Drivers of Tourism in Zanzibar

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Abstract

Understanding drivers of tourism is important in transforming actors' perceptions and ultimately the industry for sustainability. Motives, historical forces shaping tourism policy, legislations and their actual implementations is less researched. This paper exposes drivers of tourism in Zanzibar. It explains how the contested natural, cultural heritage, revolutionary regime, neoliberal structural adjustment, legislations and policy changes in the archipelago shape our understanding of tourism theory and practices overtime and space. It is generally founded that enduring political instability, conflicting institutional power struggles and variable interests have created unique unsustainable tourism practices and trends in the island. Overall, the paper contributes to an understanding of the use of post structural critical theory and political ecology approach in rethinking the future of tourism policy and legislations with references to island destinations in developing economies.

Keywords: Drivers of tourism, political ecology, policy, legislations, Zanzibar.

Introduction

Tourism drives economic growth, socioeconomic development and environmental conservation globally. Taxes, employment opportunities, income, heritage, conservation and potential multiplier effects are ideally used to justify tourism investment worldwide (Hall, 2007a). A critique has, however, emerged that tourism is an insufficiently critical business (Tribe, 2008). The critique is reacting to the pro technical rationality positivist research that is biased to the better operational management of tourism, whilst issues of equity, sustainability and ethics are generally overlooked. Critical research is gradually setting an agenda for ethical management, governance and co-existence with the wider world of tourism and development. As critical tourism scholarships are gradually increasing worldwide, we see rare cases (Gössling, 2003; Honey, 2008) coming from Zanzibar. Even so, actors (government, private sector and local people) in Zanzibar are increasingly not satisfied with the trends of tourism in terms of its contribution to macro and micro economic growth, returns in investment and wellbeing of residents (Lema, 2013). This paper thus strives to expose rarely discussed issues in the emerging pro-neoliberal tourism agenda. It analyses Zanzibar historical and cultural heritage, natural resources endowment, revolutionary regime and neoliberal policies and legal changes as they influence thus making tourism a highly contested development endeavour. The use of post structural critical theory and political ecology approach in conceptualising, theorising and the actual writing practice add value to the authentic and usefulness of the findings towards appropriate socially transforming practices, inclusive growth and sustainable development.

Drivers of Tourism

Economists in the 1990s described the travel industry polyglot as driver of tourism (Ioannides and Debbage, 1997). They meant that the tourist industry was organised based on principles of capitalism (Britton, 1982; 1991). In the same period critical scholars were theorising tourism as a predominantly capitalist activity with inherent social dynamics and ideological relations' (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007). In the beginning of the new millennium, Meethan (2004) and Dwyer *et al*. (2014) noted globalisation as driver of tourism because it influences the creation of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) and formation of strategic alliances to facilitate regional branding and niche marketing. Mowforth and Munt

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(2009) advanced this line of thinking noting that contested globalisation, sustainability and development discourse collectively drive tourism. Accordingly, the three concepts are one-interchangeably used to restructure the First World-Third World nexus of geographical imagination for tourism. Under the umbrella of globalisation, global institutions and organisations (World Bank, International Monetary Fund, United Nations World Tourism Organisation, and World Wide Fund for Nature, International Union for Conservation of Nature and United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation) embrace tourism as means to create wealth, employment, improve wellbeing and environmental sustainability. Unfortunately, local people participation in tourism is taken as buzzle word. The global power structure shape tourism in terms of state restructuring, changes in civil society and transformations of international, national and local governance (Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). Other scholars have also argued that, instead of eliminating poverty, the assumed pro-poor tourism impact (DFID, 1999; Goodwin, 2008; UNWTO & SNV, 2010) embedded amongst the powerful global and national tourism institutions and organizations, only serves as furthering more tourism investment in the impoverished destination (Scheyvens, 2007; Harrison, 2008). Nelson and Honey, (2007) further argued that coastal tourism is driven by large-scale sets of primary actors' and secondary actors. (1) Land use development decisions for tourism made by governments at the national and local levels, investment in infrastructure, financed through both public institutions and private investors, who are influenced by national, regional or global forces. (2) Real estate development industry including financial institutions and real estate developers who operate from local to global levels and are primarily private investors. Secondary players include (3) tourism operators such as hotel chain and cruise lines; (4) tourism consumers. Knowledge informing the objectives attached to tourism development policies is also seen as drivers of tourism (Curry, 1990; Nelson, 2012). Aptly, as Church (2004) argued, power structure shaping tourism development are based on complex relationships between corruption, local and national government, business interests, and international consultants' tourism knowledge.

From the preceding review, the drivers of tourism development reflect variable actors influence, interests and power relations among them. The thinking, perception, power relations and motive behind varied tourism actors reflect drivers of tourism in the context of this paper. Tourism actors operate at global, regional, national and local levels (Hall, 2007b). World Bank and IMF finances tourism infrastructure development programmes and projects (Mann & Hawkins, 2007). UNWTO is an intergovernmental global forum for tourism policy, organisational, legal framework and conventional codes of conducts. UNESCO supports research projects in designing and preserving cultural monuments for tourists' attractions in the name of world heritage sites. Beside, national governments influence tourism through policies, laws and regulations, but their interests does not necessarily tally with needs and aspirations of their respective citizen. Anyhow, community groups and individuals operate at local levels (evicted from land to allow tourism investment, rare employees in tourism formal and informal sector, seldom supply goods and services to tourists). Private sectors establish, manage and arguably profit from tourism business such as airline, hotel, restaurants, and travel agency to mention a few. Conventional tourism and hospitality management literature perceive the actors outlined above as tourism stakeholders (Zhao & Ritchie, 2007). In theory and practice, however, we see conflicting actors' interests, power struggles, competition and conflicts propelling tourism investment worldwide in such a way that almost every actor ultimately remains unsatisfied as they use conflicting means to gain victory. This phenomenon is what Foucault (1982) referred to as relations of power and relations of strategy in which one seeks to have the advantage over others to obtain victory. As such, power relation is central to post structural critical theory and political ecology of tourism.

