emergence of new destinations, many of them in developing countries. Finally, for the purpose of this study it is useful to note that especially in the world's emerging regions the growth of international tourism arrivals has been increasing rapidly. While it made up for 32% of the total arrivals in 1990, it has according to the latest results (2010) increased to 47% (UNWTO 2011). Of course one has to bear in mind that all those hundreds of millions that are counted as tourist are still the minority of the world population. Still most people are too poor to be tourists or to take time off to travel for fun (Leiper, 2003). Tourism remains an elitist activity.

Motives for tourism

The reasons why people travel are crucial for understanding tourism and tourism studies. As Williams (2009) has pointed out, the spatial movement to specific places is not accidental. Systems of individual and collective motives are at work, fueled by expectations about destinations and their possibilities to satisfy the wishes and needs that created the urge to leave one's own premises. One of the most influential ideas on tourism and tourism studies is the one by Urry (1990) about the 'tourist gaze'. It tries to explain why people feel the urge to travel for reasons of leisure and how they see the world. Basically it comes down to two assumptions that can be summarized as 1) the expected pleasure of consuming other sites and experiences and 2) to find extraordinary practices which are different from predictable modern everyday life. The tourist gaze then directs the attention of the tourist to places and experiences that offer something unique, which cannot be found at home. This is the main motive for consuming touristic products and is an important determinant in the process of destination choice making for every tourist who is slightly interested in other cultures.

The idea that the need for people to get away from their daily lives and work is one of the most important motives for tourism is also pointed out by several others (Edensor, 2000; Williams, 2009). Tourists like to visit places where they can relax (in the sun or at a beach) and do not have to conform to expectations of others and temporarily escape their own busy lives. Here they can enjoy doing nothing, while others are doing the work for them. Others (MacCannell, 1992; Harrison, 1992) see tourism as an escape from modernity, where tourists seek 'real' and 'authentic' places and experiences, which has also been identified by Lea (1988) as cultural curiosity. As described by Urry (1990), touristic destinations and local people are looked at by tourists in a way that is specific for tourists. It has everything to do with defining identity, by oneself and of others by constantly comparing the visited surroundings with the ones at home. Tourists are looking for what is extraordinary according to their own lives to give meaning to their

day to day understanding (Jackson, 2005). Other important categories he identified are personal desires to visit friends, to encounter spiritual or extraordinary experiences. Also, some feel that traveling helps to define their identity, as visiting unknown or distant destinations may give tourists some form of prestige in the eyes of their relatives and friends (Holloway, 2004). This coincides with the motive of some tourists to gather exciting experiences which makes them different from other people. This last motive is also mentioned by Leiper (2003), who adds the needs for social interactions, novelty or nostalgia to this list. While many other reasons to make a trip can be identified, in almost every case, it all comes back to the fact that tourists visit places mainly because these have something to offer that is not found at home.

Tourist typologies

The next topic to cover here are the types of tourists that can be identified. Murphy's statement that 'there are as many types of tourist as there are motives for travel' (1985: 5) does probably suffice in this matter. Nevertheless this section will try to present a categorization which can be used for further analysis later on this study. Before going into the subject of tourist typologies however, it seems appropriate to determine a suitable definition of 'tourist', which will be used throughout this study. The definition used by the UNWTO is basically 'someone who participates in tourism activities' as have been defined by the UNWTO (see page 6). This is however not a generally exercised or accepted definition. Because the subject is so widely used by so many different kinds of institutions and people, many generic definitions of 'the tourist' exist. Leiper (2003) however has come up with a definition of tourists for general heuristic applications, which will be applied to this study as well. He describes tourists as

"… persons who travel away from their normal residential region for a temporary period of at least one night, to the extent that their behavior involves a search for leisure experiences from interactions with features of characteristics of places they choose to visit."

(Leiper, 2003: 25)

This definition combines the three basic attributes of being a tourist: it requires travelling, visiting and a purpose of leisure and this separates them from regular travelers or indigenous inhabitants who visit touristic sites. In the case of Zanzibar, this definition focuses on the behavior of tourists and will be applied from this moment on. Next, a typology of tourists will be discussed to distinguish between the behaviors and motivations of different kind of visitors.

In this respect, a thorough typology has been offered by Smith (1989) in her study about the relationships between hosts and guests in tourism settings. It distinguishes between tourists in numbers, their goals and their adaptation to local standards and customs, which makes it very appropriate for this particular study. Table 2 displays the seven categories of tourists according to these features.

Explorers actually are not tourists at all. They want to discover new places and like to study unknown cultures by living between indigenous people. Only few of them can be found around the world as the planet's undiscovered areas are decreasing. They adapt easily to other life styles and travel without any arrangements on accommodations or travel itineraries.

Table 2 -- Tourist Typologies

Type of Tourist	Numbers of Tourists	Adaptations to Local Norms
Explorer	Very limited	Accepts fully
Elite	Rarely seen	Adapts fully
Off-beat	Uncommon but seen	Adapts well
Unusual	Occasional	Adapts somewhat
Incipient Mass	Steady Flow	Seeks Western amenities
Mass	Continuous influx	Expects Western amenities
Charter	Massive arrivals	Demands Western amenities

Source: Smith (1989)

Elite tourists are also a rare breed. These people possess the money and adaptability to go virtually everywhere they want and visit places which are not accessible for most tourists. In the words of Smith, they are likely to "travel by dugout canoe, with a guide, on the Darien River in Panama and they overnight in Kuna Indian homes, sleep in hammocks and get thoroughly bitten by chiggers" (1989: 12). Although these tourists fully adapt to the cultures they visit, most facilities they use are prearranged and most of the times planned out beforehand.

The Off-beat tourists seek destinations that are beyond the norm and are not (yet) crowded by tourists. There is the tendency to visit uncommon sites and make tours to remote places such as Alaska, Nepal or ancient burial grounds in the South American rain forest. They adapt well to the simple accommodations and services that are provided for the occasional tourist that comes by.

An Unusual tourist is characterized by a more than average interest in local cultures and likes to enrich his organized tour with some guided day trips to somewhat uncommon places. Nevertheless these tourists prefer the safety and comfort of a nice hotel or resort, with clean rooms and familiar food, over local camp sites or basic accommodations.

Next, tourists that belong to the group participating in Incipient Mass tourism, like to visit popular destinations and are usually travelling in small groups or just by themselves. They want to visit these places before the general public does and get a kick out of telling stories about places which their friends haven't been to yet. These tourists, who come in steady flows, seek Western facilities to establish their temporary settlement. If these are not yet in place, they prefer to postpone their visit until the moment the first modern accommodations and restaurants are constructed.

Mass tourism creates a continuous influx of arrivals at the most common and well known destinations. Americans visiting the Caribbean or Mexico in the winter season or Europeans visiting South East Asia form just two examples of this large group of tourists. They can be found all over the world and tend to visit the regular cultural attractions, most of the time in the company of a group of fellow tourists and led by a tour guide. The larger part of this group of tourists comes forth from the Western middle classes and can be found in all sorts of accommodations. They do however expect to find Western amenities and tourism staff ready to fulfill their wants and needs everywhere they go.

The final group of tourists is the largest one and also the one with the smallest amount of flexibility in their adaptations to local norms. These Charter tourists arrive in large groups to the main tourist destinations and travel most of the times by plane or bus. They have packaged holidays and stay in designated hotels that are picked by large tour operators, which have their own shuttle busses waiting in front of airports and service

desks in these hotels. According to Smith, Charter tourists "wear name tags, are assigned to numbered busses and … are seen as living things and not as a personality" (1989: 13). Their main goal is to relax in the sun and they do not want to undertake any activity they should take care of themselves. Most of the time, even the destination itself does not matter to these tourists, as long as the hotel they stay in satisfies their needs. Accommodations harboring these kinds of visitors are therefore designed to comfort Western tourists and look the same all around the world.

Later on this study will use this typology to answer the question which kinds of tourists visit Zanzibar and how this affects the archipelago. The following chapters will first however discuss the commoditization of places as tourist products and after that the growing importance of destination representations due to these developments will be addressed.

3. Place as a product

This short section will discuss the concept of places becoming touristic products. Also the role of destination marketing will be handled here. Finally the consumption of places by tourists is discussed here.

Commoditization

With tourism receipts having grown to be one of the major trade industries, it seems plausible to treat it as a business. Within this business, competition to attract visitors between destinations, tour operators, international airlines, Destination Marketing Organizations (DMOs), (local) governments and (chains of) hotels and resorts is growing ferociously. To appeal to tourists and to offer something unique, places, local cultures and environments are boosted and highlighted. For a country or region to compete in international tourism, it needs to present itself in a distinguishing way. Considering the differences between different kinds of tourists and different techniques to appeal to them, place representations have become a very useful tool for differentiating 'place products'. It must therefore produce, affirm and label itself with an identity, which appeals to tourists and displays originality and superiority over other destinations (Lanfant, Allcock and Bruner, 1995). These destinations then bear a certain cultural value which contributes to one's social status, it expresses values and identity. The places visited are collected as products, as some tourist use checklists and online world maps to show others where they have been as an expression of their interests and abilities to travel. Mowforth and Munt (1998) call this a 'been-there-done-that' attitude, as one important motivation for travel is to enlarge the list of visited countries and earn respect and appreciation.

Because cultural traits are highly sensitive to the perceptions of people, and are actually constructed entities themselves, they are transformed by powerful actors in the tourism industry into products that can be produced, marketed and consumed (MacCannell, 1992). This commoditization of places basically is *"the process of transforming elements of tourist experience into something that can be purchased as a product"* (Williams, 2009: 137). Cohen (1988) adds to this that in this process things are primarily evaluated on their exchange value, which is determined in a market of demand and supply. This is the result of a search for one's identity through social differentiation. Basically this means that people seek to define themselves and find their place within social relations through their pattern of consumptions (Williams, 2009). In tourism, the places and sights are the commodities that are used to satisfy the needs of the customers.

Although some feel that commoditization is a process which merely degrades cultures for the sake of foreign tourists, its consequences are not necessarily negative, as for instance Cooper et al. (1998) and Smith (2003) argue. The foreign demand for local cultural artifacts sometimes enriches or preserves crafts, skills and rituals that would otherwise have been forgotten or lost. Also it can foster national or regional identities and enhance awareness and appreciation of the local culture by foreigners. This discussion will however be continued when the topic of cultural consequences will be elaborated on.

Marketing

Along with this commoditization of places, another relevant business activity has entered this playing field. Places can be very appealing to tourists once they are there, but

potential tourists should be aware of its existence to be considered as a destination in the first place. This is where marketing comes in, and actually, takes over.

The main goal of destination marketing is to create an image which appeals so much to people, that it makes them visit the places that are advertised. According to Ashworth and Goodall (1990) the marketing of tourism places needs to inform potential tourists and chance their opinions, desires, image, attitude and expectations about a certain place product. The importance of destination images is considered to be vital in the decision-making processes of tourists when planning their vacations (Molina and Esteban, 2006; Nelson, 2005; MacKay and Fesenmaier, 1997). Nonetheless, these practices need to be done throughout the entire decision process at the tourist end, which comes down at a sequence of awareness, association, conviction, perceived value of visiting and finally action (Davidson, 1987). The job of marketers then is to create images and representations which do not only appeal at first glance, but are also able to convince tourists of the entertainment and added value of place products. An important feature of tourism products is the fact that they can only be consumed at the place of production and that in fact tourists are part of the production process themselves by being there, making pictures and later on tell other about their experiences (Williams, 2009). This means that people have to get motivated and encouraged to leave their homes and travel to places where they can consume their touristic treats. It is important to bear in mind however that destination images do not have to resemble actual situations. Minor variations in real life can be turned into major differences, according to the motives of those constructing certain images. Especially when destinations have a lot of features in common, tourism stakeholders will try to emphasize their Unique Selling Propositions (USPs). These USPs are the features of a product which are not to be found in the offer of competitors.

As is the same with products, there are differences in the kind of marketing strategy and images used to sell different kind of locations. People looking for a vacation of partying can be lured by images of bars, crowded beaches and a lot of public events, while targeting a more exclusive kind of tourist requires presenting images of luxury and uniqueness of a location (Holloway, 2004). Therefore, there is a whole industry active in understanding touristic needs and transforming those into appealing images and discourses while offering them to the different kinds of tourist groups. Due to heavy competition and the easy access of information because of the rise of the internet, the need for places to present their USPs developed even more rapidly. In his work on tourism marketing, Holloway (2004) stresses the importance to recognize that consumers are not demanding the "place product" itself, but the benefits it has to offer. As with other products, what is sought is the satisfaction of needs. The practice of destination branding has become a common method for creating an image that attracts tourists and according to Lee, Cai and O'Leary (2006) this image, created through specific branding and representation, is vital in influencing tourist decision-making behaviors. The next section will elaborate on these representations.

4. Representation of places

This section will give a brief overview of the concept of representation in tourism. First, some general ideas and definitions about the concept will be provided. After that the role of representation in tourism and destination image will be discussed. The concept of power relations will also be mentioned here. The section will be concluded with a brief overview of who is responsible for tourism representations and how this is done.

Representation

In the prior section the term tourist gaze was introduced. Especially the word 'gaze' indicates how much tourism is a visual activity, in which our needs can be satisfied by seeing and experiencing things that differ from our day to day lives. This gaze is partly the product of the social, cultural and educational background of an individual, but as Urry (1990) stresses, it is also a manifestation of the production and presentation of tourist places by the media and the international tourism industry.