Post-structural Critical Theory and Political Ecology of Tourism

Post structuralism challenges the ways we theorize and study contemporary societies (Agger, 1991). The theory denotes instability in the human sciences, due to the complexity of humans themselves and the impossibility of fully escaping structures in order to study them. Additionally, a pro neo-Marxist post structural critical theory framework is argued to have 'lastingly shaped political ecology' (Schubert, 2005:31). Like the post structuralism, the theoretical base of political ecology remains facetted, multi-angular and flexible (Robbins, 2004; Robbins and Moore, 2010; Khan, 2013). Central to political

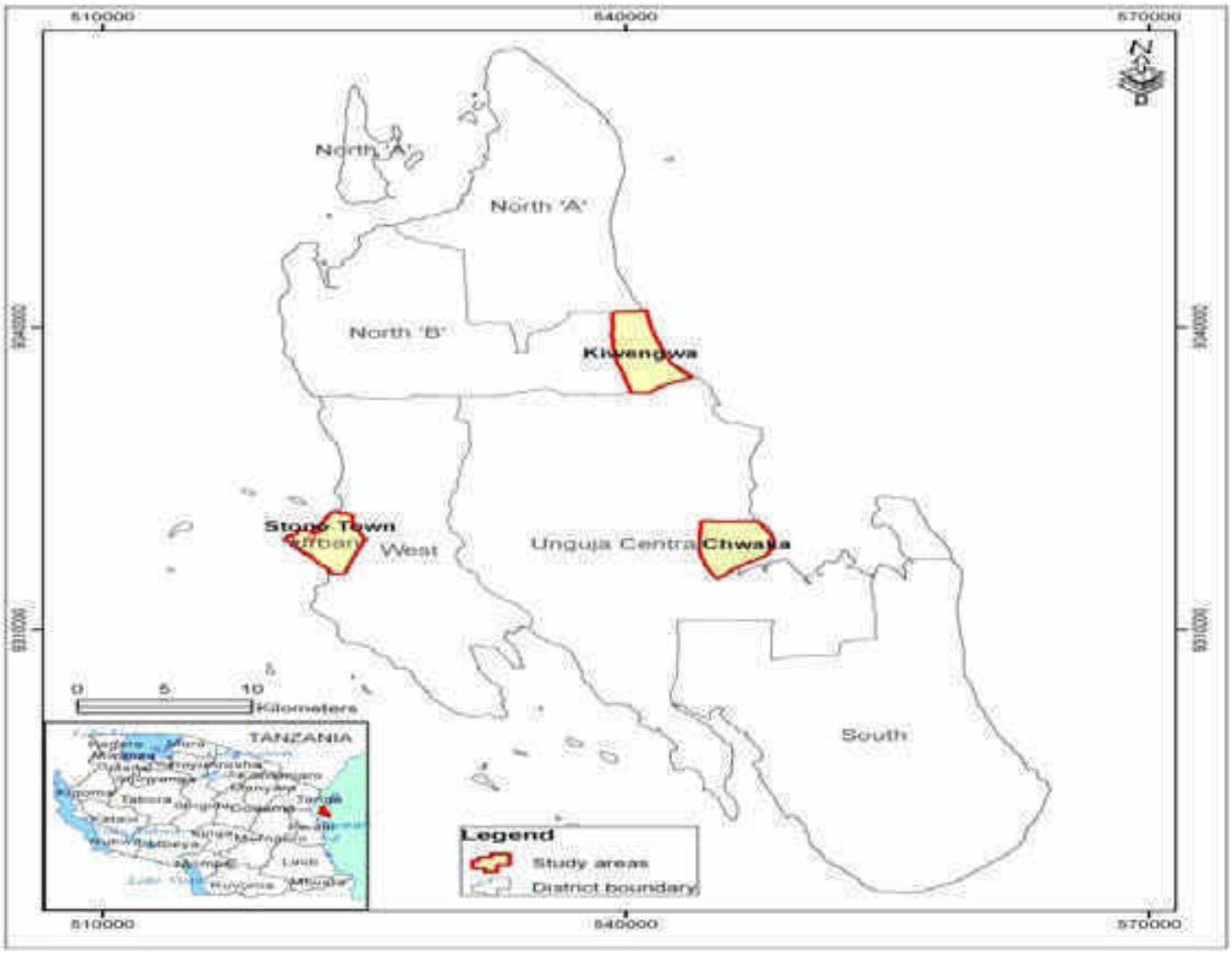
ecology is the in-depth examination of social structures in their global and historical contexts to explain drivers of tourism and the analysis of the various involved actors, their interests, actions and discourses. The approach scrutinises in both cases the motivations, agendas and legitimacy of different actors as well as of scholars and thus oneself. The goal of combining the post structural critical theory and political ecology in the analysis of tourism drivers is to explicitly avoid generalisations and to do justice to local realities (Searle, 1980; Gramsci, 1971; Gibson, 2009; Ateljevic *et al.,* 2007a&b; 2011). Power is a fundamental issue and critical approach to tourism exposes those whose interests are served and how power operates in particular formations of tourism as well as in the process of research (Church and Coles, 2007; Hall, 2010). Rejecting crude forms of economic determinism it recognizes multiple forms of power (McLaren & Kincheloe, 2003; McLaren *et al.,* 2010), focuses on emancipation (Grundy, 1987) and transformation in the way in which one perceives and acts in the world (Tribe, 2008). It rejects reductionist views of the world which sees tourism as either a force of good or evil (Scheyvens, 2007). Instead it emphasises detailed studies of systems, processes, places and interactions between people, in order to understand how culture and power influence the actions of tourism stakeholders (Hall, 2010). Actors at any place are not simply victims of a destructive global tourism industry rather, they have power to respond, adapt, embrace, or reject (Wearing and McDonald, 2002; Scheyvens, 2007) as one cannot impose ideology on a range of unwilling groups (Gramsci, 1971).

Political ecology highlight how certain views of tourism became normalised, legitimised and dominant as the result of their repeated use by governments, practitioners and tourists themselves. Such legitimisation of understandings is always at the expense of other marginalised viewpoints (Hannam and Knox, 2010), particularly of the commons or less privileged mass in the host communities (Hall, 2003; 2007b). As Cole (2012) note, political ecology is relevant to tourism particularly in examining how social power and ecology interact and resultant impacts. The approach is effective in unravelling the stakeholders, the historical process and politics behind the tourism growth and the impact this has had on environment and society. Johnston (1987), Stonich (1998), Gössling (2003), Beahm (2009) and Lema *et al*. (2015) applied political ecology in their works. However, the conventional application of political ecology has been limited to understanding power relations of global actors versus national actors or central governments actors versus local communities or private actors against destination residents. Conflicts and power struggles within and among varied central governments tourism authorities and departments are rarely discussed in the existing political ecology literature. As such, this paper focus political ecology on understanding power struggles shaping and influencing tourism policy process and legislations and practices within and among varied central governments authorities. As drivers of tourism are highly contested and promotion of tourism remains a highly ambiguous development strategy (Britton, 1982), political ecology approach uncover actors, interests and power relations influencing its development overtime and space. The approach addresses power issue, ownership, and complexity of policies that determine the ways in which development decisions are made and implemented in an historical context taking into consideration multiple scales of potential conflicts and compromises.

Methodology

Fieldwork in Zanzibar was conducted in 2009, 2010 and 2011. Archive, surveys of the tourist service business establishments and a review of existing tourism business trends and socio-economic statistics were conducted. Qualitative in-depth interviews and focus group discussions along with narratives and discourse analysis complimented quantitative methods. As shown in Figure 1, the study area comprised one tourism zone in Unguja (Kiwengwa Shehia), one none tourism zone (Chwaka Shehia) and a World Heritage Site (Stone Town).

Figure 1: The Study Area



During the fieldwork most of the day time was spent along the coastal beaches in Kiwengwa and Chwaka to interact with indigenous people, tourists, hoteliers and owners of the informal tourism enterprises. Photographs and informal conversation with hoteliers were also made. Content analysis scrutinised literature relevant to the study topic and the study area, while discourse and narrative analysis focus understanding of various opinions from the key informants (Miles & Hurberman, 1994; Henning, 2010:117-124). GIS programme enabled processing and analysing digital data. Local research assistants were invaluable to the entire research project.

Historical Context of Tourism in Zanzibar

Many studies on evolving Zanzibar tourism associate it with the decline of the clove economy in the 1980s (Honey, 1999; 2008; Gössling 2003; Khatib, 2000; Kulindwa *et al.,* 2001, Luvanda and Shitundu, 2003). However, in order to depict drivers of tourism this paper analyses Zanzibar tourism development from pre 1964, early revolutionary regime in the 1970s and post 1980s neo-liberal structural adjustment phase. It is noted that tourism was prevalence in Zanzibar before the 1964 revolution and thereafter. Hitherto, nature of the physical environment, socio-economic, political and cultural history has created unique tourism practices in Zanzibar. In the pre-colonial era, Zanzibar's strategic geographical location, secured seaports, beaches, freshwater, clove economy, food, slaves, ivory and pleasurable climate attracted people from Arab world, Far East, Europe, America and hinterland of Africa. Early settlements and trade contacts between Zanzibar and East African Coast with Egyptians, Phoenicians, Jews, Mesopotamians, Chinese, Persians and Arabs is evident (Ingrams, 1931; Middleton and Campbell, 1965; Sheriff, 1995; Mapunda, 2014). This partly reveal natural and cultural heritage as the basis for tourism