Representations then are manifestations of things, events or places, which in themselves are not capable of representing anything. It is people who are responsible for ascribing meanings and values to these entities. In the case of representations, these meanings and values about a particular object are communicated through any kind of medium and convey some kind of underlying message (Mitchell, 1995). In geography, representations contain the thoughts and feelings people have about places, which are socially constructed. Every place is made up out of an infinite number of features and traits, and every person uses different parts of those to show their feelings. The most common tools used in representations are items of information such as stories and pictures, presented on television, books, guides or personal conversations. Most of them display natural and (historical) cultural sites (Nelson, 2005). Every picture, text, story or video is representing some sort of meaning, namely the meaning of the one responsible for producing it. In this way, people can influence the perceptions of others about a place or things, especially if they have not experienced the object or site themselves (Nelson, 2005). As we will elaborate on in this chapter, those who possess the most power are able to construct the prevailing image of just about anything, including a place or region.

Tourism representation

The concepts of tourism and representation are indissoluble connected to each other. As Norton (1996) argues, tourist places have become integrated in a consumption culture and to sell them, images have to be constructed to make them desirable for tourists. For the part of consumption of the tourism product, it is important that the experiences of tourists match the expectations provided to them. The images that are sold are carefully constructed around seductive features, which encompass products, sights and people (Urry, 1990). The social and demographic factors of people's lives are vital in determining ones interpretation of places and therefore they can mean different things to different kinds of people. Places like coastal areas, forests or wide natural landscapes can be ultimate tourist destinations creating a feeling of freedom and exclusiveness while at the same time they can be the settings of day to day life for local inhabitants (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). But also within tourist groups places bring up different feelings and meaning. These differing geographical imaginations are the key in understanding tourism.

The first goal of tourism representations is to remove uncertainty about destinations. This is important because each trip away from home to an unknown place is laden with uncertainty about what one may expect to encounter. Generally, DMOs and national tourist boards choose rather culturally based stereotypes in their representations to inform tourists in ways that are understandable and comparable for them (Meethan, 2001). This role as information provider is vital for destinations, if we follow the assumption made by Leiper about tourist attractions. According to him *"a tourist attraction system comprises three elements: a tourist or human element, a nucleus or central element, and a marker or informative element. A tourist attraction comes into existence when the three elements are connected"* (2003: 218). This shows that the existence of a place, monument or sight is not enough to become an attraction for tourists on its own. There is the need for information about it that is apparent and distributed, before it is of any value as a touristic lure.

Another important aspect of representation in tourism images is that Third World destinations are presented as different compared to the everyday life of the tourists that are targeted (Nelson, 2005), which normally are Europeans or Americans (Lee et al. 2006). While 'different' can mean a lot of things, this refers to the desire for tourists to encounter places that do not remind them of their regular lives (see Chapter 2). Williams (2009) points out that the representations provided in travel brochures and magazines often do not properly match the identities of host communities, especially when destinations are created as mythic places. One of the attributes of representation then, is that tales and images have the power to turn places and peoples in easily consumable attractions, by providing simplified versions of local culture and heritage (Salazar, 2006). This is a delicate business however. Because through advertising and media, the images that are created about destinations easily come to produce a closed self-perpetuating system of illusions, in which tourists are more willing to see what was presented to them, than the actual real life situation (Urry, 1990). They expect to encounter the customs and cultures that they have heard and read about, and demand to be satisfied. This sometimes results in a performance of constructed experiences and cultures, and most of these do not resemble the reality. But not every actor is able to shape these expectations. That is why power relations are the next topic to be discussed in this study.

Power relations

The concept of power relations is implicit in almost any tourism setting. All parties involved have different stakes and the larger these are, the more power they want to create images that serve their interests the most. Not every player active in a specific location however has the same possibilities for spreading information about it. Usually, those with the biggest network and largest financial resources possess the best channels for publishing their points of view. These powers also take the right to impose foreign expectations onto the receiving regions and define how cultural elements should be represented to visitors. Their bargaining power is limited, because resisting external commoditization of their culture could well have a negative influence on the economic benefits of tourism. For a lot of Third World countries this has created very unequal trading relations that are still present.

Mowforth and Munt (2003) indicate that this is an important motive to conform to external representations, even if these are conflicting with real life situations. As is true in

any situation, there are always some actors that are more powerful than others. This power is reflected in the availability of resources, in the broadest sense of the word. Especially large commercial parties, such as international tour operators, are very powerful players when it comes to destination representations. Their images penetrate the subconscious of everyday life, forming the desire to visit those places that are displayed (Williams, 2009). These representations are supported by a large amount of media coverage such as television programs and movies and also the rising use of images on the social media networks. This last example also shows the growing influence of tourist themselves on the representation of places.

When considering Third World tourism, it is important to note that this sometimes results in destination representations that are dominated by foreign tourist imaginations. The reality of those who are visited then becomes subdued to those outside images, due to their own lack of financial, logistic and political resources to show the 'actual' state of things. Local inhabitants and governments and institutions of small and/or powerless regions are sometimes simply not able to fight the mighty tourism stakeholders behind these construction processes (Lanfant, 1995). This point is accurately illustrated by Mowforth and Munt:

> *When we think of Bali, Goa or Hawaii, for example, the images and representations that are called forth are less likely to be of local people struggling to maintain identity in the wake of mass tourism development and more likely to be of palm fringed beaches and crystal blue waters.*

(1998: 8)

This does however not imply that tourism is a mechanism that destroys local cultures. Rather, complex and careful negotiations exist between tourists and local communities, mediated by brokers like travel agents, local entrepreneurs and politicians regulating tourism development. Ateljevic and Doorne (2003) describe this balance as the tourist who possesses economic power, but cultural power still resides with local populations.

5. Tourism in developing regions

Before directly zooming in on Zanzibar, it seems wise to first elaborate on some general characteristics of tourism in Third World countries. This is to create some more thorough understanding of the background on tourism in this part of the world when examining this specific case of Zanzibar. This section will start with a brief summary of the development of tourism in the Third World. Next, the alleged positive and negative effects of tourism in these regions will be discussed. Finally the concept of authenticity in Third World tourism and the cultural consequences of Third World tourism will be examined.

Tourism development

The first chapter of this study already showed that the total market share of emerging countries in the international tourism industry increased from 31.7% to 47.0% between 1990 and 2010. Furthermore, the UNWTO (2011) found that in the last decade average annual growth of tourist arrivals was largest for the Middle East (9.6%), Africa (6.4%) and Asia and the Pacific (6.3%) and concluded that Africa was in fact the only continent that maintained growing in spite of the global financial crisis (see Table 1 on page 8).

Modern tourism in Third World countries has started to evolve since the 1960s (Meethan, 2001). While in the past these regions were primarily associated with famine, war, terrorism, diseases and overpopulation, now they project an image of unspoilt nature and culture offering exciting new style holidays (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Saarinen et al., 2009). Also, these far away countries seem to be exotic and mystic in some way, as they are culturally, religiously and historically often quite different from the values of the Western countries where most tourists originate from. Therefore they form attractive destinations for tourists who like to distinguish themselves by visiting places that have not been discovered by the majority of the tourist population (Saarinen et al., 2009). It has already been mentioned that for most tourists, especially those visiting remote regions, one of their most important motives for traveling is the urge for finding 'authentic' places and experiences. Before elaborating on this topic, we first discuss the general costs and benefits for developing countries to attract international tourism to their territory.

Costs and benefits of tourism

The impacts of tourism are visible within economic, social, cultural and environmental contexts (Williams, 2009). Although sometimes praised as the holy grail of economic development, tourism causes both positive and negative effects at the receiving end of the process. To begin with the more positive impacts, it has been generally accepted that (international) tourism makes a very important contribution to national economies and regional communities. Foreign tourists bring money into the country by spending capital on their accommodations, food, transport facilities and souvenirs (see for instance Williams, 2009). Also, foreign investments and improving trade have an impact upon a country's GDP. Moreover it is a fact that tourism directly and indirectly creates jobs for local inhabitants in several industries which would not have existed without international tourism (Leiper, 2003). According to a study of Milne and Ateljevic (2001), more than 200 million people are employed directly in tourism businesses such as accommodations, transportation, promotion of destinations or tourist

sights and retail of souvenirs and other forms of local arts and crafts. But many others work in supporting industries, for instance in manufacturing furniture for hotels or restaurants, producing food or constructing buildings and sites. Although this is argued to be a positive effect of tourism, Williams (2009) amongst others also points out that most of these jobs require little education, are very seasonal and pay small wages. Nonetheless, from the point of view from those employed in tourism, these jobs contribute to an improvement in the standard of life compared to having no job at all. Another positive effect is that infrastructures, like roads, sewages and electricity, which are constructed to support tourism facilities, are also used by local people. Finally, international tourism leads to preservation of historical sites, local cultures and also fosters understanding between different cultures (Lea, 1988; Williams, 2009). Meetings between people of different backgrounds can promote interests and mutual learning about each other's beliefs and values. In some instances this helps improving the situation in the visited destinations for people who are more able to communicate and express their culture.
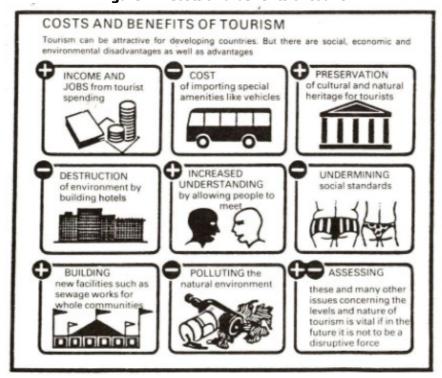
Figure 1 – Costs and benefits of tourism

Source: United Nations Environment Program (1979), in: Lea (1988)

On the negative side, tourism produces a lot of waist which can easily result in pollution of water, ground and the air (Williams, 2009). Furthermore, the housing of tourists creates the need for large hotels and resorts, which fall sometimes completely out of tone with their context. And in several cases the construction of these buildings requires the local inhabitants to sell or leave their homes and lands (Lea, 1988; Harrison, 1992; Khatib, 2000). Taking a social perspective, tourism also highlights the differences in class and wealth between the tourist and the host. Therefore, it could also threaten local beliefs and rituals. Finally there is also the risk of overdependence on tourism, which presents itself when the amount of the GDP that is earned by a sole industry, tourism in

this case, is so large that it will lead to major economic instabilities if suddenly removed or declining (Britton, 1981). All these aspects of tourism are presented in Figure 1 and most of them will be elaborated on when assessing the case of tourism on Zanzibar.

Economic motives and power relations

Governments of many Third World countries have praised international tourism as a very important strategy for developing their national economies (Saarinen et al., 2009). Most of these countries are active in the production and export of economically vulnerable crops and minerals, as they have become dependent on global prices. One year of bad harvests could seriously harm an entire national economy. Although tourism is also very sensitive to international trends and unexpected events (like seasonality and safety issues due to war or political instability), most countries regard it as a fundamental approach to raise their Gross National Product (GNP) (Brown, 1998; Williams, 2009). Moreover, the infrastructure necessary for tourism will also service local inhabitants and raise the total standard of life for all inhabitants (Lea, 1988; Mowforth and Munt, 1998). This point of view is not only reserved for local governments. A study by Akama and Kieti (2007) found that 91% of the local residents of Mombasa, Kenya, feel that tourism has benefited the people in their region, by providing employment and business opportunities.

These claims however have been questioned by several academics who have examined the actual value that tourism contributes to economic development. Mowforth and Munt (1998) warn for forms of over-dependence on tourism, in which traditional crafts and activities are abandoned to work in tourism activities. In extreme cases this could lead to a country that is designed to fit foreign tourists and loses knowledge about its own history. They also argue that most Third World countries fall victim to 'leakage', which occurs when tourism spending end up in foreign hands instead of the economy of the receiving destination (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Saarinen et al., 2009; Williams, 2009). An important fact in assessing Third World tourism is the fact that the main branches of the tourism industry are actually owned by First World investors and organizations (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Airlines, hotels and tour operators are for the biggest part in foreign hands, which means that a huge amount of money spent by tourists will not even reach host countries, as most transactions are already done prior of travelling (Mbaiwa, 2005; Akama & Kieti, 2007). According to a study by Britton (1981), if both airline and accommodation are foreign owned, only 22 to 25 per cent of total travel spending remains in the host country. Although his study was done a while ago, there is no reason to believe that these percentages are different in current times. However, these numbers do not include the costs of labor produced in the destination region, which are of course making up for income of local people. But still a lot of products that facilitate tourism locally like food, ingredients or building materials are imported, making profits even smaller. This leads to the conclusion that the amount of money that is spent on locally bought souvenirs, consumable products, transportation and small snacks is in no way comparable to the huge sums spent on flight and accommodation.

Tourist enclaves

A common characteristic of tourism, but especially true in Third World countries, is the fact that tourist spaces are created with clear boundaries to demarcate the areas and

activities suitable for tourists. These enclaves are usually filled with foreign corporate outlets and chains of restaurants and hotels (Williams, 2009). Basically, tourists are cut of from interactions with 'normal' local people, interfering with the tourist's idea of a perfect holiday (Edensor, 2000; Akama and Kieti, 2007). In most situations, these tourist enclaves are located at coastal areas, providing a luxurious environment for the elite and run by foreign investors or corporations. Normally, these are the kind of places represented in advertisements and destination marketing, while places of everyday life are normally neglected or left out of the picture.

For emerging countries this can however as well be an advantage as these small concentrations form a good starting point in the process of getting used to foreign tourism. Also it does not only 'protect' tourists from local inhabitants, but local societies are also contained from any cultural contamination by interactions between tourists and the indigenous population (Williams, 2009). It is however argued that enclaves generally mark the first stage of a place's development as a tourist destination.