development in Zanzibar. It is also undisputable that all prime tourism cultural attractions to these days (Old Fort, Christ Church Cathedrals, Maruhubi Palace, Beit-El-Ajaib Museum and all significant features in the Stone Town) were developed before the 1964 revolution. Most of the tourists during this era were missionaries, traders and explorers to the East, Central, South Africa, Middle and Far East. Early renowned explorers-Vasco da Gama, Burton, Henry Morgan Stanley, and Dr. David Livingstone, the great missionary against slave trade and slavery and Tippu Tip, the famous caravan trader to Eastern Zaire were accommodated in Zanzibar (Burton, 1872; Lyne, 1905; Pearce, 1919; Sherriff, 1995; Harris & Myers, 2007; Nicolini, 2012). Their porters like the modern day tour guides were solicited along the coast and Zanzibar was not exceptional. Other tourists included sultanate relatives and specialists like European and American consulates, medical doctors, architectures, natural scientists and engineers, major generals and military personnel's who came to provide various services along with exploring the islands and other potentials in the eastern and central Africa. Zanzibar provided a peaceful natural harbour and accommodation to the varied types of tourists who were essentially travellers, explorers, traders and subsequently colonizers. People from various parts of Africa also visited Zanzibar as slaves or providers of legitimate labour in clove plantations and other civil works that required energetic human beings who were essentially negro (Middleton and Campbell, 1965; Okello, 1967). This involved migrant labourers some of whom finally made Zanzibar their permanent home. Some mainland African chiefs were paying tribute to the Zanzibar sultanate (Zanzibar Archives, 2006). Interestingly, Zanzibar unique historic tourist potentials globally were also noticed earlier in the 19th and 20th century:

"she took amicably to the Persians of the Middle Ages; she was friendly with the Portuguese; she tolerated Indian; she assimilated the Oman Arab; and she welcomed the English…and while Pemba strove to drive the Christian out, Zanzibar sheltered him…Zanzibar is coloured man paradise. I know of no place where West and East meet on more friendly and intimate terms, or where there is less colour snobbism than in Zanzibar" (Pearce, 1919:71)

Fascinatingly, Zanzibar Commission for Tourism (ZCT) still portrays a more or less similar discourse to attract contemporary tourists:

"We welcome you to Zanzibar, the majestic spice island of the Indian Ocean. These are two main islands of Unguja and Pemba. Over centuries different cultures have influenced Zanzibar to become what it is today. Sumerians, Assyrians, Egyptians, Phoenicians, Indians, Chinese, Persians, Portuguese, Omani Arabs, Dutch and British have settled here at one time or another and influenced the local culture into the present fusion" (http://www.zanzibartourism.net/).

The forgoing multiracial, cosmopolitan culture, nature and heritage remain the major attractions of international and domestic tourists to Zanzibar to these days (Okech, 2010). Although the pre-1964 travel, exploration, domination and colonisation were not documented as tourism endeavour, such mediaeval and early 19th and 20th century travels (Lwoga, 2011), trade, commerce, exploration and domination are the features that define and drive tourism globally. Despite being a multiracial society, it is also notable that before revolution both western and eastern writers used to refer Zanzibar as an Arab State (Ommaney, 1955; Bennet, 1978). The pre-colonial, Zanzibar Sultanate (Lyne, 1905; Gray 1962; Nicolini, 2012) and ultimate British colonial era practice reveals that natural and cultural heritage are the fundamental drivers of tourism in the islets. In this era travel and tourism in Zanzibar was in a form of adventure, exploration, exploitation and domination. Discussion in April 2012 in USA with Tom Wolf, who had lived in East Africa in the colonial era prior to the 1964 revolution revealed that many Europeans who were in Kenya and Tanganyika were travelling frequently for recreation in Zanzibar. Throughout centuries, apart from historical heritage, natural heritage attracting tourists in Zanzibar include fine white sands beaches in the north and east coast, sports, game fishing, spice tour and Jozani-Chwaka Conservation Area with Red Colobus Monkey.

Notably, like in many parts of Africa, complex struggles for Zanzibar independence from Arab domination and colonial rule took shape in the 1950s and 1960s. However, unlike the neighbouring colony of Tanganyika, given the unique political and cultural history of the archipelago the road to independence

was not smooth. This culminated to the Westminster model constitution of the independent state of Zanzibar of December 1963 which provided safeguards, checks and balances, separation of power, rule of law, freedom and right to own property (Peter and Ebenroth, 1996). The Bill of Rights in the constitution created a favourable investment climate for a seemingly development of modern tourism industry. Unfortunately, the seemingly minority Arabs' independence lasted for one month due to the 12th January 1964 African revolution (Lofchie, 1965; Okello, 1967; Clayton, 1981; Peterson, 2002; Speller, 2007).