Tourist enclaves have by several academics been labeled as forms of 'new colonialism' (Mbaiwa, 2005; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Said, 1991) in which the colonies of old times are again used and exploited by the powerful nations of the world for their own social, cultural en economic benefits. Places and indigenous cultures are opened up for tourism and commoditized by western tourism organizations to provide pleasure for wealthy tourists (van den Abbeele, 1980). This is not a strange comparison, as Bruner (1989) also commented that colonialism and tourism are driven by the same social processes in occupying foreign spaces and exerting their power. An important feature in this comparison is indigenous people working in tourist accommodations in Third World countries. They are serving foreign (and mostly white) people drinks and food, cleaning their rooms and driving them around, which actually constantly reminds them of the oppression of colonial times (Holder, 1990), with the small difference that now they are getting paid for it.
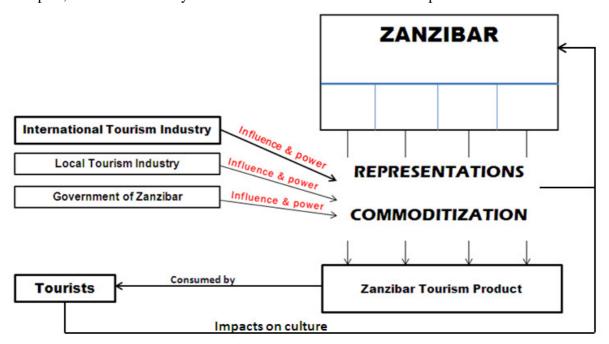
Cultural consequences of tourism for Third World countries

The notion of culture and societies as consumable products has brought alive the discussion about the effects foreign visitors have on the cultures they visit (Williams, 2009). Tourism brings people from different cultures together and creates most of the times a clear division about those who are visiting and those who are visited. Due to the introduction of foreigners with different lifestyles and customs, some form of exchange usually takes place within the visited culture. As Mowforth and Munt (1998) state, culture itself is a dynamic feature of human life and the cultural adaptations are not presumed to been either positive or negative per se. There is however a tendency to view every change to indigenous cultures as a negative effect of tourism. Srisang for instance argues that Third World tourism 'bastardises the culture and robs people of their traditional values and ways of life' (1992 : 3). Witt, Brooke and Buckley (1995) also present some negative effects tourism can have on culture. Their main argument closely coincides with the arguments of MacCannell, stating that foreigners want a sort of 'instant culture', which results in staged events and simplified rituals. These practices then deprive the activities and craft of their meaning and cultural quality.

Other authors have pointed out the beneficiary side of tourism on indigenous cultures. For instance Williams (2009) gives examples of cultural expressions and
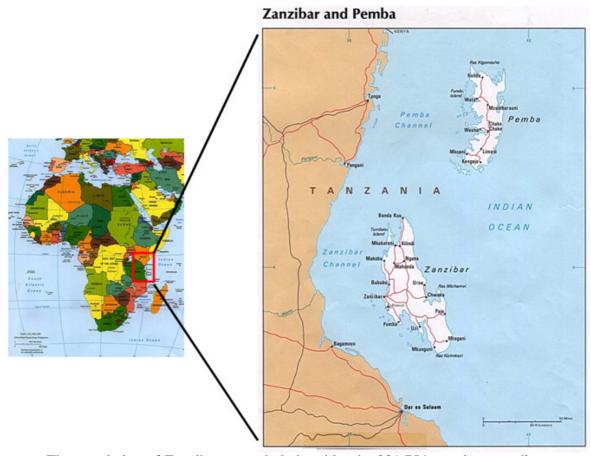
craftsmanship that would have normally been lost due to modernization. But because of foreign tourists visiting their regions, these activities found a revival, again of vital importance to the people practicing them (Witt et al, 1995). Moreover Lanfant, Allcock and Burner (1995) studied tourism on Bali, where they found that cultural tourism basically was a trade-off between economic benefits and cultural values (Lanfant et al., 1995). For the native Balinese people, the cultural impact was found to be quite negative at first, with the desecrations of religious buildings and rituals, weakening of communal solidarity and a decrease in moral standards. Several years later however, some claimed that tourism actually imbursed a cultural renaissance (Picard, 1995) with a renewed interest in Balinese cultural identity from the indigenous population. But it is important to note that this might have been evoked due to the economic importance of culture for Bali. Local culture has, according of Picard (1995), become their main capital and this resulted in careful protection of those attributes of their heritage that were labeled as original, authentic and already existing before tourists set foot on their island. This gives way to the impression that although the Balinese culture seems to have suffered no desecrations from touristic visitations, their expressed cultural identity is an outcome of careful construction and adjustments to fit the image of the outside world. Hanna (1972) supports this vision when he stated that "the Balinese culture was becoming a tourist commodity to the extent that the Balinese people were mistaking the commercial attractions they presented to the tourists for their genuine cultural traditions" (Lanfant et al., 1995: 57). Others however claim that the Balinese did a wonderful job of maintaining their local and sacred customs, while performing the features that are allowed to be commercialized (McKean, 1973). This example shows how hard it is to distinguish between the cultural consequences of tourism and how much these can be contested. This study will try to give some impressions about the impacts on the culture of Zanzibar.

To conclude this theoretical outline, below a broad overview of this study's concepts is given in the form of a conceptual model. Both parts of analysis, the representation and the impact on local culture, are shown. But before discussing those topics, first a short history of Zanzibar and tourism there will be provided.

6. Zanzibar

Zanzibar is a semi-autonomous part of the Republic of Tanzania. It is an archipelago which consists out of numerous small islands, with hardly any occupation, and the two larger islands of Pemba and Unguja. Unguja is considered to be the main island of the archipelago and is also referred to as 'Zanzibar Island' or just 'Zanzibar'. Stone Town, Zanzibar's historic capital which is part of the contemporary capital Zanzibar Town, is also to be found on this island. The name Zanzibar is probably derived from the Persian name "Zangh Bar", in which "Zangh" (pronounced by Arabs as Zanj) means black or negro and "Bar" is region or lands of (Burton, 2001: 35). This "land of the negroes" is situated about 25 kilometers out of the coast of mainland Tanzania. Zanzibar is also referred to as the "Spice Islands", because of its large production of nutmeg, cloves, saffron, peppers, cinnamon and vanilla.

The population of Zanzibar as a whole is said to be 981,754 people, according to the last census held (National Bureau of Statistics of Tanzania, 2002). For the major part the population exists out of Swahili and the Shirazi people, who originated as Bantu people from the African continent, whose cultures are mixed with Middle Eastern and Indian influences. Although the main language in both countries is Swahili, Zanzibar's culture is quite different from that of mainland Tanzania, which is also reflected in religion. Around 99% of all Zanzibaries are Muslim (CIA World Fact Book, 2010), while only few are Christians or Hindus. Zanzibar is a mixture of people and cultures which is

the result of more than a thousand years of foreign invaders, traders, merchants and colonizers who have been visiting the island for shorter or longer periods of time. The next section will provide a short history of Zanzibar, followed by its current economic status, before digging deeper into the subject of tourism on Zanzibar.

Short history

Due to its strategic geographical location at the coast of East Africa, Zanzibar has attracted people from as early as Neolithic times (estimated 10,000 years BCE). Consequently, in the sources of many great civilizations of old times records of Zanzibar can be found. The Assyrians, the Chaldeans and even the ancient Egyptians visited Zanzibar as a trading market or resting place on their travels (Ingrams, 1967).

After that, for several centuries, traders from Arabia, the region of the Persian Gulf and the western coast of India, made occasional visits to Zanzibar. Together with some royal Omani, the Arabian merchants introduced the newly found religion of Islam to East Africa and Zanzibar (Ingrams, 1967). While the centuries passed, more immigrants from both Africa and Arabia gradually settled on Zanzibar and it developed a culture of its own. Zanzibar was at these times an independent Arab country with a mainly black Muslim population. In 1499 the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama, on his way to India, visited Zanzibar, which meant the beginning of European influence over the archipelago. After some struggles at sea, the Portuguese took control over the islands in 1504 and incorporated them in their empire (Ingrams, 1967).

After about one hundred years, decline had set in on the Portuguese rule and in the 17th century the Omani returned to Zanzibar and overthrew the Christian Portuguese. Zanzibar quickly became a prosperous region once the Omani started the cultivation of cloves on the main island. They encouraged Indian and Arab traders to settle there as well. The importance of the islands at that time is demonstrated by the fact that Sultan of Oman actually moved the capital of Oman from Muscat to Zanzibar. This marked the beginning of independence of Zanzibar, for his sons could not agree on his succession. In 1861, two of them agreed to divide Oman and Zanzibar and that each would have an administration and treasury of its own.

At the same time as the Omani ruled Zanzibar, it became one of the most popular trade posts in the Indian Ocean for Europeans. This was also the time that the slave-trade thrived globally. Zanzibar became the number one slave-trading port of the eastern part of the continent. Slaves from all over the continent were assembled there to be shipped all around the world (Ingrams, 1967). But in their quest to end slavery at the end of the 19th century, the British took more and more interest in Zanzibar. They not only succeeded in the abolition of slave trade, but also gradually took control over Zanzibar as well. In 1890 both countries agreed to the assumption by Great Britain of a protectorate over Zanzibar. This lasted for six years, for in 1896 the British were not satisfied with the self-declared new ruler. This resulted in a bombardment on the 27th of August by the British Royal navy which destroyed the national palace and the Sultan's ship after which he surrendered. The entire battle took approximately thirty-eight minutes and therefore got the nickname of "The Shortest War in History" (Mutch, 2010). From that moment on, the British brought their own governors to Zanzibar, ruling side by side with the Sultans which lasted until December 10th 1963, when Zanzibar became independent again.

The sultanate however did not last long. The new sultan and government were overthrown in a bloody revolution on January 12th 1964, in which a lot of wealthy Arabs and Indians were killed. Finally, on April 26th of the same year, Zanzibar united with the mainland colony of Tanganyika to become the Republic of Tanzania, in which it became a semi-autonomous region with an own president and government. With the unification, also the ideals of Julius Nyerere found their way to Zanzibar. His *Ujamaa* politics, which can be described as a form of African Socialism, focused on self-reliance, in both cultural and economic ways. It was based on traditional values and the goal was to transform areas all over the country in socialist communities where all political and economic activities are collectively organized (Boesen, Madsen & Moody, 1977). These politics denied Zanzibar from foreign visitors and investments until 1985, when Nyerere stepped down as president of Tanzania and the country opened up to the outside world. Even though economically this system did not prove to work, few Sub Saharan countries have achieved the level of national unification that Tanzania has undergone under the leadership of Nyerere (Ibhawoh and Dihua, 2003). Nevertheless every now and then nationalistic separatist movements are trying to make Zanzibar an independent country again, although no serious attempts have been made.

Short overview recent economic status

Until recently the Zanzibari economy was mainly driven by agricultural activities. Until 1999, fishing and farming were making up for around 80% of the archipelago's GDP, according to a report by the Zanzibar Ministry of Education (1999). Especially the production of cloves represented a large part of the exports in the past, but when the world market prices for this crop plummeted in the 1980s, the Zanzibari economy came in heavy weather. Together with the trade liberation, Zanzibar warmed to the idea of tourism to attract new sources of foreign expenditures (McIntyre and McIntyre, 2009). In the following years, the real GDP of Zanzibar grew between 1991 and 2008 at an average of 6.4 percent and with that, the per capita income increased from $157 up to $534 during the same period (Zanzibar Human Development Rapport (ZHDR), 2009). Although these numbers look very promising, the majority of the local inhabitants are still poor, with even 16 percent of all rural dwellers are living below the international food poverty line (The Citizen, March 6th 2010). The current economy is still based on agriculture and the production of cloves still forms the number one export commodity, making up for 45% of the GDP. Tourism however has grown to be solid second contributor to the local economy, accounting for more than 22% to the GDP in 2008 (The Citizen, March 6th 2010) and it is actually expected to become the largest generator of foreign exchange in the upcoming decade. This looks promising, but to some this is a major concern. While the global average of around 5% of tourism spending accounting to the domestic product, the enormous importance of tourism for Zanzibar creates a great dependency on this industry. The following section will dig deeper into the tourism industry of Zanzibar.

7. Tourism on Zanzibar

After the unification with Tanganyika in 1964, and the socialist policies on Zanzibar (Honey, 2006), it took twenty years for the first real Western tourists to set foot on the island. Starting in the mid-1980s there has been a steady grow of international tourist arrivals from 8,967 in 1984 (Marks, 1996) to around 130,000 in 2008 (Steck, Wood & Bishop, 2010). In 2006 and 2007 the total number of tourists was even above the amount of 140,000, but Zanzibar also felt the effects of the global economic crisis which decreased international tourism arrivals. These numbers however only present an estimate, as accurate measures are not available (see Figure 2). The system used by the Commission for Tourism of Zanzibar only measures foreign tourists arriving by air (excluding Tanzania) and sea. Tourists arriving at Zanzibar using flights that originate from the mainland of Tanzania (from Arusha or Dar es Salaam) are not included, just as all domestic tourists either residing with friends and family or in touristic accommodations. The way of measuring however has not changed over the years, so it is possible to compare the results of the last 30 years provided by the Zanzibar Association of Tourism Investors (ZATI) and the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism Zanzibar (ZCT).
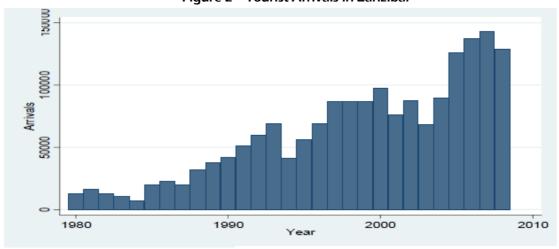
Figure 2 – Tourist Arrivals in Zanzibar

Source: Zanzibar Human Development Report (2009)

Based on the same survey by the ZCT and ZATI (Tourism Industry Growth Strategic Plan (TIGSP), 2008), more than 73% of all tourists visiting Zanzibar in 2007 were Europeans, of which about half came from Italy (see Appendix A1). Other countries that produced a lot of tourists were the UK, USA and South Africa. Further research showed that tourism arrivals are not evenly distributed around the year. A pattern of seasonality has been present in Zanzibar tourism. The peaks in arrivals are August and December when the European Summer and Christmas holidays take place and the local weather is perfect for beach loving tourists. The low season coincides with the local rainy season, which lasts from April till June (see Appendix A2). This seasonality is actually common for island destinations, as well as other places that mainly offer beach holidays.