The revolution in Zanzibar changed the course of tourism from colonial domination to supporting socio-economic development albeit with limited success. The second phase of tourism in Zanzibar witnessed the early revolutionary regime supporting the industry politically and financially as the government was fully involved in business and politics. Unlike the pre 1964 practice, early pro-socialist revolutionary regime reoriented and restructured tourism to benefit the majority. Government controlled and managed tourism enterprise including accommodation industry. Private property was both confiscated and revoked under the early revolutionary regime in favour of small holder farmers to promote agriculture (Shao, 1992). The first largest government owned tourist hotel to date of international standard, Bwawani hotel was developed under this regime (Ouma, 1970; Honey, 1999; 2008). International Tourist Arrivals was growing a rate of 3% annually but fluctuation was evident. Political instability affected tourist arrivals from 1972 to 1974 following the assassination of the first president of Zanzibar. Key political drivers of tourism following the revolution was the Zanzibar Peoples' Republic union with Tanganyika on 26 April 1964 to form Tanzania and the merging of the TANU and AFRO SHIRAZI Party to form CCM in 1977 which has remained the main ruling political party in Tanzania to these days and consequently the 1977 Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania. Hitherto, as part of the United Republic of Tanzania, Zanzibar archipelago is treated as a single destination with the mainland for international visitors when issuing tourist visas. The changes facilitated funding from IMF, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), European Economic Commission (EEC), United State of America International Aid (USAID), Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO), Finns, Norwegians, Swedes, British and Danes for socio-economic development in Zanzibar (Chachage, 2000). Zanzibar Friendship Tourist Bureau (ZFTB) coordinated tourism during the 1970s. The Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism centrally organised tourism with correspondence between the department of tourism, foreign affairs and management of Bwawani hotel, Africa House, Furaha ya Visiwani Hotels Ltd, Zanzibar hotel, Malindi Guest House and Victoria House. The hotels in Stone Town had a total of 382 beds distributed in Bwawani hotel (250), Uwanjani hotel (63), Zanzibar hotel (46) and Africa hotel (23). The plans to develop tourist accommodation facilities in Jambiani, Bwejuu, Chwaka, Uroa and Matemwe along the beaches were in progress. Tourists were visiting towns, historical sites and beaches along the east coast and had raised concerns to improve services in the islands. Also, World Tourism Organisation developed the first master plan to delineate potential areas for tourist hotels, marine parks, sports fishing, public beach parks and potential investors were allowed to express their interests. In the 1970s tourism was centrally planned and controlled. However, scholars were sceptical regarding tourism sustainability as it was seen as contradicting African socialism, self-reliance development strategy and human dignity (Shivji, 1973).

Provided that pro-socialist revolutionary regime in Zanzibar supported tourism it is misleading to conclude that principles of capitalism purely drive the industry. Instead, as Scranton and Davidson (2007) noted it is neither capitalism nor communism that drives or hampers tourism. However, predictability, planning, stability and infrastructures shape and structure tourists' experiences around the world across time. Aptly, ideological orientations shape various actors understandings, practice and outcomes of tourism. Ideology and hegemony influence our understanding of what is tourism, how we practice it and consequently the resultant outcomes. Tourism practice framed from capitalism sentiment do yields different outcomes as opposed to that driven from pro-socialist sentiment. In a purely capitalist system profit making may be considered as principle motive and driver of investing in tourism. In a communist or socialist society equity and inclusive growth is central in the decision to invest in tourism. However, mixing conflicting ideologies in formulating tourism investment policy and legislations is likely to

results into confusion. The preceding confusion is precisely the driver of the third phase of tourism in Zanzibar.

The third phase of tourism in Zanzibar emerged as the result of World Bank and IMF pressure to liberalize Tanzania economy early in the 1980s. This happened despite the resistance from the first president of Tanzania Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere (Fischer, 2006; Mtei, 2009: 149-157). Whilst, president Nyerere deliberately stepped down in 1985, within CCM the majority did not supported neoliberal reforms. This created enduring misunderstanding within the government. Notably, the constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 retained the principles of socialism and self-reliance as its fundamental ideology, whilst the Zanzibar constitution of 1984 blessed neoliberal economic recovery programmes. Nevertheless, the resultant neoliberal reforms and legal changes introduced new investment code in both Zanzibar and Mainland Tanzania (Peter and Ebenroth, 1996). Consequently, tourism investment was considered as an engine of growth in the Island. Improvement of tourism infrastructure such as roads, airport, seaport, restoration and conservation of Stone Town to a World Heritage Status followed. Legal changes since 1986 favoured foreign investment predominantly in tourism sector. The investment law allowed investors to repatriate profits and employ expatriates. To the government, land lease, rent seeking and revenue become important drivers of tourism. Most problematic issue was that for almost first 20 years of the reforms House of the Representative passed over 13 laws to regulate land tenure and investment without establishing a clear tourism investment policy (Lema, 2013). Consequently, Tourism Master Plan, 2003, Tourism Policy Statement, 2004 and Investment Policy, 2004 came in too late to be able to influence any meaningful transformation towards equity driven investment in the archipelago rather than remaining sweeping statements.

Following the reforms and legal changes land leased for tourism increased from 81.45 in 1987 to 2449.68 hectares in 2007. Also, Zanzibar Land Registry Database indicates that land lease generated a total rents of 1,509,943.2 US$ which is equivalent to over 2 billion Tanzanian Shillings in the same period. Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority (ZIPA) Database indicates that total investment capital in tourism from 1988 to 2011 amounted to over 6 billion with foreigners dominating 95.7%, Zanzibaris own 3.04% and Mainlanders the remaining 1.26%. Tourism investment in hotels, restaurants, tour operation and game fishing constitutes over 65% of all existing investments in Zanzibar. Whilst domestic tourists' arrivals are unrecorded, international tourists arrivals increased from 19,368 in 1985 to 175,067 in 2011. Importantly, data from Zanzibar Revenue Board (ZRB) revealed that over 63 billion TZS was earned from tourism related income from 1998 to 2010. Unfortunately neither government nor tourism investors nor local people are satisfied with the trends of tourism development in Zanzibar. Central Government complains about low tax compliance resulting from in-adequate audit capacity especially for all-inclusive package tours and due to power overlap over revenue collection issues between Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) and ZRB. Also there is conflicts of interests between ZIPA (it receive 5% of exempted duty as service charge) over tax exemption which impinge Zanzibar Revenue Board revenue collection (Ernest & Young, 2010). Issues of concern to investors relate to the fact that investment in tourism industry is not yielding any substantial profits. A survey of all tourism investments in Kiwengwa and Chwaka was interesting since none of the interviewed operator mentioned profits as one of their business success. Conflicts with local communities, declining room occupancy rates (<40%) and death or closure of prominent hotels (Venta Club in Kiwengwa) implies that investment in the industry is not viable in a long run.

Despite attracting most of the foreign capital since 1988 to date, the problematic findings which even challenge common sense knowledge about the drivers of tourism in Zanzibar is a consistent realisation from existing official survey data that the tourism sub-services sector is a leading loss making investments (BoT *et al.,* 2004; 2006; 2010) (Table 1).

Table 1 Tourism Returns Rates, Dividend Remittances and Employment 2000-2008 (USD Million)

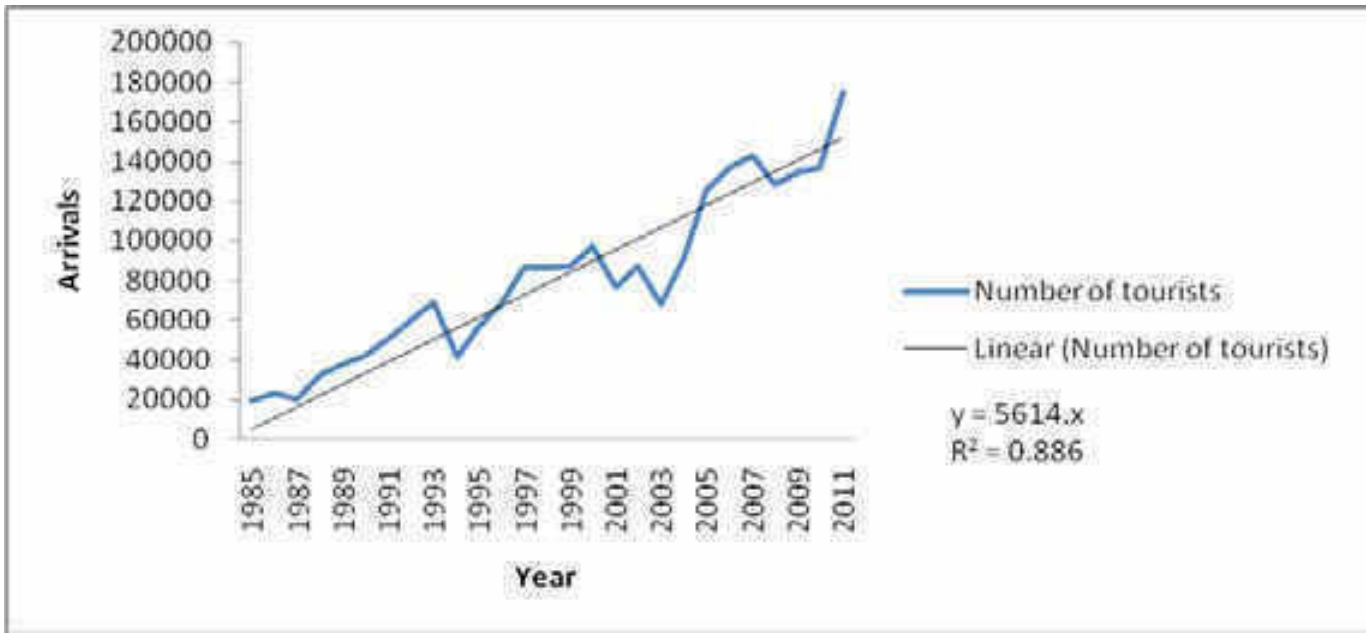
Year	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2007	2008
Rates of returns	-0.01	-9.0	-21.9	-14.8	-1.7	-12.6	-4.0	-8.7
Dividend	0.0	0.0	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	-0.02	-0.17
Employment & its % relative to other sectors	-	-	2,865 79.5%	3145 77.1%	4206 74.7%	4535 68.5%	4287 68.9%	5241 71.4%

Source: *BoT et al., 2004, 2006, 2010*

Official explanation for the loss is also distorted. In 2006 BoT *et al*. said that the reported losses in tourism related investment in Zanzibar may be associated with some of the investors underreporting business reality. This is contradicting because BoT and ZIPA are responsible to ensure fair plays among both foreign and domestic investors (RGZ, 2005). Seemingly more problematic is the reason for the loss in 2007 and 2008 that income on investments deteriorated to negative rate of return mainly due to impact of global financial crisis (BoT *et al.*, 2010:x-xi). The second reason for the loss is also questionable because the previous survey (2002-2005) claimed that some of the investors were likely underreporting business reality. One would therefore expect the next survey that followed in 2010 could in the first place clear the previous doubt before rushing to a new conclusion.