When Zanzibar embarked on tourism in the mid-80s by gradually promoting it, there was no real idea about the kind of tourism it wanted to attract (Honey, 2006). In 1987, the ZCT was founded to promote Zanzibar as a tourist destination, selling mostly the image of a paradise island, waiting to be explored. Soon foreign investors were

encouraged to enter the local tourism industry, which resulted in the building of multi-story coastal resorts to house all-inclusive tourists from Europe. These tourists were defined by their lack of cultural interest and low spending (Omar, 2010: personal conversation). But Zanzibar is trying to evolve both its offer and its tourists to stand out from the many Indian Ocean island destinations. Especially the island nations of Mauritius, Reunion and the Seychelles (ZHDR, 2009; ITMP, 2003) are seen as the main competitors to distinguish itself from. The following section will give a more thorough description of the current touristic offer of Zanzibar, followed by a categorization of visitors, derived from the typology of Smith (2003) (see pages 11 – 13).

The offer

This section will give an overview of what Zanzibar is offering as a tourist destination. For starters, it has a name which triggers one's imagination profoundly. As Mann puts it:

"The very name of Zanzibar has exotic connotations, an island with a blend of African, Indian and Arabic cultures that has survived invasions, revolutions, slavery…"

(Telegraph: 31-03-2008)

Basically, this summarizes what Zanzibar is, an exotic island with a very lively history of domination by various foreign people. With its rich and suggestive name, Zanzibar has already a head start in the minds of international tourists. But it is vital to have primary attractions that have the significant appeal to draw tourists. They form the main reason for tourists to visit a certain place and furthermore they are the most important topics in any tourism guide book (Leiper, 2003). Once visitors have made their choice to come to Zanzibar, the objective of the local tourism industry is to get them to stay as long as possible and to encourage them to spend as much as possible during their visit (Tourism Policy, 2003). The instruments for this are secondary attractions, which are the additional things to see and do. While some require active participation of tourists, others can just be passively gazed at. The following section will take a closer look at the primary and secondary attractions Zanzibar has to offer/is offering.

Primary Attractions

- Stone Town

According to the Indicative Tourism Master Plan of 2003, Zanzibar's USP is most definitely the old part of Stone Town. The historical buildings and the maze like streets do not resemble any city on the mainland of Tanzania or Africa. According to some, this is the only place on earth where the true traditional Swahili identity can still be found and it forms the soul of Zanzibar (Mugheiry, 2010: personal conversation). As a result of the tremendous history, Stone Town offers many historic sites representing the variety of foreign rulers. The House of Wonders houses the only national museum of Zanzibar. There are palaces of former sultans and bath houses from the Persian rule, an old fort, Anglican cathedral and dispensary reminding of the times when the English were in power and a large collection of mosques of which most used. Also, the slave cells and market remind of the time when slave trade at Zanzibar. This historical town is therefore, as a whole, recognized by the UNESCO as World Heritage (Tourism Policy, 2003).

- Marine environment

Zanzibar's most important resource is the sea. It provides many fishermen with a livelihood and gave Zanzibar the status of an important trading post in the past millennium. Nowadays it forms the basis for the second primary attraction it has to offer to international tourists. Besides the beaches which contribute to the image of exotic paradise, a lot of other activities are made possible by the sea such as SCUBA diving, snorkeling, deep sea fishing, and sailing on dhows (east African fishing boats) or making trips to places where dolphins or turtles can be seen. Although these activities are not exclusive to Zanzibar, they can be experienced at almost any tourist place at Unguja.

Secondary Attractions

- Spice tours

Spice tours are popular daytrips on Zanzibar. These tours show tourists one of the plantations where spices, herbs, fruits and other crops are grown. Guides give descriptions of their uses and there are opportunities to taste and smell them all. These farms are located more inland and bring tourists to places away from the beach. Although some farms that are visited are actually created for these tours (Finke, 2010), and most guides are actually taxi drivers or market salesmen of variable quality of their tours (Indicative Tourism Master Plan (ITMP), 2003), they mainly give a proper account of the most important products of the Zanzibar export.

- Jozani Forest

Zanzibar has its own protected national park with Jozani Forest, which is always mentioned for its unique red colobus monkeys. This development should attract more tourists interested in wildlife reserves and who would normally go to the safari parks in mainland Tanzania and Kenya. In this ground water forest, tourist can walk trails and spot forest mammals and birds.

- Other sites and attractions

Also there are some cultural attractions fit for more cultural and high quality tourism. For starters there are several film (Zanzibar International Film Festival) and musical (Sauti za Busara) festivals which attract bands from all over Africa and have become popular in the last several years. Although these festivals give a stage for cultural expressions from the entire east coast of Africa, they attract a lot of Europeans and Australians. Other cultural attractions are the Persian baths, slave markets and caves and several ruins. These sites however are not very well presented and not a lot of information is available at those locations. This means that if tourists go through the trouble of finding these places, they wander off after several minutes as there is actually not a lot to do around most of these historical buildings.

- Arts and crafts

The arts and crafts that are sold as souvenirs will not be one of the main reasons for visiting Zanzibar, but can nonetheless provide some fun as all have to be bargained for. Although the kanga's, richly adorned wooden chests, Makonde carvings and Tinga-Tinga paintings resemble indigenous art forms, not all of these products are produced on Zanzibar. The Zanzibar government wishes to have more control on this market, as and

some of them are cheaply imported from other parts of Africa and sometimes even India or China (Roelandschap, 2010: personal conversation; ITMP, 2003).

As the above shows, Zanzibar has neither a largely developed safari or wildlife product, nor a major sightseeing product, apart from Stone Town. Although there is a lot of talk about developing the cultural and environmental aspects of tourism (Tourism Policy, 2003), these do not provide enough entertainment for than a day. This obliges Zanzibar basically to focus on its beaches and marine environments.

Tourists on Zanzibar

When looking at the typology by Smith that was introduced in the theoretical outline of this study (see p.10: Table 2), it seems that most tourists that visit Zanzibar fall into the categories of the Unusual and Incipient Mass, but also a kind of Mass tourism can be found and even some Off-beat tourists sometimes find their way to the archipelago.

The Off-beat and Unusual tourist groups contain the backpackers, most of whom pass by Zanzibar for a short and relaxing stay. Most of these tourists do not have a lot of money to spend and tend to stay in low priced - and mostly locally owned - 'budget' accommodations. While the real adventurers dare to undertake a trip to Pemba and stay in the simple guest houses in Chake Chake or Mkoani, most of these tourists stay for one or two days in Stone Town, touring the 'guide books attractions'. Usually they stay for a couple of days at the white beaches to do some sunbathing or diving, or party at the moonlight parties. Especially the villages of Kendwa and Nungwi are popular with these tourists as these are relatively free from the large resorts and have a 'hippy mantra feeling' going on. Because these place are affordable and the sea there is 'swimmable at all tides', it is very popular with tourists that travel on a low budget (Finke, 2010).

The Incipient Mass tourists are mostly represented by the adventurous up-market tourists who visit Zanzibar for its exotic name and remote location. These are the tourists who enjoy a different culture and the rising status of Zanzibar as an exclusive destination and they do not mind to spend serious money to stay in one of the fancy hotels with pools, golf courses, spas and bars. Also the conference tourists fall into this group as they are attracted by the same exotic image and facilities and are willing to pay for it to impress others. These tourists stay in the four and five star hotels that can be found in both Stone Town and other popular parts of the main island of Unguja and book their accommodation in advance and normally stay in the same place for their entire stay.

The Mass tourists are mainly coming for the beaches and the sea and stay in one of the foreign owned all-inclusive resorts which are found mainly at the east coast of Unguja. These tourists do not spend a lot of money as they have paid for everything in advance and most of them do not leave the premises of their accommodations. They do not bother about culture and are the real sunlust tourists whose main parameter for choosing a holiday destination is whether there is a 100% guarantee of sunshine. These tourists take large group bus tours over the island to Stone Town, where they walk around before returning to their accommodations, which resemble Europe both in food and interior (Omar, 2010: personal conversation).

8. Actors active in tourism on Zanzibar

When assessing the representations of Zanzibar as a tourist product, it is important to understand who are active in producing it. This section will give an overview of five groups of actors and will discuss their relative power. The five groups, which also form the distinguishing factor in this study's visual analysis, are the following:

- Government of Zanzibar
- Tour Operators
- Hotels & Resorts
- Travel Journals & Magazines
- Tourists (who have already visited)

Government

The governments of Tanzania and especially Zanzibar play a fundamental role in the functioning of the tourism industry of the island. They provide the infrastructure and security system which provide the accessibility that is needed for Zanzibar to be even considered as a travel destination. It is one of the main tasks for the government to keep developing the sewers and electricity networks to serve both the tourism industry and the local population. Also, governments play a mediating role between the state and the global economy and most of the times develop a policy for handling tourism.

The Zanzibari government is very much involved in the planning and regulation of tourism. This is because tourism has been marked as one of the main drivers of the local economy and development. In a report which is called 'The Strategy of Half Million Tourists in Zanzibar (2007-2013)' suggests that if the total number of tourists can grow to 500,000, the industry will generate 40,000 additional jobs and this is believed to provide an enormous economic boost to the island (TIGSP, 2008). Although this plan is very optimistic and unrealistic (and does not provide evidence or back up for most statistics and estimates), it does show the ambitions and agenda the Zanzibari government has when it comes to tourism. This strategy plan however contradicts previous reports and strategies which stated that the quality of the tourism product should prevail over quantity. Nonetheless it displays how much belief there is in tourism as a boost for the local economy and employment rates.

Tour Operators

Tour Operators offer accommodation, transport or a combination of those two in inclusive tours, sometimes accompanied by several extra services or trips. For tour operators it is very important to forecast the demand in tourism, as their offer has to appeal to tourists (Witt et al., 1995). This causes them to be very active in destination marketing and representation. The products these (large) tour operators offer are mostly standardized and offered to large groups of tourists. However, as Mowforth and Munt (1998) already showed, the tendency developed to move away from mass tourism to a more customized holiday, which created a variety of niche markets and products, which also led to a diversified offer of tour operators and travel agencies. For smaller tour operators this creates opportunities to offer more specific holidays. The tendency to promote ecotourism on Zanzibar is one of these niches.

Zanzibar

Almost all Zanzibari owned tour operators and agencies are small players with a limited offer of activities. Most of them provide 'spice tours', island tours or sailing/diving trips, but their portfolio of sites is small, just as the quantity of tourists they can handle. However, some also offer more inclusive stays in some of the fancy hotels on Zanzibar or even arrange safaris on the mainland of Tanzania. Although the internet created an opportunity for these local operators to become more accessible for foreigners, they still struggle to keep up and survive. Actually most local operators don't even have a website and the ones that do, are not operating properly for some of the time. Maybe because of this, but at least on top of this fact, most tourists make their reservations at home and book their trips with large international operators or travel agencies located in their own countries. All in all this means that these organizations do not possess a lot of power in representing or selling Zanzibar as a tourist destination.

Foreign

Large multinational and foreign tour operators are basically the most powerful actors in the tourism industry. They have access to places all over the world and spend large sums of money to market destinations and create attractive images. This powerful position is the result of the high profits these organizations are making with money tourists spend at home arranging their itineraries and accommodations, which make up for the bulk of total holiday spending. In general they have great influence and power over Third World governments, as they possess enough capital and resources to direct tourist streams (Mowforth and Munt, 1998).

These operators also possess a lot of power over other commercial parties when it comes to bargaining, as they provide hotels, resorts and airlines with large amounts of customers (Leiper, 2003). Therefore they are able to offer prices considerably lower than when an individual tourist would have arranged everything separately. Especially for a location like Zanzibar, of which most people don't know the prices, habits or language, they feel it is safer to arrange everything beforehand. Although actual numbers are not available, there is a general agreement that at Zanzibar these foreign tour operators are responsible for most of the tourist arrivals.

Hotels and resorts

An important part of the service experience of tourism can be found within the accommodation sector. They range from all-inclusive resorts (where visitors can find restaurants, bars, swimming pools and several other facilities within close reach) to self-catering accommodations like villas, camp sites and guesthouses. At Zanzibar virtually all tourist accommodations are located somewhere on the coast of main island Unguja. A lot of them are found in Stone Town, but several coastal villages have been flooded with hotels and resorts in the last two decades as well.

Zanzibar

At Zanzibar, the larger part of tourist accommodations can be categorized as 'budget'. Most of the single unit accommodations or small guesthouses and hotels that are found on Zanzibar are operated by the owner. The vast majority of Zanzibari owned establishments fall into this category. Because of taxes and high set-up costs, it is very difficult for local entrepreneurs to start a business in the accommodation sector if tourism (Steck, Wood & Bishop, 2010). Therefore in Zanzibari owned hotels and guesthouses,

facilities are moderate and safe, but extra services are rare and seldom do they attract the wealthy up market tourist from Europe or North America. Most clients are backpackers and visitors from the mainland. These actors are small players with little bargaining power when it comes to tourism policies or international offerings.

Foreign

Most large tourist accommodations are either owned or financed by foreign entrepreneurs and investors. On the one hand there are the all-inclusive cheap holiday resorts, while on the other hand there is a growing number of luxurious four and five star hotels, which are a lot more expensive. For the major part these resorts and hotels are in some way involved in international chains or consortia. This way they can benefit from economies of scale in marketing, bundling relatively smaller expenses on advertising than they would have done when acting independently (Witt et al., 1995). Each member is able to reach a far wider circulation and publicity than would be the case if it were to produce its own brochure or advertising campaign. Most of their customers have already booked for their stay prior to travelling. Most of these foreign owned hotels and resorts are in close contact with travel agents, tour operators and the Zanzibar Association for Tourist Investors (ZATI), to make sure their offers and interests are heard. Moreover they have contacts with the Zanzibari government to have any influence on the policy regarding tourism, employment regulations and taxes.

Due to their broad network of contacts, they play a major part in representing tourist destinations. Apart from the services and facilities these hotels and resorts are able to offer, they are very much dependent on highlighting the attractiveness of Zanzibar to make sure tourists keep coming. They have the power and financial resources to create the image of paradise and invest heavily in marketing. The main goal of these stakeholders is the maximization of profits, although several also claim to keep the natural environment and local people in mind.

Travel journals and magazines

Travel Journals and Magazines claim to be neutral about the places they present and pretend they only want to provide feasible information for tourists. Nevertheless more often than not there are some commercial advertisements to be found in them as well, which reflect the main perspectives offered by tour operators, tourist attractions and hotel chains (Daye, 2005). Still these magazines and travel writings can be seen as a separate stakeholder in tourism, mediating between the tourism offer and the individual tourist. According to a study done by Seaton (1991) people working for magazines and guides see themselves as a sort of 'gate-keepers', who do not like to over exaggerate or over romanticize images about destinations. Instead they want to inform people about places in a realistic way, while still keeping in mind the wishes and needs tourists have while being on a holiday. Because of this perceived objectivity, destinations and accommodations clearly like to see themselves in these magazines. Still these magazines could never exist without the revenues from advertisements, so this will influence the contents.

In the same category, we find the travel guides, which also claim to be objective. Everybody wants to be placed in them, especially the really popular ones. Especially for the restaurants and the smaller hotels on Zanzibar that aim for people, like backpackers, who haven't established their itineraries beforehand, it is an absolute must to appear in a

positive way in these guides. All in all, this group of actors has quite some influence with their representations, exactly because they seem to have no real interests.

Tourists

As already pointed out, visiting certain places contributes to creating and maintaining personal identities. This is why tourists themselves play an important role in the distribution of destination images. On one hand these accounts are honest and reliable, because they don't have any commercial motive to present a destination as better or more beautiful than it was perceived. Nevertheless one must not forget the implications of the social status of travelling, which have already been discussed. A lot of people feel that their visits to certain destinations say something about who they are and what they think. They are active in telling stories about the places they have visited and the things they have seen. These stories are mainly focused on the new and exciting things and reflect the values these tourists and their friends appreciate. Stories and pictures can be manipulated in a way that they resemble the general ideas about a place or sort of visit. Also, they show pictures of landmarks they have seen in global media as a sort of proof of their actual visit. These landmarks can be buildings or sites but also people and their 'local' environments.

9. Methodology

Representation of Zanzibar

To analyze how Zanzibar is represented, a content analysis has been performed focused at visual material found on websites of all important actors. A content analysis is the most common method for evaluating images. It is especially useful when the amount of images studies is large, as is the case in this study. It is used for measuring frequencies of the themes projected in images and useful for comparison and deriving meaning from these images (Rose 2007, Timothy and Groves, 2001; Albers and James, 1988). The choice for websites in this case is obvious, as the internet has grown to be crucial in all stages of holiday planning. It is not only used for the gathering of information about places, but also for booking flights, hotels and other services (Werthner and Ricci, 2004; Timothy and Groves, 2001). For this study, the focus is on the information provision part, as tourism has been described by Werthner and Ricci (2004) as an information-based business. The product that is eventually consumed is chosen on the basis of the information at hand, without ever actually seeing it prior to travelling. Websites provide free and easy access to the kind of information contemporary tourist are looking for (Pan and Fesenmaier, 2006), which gives them enormous amounts of power to represent certain places to create images of regions tourist must want to go to.

The websites were found using the search engine of Google, while using search words as '*tourism Zanzibar*', '*travel Zanzibar*', '*holiday Zanzibar*', '*experience Zanzibar*' and '*blog Zanzibar*'. The websites used were grouped accordingly to the previously defined actors, which is as follows: 'Travel trade Zanzibar' (hotels and tour operators originating from Zanzibar), 'Travel Trade Foreign' (hotels, airlines and tour operators originating from abroad), 'Travel Magazines' (independent travel guides, magazines and journals), 'Blogs' (online accounts of tourists who have visited Zanzibar) and finally 'Government' (website of the Zanzibar Commission for Tourism). For websites in the category Travel Trade, only websites offered in English have been used as the focus of this study is on the international offer of Zanzibar. For travel blogs and travel stories of tourists, also websites in other languages have been considered, as they depict the experiences of visitors from all around the world. An overview of the websites used for this study can be found in Appendix B.

Of the first four groups, the first ten results that were shown using the Google search engine were chosen and all pictures presented on these websites were numbered and coded. This made up for a database of a total of 1184 images. Then, every single image was carefully examined and related to one, or several, of eleven categories, to count the frequencies of representations of these categories. Because of the images that could be attributed to several categories, the total number of elements used for analysis was 1328. The categories are partly derived from several other studies examining visual information (Choi, Lehto and Morrison, 2007; Timothy and Groves, 2001) and selected and labeled to correspond with the case of Zanzibar. Some of those categories have been under divided into subcategories, which creates the possibility to make an even more thorough analyses of the images found. The eleven categories are:

1. **Historic Buildings and Heritage**
   Local
   Colonial
2. **Tourist Facilities** (Hotels/Restaurants/Swimming pools/Transport)
   Luxury facilities
   Moderate facilities
3. **Tourist Activities**
   Relaxing
   Diving, Fishing etc.
4. **Local residents**
   Active (working or participating in daily routines)
   Passive (as part of the scene to be gazed at, serving guests)
5. **Nature**
6. **Sunsets, sailing and sea**
7. **Beach**
   Crowded
   Deserted
8. **Local shops, streets and houses**
9. **Local cuisine, spices and dining**
10. **Local crafts and rituals**
11. **Other** (maps, flags and other images)

Cultural consequences of tourism for Zanzibar

Most tourists visiting Zanzibar are Europeans, whose values and customs differ significantly from those of the Zanzibar inhabitants. Chapter 5 already discussed how the interactions between these groups can result in changing behavior and culture at people who are visited. This study will try to describe how and to what amount international tourism has influenced the cultural identity of Zanzibar. Although cultural consequences of tourism can be found in the everyday life of those communities that are visited, it is very difficult to measure the precise impacts that are the direct results of tourism development. First, it is tricky to distinguish between the impacts of tourism and those inflicted by other social and economic developments. Moreover, the intangible and subjective nature of social-cultural impacts makes it, contrary to economic or environmental consequences, hard to actually derive quantifiable data from any form of research (Smith, 2003). Although impossible to filter out all other influences, the following list of indicators to identify the cultural impacts of tourism has been adapted from Cooper et al. (1998) and Smith (2003).

- Ratio of tourists to host population;
- Degree of commercialization of local culture;
- Percentage of population working in tourism related industries;
- Concentration of tourism accommodations in certain locations;
- Nature and frequency of the interactions between hosts and guests;
- Nature of tourism;
- Increased social problems (e.g. drugs use, alcohol abuse, prostitution);
- Demonstration effects.

To describe these cultural consequences of tourism on the Zanzibari community, the outcomes of several interviews will be used. These interviews were held with people working in or with the Zanzibari tourism industry for a variety of reasons. Appendix C gives a short overview of those whose interviews have been used in this study. For this study, the interviews were used to find extra information pertaining to the specific situation for Zanzibar. Because not all interviews have been recorded or transcribed, a comparing text analysis could not be justified. If information is used that has been acquired during these interviews, this is mentioned as a source. While some of the interviewees are Europeans, others are born on Zanzibar. Besides these interviews, also documents provided by ZATI, ZCT and VSO will be used in the analysis.

10. Analysis & Results

This section will answer the main research questions that have been posed in the introduction of this study. The first section will focus on the results of the visual analysis about the representations that are used for Zanzibar in the tourism industry and the motives behind these choices for as far as this is possible. The final part will consider the cultural consequences of current tourism practices for Zanzibar and its people.

Representations of Zanzibar

The results of the visual content analysis are presented in Table 3. This is an overview of all results grouped according to the five different actors that have been identified before. The final column shows the results of the entire set of images. The three categories that contained most images per group of actors are printed in bold figures. Besides the main categories in Table 3, five of them have been divided into subcategories for further analysis. These results, which are depicted in Table 4, will be used to help establish the kind of tourism and tourists that are targeted when representing Zanzibar.

Table 3 -- Representations of Zanzibar in % for main categories.

	Trav.Tr.For.	Trav.Tr.Zan.	Magazines	Blogs	Governm.	Total
Historic Buildings and Heritage	5,7% (23)	4,9% (15)	12,6% (26)	10,5% (42)	25,0% (3)	8,2% (109)
Tourist Facilities	37,6% (152)	31,5% (96)	13,5% (28)	11,0% (44)		24,1% (320)
Tourist Activities	8,2% (33)	12,5% (38)	1,9% (4)	7,8% (31)		8,0% (106)
Local Residents	6,7% (27)	7,2% (22)	22,7% (47)	15,8% (63)	8,3% (1)	12,0% (160)
Nature	5,0% (20)	8,2% (25)	10,6% (22)	5,3% (21)	33,3% (4)	6,9% (92)
Sailing, Sea & Sunsets	14,4% (58)	16,4% (50)	15,9% (33)	18,0% (72)	16,7% (2)	16,2% (215)
Beach	13,9% (56)	9,2% (28)	8,2% (17)	16,5% (66)	8,3% (1)	12,7% (168)
Local shops, streets and houses	1,0% (4)	3,3% (10)	6,8% (14)	7,0% (28)		4,2% (56)
Local cuisine, spices and dining	3,0% (12)	3,6% (11)	2,9% (6)	3,8% (15)	8,3% (1)	3,4% (45)
Local crafts and rituals	1,0% (4)	2,0% (6)	2,4% (5)	2,3% (9)		1,8% (24)
Others	3,7% (15)	1,3% (4)	2,4% (5)	2,3% (9)		2,5% (33)
Total	404	305	207	400	12	1328

The figures in brackets indicate the number of images in each category.

Table 4 -- Representations of Zanzibar divided into subcategories

	Trav.Tr.For.	Trav.Tr.Zan.	Magazines	Blogs	Governm.	Total
Historic Buildings and Heritage	(23)	(15)	(26)	(42)	(3)	(109)
Local	39,1% (9)	46,7% (7)	50,0% (13)	35,7% (15)	33,3% (1)	41,3% (45)
Colonial	60,9% (14)	53,3% (8)	50,0% (13)	64,3% (27)	66,7% (2)	58,7% (64)
Tourist Facilities	(152)	(96)	(28)	(44)		(320)
Luxury	95,4% (145)	89,6% (86)	85,8% (24)	56,8% (25)		87,5% (280)
Moderate	4,6% (7)	10,4% (10)	14,2% (4)	43,2% (19)		12,5% (40)
Tourist Activities	(33)	(38)	(4)	(31)		(106)
Relaxing	84,9% (28)	65,8% (25)	25,0% (1)	83,9% (26)		75,5% (80)
Active (diving, fishing, etc.)	15,1% (5)	34,2% (13)	75,0% (3)	16,1% (5)		24,5% (26)
Local Residents	(27)	(22)	(47)	(63)	(1)	(160)
Active (working, daily routines)	48,1% (13)	50,0% (11)	68,1% (32)	42,9% (27)	100% (1)	52,5% (84)
Passive (part of scene, gazed at)	51,9% (14)	50,0% (11)	31,9% (15)	57,1% (36)	0% (0)	47,5% (76)
Beach	(56)	(28)	(17)	(66)	(1)	(168)
Crowded	1,8% (1)	14,3% (4)	0% (0)	10,6% (7)	0% (0)	7,1% (12)
Deserted	98,2% (55)	85,7% (24)	100% (17)	89,4% (59)	100% (1)	92,9% (156)

The figures in brackets indicate the number of images in each category.

The first general remark that can be made according to these results is the small amount of photos that were found on the official governmental tourist website of Zanzibar. The website itself contains a lot of text but only a few images. There are nevertheless in my opinion still enough images available for analysis to construct a general overview of that specific actor. Next, we will start looking at the results.

Looking at the total set of photos, it becomes clear that the overall image of Zanzibar is one of beaches (12.7%), blue seas and sunsets (16.2%), and tourist facilities (24.1%). These three categories make up for a total of 53% of all images in the data set. The results shown in Table 4 indicate that in most of those cases (92.9%) the beaches were presented as deserted and the tourist facilities seemed quite luxurious and expensive (87.5%). This indicates that in general Zanzibar is represented as an exotic, exclusive and high-end destination, where one can totally enjoy the sun, the sea and the beaches, while completely forgetting about troubles and responsibilities at home. These overall results also indicate that those cultural aspects that can differentiate Zanzibar from other island destinations are clearly less visible. Local heritage, inhabitants, streets, cuisine and crafts make up for only 29.6% of the content of all images (see Table 3). This means that more than two thirds of all photos in this study show no distinctive attributes of any kind of Zanzibar compared to other island destinations in the Indian Ocean. Finally, although more pictures show black inhabitants of Zanzibar than white tourists (all tourist shown were white), just as much images show tourist relaxing at beaches or near pools (80) as there are photos of Zanzibaris or that are dressed up for touristic entertainment or serving tourists (76) (see Table 4, final column). This leads to the assumption that Zanzibar is marketed as a destination for wealthy, sun-loving (white) people who want to relax and are serviced by locals who are quite humble and who are part of the Zanzibar experience.