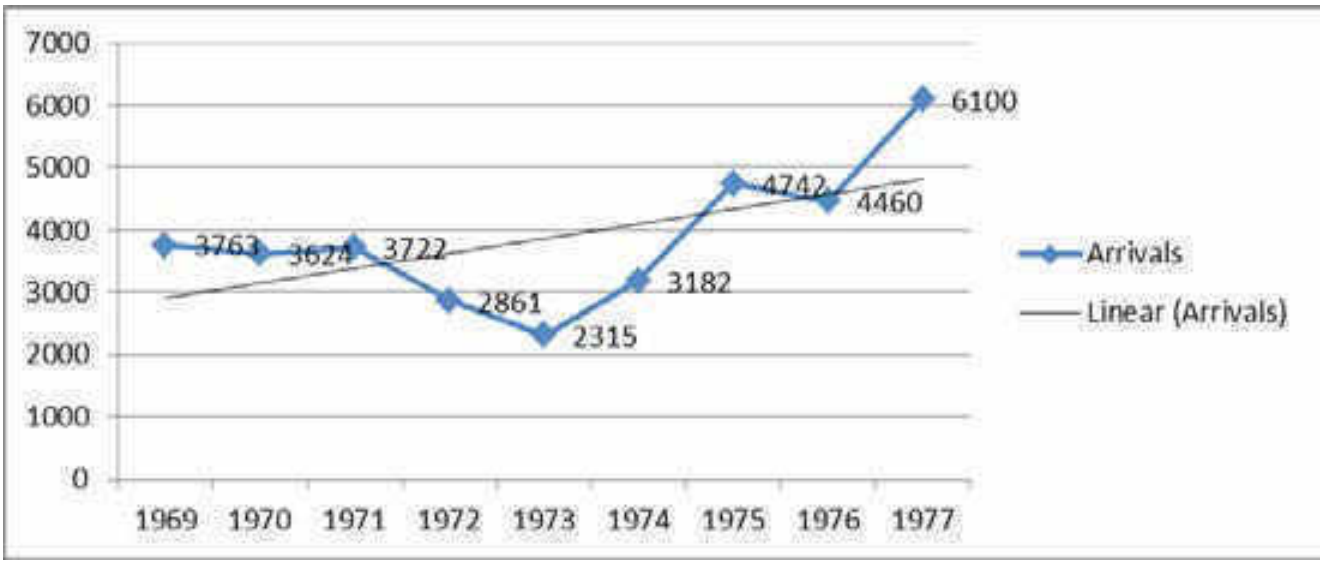
Political instability in Zanzibar seems to have been influencing ITAs for nearly half a century (Figure 2 and 3).

Figure 2: International Tourists Arrivals in Zanzibar 1969-1977



Source: *Department of Tourism Zanzibar (1979) FF8/68 1978 July – 1984 February*

Figure.3: International Tourists Arrivals to Zanzibar from 1985 to 2011



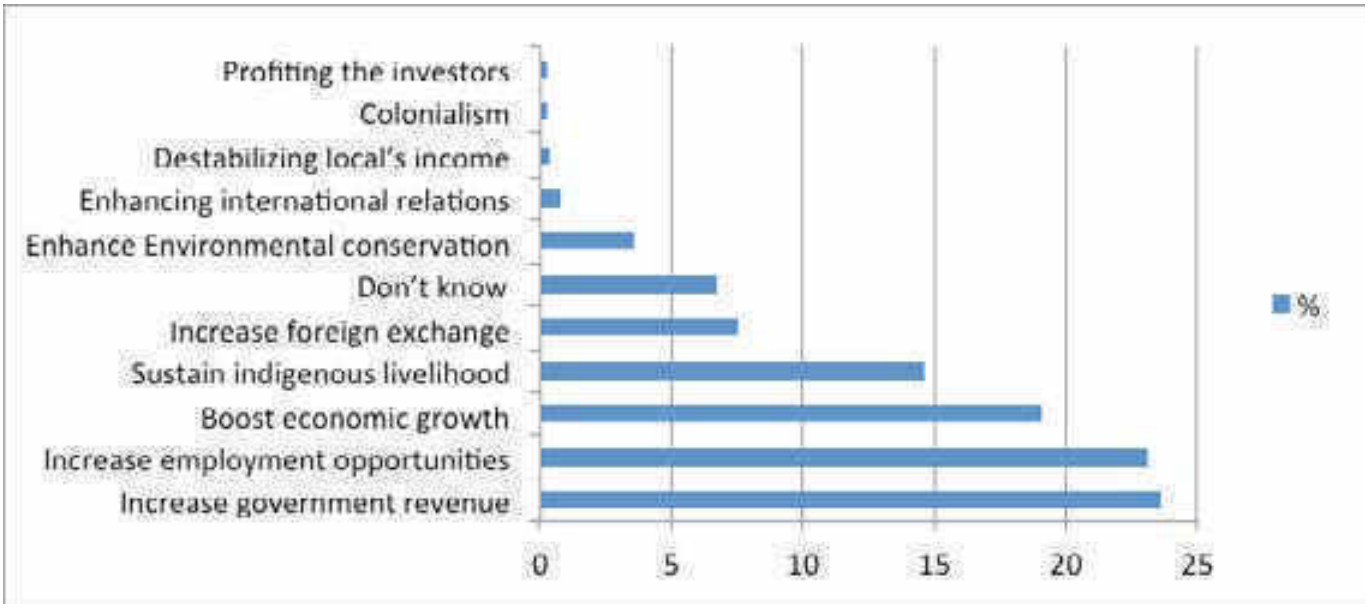
Source: *ZCT (2010), RGZ, 2012*

Declining ITAs is seen following all general election periods in 1985, 1995, 2000, 2005 and 2010. Overall, tourism was increasing at a rate of 9% annually since 1985 as opposed to 3% increase which was the experience in the 1970s. Within central government conflicting power struggles among various institutions mandated to oversee tourism development process are evident. Promises in the tourism policy statement and tourism master plan seemingly unsuccessfully challenge Zanzibar Investment Protection Act of 1986 as well as the amended Investment Promotion and Protection Act, 2004 and Investment Policy of 2004. For example, although the master plan proposed to incorporate Zanzibar Commission for Tourism and Zanzibar Investment Promotion Authority to become harmonious agency for tourism promotion and investment, by 2011 the two were still distinct bodies directed by different government ministries.