Travel Trade Foreign

The first group that will be analyzed here is comprised out of companies and organizations active in travel trade and owned by foreigners and stationed outside Zanzibar. In this group both tour operators and accommodations are combined. The ten websites that were visited present the largest amount of images when compared to the other categories (N=404). Table 3 shows that the three topics that are shown most frequently, tourist facilities (37.6%), sailing & sea (14.4%), and beaches (13.9%) (of which all but one were deserted), exactly resemble the top 3 of the total representations found in this analysis. Their combined percentages of presence in images however are even larger. With 65.9% these three categories make up for almost two thirds out of all photos. This is especially due to the large amount of images containing tourist facilities. Almost all are showing luxurious hotels, pools or restaurants where the tourist can relax and find everything he or she wants without ever having to leave the premises. Although still placed in exotic scenery, these accommodations could be located almost anywhere in the world where the weather is nice and where palm trees grow. On the other hand the categories that create a more unique and distinctive representation of Zanzibar (local heritage, inhabitants, streets, cuisine and crafts) are even less apparent (combined only 19.4%, see Table 3) compared to the results of the total set of images. Especially the absence of local residents in most photos is striking. The Zanzibari population does not seem to fit in the paradise image these actors are trying to create. And in the cases that local people are seen, half of the time (see Table 4) they are serving tourists or are depicted in traditional clothing, to contribute to the feeling of exoticism.

Travel Trade Zanzibar

Tour operators and hotels from Zanzibar are represented in the group Travel Trade Zanzibar. Of course, the main topics of their visual materials (see Table 3) are the facilities to house, entertain and feed tourists (31.5%), followed by images of the sea, sailing boats and glorious sunsets (16.4%). Surprisingly the third largest category within the representations of this group is the tourist activities (12.5%). The majority of those pictures show tourists relaxing on the beach or getting massaged (see Table 4), but at least one third of the images within this category display tourists who are participating in some kind of activity. This indicates the attempt to promote a more energetic kind of tourism. It is possible that this is the result of the fact that most people who arrange trips through these local operators are backpackers who like to engage in local forms of entertainment. On the other hand, also within the representations of this group of actors, the distinctive cultural features of Zanzibar (local heritage, inhabitants, streets, cuisine and crafts) are not frequently displayed (combined 21%). Even though these tour operators and hotels are from Zanzibar, they choose to almost copy the kind of images distributed by their international counterparts.

Travel Magazines & Tourist Blogs

While actors involved in Travel Trade clearly ignore local people and customs in their representations, this does not mean that visitors are not interested in them. The contrary seems to be true. Table 3 shows that the Travel Magazines and Tourist Blogs online both contain a lot more images of local residents (22.7% and 15.8%) and regular street views (6.8% and 7.0%) compared to the commercial parties. Besides this, another prevalent difference is the fact that images of local heritage and historic building are seen much more frequently in Magazines and Blogs than in advertisements of actors active in Travel Trade. The results in Table 3 suggest that these categories form a distinct part of Zanzibar's representation which is neglected by the commercial stakeholders. This broader scope is also reflected in the relative amount of images that these actors show on their websites. Respectively 47.7% (Magazines) and 39.4% (Tourist Blogs) of all images reflect expressions of cultural features of Zanzibar (local heritage, inhabitants, streets, cuisine and crafts). This fits the idea of tourists giving meaning to their holidays and the goal of magazines to produce a complete image of a certain destination. However, it must be noted that tourist facilities and images of seas and sunsets are also present in high quantities (>15%) in the image sets of both groups (see Table 3).

The results however also show an interesting difference between these two groups of actors when it comes to the images of local residents. While in Magazines most local people are depicted in their daily life activities, the tourist Blogs show the highest amount of images of local people that are dressed up or serving tourists (57.1%) (see Table 4). Especially this last result is an interesting finding. It gives way to the assumption that (white) tourists see the local (black) Zanzibari population as something that is part of the experience of their visit. And this also fits into the idea of the social status of travelling: showing local residents in somewhat ritual or 'authentic' clothing could be used by tourists as evidence of their cultural interest and sympathy for local customs. Moreover it does, combined with the images of local streets and spices, provide a stronger sense of place compared to the photos of sunsets, beaches and resorts which could have been

taken at several other places around the world. This could be a very good example of the presence of the tourist gaze for Zanzibar.

Travel Magazines

Furthermore there are some other interesting results individually for these groups of actors. To start with the Travel Magazines, the extremely low percentage of tourist activities (1.9%, see Table 3) is remarkable. Also, of all actors, these websites show the relative smallest amount of beaches (8.2%). Then again, these websites show more nature scenes than any other actor. All in all it seems that the Travel Magazines and Guides clearly have their own way of representing Zanzibar. They show more local distinction by presenting more local Zanzibari inhabitants, nature, historic sites and heritage, streets and shops and on the other hand fewer beaches. The general image is still that of an exotic destination, with luxurious facilities and blue seas. However, leaving the tourist out of representations and focusing more on local features, shows the Magazines' drive to inform about the complete product of Zanzibar, rather than to sell the touristic product.

Tourist Blogs

When considering the Tourist Blogs, an interesting result that is not yet discussed is the fact that luxurious tourist facilities are not as overwhelming as they are in the images of other actors (see Table 3 and 4). It could be that tourists actually find the moderate and small accommodations more charming and 'authentic' than the impersonal resort and luxurious hotels. But it is also possible that the kind of tourist that writes blogs on the internet are the kind of people that are more eager to see more than just beaches and do not stay in luxurious places and swimming pools. Nevertheless, the beaches (16.5%) and the sea (18.0%) are popular in the holiday pictures as well. These results combined with the finding that more than 80% of all tourist activities photos are showing relaxing people doing absolutely nothing (see Table 4), leads to the assumption that their motives are twofold. These tourists like to show how exotic and relaxed Zanzibar is as a destination. These public photos serve as proof of their ability to visit and afford a stay at this paradise-like destination. At the same time, they want to display their interest in local culture, to distinguish themselves from the tourists that are there just for the beaches.

Government

The final actor in this analysis is the Government of Zanzibar. Their official website, hosted by the Commission for Tourism on Zanzibar, seems a bit disappointing. A lot of text, but very few images are presented here. The percentages in Tables 3 and 4 for the governmental website are therefore a bit skewed and can only be commented on in broad terms. Nevertheless it is still interesting to become aware of the images that are used to present their islands. The results indicate a focus on the intrinsic resources of Zanzibar: nature, sea, heritage, beach and local people and food. There are no pictures of tourists or hotels, restaurants or resorts. Especially images of nature are shown and if the sample of pictures for this actor would have been larger, this would have clearly presented a totally different image than the one presented by either commercial parties or magazines. Now it is hard to conclude anything from this governmental website. It does however present Zanzibar as an island of natural beauty and rich history and not so much as a place for tourists to only enjoy fancy hotels and white beaches. This reflects the current ideas of the Zanzibari government that the islands should offer more than just a

beach holiday and the vision to encourage tourists to explore the islands and its culture. The desired up-market quality tourism is however not really presented here.

Motivations behind representations

As Table 3 indicates, the three types of images that were most frequently seen in representations by foreign commercial actors coincide with those of the total image set. It feeds the assumption that this group of actors has a major influence on how Zanzibar is represented. Despite the plans of the local government to upgrade Zanzibar as a culturally and historically rich destination, the tour operators and hotels keep focusing on the white beaches, blue seas, golden sunsets and luxurious accommodations to sell the islands. Taken together, it seems that the commercial parties in this industry choose to represent Zanzibar as a paradise island where the sun always shines and tourists can totally relax and enjoy 'the good life'. The ocean is always within reach and occasionally one could meet a local merchant selling fruit or tourist curio. It is no surprise that the representations of Zanzibar provided by actors active in travel trade are dominated by images of luxurious tourist facilities as this is what earns them their money. They have no real interest in the cultural sites or natural forests, as these are not developed to the extent that they are major attractions for tourists. It seems they are regarded as interesting extras that just happen to be there as well, but at least their visual strategies are not built on the uniqueness of Stone Town or Swahili culture for that matter.

According to these results the tour operators and hotels from Zanzibar act with the same motives and also have the tendency to show the sea and the hotels. The kind of hotels that are visible are however slightly more moderate than those that are seen on the websites of foreign tour operators. This seems a logical result from the statement that most locally owned hotels are budget accommodations (ZHDR, 2009). But still the luxurious foreign owned hotels and resorts are sold on the websites of local tour operators. This is no surprise as the fees from these large and expensive organizations are larger than those from small locally owned establishments (Omar, 2010: personal conversation). These actors also use more or less the same amount of images in other categories, such as the historical buildings, nature scenes, local culture and Zanzibari residents. The local organizers of spice tours also fall into this category and this probably explains why there are relatively more images of local spices, crafts and nature. They do however not possess the power to market a different side of Zanzibar to foreign tourists.

The tourist blogs suggest that visitors of Zanzibar like to share other images than the commercial parties. One reason is of course that they do not have to sell anything and clearly feel no need to display a lot of facilities On the other hand there is a strong tendency within this group to make the people at home jealous by showing a large amount of sun and beach images. Apparently tourists feel that their holiday on Zanzibar must display these features as proof of their experience. Furthermore local people and culture take up relatively more space in their photo albums, which fits the idea of the quest for authenticity. To some tourists, these sites provide them with the ethic justification of their trip, after which they can really enjoy their stay on the beaches. Moreover, as was already mentioned in the theoretical outline of this study, tourists can also be inclined to show their compassion with local people and their problems. They feel they must show how people live in Zanzibar, because they have had the opportunity to see it with their own eyes (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). But all in all it seems safe to

assume that many pictures were taken and placed online to show the world that those who took them were able to go to such an exotic and unknown place. Actually the act of placing them online for everyone to see, gives away this motive.

The motives of the government of Zanzibar seem obvious, even though there is not a lot of visual material they provide on their website. It wants to show the world that Zanzibar is more than just another sunny island with nice beaches. Nature and heritage are the resources that are used to show what distinguishes Zanzibar from other islands who only have beach tourism to offer. The Zanzibari government sees tourism as a catalyst for the local economy and is therefore also inclined to differentiate itself. While international tour operators are selling beds and flights, for this government the main concern is how to get tourists to come to Zanzibar and spend as much money in the local economy as possible. This is not happening on the beaches of nice hotels, but in Stone Town, during island tours and at historic sites. It seems however an effortless attempt, as the website of the ZCT does not appeal at all to foreigners and has not been updated for years. The lack of visual material gives a rather poor impression as well.

Overall it seems that Zanzibar is represented as a beautiful island with luxurious coastal hotels, where tourists can lay around swimming pools or the beaches. There are some cultural traits that are used to differentiate Zanzibar from other destinations, but they are meager. Also the local population is depicted in more than half of all images where they are present as part of the cultural experience of visiting Zanzibar. They are shown as either part of an old and traditional way of life or as serving the white tourist at hotels, beaches or restaurants. Either way, the post-colonial view of the indigenous man willing to meet the demands of its rulers (Mowforth and Munt, 1998) still seems to be used in the presentation of Zanzibar. Furthermore the images presented give a feeling of freedom as most beaches and landscapes are deserted. One might think that Zanzibar is still undiscovered, which hints at the idea of exclusivity and the possibility to discover 'real' places and people. This impression is reinforced by the fact that only 2% of the entire set of images shows tourists participating in some kind of activity, which comes mostly on the account of the independent travel magazines. Zanzibar is mainly sold as an island for relaxing and at first glance it seems the local government does not possess the power to reflect that image.

To conclude this section, it is interesting to note that in contrast to a lot of other exotic destinations (e.g. the Caribbean) the images of Zanzibar rarely show any sexual elements to enlarge the desirability as a tourist destination. According to Momsen (2005) most beach destinations target heterosexual male tourists, using women to signify the pleasures of a beach holiday. In this study however, there were no images of women with perfect figures wearing tiny swimsuits and only occasionally a sensually smiling female hotel employees was found. This probably has everything to do with the strict Islamic feelings about the open sexuality of women. There are a lot of objections to this and it seems these objections are respected by all actors. On Zanzibar however scarcely clothed women create quite some commotion, as will be discussed in the next section, covering cultural consequences of tourism.

11. Cultural consequences of tourism on Zanzibar

This section will elaborate on the cultural impacts of tourism on Zanzibar. As a structure, the indicators mentioned before will be used to discuss what kind of social consequences can be ascribed to international tourism.

Ratio of tourists to the host population

One of the main ways in which tourists have an influence on local cultures is actually their very presence there. It is safe to assume that a higher amount of visitors leads to a higher amount of alien influences. Williams (2009) argued that the cultural effects of tourism are largest when the host community is relatively small, somewhat isolated and rather unsophisticated in their technical development. All these aspects apply to the situation of Zanzibar. The ratio of tourists to the host population can indicate the pressure on environmental and socio-cultural resources of the visited community (UNWTO, 2004). The ratio is computed by dividing the amount of visitors by the number of inhabitants of a region. In the case of Zanzibar, it I take the number of inhabitants of the main island of Unguja, as almost all tourism activities are concentrated on this island.