Institutional power struggles to control tourism investment, policy and practice within the same government is evident. Unlike in the mainland Tanzania, the matters related to tourism in Zanzibar have never been static to a particular fixed ministry, but changing overtime. Between 2000 and 2010, for example, tourism was directed under the Ministry of Industries, Trade and Tourism, in which both ZIPA and ZCT were directing tourism investment and promotion, albeit with an increasing controversies. A critical reading of the Tourism Investment Promotion and Protection Act, 2004, the Zanzibar Investment Policy, 2005 against the Indicative Tourism Master Plan, 2003, Zanzibar Tourism Policy Statement, 2004 and Tourism Act, 2009, reveals the on-going controversies. Whilst the investment promotion act and investment policy praises tourism as substantial driver of economic growth, stability and poverty reduction, the master plan categorically acknowledge that Zanzibar is not achieving the high quality tourism it seeks, and if it wishes to achieve its planned objectives, fundamental changes must take place and tourism development planning must be placed at the top of the political agenda (URT, 2003). The master plan categorically attributed many problems facing tourism in Zanzibar to weaknesses in the planning system, poor land leasing decisions and mismanagement which proliferates low quality tourism enterprises. In Kiwengwa and Chwaka conflicting objectives of tourism development was evident. Increasing government revenue, employment opportunities, boosting economic growth, and sustaining indigenous livelihood were perceived as the objective of tourism (Figure 4). Relatively, foreign exchange earnings, environmental conservation and enhancing international relations were not highly perceived as an objective of tourism. The rest revealed an extreme view about objectives of tourism that have not been explicitly stated in any of the government tourism policy documents. These include destabilising local people's income and colonialism because tourism investment in their area has resulted into the loss of autonomy. Few respondents noted boldly that tourism has nothing more than profiting the investors. Tourism policy however, aim to improve the quality of life, stimulate economic

growth, preserve social and cultural fabric, contribute to the alleviation of poverty, raise service levels to internationally accepted standards, expand domestic tourism for Zanzibaris, and protect and conserve fragile ecological systems (RGZ, 2004a).

Figure 4: Locally Perceived Objectives of Tourism in Kiwengwa and Chwaka Shehia



Source: *Fieldwork Data, 2011*

Conclusion

This paper has set out to explain how contested Zanzibar natural and historical heritage, revolutionary regime and complex neoliberal structural adjustment reforms shape unique tourism practices and outcomes along with its implications on sustainability. The contribution of post structural critical theory and political ecology in understanding the contested drivers of tourism has been exposed. Desire for wealth, slaves, exotic landscapes, domination and colonisation were the key drivers of tourism prior to 1964 in Zanzibar archipelago. Such tourism practices were typically unsustainable thus necessitating, among other things, African revolution that was experienced on 12th January 1964. The resultant revolutionary regime changed the course of tourism to improve socio-economic development of the majority in the islets as tourism was centrally planned and managed, albeit with limited success. Private property was confiscated and revoked under this regime. In the 1970s political instability affected tourism drastically especially between 1972 and 1974 following assassination of the first pro-socialist revolutionary regime government leader in Zanzibar. Similarly, in the mid of 1980s a pro-socialist president deliberately stepped down opposing World Bank and IMF pressure to liberalise Tanzanian economy in which Zanzibar was a part. Ultimately the enduring political instability paved ways for complex neoliberal structural adjustment reforms that matured in the post 1980s. Neoliberal legal changes and reforms was characterised with rent seeking, corruption, endless desire for increased tax revenue from tourism with variable actors' interests and skewed power relations even within differentiated central government institutions. Power struggles among various central government tourism authority is revealed in the critical reading of the contested Tourism Master Plan, 2003, Tourism Policy Statement, 2004, Investment Policy, 2004 against earlier neoliberal driven legal reforms and resultant legislations. The root cause of the power struggles and misunderstandings is the blurred late timing of development policy that was preceded with neoliberal investment code and legislations. The neoliberal reforms were neither equity driven nor socio-economically transforming to guarantee any substantial growth and stability in the archipelago. As a result, political instability continues influencing International Tourists Arrivals in a long run whilst investment in the tourism industry has proved unprofitable. That principles of capitalism are driving tourism development in Zanzibar is deconstructed. The unsustainable tourism practices and confusion we see in Zanzibar is a result of mixing conflicting ideologies to guide tourism

development policy and legislations. As such, restructuring tourism to benefit the destination residents and other actors equitably entails rethinking and transforming our understanding of tourism theory and practice. In a long run it also entails harmonizing competing actors' interests and power relations that drive tourism over time and space. Further critical research in tourism and hospitality management should pay attention on causes of misunderstandings inherent within differentiated central governments' institutions in the process of developing policies and legislations and the possibility of respecting local interests and harmonising actors' power relations.

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