The last official census by the Tanzanian government (2002) estimated the total population of Unguja to be 622,459, with a yearly growth rate of 3%. Therefore this study assumes that the total population of Unguja should be around 765,000 in 2009. The total amount of international tourist arrivals in Zanzibar for that year was estimated at 130,000 which leads to a ratio of 170 tourists per 1000 inhabitants. This would rank Zanzibar at a worldwide 60th place out of 153 countries, according to statistics provided by the UN Statistical Yearbook (www.nationmaster.com). This seems average in a worldwide comparison, but it is quite low compared to other island states in the Indian Ocean or the Caribbean as Table 5 shows. Therefore the impact of tourists for this indicator can be called moderate to low.

Table 5 – Ratio of tourists per 1000 inhabitants for island states (2008)

Country	Ratio of tourists (per 1000 inhabitants)
Indian Ocean	
Seychelles	1.601
Maldives	1.048
Mauritius	435
Zanzibar	170
Caribbean	
Antigua & Barbuda	3.375
Barbados	1.692
Dominica	941
Jamaica	435
Trinidad & Tobago	301

Source: United Nations Statistical Yearbook

Percentage of population working in tourism related industries

The amount of people working in tourism businesses can be an indicator in two ways. First it shows how many people are dependent on it for their main source of income and second it gives an idea how many indigenous people have interactions with tourists on a regular basis (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Although no official data on the employment generated by tourism exist for Zanzibar, estimates show that about 24,000

people are directly employed in this industry (ZHDR, 2009). This is about 1.9% of the total population of Zanzibar (estimated to be 1.2 million according to a 3% annual growth after 2002). This is not only below the worldwide average of 3.4% (WTTC, 2011), but also well below the percentages of its competitors in the Indian Ocean or Caribbean as is shown in Table 6. Therefore this indicator is labeled as one of low impact.

Table 6 – Percentage of population employed directly in tourism (2011)

Country	Percentage of population employed directly in tourism
Indian Ocean	
Maldives	27.5%
Seychelles	23.9%
Mauritius	13.6%
Zanzibar*	**1.9%**
Caribbean	
Antigua & Barbuda	18.0%
Barbados	14.6%
Jamaica	7.1%
Dominica	6.9%
Trinidad & Tobago	5.2%

*Statistics from 2009   Source: WTTC Country Reports

Nature of tourism

The nature of the tourism on Zanzibar can be typified as mainly a sun, sea and beach destination with an interesting, yet underdeveloped, cultural heritage product (ITMP, 2003). Due to this motive for travelling to Zanzibar, its arrivals are marked by a pattern of extreme seasonality as the rainy season makes it unattractive during the months of March to June. Furthermore, this kind of tourism makes a large claim on the island's natural resources and electricity and sewage networks, since most tourists are coming to experience some kind of luxury (Lea, 1988). The result of resort and up-market tourism is that these tourists expect Western standards in products and services (Smith, 1989).

In the last decade, the Zanzibar government has been searching for an appropriate form of tourism, which conserves the islands' fragile ecosystem and cultural identity and still brings in substantial foreign money (Issa, 2010: personal conversation). This desire can be found in all the tourism strategies and plans launched in the last ten years (ITMP, 2003; Zanzibar Tourism Policy, 2006; TIGSP, 2008). The purpose is to develop a kind of tourism which benefits the local population of Zanzibar, providing jobs, generating possibilities for local entrepreneurs and creating supply linkages between farmers and fisherman with hotels and restaurants. But despite the championing of these practices as an instrument for reducing poverty and environmental conservation, few actions have shown a sincere commitment by the government or private sector to these ideas (Honey, 2008).

Moreover, the large hotels and resorts that provide their clients with a complete package of facilities and activities, leads to a lot of leakage. The government continues however to allow the construction of large foreign owned resorts (Wood, 2010: personal conversation). This is however more of an economic nuisance than a cultural one. To conclude, the nature of tourism itself seems to have a low impact on the culture of

Zanzibar, as most pressure is on the environmental and infrastructural resources of the island.

Nature and frequency of the interactions between hosts and guests

Basically, there are three places where tourists and locals meet. These are (1) the tourist accommodations, such as hotels and restaurants, (2) outside at the streets of Old Stone Town and (3) the beaches around Unguja. The island is simply not designed for tourists to wander through the rural areas or villages not located at the coast. To begin with the accommodations, it seems all types of tourists have more or less the same amount of interactions with Zanzibari people there. They encounter those who work as maids, maintenance men, waiters or receptionists. But not all employees are from Zanzibar. In foreign owned hotels, the managing staff is mostly non-Zanzibari, as they possess skills which are not held by most Zanzibaris (Honey, 2008; ZHDR, 2009; Roelandschap, 2010: personal conversation). Most of these hotels and resorts also get their - low skilled - service personnel from the mainland or even outside Tanzania, as they require everyone to speak proper English, which is an ability most local people lack (Roelandschap, 2010: personal conversation).

Another moment of contact is on the streets of Stone Town, where official guides a s well as *touts* will try to earn some money by showing tourists around. Especially during the high season, the narrow streets are crowded with these self-claimed guides, who try to take tourists onto trips around Stone Town, on dhows or on spice tours. Also there are the lively markets of Stone Town. But while tourists are interested in buying spices, wooden and painted pieces of art and products made of local textiles as bags, scarves and kanga's, the Zanzibaris come to buy fish and fruits, meet friends and drink coffee or tea. Of course, they also need to buy clothes, shoes and appliances, but they do this at other places in the city, which are not frequently visited by tourists. Finally tourists and locals meet at the beaches. Zanzibari beach boys can be found there who try to sell sunglasses, shells or sailing trips to tourists, while women are offering massages and fabrics. This number is increasing, which led several hotel owners to posting guards or building walls on the beaches to keep people out (Omar, 2010: personal conversation).

To summarize the facts for this indicator, the nature of interactions are unequal. In most meetings the locals are serving tourists or are trying to make some money as a *tout* or guide. The frequency is only high for those working in tourism and living in the old part of Stone Town. For the majority of the local inhabitants, interactions with tourists are rare and most are not looking for any either. Also, the fact that most Zanzibaris do not speak proper English hinders contact between tourists and locals (Omar, 2010: personal conversation). Taken together this indicator seems of moderate influence.

Concentration of tourism accommodations in certain locations

At Zanzibar, nearly all tourism activities and facilities are located at the coast of the main island. Even though the Zanzibari government expressed their wishes to become a diverse and high quality tourism destination, where tourists and local communities mingle and learn from and respect each other, the current reality shows a different situation. Whereas tourists hardly ever visit the inland of Unguja or the larger part of Pemba (Mutch, 2010), tourism accommodations are located at the coastal areas of Zanzibar. Of the 269 tourist accommodations (ZHDR, 2009) all seem to be placed at the

beaches or Stone Town. Moreover, none of the hotels or resorts which are mentioned by one of the largest tourism guides (Finke, 2010) are located at the heart of Zanzibar. Also the map in Appendix D is indicative, as it shows the presented hotels and resorts of a large travel magazine's website. One can see instantly that all featured accommodations are at the coastal areas of Unguja.

This enclave tourism (Britton, 1981; Edensor, 2000; Akama and Kieti, 2007), can be visualized as a 'tourist ring' of beach accommodations with Stone Town as its stone. The coasts of Unguja form the 'front regions' of Zanzibar, offering beaches all around and a bit of historic sites in the Old Stone Town. Honey (2006) has called these coastal villages with its hotels and resort 'enclaves of wealth'. Furthermore, she argues that there is a limited trickling down effect and that these enclaves almost provide no benefits for the local Zanzibaris. The coastal zones form touristic landscapes, which draw visitors away from the social and economic realities found in the islands interior regions. Several coastal villages even have been replaced, removed or destructed to provide perfect locations for foreign tourism investors and the rising land prices that followed did the rest to create a zone where local inhabitants could not afford to live. This has caused people to move away from the beaches into the smaller villages near the roads inland (Omar, 2010; Roelandschap, 2010: personal conversations). Some beaches have even become prohibited for indigenous Zanzibaris, which causes them to give up fishing or seaweed farming (ZHDR, 2009). Therefore it can be concluded that the tourism industry has thoroughly forced some people to change their ways of living. So even though most tourism accommodations are clustered together, away from the houses of the Zanzibari, the social impacts of this indicator seems moderate to high.

Degree of commercialization of local culture

The chapter on commoditization of destinations already discussed how geographical places are transformed into sellable products. One of the most important actions that have been taken in this respect by the government of Zanzibar was the request for old Stone Town to be admitted to the UNESCO list of World Heritage (Magheiry, 2010: personal conversation). With this step, Stone Town was established as "*a fine example of the Swahili coastal trading towns of East Africa*" according to the website of the UNESCO (2011). This enabled tour operators to sell this place as a single commodity which can be consumed on day trips for those staying in the hotels on the east coast on Unguja (Wood, 2010: personal conversation). Although the visual analysis showed that commercial parties mainly focus on the luxurious beach product, they also use images of old buildings in Stone Town and local people in traditional clothes, maybe to amplify the idea of mysticism. Moreover international investors have turned some of the old buildings into hotels and guesthouses and these have been modified to meet the demands of tourists (Khatib, 2000; Display House of Wonders, 2010).

Furthermore the Zanzibar Tourism Policy (ZTP) of 2006 has stated that it wants to strengthen the cultural industries to force product differentiation compared to other island destinations in the Indian Ocean to harness tourism. To build an image as an exclusive holiday destination, the government policy calls for marketing strategies that capture the stories and sites of Zanzibar's history and clearly express their authentic character and their roots to the tradition and culture of Zanzibar (Issa, 2010: personal conversation). The government wants local people to get more involved with tourists and

there are even plans to include tourism in the national school curriculum ZTP (2006). It literally requests the commercialization of the local culture to appeal to foreign tourists.

To conclude, it seems that especially the government of Zanzibar is trying to commercialize the local cultural and historical resources. Following the arguments of Nelson (2005), almost all aspects are sold as distinguishing features of the archipelago compared to other close by islands. But also the people are used to improve and sell the image of Zanzibar. Still, a lot of places of historical (and therefore touristic) value have not been developed yet to rake in a lot foreign exchange. The Old Fort and House of Wonders for instance can be visited and show some historical artifacts, but most other buildings of any touristic value are not open for the public or too badly preserved to appeal to the imagination of the visitors (Magheiry, 2010: personal conversation). The impact of this indicator can be termed as moderate to high as people actually learn that their culture can result in higher tourism incomes.

Demonstration effects

Demonstration effects occur when the visited population starts to, deliberately or accidently, imitate the behavior of the foreigners visiting them (Fisher, 2004). It basically shows how influential a society is to the values and images of Western visitors. The first group of effects can be seen as modernization and globalization effects. These are the improved roads and electricity networks for the comfort of tourists. According to Omar (2010: personal conversation) also the coming of supermarkets, mobile phone networks and internet access points to Unguja is such an effect, and he states that it has improved the value of life on Zanzibar. To pay for these services however, young rural Zanzibaris moved to Stone Town and the coastal villages to find a job in tourism, while abandoning traditional jobs such as farming and fishing (Wood, 2010: personal conversation).

The more intensive demonstration effects are those of acculturation (McClary, 2008). These effects are the result of modifying cultural traits for the benefit of tourism demand. One of these is to allow tourists to visit sacred places or photograph indigenous ceremonies. This has not happened on Zanzibar, as non-Muslims are not allowed in any of the mosques on the island. Also, in contrast with some other Third World regions, wedding or funeral ceremonies are not accessible for tourists. Another characteristic that has not changed yet is the language on Zanzibar. Omar (2010: personal conversation) has called this proof of the strong Zanzibar culture, because "people here do not speak the language of their colonial masters".

Tourism also raised the awareness for environmental issues at Zanzibar. As Omar (2010) explains, it was common practice to dump garbage into the sea and no one really cared about the ecological status of wildlife or forests on the islands. Now there is attention for these bad practices and this has resulted in alternative ways of production and waste handling. Also, several marine and forest reserves have been recognized

All in all demonstration effects have been found within the culture of Zanzibar. The desire to a modern and better life style has encouraged some people to leave their homes and go to the places where many tourists are found. In some ways life has improved for all on Zanzibar, while developments have been made to appeal to tourists. But religious and personal ceremonies have still been kept private and also the way of transportation around the island goes through small vans and taxis, which are not very

modern either. The impact of demonstration effects therefore is called moderate. The trade-off between cultural identity and economic benefits will in the future however be an ongoing dilemma.

Increased social problems

A serious problem for the Zanzibar tourism industry is the growing resistance to tourism by local Muslim institutions. They believe that foreign visitors are the main reason for all social problems (obscure music, increased crime rates, drinking alcohol and usage of drugs) to the islands, which contaminate the Zanzibari youth and the local culture. Especially female tourists that have been to the beach and are still wearing short skirts, tops or bikini's while encountering local people are deemed as disrespectful to Islamic values (Cater, 1995; Lacey, 2002). But also the beach parties and festivals have been the target of a lot of criticism in Zanzibar (Yussuf, 2010).

Although it not determined whether solemnly tourism is to blame for changes in social behavior, most of the older Zanzibaris have no doubt about it. Moyo (2003) describes how locals criticize tourism, as they recall that before there were no drunkards or cigarette smokers. Even the displays in the House of Wonders (2010) warn for elimination of the delicate local culture due to alcohol and prostitution. Others however blame these problems to modernization and the arrival of television and internet on Zanzibar (Omar, 2010: personal conversation).

In the beginning of this century, these tensions have resulted in violence against tourists and tourist facilities. Although it is only a small group, Muslim hardliners seem to be serious when expressing their feeling as follows: "Tourism is the source of moral and religious decay in Zanzibar. Visitors are just coming here to pollute the culture and religion of Zanzibar" (The Associated Press, September 29th 2006). Although it is hard to measure to what degree these problems can be ascribed to tourism, the local population at least believes this to be true. These perceptions are reason enough to see tourism as contributing to these problems. Furthermore, they have a moderate to high impact on the local culture, as new kinds of behavior are established, which create debate between the inhabitants of Zanzibar.

Overview of findings

Table 6 displays a summary of the impacts of tourism on the culture of Zanzibar as how they are reviewed in this descriptive study. On the whole it looks like tourism has a moderate impact on the lives of those living on Zanzibar. Of course, some have undergone major changes in their lives, such as those who have been displaced when foreign investors bought their lands or people who have had to abandon their careers in seaweed farming or fishing because they don't have access to the beaches anymore. And on top of that social problems as alcohol abuse and prostitution have found their way to Zanzibar. On the positive side the islands' infrastructure is improving and this also improves that quality of life for many ordinary Zanzibaris. Moreover the total awareness of environmental issues and the cultural value of Stone Town to the identity of Zanzibar have been awakened. On the other hand the study found that relatively few people are working in the tourism industry and the ratio of tourists compared to the total local population is moderate on a global level but low for an exotic island destination such as Zanzibar. Moreover the tourist facilities are concentrated near certain coastal villages of

Unguja and parts of Stone Town, so a large part of the total population has no frequent encounters with tourists anyway.

Table 6 – Overview of indicator impacts of tourism on Zanzibar

Indicator	Impact
* Ratio of tourists to host population	Low / Moderate
* Percentage of population working in tourism	Low
* Nature of tourism	Low
* Concentration of tourism accommodations	Moderate/High
* Nature and frequency of interactions	Moderate
* Degree of commercialization of local culture	Moderate/High
* Demonstration effects	Moderate
* Increased social problems	Moderate/High

Although there are worries about the influence on Islamic values, most tourists are kept away from the 'back regions' and do not intrude on most local ceremonies and customs. Tourism does not go round unnoticed, but it seems that the cultural traits of Zanzibar are not represented and sold to an extent that it has extreme influences on the local culture. This does however not mean that this is a fixed status. The islands' population is growing steadily, just as the flow of tourists and the amount of tourist accommodations. Plans to draw more persons into tourism and exploit Pemba as well could well have serious impacts on the cultural sustainability of Zanzibar. In the words of one of the displays in the House of Wonders (2010): "Zanzibar may be a Tourist Paradise, but it will require sensitive management to ensure it does not become Paradise Lost."

12. Conclusions

The final section will briefly summarize the findings of this study. The first chapters explained what tourism is and how representations work in this field. Also there was a theoretical outline on the cultural consequences of tourism in Third World countries, before assessing the case of Zanzibar. First, the tourism types that are currently visiting Zanzibar have been identified using Smith's typology (1989) as a small group of low spending backpackers (Off-beat and Unusual tourists), a larger group of up-market Incipient Mass tourists who stay in luxurious hotels and finally an even larger group of moderate spending Mass tourist who are attracted by the all-inclusive resorts.

The tourism offer of Zanzibar is definitely larger than just the white beaches and blue seas that dominate the marketing images. It has a rich history with influence of vary different rulers in the last thousand years, which all comes together in the UNESCO listed Stone Town. The development as a cultural attraction however has not yet reached its full potential as many historic sites do not provide a lot of recreational value or information to tourists. Although it forms an important part of the tourism strategies employed by the Zanzibar government in the last decade to attract up-market high spending visitors, cultural tourism needs to be improved before it matches the ambitions of Zanzibar.

This also explains why images of beaches, seas, sunsets and luxurious tourist facilities dominate the representations. Especially the foreign tourist operators seem to be very powerful in determining the prominent images. Although it is obvious that hotels and restaurants are their main product and therefore the most seen category, the overall image of Zanzibar as well is that of an exotic place for relaxation and doing nothing, while cultural aspects are something to be enjoyed on the side. They have nice and flashy websites with lots of pictures, while their Zanzibar counterparts have poorly designed websites, who mainly show the same images as the internationals. Travel Magazines intend to display a broader picture and include more local people and traits in their representation. There is an extended interest in local people and their daily routines, which is a good attempt to show the real life on Zanzibar. The tourist blogs show also the splendor of the beaches and the Indian Ocean, but also show pictures of local people, historic sites and daily life in Stone Town and other villages. This fits the ideas of Lieper (2003), Holloway (2004) and Williams (2009) who stated that tourists like to express their identity by showing pictures of a world that is so different from their own life. The government wishes to present Zanzibar as a place with rich nature and culture as opposed to other island destinations in both the Indian Ocean and the Caribbean. Tourist beaches are not the main focus of their marketing strategy, which is aimed at up market tourists and preserving the natural and cultural resources, but it seems there is no real power to actually follow this through. This coincides with the findings of Lanfant et al. (1995) who stated that often small local governments do not have the power to dominate the tourism industry. Their representations simple are no match for the international tourism industry's marketing machine.

Unfortunately, the growing tourism does not seem to create significantly more jobs for Zanzibaris, which contradicts the common notions of Lea (1988) and Brown (1998). Most of the workers are not skilled enough to match the demands and expectations of foreign tourists. A far bigger problem however is that fact that the nature of tourism on Zanzibar made it a victim of high leakage rates. Although the number of

visitors is growing and new resorts and hotels are built every year, most of the tourism facilities are in the hands of foreign investors. This coincides with the remarks of Wall and Mathieson (2006), who found that emerging destinations in the developing world are most of the times not able to supply the tourism industry with its own resources. Because of this, some local inhabitants and foreigners alike feel as if Zanzibar is exploited by Western investors and tourists, as described my Mowforth and Munt (1998).

Finally, using a list of indicators identified by Cooper et al. (1998), this study suggests that the cultural consequences of tourism on Zanzibar seem on average to be moderate. It should be noted however that an insight in the relationship between tourism and cultures is still incomplete and quite uncertain. Culture is a very broad subject, which evolves in response to a variety of influences, and tourism is of course only one of them. Due to the complexity of these relations, it is very hard to point out the specific influence of tourism activities. Still, the coming of tourists to Zanzibar showed local people the wealth of foreigners and aroused their ambitions. Some left for Stone Town and the coastal regions to find work in tourism, while others were forced to leave their lands in favor of the development of tourist resorts and hotels. Geographically Zanzibar contains a high amount of enclave tourism, which means that tourists and local people have a limited amount of interactions. This prevents the notion of Lea (1988) that tourists and hosts can learn from each other, because there is no way for them to get to know each other (Mbaiwa, 2005). This ignorance has also increased the feeling that socially undesirable behavior by the local population has been caused by tourism. Nonetheless the amount of tourists visiting Zanzibar is not very large compared to the total population of the main island. And moreover, tourism is mainly concentrated on Stone Town and some coastal regions of the main island Unguja, which means that a major part of the islands is free of tourists and their influences. Finally, important parts of the local culture have not been commoditized, as language, religion and ceremonies are still preserved and practiced by the Zanzibari population. Even though local culture is used in destination marketing and some cultural artifacts are also sold as souvenirs to tourists, these do not seem to resemble the kind of cultural renaissance Lanfant et al. (1995) found at Bali. Zanzibar culture has been formed out of 2000 years of welcoming foreign merchants and rulers with all kinds of customs and beliefs. This new stream of visitors slowly seems to leave its marks in the physical lay-out of Zanzibar and the people who live there, but they have not taken over.

If Zanzibar is to evolve into a more culturally interesting destination, there will be more interactions between tourists and the local population. Not only the local population, but also tourists need to be aware of the implications of this. Maybe the impacts on local culture are modest for now, but this is no guarantee for the future, as tourism will grow to be even more important to the local economy. In the past, tourism has been the reason for some unrest on Zanzibar, as especially Islamic hard-liners felt their religious and cultural values have eroded due to the coming of visitors. The government of Zanzibar recognizes this and wants to create a tourism product which distinguishes the islands from other island nations, using cultural resources. But for this shift in tourism to really happen, another image of Zanzibar in the international tourism industry is needed. Until that moment, most tourists will think of Zanzibar only as a place to work on their tan while making pictures of the beaches and Ocean, to awe the people at home.

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http://www.tanzania.go.tz/nbsf.html (visited 16/07/2010)

http://www.expertafrica.com/country/Zanzibar.htm (visited 26/08/2010)

https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tz.html (visited 15/03/2011)

http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/173 (visited 5/04/2011)

http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/eco_tou_arr_percap-economy-tourist-arrivals-per-capita (visited 27/05/2011)

APPENDIX A – Tourism figures Zanzibar

A.1 Foreign nationals arriving by air and sea 2007 (source: TIGSP)

Nationality	Arrivals	Share (%)
Italy	52,046	36.3
UK	14,204	9.9
Scandinavia	8,817	6.2
Germany	7,091	4.9
Netherlands	4,513	3.1
France	4,255	3.0
Belgium	3,305	2.3
Other Europe	10,926	7.6
Total Europe	*105,157*	*73.4*
USA/Canada	10,328	7.2
Other Americas	577	0.4
Total Americas	*10,905*	*7.6*
Kenya	3,924	2.7
South Africa	9,246	6.5
Other Africa	2,863	2.0
Total Africa	*16,033*	*11.2*
Australia/NZ	4,693	3.3
Japan	923	0.6
Other Asia	5,572	3.9
Total Asia	*11,188*	*7.8*
GRAND TOTAL	**143,283**	**100.0**

A.2 Seasonality of foreign nationals arriving by air and sea 2007 (source: TIGSP)

Month	Arrivals
Jan	14,942
Feb	13,289
Mar	11,580
Apr	6,323
May	4,076
Jun	6,990
Jul	13,640
Aug	19,870
Sep	11,727
Oct	13,408
Nov	11,374
Dec	16,064
Total	**143,283**

APPENDIX B – Websites visited for visual analysis

Governmental (1)

www.zanzibartourism.net

Travel trade ZNZ (10)

www.nutmegtours.com
www.salamatours.com
www.zanzibarexcursions.com
www.hakunamajiwe.com
www.zanzibarquest.com
www.gallerytours.net
www.suntoursznz.com/
www.mauwaniinn.com/mauwaniinn.html
www.deresionekaribu.com/
www.mauwaniinn.com

Travel trade foreign (10)

www.africatravelresource.com
www.zanzibar.com
www.kempinski.com/en/zanzibar
http://www.go2africa.com/tanzania/zanzibar
www.purezanzibar.com
http://www.zanzibartravel.co.za/
http://ifahotelsresorts.com/news_information/imagegallery/projects.aspx?pid=15&project
=Zanzibar%20Beach%20Hotel%20&%20Resort
http://www.palms-zanzibar.com/photogallery.html
http://www.serenahotels.com/serenazanzibar/default-en.html
http://www.expertafrica.com/country/Zanzibar.htm

Travel Journals, Magazines & Guides (10)

www.zanzibar.net
www.lonelyplanet.com/tanzania/zanzibar-archipelago
http://www.telegraph.co.uk/travel/destinations/africaandindianocean/zanzibar/
http://www.africa-ata.org/tanzania.htm
http://www.concierge.com/travelguide/zanzibar
http://www.luxurytravelmagazine.com/
www.thetravelrag.com
http://travel.yahoo.com/
http://www.getlostmag.com/#/location/39

http://www.goworldtravel.com/

<u>Tourist Blogs & travel stories (10)</u>

http://www.travelblog.org/Africa/Tanzania/Zanzibar/ (5 blogs checked)
http://realtravel.com/de-36147-zanzibar_real_trips   (6 blogs checked)
http://www.travbuddy.com/Zanzibar-travel-blogs-1198505 (5 blogs checked)
http://www.stuartshepherd.co.uk/?p=921
http://www.bugbitten.com/blogs/Africa/richandmerridith/Stonetown_Zanzibar.html
http://www.tripadvisor.com/Tourism-g482884-Zanzibar_Zanzibar_Archipelago-Vacations.html   (photos 1-10 / 51 – 60 / 101 – 110)
http://www.traveljournals.net/pictures/tanzania/zanzibar/ (photos 1-10/51 – 60/101 – 110)
http://www.reisimpressies.eu/zanzibar.dirk%20dewulf.htm
http://zanzibar-caitlin.blogspot.com/   (photos 1-10 / 31 – 40 / 61 – 70)
http://blog.brillianttrips.com/2009/05/zanzibar-exotic-spice-island/

APPENDIX C – Interviewees

Mohammed Omar
Mohammed Omar is the director of the Zanzibar Institute for Tourism Development (ZIToD). This institute, which is funded by the local government, trains young Zanzibaris to work in tourism facilities. Their goal is not only to educate lower staffed people, but also managers and entrepreneurs.

Mlingoti Issa
Mlingoti Issa is director of planning for the Zanzibar Commission of Tourism (ZCT), which works closely together with the Ministry of Tourism. His main responsibility is to assess all tourism investment plans that are requested. Also he helps to establish Zanzibar's official marketing messages.

Mohammed Mugheiry
Mohammed Mugheiry is director of the Zanzibar Stone Town Heritage Society (ZSTHS), which is located at one of the colonial buildings in Stone Town, the Old Customs House. The main concern of this organization is to preserve the buildings and look of Old Stone Town and to prevent further deterioration. It is an NGO, which is funded with private money from donors, but receives no money from either the local government or the tourism investors.

Anneloes Roelandschap
Anneloes Roelandschap is owner of the Zenji Hotel in Stone Town. Married to a Zanzibari, this Dutch entrepreneur has set up not only a small hotel, but also a boutique which sells crafts products made by local women. Furthermore she is involved in several other projects which aim to use tourism as a way of improving the quality of life for local inhabitants of Zanzibar

Ken Wood
Ken Wood is sustainable tourism project manager with Voluntary Services Oversea (VSO), a nonprofit organization which aims to reduce poverty in the world. At Zanzibar he works on projects which improve the linkages between local producers and the international tourist accommodations and facilities.

APPENDIX D – Selection of featured hotels and resorts by www.expertafrica.com